

## **Transferring knowledge about sex and gender: Dutch case studies**

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**Transferring knowledge about sex and gender: Dutch case studies**

Het overdragen van kennis over sekse en gender: Nederlandse case studies

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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## **Chapter 1 The Women's Studies knowledge gap**

### **1.1 Problem definition: Women's Studies knowledge gap**

In the 30 years of its existence, Dutch Women's Studies has developed into a well-established field of research and education in academia (Jansen 1996; Van der Sanden 2002; Buikema and Van der Tuin 2009; Griffin 2009). Since its inception, the field has produced a large body of knowledge, knowledge which is visible in publications, education programmes, and a high number of PhD dissertations, as well as in policy advising and in participation in public debates (Wekker 1999; NOV 2000).

With its origins in the women's movement, Women's Studies does not only focus on theoretical development, but also aims to help improve women's position in society (Jansen 1996). Women's Studies is "about a transformative analysis, about the need for change" (Griffin 2002, p.18). Even in times when Women's Studies is more detached from society, or from the women's movement for that matter, this social commitment remains evident in its practices (Brouns 1992). Incited by women's unfavourable societal position and influenced by societal actors, Women's Studies scholars aim to make a difference in society.

Yet, Women's Studies scholars do notice a discrepancy between their ambitions to bring their knowledge to bear on society and the extent to which this knowledge is truly integrated in social domains. Although there are examples of Women's Studies knowledge being used in practice, this does not measure up against the perceived potential utilisation of knowledge. In other words, there is a Women's Studies knowledge gap.

Apparently, the existence of a large body of knowledge about sex and gender, the ambition of scholars to put this knowledge to practice, and the evident need to do so are no guarantee for the integration of this knowledge.

Hence, the challenge that Women's Studies is facing is how to increase the integration of their knowledge in society. As I will argue, there has been no extensive investigation of the reasons for the lack of transfer and incorporation of knowledge about sex and gender. The discussions about the Women's Studies knowledge gap lack precise and comprehensive information about how knowledge is transferred and integrated into society. My research project takes the Women's Studies knowledge gap as its starting point and aims to gain insight into both knowledge transfer and the conditions that impact on the integration of gender knowledge in society.

The ambitions of Women's Studies scholars to have an impact on society can be placed in a context of widespread concern with the role of knowledge in society at large. Our contemporary society is a knowledge society: a society in which knowledge has become a paramount driving force (Stehr 1994). No wonder then that knowledge actors in the Netherlands perceive knowledge to be key to social and economic development (Tweede Kamer 2000; Ministry of Economic Affairs 2003; WRR 2002).

To gain insight into the Women's Studies knowledge gap, I turn to the Sociology of Science, since this particular research area studies the relations between science and society from a sociological perspective. More precisely, my research project is positioned in the Social Studies of Knowledge, a field that focuses the relation between the social world and the development of knowledge. In Social Studies of Knowledge, there are two different ways to study this relationship (Pels 1996). One tradition looks at the role and importance of knowledge in society and the application of knowledge in practice. Given that my research project is concerned with the integration of knowledge in society, this tradition evidently fits my project. The other tradition focuses on the way society influences science, studying how

socio-cultural factors play a role in the production of knowledge. Given that, according to scholars in the field, the production of knowledge in Women's Studies is influenced by society, I find it imperative to also think through what this means for knowledge integration. My research will hence take up approaches from both traditions: I will focus on how knowledge is transferred and integrated into society without losing sight of the relations between the academy and society that play a role in the production of knowledge.

For the benefit of Women's Studies scholars who perceive a knowledge gap, my research project aims to contribute to a better understanding of both how knowledge transfer takes place and of which conditions impact the integration of knowledge. To reach this aim, I will provide insight into the processes whereby the specific body of knowledge about sex and gender is transferred from the academy to societal domains. In doing so, I also aim to contribute to the theoretical development of theories that explain the transfer and integration of knowledge, in particular by letting the two traditions of Social Studies of Knowledge speak to each other. The theoretical and societal relevance of my research project will be explained in more detail below.

## **1.2 Theoretical relevance**

My research aims to contribute to those theories in the Social Studies of Knowledge domain that are engaged with knowledge transfer. Three theoretical approaches are relevant in studying knowledge transfer: Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. While each of them highlights an important aspect that needs to be taken into account in knowledge transfer, they all disregard other aspects. By combining these three approaches, I aim to build on and further develop existing knowledge transfer theories.

Knowledge Utilisation theories can be placed in the first Social Studies of Knowledge tradition that I mentioned, which is called the Mannheimian tradition (Pels 1996). The scholarly field of Knowledge Utilisation is concerned with the factors that affect the use or utilisation of knowledge in practical applications, especially in policymaking. The most advanced model of knowledge utilisation is the 'interaction model' (Huberman and Gather Thurler 1991), which supposes that the more intense and sustained the interaction between researchers and users is at different stages in the production and dissemination of knowledge, the more likely it is that knowledge will be integrated. Because this model principally resonates with the interaction between academy and society that is so pertinent in the knowledge society, I will have a definite use for the 'interaction model' in my research project. However, despite the fact that this model points out concrete factors that may determine knowledge utilisation, the literature on knowledge utilisation lacks a general theoretical framework to integrate different perspectives on knowledge utilisation and to understand the complex interrelations between factors (Oh and R.F. Rich 1996; Oh 1997; R.F. Rich and Oh 2000). Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) and Landry, Lamari, and Amara (2003) point out that the integration of (social science) research is far more complex than can be accounted for with existing theories, because utilisation is dependent on undetermined factors in the users' contexts, and the authors thus insist on more theoretical and empirical studies to better identify these factors that are relevant for knowledge integration.

The second approach is Feminist Science Studies, a field which can be placed in the so-called Wittgensteinian tradition (Pels 1996), the second tradition of Social Studies of Knowledge. Scholars in this field have highlighted the relation between knowledge and power in two ways. First, they made clear that knowledge is shaped by gendered norms that are organised as binary oppositions and thus are principles for the distribution of power (Harding 1986). In other words, knowledge is invested with power. Second, they showed that

knowledge is always produced from a specific social location or situation, which entails a power position (Haraway 1988). Both of these notions imply that there are possible power differences between the actors in the knowledge transfer process. Knowledge Utilisation studies fail to appreciate these power aspects. Taking into account lessons from Feminist Science Studies, it is my contention that a power analysis is needed in order to understand why knowledge comes to be integrated. The feminist perspective provides the opportunity to address the question whether and how the use or integration of particular knowledge claims is affected by the power of knowledge and the power relations at stake in the larger social context in which this knowledge is produced and disseminated.

The last theoretical approach is called Mode 2 by its advocates (Gibbons et al. 1994; Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). This concept refers both to the growing integration of science in all societal domains and to the involvement of social actors in the production of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Including aspects from both the Mannheimian and Wittgensteinian traditions, Mode 2 provides me with the necessary language to think about the interactions between science on the one hand and society or the macro-sociological context in which knowledge transfer takes place on the other. Mode 2 moreover understands knowledge as residing in knowledge products as well as in academically trained people, thus allowing for the study of knowledge transfer in a broad sense. Since dealing with the relation between the contexts of production and application of knowledge is deemed essential in the Social Studies of Knowledge (Stehr 1992), I expect that the combination of Knowledge Utilisation theories and Feminist Science Studies (from respectively the Mannheimian and the Wittgensteinian tradition) with the concept of Mode 2 (which includes aspects from both traditions) will enhance the comprehension of the complex interrelations between knowledge producers and knowledge users.

Because knowledge about sex and gender is political and produced in the academic field of Women's Studies, a field deeply invested in, and also perhaps contested for, its explicit relations with society, I argue that studying the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender in specific will allow me to shed more light on the specificities of knowledge transfer. Focussing on this academic field will lead to a better understanding of the conditions that affect the integration of knowledge, especially because the power aspects are more visible. In the following description of the field of Women's Studies, the theoretical relevance of studying the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender will be further substantiated.

### ***1.3 The production of knowledge about sex and gender in Women's Studies***

I will now take a closer look at the field of Women's Studies in the Netherlands, highlighting the background against which knowledge about sex and gender is produced and the broader position of this academic field in the knowledge society. In line with the terminology used in European Women's Studies networks, I adopt an open definition of Women's Studies, using it to include Women's Studies, Gender Studies, as well as Feminist Studies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, the term 'science', unless specified otherwise, is used in the continental tradition, referring to the natural sciences as well as the social sciences and humanities. Although I prefer to use terms related to 'scholarship' or 'academy', I will sometimes also use the term science to relate or do justice to authors who use the term 'science' (as is the case in this specific instance).

<sup>2</sup> For the interchangeable use of the terms Women's Studies, Gender Studies, and Feminist studies, see the SIGMA synthesis report on the evaluation of Women's Studies in Europe (Braidotti, De Dreu, and Rammrath 1995).

'Knowledge about sex and gender' is the particular knowledge that is produced in Women's Studies. This interdisciplinary field studies the power mechanisms that impact the positions of men and women in various societal domains (Braidotti 2002). Though with 'knowledge about sex', I mean knowledge about differences between men and women in society, it is important to acknowledge that characteristics or positions of men and women are not determined by their biological sex and that many differences exist within both groups. Women's Studies introduced the concept of gender to emphasise that masculinity and femininity are socio-cultural constructions, presenting a term that became a constitutive concept. Braidotti (2002, p. 286-287) puts forward that gender "refers to the many and complex ways in which social differences between the sexes acquire a meaning and become structural factors in the organization of social life". When I speak about 'knowledge about gender' this thus includes knowledge about the social organisation of the differences and relationships between the sexes (cf. Scott 1986). It is important to note that Scott interprets knowledge in a Foucauldian sense. Knowledge about sexual difference accordingly means "the understanding produced by cultures and societies of ... relationships ... between men and women", the meanings of which are "contested politically and are the means by which relationships of power... are constructed" (Scott 1988, p.2). It thus follows that knowledge about sex and gender is not neutral, but carries political weight. Lastly, Women's Studies understands gender to be related to other social categories (or axes of power) such as ethnicity, race, class, age, and sexuality (Crenshaw 1989; Wekker and Lutz 2001).<sup>3</sup>

The Dutch field of Women's Studies has several characteristics that make it suitable to provide insights in knowledge transfer, insights that might also help understand the Women's Studies knowledge gap. The following five characteristics seem most salient for my research: Women's Studies and society impact each other through their multiple relations; Women's Studies has a high level of (recent) institutionalisation; this institutionalisation contrasts women's unfavourable societal position in the Netherlands; Women's Studies wishes to influence society - I call this ideological scholarship; and finally the interdisciplinary nature of the field in the Netherlands.

### ***Multiple relations with society***

When looking at the development of the Dutch scholarly field of Women's Studies it becomes clear that it has close and pluriform relations with society, through links to the women's movement and to the worlds of politics, media, and governmental policy (Brouns and Harbers 1994).

On the one hand, society influences Women's Studies, for instance because societal actors are involved in identifying research topics and objectives of research. In terms related to the knowledge society, this means the field is a socialised or 'contextualised' field of study (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). This is evident in the beginnings of Women's Studies, when as part of the second feminist wave, university teachers and students came together in 1974 to express their dissatisfaction about the marginal position of women in the university and society at large.<sup>4</sup> The first Women's Studies groups studied women's experiences and the structural inequality of women and men in society, issues that were considered important in the women's movement. (Brouns 1990; Parel and Van de Wouw 1988) Black women, who organised themselves at the 1983 national Women's Studies conference (Winter University

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<sup>3</sup> Crenshaw (1989) and Wekker and Lutz (2001) use the term intersectionality for the relation between social categories. Verloo (2009) argued for the term 'interference', as this allows for paying better attention to intersections of both privilege and disprivilege.

<sup>4</sup> The essay 'Het onbehagen bij de vrouw' (Discontent amongst women) by Joke Kool-Smit in *De Gids* (1967) is regarded as the beginning of the second feminist wave in the Netherlands (Costera Meijer 1996).

Nijmegen), criticised the exclusion of black women from the Dutch women's movement and from Women's Studies. As a result of this and subsequent efforts, discussions started taking place about racism within Women's Studies and ethnicity was put on the Women's Studies agenda (Loewenthal 2001).

A particular phenomenon that illustrates the societal influence on Women's Studies research is the installation of special chairs by social organisations. An example is the Opzij-chair, established by the feminist monthly *Opzij* (Maastricht University 1994), through which professors are involved in research related to women's emancipation. The International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (IIAV) established chairs on 'Gender and ethnicity' (Utrecht University 2001), 'Gender and women's same-sex relations in cross-cultural perspectives' (University of Amsterdam 2006), and 'Political history of gender in the Netherlands' (University of Amsterdam 2009).

Ministries and trade unions are other important actors that commission research from Women's Studies, substantially affecting the development of the field, for instance influencing research on employment in relation to sex and gender (Brouns and Harbers 1994). The government's funding also has an impact on which topics are studied. The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), for instance, funded three priority research areas ('aandachtsgebieden') in Women's Studies between 1992 and 1997, providing a foundation for the original research programme of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies (NOV) (NOV 1999).<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, there is also a stream of influence going in the reverse direction, as Women's Studies aims to disseminate its knowledge to society. Women's Studies has since its beginnings been involved in changing society. Especially in that initial stage, Women's Studies produced knowledge to support the goals of the feminist movement (Parel and Van de Wouw 1988).<sup>6</sup> Insights from Women's Studies still find their way into governmental policymaking, where research results are used in formulating and solving problems (Brouns and Harbers 1994). Sometimes this integration of Women's Studies knowledge is a result of research commissioned by public institutions on issues like positive action and the reduction of working hours, sometimes it originates from initiatives from Women's Studies. An example of the latter is the workshops ('salons') that the Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV) organised to present and discuss Women's Studies research results with actors in politics and policy, resulting in a book publication (Matti 1998).

We thus see that the relation between Women's Studies and society is reciprocal, the two domains influencing each other mutually. These mutual relations make the scholarly field of Women's Studies suitable for investigating the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender from the academy to society, especially since the researchers in this field consciously aim for an exchange of knowledge between the university and social domains.

### ***A high level of institutionalisation***

Despite its relatively young history, Dutch Women's Studies has become well established in the academy (Jansen 1996; Van der Sanden 2002) and compared to the other European countries the Netherlands has a high level of Women's Studies institutionalisation (Griffin 2003). An important milestone in the institutional establishment of Dutch Women's Studies was the

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<sup>5</sup> The three priority research areas were 'Gender and care: Identity, labour and morals', 'The (re-) production of gender in text', and 'Time allocation and sex: Dilemmas in the division of paid and unpaid labour between women and men' (Van der Sanden 2002).

<sup>6</sup> In the 1980s, Women's Studies focused to a greater extent on theoretical development independent from the women's movement, a change in focus which is related to Women's Studies' drive to establish itself in universities' organisational levels (Bosch 1999b).

accreditation of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies (NOV) by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) in 1995 (re-accredited in 2000). With this recognition, Women's Studies manifested itself as an independent field of research in the Netherlands. Appreciation for the field is also visible in the 2009 appointment of Willy Jansen, professor and director of the Nijmegen Institute for Gender Studies, as a member of the KNAW.

This institutionalisation is also exemplified by the 336 Women's Studies experts working in and outside universities.<sup>7</sup> In 2001, 38 professors (about half of them with an appointment in Women's Studies and half with an appointment in another discipline), 23 senior lecturers, 62 lecturers, and more than 100 PhD students were working in Women's Studies and related fields (Van der Sanden 2002). Between 1990 and 1996, at least 361 students did a specialisation, a major, or a minor in Women's Studies at the graduate level (Eggermont 1997). In 2001, 50 PhD students were registered at the NOV, and more than 30 successfully completed their dissertation between 1995 and 2001 (Van der Sanden 2002).

The NGV study guide 2008/2009 (Naezer et al. 2008) lists 154 MA and BA courses on offer at ten Dutch universities, covering a wide variety of disciplines. The universities of Nijmegen, Amsterdam, and Utrecht offer the highest number of courses. After the introduction of the Bachelor-Master model in Dutch higher education in 2002-2003, there now are Women's Studies MA programmes that can award a Women's Studies degree, which is indicative of the discipline's academic recognition. Utrecht University offers a one-year professional MA ('Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics') as well as a two-year research MA ('Gender and Ethnicity'); Radboud University Nijmegen offers an MA in Gender History; and the University of Amsterdam offers an MA in 'Gender, Sexuality and Society'. The universities of Groningen and Maastricht, as well as Utrecht, Nijmegen, and Amsterdam, offer minors in Women's Studies (Van der Sanden 2008).<sup>8</sup>

Women's Studies research in the Netherlands is characterised by a variety of theoretical as well as methodological approaches (Brouns 1992). Despite this diversity, the emphasis of Women's Studies research remains on gender, allowing for the continued recognisability of Women's Studies as a field. An annotated bibliography of Women's Studies publications covers the first phase of the development of the academic field in the Netherlands, the feminist press, and the position of women in academia (Braidotti and Vonk 2000, p. 107-152).

Professional organisations and journals also reflect the institutionalisation of Women's Studies. Researchers are organised in the Dutch Women's Studies Association (founded in 1987<sup>9</sup>) (NGV - Nederlands Genootschap voor Vrouwenstudies) as well as in disciplinary-based organisations such as the Dutch Association for Women's History (1976) (VVG - Vereniging voor Vrouwengeschiedenis) and the Netherlands Association of Gender and Feminist Anthropology (1979) (LOVA - Landelijk Overleg Vrouwenstudies in de Antropologie). Important journals are the well-known national Women's Studies journal *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* (1980) (until 1988 *Tijdschrift voor Vrouwenstudies*) and several other magazines and journals, including the journal *Lover* (1974) and the journal for Women's History *Historica* (1995).

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<sup>7</sup> The online database of experts in Women's Studies and gender research lists 336 experts. See [www.iiav.nl/nl/databases/deskundigen/index.html](http://www.iiav.nl/nl/databases/deskundigen/index.html) (accessed 14 January 2010). The 2000 paper version of the database (Geelink 2000) already contained 308 experts.

<sup>8</sup> Before the Bachelor-Master model, extensive Women's Studies specialisation programmes were offered by the universities of Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Nijmegen (Van der Sanden 2004).

<sup>9</sup> The NGV was founded on the initiative of its forerunner SLOV (Stichting Landelijk Overleg Vrouwenstudies), which was established in 1982 and succeeded the LOV (Landelijk Overleg Vrouwenstudies) founded in 1979 (Visser 2003).

Institutionalisation and professionalisation also stretch beyond the national borders, as Dutch scholars fulfil many initiating and coordinating roles in the European field of Women's Studies (Jansen 1996; Wekker 1999).<sup>10</sup> The NGV set up both the European association for Women's Studies scholars WISE (Women's International Studies Europe) and *The European Journal of Women's Studies* (in 1994), and the NGV also secured money to establish the European Expert Centre Women's Studies (Jansen 1996). Two European student exchange programmes, NOISE (1987) and WINGS (1987) were set up, coordinated by the Women's Studies units of Utrecht and Nijmegen respectively.

Other structures of European cooperation are AOIFE, ATHENA, GEMMA, and ATGENDER. In 1996, several European institutions associated to form AOIFE (Association of Institutions for Feminist Education and Research in Europe) and in 1998, ATHENA (Advanced Thematic Network in European Women's Studies) was recognised with a Socrates fund of the European Community.<sup>11</sup> The first European MA degree programme in Women's and Gender Studies, called GEMMA, started in 2006.<sup>12</sup> AOIFE dissolved itself in 2009, when AOIFE, ATHENA, and WISE co-founded the new professional association ATGENDER (European Association for Gender in Research, Education and Documentation).<sup>13</sup>

What is important is that the institutionalisation, professionalisation, and recognition of Dutch Women's Studies all account for the availability of an identifiable body of knowledge about sex and gender. This as opposed to countries like Italy or Hungary that are characterised by a low level of institutionalisation of Women's Studies (Silius 2002), a situation which would negatively influence the availability of knowledge about sex and gender and the recognisability of the field. The high level of institutionalisation of Women's Studies in the Netherlands is thus a prerequisite for tracing the transfer of Women's Studies knowledge from the academy to society.

### ***Women's unfavourable societal position***

The third interesting aspect is that the high level of institutionalisation of Women's Studies stands in sharp contrast with the overall position of women in the Netherlands. In terms of equal opportunity, or the Dutch term 'emancipation', the situation of Dutch women is signified by a low labour force participation rate, unequal pay between men and women, a low level of economic independence, and an underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions (demonstrated in publications like *Emancipation Yearbooks and Monitors*<sup>14</sup>).

It has been pointed out that it is exactly because of this unfavourable position of women that Women's Studies has been able to develop and grow to the extent that it did, in the sense that the government aimed to tackle the marginal position of women in society by supporting feminism in and outside universities (Braidotti 1991). Examples of this are the 1974 establishment of an Emancipation Commission to act as an advisory board to the government, the 1977 appointment of a State Secretary on Emancipation, and the installation of an emancipation budget with which women's organisations were supported (Van Staveren 1997). Inside universities, the Ministry of Education and Science subsidised the appointment of coordinators and teachers in Women's Studies starting at the end of the 1970s, and from 1985

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<sup>10</sup> Its international orientation is one of the characteristics of Dutch Women's Studies (Jansen 1996).

<sup>11</sup> ATHENA was able to secure European funds until 2009, running under the coordination of Utrecht University. See [www.athena3.org](http://www.athena3.org) for the activities and publications of the network. For the configuration and generation of European Women's Studies, see Griffin and Braidotti 2002 and Van der Tuin 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Eight universities participate in GEMMA, which is coordinated by the University of Granada. See [www.ugr.es/~gemma/](http://www.ugr.es/~gemma/) (accessed 22 November 2009).

<sup>13</sup> See [www.atgender.org](http://www.atgender.org) (accessed 22 November 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Merens and Hermans 2009; Portegijs, Hermans, and Lalta 2006; Portegijs, Boelens, and Olsthoorn 2004; Portegijs, Boelens, and Keuzenkamp 2002; Keuzenkamp and Oudhof 2000; SZW 2000, 1999; CBS 1998, 1997.

until 1991, the Ministry hosted a Promotion Committee for Emancipation Research (STEO - Stimuleringsgroep Emancipatie Onderzoek), which was in charge of funding for feminist researchers (Brouns 1992). From 1991 until 1997, the Women's Studies Section (WVEO - Werkgemeenschap Vrouwenstudies en Emancipatie Onderzoek, created by Women's Studies scholars) within the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) allocated funds for integrated and independent Women's Studies research. This indirect government funding shaped the novel discipline of Women's Studies (NWO 1997) and resulted in an increase of the number of women in academic staff positions (Van der Sanden 1999).

By supporting Women's Studies, the government also aimed to deal with the underrepresentation of women at Dutch universities, partly because Women's Studies asserted it could address this problem (Grotenhuis 1985; Bosch 2002). With only 2.7% women professors and 9.4% women senior lecturers in 1970, women were poorly represented in the highest academic ranks (Van Balen 2001).<sup>15</sup> In a comparative European perspective, this bad representation of women in academia is discussed in terms of 'the Dutch case' (Bosch 2002), a term also used to refer to the advanced state of Dutch Women's Studies (cf. Davis and Grünell 1994; cf. Bosch 2002). According to Braidotti (1991), the 'paradox' of Dutch society lays in the coexistence of the on the one hand 'backward' socio-economic position of women and the on the other hand highly institutionalised feminist movement. Although emancipation is improving, especially in regards to women's labour market participation, many areas only show slow and slight advancement, for instance in the number of women's working hours (Merens and Hermans 2009).

The unfavourable position of women in society and in academia is something with which Women's Studies scholars have been concerned since the field's beginnings and this concern still drives a great deal of research. Halleh Ghorashi, professor in Management of diversity and integration (inaugurated in 2005), for instance, says that her research aims to improve the position of migrant women in the Netherlands (Ghorashi 2007).<sup>16</sup> Without wanting to limit the role of Women's Studies to contributing to women's emancipation, which would do no justice to the academic endeavours of the field, it is possible to say that feminist scholars and their research are greatly motivated by women's position in society. The unfavourable societal position of women thus creates a demand for transformative knowledge and is likely to lead to researchers undertaking activities to disseminate their knowledge to society.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Ideological scholarship***

In its early academic endeavours, Women's Studies' focus was on criticising sexism in the academy, both through tackling the underrepresentation of women in academia and the content and methods of research (Parel and Van de Wouw 1988; Brouns 1990). Women's Studies pointed to the exclusion of women as objects of research and showed that disciplinary concepts and theories were not gender neutral (Brouns 1990). Following this critique and reflecting on its

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<sup>15</sup> The representation of women in the academy declined in 1980 and 1990: women made up 2.2%, resp. 2.6% of professors and 8.9%, resp. 6.1% of senior lecturers (Van Balen 2001). In 2000, women made up 6.3% of professors and 10.7% of senior lecturers; in 2008, women made up 11.7% of professors and 18.2% of senior lecturers (WOPI 2000; Stichting de Beauvoir 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Ghorashi's chair was established at the VU University Amsterdam on the initiative of the committee PaVEM (Participation of Ethnic Minority Women). Her chair is another example of the mutual influence of society and Women's Studies research (cf. section 'Multiple relations with society').

<sup>17</sup> Society's need for specific knowledge is a feature that Women's Studies has in common with both the social and natural sciences (Brouns and Harbers 1994). Although there is a clear demand for humanities and social sciences knowledge, knowledge questions in these disciplines are less direct and less clearly expressed (AWT 2007).

own academic practices, Women's Studies raised important methodological issues. In line with other critical movements such as the Frankfurt School (Brouns 1990), but with an explicit focus on the role of gender in the production of knowledge (Brouns, Verloo, and Grünell 1995), Women's Studies questioned the asserted objectivity of scholarship.

Because of the involvement of its scholars with women's social realities and the involvement of societal actors in defining topics and aims of its research - as described under the section 'Multiple relations with society' - Women's Studies scholarship does not fit the concept of the academy as an ivory tower. In an ivory tower, the produced knowledge is expected to be free from social or political interests. The field of Women's Studies contrarily operates in close connection to society, thereby blurring the supposed boundaries between theory and practice, and working out of an ideological commitment (Mohanty 1991). As feminist scholars argued, all knowledge represents values and norms, including those relating to gender, be they explicit such as in the case of Women's Studies or implicit; in short, objective or value-free scholarship simply does not exist.

This epistemological stance implies a potential impact on both the reception of knowledge about sex and gender (as legitimate knowledge or as ideology) and on the (real or believed) power position and authority of Women's Studies as a discipline in the academy (cf. Pereira 2008).<sup>18</sup> Thus, the nature of feminist knowledge production and the unconcealed social or political content of this knowledge both point to the necessity as well as the possibility to take into account power aspects in studying the transfer and integration of knowledge.

### ***Interdisciplinarity***

Women's Studies in the Netherlands can be described as following a 'dual track policy' (Bleich and De Vries 1977): it aims to integrate Women's Studies into the existing disciplines and to develop an independent body of theory on gender and gender relations. As Jansen and Van Alst state:

On the integration track it is shown that for instance for economists, gender is a relevant category to understand employment figures; on the multidisciplinary track, however, gender and gender hierarchies form the topic of research, while economy or employment are considered but one of the many relevant categories needed for understanding gender relations. (Jansen and Van Alst 1995, p. 4)

It follows that in order to understand the complexity of gender relations Women's Studies has developed a high interest in multi- or interdisciplinary approaches.<sup>19</sup> This interdisciplinary work, however, remains related to work in the respective disciplinary tracks. The development of an independent body of theory appears to be a precondition for the integration of gender in the individual disciplines. At the same time this disciplinary integration supports the further development of gender theories (Brouns and Harbers 1994). It is important to note that the NOV was a national platform through which interdisciplinary research and methodologies could be advanced, something that would otherwise have been difficult in the discipline-based university system (NOV 2000).

The development of interdisciplinary knowledge is one of Women's Studies'

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<sup>18</sup> The designation of the field as Women's *Studies* also indicates its disputed status (Leezenberg and De Vries 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Lykke (2004) distinguishes three levels of interdisciplinarity: multi-, inter-, and trans-disciplinary research. She shows that Women's Studies engages in all three approaches and characterises Women's Studies as a post-disciplinary discipline.

academic aspirations, but it can also be seen in relation to Women's Studies' aim of making a difference in society and scholarship alike. That is, interdisciplinary approaches are necessary in contributing solutions to complex social issues in which gendered power relations are at stake (Lykke 2004). In a knowledge society, it can thus be expected that there is a need for this kind of knowledge in social domains.<sup>20</sup> Access to and recognition by the mono-disciplines can however be complicated for Women's Studies because of its interdisciplinarity (Brouns and Harbers 1994). Since disciplines grant scholars working in society professional status and quality (Leezenberg and De Vries 2001), the interdisciplinary training of Women's Studies scholars might hinder their functioning in professional settings outside the academy. With the Bologna process' stronger orientation towards civil society and the labour market, higher education has however become more aware of interdisciplinarity (Holm and Liinason 2005).

### **1.4 Societal relevance**

From the above account of Women's Studies' recent history in the Netherlands, it has become clear that the academic field has an interest in contributing to the transformation of gender relations by bringing their knowledge to bear on society. As I will explain, though there are examples of knowledge about sex and gender being integrated in society, Women's Studies scholars do not believe this meets their sought level of knowledge integration. This is a concern for Women's Studies scholars and in fact confronts them with a vexed question. The insight that I aim to gain in my research project is hence relevant to Women's Studies scholars because it will contribute to a better understanding of how knowledge about sex and gender is being transferred and integrated into society. It could fuel the discussion about the perceived underutilisation of Women's Studies knowledge and enable Women's Studies scholars to increase the integration of their knowledge in domains they believe it would be useful. I nevertheless want to underline that it is not my intention to evaluate the success of Women's Studies by measuring their achievements in changing society. What I am interested in is comprehending what happens in and through knowledge transfer; what is the status of the knowledge gap; is the discrepancy indeed as big as perceived; and what successful transfer practices can be identified?

I argue that a better insight into knowledge transfer would also be relevant to scholars in other interdisciplinary fields with an orientation towards society, such as environmental studies and new media studies. This relevance reaches even further when one takes into account that the societal impact of research stands high on the agenda of various actors in and outside the academy in the Netherlands as well as in Europe.

