



**Universiteit
Utrecht**

**Gender Dynamics in the Dutch Socialist and Labour Movements of
the 19th and 20th centuries**

Insights from a Gendered version of Bourdieu's Theory of Capital



Note: Dutch women's suffrage fighters, with Aletta Jacobs, seated in the middle, from the IISG collection.

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Acknowledgement

This master thesis signals the end of five and a half years of studying, making it appropriate to reflect a bit on those years. To say it has been a roller-coaster is the least. Starting a social science bachelor's degree here in Utrecht, a new city, provided me with so many new opportunities, which, sadly, became a lot less fun with the COVID pandemic. However, this period allowed me to venture outside of the social sciences, making me aware of my interests in the humanities. This led to me doing my first master's degree, Asian Studies, at Leiden University. It was wonderful being able to dive into niches that truly interested me. However, I did miss the social sciences, thus, I tried to incorporate some sociological aspects into my master's thesis, but it was not enough. I decided to do another master's degree in sociology back in Utrecht, where I started my student life. I finally feel, having finished this master's degree, ready to start a career (hopefully related to research in some capacity).

Not only did I learn a lot throughout this journey, but I also met amazing, wonderful people whom I now get to call friends. And honestly, without the support of my friends (new and old ones) and my family, I would not have been able to get to the point where I am right now. Specifically, thank you to Chaps and Robbie for helping me ensure I properly conveyed my thoughts and ideas on paper for this master's thesis. I also want to thank myself for getting through this degree and being able to finish a product I am satisfied with. Catching covid while writing my bachelor's thesis, resulting in long covid has affected my life to this day. That is why I am genuinely proud of myself, that I have been able to achieve what I wanted to do. I look back fondly on the past five and half years, and I am excited to see what the future will bring me!

Abstract

Introduction: To this day, women in high public positions are not taken seriously or must leave their positions due to the difficulties they face based on their gender, which was already the case in the 19th and 20th centuries. **Objective:** This study aims to understand the gender regime of the 19th and 20th centuries and how this affected the obtainment of capital by women. **Theory:** The Capital Theory by Bourdieu through a gendered lens was used. **Method:** Data was obtained from The Biographical Dictionary of the Socialist and Labour Movements in the Netherlands. A mixed method (N = 100) was used. For the qualitative analysis, the biographies were analysed based on the themes derived from the literature. For the quantitative analysis, each dependent variable was analysed using a t-test, linear regression, and ANCOVA for the final hypothesis. **Results:** The qualitative analysis showed that gender affected women's lives negatively and, therefore, their obtainment of the four different capitals. This effect lessened in the 20th century. The quantitative analysis results did not support this. Only for symbolic capital did gender have a significant positive effect, contrary to expectations. Two of the three sub-hypotheses and the control variables were found to be significant and aligned with the literature. **Conclusion and implications:** This study sheds light on the capital obtainment between women and men in the movements but does not offer a conclusive answer. Future research should study the types of capital separately to create proper measurements. **Policy:** Recommendations for more effective and more collaboration opportunities for historical research using these types of data were given.

Keywords: socialist and labour movements; the Netherlands; 19th and 20th century; gender; the capital theory; mixed methods

Ethical Statement

This research has been approved by the Ethical Board of Utrecht University with reference number 24-1385 (see Appendix A).

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Introduction

“Een wethouderschap in Den Haag is haar dan ook ontgaan, waarbij aangetekend moet worden dat het verschijnsel van een zelfstandige vrouw in prominente openbare functies toentertijd nog een uitzondering was en zeker ook weerstand opriep.”¹ (Mellink, 1987). This quote from the biography of Agnes Bruins (1874-1957) shows how difficult it was for a woman in the 1900s to obtain an influential public position. To this day, research highlights female politicians not being taken seriously and having to leave politics due to the (online) hate they receive (Runderkamp, 2023). These gender-based difficulties are due to specific ideologies which have persisted over the last three centuries. Scholars argue that gender ideology is based on a framework of patriarchy, which privileges masculine norms and values. This influences the gender regime, which affects women’s and men’s lives and how they act in different ways. These gender regimes can differ in various contexts (Kenny, 2007). For example, research based on the 19th and 20th centuries shows that traditional gendered roles, such as the male breadwinner female homemaker model, were the dominant ideology (Cunningham, 2008).

Historical data is necessary to understand how these dynamics work. This study uses a biographical dictionary. Biographical dictionaries contain both register data, such as occupational status and family relations, and biographical information (Sjöberg, 2021). Biographical dictionaries provide comprehensive information on a diverse number of people using primary and secondary sources, which can be used for comparative analyses. Historical research has increasingly focused on women’s roles in historical contexts, highlighting their political activism. However, biographical dictionaries are rarely used, and historical data must be used cautiously. As the saying goes, history is written by the victors. In other words, what we know today is limited by the perspectives, biases, and limitations of those people before us who wrote the accounts on which we base ourselves today. This is particularly the case with women’s history as it has been largely disregarded, misrepresented or suppressed, especially women’s involvement in social actions (West & Blumberg, 1990). Similarly, Bosch (2009) states that these sources are written by writers with their own gendered biases. Therefore, using these sources requires a gendered lens by

¹ "An aldermanship in The Hague therefore eluded her, noting that the phenomenon of an independent woman in prominent public positions was still an exception at the time and certainly aroused resistance".

the researcher to properly interpret the data without unreflectively adopting the writers' interpretations (Šubrt, 2012).

The specific biographical dictionary used for this study is *de Biografische Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland*² (BWSA), focusing on the 19th and 20th centuries. This dictionary has not been used for research. It provides a unique opportunity to study gender relations in the Netherlands, which has rarely been done. The 19th and 20th centuries in the Netherlands provide a unique context for gender relations. As the rest of Europe, feminist ideology arose, leading to women's groups fighting for women's rights. The focus of these groups during the 19th century was the moral reform on topics such as prostitution (because it exploited women) and alcohol consumption (because substance abuse could negatively affect family life) (Stuurman, 1992). However, these reforms happened in the context of socio-economic stimulation and political discussion, which resulted in the reforms being implemented through the nuclear family model (Haché, 2020). Similarly, while primary education for girls was introduced during this time, it focused solely on making them better wives and mothers (Moors, 1999). These developments segregated women to the private sphere of the home and discouraged them from participating in society and politics.

Meanwhile, the 20th century saw societal disruption throughout Europe, allowing women to exert influence in local revolutions and growing movements focusing on women's emancipation. This increased the number of women in the political sphere in some capacities (Offen, 2000). However, the Netherlands did not experience the same disruption. Dutch history before the 19th century shows a country fully occupied and annexed, leading to a political culture where preserving peace and balance was highly valued (Janse, 2018). This led to 'verzuiling' (pillarization), which can be defined as "the process of the political mobilization of ideological or religious defined groups by political parties by the rather complete concentration of social activities among the members within the particular categorical group" (Steininger, 1977, 250). Pillarization caused political parties to keep their followers close through political associations with their own trade unions, for example (Steininger, 1977). Due to the political standstill between the religious and secular parties, there was little space for strong advocates of women's suffrage (Bleijenbergh & Bussemaker, 2012). In this context, anything regarding women's rights was

² the Biographical Dictionary of Socialism and Labour Movement in the Netherlands

combined with the ‘women’s question’ idea and separated from regular politics. In addition, the dominant gender ideology led to the belief that women are emotional while men are reasonable (Janse, 2015). Too many women supporting a political cause could turn the matter from political into a matter of emotions and, thus, something that only belonged in the alleged non-political social sphere. In some cases, including women in mainstream activist associations would lead to the structural prevention of female participation in public politics (Janse, 2018).

To understand the difference in the lives of men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries within the socialist and labour movements in the Netherlands, the Capital Theory by Bourdieu (1986), combined with a gendered lens, is used. This theoretical framework highlights how gender influences the four types of capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic) and how they are distributed and valued between the genders. Considering the pioneering nature of this study, a mixed methods approach is used to get a comprehensive perspective on women’s historical positions in political settings, leading to the following three research questions. First, the descriptive question: What was the gender regime in the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries? Second, the exploratory question: To what extent do the types of capital differ between women and men within the Dutch socialist and labour movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, and how does this variation evolve across the two centuries? Finally, the policy question: How can this type of research be done more effectively? Using this approach, I will contribute to the scientific literature by conducting new research using new data. In addition, understanding the history and sources of the possible capital divide between genders can provide valuable insights into contemporary social norms and systems and ways we might wish to alter them.

Theory

First, the Capital Theory by Bourdieu will be explained to understand how individuals obtain the four capitals (cultural, social, economic and symbolic). Using this theory provides the opportunity to examine the various aspects and processes that influence inequality and power dynamics. However, Bourdieu's theory does not properly focus on gender differences. Therefore, the second section will highlight the importance of a gendered lens in historical sociological research. This chapter ends by applying the gendered lens to the capital theory to derive the hypotheses for this study.

The Capital Theory by Bourdieu

Bourdieu (1993) introduced the concepts of 'field', 'habitus' and four types of capital to explain social action. The field is a metaphor for the social arena's where people interact and compete to obtain capital to improve their position within the field. It can be seen as a network of relations between individuals where social action occurs, such as in the field of education and work. Each field has rules, produced through processes and practices, that influence the individuals' actions. Their habitus also influences their actions. The habitus refers to the established habits, skills and dispositions an individual develops over their lifetime. It is influenced by their background, upbringing, and social context (Bourdieu, 2001a). Within the interaction between the field and habitus, individuals can obtain capital. This helps them navigate the field and gain advantages, such as influence or power, within the respective fields. Rules within fields determine how individuals obtain capital, which is also influenced by habitus. The field and habitus continuously interact and influence each other (Huang, 2019). This interplay leads to the socializing and reproduction of social structures and systems (McLeod, 2005).

Cultural capital includes 'taste', 'ability' and 'knowledge' (Bourdieu, 1993). Taste is the objectified cultural capital represented in cultural material objects. Examples are books, paintings and ceramics. Owning these objects has symbolic value, which signals one's status within a community. Ability is the embodied cultural capital represented by the information and skills an individual acquires from their surroundings. This information is conveyed to the individual through their family and education. Knowledge is institutionalised cultural capital, such as the certificates an individual obtains through institutions (Mickelson, 2003; Huang, 2019). By using

these three types of cultural capital, people reinforce and become accustomed to social distinctions, giving them legitimacy and ensuring that they are ‘naturally’ embraced (Silva, 2005).

The second type of capital is social capital. This type of capital includes an individual’s contacts and relationships and the social networking they can partake in as a result (Huang, 2019). These networks and relations provide individuals with different resources that help them achieve their interests (Sapiro, 2013). Relations between group members provide social support, known as bonding social capital. Relations between individuals from different social groups provide social leverage and are known as bridging social capital. Using these resources correctly can help individuals increase their social mobility and advance economically (Bezanson, 2006). However, the resources derived from the social interactions are not automatically equally gained because these interactions are situated in fields where the dominant group decide the rules (Sapiro, 2013).

The third type is economic capital, or an individual’s economic resources. This can refer to individuals’ wealth, physical resources, or equipment used for production. All these resources can be used for money, and some can be institutionalised as property rights (Bourdieu, 1986). These resources significantly increase an individual’s position and opportunity within society, increasing their ability, mobility and power (Bourdieu, 2001a).

The fourth type is symbolic capital, which is the degree of status or prestige an individual has within a specific field. Symbolic capital is obtained when any of the previously mentioned capitals are socially legitimated, recognized or valued within a particular field (Huang, 2019). Obtaining symbolic capital gives an individual honour and recognition, which helps them acquire (monetary or social) resources and influence and possibly allows them to change the rules of a field (Miller, 2014).