The Dutch government has made it the Netherlands' goal to be among the top knowledge economies in Europe, installing an Innovation platform to reach this very goal (Tweede Kamer 2000; Ministry of Economic Affairs 2003). Policymakers ask for knowledge to help them make decisions on social issues such as internationalisation and immigration. Big companies as well as small and medium-sized enterprises try to increase their innovative potential by keeping in touch with new scientific and technological developments in their sectors, sometimes in cooperation with universities through so-called brain ports. Research funding organisations like NWO and KNAW have created initiatives to strengthen the contributions research can make to the knowledge society (NWO 2006b; SWR 2006). Civil society organisations commission research from universities via knowledge transfer centres. A

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<sup>20</sup> Holm and Liinason (2005) point out that this signifies an instrumental rather than cognitive interdisciplinarity.

wide range of organisations and interest groups thus seek to utilise research results in their activities. Universities themselves are also deliberating on how to deal with the growing relevance of knowledge for society and the demand for solutions to economic and social problems (De Boer et al. 2002; AWT 2003). The valorisation of knowledge from Social Sciences and Humanities plays an increasing role in this regard (SWR 2006; AWT 2007; J. Cohen et al. 2008; Broek and Nijssen 2009).<sup>21</sup>

In Europe, the importance attached to the knowledge society is especially evident in the Lisbon Summit where European leaders stated their ambition to make the European Union “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Council 2000). However, despite their high quality research, European countries still suffer from a knowledge gap: the valorisation of knowledge lags behind (VNO-NCW et al. 2003; AWT 2007). This gap is frequently called a ‘knowledge paradox’, especially in European contexts (cf. EC 2003; VNO-NCW et al. 2003; Broek and Nijssen 2009), but since we are not dealing with a contradiction in terms, I prefer to use the term ‘knowledge gap’.<sup>22</sup> The concerns about the knowledge gap are thus not limited to Women’s Studies and the stakes are high all around when it comes to knowledge transfer and the expected benefits of knowledge for society.

Below, I will substantiate the case of the Women’s Studies knowledge gap by looking at knowledge transfer in two ways. The first accentuates the social domains to which knowledge about sex and gender travels. I will deal with the transfer of knowledge from different disciplines to the social domains of policymaking, education, and civil society. These are the domains with which Women’s Studies has close relations (Brouns and Harbers 1994). The second focuses on the human capital involved in knowledge transfer, more precisely on the role of Women’s Studies graduates in transferring knowledge. This is in line with the idea that knowledge comes in the form of knowledge products as well as people (AWT 2007; Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001).

### ***Policymaking***

In the domain of policymaking, some research shows that policymakers do make use of research results from Women’s Studies, but other studies indicate that knowledge about sex and gender is not always or only slowly incorporated in, for instance, governmental policy.

Policymakers make use of Women’s Studies knowledge on formulating and solving problems through policy research commissioned by ministries, trade unions, and other public institutions (Brouns and Harbers 1994). Insights from theories about gender relations are for instance visible in policy areas of employment, education, and urban planning (Van Lenning, Brouns, and De Bruijn 1995). Publications have been established on issues like sexual violence (Draijer 1988), representation (Smelik, Buikema, and Meijer 1999), and honour-related violence (Brennkmeijer, Geerse, and Roggeband 2009). Women’s Studies scholars were asked to reflect on the government’s emancipation policy. Their analysis of the ‘women’s question’ (Van der A et al. 1982) provided the theoretical basis for Dutch emancipation policy (Keuzenkamp 1999). Women’s Studies scholars also carried out evaluations of emancipation policy (e.g. Keuzenkamp and Teunissen 1990) and were among the experts invited by the government’s Emancipatory Board to give their view on strategies for change, published in Verheijen (1993). Women’s Studies researchers are also involved in the production of statistical information on women’s positions and opportunities in society, cooperating with for instance

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<sup>21</sup> In the Utrecht research project ‘Scenarios for the Humanities’, researchers study the role of the Humanities amidst the changing relations of disciplinary knowledge production and its social context (OGC 2002).

<sup>22</sup> The concept of the ‘European paradox’ was first developed in the 1994 edition of the European report on science and technology indicators (EC 2003).

the Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) in producing data that is used in governmental emancipation policies.

However, the integration of knowledge about sex and gender is not self-evident, as the following example shows. The Emancipation Monitor of 2002 (Portegijs, Boelens, and Keuzenkamp 2002) spells out precisely that the positions of women and men in many societal domains are far from equal. Yet, the minister responsible for emancipation policy in 2003 still stated that the emancipation of autochthonous women in the Netherlands was complete and that a specific portfolio for emancipation may no longer be necessary (SZW 2003). When one takes into account that the Emancipation Monitor is established by the CBS and the SCP at the request of the government, it is even more imperative to gain insight in the ins and outs of knowledge transfer and integration.

Special projects and publications aimed at accomplishing better integration of knowledge about sex and gender in policymaking show that both policymakers and Women's Studies scholars find it important to optimise the use of insights from Women's Studies in policymaking. Verloo and Roggeband (1994) developed a Gender Impact Assessment to analyse the emancipatory effects of policy measures; commissioned by the government, Van Lenning, Brouns, and De Bruijn (1995) discussed the relevance and possible importance of Women's Studies insights for nine domains of government policy; and the Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV) published a book (Matti 1998) that focused on the translation of - increasingly sophisticated - Women's Studies research into policy terms. An important reason behind the above-mentioned publications was to make Women's Studies insights visible and accessible to policymakers. Some were also directed at politicians and civil society organisations.

Although this is not the main purpose of their book, Van Lenning, Brouns, and De Bruijn (1995) show that use, as well as non-use, of Women's Studies insights can be noticed in all discussed domains of policymaking. The non-use of Women's Studies knowledge is mainly thought to be due to a limited focus of emancipation policy on equal opportunities, thereby neglecting other elements such as the revaluation of femininity and breaking through stereotypical representations of men and women (Brouns and Van Lenning 1995). Keuzenkamp (1999) found that there is a gap between the theoretical insights about the power effects of gender (represented among other places in the Gender Impact Assessment instrument) and the incorporation of these insights in governmental emancipation policy. Even when new insights resonate in the problem definition, this is not translated in concrete policy measures. She explains that this might be due to difficulties in combining the role of the government with some parts of Women's Studies' analysis, for instance when it comes to changing the meanings of masculinity of femininity.

Van Lenning, Brouns, and De Bruijn (1995) and Keuzenkamp (1999) both demonstrate that policymakers' mere acquaintance with certain insights is not enough for an (adequate) translation of these insights into concrete measures, even when concepts are made operational and thus more easily applicable. Moreover, even when feminist demands are integrated in policymaking, it is still the question whether this leads to the desired consequences. Keuzenkamp (1997) for example states that a reduction of working hours was taken up in governmental policy, but this did not result in an equal distribution of paid and unpaid labour between the sexes.<sup>23</sup>

The government set up a specific committee to review the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the ministries. In its final report (VCE 2007), the committee pointed to a severe lack of gender expertise in the ministries, also regarding the intersections of gender and

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<sup>23</sup> Keuzenkamp (1997) is therefore sceptical about whether the incorporation of feminist thought in urban planning policies, which is the topic of her article, will be beneficial to women.

ethnicity. It additionally flagged insufficient knowledge about where gender knowledge is available (for example in universities and social organisations) and ignorance about international obligations pertaining gender equality. Taking into account the evaluation of the Gender Impact Assessment in the Netherlands (Roggeband and Verloo 2006), an analysis of policies in the field of migration and integration (Roggeband and Verloo 2007), and the outcomes of the VCE report, Verloo (2008) concludes that both access to, and development of, gender expertise is vital for effective emancipation policies.

A last issue that I want to discuss here is the use of Women's Studies knowledge in addressing the underrepresentation of women in the academy. After the influential study by Wennerås and Wold (1997) revealed that women's research proposals were less likely to be evaluated positively in the peer-review system of the Swedish Medical Research Council, several research projects were undertaken in the Netherlands to find the reasons why women are underrepresented in high academic ranks. The increased insight and evidence resulting from these (and other) studies led to the installation of the Aspasia programme by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU). The Aspasia programme provided women researchers access to special research funds and enabled them to make the career move from lecturer to senior lecturer.

Notwithstanding this positive example of knowledge integration, knowledge from Women's Studies was not always incorporated in the academy's equal opportunity policies. Bosch (2002) points to a difference in perspectives and interests between Women's Studies scholars and equal opportunity policymakers in the 1970s and 1980s that proved unfavourable to increasing the number of women in academia. She explains that scholars were mostly concerned with studying gender inequalities in general and creating a space for themselves in the academy, whereas policymakers approached an emancipation issue that was seemingly unrelated to science. Bosch calls this a gap between scientists and bureaucrats.<sup>24</sup>

While the lack of integration of Women's Studies knowledge in policymaking is amply illustrated, the majority of publications contain no analysis of the reasons why knowledge does or does not find its way into policy documents or policy measures. At most, analyses are performed on just a restricted number of the many aspects that could affect the transfer and integration of knowledge about sex and gender.

### ***Higher education at universities***

Women's Studies scholars working in different contexts have all aimed to integrate their knowledge and insights into existing academic disciplines. The degree to which this disciplinary integration has been realised varies per discipline (Jansen and Van Alst 1995). Generally, however, it can be said that a certain level of integration has been reached, but that the acceptance of Women's Studies in other disciplines is not very extensive (Wekker 1999; Bosch 2002).<sup>25</sup> My concern is with the integration of gender knowledge in university teaching, but I will also refer to the integration in disciplinary research. Since teaching is largely based on research, levels of integration in research can indicate the extent of integration in (future) teaching.

Research about the integration of Women's Studies in the social sciences shows that research on sex and gender has increased, but that gender is not always used as a relevant

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<sup>24</sup> For more about the development of the relationship between Women's Studies and emancipation policymakers - or scientist and bureaucrats - in universities over time, see Bosch 1999b.

<sup>25</sup> Integration is one of the tracks of the 'dual track policy' of Women's Studies, see section 1.3 'Interdisciplinarity'. Whereas the achievements on the integration track are considered limited, the achievements on the track of Women's Studies' autonomous development are considered a success (Wekker 1999; Bosch 2002).

category of analysis in more general social sciences research. This is the conclusion of Van der Tuin (2001), who studied integration by analysing PhD dissertations in the field. For the discipline of Political Sciences, Outshoorn (1993, 1995) found that in mainstream political handbooks theoretical insights from Women's Studies are scarce and that hardly any reference is made to Women's Studies literature. A study about the integration of feminist theories in International Relations shows that, despite the growth of feminist theories in this field, little has been incorporated in mainstream work on International Relations (Van Lamoen 2000).

In the Humanities, History is one of the disciplines in which Women's Studies has extensively advanced. Though the field of Women's History has successfully developed as an autonomous field within History, based on the evaluation of the NWO research programme 'Dutch culture in a European context' (1992-2002), Bosch (2003) concludes that insights from Women's History are not reflected in the historical discipline at large.<sup>26</sup> What is more, the evaluation of this prominent, large-scale NWO programme also led to the conclusion that the integration of Women's Studies in other disciplines has not yet been accomplished, neither in teaching nor in research (Bosch 2002).

The NWO research programme 'Dutch culture in a European context' was evaluated in contributions to the 2002 symposium 'De IJkpunten geijkt'.<sup>27</sup> Based on the contributions, Bosch (2003) concludes that women are made visible in the research programme, but that a rewriting of history does not occur; that efforts are made to integrate sex or gender as a category, but that this is done in a problematic manner; and that literature from Women's History is only minimally used. In explaining the limited integration of knowledge about sex and gender in the *IJkpunten* books, several of its editors pointed to the disinclination of established historians to integrate a gender perspective (related to the overrepresentation of male historians in decision-making bodies), the limited susceptibility of the historical discipline to innovation in general, and established historians and gender historians' different attitude to language (which plays an important role in gender theories) (Bosch 2003). Hülken and Tijsseling (2002) summed up this latter issue in terms of gender historians speaking a different language than mainstream historians, consequently highlighting the necessity for exchanges between these groups to bridge this gap. To increase knowledge integration, Bosch (2003) recommends that NWO should prioritise the gender dimension in science as well as women's participation in research programmes, including women's involvement in NWO's own commissions.

This symposium gave impetus to more activities that addressed the lack of knowledge integration despite the existence of a large body of knowledge from Women's History and the field's explicit goal of integration.<sup>28</sup> In the 2004 discussion 'The explanatory power of gender'<sup>29</sup>, three male History professors discussed the (marginal) role of gender in their own research. Their arguments for not using a gender perspective in their work were that gender is not always relevant, that it is difficult to integrate gender, and that the topic is too specific. It became clear that these professors did not have a sound grasp of gender, nor of the relevance of gender for their topics. For example, gender was only discussed on the subject level, but

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<sup>26</sup> It must be noted that later NWO research programmes, such as Cultural Dynamics (2007-2014), pay more attention to gender.

<sup>27</sup> The symposium was organised by the Dutch Association of Women's History, the Centre of Gender and Diversity of Maastricht University, and the Foundation for Early Modern Women's History on 22 March 2002. Contributions to the symposium are published in a special journal issue (Bosch and Hellevoort 2003).

<sup>28</sup> The goal of integration was stated in the first issue of the Yearbook of Women's History of 1980, and was still discussed in the 25<sup>th</sup> issue of the Yearbook in 2005 (Altena et al. 2005a).

<sup>29</sup> The discussion 'De verklarende kracht van gender. Mannelijke historici aan het woord' (The explanatory power of gender) was organised by the International Institute of Social History on 2 December 2004.

not in relation to its institutional or symbolic layers. The historians also said that men, and even mainstream historians at large, do not read literature with a gender perspective and that gender historians should do more to get their message across.

At the 2005 symposium 'Over the top', this last issue was raised again.<sup>30</sup> It was suggested that women's historians needed to focus more on disseminating their ideas to improve the integration of their knowledge. To achieve integration, participants stated, one does not only need knowledge production, but also knowledge dissemination. The lack of integration was discussed in relation to the legitimacy of women's history, a link which shows the importance of the topic.

The above-mentioned discussions about non-integration of Women's Studies insights in History make clear that increasing integration is high on the agenda of women's historians. A satisfactory answer to the question of non-integration has not been given yet, as reasons for non-integration are various and sometimes based on estimations. Hence, the direction in which a solution for the problem must be sought is not clear yet.

For Women's Studies in general, Tijsseling (2004) asks why knowledge from this field does not find its way to regular scholarship. She especially wonders why this is the case because other subjects in the social sciences, such as social statistics and demographic research, did manage to get a place in the curriculum. Though she reckons that Women's Studies could well contribute to robust answers on societal issues that require interdisciplinary knowledge, she mentions the critical character of Women's Studies may be hindering integration.<sup>31</sup> Intriguingly, the possible solutions she provides are different, as she suggests: increasing access to Women's Studies literature, promoting exchanges between Women's Studies and other fields, and creating a sense of urgency for gender and diversity among colleagues. It is striking that these suggested solutions are not in line with what seems to be the problem.

Few studies have specifically analysed the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in Dutch university curricula,<sup>32</sup> mainly dealing with health sciences, arts, medicine, and studies in the field of development cooperation. Some of these studies are born out of the concern that the education of university students pays little attention to gender, seeking to provide evidence of non-integration, explain the relevance of a gender-inclusive curriculum, and provide recommendations to accomplish integration. Others seek to examine the integration of gender in curricula more generally, for instance giving details on factors that affect gender mainstreaming in specific studies.

The incorporation of sex in relation to health and health care was assessed in the health sciences curriculum of Maastricht University.<sup>33</sup> Janssen (1993) found that more attention is paid to knowledge about men, that both sexes are represented stereotypically, that sex differences are not always addressed, that education is not free from a sexist bias, and that knowledge about the health care system is limited to regular health care.<sup>34</sup> Recommendations are made for using screening lists to help course makers improve education, engaging more women as (guest) teachers, involving gender experts in educational decision making, and

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<sup>30</sup> Symposium 'Over de top: Vrouwen in de canon' ('Over the top'/'At the top'), organised by the Dutch Association for Women's History, Utrecht, 15 April 2005. The June 2005 special issue of *Historica* reflected on the symposium's topic.

<sup>31</sup> By referring to the book *Women of ideas* by Dale Spender (1982), Tijsseling also hints at the role of power in gender relations when trying to understand the non-integration of Women's Studies knowledge. In this book, Spender suggests men are in the position to define what knowledge is valuable, which explains why women and their intellectual capital are not included in the patrimony.

<sup>32</sup> For the integration of gender in other levels of education, see the section 'Civil society'.

<sup>33</sup> Maastricht University was then called Rijksuniversiteit Limburg.

<sup>34</sup> Mans (1998) found that attention to cultural diversity in this curriculum was also limited.

using positive action to increase the number of women in higher academic positions. These recommendations suggest a relation between the involvement of women in education and the attention to sex in health sciences education.

The study 'Time for diversity' (Dicke and Wekker 2004), carried out at Utrecht University, aimed to promote diversity in terms of gender and ethnicity in the curricula in the Faculty of Arts.<sup>35</sup> This study shows that only a minority of courses pay attention to diversity. An important question related to the inclusion of ethnicity in curricula is what sort of citizens the university wants to produce. Dicke and Wekker (2004) argue that in order to prepare students for an increasingly multicultural society, knowledge about ethnicity or cultural diversity should be part of the curriculum. They also point out that in a knowledge society science can only be successful if it takes a diversity of social perspectives into account (referring to Harbers 2002). The project highlights that there is an interest among teachers to pay more attention to diversity, but that diversity is not (yet) an issue for university policymakers. The researchers found that the association of diversity with 'political correctness' forms a barrier for paying attention to diversity, thus concluding that values are at stake in defining curricula. In their recommendations, they mention that the faculties need to stimulate and facilitate teachers in 'diversifying' their teaching. Teachers can also make use of a database with courses that pay attention to gender and ethnicity.<sup>36</sup>

The department of Women's Studies Medicine at the Radboud University Nijmegen carried out two projects to integrate sex and gender issues in medical education. The first project screened the teaching material from the basic medical curriculum in Nijmegen and found that knowledge about sex and gender in health care was insufficiently incorporated (Van der Sanden, Frijns, and Lagro-Janssen 1999). The project also included instructing course coordinators and teachers about possible ways to integrate knowledge about sex and gender in their courses (Van der Sanden and Lagro-Janssen 2000b). Following this pilot study, the department in 2002 embarked on a national project aiming to incorporate sex and gender issues in all medical curricula (Verdonk, Mans, and Lagro-Janssen 2005). Researchers in the medical education projects stated that it is necessary for medical practitioners to know about gender differences in health and illness to be able to treat patients adequately (Van der Sanden and Lagro-Janssen 1999) and that better health care can contribute to an enhanced well-being for women and men as well as social change (Verdonk 2007a).

Verdonk (2007a) has studied the above-mentioned projects in medical education and identified factors that play a role in establishing a sex- and gender-specific curriculum. The local project showed the following two hindrances in implementing a gender-specific curriculum: resistance because of the political-ideological connotations of gender, and the difficulty of integrating issues that are of an interdisciplinary nature. Verdonk also points to the specificity of integrating gender in a medical curriculum, where resistance may be due to the dominant biomedical discourse. Factors identified as determining a successful integration of gender included: providing medical schools with practical support, giving concrete and directly executable recommendations, adequately translating gender differences into patient care, and engaging course coordinators (Verdonk, Mans, and Lagro-Janssen 2005). The evaluation of the national project also showed that integration is enhanced through clear processes of

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<sup>35</sup> The project 'Time for diversity' ('Tijd voor diversiteit') was carried out by the Expert centre Gender, Ethnicity and Multiculturality (GEM) of Utrecht University in cooperation with E-Quality (experts in gender and equality) and ECHO (Centre for Diversity Policy). The project was subsidised by the Science Shop of the Faculty of Arts of Utrecht University. For more about science shops or knowledge transfer centres, see the next section.

<sup>36</sup> The database referred to here is the European 'Expanding Horizons' database, developed by GEM in cooperation with the IIAV in 2001.

curriculum change, support from leadership in medical schools, a problem-based curriculum<sup>37</sup>, and an influential ‘change agent’. In relation to the latter, Verdonk (2007a) found that women – who compared to men were more supportive of integrating gender but also found themselves more often in less powerful positions – can make an impact on curriculum change by creating alliances with the senior (male) staff.

In the field of gender and development, research about the integration of gender in Dutch curricula is currently in progress. Mans (2009) analysed the attention to gender and development in Dutch university courses of the departments of anthropology, development studies, social and cultural geography, and international relations.<sup>38</sup> She found that, although gender and development has developed into a recognised subject<sup>39</sup>, not all students are automatically taught about gender, since gender is not always part of the compulsory curriculum. She also suggested that the integration of gender could mean that the concept of gender loses its critical edge. The introduction of the Bachelor-Master model has had different outcomes in this sector: some programmes or courses (almost) disappeared whereas others remained or expanded. Mans preliminarily identified factors that affect the integration of gender in these particular fields: A strong staff position (being a professor or having a permanent contract) seems to positively influence the attention that can be paid to gender and development in education, but support from others like study coordinators or education directors is still needed. The undervaluation of gender as a specialisation and the limited understanding of the concept hinder knowledge integration. Lastly, the student evaluations of courses affect whether courses become compulsory or are taught at all. Among the strategies to improve the integration of gender (as mentioned by the interviewees in Mans’ research) are increasing the number of women in higher academic positions, but other solutions, such as increasing research output in the form of publications, are also mentioned.

As the above overview of existing research shows, the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in teaching is not optimal and it is clear that this poses a problem for Women’s Studies scholars. The findings about the (non-) integration in university teaching (and research) are insightful. Though some reasons for non-integration are discipline specific (the limited innovation potential of the historical discipline and the resistance to integrating gender in the biomedical discourse), other factors come up several times, for instance women’s underrepresentation in academic decision making and the political connotations of gender and diversity issues. To better understand the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender in general, additional research and a comparison of results from different disciplines is necessary.

### ***Civil society***

The transfer of knowledge about sex and gender to civil society takes place in diverse ways and covers a variety of themes. Civil society organisations are non-profit and special interest organisations, such as medical foundations, social groups, trade unions, and women’s organisations. Civil society is sometimes understood as including education (De Bok and Mulder 2004) and can be related to ideals such as community formation (Dekker 2002). As commissioners of research or advice, civil society organisations represent a large part of universities’ ‘third-stream’ funding (Bongers et al. 2003). To my knowledge, no research has

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<sup>37</sup> Verdonk (2007a) found that a problem-based curriculum can enhance integration of gender aspects. Janssen (1993) assessed that this form of education indeed provides opportunities for including attention to gender, though the programme of Health Sciences that she studied did not seize these opportunities.

<sup>38</sup> Mans’ research addresses teaching but also research in the field of gender and development.

<sup>39</sup> Steenbeek (2006) mentions that the recognition of gender in anthropology education is partly brought about by the prevalent use of English literature: gender was relatively quickly accepted in Anglophone anthropological scholarship.

been done on the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in civil society. However, it is evident there are many places to which knowledge about sex and gender travels.

Women's organisations have obvious links to the academic field in which knowledge about sex and gender is being produced. Many academic practices have been valuable for women's organisations (Emancipatieraad 1997). Given the historical ties between the women's movement and Women's Studies, this seems obvious. In third stream-funded research, the relation of Women's Studies to social organisation is visible, potentially contributing to changes in society (Brouns and Harbers 1994). For instance, academic research on sexual violence (Römkens 1992) is used by the government, organisations like Blijf van m'n Lijf (shelters for women victims of sexual violence), and Transact - the Dutch centre for gender issues in health care and the prevention of sexual violence.<sup>40</sup>

Currently, the existence of a Dutch women's movement (in the sense of a social movement) is being questioned altogether (Outshoorn and Oldersma 2007). After all, many second wave action groups have stopped being active, women's situations have improved, and feminism has partly been institutionalised (Brouns 1995). Despite these developments, feminism is still alive. There are active women's organisations; some of them originate from the first or second feminist wave, like Women's Interests (1894) and the Women's House Amsterdam (1973), some were established more recently, like ZAMI (1991) and Women Inc. (2005). There is a lively black, migrant, and refugee women's movement, operating at national and local levels (Deekman and Hermans 2001). Young girls are entering the debates, new themes have been put on the agenda, and the internet has become an important platform for feminists (Outshoorn and Oldersma 2007).

Projects in which women's organisations and Women's Studies cooperate highlight the link between the two especially. Examples of such projects are the book *Caleidoscopische visies. De zwarte, migranten- en vluchtelingenvrouwenbeweging in Nederland* (Kaleidoscopic visions: The black, migrant, and refugee women's movement in the Netherlands) by Botman, Jouwe, and Wekker (2001), resulting from a cooperation between GEM and E-Quality<sup>41</sup>, and the Dutch Women's Thesaurus (Drenthe and Van der Sommen 1992), developed by the International Information Centre and Archives of the Women's Movement (IIAV) and Utrecht University. The thesaurus provides women's libraries and archives with tools for a gender-indexing system. Linkages between Women's Studies and civil society can also be seen in both students who do their internship or research training on issues relevant to social groups (Jansen and Van Alst 1995) and in gender experts who fulfil advisory functions in societal organisations.

Knowledge is exchanged via the participation of Women's Studies scholars and civil society actors in public debates, cultural events, and (academic) conferences. These exchanges cover a wide variety of topics, ranging from women's labour market participation to abortion, and from multicultural society to cultural heritage. For example, the programme of the 7<sup>th</sup> European Feminist Research Conference (Utrecht, 4-7 June 2009) included a public debate about (the representation of) women in power as well as excursions to museum exhibitions in which artists reflected on the conference themes. The latter shows that knowledge about sex and gender travels between academic and non-academic locations.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Transact merged with five other organisation to form MOVISIE, the Netherlands centre for social development, in 2007.

<sup>41</sup> GEM is the Expert centre Gender, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism, which was set up in 1997 at Utrecht University's Faculty of Arts. E-Quality is the national expert centre on gender and ethnicity, which was set up in 1998; it currently is the knowledge centre for gender, family and diversity issues.

<sup>42</sup> An (other) example of the influence of feminism on art is the exhibition 'Rebelle. Art and Feminism 1969-2009' at the Museum voor Moderne Kunst Arnhem (30 May - 23 August 2009). An example of cultural

Disseminating insights to a broad audience occurs through contributions from Women's Studies scholars to news media; from writing articles to radio interviews and complete television series. Dutch educational broadcasting company Teleac, for instance, broadcast a series on feminism and science (Goldschmidt et al. 1995). At the same time, the media are the object of feminist scrutiny. The public broadcasting agency NOS operated a Representation Bureau to increase gender diversity in their programmes that cooperated with Women's Studies researchers.<sup>43</sup> Women's Studies scholars also publish in journals and books written for an audience that is not exclusively academic. These include the journals *Lover* (since 1974), *Opzij* (since 1972), and *Savante* (1992-2003).<sup>44</sup> Women's Studies scholars participated in a five volume popular-scientific book series, which was initiated by the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, about culture and migration in the Netherlands (e.g. Buikema and Meijer 2003, 2004; Hoving, Dibbits, and Schrover 2005).<sup>45</sup>

In transferring knowledge to society, university 'knowledge points' or 'centres for knowledge transfer' are important tools. These centres, previously known as science shops, carry out research projects for organisations that do not have the resources to do their own research, thereby fulfilling part of universities' societal services. Some of these centres also incorporate services to the for-profit sector. The EU finds the Dutch science shops a good example of how to bridge the gap between science and society, and how to contribute to the establishment of a knowledge society (De Bok and Mulder 2004). These centres' research projects also transfer knowledge about sex and gender to society, for instance in projects on the careers of female academics (M.A. Bekker 2000), domestic violence (Genugten 2001), women and the history of cycling (Opmeer 2004), and equal treatment of men and women in laws about choosing a surname (Braam 2005).<sup>46</sup> In so-called Studium Generale lectures organised by universities, knowledge about sex and gender is transferred to a broad audience.<sup>47</sup>

Education is an important means for knowledge transfer, and knowledge about sex and gender is disseminated to secondary education, institutes for higher vocational education, and Higher Education for Seniors (Hoger Onderwijs Voor Ouderen). A great success of Women's Studies in the history discipline has been the integration of gender in the curriculum of history for secondary schools. After a one-year experiment with women's history as a topic for the central exams in 1990, efforts of the Dutch Association for Women's History and the Commission of Women's History in the Association of History Teachers resulted in structural attention to gender and ethnicity in secondary education history curricula (Grever 1995).

In 2006, a cultural canon was developed to inform the public and educate schoolchildren about Dutch history and culture. The Canon (Van Oostrom 2006a, 2006b, 2007b) is disseminated to the wider public via several initiatives of museums, cultural institutions, and broadcasting agencies. Although some important female figures from Dutch history are integrated in the Canon, several gender historians and feminist actors in society argued that the Canon does not pay adequate attention to gender and women in history. In

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expressions is the worldwide college V-Day 2005 campaign, which prompted Women's Studies students from Utrecht University to stage the Vagina Monologues (Utrecht, 23 and 24 March 2005).

<sup>43</sup> The 'NOS Bureau Beeldvorming m/v' started in 1991. In 2001, it merged with the NOS bureau that focused on ethnicity. In 2003, it was named 'Bureau Beeldvorming en Diversiteit' (Representation and Diversity Bureau).

<sup>44</sup> The last volume of the journal *Savante* was published online. The forerunner of *Savante*, *PHEME*, started in 1987; *Savante* continued in 2004 and 2005 as *Spot!*.

<sup>45</sup> The editorial staff of the series includes Women's Studies scholars Maaike Meijer, Rosemarie Buikema, Gloria Wekker, and Isabel Hoving.

<sup>46</sup> The latter project won the National Science Shops Prize in 2005.

<sup>47</sup> The Utrecht University Studium Generale lecture series on the occasion of the third lustrum of its Women's Studies department is an example of this ('The Next Gender-ations: New perspectives in Gender Research.' Utrecht, 5, 19, and 26 November 2003).

reaction to the underrepresentation of women and emancipation in the Canon, the feminist monthly *Opzij* initiated a Women's Canon.<sup>48</sup>

At colleges of higher vocational education, only a few courses pay attention to gender, because of a general absence of Women's Studies institutionalisation at this level of education (Jansen and Van Alst 1995). The integration of Women's Studies insights in Higher Vocational Education was supported by the National Support Point Emancipation in Higher Vocational Education (LSE HBO - Landelijk Steunpunt Emancipatie HBO) until 2001. Activities included conferences, study days, and teaching modules (Van der Sanden 2002).<sup>49</sup> Researchers of the Expert centre Gender, Ethnicity and Multiculturality set up activities to add colour to the teacher training programmes at colleges for higher vocational education.<sup>50</sup>

It is evident that civil society is a domain to which knowledge about sex and gender is distributed. Scholars actively aim to reach a broad audience and societal organisations approach Women's Studies when they require gender expertise.<sup>51</sup> Since no studies have dealt with the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in civil society, there is no good insight in the use or non-use of knowledge in this domain. Some have suggested that increased emancipation generates new and complex questions, implying a steady demand for gender expertise (Krops 2007).

### ***Employment of Women's Studies graduates***

Trained in diverse disciplines, Dutch Women's Studies graduates transport their knowledge to a broad range of jobs in a wide variety of employment arenas, including the public sector, business organisations, civil society associations, and (women's) NGOs (Van der Sanden 2004). The graduates' variety of professional practices highlights the involvement of human capital in the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender to society.

The relation between Women's Studies and the labour market has long been an issue for the field, in the case of both MA and PhD students. The issue is however mostly approached from the perspective of job prospects (Buikema, Kogelman, and Van der Meulen 1996; Eggermont 1997; Wilmink 1997) and the influence on women's opportunities in the labour market (Griffin 2003, 2004; Van der Sanden 2004).<sup>52</sup> Since the introduction of the Bachelor-Master model, the employability question of Women's Studies graduates has become more imperative.<sup>53</sup>

To what extent do Women's Studies graduates integrate knowledge about sex and gender in their work and what factors affect the use of their knowledge in professional settings? These questions have only been touched upon to a small extent. It was found that many Dutch Women's Studies graduates are able to integrate the acquired knowledge and competences in their work (Van der Sanden 2004). The integration of knowledge varies from

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<sup>48</sup> See [www.opzij.nl/opzij/show/id=31057](http://www.opzij.nl/opzij/show/id=31057) (accessed 29 October 2008).