These types of capital interact and can be exchanged to obtain a different capital. Economic capital can, for example, be used to invest in education and training, thus obtaining cultural capital, which can further increase an individual’s social capital by providing them with social network opportunities. Furthermore, an individual with this new knowledge and relations can receive more recognition and praise, thus gaining symbolic capital. Individuals with considerable capital can maintain a dominant position in the fields. These influential individuals decide the rules in the fields, thus maintaining their position and making it difficult for individuals in minority positions to gain capital. Taking a gendered lens to Bourdieu’s capital theory is crucial because it reveals

how these capital types are unevenly distributed and valued based on gender, perpetuating systemic inequalities.

Gendered Lens

Gender as a social construct creates different roles for men and women. Therefore, men and women tend to undertake different actions (Warren, 2007). This is gender as an attribute, something an individual possesses. However, gender can also be seen as something an individual does. It is then understood as a 'practice' or 'performance' portrayed through interactions. For example, playing with dolls is seen as a female activity. Focussing on this view of gender shifts the analytical focus to social institutions, processes and practices. Using a gendered lens examines how gender influences individuals' experiences, behaviours and opportunities. It focuses on how power dynamics between genders affect social processes and cultural value systems. Using a gendered lens, therefore, identifies the systematic causes of gender inequality derived from institutionalised gendered differences (Kenny, 2007).

Early theoretical research on the interactions between gender, power and institutions coined the concept of 'patriarchy', which describes a society in which men dominate or subjugate women (Kenny, 2007). Even though many gender differences are institutionalised, they are not fixed. The conceptual framework of a 'gender regime' shows a particular state of gender relations in a given context, highlighting the structural manifestations of gender differences and their ideological justifications (Zemlinskaya, 2010; Kenny, 2007). Men, for example, are assumed to possess masculine characteristics, such as being dominant. Conversely, women must possess feminine qualities such as being nurturing. These traits are learned through socialisation processes such as education and upbringing, influencing their behaviour. This leads to different ways the lives of men and women are structured. For example, certain types of jobs are traditionally assigned to certain genders (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Men have greater access to financial resources, social support networks, and institutional power overall. Connell (1990) refers to this as 'hegemonic masculinity', where men have a dominant position in society.

Before the 19th century, the gender regime was based on egalitarian principles, and both partners participated in household and labour duties. While there was a clear distinction in the type of work done by men and women, both were considered valuable contributors (Janssens, 1997). However, the rise of capitalism saw women lose their economic value as individual wage factory

labour became more prominent (Clark, 2013). Women were relegated to unpaid domestic roles. While some still engaged in economically productive activities at home, such as sewing, these were underappreciated (Janssens, 1997; Funk & Bradley, 1990). The 19th and 20th centuries saw the gender regime of the male breadwinner and female homemaker. This model indicates that women were seen as the caretakers of the home and family while men provided financially for the family (Cunningham, 2008). Research on North-West Europe sees the gradual emergence of the male breadwinner and female homemaker model amongst the working class through the 19th century, reaching its peak in the 1950s (Seccombe, 1995).

During the later decades of the 20th century, a gradual attitude change led to an increasing number of women entering the workforce, which significantly affected the male breadwinner female homemaker model (Cunningham, 2008). In addition, considerable labour was needed for some countries after the Second World War. However, with the slowing industrial process from the 1950s, this demand decreased (Trappe et al., 2015). During these developments, governments were also implementing family policies, which limited access to employment for married women, resulting in a return focus on the caretaking role. This highlights that the gender regime can change based on the broad societal context. Overall, research shows that the male breadwinner and female homemaker model was already firmly established in Dutch society during the seventeenth century. It only further solidified during the 19th century, perpetuated by the pillarization of Dutch society and its ideals of motherhood, marriage, and family life (Plantenga, 1993; Pott-Biter, 1993).

Similarly, research shows that the gender regime impacts women's political participation (Gustafson, 2005). Due to their gendered caregiver position, women were not allowed to participate in formal politics, let alone become politicians, in 19th-century America. Nevertheless, other avenues existed for women to get involved in politics, particularly in informal politics (like grassroots action). For example, some research shows that African women could unionize because there were never rules against it. After all, women were not perceived as being able to participate in formal politics (Zemlinskaya, 2010). Women were also able to make use of the gender regime to benefit their political actions. Allgor (2000), for example, introduced the term 'parlour politics', where women networked and patronaged for their husband's political careers under the guise of social life. Research by Noonan (1995) on protests in Chile shows how women's movements used traditional gender roles to legitimize their protests. They highlighted their roles as a mother to

emphasize the importance of their cause. These are rare cases, however, as femininity is often associated with emotion, undermining women's political actions (Zemlinkskaya, 2010).

Bourdieu and Gender

The structurally different lives women and men lead as a result of the impact of their gender on their position in society influences what resources they have access to and their ability to acquire them (Sapiro, 2013). This highlights the importance of viewing the acquisition of these resources through a gendered lens. Bourdieu himself, in *Masculine Domination* (2001b), tried to establish gender as a specific kind of habitus, seeing it as gendered dispositions. These gendered dispositions are perceived as natural through the socialisation processes based on masculine domination. This results in the woman being restricted to the house and family, and here is where, according to Bourdieu, an individual learns the social dispositions of their class, which shapes their taste, ability and knowledge through familiarization. The culture being taught is the dominant culture of the ones who rule, derived from the father. Bourdieu further argues that women are essential in the familiarization process but are mainly seen as aesthetic objects (Bourdieu, 1999). Through this process, women internalise and teach the new generation about gendered dispositions (Mickelson, 2003). Because the dominant culture restricts women to their role as homemakers, they cannot simply obtain cultural capital, such as owning cultural objects, since these are often family property owned by their father or husband (Rogers, 2023). Women also have less access to institutionalised capital as education is not seen as necessary for women, only if it helps them to become better homemakers (Bourdieu, 1986). This leads to the hypothesis:

H₁: women have less cultural capital than men.

Other scholars argue that fields are differentiated by gender and that the habitus is formed in these separate fields, characterized by power relations and unequal capital distribution (McLeod, 2005). This indicates that men and women participate in different fields, thus affecting the type of social contacts individuals can have. Women are limited to the home doing the 'kinwork' of maintaining (extended) family ties and culture. Still, they also maintain social networks because both types of relations can create helpful resources for the husband and children (Bezanson, 2006; Sapiro, 2013). For example, well-maintained family relations can create the image of a 'perfect' family. Men, especially those from 'leading' families, can profit from these private relationships. The same private relationships can be seen as barriers for women by keeping them at home. An

example of such a relationship is a parent-child relationship. Parenthood for women translates to increased barriers to participating in politics. For men, on the other hand, parenthood is not a hindrance, and instead it can be used to promote themselves as a ‘good family man’, making it a resource (Sapiro, 2013). Thus, women cannot gain the same number of resources as men from the same interactions. This leads to the hypothesis:

H₂: women have less social capital than men.

Even though women partake in social relations outside the family, these are often segregated by gender. They are, therefore, less likely to engage with men outside of family members, leading to the sub-hypothesis:

H_{2a}: women have fewer male contacts than men.

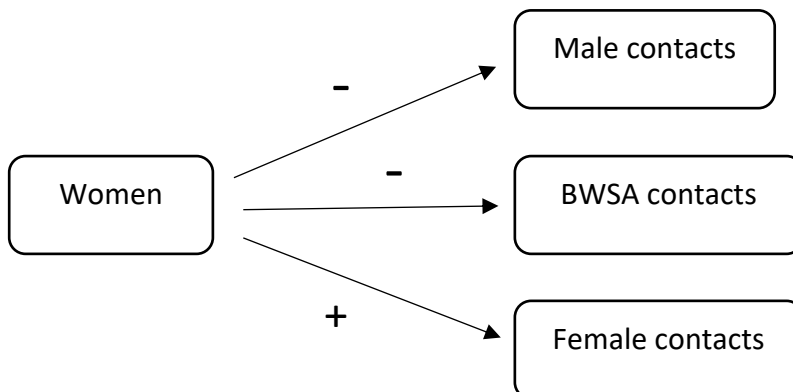
In the case of political activities, it is difficult for women to enter the political world because their position at home reduces their access to the political world. Therefore, for this specific study, the argument will be made that women will have fewer contacts who also have a biography in the BWSA, leading to the sub-hypothesis:

H_{2b}: women have fewer BWSA contacts.

Women are thus less likely to engage with men, and the social networking they undertake is mainly with other women. When they enter political spaces, they often do so through women’s organisations, which are dominated by women (Sapiro, 2013). This leads to the sub-hypothesis:

H_{2c}: women have more female contacts than men.

Figure 1
Model for the sub-hypotheses H_{2a}, H_{2b} and H_{2c}



The gender dispositions and women's role as homemakers also influences their chances of obtaining economic capital. The gender roles of the 19th and 20th centuries often limited women's ability to obtain a paid job. Moreover, even when women did enter the labour market, gender norms persist, leading to occupational segregation where women have occupations which are deemed feminine, less valuable and are often paid less (Badgett & Folbre, 1999). This leads to the hypothesis:

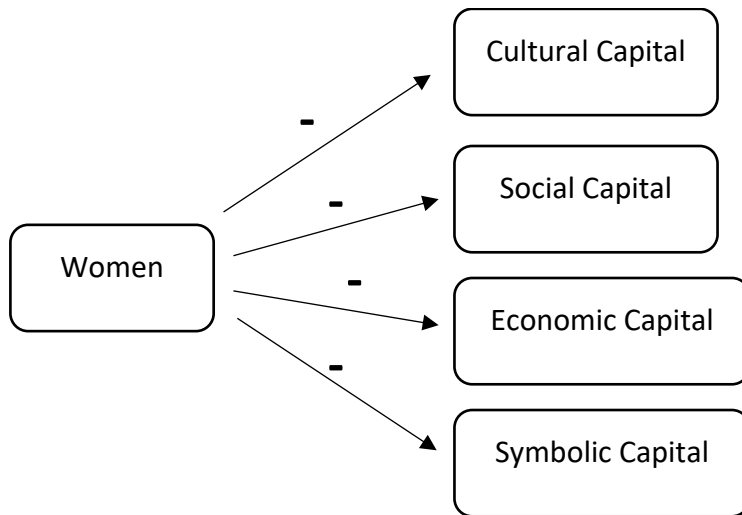
H₃: women have less economic capital than men.

Symbolic capital is measured by reputation and prestige, which are based on the perceptions and judgements of individuals of each other. Norms and beliefs about gender influence these perceptions. The dominant group legitimizes their taste and dispositions, making them valuable as cultural capital. Men are the dominant group that legitimizes masculine dispositions making them more easily exchangeable for symbolic capital than feminine dispositions. While not impossible, it is harder for women to obtain different capital and thus symbolic capital because men's positions are seen as natural. In contrast, women must justify their presence and participation (Miller, 2014). This leads to the hypothesis:

H₄: women have less symbolic capital than men.