<sup>49</sup> The activities concerned gender in the fields of health care and teacher training (LSE HBO 1997, 1998).

<sup>50</sup> The GEM project 'Kleur in het curriculum' pays attention to both ethnicity and gender. GEM also directs its efforts at teacher training at university level (Pattynama and Verboom 2000).

<sup>51</sup> The importance of the 'societal services' of Women's Studies can be derived from annual reports of Women's Studies units, see for example *De Take-Off* (2003) and Krops (2007).

<sup>52</sup> In the European EWSI project (2001-2003), funded by the European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme, contract number HPSE-CT2001-00082, the impact of Women's Studies training on women's employment in Europe was studied in nine countries (Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and the United Kingdom). This EU project shows the European-wide concern with this issue.

<sup>53</sup> The impact of the Bologna process on the professional perspectives of Women's Studies graduates was one of the key issues addressed at the 5<sup>th</sup> European Conference on Gender Equality in Higher Education, organised by the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, 28-31 August 2007. Contributions to the conference panel discussion about this topic are published in *Bulletin-Texte* (Grenz, Jähnert, and Kortendiek 2008).

specifically translating theoretical insights into practical advices to more generally assessing certain complex debates or issues (Van der Sanden 2006). Though integration of knowledge by Women's Studies graduates is thus ample, obstacles to using knowledge in practice arise both because of the image of Women's Studies as a disputed field of expertise, an association connected to stereotypical ideas about feminism, and because of the public's opinion that emancipation is complete (Van der Sanden 2004).

Still, graduates want to make a difference in and through their jobs. Awareness of gender inequalities is an important factor in graduates' motivation to study Women's Studies as well as in their career ambitions. In their jobs, graduates want to be socially engaged and politically significant (Van der Sanden 2004). If you recall, this ambition for change is the core of Women's Studies, and this transformative core is to be found in knowledge about sex and gender.

With an increase in gender awareness, critical thinking, and self-confidence as a result of Women's Studies training (Van der Sanden 2004; Griffin 2003; Dever and Day 2001), it can be assumed that Women's Studies graduates are also equipped to contribute to making changes in society. However, although graduates have a lot of gender expertise, this does not automatically mean that they can put their (theoretical) knowledge into practice (Van der Sanden 2008). This also became clear at the seminar 'Working with Women's Studies' (8 June 2007), organised by the Dutch Women's Studies Association.<sup>54</sup> The panel discussion at that seminar about the professional experiences of Women's Studies graduates showed that a lack of concrete tools or competences and being confronted with (gendered) power structures hindered graduates in making actual interventions in their jobs. An outcome of the seminar was that the Dutch Women's Studies Association took the initiative to organise a workshop for Women's Studies graduates to prepare them for employment.<sup>55</sup> (Van der Sanden 2007) Such initiatives, however, are not new: the Belle van Zuylen Institute (then the Women's Studies PhD unit at the University of Amsterdam) in 1998 organised a 'NOV Career Day' for PhD students of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies (NOV) to make them aware of their career opportunities and to guide them in finding work (NOV 1999).

It is clear that knowledge about sex and gender travels to professional settings via Women's Studies graduates. They are keen to make changes in the workplace, but despite the relevance of their knowledge, they perceive difficulties in putting their knowledge into practice. These difficulties seem to be related to the transformative character of Women's Studies knowledge, which is often not very well received. Other factors that play a role are power structures in the workplace and the societal idea that emancipation is complete. Although existing studies focused mostly on the impact of Women's Studies on employment outcomes, the role of Women's Studies graduates in transferring Women's Studies knowledge to society is evident.

## **1.5 Conclusions**

In this chapter, I discussed the gap between the production of Women's Studies knowledge and its integration in society. I showed that there are examples of use, as well as non-use, of knowledge and insights from Women's Studies in policymaking, university curricula, and in civil society. Use and non-use are also visible in the experiences of Women's Studies

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<sup>54</sup> Seminar 'Werken met Vrouwenstudies', organised by the Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV), 8 June 2007, Radboud University Nijmegen.

<sup>55</sup> The workshop 'Genderexpertise op de werkvloer' took place on 2 April 2008 at the Radboud University Nijmegen.

graduates. I showed that there has been no thorough investigation of the reasons why knowledge about sex and gender is not being practically integrated to the fullest. The few studies that tried to understand the reasons why Women's Studies knowledge gets integrated are mostly mono-dimensional, taking into account only some domains or aspects that could affect knowledge integration. I also illustrated how discussions about non-integration mostly provide informed guesses or speculations on reasons for non-integration. Additionally, the proposed solutions do not always seem to be in line with what Women's Studies scholars deem to be the problem. The discussions thus lack an accurate understanding of knowledge transfer and the reasons for non-use. Without solid insight into how knowledge transfer happens in practice, or without well-founded answers to the question what conditions affect knowledge integration, the efforts of Women's Studies scholars to improve the integration of their knowledge in society will merely be based on perceptions of how knowledge transfer works. Understanding knowledge transfer also entails addressing the role of human capital in knowledge transfer. As a Women's Studies scholar, I seek to unravel the question of the Women's Studies knowledge gap, and to ultimately influence a better integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society.

I demonstrated that research in Social Studies of Knowledge puts forward theoretical frameworks for understanding knowledge transfer and the conditions that affect the integration of knowledge. After showing that there is no single coherent theoretical model to think about knowledge transfer, I discerned three useful approaches: Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. Each approach has something to offer for my research project and by combining these approaches, I expect to not only gain insight into Women's Studies' knowledge gap, but also to contribute to the development of Social Studies of Knowledge theory. Studying the case of Women's Studies is especially valuable for enhancing theoretical accounts of knowledge transfer.

To reach my research aim, I will study specific cases in which knowledge about sex and gender is transferred to society. Chapter 3 will see a more detailed explanation of my research project. First, I will describe my theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

## **Chapter 2 Theoretical framework**

My research project is about gaining insight into how knowledge about sex and gender is transferred to society, and about understanding the variations in knowledge integration. Theories about knowledge transfer and knowledge integration in society have different origins and focus on different questions. The main theories that deal with this subject can be found in Social Studies of Knowledge, and as I make clear below, the most interesting and useful theories are Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2.

### **2.1 Social Studies of Knowledge**

Social Studies of Knowledge is a distinct approach in the Sociology of Science, a field in Science Studies (also known as Science and Technology Studies<sup>56</sup>) that deals with the relation between science and society from a sociological point of view. This approach fits my research project because it focuses on the content of knowledge in relation to the social world. Other terms for Social Studies of Knowledge are Sociology of Scientific Knowledge and the new sociology of science, ‘new’ because it partly developed as a reaction to the Institutional Sociology of Science, based on the work of Robert K. Merton (1957 (1942)) and focused on the normative and institutional aspects of science (Hess 1997).

In Social Studies of Knowledge, Dick Pels (1996) distinguishes the “Mannheimian” and “Wittgensteinian” research traditions. The difference between the two is that the first focuses on macro-sociological processes in the connection between science and society, whereas the second focuses on micro-sociological processes at work in knowledge production. Wittgensteinian scholars are engaged with how social, non-social, and cultural factors play a role in the construction of knowledge content.<sup>57</sup> Mannheimian scholars are engaged with broader sociological issues, a perspective which leaves room for studying the impact of knowledge on society. In the following sections, I will discuss these traditions and their relevance for my research project.

#### ***The Mannheimian tradition***

Studies in the Mannheimian research tradition date back to the 1920s, when Karl Mannheim (1991 (1936)), founder of the sociology of knowledge, discussed the role of intellectuals and their knowledge in society, and continued in the 1970s with Alvin Gouldner’s analysis of the importance of intellectuals for Western industrial societies (Gouldner 1979). Working from a macro-sociological perspective, the sociologists of knowledge that followed in Mannheim’s footsteps, such as Kurt Wolff, David Kettler, Volker Meja, and Nico Stehr (Pels 1996), have been concerned with knowledge transfer and the use of scientific knowledge in practice.

Stehr has written comprehensively on the successful use of knowledge from the social sciences, distinguishing two existing theoretical views: the ‘logic of justification’ and the ‘logic of practice’ (Stehr 1992). In the first, use is thought to be dependent on the adequacy of theory. It describes the practical application of knowledge as a straightforward or technical process. This view fits in with what Luhmann (1977, cited in Stehr 1992) terms the ‘model of

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<sup>56</sup> Science and Technology Studies is abbreviated as STS, but this abbreviation has earlier been used to mean Science, Technology, and Society. See Jasanoff et al. (1995) and Hess (1997) for a deliberation on the names of the field.

<sup>57</sup> In my view, it is the Wittgensteinian tradition in particular that has become known as Science and Technology Studies.

instrumentality', a model that assumes the scientific character of knowledge results in its eventual use. Stehr is critical towards this model because it does not take into consideration that knowledge has to pass several barriers in its journey from one social domain to another. Discussing Luhmann's theory of functional differentiation (Luhmann 1981), Stehr points out that, due to different communicative systems, the use of knowledge from the academy in other social contexts is difficult. The transfer of knowledge to other social domains thus requires a process of translation.

The second view Stehr discerns, the logic of practice, is based on the idea that the use of knowledge is dependent on the context of the specific practice. This logic is seemingly opposite to the logic of justification, as it attributes the use of knowledge entirely on the logic of practice. Stehr is critical of both 'logics', because they both separate the contexts of knowledge production and application. He also points to interests governing both knowledge production and application as barriers for the application of social science knowledge. He ultimately argues that it does not make sense to study the conditions under which knowledge comes to be used if one does not address the interrelations between the production and use of knowledge.

Knowledge Utilisation is a research field that can be placed in the Mannheimian tradition (cf. Weiss 2003).<sup>58</sup> It specifically studies the use of knowledge from the social sciences in policymaking. In the 1930s, pioneering work in this field was done by Paul Lazarsfeld in the US and Albert B. Chermis in the UK (Huberman 1994; Weiss 2001). Studies on the use of social sciences research, also called 'research utilisation', began to be carried out on a large scale in the US in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after research was increasingly brought into play as means to make governmental policy more effective, for example to combat poverty (Weiss 2003). The hopeful idea underlying these studies was that research results from the social sciences ought to form a basis for decision making. However, when it turned out that social sciences research was not used by scholars as well as policy makers as much as expected (Oh 1997; Weiss 1999), Knowledge Utilisation scholars shifted their attention to trying to explain the variations in the use of knowledge and analysing both the role of knowledge in policymaking and the conditions that affect its use (Oh 1997). Different models within Knowledge Utilisation focus on conditions in the context of practice, the context of researchers and their theories, or on the interrelations between the two contexts (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001).

### ***The Wittgensteinian tradition***

The Wittgensteinian tradition (Pels 1996) can be found in the work of scholars working in the social studies of science in the 1970s, such as David Bloor, Barry Barnes, Harry Collins, and Bruno Latour, all of whom use a constructivist interpretation of the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953, 1978 (1956)) (cf. Lynch 1992). The work of these scholars can be characterised as 'constructivism' (Hess 1997) because it deals with the roles of social, non-social, and cultural factors in the construction of the content of knowledge. The analytical framework of 'cultural constructivism' in particular has my interest because it allows for addressing the role of power in the production of knowledge.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Weiss (2003) situates the attention to the use of research in the Sociology of Knowledge, also mentioning Mannheim in this line of work. Hoppe (2005), however, considers Knowledge Utilisation to be Policy Studies, seemingly opposing this line of research to Science Studies, specifically Science, Technology, and Society.

<sup>59</sup> The cultural constructivist framework in Social Studies of Knowledge developed after both social and heterogeneous constructivism arose, yet it does not oppose them and can be used in conjunction with these earlier frameworks (Hess 1997).

The cultural constructivist framework analyses the cultural meaning of theories and methods, locating scientists as actors in a web of meanings that structures their work. Analysing scientific controversies in terms of their meaning for the groups of researchers involved, the cultural constructivist framework indicates a move to broader political and social issues (Hess 1997). In these cultural and critical studies of science, anthropological and feminist influences are apparent. In anthropologically informed science studies, research focuses on a larger field of interactions, sometimes called an “arena”. The inclusion of interactions between scientific, governmental, industrial, and other societal domains gives culture and power more prominent roles in the construction of science (Hess 1997).

Feminist Science Studies scholars, such as Nancy Hartsock, Sandra Harding, and Donna Haraway, have thoroughly engaged with the interrelations of sex, gender, and knowledge. Their work goes beyond the concerns of the Sociology of Science, also covering Philosophy of Science, but they did contribute to Social Studies of Knowledge the insight that knowledge is shaped by gendered norms that act as principles for the distribution of power (Harding 1986). These scholars have shown that the ‘objective’ standpoint in the natural and social sciences is in fact a male standpoint that excludes knowledge produced from a female standpoint. Another valuable lesson from Feminist Science Studies is that knowledge is produced from a specific social location, a notion that creates the possibility of alternative knowledge claims (E.F. Keller 1988).

### ***Usefulness of Social Studies of Knowledge***

The Mannheimian tradition in Social Studies of Knowledge is relevant for my research project because their object of study is the application of knowledge in society. Specifically, I will use theories from Knowledge Utilisation. This tradition provides a framework in which I can seek answers to questions like: How does knowledge impact on society? What use is made of knowledge in society? How are research findings relevant for policymaking or for civil society?

Following Stehr, who points to the importance of interrelations between the production and application of knowledge, I will also make use of the Wittgensteinian tradition because it pays attention to the influence of social and political interests on knowledge production. Specifically, I will use theories from Feminist Science Studies. Given the political character of the body of knowledge my research project studies, it is imperative to address this aspect. The Wittgensteinian tradition thus provides me with an analytical perspective to seek answers to questions like: How do the particularities of knowledge production in Women’s Studies impact on the integration of knowledge in society? How do power relations affect the transfer of knowledge?

Both traditions are necessary parts of my theoretical framework because they allow me to combine the object of study from the Mannheimian tradition with the analytical perspective of the Wittgensteinian tradition. I will focus on variations in the integration of knowledge in society without overlooking how knowledge about sex and gender is produced. Since Knowledge Utilisation concentrates on the use of knowledge and Feminist Science Studies is oriented to its production, it is imperative to find a way to connect these different approaches. In other words, I need a framework that pays attention to the interrelations between knowledge production and use.

Before I move on to solving that issue, I want to take a closer look at the differences between the two traditions. Whereas the Wittgensteinian Sociology of Knowledge concentrates on the ‘hard’ sciences, the Mannheimian tradition pays particular attention to the social sciences (Pels 1996). Pels points out that it was the work of ‘Wittgensteinian’ scholars such as Bloor, Barnes, Collins, and Latour that innovated the Social Studies of Science in the 1970s. With the excitement that this work generated, Science Studies turned its attention away

from the Mannheimian tradition, hence losing sight of macro-sociological concerns (Pels 1996). Guggenheim and Nowotny (2003) indicate that Science Studies has, in the process of its institutionalisation, cut itself off from its previous links to sociology, thereby losing sight of macro-sociological developments that affect the relation between science and society. This disregard may also be due to the resistance of Science Studies scholars to acknowledge their theoretical roots in Sociology, preferring to be associated with the world of Philosophy (Restivo 1995).

The predominant interest of Science Studies in micro-sociological matters, characteristic for the Wittgensteinian tradition, is visible in for instance its textbooks and terminology. Hess' introductory textbook on Science Studies (1997) treats Sociology of Scientific Knowledge and constructivism as synonymous, thereby giving the impression that the field merely deals with the production of knowledge and the social factors involved. The *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (Jasanoff et al. 1995) and *The Science Studies Reader* (Biagioli 1999) also disregard the Mannheimian tradition. Science Studies' or, to be more precise, Science and Technology Studies' focus on the process of knowledge production is also visible in the definition of Science and Technology Studies that Guggenheim and Nowotny (2003, p. 232) propose, shifting the attention to "the production of new knowledge and things". Because of the prevalence of the Wittgensteinian tradition, Science Studies is predominantly concerned with knowledge from the Natural Sciences (cf. Guggenheim and Nowotny 2003), largely disregarding knowledge from the Social Sciences and Humanities. For example, most essays in the aforementioned *The Science Studies Reader* are about physical and biological sciences.

To combine the Wittgensteinian and Mannheimian tradition I will have to turn to new approaches to the complex relationships between science and society.

### ***New approaches to complex relationships***

In the context of the knowledge society, several conceptual frameworks have been developed that provide accounts of the complex interrelations between knowledge production and the use of knowledge, or broader, between science and society. Prominent frameworks in Science Studies are Mode 2, the Triple Helix, and National Systems of Innovation.

The Mode 2 concept is developed by a group of authors including Michael Gibbons, Helga Nowotny, and Peter Scott. In their 1994 book *The new production of knowledge*, Gibbons et al. (1994) introduce this concept to comprehend the current interrelations between science and society, further developing it in *Re-thinking Science*, published in 2001 (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). In the close interaction of science and society, the authors on the one hand see a socialisation of science: the scientific community has become more engaged in the application of knowledge, which affects the way knowledge is produced and disseminated. The production of knowledge in Mode 2 thus takes place in the context of application.

On the other hand, the authors discern a scientification of society: there is a growing societal need and use for knowledge (for instance, because governments and policymakers use knowledge as a basis for their decision making). As is apparent from these two processes, Mode 2 examines science from an opposite perspective to that in which science operates autonomously from other social domains. That perspective, which the authors call Mode 1 science, would accommodate the concept of the academy as an ivory tower, in which objective knowledge is produced free from political or economic interests.

The Triple Helix (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz 1996; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997) is a concept used to represent the changing relationships between the three spheres of universities, industry, and government. The model is best suited for analysing innovation in a knowledge-intensive economy (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz 1998). Innovation occurs when

existing institutional and cognitive structures no longer fit the current situation and science and society evolve into a new institutional arrangement. This new arrangement is called the triple helix, in which the universities, industry, and government come together, interact, and even - although the three spheres continue to exist - change internally. The Triple Helix model is applied in biotechnology, aeronautics, computers, and instrumentation (Shinn 2002).

The concept of National Systems of Innovation (Lundvall 1992; Nelson 1993) describes innovation as a process in which organisations use new products and production techniques. Innovation here is conceptualised in economic terms. Although the system refers to the linkages between knowledge producers and users, the users are predominantly identified as business organisations and the term innovation is mainly applied to technological change (Cooke, Gomez Uranga, and Etzebarria 1997). In addition, the analysis of innovation in terms of national systems fails to understand innovation in terms of the interaction between the spheres (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz 1998), and it is precisely the interaction between knowledge producers and users that I want to understand in my research project.

Neither the Triple Helix nor the National Systems of Innovation frameworks encompasses the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences, and neither includes civil society in their domains. I therefore do not find either useful to use as, or in, my theoretical framework. Since the production of knowledge in Mode 2 is related to the context of its application, the mutuality of the relations between science and society can evidently be studied within this conceptual framework. The concept of Mode 2 enables me to bridge the divergence between the Wittgensteinian and the Mannheimian tradition, as it engages with both traditions: it addresses the role of science in society (use) as well as the role of society in science (production). Using Mode 2, I thus aim to shed light on the complex relationships between science and society that are at work in knowledge transfer.

My theoretical framework then consists of three main parts: Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. In the following sections, these will be discussed in more detail.

## ***2.2 Knowledge Utilisation***

Knowledge Utilisation theories deal with the use of knowledge, focussing in particular on the conditions that affect the use of knowledge in society. Knowledge utilisation has primarily been studied in the contexts of governmental decision making and professional practice. This latter context was for instance studied in the field of education (see Huberman 1994) and psychology (L.H. Cohen, Sargent, and Sechrest 1986). Studies about the use of knowledge in businesses and other organisations are less frequent (except for Rherrad 2005, which studies it in business firms). The knowledge with which studies of knowledge utilisation are concerned mainly comes from the social sciences, but the theory is understood to be applicable to other disciplines as well. Hanney et al. (2003), for instance, studied utilisation of health research in policymaking.

Knowledge utilisation can be defined in different ways. One often-used definition refers to the direct contribution of knowledge to decision making or professional practice. This instrumental use of knowledge occurs when knowledge leads to a certain decision or a shift in practices that would not have been made without that knowledge. Several researchers have pointed to an additional, non-instrumental, cultural role of social sciences research, a role which is also called enlightenment or the conceptual use of knowledge (Schelsky 1975; Weiss 2001). This cultural role becomes apparent when knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, a new definition of a policy problem, or a different understanding of the issues concerned. While this ideological effect of 'enlightenment' cannot

be denied, it is more difficult to pinpoint in reality than when knowledge results in a concrete prediction or policy intervention (Stehr 1992). Another type of knowledge utilisation is the symbolic use of knowledge (Pelz 1978; Beyer and Trice 1982), when research is used to legitimate a view that decision makers already have.

Apart from these ‘types’, knowledge utilisation can also be described in terms of degrees. Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) identify six cumulative stages of knowledge utilisation, each stage building on the previous.<sup>60</sup> The stages go from researchers transmitting research results (‘dissemination’), professionals reading and understanding the results (‘cognition’), citing research results (‘reference’), making efforts to adopt research results (‘effort’), and research results influencing a decision (‘influence’), to the application of research results by professionals (‘application’). The stages show an increasing degree of knowledge integration, indicating that it is not a simple matter of integration or non-integration, but a process (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001; Landry, Lamari, and Amara 2003).<sup>61</sup>

Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) identify four major theoretical models of knowledge utilisation: the science push model, the demand pull model, the dissemination model, and the interaction model. Below I will discuss these as well as their advantages and disadvantages.

### ***Science push model***

Initial studies on knowledge utilisation tried to explain it by looking at the types and quality of research. Because the focus of these studies was on the supply of research, this model is called the ‘science push model’ (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). This reflects the assumption underlying early knowledge utilisation studies, namely that research produces knowledge that in turn impacts (governmental) policies and programmes (Weiss 2003).

With different outcomes per type of research (quantitative or qualitative), the impact of this variable seems undecided. Some studies found that the quality of research did matter; where others found knowledge utilisation was not dependent on factors such as validity or applicability (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001; Weiss 2003).

Referring to Lomas (1990), Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) criticise the science push model, because it assumes an automatic transfer of knowledge to users and falsely assumes research results are directly usable in policymaking. As Stehr (1992) indicated, the transfer of knowledge to other social domains requires a process of translation.

### ***Demand pull model***

Criticism on the science push model gave rise to another model, one which focused on the situation of the users (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). This ‘demand pull model’, assumes that the utilisation of research depends on the questions and expectations of the users (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001), for example the appropriateness of research results for the issues policymakers are dealing with or the timely availability of results in the policymaking process. According to this model, knowledge utilisation increases when researchers focus more on the needs of users.

However, research results sometimes conflict with the interests of users (Stehr 1992). For that reason, some studies of knowledge utilisation incorporated organisational interests as

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<sup>60</sup> The stages of Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) are adapted from Knott and Wildavsky (1980). In a later study, Landry, Lamari, and Amara (2003) also used six stages of knowledge utilisation. These, however, are slightly different and are labelled from the perspective of users instead of researchers.

<sup>61</sup> The understanding of knowledge utilisation as a process is also characteristic of the scale developed by Knott and Wildavsky (1980).

a possible factor determining the integration of knowledge. This variation on the demand pull model, still focusing on the users, is called the ‘organisational interests model’ (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). The rationale behind this model is that if research results match the interests of the organisation, then there is more chance that the results will be used in policymaking. Weiss (2001) identifies four interests-related factors, which she names the “four I’s”: ideology, interests, institutional norms and practices, and prior information. Ideology refers to people’s principles or basic values. For example, someone who strongly believes that a woman’s role is in the home is unlikely to be convinced by data showing that increased women’s labour participation leads to a higher innovation potential of businesses. Interests here refer to the self-interest of both individuals and organisations. Institutional norms and practices are the customary ways in which organisations work. Prior information consists of the knowledge and general beliefs that people already have about the issue in question.

Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) criticise both variants of the demand pull model for stressing the selfishness of users too much and not paying attention to the interaction between researchers and the users of their knowledge. This lack of interaction between researchers and users has been identified as a main reason for the underutilisation of knowledge (e.g. Oh and R.F. Rich 1996). According to Stehr (1992, p. 154), “[T]he task of formulating practical social science knowledge requires that the moment of its use has to be built into, or at least explicitly taken into account in, the process of constructing knowledge from the beginning.” The point Stehr makes is that the impact of social conditions on the construction of social science knowledge ought to be essential to the analysis of the use of knowledge. In addition to the above-mentioned critiques, both the science push and the demand pull model focus mainly on the instrumental use of knowledge (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001; Stehr 1992).

### ***Dissemination model***

Acting on the critique that knowledge transfer is not automatic, the ‘dissemination model’ was developed. According to this model, for knowledge utilisation to be more likely a dissemination mechanism is necessary to identify useful knowledge and make potential users aware of it (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). This model takes into account the types of research results and the dissemination efforts of researchers, such as for instance making research results understandable for decision makers and including specific recommendations for action in research reports.

Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) criticise the dissemination model, because it does not take into account that users are involved in the production and the selection of knowledge. They thus point again at the interaction between researchers and users as an important factor determining knowledge utilisation.

### ***Interaction model***

The ‘interaction model’ attempts to take into account the interaction between researchers and users that the previous theoretical models did not include. By focusing on interactions, the model lets go of the linear perspective upon which the science push and demand pull model are based. Instead of focussing on factors surrounding either researcher or user, the interaction between the two becomes central. Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) describe two variants of the interaction model:

The first is the ‘two-communities model’, which states that science and policy are different communities with their own culture and own language (Caplan 1979). Underlying the two-communities metaphor is Luhmann’s theory of functional differentiation (Luhmann 1981), which argues that different social systems have different communicative systems. This

model supposes that because of this gap, there is little use of knowledge from the academy in government or other social contexts. The model assumes that knowledge utilisation requires a process of knowledge translation or transformation. This reasoning is for instance visible in Hirsch Hadorn, Kissling-Näf, and Pohl (2004), who identify a need for ‘interfaces’ between science and society to increase knowledge communication and integration.

The second variant, the ‘interaction model’ (Huberman and Gather-Thurler 1991), is based on the supposition that the more intense and sustained the interaction between researchers and users is in the production, dissemination and utilisation of knowledge, the more likely it is that knowledge will be used (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). It explains utilisation by looking at a variety of factors described in the science push, demand pull, and dissemination model, but most importantly by looking at the ‘linkage mechanisms’. These are social relationships between users and producers of knowledge, such as formal and informal contacts between researchers and users, the presence of intermediaries, involvement of users in the data collection phase, or interim feedback on research findings (Huberman 1994). Other variables in the interaction model have to do with the ‘dissemination competence’ (Huberman 1994) of researchers, which entails adapting products to specific users, using multiple dissemination channels, the level of redundancy of the researchers’ message, and (continuity of) personal contacts. In the research context, both publication assets and external research funding are identified as enhancing integration (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). The reasoning behind the funding factor is that researchers working with external funds are more likely to be outward looking and thus more sensitive to the needs of users outside the academic milieu (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001).

Huberman (1994) argues that ‘sustained interactivity’ is a determining factor in knowledge utilisation. This sustained interactivity encompasses interpersonal exchanges between researchers and users before, during, and after the study that have mutual effects, i.e. both researchers and users are affected by it. Users can voice their local/practical concerns in an early stage of the research process and prepare for dealing with the eventual research results, and researchers can accommodate the concerns of users in their research (concepts, goals, and instruments).

### **Relevance and challenges of Knowledge Utilisation**

To understand the variation in knowledge integration, one of the main goals of this study, the ‘interaction model’ (Huberman and Gather Thurler 1991) is the most relevant, because it encompasses factors related to researchers and users, as well as the interrelations between the contexts of production and application. As Stehr (1992) argued, these interrelations are essential in understanding knowledge utilisation. The interaction model indicates concrete factors that may affect knowledge integration and it enables me to include a variety of factors that are considered to impact the integration of knowledge in society. However, several theoretical problems have been identified in the literature on knowledge utilisation. These relate to the context and process of policymaking, the lack of an adequate theoretical framework, and the limited generalisability of research findings. Below, I will not only discuss the theoretical challenges in more detail, but also elaborate how I will deal with these challenges.

Weiss (2003) shows that Knowledge Utilisation notions about policymaking have developed from simple models in which policymakers were thought to mechanically implement research findings into more complex models in which policymakers balance research results against other factors. This development makes it necessary to include the broader context of policymaking: the larger group of people involved besides the decision makers, the agency’s clients, and its bureaucratic location (Weiss 2003), as well as other means by which knowledge is spread to policy makers, such as conferences, media, and

networking (Weiss 2001). Policymaking is influenced by actors like the industry, professionals in the field, and the larger public (Hanney et al. 2003). Knowledge utilisation is also affected by other characteristics of the policymaking practice, such as agenda setting, policy formulation, implementation (Hanney et al. 2003), and the policy areas concerned (Oh 1997; Weiss 2003).<sup>62</sup> In my research project, I aim to include the broader context of policymaking by employing the conceptual framework of Mode 2. The interactions between researchers and users do not occur in a vacuum and this broader picture is what Mode 2 offers to my analysis.

Oh (1997) puts forward that it is important to make a conceptual distinction between the use of knowledge in policymaking and the impact knowledge has on the policymaking process. He stresses that knowledge, rather than simply leading to a certain policy outcome or decision ('use'), can also influence the process of policymaking itself ('impact'). Referring to Innes (1990), who states that knowledge can influence policymaking without actually being used, Oh (1997) asserts that knowledge can be used without having an effect on the process. Arguing that utilisation and impact are confused in most studies and that especially the latter has been neglected, Oh (1997) calls for more attention to how and when knowledge influences policymaking. It thus is important to regard knowledge utilisation as a process instead of a single event (R.F. Rich 1997). Methodologically speaking, however, it is difficult to identify the relation between the use of knowledge and the processes that influence knowledge utilisation (R.F. Rich 1997). This challenge thus demands a process design rather than a product design (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001), a design that allows for analysing all stages of knowledge transfer.

Knowledge Utilisation studies have shown that to understand knowledge utilisation various factors from different perspectives or models should be taken into account (Oh and R.F. Rich 1996; Oh 1997; R.F. Rich and Oh 2000). However, despite the fact that studies working from such an 'integrated' perspective (R.F. Rich and Oh 2000) do indicate concrete factors that account for knowledge utilisation (e.g. R.F. Rich and Oh 2000; Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001), the literature on knowledge utilisation lacks a general theoretical framework to integrate different perspectives on knowledge utilisation and to understand the complex underlying relations between factors (Landry, Lamari, and Amara 2003; Oh and R.F. Rich 1996; Oh 1997; R.F. Rich and Oh 2000). The authors hence argue for a line of study that can provide more insight in these issues. Landry, Amara, and Lamari (2001) and Landry, Lamari, and Amara (2003) conclude that the integration of (social science) research is far more complex than can be accounted for with the existing theories, including the advanced 'interaction model'. They point to undetermined factors in the users' context that affect knowledge utilisation but are difficult to incorporate in the theory of the interaction model. The authors hence insist on more theoretical and empirical studies to improve knowledge utilisation theories and better identify the factors that affect knowledge integration. By enlarging the theoretical framework with Mode 2 and with Feminist Science Studies, I expect to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the interrelations between knowledge producers and users, and the conditions affecting the integration of knowledge.