Figure 2

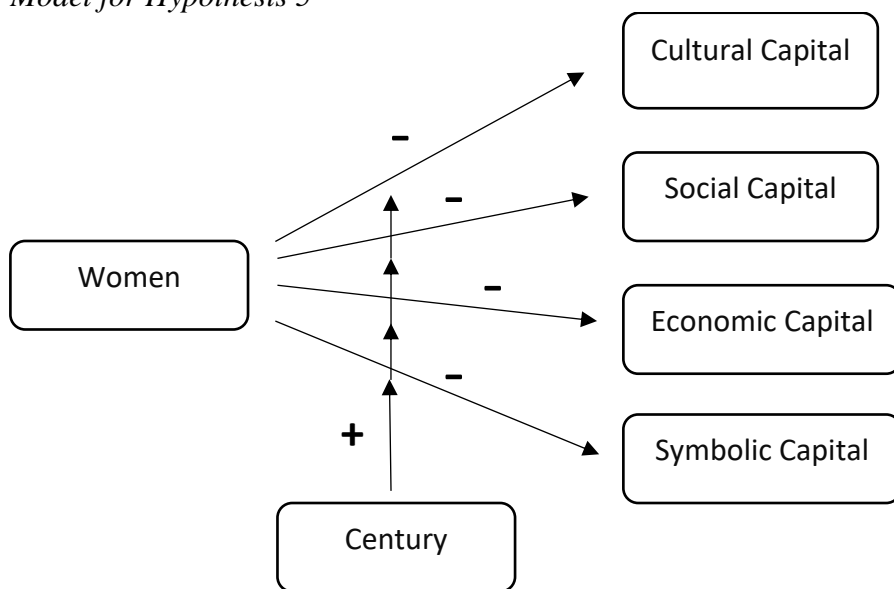
Model for hypotheses 1 through 4



Significant changes occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries, affecting the gender regime as feminist movements emerged in the mid-19th century throughout Europe. They advocated for women’s rights to pursue an education and engage in paid activity and public affairs. This period later became known as the first wave of feminism. These movements eventually gained an international presence, giving the women’s suffrage movement a universal character and establishing it as a human rights movement. However, during World War I, international collaboration decreased, and women’s movements focused on labour conditions due to their wartime experiences. By the end of World War I, various European countries granted women voting rights, with more countries to follow after World War II (Evans, 2012; Paletschek, 2005). Shifts in focus towards sexuality and contraception occurred in the mid-20th century, leading to the second wave of feminism, which aimed for effective gender equality and women’s liberation from the oppression they suffered due to the gender regime (Buikema, 2016). These changes over the centuries have gradually improved the status of women, which can positively affect their obtainment of capital. This leads to the hypothesis:

H5: women from the 19th century have more capital than women from the 18th century.

Figure 3
Model for Hypothesis 5



Methods

Research design

This study utilized a mixed-methods research approach. First, a qualitative analysis was conducted, which involved delving into the biographies for specific examples that supported or challenged the hypotheses brought up by the theory. Themes were derived from the literature, specifically indicators of the gender regime of the male breadwinner female homemaker model. These indicators were having a caretaker role and no job, political participation, century difference, and language use. The researcher was open to emerging themes. Additional research was done using historical documents to find more information on the individuals. However, the inclusion of this additional information was minimal due to the scope of this study. The quantitative analysis was conducted using the statistical program IBM SPSS Statistics 29. First, an independent t-test was conducted for each dependent variable, followed by a linear regression analysis. The t-test was chosen to identify if the two groups differed from each other for each dependent variable. The linear regression analysis was chosen because of the three ratio variables (cultural, economic and symbolic capital), which is possible according to Skiera et al. (2022). For the last hypothesis, an ANCOVA was used, and the sample was split in half to include only the women in the analysis. The assumptions for the analyses were tested. The assumption of normality and homoscedasticity were violated. Due to the scope of the study, it was decided to proceed with the analysis, but the interpretation of the results will be done with caution.

Data

This study used data derived from the Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland (BWSA)³ website. The BWSA project was initiated in 1953 by the Sociaal-Historische Studiekring (SHS)⁴ to create a collection of biographies of individuals within the socialist and labour movements in the Netherlands between 1848 and 1940. The biographies were first published in the association's bulletin before they were published in collections. The collections were published physically between 1986 and 2003, after which they were digitalised, and new biographies were published online (Reinalda, 1983). This collection has

³ the Biographical Dictionary of Socialism and the Workers' Movement in the Netherlands

⁴ the Social-Historical Studies Circle

not been used in earlier research. Thus, the researcher had to collect the data directly from the biographies for this research (see Appendix B and C).

The biographies' inclusion criteria have changed over time. Initially, the focus was on deceased individuals involved in developing the movements between 1860 and 1918, excluding those with only organisational roles. The terms socialist and labour movements were broadly interpreted to include various political movements (such as pacifists, communists and anarchists) and unions (such as religious and non-religious ones) representing various occupational groups. In addition, only individuals without existing biographies and with sufficient information available were chosen, resulting in an initial list of 107 individuals (Reinalda, 1983). The editorial team tried collecting extra information about the individuals through surveys, which were spread through socialist newspapers such as *Het Vrije Volk*, *Het Parool* and the *Friese Koerier*. Two editorial team members produced most of the biographies in the project's first decade. Their interests led to the collection having a regional preference, specifically from Zeeland and Friesland. By 1965, the period criteria were extended to 1940 to include more individuals, amongst others, more influential individuals. In 1979, it was decided to create a more balanced overall contribution of the biographies (Reinalda, 1983).

The criteria further changed during the publication of the collections. In the first edition, it was highlighted that the focus was on all worldview movements and all types of political, social and cultural organisations (Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland [BWSA], 1986). The third edition shifted focus to include individuals who were not national figures but essential for the origin and development of labour movements (BWSA, 1988). In the fifth edition, they further specified that future biographies needed to be more elaborate and detailed about describing individual's lives and their relations in the movements or the political and social community (BWSA, 1992). However, before the last edition was published, it was noted that regardless of the efforts of SHS, the biographies were not as varied and diversified as intended. Earlier biographies were written by experts about the movements, while more recent ones relied on non-experts such as the editorial team. Additionally, atheist-oriented socialist biographies were found predominantly, and only in later editions more religious-related social movements were included. A gender difference in the writing styles was also noted. The female writers focused more on the individual's character traits and family circumstances (Bornewasser, 2003).

Since 2011, new online biographies have been added with clear systematic criteria of how the biographies should look. The biographies are between 1500 and 3000 words and split into three parts: 1) factual personal data, such as birth parent's names and partners, 2) the biography, written chronologically and 3) the archival, publications and literature about the individual. The site provides example questions for the writers to consider what type of information to include: what stirred their political or social interests, career development, and personality. The criteria for which individuals should be included are based on the keywords *labour movement* and *socialism*, broadly interpreted as social-emancipatory movements with room for individuals from diverse backgrounds. The inclusion period was also extended until 1980. Anyone can send in a biography, and the editorial team will decide if the biography meets the criteria and if they will be added to the collection. One of these considerations is whether the new biography is about a unique individual whose story is not parallel or almost identical to the biographies already included in the collection (BWSA z.d.). This comprehensive overview of the biography inclusion criteria of the past 58 years indicates that the current data set is a heterogeneous collection of individuals with unique lives.

Participants

The BWSA contains 695 individuals, of which 43 were mentioned twice under different names. These doubles (women = 25, men = 18) were deleted from the data set. The BWSA, therefore, consisted of 652 individuals, comprised of 96 women and 556 men (no other genders were specified in the biographies). Four individuals were born in Germany, one in Poland, one in Switzerland, two in Belgium, three in South Africa, one in Curaçao and five in Indonesia. Using a stratified sampling method, all individuals were assigned an ID number to be able to use a random number generator. Due to the scope of the research, 100 participants were picked, making it a sample percentage of 6,52%. Fifty individuals were women, and fifty were men. Four individuals were born outside the Netherlands, three in Indonesia, and one in Curaçao.

Operationalization

Cultural Capital

This study uses an adapted version of the Scale of Cultural Capital (SCC) created by Balboni et al. (2019). Previous research has focused either on the status and intellectual culture of elites (DiMaggio, 1982; Afschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Dumais, 2002), human capital or technical

skills (Lareau & Weininger, 2003) or highlighted the importance of community and participating in social activities for cultural capital (Gould, 1998; Jeannotte, 2003). The SCC is the first scale trying to incorporate all these aspects to measure cultural capital properly. Balboni et al. (2019) tested which categories measure cultural capital the best, identifying three. These categories are cultural activities (for example, visiting museums, watching films and reading books), cultural technical knowledge (for example, speaking foreign languages and attending music classes) and social activities (for example, participation or membership in cultural, social, political and religious groups). Three factors were created based on these categories. The first factor is ‘participating’, which refers to active participation in social groups and activities. The second factor is ‘consuming’, which refers to an individual’s cultural activities during their free time and the cultural goods (such as books) they consume. The third factor is ‘expert using’, which refers to an individual’s cultural activities that require expertise or creative ability (Balboni et al., 2019).

Due to the nature of the dataset, the three factors were interpreted broadly to identify them from the biographies. For participating, it was recorded if the individual participated in social, cultural, religious or political groups or associations. Examples are political parties and study associations. Whether they participated or not was recorded in the dataset as yes or no. If an individual attended exhibitions, congresses, theatre plays, and if they read books in their free time, it was recorded as consuming. Expert using was identified if the individuals partook in educational settings outside of formal education (for example, self-study, attending a lecture or speaking a foreign language). These factors were combined into the variable cultural capital with a scale from zero to three, representing the level of involvement in these factors. A score of zero indicated no mentions in the biography, and three indicated a mention of all three categories.

Social Capital

The systematic review by Acquaah et al. (2014) explores the measurement of social capital in three dimensions: structural, relational and cognitive. The cognitive dimension relates to trust, norms and values, which were not described explicitly enough in all the biographies, making it unusable as a measurement for this research. The structural dimension examines the network structure, civic engagement and political trust. Some of this information can be found in the biographies. However, a network analysis was not feasible in this study. In addition, civic engagement was already included to measure cultural capital. Lastly, the relational dimension

looks at social cohesion (the connectedness and solidarity among groups) and social networks (the social connections between individuals). The relational dimension was the only dimension where the information was included in the biographies. However, due to the limited availability of relevant information, social capital was measured by the number of contacts an individual had rather than the level of connectedness. The contacts of individuals were determined by names mentioned in the biographies, such as when the individual met them in person or if they were in contact via writing. The number of these contacts was then used for the variable social capital. In addition, contacts' gender, nationality, and whether they were part of the BWSA were identified to answer the sub-hypotheses. Some contacts' nationality or gender were unclear in the biographies. Registration databases and additional biographies were consulted to clarify the missing information.

Economic Capital

Economic capital is often measured by the individual's income and assets (Balboni et al., 2019). However, this is not mentioned in the biographies. Therefore, this study will use individuals' occupations to identify their economic capital. The occupational stratification scales of the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO) and HISCAM were used to do this. The HISCO scheme is rooted in the 1968 International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO) version. It classifies historical occupational titles into a standardised format, which can be used to study historical patterns of social mobility internationally (Van Leeuwen et al., 2004). The coding process started with standardising the occupational titles into uniform spelling. These resulting standards were assigned with an HISCO code based on ISCO comparisons. Adjustments were made to the established ISCO code based on the historical contexts and were given hierarchal structuring, resulting in the final HISCO code (Van Leeuwen et al., 2004). The HISCAM code, using patterns of inter-generational occupational titles, created a scale of zero to 100, indicating the stratification position (or socio-economic position) of the corresponding HISCO occupational title (Lambert et al., 2013).

All the occupations mentioned in the individual's biography were recorded first. The decision was made to include all the occupations, such as the president of an association or secretary for a union for all individuals. These were often paid occupations for men, which was rarely the case for women. To better understand the position of women in the socialist and labour

movements, these unpaid positions were counted as occupations. All the identified occupational titles were coded to the HISCO scheme. This was done using the data set released in 2020 called *HSNDB Occupations*, gathered from the site of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis⁵ (IISG), which consisted of 281,355 standardised occupational titles (Mandemakers et al., 2020). Using this data set, the occupational titles found in the biographies were matched with the ones in the dataset to identify the HISCO and corresponding HISCAM code. Only one HISCAM code per individual was used to create the measurement for economic capital. The decision was made to group the HISCAM codes into a scale of five categories: 1) lower-status occupations (0-20), 2) lower-middle status occupations (21-40), 3) middle-status occupations (41-60), 4) upper-middle status occupations (61-80) and 5) higher-status occupations (81-100). The individuals scored in one of these five categories when most of their occupations fit in that category. This categorization helped determine the social stratification of individuals throughout their lives.