Feminist Science Studies poses a challenge of a different kind to Knowledge Utilisation theories. Postmodern, poststructuralist, and feminist literature limits the use of knowledge and the generalisability of research findings (Huberman 1994). From its beginnings, Women's Studies research has pointed to the reality of women's lives to assert that research findings are not universal and thus not generalisable. Feminist science studies scholars have argued that knowledge is always partial or situated (Haraway 1988). This

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<sup>62</sup> Studying the differences between policy areas' extent of knowledge utilisation has been taken up by, for instance, Landry, Lamari, and Amara (2003) and Amara, Ouimet, and Landry (2004).

situatedness of knowledge in terms of gender, class, and culture means that knowledge signifies different things to people in different social and cultural locations (Harding 1998). Although Knowledge Utilisation studies have looked at characteristics of knowledge as a factor that impacts the integration of knowledge, the gendered situatedness of knowledge has not been addressed. Including a Feminist Science Studies approach in my research means that the partiality and locality of knowledge which feminist scholars have emphasised will be kept in focus throughout the analysis of knowledge transfer.

## **2.3 Feminist Science Studies**

Feminist Science Studies has made clear that the production of knowledge is a gendered process and that, in fact, knowledge itself is deeply gendered. Hartsock's influential article "The feminist standpoint" introduced, as the title of the article reveals, standpoint feminism (Hartsock 1983). She claimed that women's perspective leads to a different interpretation of reality than that of men, which has an androcentric bias that consequently leads to distorted knowledge claims. A feminist standpoint occurs when women are committed to understanding reality from the perspective of the subjugated. Moreover, Hartsock argues that this feminist standpoint should be privileged over that of men, because it is better suited to gain knowledge about a society that is dominated by men.

Harding (1986) sees standpoint feminism as grounded in the shared experiences of women as a social group. However, she questions whether there can be a feminist standpoint when women are divided by class, race, and culture. With the identification of marginalised, 'fractured identities' such as black women and lesbian women, the feminist standpoint seems too unstable a ground for scientific inquiry (Harding 1986). By pointing to the similarities between the world views of women and African people, as an example of other 'others', Harding argues that marginalised people with fractured identities produce different, better knowledge. Even though the knowledge claims generated from these identities may be contradictory, what matters is that they lead to less-distorted accounts of reality.

Because it suggests that there is no truth in research, standpoint feminism is criticised for its relativism. Haraway (1988) thus proposed an alternative, introducing 'situated knowledges'. She argues for an epistemology based on situatedness, on the situation or location from which knowledge claims are made. In her view, partiality or a partial perspective is the basis for objectivity. Knowledge is thus always partial and located. From a partial perspective comes a particular vision on the world that, because of its specificity, produces informative insights. Her epistemology, with its critical attitude towards universal knowledge claims, is both postmodern and feminist.

Revisiting her earlier standpoint feminism, Harding introduced the concept of 'strong objectivity' (Harding 1991, 1993). First, she argued that the contradictory social positions of liberal-feminists, social-feminists and other fractured identities reveal that the subjects of other social movements can produce feminist knowledge too. In the same way as feminists have to learn how gender relates to race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality, other social movements must learn how these categories relate to gender. Thus, alternative knowledge claims are generated from multiple, contradictory social positions and this social situatedness maximises objectivity. Additionally, such a social position can be actively constructed: men for instance can produce different, more objective, knowledge by taking on a women's perspective. In this way, the subjects of knowledge generate strong objectivity.

In her 1998 book *Is science multicultural?*, Harding comprehensively argues that (feminist) science studies should be culturally diverse. Based on the insights from multicultural and global feminisms (e.g. hooks 1983; Spivak 1987) that show gender is

always related to issues of class, race, and colonialism, Harding shows that postcolonial issues are valuable in understanding the role of gender relations in Science Studies.

### **Relevance and challenges of Feminist Science Studies**

Pointing to the role of gender and other social categories in the knowledge-making process, the feminist intervention in Science Studies has highlighted the relations between gender, knowledge, and power. The first relevant insight for my research project comes in the awareness that knowledge is produced from a specific social location. Haraway (1988) stresses that the knowing subject's position is not given, but constructed. Hence, the researcher's social or political commitment forms such a position (more so, in fact, than for instance the researcher's sex). It is thus imperative to investigate how the (strategic) positions of knowledge producers matter in knowledge transfer. For my research project, this entails taking into account the feminist subject position that many Women's Studies scholars (deliberately) occupy, especially because this particular position is explicit and visible. A second relevant insight from Feminist Science Studies' critical approach is that knowledge is shaped by gendered norms. Harding (1986) has shown, and I find this very relevant, that these normative values are organised as binary oppositions and thus are principles for the distribution of power. It is imperative to ask whether and how the fact that knowledge is not neutral affects the acceptance and integration of particular knowledge claims.

As Feminist Science Studies deals with knowledge production and not the integration of knowledge, the challenge is to adapt their theories and insights to fit my research project. I will carry out this exercise in the next chapter.

## **2.4 Mode 2**

The last component of my theoretical framework is Mode 2, a conceptual framework that provides an account of the complex relations between knowledge producers and users, and the changes in that relationship in the context of the knowledge society. In Mode 2 (Gibbons et al. 1994; Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001), science and society are conceptualised as mutually related: there is a socialisation of science, as well as a scientification of society.

As I said, I want to use Mode 2 in my theoretical framework to bridge the Mannheimian and Wittgensteinian traditions. Although she identifies with Science and Technology Studies, Nowotny accuses the field of disregarding macro-sociological, economic, and political developments that point in the direction of Mode 2 knowledge production (Guggenheim and Nowotny 2003). Regarding Mode 2, her and her colleagues' concern with macro-sociological developments is clearly visible in *The new production of knowledge* and *Re-thinking Science*, in particular in the context of the application of knowledge.

I will delineate the key features of Mode 2 and go over the relevance and challenges that this conceptual framework poses to my research project.

### ***Nature of society in Mode 2***

At the heart of the concept of Mode 2 is the argument that all parts of society (market, politics, and culture) are permeated with science and technology. Even more broadly, in Mode 2 society the boundaries between state, market, culture, and science and technology cannot be clearly demarcated; the different parts of society are integrated, or "de-differentiated" (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001, p. 32). Science and technology now play a key role, for instance in economic innovation. In this context, Mode 2 science has developed. This, however, does not infer a causal relationship, rather science and society co-evolve. With the

concept of co-evolution, Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) highlight the reciprocal relations between science and society. When dealing with societal problems such as globalisation and bio-medical issues, society turns to science and technology to provide theories and instruments to solve the problems. However, these problems are also partly created through scientific and technological developments. Thus, science and technology not only generate knowledge and products, they also generate new uncertainties, new problems.<sup>63</sup> The key message of co-evolution is that it precludes technological as well as social determinism. Science and technology do not determine the direction of social relations, nor does society determine scientific and technological development.

### ***Contextualisation of knowledge production and transdisciplinarity***

Characteristic for Mode 2 is that in the production of knowledge, the so-called context of application is taken into account. This means that all actors involved in a particular application, not just researchers but also actors from society, market, and politics, negotiate their interests and discuss the problem, the objectives, and the research methods together, resulting in contextualised knowledge. This is not just the case for applied research, but for all research. Compared to Mode 1 science, the context or society actually responds to science in Mode 2 (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). The authors call this public setting where science and society speak to each other the ‘agora’. A consequence of this problem-based focus is that Mode 2 science is characterised more by a transdisciplinary (or interdisciplinary) organisation of science than by a disciplinary one.

### ***Socially distributed knowledge production***

With the changed relations between science and society, the institutional organisation of knowledge production also changes. Contemporary societies are characterised as “knowledgeable societies” (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001, p. 49). Because of the expansion of higher education, many academic graduates end up outside the academic world. These academically trained people are experts, or “knowledgeable social actors” (p. 55), who work in politics, industry, and the service or business sectors. Moreover, knowledge is in fact also produced outside the academy. This socially distributed knowledge production system illustrates the core meaning of Mode 2 science. Consequently, knowledge in Mode 2 comes “in the form of scientific results (and other knowledge products) or in the form of scientifically trained people” (p. 80).<sup>64</sup>

### ***Epistemology***

The contextualisation of knowledge production thus creates contextualised knowledge. The epistemological consequence of this contextualisation is that traditional (Mode 1) criteria such as reliability and objectivity can no longer be the only relevant criteria for good science. With social actors also involved in knowledge production, the validity of knowledge in the social world becomes an important epistemological criterion. Knowledge is only reliable when it is ‘socially robust’, when it engages the social world. Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001, p. 167) argue that the more contextualised a field of study is, the more likely it is that it will produce “socially robust knowledge”.

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<sup>63</sup> For this interpretation, Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons are indebted to the account of social transformation known as the Risk Society (Beck 1986; Giddens 1992).

<sup>64</sup> Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) point out that the increase in the amount and sites of knowledge production is in line with the social transformations in the Knowledge Society as described by Bell (1973). Bell also uses the term post-industrial society.

## **Relevance and challenges of Mode 2**

I will argue why the conceptual framework of Mode 2 is suitable for my theoretical framework and address the criticism that has been expressed about aspects of Mode 2.

Mode 2 first of all highlights the many interrelations between science and society. Letting go of the strict division between the production and application of knowledge, it provides the ingredients to think about knowledge application without losing sight of what happens in the production context. Moreover, Mode 2's notion that all parts of society are permeated with science and technology suggests that knowledge will be transferred to all the domains that I want to study: education, policymaking, and civil society.

Second, although the discussion of Mode 2 focuses on research in science and technology, the concept also applies to the Social Sciences and Humanities. Gibbons et al. (1994) explain that because of the function of the Humanities and Social Sciences in understanding the social world and generating meaning, the distance between the production and the application of knowledge has always been small in this context. This leads to a contextualisation of knowledge production and a multiplication of sites where knowledge production takes place. Moreover, the involvement of social actors in knowledge production as well as the resulting greater social accountability leads to the inclusion of the social robustness criterion. Gibbons et al. (p. 99) state that the Humanities, compared to the Natural Sciences, can even be seen as "forerunners" when it comes to the production of contextualised knowledge and the use of epistemological criteria that go beyond academic quality. Thus, the concept of Mode 2 is appropriate for studying the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender produced in the areas of the Social Sciences and Humanities.

Third, Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) conceptualise knowledge both as knowledge products and as scientifically trained people. As I discussed in Chapter 1, knowledge about sex and gender indeed travels to society via Women's Studies graduates. Mode 2 will allow me to also look at how knowledge is transferred in an embodied way, via experts who are knowledgeable about sex and gender.

Fourth, the specific body of knowledge that I want to study, knowledge about sex and gender, is largely produced in the field of Women's Studies. This research field is strongly contextualised (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001) and fits the Mode 2 condition. As I have shown in Chapter 1, the interdisciplinary field of Women's Studies has many relations with society, thus presenting an excellent example of a contextualised research field.

Still, there are those who criticise Mode 2, but I deem its downsides and limitations not so great as to make Mode 2 inappropriate for my research project. One criticism concerns the normativity of Mode 2. Though Mode 2 delivers an account of social change in which the transition is towards a new mode of knowledge production, Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) acknowledge that Mode 1 knowledge production still exists and that some academics oppose the Mode 2 manner of knowledge production. However, and this is where normativity comes into play, the authors indicate that this opposition is undesirable and that a complete socialisation of science should be realised (Harbers 2002). Leydesdorff (2001) criticised this turn to prescription by pointing out that the authors sometimes incorrectly present Mode 2 as the current condition. My intention is not to test the claim of Mode 2 as the current historical mode of knowledge production or to argue for either Mode 1 or Mode 2 as the better framework. Instead I use Mode 2 as a prism to look at the relations between science and society to get a better understanding of knowledge transfer. In this way, the supposed normative character of Mode 2 does not disqualify it as a part of my theoretical framework.

Harbers (2002) criticises Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) for not dealing with the question who profits from the Mode 2 production of knowledge; is that civil society or principally the market? Both the democratisation and commodification of science are aspects of the socialisation of science, but, as Harbers argues, the two are potentially in conflict

because they are based on two different ideals: the corporate university versus the critical or democratic university. Reading this critique as addressing the power effects that Mode 2 allows us to see or not, I assert that this does not affect my project. Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) acknowledge that they do not pay enough attention to power, and it is not clear how they intend solve this issue. Yet, power effects are an important issue for Women's Studies, since its core business is to study how power mechanisms affect the positions of men and women in society (Braidotti 2002). The analysis of power in science and of power in knowledge transfer will thus have to enter my research project via the perspective of Feminist Science Studies.

The statements that Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) make about the epistemological implications of Mode 2 knowledge production are criticised by Leydesdorff (2001). According to him, the authors' focus on the interrelations between science and society has led them to use social robustness as the only criterion for good research, thereby discarding traditional (or Mode 1) criteria such as reliability and objectivity. Leydesdorff and others (Longino 1990; Brouns and Harbers 1994) argue that both sorts of criteria should be considered. I want to emphasise that my research project is not about validating knowledge claims or evaluating criteria for good research, my focus is on the transfer and integration of knowledge. It should be noted that knowledge integration is not necessarily related to the fulfilment of epistemological criteria, independent of whether they originate from Mode 1 or Mode 2. As Stehr (1992) argues, it does not make sense to study the conditions under which knowledge comes to be used if one adheres to the idea that the 'adequacy' of theory determines the application of knowledge. Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) also indicate that the social robustness of knowledge is not a guarantee for its acceptability in society. However, the feminist perspective in my research project will make it possible to include epistemological considerations in a Mode 1 sense. Specifically, I want to analyse the effect of the situatedness of knowledge claims about sex and gender on the transfer and integration of knowledge.

Mode 2 is criticised by Terry Shinn (2002) for not having a methodological component, a deficiency that renders it incapable of forming a research programme. His main critique is that Mode 2 lacks theoretical underpinning and is thus not suitable for scholarly inquiry. In addition, since the claims of the authors are not supported by empirical data, Shinn sees *The new production of knowledge* as a political manifesto. For methodological guidelines, which indeed Mode 2 does not provide, I will employ the (theories and) methodologies of Knowledge Utilisation, since these give me concrete guidelines on how knowledge transfer and integration of knowledge can be studied. In other words, I do not use Mode 2 as an explanatory framework, but as a framework that provides me with the language to describe the complex process of knowledge transfer.

## **2.5 A Social Studies of Knowledge framework made up of Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2**

In this chapter, I have posited the Social Studies of Knowledge framework of my research project, arguing that there are three main theoretical approaches that can provide understanding of knowledge transfer and the variation in knowledge integration in society. These three are Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. Each one highlights important elements of knowledge transfer, but they cannot separately explain the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society. While the three approaches are not complementary in a simplistic sense, they can be combined to form a more comprehensive framework for understanding the nature of knowledge transfer and the variation in knowledge integration.

The theoretical framework that results from this is productive in that it allows me to analyse the transfer and integration of knowledge in society without losing sight of conditions stemming from the context of production. To recapitulate, Knowledge Utilisation is useful because it identifies concrete factors that may affect the integration of knowledge in societal domains. Feminist Science Studies calls attention to how knowledge about sex and gender is produced and allows addressing the possible power differences between researchers, users, and other actors involved in knowledge transfer. With the political character of this body of knowledge, my project cannot succeed without a focus on power. Mode 2 is important in that it highlights the relations between the context of production and the context of application.

Since my project is concerned with understanding the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society and there are commonalities with Knowledge Utilisation studies, I could call it knowledge utilisation. I, however, prefer to use the term knowledge transfer, because the term utilisation especially highlights the (possible) outcome of knowledge transfer processes, whereas I also want to include the dynamic process of transferring knowledge. I thus chose 'transfer', a concept that allows for focussing on the actors that actually pass on or transfer knowledge. Although knowledge transfer may be taken to mean the transmission of knowledge to society, I will use this term in an interactive way, i.e. taking into account a two-way communication between academy and society. In studies related to technology, instead of 'transfer', the term exchange is also used to highlight the reciprocal nature of knowledge transfer (Gibbons et al. 1994). For the possible successful outcome of knowledge transfer, which in Knowledge Utilisation studies is called utilisation, I prefer to use the term 'integration'. The reason for choosing that term is that it has a less mechanical connotation than the related terms use, utilisation, and application, this latter term reflecting a Mode 2 idiom. The preferred term of integration is thus more in line with the awareness, expressed in Knowledge Utilisation as well as in Mode 2, that this integration of knowledge does not occur in a linear or automatic way.

In the next chapter, I will explain more precisely how combining the three different theoretical approaches is relevant for the further development of theories about knowledge transfer and I will show how the theoretical insights from the three theoretical approaches will be employed in my research project.

## **Chapter 3 Research design**

Following the discussion of the problem definition, the relevance, and the theoretical framework of my research as described in Chapter 1 and 2, this chapter will complete my conceptual design by presenting the logic of my research project in a research model (sections 3.1 - 3.4). This will be followed by a presentation of the technical aspects of my research project (section 3.5).

### **3.1 Research model**

Prompted by the Women's Studies knowledge gap, my research aspires to gain insight into the reason why knowledge about sex and gender is apparently not being used to the fullest in society. The main theories from Social Studies of Knowledge, however, cannot satisfactorily explain why knowledge gets integrated or not. Also, by addressing the challenges that theories of knowledge transfer are facing, my research aims to contribute to theories about how knowledge transfer takes place, and to acquire a better understanding of the conditions that impact the integration of knowledge. The character of this endeavour is exploratory. In Chapter 2, I have analysed the relevance and challenges of Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2, arguing that the combination of these three perspectives will lead to insights that can advance thinking about knowledge transfer. More precisely, I expect to make the following theoretical contributions with my research project:

My research project adds to studies in the field of Knowledge Utilisation, a field that has need of theoretical and empirical studies to improve its theories and better identify the factors that impact knowledge integration. As explained in Chapter 2, the field of Knowledge Utilisation lacks a general theoretical framework that integrates different perspectives (perspectives that for instance focus on users or on producers) and that can understand the complex relations between factors. By combining insights from Knowledge Utilisation theories with insights from Feminist Science Studies and Mode 2, I expect to be able to get a more comprehensive understanding of the complex relations between knowledge producers and users as well as the conditions that impact the integration of knowledge in society. I moreover expect that the double focus on knowledge use and production, resulting from a combination of perspectives from the Mannheimian and the Wittgensteinian tradition, can result in Social Studies of Knowledge perspectives that are more comprehensive. That is, perspectives which look beyond the boundaries of one tradition.

One of the challenges that Knowledge Utilisation theories are facing when trying to understand knowledge integration in policies is how to deal with the complicated process of policymaking (by various policymaking bodies and in different policy areas). I aim to address the context in which policymaking takes place by incorporating the Mode 2 perspective, as this allows for paying attention to the broad variety of actors that is involved in policymaking. Regarding the policymaking process, the Feminist Science Studies perspective is relevant too, as it allows for studying specifically the stage of knowledge production. Taking into account the broader context and the stage of knowledge production is also pertinent for other societal practices into which knowledge is transferred and integrated, such as decision making processes in education and other applications in civil society.

The specific advantage of the Feminist Science Studies perspective in my research project is that it highlights the power aspects in knowledge transfer. Since neither Knowledge Utilisation nor Mode 2 pay adequate attention to power aspects, I argue that my research will be beneficial for advancing these theories. Considering the situatedness of actors in social and

political contexts, I aim to understand how the relative power positions of knowledge producers and users as well as other actors in knowledge transfer practices affect the transfer of knowledge. Considering the situatedness of knowledge that feminist scholars have emphasised, I aim to understand the impact of this partiality and locality of knowledge on the integration of knowledge. What does it mean that knowledge claims are non-objective and not generalisable to all social and cultural situations? I moreover claim that focussing on the specific body of knowledge about sex and gender is advantageous for grasping the impact of power aspects on knowledge transfer.

Another task is to shed light on the seeming inconsistency between Knowledge Utilisation theories, which argue more interaction between researchers and users will make knowledge integration more likely, and Women's Studies practice - characterised as a strongly contextualised field of study (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001) -, which apparently faces a knowledge gap. I thus aim to work out how interaction and integration are related to each other.

While the focus of most research in Science Studies is on the natural sciences because of the prevalence of the Wittgensteinian tradition, and my project includes a body of knowledge from the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Medicine, I think my research may contribute to developing views on knowledge transfer and integration that go beyond the technical and natural sciences. After my assertion that studies in Knowledge Utilisation, coming from the Mannheimian tradition, do focus on Humanities and Social Sciences, this may seem contradictory. However, recent attention to the knowledge society and the valorisation of knowledge can be said to accentuate the technical and natural sciences, thereby overshadowing the Social Sciences and Humanities. The measuring of knowledge use has merely concerned the 'hard' sciences (Bongers et al. 2003; Broek and Nijssen 2009). My research thus contributes to conceptualising and appraising the integration of knowledge from the 'soft' sciences, of which the Humanities have been disregarded most.

My research also aims to be relevant to Women's Studies scholars in a practical sense. I explained this social relevance of my project in Chapter 1. To recap, I aim to shed light on the Women's Studies knowledge gap and thus gain a better understanding of how knowledge about sex and gender is transferred and integrated into society. This would be valuable for Women's Studies scholars who want to bring their knowledge to bear on society. The societal relevance of my research also reaches beyond this particular group of scholars, since the valorisation of knowledge stands high on the agenda of various knowledge actors, especially since more areas perceive a similar knowledge 'paradox'.

In order to achieve my research aim, I will give insight into the processes whereby a specific body of knowledge is transferred from the academy to society. My central research question then is: How is knowledge about sex and gender transferred to society? This question is twofold, encompassing the questions of how to describe knowledge transfer and integration, as well as how to assess the conditions that affect the integration of knowledge. Given the double nature of my central research question, the research function of my project is twofold as well. The first function is descriptive: concretising the concept of knowledge transfer and delineating the characteristics or aspects of knowledge transfer and integration. The second research function is explanatory: grasping the backgrounds and interrelations of the conditions that have an impact on the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society. The kind of explanation that I seek can be called 'soft'; it should be understood as interpretation rather than prediction. Ultimately, the answer to my central research question will set forth the particulars of the processes through which knowledge about sex and gender is transferred and the conditions under which this knowledge is integrated in society.

These are the steps that I have to take before arriving at my final answer: first, I will review the main theoretical approaches to identify the key concepts and theoretical insights

that are deemed relevant for knowledge transfer (section 3.2). Secondly, I will confront and combine these aspects to specify what parameters are useful for studying knowledge transfer (section 3.3). Subsequently, these parameters allow me to formulate more precise research questions (section 3.4).

## **3.2 Key concepts and theoretical insights**

In this section, I will analyse how Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2 deal with the object of my research project. That is, how do these theories describe knowledge transfer, how do they conceptualise integration of knowledge, and what conditions do they regard as having an impact on the integration of knowledge?

### **3.2.1 Knowledge transfer**

#### ***Knowledge Utilisation***

In the interaction model of Knowledge Utilisation, knowledge transfer is described in terms of interactions between researchers and users at different stages in knowledge production and dissemination. These interactions are described as linkage mechanisms: social relationships that can consist of formal and informal contacts, directly or via intermediaries. Activities in the production phase are for example the involvement of users in data collection and interim feedback on research findings. Actions or efforts of researchers in the dissemination phase can involve the use of certain dissemination channels, the adaptation of their products to users, and repetition of the message they want to convey. An important feature of the interactions is that interpersonal exchanges affect both researchers and users. For example, researchers accommodate the concerns of users in their research, and users can prepare for dealing with the final research results. The interactions also have a certain intensity and continuity, meaning that interactivity can be sustained before, during, and after the study.

To summarise, in Knowledge Utilisation terms knowledge transfer is an interactive process in which researchers, users, and intermediaries carry out actions before, during, and after the research. This means that the active involvement of researchers as well as users in the production, dissemination, and use of knowledge needs to be taken into account when analysing knowledge transfer.

#### ***Feminist Science Studies***

Since Feminist Sciences Studies primarily deals with the production of knowledge and has not explicitly theorised about knowledge transfer, I have transposed their insights about knowledge production to knowledge transfer. This has resulted in two important aspects to be taken into account when describing knowledge transfer.

First, Feminist Science Studies makes clear that researchers are embedded in social, political, and historical relations in which gender as a social category plays an organising role. As gender is a signifier of power relations, the genderedness of social institutions and organisations, as well as the gendered institutional (academic) and social location of researchers, denotes a certain power position. However, not only researchers but also other social actors and institutions in knowledge transfer have a certain power position in this sense. Thus, actors involved in the knowledge transfer process have a relative power position toward each other.

Secondly, feminist scholars have argued that knowledge reflects the social situatedness of the researchers: researchers produce knowledge from a specific, partial

perspective, reflecting their interests or their view on the world. This implies that knowledge is not neutral but partial, and that knowledge is not universal but located.

To summarise, working with the Feminist Science Studies framework means that in describing knowledge transfer one needs to pay attention to the relative power positions of the actors in the transfer process and to the situatedness of knowledge. This means that both the specific socio-political and historical perspective from which knowledge claims are made and the partial and located character of knowledge need to be described.

### ***Mode 2***

In Mode 2, knowledge transfer is described as a two-way communication between producers and users of knowledge. Following this characterisation, it is clear that knowledge is not produced in the sphere of ‘science’ and then transferred to ‘society’ where it will be applied. On the contrary, researchers already take the application of knowledge into account in the production of knowledge. Together with the blurring of boundaries between science and society (de-differentiation) this interactivity means that it is no longer self-evident to speak of separate phases of knowledge production, transfer, and application. Because of this mixing of phases, knowledge transfer also includes aspects derived from the production and application phases. The de-differentiation of the domains in a Mode 2 society also means there is less of a clear demarcation between societal domains like state, market, and culture (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). This implies that the transfer of knowledge does not necessarily happen in one separate domain, but that knowledge can play a role in more social domains at the same time.

Mode 2 knowledge production takes place in an ‘institutional landscape’ (Gibbons et al. 1994) or ‘agora’ (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001) that reaches beyond just universities or users in society, including for instance knowledge-mediating institutions, professional organisations, governmental bodies, think-tanks, NGOs, advocacy groups, policymakers, industry, and media. These institutions and their links with the knowledge transfer actors can thus be seen as part of the background against which knowledge transfer processes takes place.

Important for understanding knowledge transfer in Mode 2 is that knowledge is defined as both knowledge products and as scientifically trained people. One could say that these people embody knowledge by being trained to use certain concepts, theories, and methods. When these academics end up in jobs in policymaking, services, businesses, etc., they disseminate knowledge to society.

In sum, knowledge transfer in Mode 2 involves a two-way communication between knowledge producers and users that takes place against the background of a network of institutions. Researchers and users are actively involved in the production, dissemination, and integration of knowledge, although these phases are not clearly separated. The Mode 2 perspective also requires paying attention to the fact that knowledge can be transferred to more than one social domain and that it is transferred in the form of knowledge products as well as of academically trained people.

## ***3.2.2 Integration of knowledge***

### ***Knowledge Utilisation***

Integration of knowledge is defined in different ways in theories of Knowledge Utilisation. The most common terms are use and utilisation. When differentiated by the type of use, there are three categories (as specified in Chapter 2): 1. Instrumental use of knowledge: knowledge directly contributes to a specific decision, policy intervention or a shift in practices that would

not have been made in the absence of that knowledge; 2. Conceptual use of knowledge: knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, a new definition of a policy problem, or a different understanding of issues concerned; and 3. Symbolic use of knowledge: knowledge is used to legitimate a view that decision makers already have.

To summarise, in Knowledge Utilisation theories knowledge integration needs to be analysed by looking at different types of use: instrumental, conceptual, and symbolic.

### ***Feminist Science Studies***

Feminist Science Studies, because of its focus on epistemological issues and practices of knowledge production, does not provide direct explanations for how integration of knowledge in society can be understood. I therefore turn to a broader feminist perspective, which is that of Feminist Studies in the meaning of Women's or Gender Studies. Since my research project is concerned with knowledge about sex and gender, I will particularly focus on how integration of knowledge about sex and gender can be understood.

Chapter 1 outlined that 'knowledge about sex and gender' means knowledge about differences between men and women in society, as well as the social organisation of the differences and relationships between the sexes. Since there are differences within the groups of men and women, sex should not be understood as something universalistic. I also stressed that differences between the sexes should not be reduced to biological differences; the socio-cultural constructedness of femininity and masculinity should be taken into account. Following Scott (1988), I explained that the perception of differences and relationships between the sexes are means by which relationships of power are constructed. In other words, gender as a social category is linked to power, implying power relations between the sexes. Although the concepts of sex and gender, and the relation between these concepts in different disciplines and cultures are used in different ways<sup>65</sup>, I discern commonalities in contemporary feminist understandings of sex and gender. These commonalities are that sex and gender are used in a non-universal and non-essentialist way, and that gender is linked to power and other social categories such as ethnicity, race, class, age, and sexuality.<sup>66</sup> I hence argue that one can speak of knowledge integration about sex and gender when the concepts of sex and gender are used in a way that reflects the common feminist understandings mentioned above and when theories underlying certain practices (teaching, policymaking, etc.) match these commonalities.

Studying the relation of gender to power, it is evident that knowledge about sex and gender cannot be separated from the political project of Women's Studies, the dominant field in producing knowledge about sex and gender. Chapter 1 outlined that Women's Studies is committed to change: with its knowledge it aims to have an impact on society by transforming teaching curricula, research practices, policymaking, politics, media, and so on. Thus, integration of knowledge about sex and gender is not just the integration of certain facts and figures, but also includes the integration of the political character of Women's Studies knowledge; it necessarily implies an ideological change or a change in power relations. Put it the other way around, without this political impact, integration of knowledge about sex and gender cannot be characterised as successful.

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<sup>65</sup> The ways in which sex, gender, and the distinction between sex and gender has been 'used and abused' also differs per country and language (Braidotti 2002). See the case studies about this in the volumes of *The making of European Women's Studies*, produced by ATHENA, the Advanced Thematic Network in European Women's Studies. The case studies that appeared in the first eight volumes (2000-2008) have since been published on CD-ROM (Braidotti and Waaldijk 2008).

<sup>66</sup> Elsewhere (Van der Sanden 1997), drawing from feminist theories, I have identified these commonalities in the conceptualisation of sex and gender and defined them as criteria for feminist politics. Based on feminist science studies, Van der Tuin (2001) puts forward similar norms for the conceptualisation of sex (and gender).

To summarise, from a Feminist (Science) Studies perspective the integration of knowledge in society can be described as an integration of concepts and theories about sex and gender that is in line with contemporary feminist understandings of ‘sex and gender’, accompanied by a political impact (change).

### ***Mode 2***

It is central to the concept of Mode 2 that science is dispersed across all parts of society. This ‘scientification of society’ could entail that knowledge is per definition integrated in society. However, this meaning of integration has no bearing on the conceptualisation of knowledge integration that I employ in my research project.

Following Mode 2’s double definition of knowledge as knowledge products and academically trained people, knowledge can be integrated in both these forms. For knowledge products, the Mode 2 term used for integration is ‘application’, meaning knowledge is used as a source of solutions for societal problems (Gibbons et al. 1994).<sup>67</sup> This means that one can speak of integration when theories and instruments are used to solve problems. Though application or integration of knowledge occurs in technical and natural sciences as well as Social Sciences and Humanities, the understanding of application differs. In Mode 2 idiom, application in the technical and natural sciences is defined in terms of innovation and marketisation, whereas in the Social Sciences and Humanities, because of their involvement in understanding the social and cultural world and generating meaning, application is defined as contributing meaning to society and shaping cultural images.<sup>68</sup> Typically, the distance between the production and application of knowledge in these disciplines is small. (Gibbons et al. 1994)

For knowledge in the form of scientifically trained people, knowledge integration means that experts put the knowledge and competences they have acquired in their academic training in professional and societal practice. This application or integration can also take the form of the production of (new) knowledge by these academically trained people. Because of the de-differentiation of domains, knowledge integration possibly occurs in more than one social domain at the same time.

To summarise, Mode 2 defines integration as application, understood in an instrumental way as well as through cultural or social application. A second understanding of application is knowledge integration via academically trained people in professional practices and knowledge production by these people. Studying knowledge integration should thus involve looking beyond the boundaries of one particular social domain.

### ***3.2.3 Conditions affecting the integration of knowledge***

#### ***Knowledge Utilisation***

Based on the four models of Knowledge Utilisation, there are different conditions that affect the integration of knowledge: ‘science push’ conditions, ‘demand pull’ conditions, dissemination conditions, and interaction conditions. The most promising conditions for my research project are the interaction conditions, which are linkage mechanisms or social relationships between knowledge producers and users (such as the involvement of users in the data collection phase

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<sup>67</sup> Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) make clear that this ‘success of science’ is a qualified success, because scientific and technological developments can also lead to certain problems.

<sup>68</sup> Gibbons et al. (1994) note that an economy-oriented way of speaking about application is less common in the social sciences and humanities, though it fits the creation of wealth that accompanies cultural production in these disciplines.

and interim feedback on research findings). The assumption is that the more intense and sustained the interactions between users and researchers are at different knowledge transfer stages, the more likely it is that knowledge gets integrated. A second group of conditions identified in the interaction model is related to the dissemination activities of researchers. After all, when researchers adapt their products to the users and use multiple dissemination channels, this will positively affect integration.

Let me also mention the conditions that are central in the other Knowledge Utilisation models, as some of these are taken into account in the interaction model. In the science push model, the quality of research (e.g. validity, applicability) and the type of research products (quantitative or qualitative) are seen as conditions affecting the integration of knowledge. In the researchers' context, both publication assets and external research funding are identified as enhancing integration (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). In the demand pull model, the matching of research results with users' needs and expectations, existing knowledge in organisations, as well as their ideology, self-interest, and institutional norms and practices, are seen as conditions that increase the integration of knowledge. The two-communities model identifies the different communicative systems of researchers and users as a hindering factor for knowledge integration. Lastly, the literature on Knowledge Utilisation suggests that the relation between the diverse conditions needs to be considered in trying to explain integration (Oh and R.F. Rich 1996; Oh 1997).

To summarise, conditions impacting the integration of knowledge in Knowledge Utilisation theories can be placed within four broad categories. The interaction model suggests that especially the linkage mechanisms between knowledge producers and users and the dissemination efforts of researchers affect the integration of knowledge.

### ***Feminist Science Studies***

Since Feminist Science Studies does not set out conditions that impact the integration of knowledge, I will draw on the aspects relevant for describing knowledge transfer and the integration of knowledge from a Feminist Science Studies perspective (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

First, Feminist Science Studies has called attention to the broader context wherein knowledge production takes place. Although at first glance this seems similar to the 'institutional landscape' of Mode 2, the difference is that Feminist Science Studies points to the gendered power dynamics at work in this context. The social, political, and historical context in which research takes place implies that researchers, users, and other actors in knowledge transfer inhabit a certain power position vis-à-vis each other. These power differences between actors in the knowledge transfer process could affect the integration of knowledge. Feminist Science Studies specifically points to the genderedness of these power positions, keeping in mind that gender also stands in relation to other social categories.

Second, conditions impacting the integration of knowledge may be related to the situatedness of knowledge. This situatedness refers to the partiality and the locality of knowledge. Let me start with the partiality of knowledge claims. The political character of Women's Studies knowledge and the explicit and overt way - required for feminist objectivity - in which feminist scholars situate or position themselves both challenge the mythical objectivity of knowledge. Although according to Feminist Science Studies all knowledge claims are partial, this is not always as visible as in the case of Women's Studies knowledge. The explicit political investment of Women's Studies, as well as its transformative analysis, potentially challenges deep-rooted scientific norms and the social status quo. Depending on what other actors in the knowledge transfer process consider the epistemological norm of

partiality, the partiality of knowledge may affect knowledge integration positive or negatively.<sup>69</sup> That is, when actors adhere to similar political and epistemological norms and values, the integration of knowledge is likely to be enhanced, whereas a disagreement on these norms and values is likely to have a hindering impact on knowledge integration. As for the locality of knowledge claims, the non-universal character of knowledge may imply that knowledge is not easily transferred from one specific context to another. It can be assumed that when social and cultural contexts of researchers and users are more similar, integration of knowledge is more likely to occur.

To summarise, from a Feminist Science Studies perspective conditions affecting the integration of knowledge are power differences between actors in knowledge transfer as well as the situatedness of knowledge. The latter condition suggests that an agreement on the political and epistemological values with which knowledge is produced and a similarity in the social and cultural contexts of researchers and users may enhance knowledge integration.

### ***Mode 2***

In the framework of Mode 2, no explicit assertions are made about conditions that hinder or enhance the integration of knowledge. Still, despite the lack of concrete conditional statements, Mode 2 does offer leads on conditions that possibly impinge on knowledge integration. These are related to the contextualisation of knowledge production that is underlined in Mode 2.

Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) argue that researchers who willingly address societal concerns produce strongly contextualised knowledge. Taking into account the ‘context of application’ in this sense results in ‘socially robust knowledge’. One could thus say that because this knowledge is more successful in addressing issues relevant to society, the level of ‘contextualisation’ of knowledge production is a condition relevant to the integration of knowledge in society. However, Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001) indicate that the social robustness of knowledge, despite its connection to the acceptability of knowledge in society, will not guarantee that social actors will actually accept and use this knowledge. Contextualisation may thus be understood as a condition that enhances knowledge integration, although this in itself is not sufficient to assure integration. Arguably, the ‘institutional landscape’ that forms the background of Mode 2 knowledge production (see section 3.2.1) may play a role; the aims, strategies, and interests of the institutions and organisations surrounding the production and transfer of knowledge could well form factors that affect the integration of knowledge.

To summarise, the contextualisation of knowledge production and the interests of actors that make up the ‘institutional knowledge landscape’ may be conditions that impact the integration of knowledge in society.

## **3.3 Parameters**

The following confrontation and combination of the key concepts and theoretical insights from Knowledge Utilisation (KU), Feminist Science Studies (FSS), and Mode 2 (M2) that are outlined above will set up the parameters that I will need to take into account when studying knowledge transfer. Together, the parameters can be read as working definitions of ‘knowledge transfer’, ‘integration of knowledge’, and ‘conditions affecting the integration of knowledge’:

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<sup>69</sup> In this reasoning, I agree with Van Lamoen (2000), who found that different epistemological viewpoints underlying feminist theories and mainstream International Relations hindered the communication and discussion between scholars from these groups, and hence prevented the incorporation of feminist insights in International Relations research.

### **1. Knowledge transfer**

Knowledge transfer goes beyond knowledge producers and users; it is the total of actions of the persons and institutions involved, as well as the interactions between these actors taking place in a network of institutions. Researchers and users (as well as other actors, such as intermediaries) are actively involved in the production, dissemination, and integration of knowledge, although these phases are not clearly separated. Knowledge transfer thus comprises activities in the production, dissemination, and integration phases. The actors in the knowledge transfer process are positioned in a specific socio-political and historical context, which entails certain power relations between the actors. This may be signified by gender in its relation to other social categories. In the network of institutions, institutions have a certain role or function, forming the background against which knowledge transfer takes place. The interaction between the concerned actors involves two-way communication that has a certain intensity and duration. Knowledge can be transferred in the form of knowledge products as well as in the form of academically trained people. The knowledge that is being transferred is situated, this in the sense that it is partial as well as located.

### **2. Integration of knowledge**

Integration is the use, utilisation, or application of knowledge in one or more societal domains. It can be described by the type of use (instrumental, conceptual, symbolic) and by the level of knowledge that is integrated (concepts, theories, instruments). Knowledge can be integrated in the form of scientific results and other knowledge products, as well as in the form of academically trained people. Integration of knowledge about sex and gender ideally reflects contemporary feminist understandings of the concepts of sex and gender, and includes an ideological change or political impact.

### **3. Conditions affecting the integration of knowledge**

There are different sorts of conditions that may affect knowledge integration. Conditions related to the production of knowledge that may enhance knowledge integration are: external research funding, i.e. research commissioned by actors external to universities likely enlarges researchers' user-orientation or outward-looking perspective (KU); an agreement between actors on the political and epistemological values with which knowledge is produced, a factor which is related to the partiality of knowledge claims (FSS); and a similarity between the contexts (or locality) of researchers and users (FSS).

Interaction conditions that may impact knowledge integration are linkage mechanisms and contextualisation. That is, the more intense and sustained the interactions between researchers and users are at different stages in knowledge transfer (KU), and the more researchers take into account the context in which 'their' knowledge will be applied (M2), the more likely it is that knowledge is integrated.

Researchers' dissemination efforts and publication assets are also conditions that may impact knowledge integration. When researchers adapt their knowledge products (or when academically trained people adapt their knowledge) and language to the users and use multiple dissemination channels, this will positively affect integration (KU). When more publications are available, integration of knowledge will be enhanced (KU).

Conditions related to the power aspect of knowledge transfer are found in the institutional landscape and in power differences. That is, integration of knowledge will be enhanced when the aims, strategies, and interests of the institutions involved in knowledge production are supportive of the produced knowledge (M2), and when actors in the knowledge transfer process occupy equal power positions (FSS).

Conditions are also located in the realm of the users. Integration is more likely to occur when research results match existing knowledge already available in organisations as well as the needs and expectations, and the ideology, self-interest, institutional norms and practices of the users (KU).

### **3.4 Research questions**

The parameters of my research project make it possible to formulate more delineated research questions. The central research question that I postulated is: How is knowledge about sex and gender transferred to society? This question deals with the particulars of knowledge transfer, the particulars of knowledge integration, and the conditions that affect the integration of knowledge. The detailed final sets of research questions are:

#### **1. How is knowledge about sex and gender transferred between academy and society?**

- What knowledge about sex and gender is available, or what knowledge are actors trying to integrate?
- How is the knowledge in question ‘situated’ in terms of its partiality and locality?
- What actors (institutions, persons; e.g. researchers, experts, intermediaries, users) from the academy and society are involved in knowledge transfer?
  - o What are the roles/functions, interests, aims, and strategies of these actors?
- What actions do they undertake in the different ‘phases’ of knowledge transfer: production, dissemination, and integration?
  - o What dissemination channels are being used?
- What interactions can be identified between the actors?
  - o What is the intensity and duration of the interactions?
- What power relations can be identified between the actors?
  - o How are the actors positioned towards each other in terms of socio-political and historical relations?
  - o How does gender (in its relation to other social categories) constitute or organise these positions and relations?
- What institutions make up the background of knowledge transfer?
  - o How are these institutions related to the main actors (and towards each other)?
  - o What are their roles/functions, interests, aims, and strategies?
- In what form (knowledge products, embodied knowledge) is knowledge transferred?

#### **2. To what extent is knowledge about sex and gender integrated in society?**

- What knowledge about sex and gender gets integrated in the respective social domains?
- What is the gap between the knowledge that actors try to integrate and the actually integrated knowledge?
- In what form (knowledge products - embodied knowledge) is knowledge integrated?
- What type of integration (instrumental, conceptual, symbolic) can be identified?
- What level of knowledge (concepts, theories, instruments) is being integrated?
- To what extent does the integrated knowledge reflect contemporary feminist understandings of the concepts of sex and gender?
- To what extent does the integration of knowledge about sex and gender include an ideological change or political impact?

#### **3. What are the conditions affecting the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society?**

- What conditions related to the production of knowledge about sex and gender affect knowledge integration?
- What interaction conditions affect knowledge integration?
- What dissemination and communication conditions affect knowledge integration?
- What conditions related to the power aspect of knowledge transfer affect knowledge integration?
- What conditions located in the realm of the users affect knowledge integration?

### ***3.5 Technical aspects of the research***

Pieced together, the answers to the above-mentioned research questions will help provide an answer to my central research question. The purpose of this section is to explain my chosen research strategy, what material I will study, and what methods of analysis I will use.

#### ***Case studies and Grounded Theory***

The basic research strategy in my research project is that of case studies. For acquiring insight into the complex process of knowledge transfer, the in-depth and qualitative strategy of case studies is required. Since it is an appropriate strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being asked about phenomena of which the researcher is not in command (Yin 1994), this applies to my research project. I will study four concrete cases of knowledge transfer, comparing them with each other to answer my central research question. In Knowledge Utilisation, the case study strategy is used when one wants to take into account all phases of knowledge transfer (production, dissemination, and integration) (R.F. Rich 1997; Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). This so-called process design is also suitable for studying both the use of knowledge and the impact of knowledge on the policymaking process (see section 2.2).

Given that one of my research aims is the further development of Knowledge Utilisation theories, I will also make use of the Grounded Theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967): an interpretative strategy designed for theory-oriented research, but also applicable to the more practical orientation which makes up the other component of my research. One of the key characteristics of the Grounded Theory approach is the continuous comparison of practical phenomena with theoretical concepts and insights, as well as with each other, in order to give meaning to data and to understand the coherence between concepts. The key concepts and theoretical insights about knowledge transfer that I have turned into parameters will be used as ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Strauss and Corbin 1990) in my case studies. That is, I will elaborate upon the concepts, gradually describe them more specifically, and look for their particulars in the phenomena of knowledge transfer. In Grounded Theory, this technique of ‘coding’ (Strauss and Corbin 1990) is considered relevant to gaining insight into the strategies, consequences, and circumstances of phenomena. I believe this might lead to a better understanding of knowledge transfer and provide a better explanation of the variation in knowledge integration.

My research strategy thus combines case studies with the Grounded Theory approach. The effort of getting an integral picture of complex phenomena, one of the characteristics of the case study strategy, fits the qualitative and ‘open’ way of data collection that characterises the Grounded Theory approach very well.

#### ***Selection of the cases***

I will study four cases of knowledge transfer. We have seen that knowledge transfer is a complex process that is not easily researchable; I have therefore based the selection of my cases on a number of considerations that relate to the social as well as theoretical relevance of

my project. These considerations relate to the characteristics of the body of knowledge to be studied, the societal domains to which knowledge is transferred, the ‘residence’ of knowledge (in products and people), and my aim to understand variation in integration.

Because I intend to make statements about the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender to society, I have selected three cases which involve knowledge about sex and gender from different disciplines (Medicine, Social Sciences, and Humanities) and enable the study of knowledge transfer to several social domains. Had I not done so, I would run the risk of making statements that could be specific to one discipline or one social domain. In each of these three cases, knowledge from one specific discipline is central, but the knowledge studied will not be limited to that discipline. Because of the interdisciplinary character of knowledge about sex and gender, it is expected that knowledge that does not specifically stem from the discipline under study will also be part of the studied knowledge. For example in the field of Medicine, knowledge is not limited to sex differences in health and illness, but also refers to knowledge about how gender plays a role in the communication between physicians and patients.

The three societal domains that fall under the scope of my research project are policymaking, civil society, and university curricula. The choice for these societal domains is related to the social relevance of my research project. As I have described in Chapter 1, Women’s Studies has recognisable links to these domains. Each case highlights the transfer to one specific domain. However, because the de-differentiation of Mode 2 suggests that knowledge can be transferred and integrated into more than social domain, I will address knowledge transfer as a process that happens across and between domains.

In accordance with the theoretical understanding that knowledge not only resides in knowledge products (articles, books, reports, etc.), but is also located in people (stated explicitly in Mode 2), it is imperative to take a detailed look at how embodied knowledge transfer takes place. Although I will pay attention to embodied knowledge in all cases, the fourth case specifically looks at the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender via Women’s Studies graduates, taking societal professional settings as the domain to which knowledge is transferred.

A last consideration in selecting the four cases is related to the integration of knowledge. I have selected cases with an expected variation in integration, i.e. cases that illustrate a higher or lower level of knowledge integration about sex and gender. If I want to make assertions about conditions that enhance and hinder the integration of knowledge, it would not make sense to only study cases of successful knowledge transfer. In the following section, I will introduce the cases. They respectively concentrate on a specific project, programme, societal application, and the embodied knowledge of Women’s Studies graduates. For each case, I will make clear why it suits my research project and indicate what material and methods of analysis I will use to come to well-underpinned research results.

### **Case 1: Curriculum change in medicine**

The first case study deals with a national project aimed at the incorporation of a gender perspective in all Dutch medical curricula (Verdonk 2007a). Financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Health Research and Development (ZonMw), the department of Women’s Studies Medicine at the Radboud University Nijmegen carried out the ‘Integrating gender in the basic medical curriculum’ project between 2002 and 2005. The background to the project was an advice from the Women’s Health Care Steering Group (Stuurgroep Vrouwenhulpverlening 1999), set up by the Minister of Health, to pay attention to gender in medical education. A local project carried out by the same department had already shown that knowledge about sex and gender was not fully integrated in the Nijmegen curriculum (Van der Sanden, Frijns, and Lagro-Janssen 1999).

The knowledge about sex and gender that is central in this case comes from the discipline of Medicine. However, research on women's health is also done in disciplines like Psychology and Anthropology. Content-wise, the case deals with gender-specific health care as well as sex differences in health and illness. In the training of medical doctors, this knowledge can receive attention at the level of knowledge as such (for instance about sex-specific complaints) as well as at the attitude level (for instance doctor-patient communication). The particular domain to which knowledge is transferred in this case study is the university curriculum of medical schools.

The 'curriculum change' project was carried out in a context in which several actors play a role. Apart from the universities and governmental actors (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports), professional associations such as the Dutch Association of Medical Women (VNVA) and intermediary organisations, such as the Netherlands Organisation for Health Research and Development (ZonMw), are involved as well. The project moreover builds on a long history of women's health care initiatives in civil society, through which women's health institutions have attempted to underline the salience of gender in medical practices, often in close cooperation with the academy and supported by governmental programmes in the field of Women's Health Care.

The material to be studied for this case consists first of all of the documentation about the 'Integrating gender in the basic medical curriculum' project. I will analyse reports and articles that deal with various aspects of the project (e.g. Verdonk 2007a) from a knowledge transfer perspective. Secondly, I will conduct interviews with project members as well as core university staff from the participating universities about their experiences, motives, strategies, and achievements regarding the integration of sex and gender perspectives in the educational curriculum. Lastly, I will analyse policy documents and relevant reports about (women's) health care and medical education to outline the context in which the curriculum change project takes place and to identify possible chances and hindrances for knowledge integration. These policy documents include the report of the Women's Health Care Steering Group alongside educational documents from the medical training field and (advisory) reports from organisations like the World Health Organisation.

## **Case 2: The Aspasia programme**

The second case study is the Aspasia programme, a policy measure to increase the upward mobility of women in academia. The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science installed the Aspasia programme in 1999 to address the low number of female academics in the Netherlands. The programme was designed to give women the opportunity to make the career move from lecturer to senior lecturer.

The programme, which originally aimed to promote 30 women from lecturer to senior lecturer, was financed by the universities with additional NWO funds for the PhD or postdoc projects that are part of these lecturer's research proposals. Two rounds of funding took place, the first in 2000 and the second in 2002. The interest among the lecturers was so high and the quality of research proposals so good, that NWO and the universities funded no less than 146 research proposals in total. The result of the ASPASIA programme was that the percentage of women senior lecturers rose from 9% in 1999 to 14% in 2003 (Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003).

The Aspasia programme was installed in a time when there was great deal of attention to the topic of women in science, incited by the famous research of Wennerås and Wold (1997), which provided evidence of sexism in the peer-review system of the Swedish Medical Research Council. In Europe and in the US, this heightened awareness was visible among

policymakers and researchers. In the Netherlands, several studies and reports were published about women's position in academia and the Proportional Representation Act of Women in Education Management (WEV) was introduced in 1997.

The Aspasia programme is an interesting case study because it represents a breaking point in thinking about women in science. The policy actors involved now saw the underrepresentation of women in academia as a problem that had to do with the structure of universities and the policies of funding organisations, no longer associating it with women's individual situations, such as caring responsibilities. The case illustrates a new conceptualisation of the underrepresentation problem of women in academia that led to a specific policy-intervention to tackle this problem.

The case study involves a variety of actors from all societal domains. Apart from the already mentioned NWO, VSNU, and Ministry of Education, these include the KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), AWT (Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy), LOEKWO (National Consultative Body Emancipation Quality in Higher Education), NGV (Dutch Women's Studies Association), and LNVH (National Network of Female Professors).

The Aspasia case study concentrates on knowledge about sex and gender from the Social Sciences. It deals with women in science, specifically the causes of vertical sex segregation in academia. The domain to which knowledge is transferred in this case study is policymaking, in particular research funding policies at NWO.

The empirical material that will be analysed in this case study will focus on policy documents, conference reports, and research reports related to the Aspasia programme, including the NWO's programme descriptions and Aspasia evaluation studies. To arrive at an in-depth understanding of knowledge transfer, a selection of Women's Studies researchers in the field of women in science as well as policymakers concerned with Aspasia will be interviewed about their actions, strategies, and achievements in relation to the Aspasia programme. To figure out the context of the Aspasia programme, I will analyse policy documents about 'women in science' at both national and international levels.

### **Case 3: The historical and cultural Canon of the Netherlands**

This case study deals with the Dutch historical and cultural canon: a collection of knowledge about Dutch history and culture that is deemed essential to everyone in the Netherlands. Out of the contention that young people in the Netherlands are deficient in knowledge about their nation's history and culture, the Minister of Education established the Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon on 1 September 2005. On 16 October 2006, the Committee presented its results to the Minister. The *Canon* was published in report form (Van Oostrom 2006b), accompanied by a wall chart and website, to be used for teaching in primary and secondary education.

Both the process of making the *Canon* and its result form an interesting case study for my research project. The production of the *Canon* can be seen as a process of defining what counts as important knowledge. This canonisation of knowledge thus entails the inclusion of some knowledge claims and the exclusion of others. With canonisation touching upon issues of identity, nationality, and citizenship, it is a much debated – and criticised – topic. Women's historians have also dealt with these issues, asking questions such as to what extent a canon can be gendered and how gender history is marginalised in the historical and cultural Dutch *Canon*.

A variety of actors was involved in the making of the *Canon*. A report of the Education Council (Onderwijsraad 2005) set off the debate about the *Canon*. The Canon Committee consisted of eight members from several disciplines, including Women's History, and several domains, including the academy, education, and cultural institutions. They

produced the *Canon* in consultation with (academic) experts as well as the larger public. In 2007, the Canon Committee reported on the *Canon*'s reception and presented their 'revised' *Canon* (Van Oostrom 2007b).

The knowledge about sex and gender in the case study about the *Canon* comes from the Humanities and is mainly produced within Women's and Gender History, a field that has produced a considerable amount of knowledge. Interestingly, the Canon Committee sees the *Canon* as an example of the valorisation of the Humanities (Van Oostrom 2007b). The social domain to which knowledge is transferred in this case study is civil society, notably primary and secondary education. The *Canon*, however, is also disseminated to the wider public via television programmes, museum initiatives, and the internet.

The key documents that will be analysed in this case study are the report of the Education Council and the *Canon* as it was published in its initial and revised form, as well as its accompanying rationales. I also examined the documents and minutes of the meetings of the Canon Committee (that is, the archive of the Canon Committee). Other materials to be analysed are the *Canon* website and the many related articles in journals, books, newspapers, and other media. Finally yet importantly, interviews will be held with members of the Canon Committee and with specialists who were involved in the *Canon* debate.

#### **Case 4: Women's Studies graduates as knowledgeable actors**

The fourth case deals with knowledge transfer via academic graduates who have studied Women's Studies or who are otherwise trained in gender issues. Since knowledge about sex and gender is disseminated to society through academic graduates, this case examines whether and how Women's Studies graduates can be seen as actors who both embody knowledge and enable knowledge integration.

This case study will pay attention to the ways in which Women's Studies graduates are able to transfer their knowledge to their work, also addressing the opportunities and obstacles they experience in integrating their knowledge in professional practices. The domain to which knowledge is transferred consists of various professional settings where graduates find employment.

The first set of material for this case study is collected as part of the research project 'Employment and Women's Studies: The impact of Women's Studies training on women's employment in Europe' (EWSI), funded by the European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme.<sup>70</sup> I will use this project's interviews with Women's Studies students and graduates from the Netherlands that I undertook in 2002. The interviewees have taken Women's Studies courses in different disciplines at the MA and PhD level between 1980 and 2001. I will re-examine this corpus of interviews from a knowledge transfer point of view. This material is especially interesting because the graduates represent the diverse ways in which Women's Studies is institutionalised in Dutch universities, but also because they found employment in a broad range of jobs.

For this research project, additional interviews will be held with a specific focus on the experiences of Women's Studies graduates from the three disciplines that are central in the first three case studies (Social Sciences, Medicine, and Humanities), specifically about their experiences with transferring knowledge from the academy to society. This allows for a connection between the case studies and for a comprehensive understanding of the two studied forms of knowledge (products and people). The graduates' accounts of transferring

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<sup>70</sup> EWSI project 2001-2003. Contract number HPSE-CT2001-00082. Partners from nine countries (Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and the United Kingdom) were involved in EWSI-project.

and integrating Women's Studies knowledge will be analysed using qualitative content analysis based on the Grounded Theory approach.

To provide context for this interview material it will be related to relevant findings from the EWSI project and the institutionalisation of Women's Studies in the Netherlands. The case is interesting because it connects Women's Studies training and embodied knowledge transfer to the core field of knowledge production about sex and gender: Women's Studies.

### ***3.6 Closing remarks***

This chapter has completed the conceptual and research technical design of my research project. I started with the Women's Studies knowledge gap in Chapter 1, explaining the social and theoretical relevance of the problem at hand, and presented my theoretical framework in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I presented the further logic of my research project and outlined the technical aspects involved in answering my research questions. The following four chapters are each dedicated to one of the case studies that I presented in this chapter.

## **Chapter 4 Case 1: Curriculum change in medicine**

Gender manifests itself in all aspects of the medical discipline. Historically, the professionalisation of the field excluded women from the medical profession, distinctly in the case of women midwives (Bosch 1994). The male body was the main research object of medicine; female bodies were studied merely in relation to reproduction. This focus resulted in sexed or 'sexual' knowledge about women (Schiebinger 1999). The entry of women into the medical profession, the women's (health care) movement, and the institutionalisation of academic Women's Studies have changed medical practice, research, and education by bringing in a gender perspective and highlighting women's health concerns (Schiebinger 1999). The involvement of feminist actors in changing medical education is the focus of this chapter, which provides an account of whether, how, and under what circumstances 'gendering' happens in a concrete case of knowledge transfer to the world of medicine.

This case study deals with the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender from the interdisciplinary field of Women's Studies Medicine to the university curriculum of medical schools. Women's Studies Medicine focuses on the role of sex and gender in illness and health, for example looking at sex-specific complaints and the role of gender in the communication between doctor and patient. Women's Studies Medicine argues that paying attention to gender issues in medical education is important in providing good care to both men and women patients. Out of concern over the small amount of attention paid to gender issues in medical education, several initiatives have attempted to better integrate gender issues in the training of medical students.

In the Netherlands, a national project was carried out to integrate a gender perspective in medical curricula. Between 2002 and 2005, Women's Studies experts from the Radboud University Nijmegen undertook conscientious efforts to prompt staff in medical schools to use knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in their teaching, targeting the basic medical training in undergraduate education. This three-year project, named 'Integrating gender in the basic medical curriculum' ('Integratie van sekse in het medisch basiscurriculum'), offers a concrete opportunity to look at knowledge transfer.

The *raison d'être* of the project was a Women's Health Care Steering Group (Stuurgroep Vrouwenhulpverlening 1999) report that advised the Minister of Health about the integration of women's health care in 'regular' health care. The report showed, amongst other things, that Dutch medical schools fell short in offering adequate education about gender-specific health, upon which it recommended integrating gender-specific health care in basic medical training. Taking up many of the report's recommendations, the Minister supplied the Netherlands Organisation for Health Research and Development (ZonMw - Nederlandse organisatie voor gezondheidsonderzoek en zorginnovatie) with the funds to implement the Steering Group's recommendations. ZonMw in turn assigned the department of Women's Studies in Medicine at the Radboud University Nijmegen the task of incorporating sex and gender issues in medical education (Lagro-Janssen 2002). Under the guidance of Toine Lagro-Janssen, professor in Women's Studies Medicine, they carried out the project between April 2002 and April 2005.

The Nijmegen medical school at the heart of the national project had been the site of a local project initiated by Lagro-Janssen in 1998 to analyse whether the Nijmegen medical curriculum reflected the growing body of knowledge about gender-specific medicine. Examining the teaching material and course descriptions of the four-year basic medical curriculum, the project focused on the attention to sex and gender in the content, language, and context of all compulsory and a selection of optional modules (Van der Sanden, Frijns, and Lagro-Janssen 1999). This thorough screening of the medical curriculum in Nijmegen

showed that teaching materials insufficiently incorporated knowledge about sex and gender in health care (Van der Sanden and Lagro-Janssen 1999). This local project also included efforts to implement knowledge about sex and gender in the curriculum, suggesting adaptations of the courses to the course coordinators (Van der Sanden and Lagro-Janssen 2000b).<sup>71</sup> It furthermore functioned as a pilot project, since the experiences and evaluation of the Nijmegen project provided input for running the national one (Interview Lagro-Janssen).

In this case study, I focus on the national project, 'Integrating gender in the basic medical curriculum', as a concrete case of knowledge transfer in the field of Women's Studies Medicine. I will refer to it with the shorter name, 'Gender in medical education'. The availability of extensive project and research reports allows for an in-depth analysis of the transfer of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine to the educational curriculum. The project members, together with other experts, have produced a number of publications about the project, including a PhD thesis. This thesis by project member Petra Verdonk (2007a) includes several of these publications, dealing for instance with the relevance of gender for the field of medicine and with the role of medical education in achieving gender awareness on the topics of health and illness. Whereas Verdonk's focus is on curriculum change and the factors that play a positive or negative role in establishing a sex- and gender-specific curriculum, my focus is on the processes of knowledge transfer that play a part in the project. I analyse these processes against the background of knowledge production in Women's Studies Medicine, taking into account the actors and interactions from within, as well as outside of, the curriculum context.