Symbolic Capital

Measuring symbolic capital is challenging and lacks a standardized method. In earlier texts, Bourdieu's (1998) work on elite groups introduced the concept of notoriety, such as being on ranking lists or winning awards. Other scholars used a more general approach and focused on the reputation of an individual (Lebaron, 2014) or an accumulation of social, economic and cultural capital (Nalaskowski & Dejna, 2015). Because all the other capitals were already used in the analysis for this study, the focus was on trying to identify an individual's reputation to measure symbolic capital. For this study, three categories were formed. The first category, 'life course reputation', was identified if others in the biography mentioned explicitly positive things about the individual, such as about their work. The second category sees if the individual received any prizes, distinctions or awards. The third category focused on any activity after an individual's death, indicating that the individual had a good reputation, such as influential people or organisations attending the funeral, an obituary or remembrance text being published or a street name, building or charity being created, in the name of the individual. The variable to measure symbolic capital thus has a scale of zero to three, with zero indicating that all three categories were not found in the individual's biography and three indicating that all three categories were found.

⁵ International Institute of Social History

Gender

Gender is the independent variable of this study, determined by the individual's name, picture and pronouns used in the biography. Following the BWSA, it was limited to women or men. The variable was used as a dummy variable where 1 was female, and 0 was male.

Century

For hypothesis H5, the variable century was computed. The individuals were grouped into the centuries based on their birth date, which led to three categories of 18 (18th century), 19 (19th century) and 20 (20th century).

Control variables

As mentioned earlier, women were more likely to obtain less capital than men because they were restricted to homemaking. Thus, having children or a partner should affect a woman's capitals. How many children were mentioned in the biographies was counted for the variable children. There is a chance that children who were not officially registered were missed. The number of partners mentioned in the biographies was counted for the variable partner. Most likely, only the partners with whom the individual had married or had a long heterosexual relationship were mentioned. Non-heterosexual relationships were unlikely public during the 19th and 20th centuries and are thus not mentioned in the biographies.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of all the variables (N=100)

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Gender (female = 1)	0	1		
Century	18	20	19.13	.36667
Cultural Capital	0	3	2.16	.748
Social Capital	0	25	7.79	5.383
Male contacts	0	22	5.79	4.255
Female contacts	0	13	2.00	2.975
BWSA contacts	0	15	3.98	3.235
Economic Capital	1	5	4.73	.489
Symbolic Capital	0	3	.98	.804
Children	0	12	2.47	2.721
Partners	0	5	1.05	.833
Women's movements membership (yes = 1)	0	1		

Source: BWSA dataset

Table 1 represents the descriptive statistics of the variables used for the hypotheses in this study. The final sample consisted of N = 100, of which 50% were female (min = 0, max = 1). Eighty-five per cent were born in the 19th century, and fourteen per cent were born in the 20th century (min = 18, max = 20). One individual was born in the 18th century. Cultural capital scored an average of 2 (min = 0, max = 3), meaning they scored two out of the three categories. Social capital scored an average of 7 contacts (min = 0, max = 22). The standard deviation of 5.383 indicated that a high variation was found. The individuals had more male contacts, with an average of 5 (min = 0, max = 22), than female contacts, with an average of 2 (min = 0, max = 13), with 42% of the sample not having any female contacts. The individuals had, on average, 3 contacts (min = 0, max = 15) who also had a biography in the BWSA dataset. The standard deviation of 3.235 indicated a high variation in the number of contacts. The sample scored high for economic

capital with an average of 4.73 (min = 1, max = 5). Seventy-five percent of the sample scored in the higher-status occupations category (5). The average of symbolic capital scored .098 (min = 0, max = 3). This indicated that individuals, on average, scored 1 out of the 3 categories. The majority of the sample, 63%, had one recorded partner (min = 0, max = 5). The standard deviation of .833 showed only a small degree of variation. On average, individuals had 2 children (min = 0, max = 12), but 33% of the sample had no recorded children. The standard deviation of 2.721 also indicated a high variation. Membership of the women's movement was considered as well. Seventy percent of the sample did not have a membership for a women's movement/organisation (min = 0, max = 1).

Qualitative analysis

This qualitative analysis elaborates on the biographical data, highlighting interesting observations based on themes derived from the literature review to provide more nuance to the quantitative analysis results and answer the descriptive question.

Gender regime

The literature review showcased that the gender regime of the male breadwinner and female homemaker model is significant in women's acquisition of the capitals. For example, Kruseman (1839-1922) was from a young age aware of women's restricted role in society, influencing her not wanting to marry and wanting to be independent. This direct quote from her biography shows her position as a woman: "In keuken en kinderkamer mochten zij schitteren, maar dat zij meespraken over zaken die haarhuishoudboekje te buiten gingen, werd niet gewaardeerd."⁷. Kramers (1863-1934) is an example of fitting the model, as she changed her job to better care for her family members. Hoitsema (1847-1934) also gave up her job when she married her husband in 1885 and focused solely on caring for her stepchildren.

However, conforming to the model did not affect everyone equally. For example, Verschoor (1895-1978) had to take care of the household and her three children. Nevertheless, this did not prevent her from continuing to produce articles and translations. Schilderpoort (1778-1853) married when she was sixteen and had her first of five children when she was nineteen. Even though she followed the ideals of becoming a mother and starting a family, she managed to start a school and create a successful career as an educator. She was able to do this as she did not maintain the household (her mother helped), and her husband passed, making her the family breadwinner.

This did lead to her most likely not completely fulfilling her duties as a mother, as her daughter later confirmed that her mother's priorities were with her work, which meant she was away from home most of the time. The comparison between Verschoor and Schilderpoort shows that pursuing certain careers, such as writing and teaching, are more easily combined with the ideals of being a caretaker.

Some women also found ways to educate themselves, helping them find work. Kramers (1863-1934) followed education indirectly through her brothers, who went to school and her father, who was an educator. She also taught herself languages, which helped her become the perfect Dutch delegate for women's organisations at international congresses. Meijboom (1856-1927) did receive secondary education but could further self-study Danish because her father had Danish books. Even though her main occupation was a homemaker (*huishoudkundige*), with her Danish skills, she was able to start a successful translation career. In other cases, such as Porreij (1851-1883), she had to change her career and even quit to support her husband's new career. She translated for her husband's work, but this was not in an official capacity.

(Formal) Politics

Socialist movements were the spaces where women's movements thrived. They were often the first to focus on improving women's political rights. However, this was not always done in accordance with the women's wishes. Hoitsema (1847-1934), for example, was a member of the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij⁸ (SDAP). However, she disagreed with the party's decision to separate the labour protection for women from the men as it would restrict women's economic freedom. She received no support for her ideas, and the SDAP accepted the separation of labour protection. Hoitsema eventually left the SDAP after the leader stated that the SDAP should focus on class inequalities rather than gender differences and halted their plans for women's emancipation. Ribbius Peletier (1891-1989) similarly received opposition when she organised summer courses for the female members because, according to some of the members of the SDAP party leadership: "Een goede huisvrouw laat haar gezin niet in de steek."⁶ Huygens (1848-1902) was another woman who was welcomed into the party as a party board member and became well-known as the SDAP's only female speaker. Her popularity could have been because her ideas

⁶ "A good housewife does not abandon her family"

aligned with the SDAP. After all, she thought there should be separate women's organisations and unions. However, Huygens also eventually strongly disagreed with the SDAP ideas that women's issues would be solved through the realization of socialism through the struggle of the working class.

The labour movements revealed similar findings. The attendance and participation of Lazarus (1870-1933) at the public meeting of the Algemeene Nederlandsche Diamantbewerkerbond⁹ (ANDB) caused a commotion because she was regarded as just a regular girl. This happened even though the meeting was created to recruit more female diamond cutters, specifically female diamond cutters, for the union. This shows that even when women can enter formal public settings, they do not automatically have the same power as men in these settings. In addition, Pieters (1897–1976), when trying to involve women in the Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen⁷ (NVV), noticed that they did not know anything about the labour movement, which she argued was because their husbands did not tell their wives anything.

Even when women managed to achieve successes within the movements, they were not always remembered as doing so. For example, after her death, De Wit (1864-1939), who was active for the Communistische Partij in Ned⁸ (CPN), was only recognized for her literary work and seen as someone sympathetic towards socialist ideas. Her political work was thus fully ignored. Again, this suggests that women are either not seen as players in the political field or must work extremely hard to gain recognition. field or must work extremely hard to gain recognition.

The examples mentioned above showcase how joining the formal male-dominated political sphere was difficult. Women, therefore, often started their own organisations for political actions, some of them being quite successful, even internationally. Prominent women in these movements were influential for younger women to enter these movements themselves. Van den Born (1919-2014), for example, was inspired by the work of Pothuis-Smit (1872-1951) and Ribbius Peletier (1891-1989) to create reading weekends for female members to learn how to debate. However, the collaboration between the women's organisations could also remain challenging due to the different feminist views, specifically when working with official political parties. Lensing (1847-

⁷ the Dutch Association of Unions

⁸ the Communist Party in the Netherlands

1925), for example, created the Vrije Vrouwenvereniging⁹ (VVV) in 1889 and collaborated with the Socialistische-Democratische Bond¹⁰ (SDB) because they did not have their own women's association at that time. This collaboration only lasted five years as the SDB showed increasingly openly that they would rather get rid of her, so Lensing left. It was only after her departure that space was created for collaboration with other women's organisations from other (non-socialistic) circles. Similarly, Kramers (1863-1934) advocated for women's voting and work rights. However, later in life, when she met her partner, who was an SDAP member, she joined the party, which led to her losing her prominent positions in multiple women's organisations.

These findings show that the type of interactions women influence their political participation. For instance, family members were a big influence. For example, Troelstra (1867-1944) grew up in a family where her dad was a member of parliament and her brother and husband were members of the SDAP, which likely influenced her to become a member as well. For Willekes Macdonald (1886-1979), her mother's support helped her fight for Montessori education at public schools. As for Ankersmit (1869-1944), her sister-in-law introduced her to socialism.

20th century

The biographies of women born in the 20th century tell similar stories but with some noticeable differences. For example, for these women, following education, specifically higher education, was more obvious, positively affecting their job opportunities. For example, Meilink (1908-1998) studied to become a social worker. Similarly, Mazirel (1907-1974) studied law and psychology and became a lawyer. In addition to education, women could get further ahead in politics, as they could now vote, as of 1919, and be a politician. For example, Meilink (1908-1998) was a member of the House of Representatives for the Partij van de Arbeid¹¹ (PvdA) for 18 years. Similarities can be found when it comes to the gender regime. For example, Odinet (1908 – 1998) attended home school (huishoudschool), worked as a childcare worker for a long time, married young, and had multiple children. Even though she fits the homemaker model, she eventually became a member of parliament. She was also the family's breadwinner as her husband became too sick to work.

⁹ the Free Women's Association

¹⁰ the Socialist-Democratic Union

¹¹ the Labour Party

Language

The language used by other men to describe women was also interesting. Women were often praised for their feminine and motherly characteristics. For example, Van der Vlies (1873-1939) had become ‘the mother’ of the SDAP. Similarly, Groeneweg’s (1875-1940) male colleague in the parliament praised her for being “een rustige, beschaafde, vrouwelijke vrouw, de onderwijzers die niet allen onderwijst, maar ook opvoedt.”¹² Tilanus (1871-1953) was also praised by her male city council colleague for her gentleness. Meilink (1908-1998) even received a chamber-wide appreciation for being the calm one.