Questions that will be addressed in this case study are: In what ways is knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine transferred to the curriculum? To what extent are knowledge and insights from this field integrated in the curriculum? What happens with this knowledge in the knowledge transfer process? What chances and hindrances for knowledge integration can be identified? To get more insight into knowledge transfer, I interviewed project leader Toine Lagro-Janssen, project member Petra Verdonk, and Willibrord Weijmar Schultz from the participating Groningen Medical Centre.<sup>72</sup>

Besides the project members and people at medical schools, several other actors, such as ZonMw and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports, play a role in this context. The project can also be positioned in a long history of women's health care initiatives in which the academy and civil society act and interact to underline the salience of gender in medical practices.

In this chapter, I will describe the field of Women's Studies Medicine and look at how knowledge from this field is transferred to the medical curriculum through the 'Gender in medical education' project (section 4.1); answer the question to what extent this knowledge is integrated (section 4.2); and analyse the conditions that affected the integration of this knowledge in the medical curriculum (section 4.3).

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<sup>71</sup> A supplementary project (Van der Sanden and Lagro-Janssen 2000a) screened for attention to sex and gender in the Nijmegen General Practitioners' curriculum and aimed to integrate gender-specific medicine in the vocational training of GPs.

<sup>72</sup> Interview Verdonk, January 15, 2009; Interview Lagro-Janssen, February 9, 2009; Interview Weijmar Schultz, October 28, 2009. See also Appendix I.

## **4.1 Knowledge transfer in Women's Studies Medicine**

### **4.1.1 The field of Women's Studies Medicine: knowledge production and dissemination**

#### ***Production***

Since the 1970s, a growing body of knowledge about sex differences in health and illness has been produced. Let me describe in more detail where, how, and by whom knowledge is produced in the field of Women's Studies Medicine.

The topic of women and health in Women's Studies emerged and developed in close connection to the women's movement. Acting on the irresponsiveness of the health care system to differences between women and men, the women's health care movement came into being in the 1970s (Kolk, M. Bekker, and Van Vliet 1999b). In the second feminist wave, women's health care initiatives emerged on many important issues, especially physical self-determination and sexual violence against women and children. The history of these and other initiatives and organisations was recently documented in a volume (Van Mens-Verhulst and Waaldijk 2008) about the Dutch women's health care movement. The International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (IIAV) made a DVD (G. Keller and Pieterse 2008) about the lives of key people in this movement.

Lagro-Janssen (1999) traces back the origins of Women's Studies Medicine to the first feminist wave, when women's health and sexuality were important topics. This is exemplified in the first woman doctor in the Netherlands, Aletta Jacobs, who was fighting for contraception and improvements to women's working conditions. The connection to the first feminist wave is, for instance, visible in the name of the first feminist doctor's office that opened in the Netherlands in 1984, named Aletta.<sup>73</sup> Jacobs is integrated in the canon of medicine in the Netherlands (F. Huisman and Van Lieburg 2009), representing the feminisation of medicine.<sup>74</sup>

Looking at the large national conferences for Women's Studies and the women's movement in the 1980s, the so-called Summer and Winter Universities Women's Studies, the topic of women and health was already present at the 1981 Summer University, with more women active in this field in the 1983 Winter University, and women from seven different universities working on this topic at the 1987 Summer University (Brouns 1990; Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008).

The women's movement provided a key incentive for the development of women's health care, as well as that of Women's Studies Medicine (Lagro-Janssen 1999). In fact, women's health care and Women's Studies Medicine co-evolved; on the one hand, Women's Studies provided academic underpinning and legitimacy to the women's health care movement and the field of Women's Studies Medicine, on the other hand, further developed via women's health care's commissioning of research (Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008). The 'Quality of Women's Health Care' project (led by Janneke van Mens-Verhulst, 1986-1998), for instance, carried out research and evaluation studies of women's health care

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<sup>73</sup> About Aletta, the General Practitioners' practice and Women's Health Centre, see Noordenbos and Van Mens-Verhulst (2008). For the significance of Aletta Jacobs in the women's movement and in Women's History, see the case study of the Canon in this dissertation (Chapter 6).

<sup>74</sup> The canon of medicine in the Netherlands was developed on the initiative of the Royal Dutch Medical Association (KNMG). See also [www.canongeneeskunde.nl](http://www.canongeneeskunde.nl) (accessed 15 December 2009).

for several (women's) health services, often through the mediation of science shops.<sup>75</sup> More recently, exchanges on societal issues such as sexual violence or ethnic diversity are visible in institutions like Movisie (with which organisations such as Transact, the centre for gender issues in health care and the prevention of sexual violence, merged) and the Verwey-Jonker Institute. It is noteworthy that both laypersons and experts are active in societal feminist health initiatives and that ideas and projects travel worldwide. Our Bodies, Ourselves, also known as the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, for example, is a collective of women who use their own experiences to produce knowledge about women's bodies and health matters with the aim to empower women (cf. Davis 2007). Doctors and medical experts, for example, join forces in Women on Waves, a Dutch organisation that fights for safe abortions.<sup>76</sup>

Through commissioning research, the government also influenced the production of knowledge in Women's Studies Medicine. For instance, Blijf van m'n Lijf (the women's shelters foundation) and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture commissioned a pilot study by Renée Römken (1986) about violence against women in heterosexual relationships. This Ministry later ordered a large study on this topic, carried out by the same researcher (Römken 1989). The Ministry of Social Affairs also ordered research on sexual abuse of children, resulting in a report by Nel Draijer (1988). The Promotion Committee for Emancipation Research (STEO, see Chapter 1), active at the Ministry of Education from 1985 until 1991, also included sexual violence and health/social assistance in their research priorities (Brouns 1990). The governmental attention to women's health shows that the women's movement has been successful in getting their slogan 'the personal is political' across. Taken up in governmental policymaking, women's concerns thus became societal concerns (cf. Naezer and Römken 2008).

Then again, governmental policymaking, public debate, but also technological developments can all provide motives for producing knowledge. When the government published a report about 'care choices' in 1991 (Commissie Keuzen in de zorg 1991), a public debate evolved in which women's organisations and Women's Studies researchers scrutinised medical-technological developments and other (ethical) issues raised by the report from a feminist perspective (Sevenhuijsen 1996). 3.000 women from 100 branches of 25 national women's organisations, including trade unions, local women's councils, and black and migrant women's groups, took part in the debate (Ten Haaf 1994). Several publications resulted from the debate and subsequent research (e.g. Parlevliet and Sevenhuijsen 1993; Meinen, Parlevliet, and Sevenhuijsen 1994; cf. Sevenhuijsen 1996; Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008). In reaction to new (bio-) technological developments, feminist researchers engaged in pioneering research on how genetic and reproductive technologies affect women and their bodies (for example Saetnan, Oudshoorn, and Kirejczyk 2000).

The field of Women's Studies Medicine took further shape via research funding by NWO and by ZonMw. From 1992 to 1997, the Women's Studies section (WVEO - Werkgemeenschap Vrouwenstudies en Emancipatie Onderzoek) of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) funded the research area 'Gender and Health: Identity, Labour and Morals', in which four universities participated (Van der Sanden 2003b).<sup>77</sup> This so-called priority research area (see Chapter 1) gave a powerful impulse to knowledge production. The research area was led by the Department of Social Sciences at Utrecht University, where Selma Sevenhuijsen started the Women's Studies research

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<sup>75</sup> See [www.vanmens.info/verhulst/?page\\_id=7](http://www.vanmens.info/verhulst/?page_id=7) (accessed 6 October 2009).

<sup>76</sup> See [www.womenonwaves.nl](http://www.womenonwaves.nl) (accessed 5 November 2009).

<sup>77</sup> Elsewhere (Van der Sanden 2003b), I call this research area 'Gender and Care', as the Dutch name of the research area 'Gender en Zorg' can be translated both ways.

programme 'Gender, morality and care' in 1990. This research programme also incorporated the Research Foundation on Sexuality and Violence (WOSG - Stichting tot Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek omtrent Sexualiteit en Geweld), previously located at the University of Amsterdam, via which external funds were obtained for research on relational abuse, child abuse, and dating violence (Van der Sanden 2003b).

The Netherlands Organisation for Health Research and Development, ZonMw, paid attention to women's health care in both its research and implementation projects. From 1997 until 2007, ZonMw financed a number of research projects in the framework of the 'M/F the gender factor in health care' ('M/V de factor sekse in de gezondheidszorg') programme. One of these is the 'Gender in medical education' project that figures centrally in this case study. Research funding also came from the European Commission. It for instance funded the GenderBasic project under the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (2002-2006) to carry out research on sex and gender in biomedical and health-related research (Klinge 2007).

Thus, the production of knowledge evolved in interaction with the women's health care movement, the government, and research funding agencies. Not only was research carried out in Medicine, but also in fields like Psychology, Andragology, Anthropology, and Psychiatry; women's health research can thus be characterised as an interdisciplinary field. Inside universities, the field of Women's Studies Medicine was further shaped and institutionalised via working groups, networks, and other forms of research cooperation.

Examples of (inter-) university research cooperation are: the research programme 'Role-breaking Assistance' ('Roldoorbrekende Hulpverlening') from 1980 to 1986 at Utrecht University, under the guidance of Ingerlise Anderson and Janneke van Mens-Verhulst (Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008); the Working Group Women and Health, active at the University of Amsterdam since 1986, with Annemarie Kolk, Marrie Bekker, Katja van Vliet, and Cecile Gijsbers van Wijk participating; the Working Group later merged into the Network of Women and Healthcare Researchers (Netwerk Onderzoeksters Vrouwen en Hulpverlening); this network gave rise to the establishment of the Dutch Foundation for Women and Health Research in 1991 (Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008), an interuniversity foundation that promotes and coordinates research in the field of women and health.

The already-mentioned priority research area 'Gender and Health' provided one of the foundations for the research programme of the NOV (Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies) when it was accredited by the KNAW in 1995. Researchers in the field of feminist health care from the University of Nijmegen, the University for Humanistics, and Leiden University participated in the NOV in the Cluster Gender and Health (NOV 2000). The close relation to Women's Studies is not only visible at the national level, but also at university level, for example in co-taught courses and in research participation by Women's Studies Medicine in Women's Studies units.

In Dutch medical faculties Women's Studies Medicine has existed as an autonomous department at the University of Amsterdam since 1983, at Maastricht University since 1988, and at the University of Nijmegen since 1993 (Lagro-Janssen 1999). In 1995, the first professors in Women's Studies Medicine were appointed: Annemiek Richters received a chair in Women's Health Care at Leiden University, endowed by the Women's Health Care Foundation (Stichting Vrouwengezondheidszorg), Janneke van Mens-Verhulst at the University for Humanistics, endowed by the Ribbius Peletier Fund and later by the Women's Health Care Foundation. In 1996, Toine Lagro-Janssen was appointed professor in Women's Studies Medicine at the University of Nijmegen, endowed by the Dutch Association of Medical Women (VNVA - Vereniging van Nederlandse Vrouwelijke Artsen). Her chair was changed into a profiling chair in 2004. These special chairs show the involvement of societal organisations in the development of Women's Studies Medicine research. Lagro-Janssen's is

the only chair in Women's Studies Medicine that currently remains (Waaldijk and Van Mens-Verhulst 2008). However, in 2008, Renée Römken was appointed a chair in interpersonal violence at the International Victimology Institute of Tilburg University; a chair that is not earmarked as Women's Studies but does have a clear gender component. The IIAV supports this chair, which accentuates its feminist perspective (Weerbare slachtoffers 2008).

In the educational curriculum of several faculties of Medicine, but also Health Sciences, Pedagogics and Psychology, attention to Women's Studies is visible in the form of optional courses and, to a more limited extent, via the integration of gender or diversity in compulsory courses (Lagro-Janssen 1999; Van Mens-Verhulst and M. Bekker 2005). Education in Women's Studies Medicine is especially but not exclusively discernible in those universities with special chairs or departments of Women's Studies Medicine.

Analysing the knowledge production in theoretical terms, one sees that knowledge in the field of Women's Studies Medicine is produced by researchers in Medicine and other disciplines, as well as by health care professionals. It thus is an interdisciplinary field in which, in Mode 2 terms, knowledge is produced via a socially-distributed knowledge production system. Women's Studies Medicine has institutional locations inside (for example in chairs) as well as outside universities (for example in the Dutch Foundation for Women and Health Research). The field is contextualised in that not only researchers but also actors from society and the government are involved in setting the research agenda.

### **Dissemination**

Women's Studies Medicine knowledge has been disseminated in various ways, obvious ones, such as publications in journals and books, dissertations and conferences, but also in less evident ways like TV programmes.

Research results are published in general medical journals (*Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geneeskunde* (Journal for Social Medicine), *Huisarts en Wetenschap* (General Practice and Science), *Medisch Contact* (Medical Contact), and *The Journal of Family Practice*), general Women's Studies journals (*TvV/TvG*, *EJWS*, and *Raffia*)<sup>78</sup>, and in journals with a specific focus on women and gender in health care and medicine. Among the latter are the *VNVA krant* (magazine issued by the VNVA since 1973), which as of 2006 was continued online as *Vamp*, the magazine *Vrouwen en gezondheid* (issued by the Dutch Foundation of Women and Health Research since 1993), and the journal *Vrouw & Gezondheidszorg*<sup>79</sup> (1991-1999, founded by the women's health bureaus Metis and Medusa), which was continued as *M/V Zorg* (2000-2003, issued by Transact).

Since research from Women's Studies Medicine is published in so many different sorts of publications, there are differences in what is published. General medical journals largely do not publish research produced from a socio-psychological perspective (Lagro-Janssen 1999), nor do they cover women's health concerns, such as heart disease, lung and breast cancer, depression and abuse, very well (Verdonk 2007a). Even journals on women's health do not thoroughly cover the above-mentioned concerns, despite the fact that they are leading causes of women's death and disability (Verdonk 2007a). There are nevertheless regular medical journals that do pay attention to research from a gender perspective, particularly through special issues. The international *Social Science and Medicine* (1992, no. 6) and the Dutch *Huisarts en Wetenschap* (1995, no. 9), for instance, are thus thought to have

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<sup>78</sup> The journal *Raffia* is issued by the Centre for Women's Studies of the University of Nijmegen/Institute for Gender Studies of Radboud University Nijmegen since 1989. For the Dutch journal for Women's Studies (TvV), later journal for Gender Studies (TvG), and for the *European Journal of Women's Studies*, see Chapter 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Vrouw & Gezondheidszorg* was a continuation of *Slangengodin* and *Viavia*, published since the 1980s by the National Support Point Women's Health Care VIA, respectively the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture.

contributed to enhancing insights on women and health issues (Lagro-Janssen 1999). The attention to gender in regular journals is increasing, but experts say it still is not recognised enough (Interview Lagro-Janssen).

A Dutch-language overview of women and health research carried out between 1970 and 1990 was published by Ludwien Meeuwesen et al. (1991). This so-called trend report was financed by STEO. In 1994, an other overview was published by the Dutch Foundation of Women and Health Research (Bettonvil 1994). Inventories of Dutch and English literature on 'women, illness and health' were done by the Centre for Women's Studies of the University of Nijmegen, covering literature between 1985 and 1994 (Van Mierlo 1996), and 1995 and 2001 (Hoogmoed 2002).<sup>80</sup> Toine Lagro-Janssen and Greta Noordenbos (1997), specifically targeting students and teachers in Medicine and Health Sciences, edited a manual that provides an overview of knowledge about sex differences in illness and health. Many books are also published about specific topics, for example on women's health care and psychiatry (Nicolai 1992) and health care for women with severe traumas (Wolf 2002).

Dissertations are another important way of publicising the results of research in the field of Women's Studies Medicine. Since the end of the 1980s, a considerable number of dissertations appeared, dealing with several diseases and complaints from a gender perspective, as well as with topics such as health care, education, career development, and the doctor-patient relationship. A selection of dissertations is assembled in Appendix II.

Conferences on a wide variety of topics have functioned as platforms for knowledge exchange between Women's Studies, women's organisations, and health policymakers. On 8 March 1994, women's health bureau Metis organised the conference 'Vrouwen kiezen met zorg' (Women choose with care). The conference presented the results of the debate organised by Metis about 'care choices' (see above), including a top ten of subjects that women are concerned with (the communication between doctor and patient ranked highest). The results and concerns were disseminated to the governmental Health Care commission and to the Ministry of Welfare, Health, and Culture. (Ten Haaft 1994) Gender differences in doctor-patient communication were also the topic of the annual conference of the Royal Dutch Medical Association (KNMG - Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot bevordering der Geneeskunst) in 1994.<sup>81</sup> A regional KNMG symposium in Nijmegen in 1999 on the occasion of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the KNMG dealt with the impact of the entry of women doctors on the professionalism, culture, and professional practices of doctors.<sup>82</sup>

Conferences of course are important dissemination locations, but they are also places where participants can network and communicate. In addition, conferences increase the visibility of Women's Studies Medicine, because they result in media coverage, published articles, information on websites, etc. A good example is the first international interdisciplinary conference on women and health, 'Realising a gender-sensitive health care', organised by the Dutch Foundation Women and Health Research in 1997. The conference yielded the creation of the European Association of Women and Health Research (EAWHR) and resulted in a publication about the advances in women and health research (Kolk, M. Bekker, and Van Vliet 1999a).

Though many gaps still, there is more and more attention to gender and diversity in medical research, and knowledge and insights are gradually more integrated in professional

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<sup>80</sup> The inventories were made by the Documentation Centre of the (formerly named) Centre for Women's Studies in cooperation with the Department of Women's Studies Medicine of the (formerly named) University of Nijmegen. The first edition also listed literature in German.

<sup>81</sup> Annual KNMG conference 'Als u begrijpt wat ik bedoel. De onbegrepen taal van de andere sekse.' 18-19 November 1994, Tilburg.

<sup>82</sup> Regional KNMG symposium 'Dokteren in de 21e eeuw: Met vrouw meer mens?' 4 March 1999, Nijmegen.

practices and in quality policies (Celik and Klinge 2005). For example, research into anorexia nervosa and the large amount of studies on sexual violence both have influenced how patients are approached and treated, thereby contributing to the quality of care (Lagro-Janssen 1999). Regarding quality assurance, Steketee and Van Vliet (2002) showed that the implementation of sex-specific health care criteria in mental health institutions' quality policies has increased, especially for women's health care, but that it is still not visible enough in care practices as well as in quality and personnel policies.

I want to conclude this section by pointing out some less obvious places in society where knowledge on women and health ends up. Sex differences in medical complaints were for instance the topic of a popular TV programme about surgery, in which Lagro-Janssen figured as an expert (Chirurgenwerk 2008). In a TV programme about top psychiatrists, Nelleke Nicolai, who specialises in women's health care and sexual traumas, was one of the featured psychiatrists (Kijken in de ziel 2009). This shows that a women's health care viewpoint does not exclude integration in 'regular' programmes. The women's weekly *Libelle* regularly pays attention to women and health, through for example articles about women doctors in which experts who strive for more attention for sex and gender in health care are interviewed (e.g. Van Ankeren 2009; Biersteker 2009). This magazine also annually awards a prize to a person or institution that excels in the area of women and health. The language of women's health care is also applied (or commercialised, cf. Lagro-Janssen 2005) by health insurance company AGIS in its promotion of better health care for women.<sup>83</sup> Even Wikipedia has an entry on women's health care, started by Janneke van Mens-Verhulst and Marijke Naezer.<sup>84</sup> Interestingly, health for the first time has become a theme in the 2008 Emancipation Monitor (Merens and Hermans 2009); a theme that was also discussed with experts in the main TV news bulletin (NOS 2009). A last example is that Amnesty International has included (the violation of) women's rights in its campaign, for instance protesting sexual violence.<sup>85</sup>

In sum, this section has shown that insights from Women's Studies Medicine have found their way to research, policymaking, and health care practices, as well as other places in society. In Mode 2 terms, one can say that knowledge from the field of Women's Studies Medicine seeps into all societal domains. It is also apparent that knowledge integration in one domain has an effect on what happens in other domains. There is, in Mode 2 terms, a mutuality of relations between science and society.

#### **4.1.2 What knowledge is available?**

What knowledge is produced in Women's Studies Medicine? To structure the available knowledge in the field, let me recall how I defined 'knowledge about sex and gender' as produced in the broad field of Women's Studies (see Chapter 2). In that definition, I stipulated that knowledge about sex is about differences between men and women in society, but that their positions should not be reduced to their biological sex. I also stipulated that knowledge about gender deals with the social organisation of the relations between the sexes. This highlights that masculinity and femininity are the result of complex power processes of giving

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<sup>83</sup> [www.agisweb.nl/Vrouwen/Agis\\_maakt\\_zich\\_sterk\\_voor\\_verbeterde\\_zorg\\_voor\\_vrouwen](http://www.agisweb.nl/Vrouwen/Agis_maakt_zich_sterk_voor_verbeterde_zorg_voor_vrouwen) (accessed 16 October 2009).

<sup>84</sup> [nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vrouwenhulpverlening](http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vrouwenhulpverlening) (accessed 16 October 2009).

<sup>85</sup> This is for instance visible in a local women's Amnesty International group's meeting about domestic violence. 'Amnesty-avond over huiselijk geweld.' 4 March 2009, Nijmegen, [www.amnestynijmegen.nl](http://www.amnestynijmegen.nl) (accessed 16 October 2009).

meaning; they are socio-cultural constructions. In the body of knowledge developed in Women's Studies Medicine, these aspects of 'knowledge about sex and gender' can also be identified. The body of knowledge and insights developed in Women's Studies Medicine is about sex and gender aspects in processes of health and illness, and their consequences in medical practices. Based on two overviews of research developments in Women's Studies Medicine and of gender bias in medicine (Lagro-Janssen 2005 and Verdonk 2007a), I will describe the field's key insights or 'knowledge areas' below.

### ***A. Sex differences in health and illness***

Research showed that there are differences between men and women in the prevalence and aetiology of illness, in the presentation of health complaints, and in consequences and treatment of diseases (Lagro-Janssen and Noordenbos 1997). For instance, coronary heart disease, alcohol addiction, and depression occur in men and women in different life stages and with different causes, symptoms, and consequences. Regular medicine, however, largely disregarded sex differences, except when dealing with matters of reproduction. Women's Studies Medicine showed that this not only stereotypically represents women as mothers and wives, but also results in knowledge gaps in men's reproductive health matters. Women were also excluded from clinical studies, particularly pharmacological studies, yet study results were also applied to women. Women's Studies Medicine thus developed and demanded knowledge that pays attention to relevant sex differences in health and illness.

### ***B. Women's health concerns***

Women's Studies Medicine developed a large body of knowledge on women's health concerns. Research was carried out into abuse as well as diseases with a high prevalence among women, such as heart disease, lung and breast cancer, and depression. This was done in reaction to the male bias in medicine: the existing knowledge on health and illness was mainly about men. A consequence of taking men as the norm is that female symptoms were seen as deviant, thereby problematising women and their conditions. Another possible consequence is underdiagnosis and even death in women in cases when definitions of illness fail to take on board sex-specific conditions. This, for instance, happened in early AIDS research, where a male heterosexual bias (focussing on gay men) led to a disregard of gynaecological conditions. A male bias was also discovered in medical terminology, both in sexist ways in which certain health conditions are described and in stereotypical formulations of concepts and theories. The latter is for example visible in relation to fertility.

### ***C. A bio-psychosocial framework***

A third insight of Women's Studies Medicine is that the male bias has led to a medicalisation of the female body. Women's normal bodily functions and life stages were pathologised, for instance by treating menopause with hormone replacement therapy. This moreover represents women as hormonal and labile beings. Countering medicalisation, ranging from the prescription of medication to using reproductive technologies, is one of the feminist principles of women's health care. Underlying the tendency to medicalisation is the dominant biomedical focus that favours anatomical, chromosomal, and hormonal explanations for diseases at the cost of psychological and social factors. This is visible in for example depression and ADHD. Women's Studies Medicine showed and argued that an interdisciplinary or bio-psychosocial framework is necessary to understand processes in health and illness, because differences between the sexes cannot be sufficiently explained by looking at biomedical factors alone.

#### ***D. Gender inequality: femininity and masculinity***

Acknowledging the impact of social factors on health and illness also opened up the possibility to address the role of gender relations and the unequal societal positions of men and women in this respect. Women's Studies Medicine pointed out that femininity and masculinity influence health problems. That is, the gendered socialisation of men and women may lead to certain social roles and behaviour that have a health effect. For instance, masculine risk-taking behaviour may prevent men from practising safe sex, which implies a health hazard for women. The large body of knowledge about domestic violence and sexual abuse illustrates the impact of women's societal position on health problems. Women's Studies Medicine thus shows that the relations between the sexes should be taken into account. Foregrounding the unequal positions of men and women in society, research also pointed out that inequality, relating to socio-economic status and political contexts, results in gender health inequalities (Gijsbers van Wijk, Van Vliet, and Kolk 1996). For example, because women disproportionately live in poverty, they suffer a lack of care (Kolk, M. Bekker, and Van Vliet 1999b). Being sensitive to the different needs and possibilities of women and men in medical practices is thus an important aspect of Women's Studies Medicine. This resonates with the women's health care principle that needs and abilities of women should be central.

#### ***E. Gender in relation to other social categories***

The above example about poverty shows the connectedness of gender to other social categories such as class, ethnicity, age, and sexuality. Women's Studies Medicine acknowledges that gender does not operate in isolation from other social categories. However, this has only recently been reflected in research (Van Mens-Verhulst 2006). Especially the relation between gender and culture or ethnicity has been studied and the influence of doctors' and patients' ethnic backgrounds on treatment also received attention (e.g. Van den Muijsenbergh and Lagro-Janssen 2006). Research into women's health issues at the crossroads of social categories is also done under the banner of 'diversity'. However, diversity-sensitive health research focuses more on the interaction of, for example, ethnicity and biomedical sex differences than with gender differences (M. Bekker et al. 2005). In sum, research in Women's Studies Medicines entails taking into account the relevance of gender for health and illness in its relation to other social categories. This allows for seeing how gender differences are constructed in intersection with cultures or age groups, at the same time allowing for the consideration of differences between women.

#### ***F. Doctor-patient relationship***

Lastly, Women's Studies Medicine has thoroughly studied gender aspects in the doctor-patient relationship, showing that doctors' stereotypical ideas about men and women negatively influence treatment and health outcomes, especially for women. Women patients are for instance regarded as demanding and complaining more, and their conditions are more often ascribed to biology, whereas the same health conditions in men are more often ascribed to behaviour. Research also showed a difference in communication styles between men and women. Women patients present their complaints more in relation to the social context, whereas men refer to their body more as a technical device. A lack of knowledge about sex-specific communication styles may lead to communication problems in the doctor-patient relationship; these are especially likely to occur in encounters between men doctors and women patients (Meeuwesen 1997). In medical encounters, gendered power relations are thus at work (Davis 1988). Women's Studies Medicine appeals to doctors to become aware of the power differences between doctor and patient and of the influence that their own gendered socialisation has on their attitudes towards men and women. An equal relation between doctor

and patient is one of the principles of women's health care, because this positively influences the treatment of complaints and stimulates women's health.

### **4.1.3 Situatedness of knowledge in terms of its partiality and locality**

Developed in close connection to the women's movement, Women's Studies Medicine is based on a feminist perspective. The knowledge claims from this field are value-laden in the sense that knowledge is produced with the aim to improve women's health and health care for women. Research questions in Women's Studies Medicine thus derive from the realm outside the academy. Then again, the focus on practice is a feature that is shared with the field of Medicine in general. Although Women's Studies Medicine has women at the centre of its attention, the advantages of gender-sensitive health care are believed to stretch beyond women, as scholars argue that it also would be beneficial for men.

Practitioners of Women's Studies Medicine are predominantly, but not exclusively, women, and the location from which knowledge is produced is interdisciplinary, involving researchers from medicine as well as psychology, sociology and related fields.

Changes in the name of the field suggest a relegation of the political or ideological underpinnings of Women's Studies Medicine. In the 1970s, the term feminist health care was practiced, but it was changed to women's health care in the 1980s and to sex-specific health care in the 1990s. Under the latter name, the attention to other social categories such as ethnicity, age, and sexuality increased (Van Mens-Verhulst 2006). Although name changes can be strategic, for instance as a way to connect to governmental policies in order to obtain government funding, it also damages the transformative potential of the field (Pheterson 2008). Nevertheless, a euphemistic term like women's health care still prompts association with (radical) feminism (Tiesinga-Autsema 1999).

The partiality of Women's Studies Medicine lies in its focus on how gender relations, including gender inequality, affect processes of health and illness. Since gendered power differences are materialised in medical practices, in knowledge production in the field of medicine, and in institutional settings (e.g. medical schools), knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine thus challenges medicine's status quo. By highlighting the socially-constructed character of gender, this knowledge particularly challenges the biomedical (universal) discourse that supposes gender and other social aspects are irrelevant. Against this universal discourse, Women's Studies Medicine poses an assortment of non-universal knowledge claims.

### **4.1.4 Interactions: intensity, sustainability, and form**

In this section, I will analyse the interactions that took place in the project 'Gender in medical education', focussing on the interactions between project members and medical schools personnel, but also including relations with other actors, like ZonMw. The project took place between April 2002 and April 2005, but I will also include actions and interactions that continued after the project officially ended. Taking into account the different stages in the knowledge transfer process, i.e. the production, dissemination, and integration of knowledge, I will analyse these interactions in terms of their intensity, duration, and form.

Before I concentrate on the interactions, I will briefly describe the project. The project is characterised as an "action research project" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 52), as it involves both analysing knowledge gaps and intervening in the curriculum to integrate a gender perspective.

The goal of the project was to accomplish the integration of gender in the curricula of at least six of the eight medical schools in the Netherlands (Verdonk 2007a). Through analysis of course catalogues, the project members identified potential gaps and courses in which gender could be integrated. These findings were brought to the attention of school leaders, and the medical schools co-consulted on which courses were selected to have their education material screened on attention to sex and gender. The project members then discussed recommendations to integrate gender with course organisers. In addition, they set up a Digital Knowledge Centre with gender-specific teaching material and organised courses for teachers and conferences.

### ***Preparation***

One of the first steps in the project was the examination of medical schools' course catalogues in order to identify knowledge gaps but also courses that were especially suitable for integrating attention to sex and gender (Verdonk 2007a). This so-called quick-scan was the basis for the meetings with the medical schools that would follow, although at this stage they had not been contacted yet (Interview Lagro-Janssen). To get the medical schools to participate in the project, a report of the quick-scan was sent to the selected faculty leaders together with project information and an article about gender differences in health and illness before their meeting with the project members (Verdonk 2007a). This first meeting with the medical schools was important to ensure that faculty leaders (deans and directors of education institutes) understand the relevance of gender in education and to obtain their commitment to the project (Verdonk 2007a). Lagro-Janssen (Interview) explained that the challenge was to get across what the relevance of gender is to doctors' daily practice; something which was often achieved by giving practical examples of health issues in which gender matters and by relating to teachers' experiences. An example of an elective course about gender was also used to give faculty leaders an idea of what gender-sensitive education material could look like. After faculty leaders had committed themselves to the project, meetings were organised with key figures like education directors and curriculum reform coordinators to devise a strategy for integrating gender in the curriculum of the respective medical school (Verdonk 2007a).

In these meetings, courses were selected to have their education material thoroughly examined and an arrangement was worked out to deliver recommendations to course organisers (Verdonk 2007a). Thus, in knowledge transfer terms, the users were involved in deciding on the data collection and on how the feedback would be organised. Also, in each faculty a so-called change agent was appointed to widely publicise the project in the medical school and raise awareness for gender issues among course organisers (Verdonk 2007a). The change agents hence acted as a liaison between the project members and the medical faculties.

Because the evaluation of the local project had shown that the availability of concrete education material with practical relevance played an important role in integrating gender in medical curricula (Verdonk, Mans and Lagro-Janssen 2005), the project members set up a Digital Knowledge Centre with gender-specific education material that all medical schools could access in April 2003 (Verdonk 2007a). The material in the Digital Knowledge Centre was either developed by the project members themselves, e.g. courses that were taught in the Nijmegen curriculum, or acquired by the project members. An example of the latter is a CD-ROM about gynaecological examination that participants from the Groningen Medical Centre had made (Weijmar Schultz). The project members could refer project participants to the Digital Knowledge Centre to, for instance, find a study assignment about a certain topic (Interview Lagro-Janssen).

The project members were given advice by a steering committee that consisted of faculty leaders and a representative of ZonMw (Verdonk 2007a). Especially in the initial

phase of the project, the steering committee was important in that the members provided input in designing a feasible and acceptable strategy for curriculum change (Interview Verdonk). From a knowledge transfer outlook, this enabled the project members to accommodate the (practical) concerns of the users' side and prepare the users for the actual implementation phase of the project.

### ***Local interactions***

After the screening of education material on gender issues in content, context, and language, the implementation phase began. Based on the screening reports, the project members met with course organisers and sometimes also the change agent to discuss their gender integration recommendations (Verdonk 2007a). These meetings between project members and course coordinators are linkage mechanisms because they are personal and direct interactions and because users can give immediate feedback on the findings and recommendations.

Knowledge and insights were disseminated in the form of practical recommendations to adjust specific courses and by offering gender-specific education material. For example, when a course about reproduction made no mention of infertility and sexual abuse, the project members broached this issue, provided literature, and suggested adding a study assignment from the Digital Knowledge Centre (Interview Lagro-Janssen). The recommendations to integrate gender were tailor-made to the courses and fine-tuned to the medical schools' wishes and circumstances. For instance, when a medical school was in the process of reforming its curriculum, curricular reform plans were examined and discussed together. The project members also suggested elective courses that focus on gender (Verdonk 2007a). The integration strategy was thus adapted to the specific users.

Adaptation is also visible in the disseminated knowledge, as it was translated or incorporated into specific recommendations and education material. In section 4.2.1, I will describe the content of the knowledge that is being transferred and integrated in more detail. Here, it is relevant to point out that, because the project members are involved in adapting knowledge and actively selecting the knowledge that will be disseminated, they cannot be seen as mere mediators of Women's Studies Medicine knowledge. Their selection was primarily based on the study of existing literature, but the project members' expertise and research interests also influenced the topics that were addressed (Interview Verdonk). This means that aside from knowledge products embodied knowledge was also transferred to medical schools. In addition, some of the knowledge transferred was also produced by the project members themselves. Hence, they are both producers and interested mediators of knowledge.

Coming back to the dissemination efforts, another aspect to point out is that the relevance of gender was communicated to staff through 'careful communication', characterised by "a face-to-face style, a democratic approach and determination" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 98). This communication approach was designed to best prevent or diminish any potential resistance towards the project goals' ideological character (Verdonk 2007a). In Knowledge Utilisation terms, the researchers gave users room to express their attitudes, doubts, and concerns about the project, but the researchers continued their efforts to achieve knowledge integration despite the resistance they encountered. The project members also adjusted their language to medical terminology, choosing the Dutch word 'seks' (sex) to disseminate knowledge about both sex and gender, because in medicine these terms are often used interchangeably and the distinction in medicine is not always relevant (Verdonk 2007b). Moreover, gender is a difficult term for doctors, as illustrated by one of the participants in the project who stated the term gender-specific was as foreign to most people in the faculty as if it was "Arab or Russian" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 95).

In the last two months of the project, project members interviewed education directors and change agents about their experiences with the project, which resulted in more insight into the medical schools' attitudes toward the project and in some cases in new ideas and agreements to integrate gender in the curriculum (Verdonk 2007a). This shows that integration of knowledge was continued through the evaluation phase. This corresponds with the understanding of knowledge transfer in Mode 2, specifically in the sense that the phases of production, dissemination, and integration of knowledge are not clearly separated. According to Lagro-Janssen (Interview), it was unfortunate that the national project lacked the time and money for a thorough evaluation, because in the Nijmegen pilot project - where a full evaluation was carried out - the evaluation phase really functioned as an intervention in the curricula (cf. Verdonk, Mans, and Lagro-Janssen 2005), whereas in the national project this upshot was more limited.

### ***Multiple dissemination channels and interaction platforms***

Accompanying the local interactions, several activities were carried out at the national level to disseminate the project's message and maintain contact between the project members and the participants. Important in this regard is that the project leader had requested the Review Committee, which reviews the quality of medical schools' education and research, to ask specific questions about the integration of sex and gender in the curriculum as they performed their 2002 audit of the medical schools (Verdonk 2007a). In their audit, the Review Committee asked one question about the topic of gender in medical education and one about the representation of men and women in staff (Interview Lagro-Janssen). Via this audit, attention to gender issues was thus raised by an actor external to the project. I will next describe the other actions that were undertaken in the project.

As part of the project, the project members organised two invitational conferences, explicitly inviting change agents and education directors (Verdonk 2007a). The first international conference took place on 30 March 2004, and concentrated on strategies to implement sex and gender issues in medical education (Verdonk and Mans 2004). External keynotes passed on relevant insights to the attendees, and the conference also provided an opportunity for knowledge exchange with key figures from all medical faculties. In the second (national) invitational conference, on 15 February 2005, invited speakers from several medical faculties discussed plans for a structural embedding of gender issues in medical education (*Nieuwsbrief* April 2005).

The project members also organised two train-the-trainer courses for teachers from the medical faculties (Verdonk 2007a). The first course in November 2004 gathered twenty-five participants from basic medical schools and GP training, and a follow-up meeting took place in January 2005 (*Nieuwsbrief* December 2004). In terms of interactions, the train-the-trainer courses both advance expertise and establish links between the actors.

Contact between the project members and participants was further sustained via the distribution of digital newsletters to the participants. Between April 2003, when the Digital Knowledge Centre was launched, and the end of the project in April 2005, four newsletters alerted participants about newly added education material (Verdonk 2007a). The newsletters were also used to inform participants about the conferences and the trainer courses, also reporting on these events. Since the newsletters were also available on the Knowledge Centre website, a digital environment where information about the project could be found (as well as about Women's Studies Medicine in general and about the Department in Nijmegen in particular), the site can be seen as a dissemination channel (cf. Mans, Verdonk, and Lagro-Janssen 2006).

Dissemination of knowledge also stretched beyond the project's boundaries, reaching a broader audience. This broad dissemination included presentations at conferences,

interviews, and published articles. Close to the project was the conference ‘M/F in health care’, organised by the Dutch Foundation of Women and Health Research (DFWHR) in collaboration with ZonMw in 2003. This conference aimed to propagate the relevance of a sex-specific health care approach to nurses, GPs, medical specialists, policymakers, managers, and researchers.<sup>86</sup> Project members also gave presentations and workshops about the project ‘Gender in medical education’ and about the Digital Knowledge Centre at conferences of the Dutch Association for Medical Education (NVMO - Nederlandse Vereniging voor Medisch Onderwijs) in 2003 and 2004.<sup>87</sup> Some presentations also covered sex differences in GP training. Many articles by and about project members appeared in journals, among which are the Dutch Journal for Sexology (*Tijdschrift voor Seksuologie*) and *Doctor & Car (Arts & Auto)* (e.g. Lagro-Janssen and Mans 2003; Van Wijck 2004).

### ***Continuity after the project***

The end of the project did not mean the end of all interaction. An extra follow-up meeting for the train-the-trainer course was organised in the fall of 2005 at the request of the participants (*Nieuwsbrief* April 2005). At the request of one of the medical schools, the project members in 2006 re-sent recommendations to a medical school that started a new round of integrating gender and diversity in their courses, also setting up a meeting to discuss these alongside new recommendations with the medical school in question (Verdonk 2007a). The Erasmus Medical Centre (Erasmus University Rotterdam) continued to pay attention to sex and diversity, and the Nijmegen Knowledge Centre advised them in building a gender-sensitive curriculum (*Nieuwsbrief* September 2007). It can be said that it is due to the medical schools’ participation in the project that gender awareness has been raised and that they retained their focus on sex and gender in their curriculum even after the project officially ended. This also goes for the Section Health Care and Culture of the VU Medical Centre (VU University Amsterdam), with which the Nijmegen Knowledge Centre is in contact (*Nieuwsbrief* December 2007). All these developments show that integration is an ongoing process (cf. Verdonk 2007a).

The department of Women’s Studies Medicine continued the dissemination of digital newsletters and the Digital Knowledge Centre was maintained as well. Since February 2006, the renamed Digital Knowledge Centre can be accessed by subscription, and several medical faculties subscribed.<sup>88</sup> Incited by the success of the Digital Knowledge Centre, and in cooperation with ZonMw, the project leader aimed to gather the financial means to continue the Digital Knowledge Centre (*Nieuwsbrief* April 2005). When the project ‘Gender in medical education’ was awarded the ZonMw prize for being a successful and promising project, the centre could be maintained (*Nieuwsbrief* October 2005).

Dissemination of knowledge from the project also continued via publications and via project members’ participation in (inter)national conferences and meetings. Publications, for instance, appeared in the *VNVA-krant* and the Dutch journal for Gender Studies, both of which published special issues in 2005 (on sex-specific medicine and diversity in health care respectively) with ample attention to the project and ongoing developments in Women’s Studies Medicine (e.g. Verdonk 2005 and Lagro-Janssen 2005). Examples of conferences are the Association for Medical Education in Europe (AMEE) conference in 2005, where the

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<sup>86</sup> Conference ‘M/V in de zorg. Sekseverschillen in de praktijk.’ 15 May 2003, Ede, [www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP\\_5M3GMY](http://www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_5M3GMY) (accessed 14 October 2009).

<sup>87</sup> NVMO conferences, 20-21 November 2003 and 11-12 November 2004, Egmond aan Zee.

<sup>88</sup> Initially, the knowledge centre was called Gender Specific Medical Education (Seksenspecifiek Medisch Onderwijs); the new name is Gender & Diversity in Medical Education (SDMO - Sekse & Diversiteit in Medisch Onderwijs). In cooperation with and financed by the VNVA, the Digital Knowledge Centre also hosts the database VALUE (Vrouwelijke Arts en Loopbaan Up-to-date en Evaluatie) that provides literature about women doctors and their careers.

Nijmegen Department of Women's Studies Medicine presented a poster about measuring gender awareness among medical students, and the Dutch Foundation for Women and Health Research (DFWHR) expert meeting about e-health and diversity in 2007, where Petra Verdonk was one of the speakers.<sup>89</sup> Let me also mention two conferences that were held in Nijmegen in 2007. In February, a symposium on gender-specific health care was organised on the occasion of Verdonk's PhD defense, gathering academics as well as representatives of professional and policymaking organisations.<sup>90</sup> In May, the European General Practice Research Network (EGPRN) organised the conference 'Gender in/and general practice', at which Lagro-Janssen was one of the keynote speakers and Verdonk led a workshop. This conference was organised with the cooperation of 'Women and GP medicine' ('Vrouwen en HAG'), a national working group of the Dutch College of General Practitioners (NHG - Nederlands Huisartsen Genootschap). The conference covered gender topics related to education, research, and the medical profession.<sup>91</sup>

### ***New production of knowledge***

The project also resulted in new research and implementation projects at the Nijmegen Department of Women's Studies. Financed by ZonMw, three universities embarked on projects to screen standards and guidelines for GPs for attention to sex and gender aspects, to assess gender in the quality policies of care centres, and to set up and evaluate a programme for the integration of gender in GP vocational training (Interview Lagro-Janssen, cf. Lagro-Janssen 2005). Research is also done to evaluate the results of gender-specific medical education. In addition, the Nijmegen Institute for Postgraduate training of GPs devised a plan to submit reference articles to two professional journals (*Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* and *Medisch Contact*) when new research on gender in a number of medical disciplines becomes available, thus aiming to disseminate new knowledge and insights to professionals. Lastly, possibilities for a translation of the Digital Knowledge Centre are being examined in order to make knowledge available to an international audience (Interview Lagro-Janssen).

### **Sustained interactivity**

In conclusion, interactions in the project took place before and during the project and were sustained after the project had officially ended. The project members made use of multiple dissemination channels, both as a means of contact with the participants and to spread the project's message. In other words, several linkage mechanisms can be identified. The close interaction between project members and participants from the medical faculties in the project, including the important role of the local change agent, indicates that the interactions were intense, with effects on both the knowledge mediators and users. In the dissemination of knowledge, the project members adapted knowledge to specific users and invoked both embodied knowledge and knowledge in the form of products. The additional dissemination beyond the project's boundaries further spread the project members' message.

Verdonk (2007a) sees the active involvement of faculty in the project as one of the characteristics of the 'action-research project'. I want to underline that this is an innovative

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<sup>89</sup> AMEE conference (untitled), 30 August - 2 September 2005, Amsterdam, [www.amee.org/index.asp?l1m=24](http://www.amee.org/index.asp?l1m=24) (accessed 14 October 2009); DFWHR expert meeting E-health and diversity, 19 June 2007, Amsterdam, [www.mikadonet.nl/agendapunt.php?agenda\\_id=415](http://www.mikadonet.nl/agendapunt.php?agenda_id=415) (accessed 14 October 2009).

<sup>90</sup> Symposium 'Seksespecifieke gezondheidszorg: Bijzonder gewoon.' 13 February 2007, Nijmegen, [www.ru.nl/genderstudies/onderzoek/congressen/past\\_conferences/symposium\\_sekse\\_en/](http://www.ru.nl/genderstudies/onderzoek/congressen/past_conferences/symposium_sekse_en/) (accessed 14 October 2009).

<sup>91</sup> EGPRN conference 'Gender in/and general practice.' 10-13 May 2007, Nijmegen, [www.egprn.org/Files/2007-May-NijmegenAbstracts.pdf](http://www.egprn.org/Files/2007-May-NijmegenAbstracts.pdf) and [nhg.artsennet.nl/actueel/Nieuwsartikel/NHG-werkgroep-Vrouwen-en-huisartsgeneeskunde.htm](http://nhg.artsennet.nl/actueel/Nieuwsartikel/NHG-werkgroep-Vrouwen-en-huisartsgeneeskunde.htm) (accessed 14 October 2009).

research method that illustrates what Mode 2 science is about. It shows that there are no clear boundaries between the production, dissemination, and integration of knowledge. It is a responsive way of doing research and transferring knowledge that engages the social practice of teaching.

Another inventive element of the project is the combination of local and national strategies. I interpreted actions like the invitational conferences and train-the-trainer courses as opportunities for establishing links and exchanging knowledge between actors. I want to point out that this goes for connections between, as well as within, the ‘groups’ of actors, i.e. both between users and project members and between different users. The observation that medical schools affect each other through regular exchanges and education directors’ policy discussions confirms this analysis (Verdonk et al. 2008). Since exchanges like this are facilitated by the above-mentioned project activities as well as by regular national conferences on medical education, one can conclude that the combination of local and national actions strengthened the links between the actors.

#### **4.1.5 Actors, roles, and (power) relations between the actors**

Let me now take a closer look at the roles of the actors involved in knowledge transfer in this case study. How are they positioned with regard to the project, how are they positioned vis-à-vis each other, and what gender and power relations can be identified? In mapping out the relations between the actors, I will deal with the persons and institutions in the project ‘Gender in medical education’ and with actors in the broader institutional landscape in which it took place.

##### ***Project members***

The members of the project are Toine Lagro-Janssen, Petra Verdonk, and Linda Mans. The project leader, Lagro-Janssen, is professor in Women’s Studies Medicine, head of the Department of Women’s Studies in Medicine at the Radboud University Nijmegen, and a general practitioner. Verdonk participated in the project as a PhD student. She is trained as a psychologist, specialising in employment, health, and organisation. Mans, who is trained as health scientist, participated in the project as a junior researcher. The project members’ main role is to transfer or disseminate knowledge to medical schools, but as researchers they at the same time are producers of knowledge, which means that they sometimes undertook efforts to integrate their ‘own’ knowledge or knowledge products in the curricula of medical schools.

The project members’ endeavours to integrate a gender perspective in medical education are based on the pursuit of gender equity and equality. This position assumes that “gender equity leads to better health for both men and women” (Verdonk 2007a, p. 39). Aiming for equity is “striving to make quality health care available to all people” (Health Canada 2001, p. 1). In substantiating their position, the project members refer to the World Health Organisation, which sees gender equity as one of the aspects of social accountability. For medical schools this implies a responsibility to attend to the main health concerns in education (Boelen 1995). The project is further positioned in the context of the Dutch medical schools’ aspiration toward doctors’ professionalism (Verdonk 2007a), the standards of which are defined in the *Blueprint* (see below under medical schools).

In arguing that gender equity in health care is a worthwhile aim that can be facilitated by a gender-specific curriculum, the project members identify with what they call a gender-radical position (Verdonk 2007a). They distinguish their position from a traditionalist one, wherein gender differences are no reason to aim for gender equality, and from a feminist

radical position that focuses mainly on women's rights. It can thus be said that the aims of the project are directed toward social change.

### ***Steering committee***

The project members were advised by a steering committee in which a representative of ZonMw and several change agents and education directors from the medical faculties participated (Verdonk 2007a). The role of the committee, apart from advising the project members, was to increase the visibility of and support for the project in relevant institutions and to provide support for the project's implementation in the medical schools (Interview Lagro-Janssen). The steering committee thus has an intermediate and supporting role in the project.

### ***Medical schools***

Of the eight medical schools in the Netherlands, seven participated in the project, not counting the Nijmegen medical school that was central to the pilot project. In the medical schools, the actors are faculty leaders, policymakers, and course organisers. The medical schools can be seen as 'users' in the project, as places where gender knowledge is supposed to be integrated. It must be noted however, that there are persons in these schools who also work with gender in their research and who hence can be seen as producers of knowledge.

The culture of the medical profession is hierarchical and masculine, with a sense of loyalty and belonging as an important value in this 'pecking order' (Winants 1999). Verdonk (Interview) further mentions the self-contained status of the profession, as it is protected by law and controlled by its own standards.<sup>92</sup> The Disciplinary Board of Medical Sciences describes these standards for Dutch doctors in the *Blueprint* (Metz, Verbeek-Weel, and Huisjes 2001), which takes the form of targets to be achieved in medical education.

Although masculine values dominate the definition of professionalism (Keizer 1997), the *Blueprint* does pay attention to sex and gender. It prescribes that medical graduates have knowledge and insight into the somatic, psychological, and social structure of men and women, and that practitioners need to assess complaints in light of the context of the patient, including sex differences in symptoms and presentation of complaints (Metz, Verbeek-Weel, and Huisjes 2001). Medical schools use the *Blueprint* as a guideline for their teaching programmes.

Mainstream medical (knowledge) practices are based in a discourse of universality in which the social context and sex of patients and doctors do not matter (Lagro-Janssen 1997). Medical schools can be oriented in biomedical or more socio-cultural directions, but the biomedical perspective is prevalent (Verdonk 2007a). In their classes, medical schools can work with a disciplinary/lecture-based structure or with problem-based learning (Verdonk 2007a). All schools' goals are however the same: to teach students in order for them to perform well as doctors.

### ***Review Committee***

The Review Committee is an influential quality assessment body that audits the medical schools every five years, basing their assessment on the *Blueprint*. That the Review Committee is influential can be derived from the fact that medical schools seriously respond to the Committee's critical comments (cf. Verdonk 2007a). As described this committee, upon the request of the project members, addressed gender in their 2002 audit of medical curricula. Lagro-Janssen (Interview) explains that after her appeal the chair of the VNVA also asked the

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<sup>92</sup> Cf., for instance, Mintzberg (1979) about professional bureaucracy.

Review Committee to address gender in their audit and that this joint effort was successful in that it resulted in the addition of two gender questions to the audit. However, in the audit report (*Geneeskunde* 2004), the Review Committee refrained from reporting on how medical schools deal with gender as a topic in their curricula and only reported about the underrepresentation of women in higher positions.

### **ZonMw**

ZonMw funded the project ‘Gender in medical education’ under the programme ‘M/F the gender factor in health care’ (‘M/V de factor sekse in de gezondheidszorg’) (1997-2007). With this programme, ZonMw aimed to implement insights from sex-specific health care in the health care field. As an interest organisation in the broad field of health care, this fits their wider aim to improve health care by stimulating research as well as innovation and implementation in practice. ZonMw thus acts as an intermediary between the academy and society.

Commissioned and financed by the Ministry of Health, ZonMw assigned the project to the department of Women’s Studies in Medicine in Nijmegen. The ZonMw M/F programme works in several areas, reflecting the themes addressed by the ministerial Women’s Health Care Steering Group (see below), i.e. basic medical training, quality policy, regional health policy, patient and consumer policy, and women’s self-help. The project is thus flanked by projects that aim to integrate women’s health care in other health care areas. The ZonMw M/F programme was later subsumed under the umbrella programme ‘Diversity’, which incorporates projects dealing with gender, sexuality, and ethnicity.

### **Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports**

The national government values the importance of women’s health care in light of the general quality of health care, or, more broadly, they consider a gender perspective in health care policy a necessary tool to improve health care for men as well as for women (cf. Lagro-Janssen 2005). This is the reason why the Minister of Health, Els Borst-Eilers (1994-2002), installed the Women’s Health Care Steering Group in March 1996. In integrating women’s health care in regular health care, the Ministry fulfils the role of opinion leader and mediator (Borst-Eilers 1999).

The government has had a policy on women’s health care since the 1980s. In 1982, the first Women’s Health Care committee was installed by the then head inspector of the Netherlands Health Care Inspectorate Henny Verhagen (Bauduin 1983).<sup>93</sup> In 1983, the state secretary of Social Affairs (Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello, also responsible for emancipation policy) installed the Women’s Health Care project group (1983-1986) to establish the conditions for the integration of women’s health care in regular health care. In 1988, the Ministry of Welfare, Health, and Culture – which took over the responsibility for women’s health care from the Ministry of Social Affairs – installed a Women’s Health Care advisory group, which advised the Ministry to use women’s health care as an instrument for quality improvement. To this end, the Ministry of Health set up the Women’s Health Care programme (1992-1997) to be implemented by the Women’s Health Care Steering Group,

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<sup>93</sup> Henny Verhagen was the first woman head inspector of the Netherlands Health Care Inspectorate. She has been president of the VNVA and vice-president of the section North-Europe of the Medical Women’s International Association ([www.vnva.nl/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=190&Itemid=1](http://www.vnva.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=190&Itemid=1) accessed 12 October 2009). The Women’s Health Care Foundation (Stichting Vrouwengezondheidszorg) awards a Henny Verhagen Prize for persons or institutions that contribute to the attention for diversity in women’s health care; the foundation changed its name to Henny Verhagen Foundation in 2006. (This name change was announced at the Symposium ‘Ontwikkelingen in de vrouwengezondheidszorg: Verleden en toekomst’. 1 November 2006, Utrecht.)

which was set up in 1996. Their report (Stuurgroep Vrouwenhulpverlening 1999) advised the Minister of Health<sup>94</sup> to attend to women's health care in a number of areas, including that of education.

By accepting the recommendations of the Women's Health Care Steering Group and assigning ZonMw with the task to implement these recommendations, the Ministry played a key role in establishing the 'Gender in medical education' project, also providing its funding. Taking into account that the Ministry of Health aims to ensure that people are able to consult care providers whenever needed,<sup>95</sup> the concept of equity is also present here.

### ***Women's Health Care Steering Group***

The Women's Health Care Steering Group advised the Minister to attend to women's health care in a number of areas (mentioned under the heading ZonMw). The title of their 1999 report (*Naar een seksspecifieke en multiculturele gezondheidszorg in de 21ste eeuw*, 'Towards gender-specific and multicultural health care in the 21<sup>st</sup> century') shows that they value both a gender-specific and multicultural health care. Their focus, however, was on gender.<sup>96</sup> The Steering Group was advised by experts from national organisations in the field, i.e. Transact, Women's Health Centre Aletta, and the Women's Self-Help Federation (Tiesinga-Autsema 1999).

Within the Women's Health Care Steering Group, the Professional Groups in Health Care project group advised on education (*Naar een seksspecifieke artsopleiding* 1999). The project group consisted of men and women from the academy and government with expertise in medical management or sex-specific medicine. Among them were Ute Roschar-Pel (chair), Hendrik Jan Huisjes, Toine Lagro-Janssen, Joke Lanphen, Greta Noordenbos, and Leonore Nicolai. They were advised by members of the Blueprint committee of 1994 (Metz) and the Review Committee (Schulkes-van de Pol). Lagro-Janssen and Nicolai had earlier been involved in the ministerial Women's Health Care programme, in which attention was paid to the integration of sex specific health care in GP medicine, amongst others via projects carried out at Women's Health Centre Aletta. Specifically, the project group recommended that students in basic medical training be taught about gender in illness and health and that gender-specific elements be incorporated in the *Blueprint*; all recommendations were taken up.<sup>97</sup>

### ***International actors***

In the international institutional landscape of the project, the United Nations Beijing Platform for Action, the CEDAW reports, and the WHO are all important in that they foregrounded the relevance of a gender perspective in health care. In 1995, the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing committed itself to a Platform for Action that explicitly aims to ensure equal access to, and equal treatment of, women and men in health care out of the conviction that women's empowerment in health-related matters is fundamental for achieving gender equality (UN 1995). Already in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the UN included health as one of the policy areas where gender equality should be established. Following the Beijing Platform for Action and

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<sup>94</sup> The Health policy area was part of the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture from 1982 until 1994; as of 1994 it is part of the Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Sports.

<sup>95</sup> See the Ministry website: [www.minvws.nl/en/organization/](http://www.minvws.nl/en/organization/) (accessed 6 October 2009).

<sup>96</sup> The focus on gender is reflected in the slogan of the campaign that accompanied the Steering Group's activities: 'Gezonde vrouwen, dat willen we zo houden. Goede zorg is seksspecifiek.' The slogan means: Healthy women, we want to keep it that way. Good care is gender-specific.

<sup>97</sup> In the Dutch version of the *Blueprint*, the so-called Raamplan 2001, a concrete reference is made to the report of the Professional Groups in Health Care project group, whereas in the English *Blueprint* this report is not explicitly mentioned.

in keeping with the UN gender mainstreaming strategy, the WHO stated in its Gender Policy (WHO 2002) that it would pay attention to gender issues in all its work to promote health equity. These international developments all helped validate the project and Verdonk (2007a) also explicitly makes reference to the UN and WHO in this regard.

### **Relations between the actors**

An important aspect of the relations between the actors in the project is that the boundaries between the academy, society, and policymakers are thin; the divisions between producers and users and intermediaries are not clearly established. The actors (project members) that disseminate and aim to integrate Women's Studies Medicine knowledge are also involved in its production, for instance by developing material for the Digital Knowledge Centre,<sup>98</sup> and the 'users' (the medical schools) can at the same time be producers of knowledge.

The crossing of boundaries becomes especially visible when looking at the people involved. Let me illustrate this by looking at key figure Toine Lagro-Janssen. We see that she is a general practitioner (practice), a professor (academy), and a member of the Professional Groups in Health Care project group (part of the ministerial Steering Group). Obviously, the double role in practice and academy is related to the practice-oriented character of the field of Medicine, but there is more to it. As a project leader, Lagro-Janssen has links to all national actors. She is a member of a medical school herself, she set up the steering committee, and called on the support of the VNVA to incite the Review Committee to pay attention to gender in their audit.

When examining the support of the Review Committee in more detail, more interesting power relations between the actors become noticeable. First, the project leader established the support of an influential body for their cause. This shows that the project leader found it relevant to add weight to the project by bringing the Review Committee into play, which implicates that the project members perceived themselves as not powerful (enough). It at the same time shows that the project leader did have the necessary power to succeed in her mission with the Review Committee. This was supported by the fact that she knew people in the Committee (Interview Lagro-Janssen). Second, the impact of the Review Committee's questions was enhanced because the medical schools and the participants in the project were unaware of the fact that the gender questions in the audit had been the results of Lagro-Janssen's efforts. Verdonk (Interview) mentioned that a participant in the project referred to the presence of the gender questions in the audit as 'coincidental', and that it apparently did not occur to this participant that this could have been the work of the project leader. Strikingly, the perceived insignificant position of the project members (perceived by themselves and by the participants in medical schools) actually added to their power.

Let me continue with the role of people in the network around the project, because there are more observations to be made. First, we see that several people fulfil more than one role, for example Hendrik Jan Huisjes and Toine Lagro-Janssen. Huisjes was a member of the Professional Groups in Health Care project group and co-author of the 2001 *Blueprint*. Since this project group recommended that the *Blueprint* pay attention to sex and gender, one could say that he executed his own recommendation. Another project group recommendation was to integrate sex-specific medicine in basic medical training. Lagro-Janssen can therefore also be seen as someone who executes a recommendation (in the form of carrying out the project) that she herself had contributed to. These multiple roles thus add to the strategic power of people.

Considering gender in the relations between the actors, it can be observed that the project members make up an all-female team, whereas the medical schools are male-

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<sup>98</sup> An example is the collection of fifty patient cases about gender and diversity in professional practice (Mans, Dijkstra, and Lagro-Janssen 2005).

dominated. Moreover, while the project members' core business is gender, for medical schools this is generally not the case. Verdonk (2007a) notes that schools' decision makers and course organisers are predominantly men, who in general were less sympathetic to gender issues, whereas women, who were more supportive of the project, mostly occupied junior positions. Lagro-Janssen (Interview) experiences that the field of Women's Studies Medicine is not always regarded as a proper scientific domain or discipline. The low status of the field reverberates in the status of the project members. Combined with the self-determining character of medical faculties, this means that the project members had to earn credit and support for their project (Interview Lagro-Janssen). It is however too simple to view the medical schools as male bastions that do not take gender seriously, because there are medical specialists who do find gender important in their work. The participants that were committed to the project, especially the men, were important in accomplishing the project goals (Verdonk 2007a). This shows, again, that people are important.

## ***4.2 Integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the curriculum***

### ***4.2.1 The gap between available and integrated knowledge: What knowledge is integrated?***

In section 4.1.2, it has become visible that Women's Studies medicine has produced a large body of knowledge. Focusing on the project 'Gender in medical education', I will now consider to what extent knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine is integrated in the medical curriculum, discussing the situation before and after the project and taking into account the knowledge and insights that the project members aimed to transfer. I want to repeat that the curriculum under consideration concerns the basic medical training, that is, the four years of undergraduate education that all students in Medicine receive.