Summary

The qualitative analysis only shows partial evidence of the male breadwinner female homemaker model. While most women were married and had children, some women did have jobs as writers, actresses, or teachers. Most women also managed to get positions within the socialist and labour movements, but most were likely unpaid. The findings demonstrate that the gendered dispositions often played a negative influence in the women's lives, as their femininity was not seen as fit in high public positions. This idea persisted even throughout the 20th century when women were able to obtain higher education, practice jobs and have high public positions in male-dominated fields.

Quantitative Analysis

Cultural Capital

Table 2 (see Appendix D) shows the independent t-test results indicating the direct effect of gender on cultural capital. The difference between men ($M = 2.08$, $SD = .724$) and women ($M = 2.24$, $SD = .771$) was not significant ($t = -1.070$, $p = .287$). In table 3 (see Appendix D), the results from the linear regression, including the control variables, are presented. This model found no effect ($R^2 = .057$, $p = 1.29$). Having children has a negative significant effect ($B = -.061$, $p < .10$), indicating that having more children results in less cultural capital. Overall, however, these results showed insufficient statistical evidence to support the hypothesis, H_1 : women have less cultural capital than men.

¹² "A quiet, cultured, feminine woman, the teacher who not only teaches but also educates".

Social Capital

Table 4 (see Appendix D) shows the direct effect of gender on social capital measured with an independent t-test. The difference between men ($M = 8.08$, $SD = 5.014$) and women ($M = 7.50$, $SD = 5.765$) was not found to be significant ($t = .537$, $p = .593$).

Table 5

The effect of gender on social capital (N = 100)

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	9.140***	5.203
Gender (female = 1)	-1.609	1.173
Children	-.661***	.220
Partners	1.037	.680
R^2	.094	

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 5 shows the effect of gender on social capital, including the control variables measured using a linear regression analysis. Model 1 was found significant ($R^2 = .094$, $p < .05$), but this effect explained only 9,4% of the variance. Having children has a negative significant effect ($B = -.661$, $p < .001$), indicating that having more children results in less social capital. Because the direct effect was insignificant in this model, there is not enough statistical evidence to accept the hypothesis, H_2 : women have less social capital than men.

Sub-hypotheses

Table 6

The direct effect of gender on the number of male contacts (N = 100)

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Male	4.189***	3.300	.788	1.737	4.863

contacts

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 6 presents the independent t-test analysis showing the direct effect of gender on the number of male contacts. The difference between men ($M = 7.44$, $SD = 4.572$) and women ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 3.182$) was highly significant ($t = 4.189$, $p < .001$). This indicates that men have more male contacts than women.

Table 7

The effect of gender on the number of male contacts (N = 100)

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	8.109***	.911
Gender (female = 1)	-4.062***	.842
Children	-.537**	.488
Partners	.989***	.158
R^2	.253	

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 7 shows the effect of gender on the number of male contacts, including the control variables measured with a linear regression analysis. The model was significant ($R^2 = .253$, $p < .005$). Both control variables, children ($p < .05$) and partners ($p < .005$), were significant. Having children had

a negative effect on a woman's number of male contacts. A woman's number of male contacts decreased by .537 for every child. On the other hand, having a partner positively affected a woman's number of male contacts. For every partner a woman had, their number of male contacts increased by .989. Based on these results, sub-hypothesis, H_{2a}: women have fewer male contacts than men, is accepted.

The direct effect of gender on the number of BWSA contacts, as measured by an independent t-test, is presented in table 8 (see Appendix D). The difference between men ($M = 4.10, SD = 3.072$) and women ($M = 3.86, SD = 3.417$) was not significant ($t = .369, p = .713$). Table 9 shows the results for the effect of gender on the number of BWSA contacts measured with a linear regression analysis. Model 1 was not significant ($R^2 = .039, p = .227$). Here, however, the control variable children was found to be significant ($p < .10$). This indicates that having children has a negative effect on the number of BWSA contacts women had ($B = -.229$). Based on these results, there is insufficient statistical support to accept the sub-hypothesis, H_{2b}: women have fewer BWSA contacts than men.

Table 10

The direct effect of gender on the number of female contacts (N = 100)

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Female contacts	-5.122***	-2.720	.531	-3.774	-1.666

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 10 shows the direct effect of gender on the number of female contacts measured with an independent t-test. The difference between men ($M = .64, SD = 1.156$) and women ($M = 3.36, SD = .505$) was found to be highly significant ($t = -5.122, p < .001$).

Table 11*The effect of gender on the number of female contacts (N = 100)*

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	1.030	.650
Gender (female = 1)	2.453***	.601
Children	-.125	.113
Partners	.048	.348
	.221	

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 11 shows the effect of gender on the number of female contacts measured with a linear regression analysis. Model 1 is insignificant ($R^2 = .221$, $p = .116$), as well as the control variables (children, $p = .390$ and partners, $p = .861$). However, the direct effect of gender was again found to be significant ($p < .001$). The positive unstandardized *B* coefficient of 2.453 indicates that women have more female contacts than men. Based on these results, the sub-hypothesis, H_{2c} : women have more female contacts than men, can be accepted.

Economic Capital

Table 12 (see Appendix D) shows the direct effect of gender on economic capital, measured with an independent t-test. The difference between men ($M = 4.76$, $SD = 4.76$) and women ($M = 4.70$, $SD = .505$) was not found to be significant ($t = .611$, $p = .543$). Table 13 (see Appendix D) shows the effect of gender on economic capital measure with a linear regression analysis. Model 1 shows no effect between gender and economic capital ($R^2 = .050$, $p = .176$). The control variable partner was significant ($p < .05$). This indicates that when women have a partner, their economic capital increases by .135. Based on these results, there is insufficient statistical support to accept the hypothesis, H_3 : women have less economic capital than men.

Symbolic Capital

Table 14

The direct effect of gender on symbolic capital (N = 100)

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Symbolic capital	-2.557**	-.400	.156	-.710	-.090

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 14 shows the direct effect of gender on symbolic capital measured with an independent t-test. The difference between men ($M = .78$, $SD = .737$) and women ($M = 1.18$, $SD = .825$) was significant ($t = -2.557$, $p < .05$).

Table 15

The effect of gender on symbolic capital (N = 100)

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	.846*	.192
Gender (female = 1)	.358**	.178
Children	-.018	.033
Partners	-.001	.103
R^2	.066	

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 15 shows the effect of gender on symbolic capital measured with a linear regression analysis. Model 1 was significant ($R^2 = .066$, $p < .10$), with the direct effect of gender being $p < .05$. However,

the positive unstandardized B coefficient of .358 indicates that women have more symbolic capital than men. Based on these results, the hypothesis of H₄: women have less symbolic capital than men, is rejected.

Century differences

Tables 16 to 19 (see Appendix D) show the effect of the century women lived in on their capital using an ANCOVA. None of these models were significant. The overall model fits were also not good, with the adjusted R^2 for cultural capital being -.049, social capital being .029, economic capital being -.010, and symbolic capital being .050. This increased variance for symbolic capital can be explained by the positive significant effect found for the control variable partner ($F(2,47) = 4.413, p < .05$). This means that having a partner positively affects women's symbolic capital. Based on these results, there is not enough statistical evidence to accept the hypothesis, H₅: women from the 20th century have more capital than women from the 19th century.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand the difference in the lives of men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries within the socialist and labour movements in the Netherlands. Using the Capital Theory by Bourdieu (1986) with a gendered lens, the following research question was studied: To what extent do the types of capital differ between women and men within the Dutch socialist and labour movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, and how does this evolve across the two centuries? As this research was new and the BWSA data has never been used before, this study conducted a mixed methods approach to answer the research question comprehensively. First, the qualitative analysis was conducted by finding supporting or conflicting evidence based on the themes derived from the theory. For the quantitative analysis, the data derived from the created BWSA data set was used and hypotheses were also formed based on the theoretical framework.

Key findings

To be able to answer the research question, first, the descriptive question: What was the gender regime in the 19th and 20th centuries in the Netherlands, was studied. Based on the literature review, indicators of the female homemaker and male breadwinner model were expected to be found within the biographies, yet the model was only partially found. Evidence indicates that women had a more difficult time obtaining cultural objects (such as books) and education and were more likely to have to give up their careers to support the family. However, there were also examples of women who either did not concede to the model or were, besides conceding to the model, still able to create a career for themselves. These findings translated from the 19th century to the 20th century, even though it was noticed that women were now more likely to achieve higher education and career opportunities, as education for women was more normalized and women now had voting rights and the possibility to become politicians.

The qualitative analysis found signs consistent with the literature, showcasing the possible influence of gender norms on the obtainment of capital for women. Men often view women only as homemakers and unfit for higher public positions. Therefore, there was less focus on women's issues, such as higher education and voting rights, especially in the 19th century. This could make it difficult for women to obtain the different capitals. Some of the women did find different ways to achieve these public positions. For example, women started their own women's organisations,

and some were quite successful. This led to a change in the 20th century, where it became easier for women to obtain an education and employment. It should, therefore, be more accessible for women in the 20th century to obtain the four types of capital than for women in the 19th century.

Nevertheless, the quantitative analysis provided conflicting results, with only symbolic capital showing significance. A positive effect of gender on symbolic capital was discovered, contradicting the hypotheses formulated. Based on the literature, the male breadwinner female homemaker model limits opportunities for women, hindering their education, access to resources, and employment prospects. Women deviating from the model are often met with societal disapproval because it is perceived as inappropriate. Therefore, it was anticipated that women would have less symbolic capital. However, this was not found, possibly because of the pillarization within Dutch society. In this context, women formed their separate movements and organisations to fight for their rights. Within these female-dominated organisations, women were recognized for their work, allowing them to obtain symbolic capital. In this sample, for example, none of the men were a member of a women's organisation. Another reason could be the way the biographies were written. As highlighted by Bornewasser (2003), the female biographers for the physically published BWSA focused more on the individual's character traits and family circumstances. In addition, because women's history is underrepresented and research is working to change this (Ware, 2010), writers may have focused more on the specifics of achievements that emphasized symbolic capital because they were more difficult for women to obtain than for men. Furthermore, women wrote the majority of the biographies on women, which could suggest that they may be even more inclined to focus on this type of information.

Other significant results were found for some sub-hypotheses and control variables. The sub-hypotheses H2a and H2c, which stated that women had fewer male contacts and more female contacts, were found to be significant. These findings are consistent with the literature's interpretation that women and men participate in different fields (Bourdieu, 2001b). Similar interpretations can be made with the control variables. Having children significantly negatively affected a woman's cultural and social capital, as well as her male and BWSA contacts. This is consistent with the literature, as women with children's primary role is childcare, reducing their participation in social activities and access to and use of cultural goods, negatively impacting their cultural and social capital. Because there were fewer possibilities for interaction, it also negatively

affected women's number of male contacts and BWSA contacts. The other control variable, partners, was found to have a significant positive effect on the number of male contacts and economic capital. This aligns with the literature, as it suggests that having a male partner increases interaction with other men. Moreover, having a male partner in certain settings can provide women with the opportunity needed to engage with other men. Surprisingly, despite expectations based on the traditional gender roles that dictate men as the family's breadwinners, having a male partner also positively affected a woman's economic capital. This could be due to the extended network and opportunities a supportive male partner can provide, including access to education.

The summary of the key findings does not provide a clear answer to the research question: To what extent do the types of capital differ between women and men within the Dutch socialist movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, and how does this evolve across the two centuries? The quantitative analysis shows only a significant difference found for symbolic capital. However, the other significant results show evidence for the male breadwinner female homemaker model indicators, showing a difference in the male and female contacts women have and how having children and a male partner can affect their cultural, social and economic capital. The qualitative analysis showed similar results, with an indication that there would be a difference between the two centuries. The fact that the quantitative analysis did not find significant effects of gender on the other three types of capital, even though some of the indicators were found significant, is most likely due to the limitations.

Limitations and future research

This study's ambiguous results are primarily due to the relatively small sample size of 100 individuals. Due to the scope of the study and time constraints in the data collection, a larger sample size was not doable. Furthermore, the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were violated, possibly due to the nature of the data (Chamberlayne et al., 2000). These limitations reduce the statistical power and generalizability of the findings. Future research should, therefore, use a larger sample size, possibly solving the violation of the assumptions or trying different analysis methods.

Another limitation is the measurement of the variables. While the study relies on newly created measurements based as closely as possible on previous empirical literature, they might not be the most valid. For instance, the variable symbolic capital included a category examining

whether the individual received recognition after their death. Since the biographies contained this information, it was decided to use it. However, no earlier studies have studied this specific category. Additionally, the economic capital measurement differed slightly from previous studies since all occupations for women were included, even unpaid ones, to enable better comparison between women and men in the sample. It is possible that a significant gender difference would have been found if the measurement had been limited to paid occupations, excluding nearly all female positions inside the movements. Therefore, future research should focus on the four types of capitals separately to validate the measurement instruments for using historical data.

A further possible limitation was the exclusion of education as a control variable. Education was not included as a control variable due to the significant changes in the Dutch education system between the 19th and 20th centuries, making it difficult to compare. In addition, three control variables with a sample of 100 individuals would minimize the statistical analyses. Therefore, future research should also explore additional control variables, like education, to further understand the relation of gender on obtaining the four types of capitals. Based on the recommendations mentioned so far, future research could provide new findings that would be generalizable outside the socialist and labour movement. Future research could, therefore, provide more solid insights that could be used in the contemporary context.

Despite these limitations, this study's qualitative analysis contextualised the gender relations within the socialist and labour movements in the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries. In combination with the quantitative analysis, this study presented how men and women could obtain the four types of capitals differently. Therefore, through a multifaceted approach, this study provided a first exploration of an important and understudied population. The next chapter will use the limitations of this study to present policy recommendations so that future research using this historical data can be done more effectively.

Policy recommendation

This study used historical data from the BWSA, which is part of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis¹³ (IISG). The limitations of this study arose because of the novelty of this study, and the use of new raw data. The researcher, therefore, had to create a new classification system for the data from the BWSA website since no relevant literature was available. Therefore, the policy recommendations will focus on what the BWSA, IISG and future researchers using this data can do to conduct historical research, using biographical dictionaries, more effectively.

To start with the biographies, the overview of the inclusion criteria showed that the biographies included in the dictionary differed not only in the type of person included but also in the structure of the biographies. Since the dictionary has been published online, a clear, structured overview has been provided on the website, indicating what criteria the biography should uphold. This indicates that the newly added biographies since 2011 are more appropriate to compare. The problem remains with the earlier written biographies, as these can possibly miss information that the latest criteria require to be included. For example, some biographies are only 400 words long, containing only information about the individual's position within a specific labour movement. Such a biography often misses specific information about their personality or how their interests in the movement started. An effort should, therefore, be made to try to enhance the older biographies to reach the same standards as the new ones. Nonetheless, the problem that the writers are reliant on the available historical primary and secondary sources remains. There are cases where the information about the individuals is unknown. It is too wasteful to exclude these biographies because of this. However, it might be possible to be more transparent about the reason for missing information in the biographies. This could be done, for example, in the APL section¹⁴. This way, it becomes less of a guessing game whether the information is missing because it was not accessible or known or if the writers chose not to include it.

Another discussion point is the way in which biographies are written. To be able to represent the lives of women and men accurately, feminist scholars argue that gender needs to be central. These scholars argue that the traditional narrative arc used in biographies is often based on a male model of success, which does not necessarily apply to women. A focus on different

¹³ the International Institute of Social History

¹⁴ Archive, Publication and Literature section

themes is thus needed when writing biographies about women (Booth, 2009; Ware, 2010). The BWSA should create better instructions on how writers can incorporate such a feminist view in their writing for new biographies.

This study had a small sample size because a new dataset had to be created based on the raw data from the BWSA, which was time-consuming. The IISG has a special dedicated site for datasets. However, these datasets are only from published research, and not all are publicly available. Therefore, datasets like the one created for the current study get lost. Providing a section on the site for datasets produced for master's degree research could help researchers in the field and other students as they do not need to start from scratch. In addition, the researcher for this study went through all the biographies and categorised the information by hand. Through web scraping, this process would have gone faster. Web scraping is the process of automatically extracting data from a website using software or code (Khder, 2021). However, it would not be beneficial for the BWSA to have a researcher web scrape their site whenever they need information, as it could crash the site. Therefore, the BWSA could periodically web scrape their own site and publish these datasets. Researchers could use these datasets to filter and find the data they need. Codes are needed for this process, which the BWSA could provide on their website as well. It is recommended that the BWSA add a section with the published datasets where researchers can share the codes they used to save time for future research. Implementation of these recommendations could create a more accessible and collaborative environment, providing the opportunity for more effective historical research using this type of data.

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Appendix

Appendix A – Ethical Approval

P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht The Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences Utrecht University P.O. Box 80.140 3508 TC Utrecht		Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences Faculty Support Office Ethics Committee Visiting Address Padualaan 14 3584 CH Utrecht
Our Description	24-1385	
Telephone	030 253 46 33	
E-mail	FETC-fsw@uu.nl	
Date	25 April 2024	
Subject	Ethical approval	

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Study: Gender Dynamics in the Dutch Socialist and Labour Movements: Insight from a Gendered version of Bourdieu's Theory of Capital

Principal investigator: S.C. Kriellaars

Supervisor: Marco van Leeuwen

The study is approved by the Ethical Review Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences of Utrecht University. The approval is based on the documents sent by the researchers as requested in the form of the Ethics committee and filed under number 24-1385. The approval is valid through 24 June 2024. The approval of the Ethical Review Board concerns ethical aspects, as well as data management and privacy issues (including the GDPR). It should be noticed that any changes in the research design oblige a renewed review by the Ethical Review Board.

Yours sincerely,

Peter van der Heijden, Ph.D.
Chair

This is an automatically generated document, therefore it is not signed

Appendix B – Example Biography

BWSA

Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme
en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland

home biografieën over het bwsa auteurs links schetsen toevoegen
zoeken

A | B | C | D
E | F | G | H
I | J | K | L
M | N | O | P
Q | R | S | T
U | V | W | Z

RIBBIUS PELETIER, Anna Elisabeth

(roepnaam: Liesbeth), bestuurder van sociaal-democratische vrouwenorganisaties en lid van de Raad van State, is geboren te Utrecht op 29 juli 1891 en overleden te Scheveningen op 30 september 1989. Zij was de dochter van Gerlacus Ribbius Peletier, sigarenfabrikant, en Adriana Louise Wijbelingh.

Ribbius Peletier was het middelste van vijf kinderen in een liberaal, welvarend gezin. Zij bezocht in Utrecht de meisjes-Hoogere Burger School en ging in 1910 daar ook rechten studeren. Tijdens haar studie was zij medeinitiatiefneemster (met onder anderen Clara Wichmann) van het *Utrechtsch Maandblad voor Vrouwelijke Studenten* (later *Maandblad voor Vrouwenstudie*) en van de voorloper van de Vereniging van Vrouwen met een Academische Opleiding (VVAO), ook was zij (bestuurs)lid van de Utrechtsche Vrouwelijke Studenten Vereniging. In 1916 behaalde zij haar doctoraalexamen en in 1920 promoveerde zij cum laude op het proefschrift *Leden-contracten*. In datzelfde jaar ging zij werken voor het Centraal Bureau voor Sociale Adviezen. Tijdens een studiereis naar Engeland na de voltooiing van haar dissertatie had zij naar eigen zeggen haar grootste 'duw naar het socialisme' gekregen. Zij was ontsteld over de toestand van arbeiders in de fabrieken aldaar. In 1922 werd Ribbius adjunct-directrice van de eerste School voor Maatschappelijk Werk, die - uitsluitend - door meisjes werd bezocht. Zij wilde echter 'iets met het socialisme doen' en daar was de school te neutraal voor. Inmiddels had zij Mathilde Wibaut-Berdenis van Berlekom leren kennen en was zij leidster en leesclubleidster bij de Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale (AJC) geworden. Spoedig daarna werd zij ook lid van de SDAP.

Ribbius begon haar politieke carrière in de SDAP in 1925. Toen er een vacature vrijkwam voor een secretaris van de SDAP en voor het propagandawerk bij de Bond van Sociaal-Democratische Vrouwenclubs (BSDVC) solliciteerde zij naar deze functie. Hoewel het partijbestuur nogal sceptisch was over de voordracht van Ribbius, vanwege haar afkomst en omdat zij nog maar kort lid was, werd zij ten slotte juist vanwege die afkomst aangenomen. Zij was immers financieel onafhankelijk. Mocht zij niet voldoen, dan zou dat geen financiële consequenties hebben voor de partij. Bovendien waren er veel partijbestuurders, waaronder voorzitter W.H. Vliegen, die dachten dat het vrouwenwerk met een paar jaar wel opgeheven kon worden. Als secretaris van het SDAP-bestuur zat Ribbius ook in het bestuur van de AJC. Daar stond zij regelmatig tegenover Koos Vorrink. Bij de BSDVC werkte Ribbius onder de voor haar inspirerende leiding van voorzitter Wibaut-Berdenis van Berlekom. De BSDVC was opgericht om de brede massa van arbeidersvrouwen politiek denken en besef bij te brengen. Het algemeen kiesrecht was verworven, en omdat slechts een kleine groep vrouwen daar actie voor had gevoerd moest deze verworvenheid nu worden behouden en uitgedragen. Ondanks de aanvankelijke scepsis moest het partijbestuur erkennen dat Ribbius goed werk verrichtte, vooral toen het aantal vrouwelijke partijleden steeg. Haar kracht lag in de organisatie van educatief werk voor volwassenen, op welk gebied zij pionierswerk verrichtte. Vanaf 1926 organiseerde zij met veel succes zomercursussen, ondanks de tegenstand van het partijbestuur ('Een goede huisvrouw laat haar gezin niet in de steek', vond Vliegen). De eerste vrouwen die kwamen waren vooral afkomstig uit Amsterdam, Rotterdam en, zeer opmerkelijk, uit Twente. De vrouwen uit Twente hadden betaald werk in de textiel en konden hierdoor zelf beslissen om naar een cursus te komen. Het hoefde niet van het huishoudgeld af. 'Deze vrouwen hebben het mogelijk gemaakt dat het zomerwerk tot stand kwam en kon worden voortgezet', aldus Ribbius.



Zoeken

Anna Elisabeth Ribbius Peletier, bestuurder van sociaal-democratische vrouwenorganisaties en lid van de Raad van State

Geboren: 29 juli 1891, Utrecht
Gestorven: 30 september 1989, Scheveningen

Op deze dag geboren

LEVITA, Adolf Samson de
bestuurder afdeling Amsterdam van de SDAP

WIBAUT, Florentinus Marinus
wethouder van Amsterdam en SDAP-leider

Aanvullingen, verbeteringen en nieuwe biografieën

Heeft u een aanvulling op een biografie, of een correctie? Neem dan via email contact op met de redactie van het BWSA (bwsa@iisg.nl). Bij voorbaat hartelijk dank!

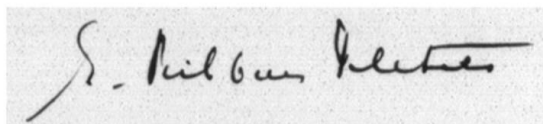
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Het succes van de zomercursussen werd in het voorjaar van 1932 voortgezet met de aankoop (dankzij een gift van Ribbius) van een terrein op de Veluwe, waar een studie- en vakantieoord voor vrouwen werd gebouwd, De Born, dat vanaf 1933 kon worden geëxploiteerd. Het volgens de Bauhaus-idealen door de architect P. Vorkink gebouwde en door het echtpaar Spanjaard in overleg met Ribbius ingerichte huis was tevens voorzien van de nieuwste huishoudelijke hulpmiddelen. Arbeidersvrouwen waren op De Born even bevrijd van huiselijke verplichtingen en besommeringen en konden in een kameraadschappelijke sfeer iets doen aan hun eigen ontwikkeling. Naast de studie hadden zij tegelijkertijd vakantie. De vrouwen spaarden in speciale spaarkasjes voor de verblijfkosten van zes gulden voor drie dagen. Wie van ver kwam kreeg een tegemoetkoming in de reiskosten. Het bestaan van de BSDVC werd in de loop der jaren diverse malen ter discussie gesteld, de laatste keer in 1928. Ribbius opperde toen het plan om naast het weekblad van de Bond, *De Proletarische Vrouw*, een kaderblaadje uit te geven met langere en meer diepgaande artikelen, ter vervanging van het gestencilde materiaal dat tot dan toe werd rondgestuurd. Ondanks bezwaren van enkele leden van het Partijbestuur (onder wie S. Groeneweg) kwam het blaadje er: *Mededeelingen voor de propaganda onder de vrouwen*. In 1928 werd Ribbius voor haar partij gekozen als lid van de Provinciale Staten van Noord-Holland, daarnaast was zij van 1937 tot de buitenwerkingstelling door de bezetter (en na de bevrijding weer tot 1947) lid van de Eerste Kamer. Daar hield zij zich in het bijzonder bezig met het door minister C.P.M. Romme (R.K. Staatspartij) voorgestelde arbeidsverbod voor gehuwde vrouwen en de beperking van arbeid voor meisjes tot specifieke vrouwenberoepen (waarvan zij een tegenstander was). Ook vertegenwoordigde Ribbius de SDAP-vrouwen in het bestuur van de vrouwenafdeling van de Socialistische Internationale. Een andere activiteit die een aanvang nam was het bestuurslidmaatschap van het in 1935 opgerichte Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging, dat zij tot 1947 zou bekleeden.

In juli 1940 voerde 'Kommissar für die marxistischen Parteien' M.M. Rost van Tonningen namens de Duitse bezettingsmacht gesprekken met onder meer SDAP en BSDVC. Rost probeerde Ribbius over te halen de BSDVC samen met de nationaal-socialistische vrouwenorganisatie onder nazi-vlag te laten voortbestaan. Ribbius voelde daar niets voor en dook na het gesprek met Rost voor de zekerheid een paar dagen onder. Maar zij keerde weer terug naar haar pension - zij zou tot haar 67e jaar in pensions wonen - in de Jan Luykenstraat in Amsterdam. Bij Ribbius thuis kwam ook het illegale SDAP-partijbestuur bijeen. Na een huiszoeking bij afwezigheid van Ribbius dook zij voor de rest van de oorlog onder, hoewel zij, soms onder haar moeders naam, ook rondreisde. Zij probeerde zoveel mogelijk contacten te onderhouden en er voor te zorgen dat vrouwen naar nog functionerende leesclubs gingen. Met acht van die clubs wist zij tijdens de oorlog contact te houden. De Born bleef tijdens het grootste gedeelte van de bezetting functioneren omdat Ribbius protestants-christelijke organisaties wist over te halen de activiteiten in naam over te nemen. Er werden tot 1942 driemaandelijks bijeenkomsten gehouden voor werkloze meisjes, en tot 1944 wisten de medewerkers van De Born het huis vrij van Duitse invloeden open te houden. Omdat De Born privé-bezit was, ontkwam men aan de vordering van de bezittingen.

Na de oorlog lagen de activiteiten van Ribbius vooral op het bestuurlijke vlak. Van 1944 tot 1947 was zij lid van de Commissie Nederlands Volksherstel. Meteen na de bevrijding werd Ribbius door prinses Juliana gevraagd zitting te nemen in het Nederlands Vrouwen Comité (NVC). Een van de voorstellen van het NVC, dat al tijdens de oorlog was opgericht, was het instellen van een Commissie van Advies voor de Arbeid van Vrouwen en Meisjes bij het Ministerie van Sociale Zaken. De leiding was in handen van Ribbius, die tot 1950 actief was voor deze commissie, waaruit de Nederlandse Vrouwen Raad (NVR) voortkwam. Van 1946 tot 1958 was zij voorzitter van de nieuw opgerichte Vrouwenbond van de PvdA. Zij werd voor de PvdA ook lid (eveneens tot 1958) van Gedeputeerde Staten van Noord-Holland, waar zij de portefeuille van ruimtelijke ordening bekleedde en ook haar kennis van de vrouwenbeweging van pas liet komen. Bij haar installatie als het eerste vrouwelijke lid (buiten de leden van het koninklijk huis) bij de Raad van State in 1958 beëindigde Ribbius het voorzitterschap van de Vrouwenbond. Zij werd ere-voorzitter van deze organisatie, die later Rooie Vrouwen in de PvdA zou heten. Zij vormde ook De Born om tot een stichting, die van 1967 tot 1992 zelfstandig de exploitatie van huis en cursussen beheerde. Op het internationale vlak was Ribbius van 1951 tot 1953 lid en vervolgens vice-voorzitter van de Commissie inzake de Rechtstoestand van de Vrouw van de Verenigde Naties, op voordracht van M.A. Tellegen, kabinetschef van koningin Wilhelmina. Ribbius bleef gedurende de hele naoorlogse periode trouw aan haar principes op het gebied van oorlog en wapeniging. Ook in de Koude-Oorlog-tijd hield zij, net als bijvoorbeeld W. Banning, W.C.B. Pothuis-Smit, A.E.J. de Vries-Bruins en H. Verwey Jonker, vast aan het standpunt van nationale ontwapening.

Bij haar overlijden liet Ribbius behalve enkele Van Goghs (nu in het Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh in Amsterdam) twee legaten na. Met het ene organiseert de Stichting Mr. A.E. Ribbius Peletierfonds om de twee jaar een studiedag over praktisch humanisme, gericht op vrouwenzaken. Op de studiedagen worden twee prijzen uitgereikt van vijfduizend gulden elk: een prijs voor een essay dat het praktisch humanistisch handelen nader beschouwt en een voor een vrouw of man die zich heeft onderscheiden door een actieve bijdrage aan humanisme en vrouwenorganisatie. Met het andere legaat verzorgt het Humanistisch Opleidingsinstituut - Universiteit voor Humanistiek studiedagen.



Archief:

Archief A. Elisabeth Ribbius Peletier in Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging (Amsterdam; vgl. *Overzicht van de Archieven in het IIAV*, 128-129).

Publicaties:

Inventaris onderzoek. Resultaten van een onderzoek naar kleding, dekking en schoeisel in de gezinnen van werklozen en werkenden anno 1936 ingesteld door het Wetenschappelijk Bureau van de S.D.A.P. in samenwerking met de Bond van Sociaal-Democr. Vrouwenclubs (Amsterdam 1937; Ribbius had de leiding van de onderzoekscommissie); 'De jonge Vrouw, die na het verlaten der Lagere school in het beroepsleven treedt' in: *Het gezin. Verslag van het 2de landelijk congres 1937* (Amsterdam z.j.; Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Geestelijke Gezondheid) 34-37.

Literatuur:

W.H. Posthumus-Van der Goot, A. de Waal (red.), *Van moeder op dochter* (Leiden 1948, herdruk Nijmegen 1977); J. van Munster, interview met Ribbius tijdens tv-programma 'Dagje ouder', VARA, 31 januari 1973; *Wij leerden fier rechtop te staan* (Amsterdam 1978); 'Kijk Haar. Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier op de Born 90 jaar', tv-documentaire, VARA, 15 oktober 1981; A. Scherphuis, E. Bongers, videofilm voor Rooie Vrouwen-Congres, 1983; U. Jansz, *Vrouwen ontwaakt!* (Amsterdam 1983); Th. van der Linden, 'Het witte vestje' in: *Rooie Vrouw*, 1988, nr. 6-7; W. van Rijssel, *De Born. Zestig jaar groei en verandering* (Bennekom 1993).

Portret:

A.E. Ribbius Peletier (1926), IISG

Handtekening:

Archief IISG: Labour and Socialist International Archives, Arch. 01368, Toegang: 4350. Als secretaris Bond van Soc. Vrouwenclubs, dd. 4 juli 1931.

[Anna Elisabeth Ribbius Peletier in het Biografisch Portaal](#)

Auteur: Ineke van Dijk, Thea van der Linden

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Appendix C – Example Data Set

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
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2																

	NE	NF	NG	NH	NI	NJ	NK	NL	NM	NN	NO	NP	NQ	NR	NS	NT
1	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we
2			medeini tiatiefn			bestuur slid			leesclu bleidst			me we organis eerde	1926 studie- en	1932 zorgde ervoor		

	NU	NV	NW	NX	NY	NZ	OA	OB	OC	OD	OE	OF	OG	OH	OI	OJ
1	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Activis me we	Aantal_ contact	VBWSA contact	VConta ct man	Vcontac t vrou	Contact 1	Nat_co ntact1	Gender contac	BWSA ja	Rep_co ntact1 theoreti ca
2								9	5	4	5	Clara Wichma	Nederla nds	vrouw		

	OK	OL	OM	ON	OO	OP	OQ	OR	OS	OT	OU	OV	OW	OX	OY	OZ
1	Contact tv01	Contact 2	Nat_co ntact2	Gender contac	BWSA ja	Rep_co ntact2	Contact tv02	Contact 3	Nat_co ntact3	Gender contac	BWSA ja	Rep_co ntact3	Contact tv03	Contact 4	Nat_co ntact4	Gender contac
2	medeini tiatiefn	Mathild e	Nederla nds	vrouw	ja	voorzits ter	kennis W.H.	Nederla Vliegen	man	ja	voorma n	voorzitt er	voorzitt er	J.J. Vorrink	Nederla nds	man

	PA	PB	PC	PD	PE	PF	PG	PH	PI	PJ	PK	PL	PM	PN	PO	PP
1	BWSA ja	Rep_co ntact4	Contact tv04	Contact 5	Nat_co ntact5	Gender contac	BWSA ja	Rep_co ntact5	Contact tv05	Contact 6	Nat_co ntact6	Gender contac	BWSA nee	Rep_co ntact6	Contact tv06	Contact 7
2	er AIC.	HP stond	HP S.	Groene nds	Nederla nds	vrouw ja	ja	Nederla democr	was tegen	C.P.M. Romme	Nederla nds	man	nee	politicu s	HP hield zich	M.M. Rost

	PQ	PR	PS	PT	PU	PV	PW	PX	PY	PZ	QA	QB	QC	QD	QE	QF
1	Nat_co ntact7	Gender contac	BWSA nee	Rep_co ntact7	Contact tv07	Contact 8	Nat_co ntact8	Gender contac	BWSA nee	Rep_co ntact8	Contact tv08	Contact 9	Nat_co ntact9	Gender contac	BWSA nee	Rep_co ntact9
2	Nederla nds	man	nee	politicu sen	probeer de HP	M.A. Telleee	Nederla nds	vrouw nee	nee	kabinet schef	HP werd op	Juliana der	Nederla nds	vrouw nee	nee	koningi ne van

	QG	QH	QI	QJ	QK	QL	QM	QN	QO	QP	QQ	QR	QS	QT	QU	QV
1	Contact tv09	Contact 10	Nat_co ntact10	Gender contac	BWSA ntact10	Rep_co tv09	Contact 11	Contact ntact11	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact11	BWSA ntact11	Rep_co tv09	Contact 12	Contact ntact12	Nat_co ntact12	Gender contac
2	vroeg HP															

	QW	QX	QY	QZ	RA	RB	RC	RD	RE	RF	RG	RH	RI	RJ	RK	RL
1	BWSA ntact12	Rep_co tv09	Contact 13	Contact ntact13	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact13	BWSA ntact13	Rep_co tv09	Contact 14	Contact ntact14	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact14	BWSA ntact14	Rep_co tv09	Contact 15	Contact ntact15
2																

	RM	RN	RO	RP	RQ	RR	RS	RT	RU	RV	RW	RX	RY	RZ	SA	SB
1	Nat_co ntact15	Gender contac	BWSA ntact15	Rep_co tv09	Contact 16	Contact ntact16	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact16	BWSA ntact16	Rep_co tv09	Contact 17	Contact ntact17	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact17	BWSA ntact17	Rep_co ntact17
2																

	SC	SD	SE	SF	SG	SH	SI	SJ	SK	SL	SM	SN	SO	SP	SQ	SR
1	Contact tv09	Contact 18	Nat_co ntact18	Gender contac	BWSA ntact18	Rep_co tv09	Contact 19	Contact ntact19	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact19	BWSA ntact19	Rep_co tv09	Contact 20	Contact ntact20	Nat_co contac	Gender ntact20
2																

	SS	ST	SU	SV	SW	SX	SY	SZ	TA	TB	TC	TD	TE	TF	TG	TH
1	BWSA	Rep_co	Contact	Contact	Nat_co	Gender	BWSA	Rep_co	Contact	Contact	Nat_co	Gender	BWSA	Rep_co	Contact	Contact
2		ntact20	tvpe20	21	ntact21	contac		ntact21	tvpe21	22	ntact22	contac		ntact22	tvpe22	23

	TI	TJ	TK	TL	TM	TN	TO	TP	TQ	TR	TS	TT	TU	TV	TW	TX
1	Nat_co	Gender	BWSA	Rep_co	Contact	Contact	Nat_co	Gender	BWSA	Rep_co	Contact	Contact	Nat_co	Gender	BWSA	Rep_co
2	ntact23	contac		ntact23	tvpe23	24	ntact24	contac		ntact24	tvpe24	25	ntact25	contac		ntact25

	TY	TZ	UA	UB	UC	UD	UE	UF	UG	UH	UI
1	Contact	cultural	cultural	social	CC	Vrwnb	SC_vro	bedank	prijzen	positiev	SC
2	tvpe25	events	knowl	activitie		weng li	uwen	t/schift		e verha	
		n.v.t.	studiere	ja		2 ja	1	ere-	n.v.t.	Stichtin	2
			is naar					voorzits		e Mr.	

Appendix D – Tables Quantitative Analyses

Table 2

The direct effect of gender on cultural capital (N = 100)

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Cultural Capital	-1.070	-.160	.150	-.456	.137

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 3

The effect of gender on cultural capital (N = 100)

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	2.133	.738
Gender (female = 1)	.082	.166
Children	-.061*	.031
Partners	.131	.096
<i>R</i> ²	.057	

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 4*The direct effect of gender on social capital (N = 100)*

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Social Capital	.537	.580	1.080	-1.564	2.724

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 8*The direct effect of gender on the number of BWSA contacts (N = 100)*

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
BWSA contacts	.369	.240	.650	-1.050	1.530

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: BWSA data set

Table 9*The effect of gender on the number of BWSA contacts (N = 100)*

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	5.221	.758
Gender (female = 1)	-.886	.726
Children	-.229*	.136
Partners	-.221	.421
<i>R</i> ²	.039	

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 12*The direct effect of gender on economic capital (N = 100)*

	<i>t</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Economic capital	.611	.060	.098	-.135	.255

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 13*The effect of gender on economic capital (N = 100)*

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	4.648	.484
Gender (female = 1)	-.033	2.685
Children	-.017	.504
Partners	.135**	1.556
<i>R</i> ²	.050	

Note: **p* < .10, ***p* < .05, ****p* < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 16*The effect of century on cultural capital (N = 50)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>
Corrected Model	1.077	.269	.432
Century	.114	.057	.092
Children	.021	.021	.034
Partner	.940	.940	1.508

Note: **p* < .10, ***p* < .05, ****p* < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 17*The effect of century on social capital (N = 50)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>
Corrected Model	177.011	44.253	.432
Century	.114	.057	.092
Children	82.741	82.741	2.565
Partner	.940	.940	1.508

Note: **p* < .10, ***p* < .05, ****p* < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 18*The effect of century on economic capital (N = 50)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>
Corrected Model	.908	.227	.882
Century	.346	.173	.671
Children	.235	.235	.911
Partner	.451	.451	1.752

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Table 19*The effect of century on symbolic capital (N = 50)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>
Corrected Model	4.248	1.062	1.640
Century	1.712	.856	1.322
Children	.048	.048	.075
Partner	2.857	2.857	4.413**

Note: *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .001

Source: BWSA data set

Appendix E – Syntax

* Encoding: UTF-8.

GET DATA

/TYPE=XLSX

/FILE='U:\My Documents\Thesis_Excel\BWSA_file2.7.xlsx'

/SHEET=name 'export-bios-2023-09-29T10-38-58'

/CELLRANGE=FULL

/READNAMES=ON

/DATATYPEMIN PERCENTAGE=95.0

/HIDDEN IGNORE=YES.

EXECUTE.

gender is independent variable, capitals are the dependent variables.

rename variables.

independent variable.

RENAME VARIABLES Vgndr = female.

dependent variables.

RENAME VARIABLES Aantal_contacten = SocialC.

RENAME VARIABLES CC = CulturalC.

RENAME VARIABLES SC =SymbolicC.

RENAME VARIABLES Vberoep = EconomicC.

more specific variables.

RENAME VARIABLES VBWSA_contacts = BWSA_contacten.

RENAME VARIABLES VContact_man = contact_man.

RENAME VARIABLES Vcontact_vrouw = contact_vrouw.

RENAME VARIABLES SC_vrouwen = CC_vrouwen.

control variables.

RENAME VARIABLES Aantal_partners = partners.

RENAME VARIABLES Aantal_kinderen = kinderen.

filter.

USE ALL.

COMPUTE filter_\$(ID).

VARIABLE LABELS filter_\$(ID) (FILTER)'.
'

VALUE LABELS filter_\$(ID) 0 'Not Selected' 1 'Selected'.

FORMATS filter_\$(ID) (f1.0).

FILTER BY filter_\$(ID).

EXECUTE.

assumptions.

EXAMINE VARIABLES = female, CulturalC, partners, kinderen, SocialC, BWSA_contacten, contact_man, contact_vrouw, CC_vrouwen, SymbolicC, EconomicC,

/PLOT BOXPLOT STEMLEAF HISTOGRAM

/COMPARE GROUPS

/STATISTICS DESCRIPTIVES

/CINTERVAL 95

/MISSING values 95

/NOTOTAL.

DESCRIPTIVES SocialC CulturalC SymbolicC EconomicC kinderen partners female.

FREQUENCIES SocialC CulturalC SymbolicC EconomicC kinderen partners female.

CORRELATIONS SocialC CulturalC SymbolicC EconomicC kinderen partners female.

DESCRIPTIVES contact_man contact_vrouw BWSA_contacten CC_vrouwen.

FREQUENCIES contact_man contact_vrouw BWSA_contacten CC_vrouwen.

DESCRIPTIVES female SocialC SymbolicC CulturalC EconomicC kinderen partners educatie BWSA_contacten contact_man contact_vrouw.

analyses.

cultural capital.

T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)

/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=CulturalC

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

REGRESSION

/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT CulturalC

/METHOD=ENTER female partners kinderen

/SCATTERPLOT=(*ZRESID ,*ZPRED)

/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM(ZRESID) NORMPROB(ZRESID).

social capital.

T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)

/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=SocialC

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

REGRESSION

/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT SocialC

/METHOD=ENTER female partners kinderen

/SCATTERPLOT=(*ZRESID ,*ZPRED)

/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM(ZRESID) NORMPROB(ZRESID).

H2a, male contacts.

T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)

/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=contact_man

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

REGRESSION

/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT contact_man

/METHOD=ENTER female partners kinderen

/SCATTERPLOT=(*ZRESID ,*ZPRED)

/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM(ZRESID) NORMPROB(ZRESID).

H2b, BWSA contacts.

T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)

/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=BWSA_contacten

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

REGRESSION

/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

```
/CRITERIA = PIN (.05) POUT (.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT BWSA_contacten

/METHOD = ENTER female partners kinderen

/SCATTERPLOT = (*ZRESID, *ZPRED)

/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM (ZRESID) NORMPROB (ZRESID).
```

H2c, female contacts.

```
T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)
```

```
/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=contact_vrouw

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).
```

REGRESSION

```
/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA = PIN (.05) POUT (.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT contact_vrouw

/METHOD = ENTER female partners kinderen

/SCATTERPLOT = (*ZRESID, *ZPRED)

/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM (ZRESID) NORMPROB (ZRESID).
```

economic capital.

```
T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)
```

```
/MISSING=ANALYSIS

/VARIABLES=EconomicC

/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)

/CRITERIA=CI(.95).
```

REGRESSION

```
/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N  
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT EconomicC  
/METHOD=ENTER female partners kinderen  
/SCATTERPLOT=(*ZRESID ,*ZPRED)  
/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM(ZRESID) NORMPROB(ZRESID).
```

symbolic capital.

T-TEST GROUPS=female(0 1)

```
/MISSING=ANALYSIS  
/VARIABLES=SymbolicC  
/ES DISPLAY(TRUE)  
/CRITERIA=CI(.95).
```

REGRESSION

```
/DESCRIPTIVES MEAN STDDEV CORR SIG N  
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT SymbolicC  
/METHOD=ENTER female partners kinderen  
/SCATTERPLOT=(*ZRESID ,*ZPRED)  
/RESIDUALS HISTOGRAM(ZRESID) NORMPROB(ZRESID).
```

century difference, H5.

FREQUENCIES VGbrtjr.

RECODE VGbrtjr (1778 = 18) (1821 THRU 1898 = 19) (1903 THRU 1922 = 20) INTO Vcentury.

DESCRIPTIVES Vcentury.

FREQUENCIES Vcentury.

USE ALL.

SELECT IF (female = 1).

EXECUTE.

UNIANOVA CulturalC BY Vcentury WITH partners kinderen

/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)

/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE

/CRITERIA=ALPHA(0.05)

/DESIGN=partners kinderen Vcentury.

UNIANOVA SocialC BY Vcentury WITH partners kinderen

/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)

/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE

/CRITERIA=ALPHA(0.05)

/DESIGN=partners kinderen Vcentury.

UNIANOVA EconomicC BY Vcentury WITH partners kinderen

/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)

/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE

/CRITERIA=ALPHA(0.05)

/DESIGN=partners kinderen Vcentury.

UNIANOVA SymbolicC BY Vcentury WITH partners kinderen

/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)

/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE

/CRITERIA=ALPHA(0.05)

/DESIGN=partners kinderen Vcentury.

USE ALL.

FILTER OFF.

EXECUTE.