#### ***Gaps in the curricula***

To identify knowledge gaps and opportunities for integrating knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the curricula, the project members quick-scanned the medical schools' course catalogues. To perform this quick-scan, they set objectives for a successful integration of gender in the curriculum, which were based on the *Blueprint*, international literature, and expert opinion (Verdonk 2007a). The first objective consists of a number of domains where gender issues are considered relevant and about which students should be taught. The domains are listed in box 4.1.

The other objectives for the integration of gender in medical education are that both biomedical and socio-cultural issues are addressed; that attention for gender is present in several courses and in more than one year of the compulsory curriculum; that sex and gender differences are integrated in the educational objectives; and that an elective course about gender (and ethnicity) is offered (Verdonk 2007a).

The quick-scan showed that sex and gender differences beyond reproduction or gynaecology are mostly ignored in the curricula; that there is less attention to socio-cultural factors influencing health and illness than to biomedical factors, for instance in relation to STDs and infertility; that many biological differences in, for instance, coronary heart disease, pharmacology, and psychiatric illness are ignored; and most curricula had gaps in public health issues like gender-related health behaviour, sexual abuse, and partner violence. Sex or gender

differences in life stages, urinary incontinence, sexual problems, communication styles, and gender and culture were addressed in only one or two medical schools (Verdonk 2007a). The project members further found that gender is denoted more often as a biomedical than as a socio-cultural aspect. Leaving out the attention paid to sex and gender in reproduction, students in most years are not taught about the importance of sex and gender. Gender issues were thus hardly integrated in educational objectives and in electives. (Verdonk 2007a)

The screening of education material also considered language issues and the context in which men and women patients are presented. After the screening showed many stereotypical representations of men and women patients the project members advised course organisers to represent men and women in more diverse roles and contexts (Verdonk 2007a). Regarding language, almost all education material used exclusive language. That is, students, teachers, and doctors were largely presented 'neutrally', thereby excluding women, and only women's gender was rendered visible (Verdonk 2007a). The project members also gave recommendations to make use of more inclusive language when talking about students and staff.

**Box 4.1: Domains for integrating gender issues in medical education**

Student have knowledge of and insight in gender differences as related to:

- Life stages like menopause, puberty, and adolescence
- Pharmacotherapy
- Coronary heart disease
- Urinary tract infections, urinary incontinence
- Reproduction, especially contraceptives, STDs, and infertility
- Eating disorders and overweight
- Addictions to alcohol, benzodiazepines
- Depression and anxiety disorders
- Sexual violence and abuse, child abuse, partner violence
- Posttraumatic stress disorders
- Sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual problems
- Communication styles
- Gender and culture
- Gender-specific health care/quality of care

Source: Table 1 in Verdonk 2007a, p. 52.

***Transferred knowledge***

The recommendations on the integration of sex and gender aspects in medical school courses principally dealt with the domains that were decided upon before screening the course material. However, when another subject came up about which the project members were knowledgeable, recommendations on that subject were also included in the screening reports (Interview Verdonk). These 'additional' recommendations were related to the individual expertise and interests of the project members. Verdonk, for instance, identified opportunities to include recommendations on work and health (which is her specialisation) and her colleague Mans highlighted issues where sexual orientation was relevant, but topics that colleagues at the department of Women's Studies Medicine were working on were also added, for instance on women refugees (Interview Verdonk). Thus, the knowledge that was transferred also depended on what subjects were already addressed in the curriculum and on the knowledgeability of project members about certain insights from Women's Studies Medicine. The latter once again shows that people are important in knowledge transfer. I will deal with embodied knowledge in more detail in the next section.

The wishes and possibilities of the medical schools also directed the knowledge that would be transferred. In one of the medical schools, meetings with course organisers were not

successful, but the project members managed to contact the coordinator of the elective courses, as the school did seem interested in more teaching on sexuality issues (Verdonk 2007a). The project members supported this by giving recommendations and providing education material on the topic, which resulted in an elective course on Sexology. Another example is that recommendations for a medical school that considered diversity issues more important than those of gender were rewritten with explicit attention to cultural and ethnic issues (Verdonk 2007a).

The project members also gave unprompted knowledge input. This is illustrated in the example of a medical school that organised a seminar about gender differences on the occasion of International Women's Day. The project members noticed that this seminar seemed to make no connection to the project and they, of their own initiative, placed an article in the newsletter of the medical school in which they highlighted the dean's interest in gender issues, thus seizing the opportunity to advertise the project to the schools' teachers (Verdonk 2007a).

Let me take a closer look at the knowledge content that the project members aimed to integrate. The selected domains for integrating gender issues (see box 4.1) make it possible to utilise all the different areas of knowledge available in Women's Studies Medicine (see knowledge areas A-F in section 4.1.2). For example, coronary heart disease is an illness that presents itself differently in men and women, in which gender plays an important role in doctor-patient communication, and that requires biomedical as well as socio-cultural issues to be taken into account (Verdonk 2007a). These three aspects correspond to the respective knowledge areas of sex differences in health and illness (A), the doctor-patient relationship (F), and the biopsychosocial framework (C). The latter knowledge area is also reflected in the domain of pharmacotherapy. Domains like depression and sexual violence correspond to women's health concerns (B), i.e. to health issues with a high prevalence among women. Moreover, sexual violence is a domain that cannot be dealt with without paying attention to gender inequality (D). The knowledge areas doctor-patient relationship (F) and gender in relation to social categories (E) are listed as domains, as communication and gender, and culture respectively.

Although the project members understand the domain 'gender and culture' to stand for the intersection of gender with other social categories, such as culture, ethnicity, age, and class, the project only focussed on gender issues (Verdonk 2007a). The reasons for this were that they lacked expertise on other social categories, that they were afraid that gendered power differences would be disregarded when including other categories, that the time-span of the project did not allow for addressing all social categories, and that they considered gender central within other social categories (Verdonk 2007a).

Thus, aside from the project members' deliberate choice to focus on gender more than on other social categories, the knowledge that was 'selected' to be integrated reflects the Women's Studies Medicine body of knowledge, in which the main principles of women's health care, like taking into account differences within the group of women and aiming for an equal communication between doctor and patient, are also visible.

The broad variety and various domains of knowledge considered important for highlighting gender issues are also reflected in the education material that was made available for project participants via the Digital Knowledge Centre. Education material for example deals with menopause, adolescence, psychopharmacology and alcohol, abortion, gynaecological examination, obesity and infertility, eating disorders, depression, sexual violence, abuse, mourning processes, gender in development countries, vitamin D deficiency in veiled women, gender-specific physical health care, sex differences in chest pain, cancer in the Netherlands, women and labour disability, and the muscular skeletal system (*Nieuwsbrief* February 2004, June 2004, December 2004, April 2005).

### ***Integrated knowledge***

In the context of the ‘Gender in medical education’ project, the project members could not systematically evaluate what recommendations were taken up by the medical schools, but their assessment is that new knowledge has been integrated in the curricula and that this is an important step toward realising a gender-specific curriculum (Verdonk 2007a). Still, their evaluative interviews as well as the project members’ three case studies of medical schools (Verdonk 2007a) provide information about knowledge integration. Given that my aim is to shed light on knowledge transfer rather than to evaluate the outcome of the project, I will make use of these materials to analyse what knowledge has been integrated in the curricula.

Based on the evaluative interviews, it can be concluded that the project members found integrating knowledge about sex differences in health and illness (A) easier than integrating women’s health issues (B) or knowledge about gender inequality (D) (Verdonk 2007a). In other words, power differences between men and women were not easy to integrate (Verdonk 2007a). The project members thus believe that integration of knowledge for the most part dealt with the area of sex differences, and that knowledge about gender as a determinant of health and illness (C) and as a factor in doctor patient communication (F) was less integrated (Verdonk 2007a). Yet, Weijmar Schultz (Interview) underlines that gender does receive practical as well as theoretical attention in teaching consultation and communication styles in the Groningen curriculum. Given the fact that the project only focused on gender, the project members express doubts as to how gender issues were included (Verdonk 2007a). That is, because of the project’s intentionally limited attention to gender in relation to other social categories (E), gender issues could implicitly be white and middle-class (Verdonk 2007a). Still, examples such as an assignment about an ‘allochthonous’ woman with a sexually transmitted disease (Interview Weijmar Schultz) and integrating parts from the Nijmegen elective ‘Gender, Sexuality and Ethnicity’ in a compulsory course (Verdonk 2007a) show that specific schools do take up an intersectional approach.

The project members also found that topics requiring an interdisciplinary or bio-psychosocial rather than a biomedical perspective are difficult to integrate (Verdonk 2007a). These for example are: sexual violence, domestic violence, and gender socialisation; issues that obviously also require that gender inequality or power differences between men and women are addressed (Verdonk 2007a). Still, it is estimated that biomedical as well as socio-cultural issues have been integrated in the curricula, especially in courses that relate to more interdisciplinary fields like GP medicine and public health, as well as in medical schools that are more socio-cultural oriented (Interview Lagro-Janssen). Lastly, the project members noted that their recommendations to adapt language use were not received well; especially male staff was disinclined to take these into account (Verdonk 2007a).

An evaluation of the Digital Knowledge Centre (Mans, Verdonk, and Lagro-Janssen 2006) showed that several project participants from different medical schools downloaded education material for use in their courses.

### ***4.2.2 Form: knowledge products - embodied knowledge***

As the reader may remember, Mode 2 conceptualises knowledge both as knowledge products and as scientifically trained people. In previous sections, I have now and then highlighted the importance of people in transferring knowledge from Women’s Studies Medicine. Let me now take a closer look at the forms in which knowledge is integrated in medical education.

In the knowledge that actors tried to transfer, embodied knowledge plays an important role. I already mentioned that the ‘additional’ recommendations of the project members reflected their individual expertise and interests. The specialisations of the project members

can thus be seen as embodied knowledge that is being transferred. The form in which this was transferred could be a literature reference about, for instance, employment and health (Interview Verdonk).

Knowledge was integrated through both knowledge products and embodied knowledge. Integration in the form of knowledge products typically took place in the case of the gender-specific education material that participants could get from the Digital Knowledge Centre. This contained concrete material in the form of self-study assignments, (powerpoint) presentations, exam questions, workshops, workbooks, literature lists, and audiovisual material like DVDs and videos. The project members view these knowledge products as knowledge that was ‘translated’ into education material (Verdonk 2007a). Besides digital material, written material was also made available, for example a course book on gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. This education material was important for facilitating the integration of gender-specific knowledge, but tailor-made support by gender experts, e.g. recommendations given in meetings, remained necessary to ensure the integration of knowledge in curricula (Mans, Verdonk, and Lagro-Janssen 2006). This means that disseminating knowledge in the form of products (education material) and people (via ‘live’ recommendations) can co-exist and that this combination actually enhances knowledge integration.

Integration of knowledge in people occurred through increasing medical faculty staff awareness of the relevance of gender in medical education. As I mentioned in my description of the relations between the actors (section 4.1.5), the commitment of participants was important for achieving integration. In my view, being committed requires, and thus implies, being knowledgeable about gender in medicine. This means that knowledge has to reach people first before it can end up in education. Advancing the expertise of teachers via the train-the-trainer courses is a good example of investing people with knowledge, of embodying knowledge. My analysis that knowledge is integrated in an embodied way is supported by the account of Weijmar Schultz (Interview), which stated that when he would retire from the medical school, a great deal of gender knowledge would disappear with him.

### ***4.2.3 Type: instrumental, conceptual, symbolic utilisation***

In the field of Knowledge Utilisation, three types of knowledge integration are identified: instrumental, conceptual, and symbolic integration. To sum up, in the case of instrumental use, knowledge directly contributes to a specific decision, shift in practices, or policy-intervention that would not have been made in the absence of that knowledge. Conceptual use is the case when knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, a new definition of a policy problem, or a different understanding of issues concerned. Symbolic use is the case when knowledge is used to legitimate a view that users already have. In this section, I will analyse the types of integration that are noticeable in this case study.

#### ***Instrumental use***

It is apparent from this case study that knowledge from Women’s Studies Medicine was transferred and integrated as part of the ‘Gender in medical education’ project. The project was specifically designed with the aim of knowledge integration, and it is likely that the medical curriculum would not have changed had the project not taken place. In this sense, the efforts of the project members to incorporate knowledge in medical education have resulted in what can be called an instrumental use of knowledge. It should be noted that the knowledge itself did not directly result in its use – otherwise the project would not have been necessary or would not have come into existence – but that this was the result of endeavours made in the

context of the project. Thus, interpreting the project as an intervention in curricula, I conclude that instrumental use of knowledge has been effected.

### ***Conceptual use***

It is doubtful that the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine can be typified as conceptual in this case study. I come to this assertion because the project members themselves question whether the project actually changed faculty leaders' understanding of gender issues in medicine (Verdonk 2007a). The reason for their reservations is that faculty leaders accepted the (quick-scan) finding that gender was not well integrated in the curricula with relative ease, which could imply that they added gender issues without really problematising gender relations (Verdonk 2007a). This would for example mean that gender is understood as a biological or natural factor and that the constructed character of femininity, masculinity, and gender relations is not taken into account.

In addition, several participants in the project expressed the idea that gender issues should be taught after the 'basic concepts' are taught (Verdonk 2007a). This reflects the assumption that medical knowledge is neutral and fails to take into account that a gender perspective would bring about a critical scrutiny of the male bias in medicine, including the male bias in so-called basic concepts. On a parallel line, Weijmar Schultz (Interview) mentions that teachers often see gender as an 'accessory' to medicine, whereas the project members aimed to convey the message that it has a bearing on the core of medicine.

### ***Symbolic use***

The available project information does not detail what specific knowledge is integrated in the curricula as a result of the project, which makes it hard to assess whether there are instances of symbolic use of knowledge. It is however clear that reproduction is a common and accepted area in which sex differences are considered in medicine (Lagro-Janssen 2005). Since the quick-scan showed that existing curricular attention to sex and gender differences to a large extent concerned issues of reproduction or gynaecology, it can thus be assumed that the users already were knowledgeable of the relevance of differences between the sexes in this domain. Since one domain in which project members aimed to gain attention to sex and gender was that of reproduction, the possible integration of knowledge pertaining to reproduction could be qualified as symbolic, affirming or legitimating the users' view that gender matters in this domain.

## **4.2.4 Level of knowledge: concepts, theories, instruments**

### ***Concepts***

In integrating gender issues in the curriculum, the project members related their aim to two concepts, professionalism and social accountability. Interestingly, the project members found that medical schools did not deem the integration of gender in medical education to be connected to their social responsibility (Verdonk 2007a). That is, medical schools did not acknowledge the suggestion that they could be responsible for (and via education contribute to) counteracting gender inequalities in health. The project members did manage to invoke the concept of professionalism by relating gender to standards of health care quality. The standards evidently incorporate attention to sex and gender in treating patients and can thus be employed in endeavours to improve health care for women and men. Although the medical schools acknowledged that it matters whether a patient is a man or a woman, the evaluative interviews in the project showed that this view was embedded in a discourse in which gender was but one of the many differences between patients, which actually diminished the

relevance of gender (Verdonk 2007a). In other words, by reducing gender to a patient characteristic, being a good doctor or treating patients well overshadowed the view that doctors can contribute to improving women's health. That gender equality in health and good quality health care for men and women did not resonate with medical schools implies that the schools did not integrate gender as a signifier of inequality but rather as a signifier of difference. This thus also limits the way in which the concept of gender is integrated in education.

### ***Theories***

The content-related objectives of the project (to pay attention to gender differences in several specific domains, taking into account both biomedical and socio-cultural gender issues) can be said to reflect key theoretical insights in Women's Studies Medicine.

In section 4.2.1, I described that not all knowledge claims were integrated to the same extent and that deficiencies were especially visible in socio-cultural causes and in the consequences of being a man or a woman. The topics that were mentioned as examples there, doctor-patient communication, sexual violence, and domestic violence, are all topics in which gender inequality or power differences between men and women play an important role. In failing to integrate these topics, the medical schools thus failed to integrate the theoretical insight that power mechanisms impact relations between men and women and result in different health outcomes. In other words, gender theory's political message was not integrated. Verdonk et al. (2008) indicate that gender theory is indeed difficult to integrate and that gender health issues were easily depoliticised.

Theoretically speaking, Women's Studies Medicine also entails a critical view on the concepts of health and illness and on the discipline of medicine itself. The limited conceptual use of gender knowledge (mentioned in the previous section about types of integration) indicates that these concepts remained untouched. For example, the preponderance of the biomedical perspective over a bio-psychosocial perspective reflects the gendered basis of the medical discipline. I thus conclude that gender theories are not integrated in the curriculum.

### ***Instruments***

In this case study, I can identify two possible ways in which knowledge about Women's Studies Medicine has been integrated at the instrument level. The first relates to the aims of the project and the second to education material.

The aims of the project, mentioned in section 4.2, were not only formulated at the content level (domains where biomedical and socio-cultural gender issues should be taught), but also at a more practical level. These practical standards were that that attention for gender should be present in several courses and in several years of the curriculum, that an elective course about gender is offered, and that sex and gender differences are integrated in the educational objectives. Since these standards direct or instruct by what means knowledge should be integrated, these means can be seen as instruments to achieve a gender-sensitive curriculum. At the Groningen medical school, sex and gender aspects are taken up in several years of the curriculum (Interview Weijmar Schultz). We also know that in some medical schools an elective about gender was set up. Thus, knowledge has been integrated at the level of instruments.

Education material can also be regarded as a concrete instrument, especially because it is ready-made material like assignments, exam questions, and workbooks. Since both education material provided by the project members on paper and material downloaded from the Digital Knowledge Centre were used by medical schools in their courses, knowledge has been integrated as instruments. Instruments in this sense can be regarded as knowledge tools.

### **4.2.5 Reflection of contemporary feminist understandings of sex and gender**

In this section, I will answer the question whether the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the medical curricula reflects contemporary feminist understandings of the concepts of sex and gender. I stipulated in Chapter 3 that this is the case when these concepts are used in a non-universal and non-essentialist way and when gender is linked to power and to other social categories.

Although there are cases of knowledge integration wherein gender and other social categories are involved, it is doubtful that the feminist understanding of gender as something related to other social categories has been integrated in medical education. The exceptions are lectures or courses that deal with gender and ethnicity or sexuality (for examples see section 4.2.1). I also mentioned that the project members suppose that, because of their limited attention to other social categories, gender issues that were taken up could still mainly be related to dominant (white and middle-class) categories. In the evaluative interviews, the project members found that diversity issues, especially issues of cultural diversity, were considered more important than gender. The members' assessment was that this concentration on other social categories resulted from an ambivalent attitude towards the integration of gender (Verdonk 2007a).<sup>99</sup> At any rate, the fact that medical schools deem other diversity aspects relevant does not mean that these aspects are considered in an intersectional way, and I thus conclude that gender is not taken up in relation to other social categories.

Since the integration of knowledge about gender was done without paying attention to how gender relates to other categories, the differences within the group of women and within the group of men are unlikely to have gained attention. This means that the concept of gender is integrated in a universal way.

In the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the curriculum, gender was not linked to power. I come to this conclusion because, as mentioned in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.4, the topics in which power differences between men and women play a role were less well integrated than knowledge about sex differences in health and illness.<sup>100</sup> You will recall that topics such as sexual or domestic violence, and gender as a factor in doctor-patient communication were not integrated. In other words, knowledge about sex and gender was integrated without attending to the impact of gender inequality on health and on the medical practice of consultation.

For a non-essentialist uptake of gender issues, it is required that differences between the sexes not be reduced to biological differences and in particular that biological sex not be used to explain societal differences between men and women. In the medical discipline, it is obvious that biological sex makes a difference for health and illness, because men and women have different bodies. Women's Studies Medicine aimed to integrate a perspective that pays attention to both biomedical and socio-cultural differences. Since integration of knowledge about sex and gender in the curriculum mostly occurred in relation to biomedical aspects, the pitfall of essentialising men and women persists. The project members indeed point out that failing to discuss gender relations may lead to an essentialist understanding of gender as "fixed and natural" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 46). Still, attention to biological differences in medicine is necessary and biology is not necessarily understood as unchangeable in medicine

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<sup>99</sup> At the international invitational conference that was organised in relation to the project, the question was raised whether attention needed to be widened to culture. In the discussion, Willy Jansen, professor in Gender Studies Anthropology, stated that gender could be regarded as a form of culture. (Verdonk and Mans 2004)

<sup>100</sup> A lack of attention to power aspects is also observed in medical schools' accounts of the role of culture and ethnicity in health and illness (Verdonk 2007a).

(cf. Verdonk 2007a). Since I did not come across indications that could suggest that biology was employed to explain differences between men and women other than biological differences, I am inclined to conclude that sex and gender are not used in an essentialist way.

#### **4.2.6 Ideological change or political impact**

In Chapter 3, I pointed out that knowledge about sex and gender cannot be separated from the political commitment of Women's Studies scholars to have an impact on society. In this case study, the endeavours of the project members are undeniably directed toward change; by making the curriculum gender sensitive, they aimed for gender equity and equality in the domain of health. In this section, I will analyse whether the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine involves an ideological change or a change in power relations in the context of medical education.

Let me start by repeating that in mainstream medical knowledge and medical practices gender does not matter much (see section 4.1.5, under 'medical schools'). In order for knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine to be integrated, this situation had to be changed. Since we saw (in section 4.2.1 and 4.2.4) that gender was made unimportant by slotting gender differences in among the manifold characteristics of patients, that there were difficulties in integrating topics that required addressing gendered power differences, and that the medical schools were unreceptive to the aim of counteracting gender inequalities in health, I conclude that the political character of Women's Studies knowledge was not integrated. This would mean that, despite the fact that several insights from Women's Studies Medicine were integrated and some courses were adapted, no ideological change occurred in medical education.

Based on their evaluative interviews, the project members conclude that gender issues in health and illness were not considered to be inequality or emancipatory issues (Verdonk 2007a). Despite this opposition to taking on board the political or feminist focus of the project, the project members do indicate that some dominant ideologies were challenged by their project (Verdonk 2007a). The project members argue that by discussing recommendations with the medical school staff some awareness was raised about the relevance of gender, although medical schools could still select the topics that were relevant to them and integrate these in their curricula. This view corresponds to the view of 'action researchers', who accentuate that the mere act of discussing topics is an intervention in the sense that it brings about changes in the actors involved. Even when actors choose to continue as before, an intervention has taken place that results in a new situation (Wadsworth 1998). This also indicates that integration of knowledge does not happen at the end of a knowledge transfer process, but that it happens in several stages of the process. The project members indeed anticipate that change will slowly occur in the appreciation of gender (Verdonk 2007a). The observation that especially women in the medical schools are positive towards the project goals (see section 4.1.5) also suggests that they seek change (cf. Verdonk 2007a). This is for example visible in that they were less resistant to making the language about students and staff more gender-inclusive (Verdonk 2007a). Taking into account that some beliefs were challenged then requires a modification of the conclusion that ideological change did not occur. In addition, the project has strengthened those teachers that already were working with gender issues and staff that was positive towards change (Interview Lagro-Janssen).

Looking back on the project, Weijmar Schultz (Interview) finds that it boosted the attention to gender in the Groningen curriculum in the sense that gender issues are now addressed in a more conscious and systematic way. Lagro-Janssen (Interview) assesses that by achieving gender awareness a first step has been made on the way to acknowledging that

changes are necessary. Similarly, Verdonk (Interview) says that recognising sex differences can function as a lever for recognising socio-cultural gender issues. The success of the project hence lies in that it has put gender on the map and laid the groundwork for future chances of further integration of Women's Studies Medicine knowledge.

To cash in on those future chances, the project members suggest an autonomous department or gender health office in medical schools. This department should study and transfer new knowledge and monitor the long-term integration of gender in medical education, in order to "avoid that gender issues will always be additive to teachers' own fields and therefore will always be superficial" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 109). Although it is reasonable to assume the existence of an autonomous Women's Studies Medicine department would add to the production and integration of knowledge about gender health issues, this reasoning overlooks the impact that integrating Women's Studies knowledge is likely to have. Given the multi-layeredness of gender, integrating gender knowledge will not only involve an ideological change, but also an institutional one.<sup>101</sup> Looking at the argument for an autonomous department the other way around, leads me to conclude that integration has not succeeded at the institutional level at which gender operates.

### ***4.3 Conditions affecting the integration of knowledge in the curriculum***

#### ***4.3.1 Conditions relating to the production of knowledge***

##### ***Locality***

An important difference between the contexts of researchers and users is that Women's Studies Medicine is an interdisciplinary field where researchers produce knowledge from a bio-psychosocial or interdisciplinary perspective (section 4.1.1 and section 4.1.2), whereas the users are located inside medical schools where a biomedical perspective is prevalent (section 4.1.5). Since I suggested that a similarity in the contexts of researchers and users may enhance the integration of knowledge, I will consider how the dissimilarity in this case study has affected knowledge integration.

In section 4.2.1, it has become clear that biomedical gender issues were more easily integrated than socio-cultural aspects of health and illness, and that topics requiring a bio-psychosocial rather than a biomedical perspective were difficult to integrate. That interdisciplinary knowledge had to be integrated in a predominantly monodisciplinary context can thus be said to have hindered the integration of knowledge. No wonder then that the project was more successful in schools and courses that did not work with a narrow biomedical perspective. There, the similarity in contexts of researchers and users did enhance knowledge integration.

Another way of looking at locality is the disciplinary context of the actors who transfer knowledge. As I described in section 4.1.1, many Women's Studies Medicine researchers are not trained in medicine or working as medical practitioners themselves, but are located outside the medical discipline. Zooming in on the project members, we see that Lagro-Janssen is trained in medicine and works as a general practitioner and that Verdonk and Mans come from 'outside' the medical profession. In considering how their location may have influenced

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<sup>101</sup> Verdonk et al. (2008) are aware that the uptake of gender health issues can affect the position of women in medical schools, but they advocate an autonomous department nonetheless.

the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine, I want to bear in mind the medical professional culture (see section 4.1.5). That loyalty is an important value implies that a critical attitude is not appreciated within the profession. The self-contained status of the profession and the self-determining character of medical faculties both imply that a critical attitude from outside the profession is not appreciated either. Hence, the project members' position in Women's Studies Medicine, a field not always regarded as a proper discipline, might have had a negative impact on the status of knowledge from the field and thus on the integration of its knowledge. However, looking at the fact that Lagro-Janssen is a medical professor it becomes likely that her rank and position will have positively influenced knowledge integration, especially because of her role as project leader.

### ***Partiality***

The condition of partiality, derived from Feminist Science Studies, suggests that an agreement between actors on the political and epistemological values with which knowledge is produced may enhance the integration of knowledge. In this case study, a disagreement is visible between the values underlying the knowledge claims of Women's Studies Medicine and the prevalent ideology in the medical schools. Whereas knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine is based on a feminist perspective, medical knowledge practices are based in a discourse of universality wherein gender is not considered of primary relevance.

To start, it is important to realise that the biomedical perspective is a discourse that is conceived as neutral but that in fact is gender biased (cf. Verdonk 2007a). By adhering to the idea of medicine as a neutral and value-free discipline, medical schools are resistant to see that all knowledge claims are produced from a certain perspective (Verdonk 2007a). This consequently disqualifies knowledge claims from Women's Studies Medicine because these are overtly value-laden. Apparently, 'biology' is more easily accepted as knowledge. This has resulted in biomedical knowledge or knowledge about biological differences between the sexes being integrated to a larger extent than knowledge about socio-cultural differences between men and women and their impact on health and illness. The partial or biased character of Women's Studies Medicine thus had an effect on what kind of knowledge about sex and gender was integrated.

Verdonk (2007a) indeed found that there was a resistance towards integrating knowledge that specifically addresses gender inequalities, as this was thought to be feminist. This seems to suggest that the ideological subtext of gender only applies to its socio-cultural aspects.<sup>102</sup> However, not accepting the claim that there are (biological) sex differences is an ideological stance too. Following Feminist Science Studies, it can be argued that it requires a 'feminist standpoint' or a 'partial perspective' to see these differences. Although we do not know the precise status of integration of biological sex differences, the quick-scan showed that schools insufficiently addressed these differences. If curricula are deficient in attention to biological differences between the sexes, then it could be concluded that the integration of knowledge about sex as well as about gender is hindered because of the ideological connotations of gender. The view of several participants that teaching about women's health care should take place after students have learned the 'basic concepts' (section 4.2.3) supports this analysis.

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<sup>102</sup> This suggestion is more clearly visible in a discussion about the attention to sex and gender in medical curricula in the context of the evaluation of the Nijmegen pilot project. Verdonk, Mans, and Lagro-Janssen (2005, p. 119) state: "Gender issues evoke discussion and resistance because of political or ideological connotations. Nevertheless, established biological differences between men and women ... have not been adopted either." In these sentences, the use of the adverb 'nevertheless' suggests that socio-cultural and biological issues are not framed in the same ideological context.

It also matters that the field of Women's Studies Medicine and the knowledge it produces is not always regarded as a proper discipline or as proper knowledge. The status of its knowledge is thus at stake. Based on the evaluative interviews, Verdonk (2007a) concluded that a gender perspective in medicine is often considered 'feminist opinion'. Participants in the project also regularly expressed negative remarks about the name of the department of Women's Studies in Medicine (Verdonk 2007a). In conclusion, the partiality of Women's Studies Medicine and the ensuing undervaluation of knowledge from this field have hindered the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in the curriculum.

Taking this reasoning one step further means that the knowledge about sex and gender that is integrated in the curriculum has gained status. That is, it is regarded as relevant for medicine, important for teaching, or true. In other words, it changed from an opinion to knowledge. Viewing the curriculum and its contents as a matter of curriculum developers' choices about what it is that students should learn makes clear that a curriculum is the result of including some knowledge claims and excluding others. Referring to Tisdell (1995), Verdonk (2007a) indicates that decisions about curricula are the outcome of a political process.<sup>103</sup> Students deal with the curriculum as an end product and will not always be aware of the selections underlying the education they receive. The power of a curriculum is that it shapes what is understood as relevant medical knowledge. The gender knowledge integrated in the curriculum will then likely be regarded by them as real or objective knowledge.

#### ***Funding/outward-looking perspective***

The project 'Gender in medical education' was commissioned by the Ministry of Health and funded by ZonMw. This in fact was indirect governmental funding, since the Ministry supplied the funding for this project to ZonMw. Funds thus came from a non-university party. Knowledge Utilisation theories assume that external research funding enhances knowledge integration, because researchers in externally funded projects are more outward looking and more sensitive to the needs of users. The assignment of ZonMw, to implement insights from sex-specific health care in education, is a user-oriented assignment. This clear focus on the users is also visible in the project members. They adjusted the knowledge that they aimed to transfer to the needs of the users, e.g. by starting from the existing medical schools' curricula and by developing knowledge in the context of the project. The latter is particularly the case for the education material that was gathered in the Digital Knowledge Centre. The needs of users were included through the active involvement of faculty, who could give direct feedback on recommendations and screening results. The project members also fine-tuned their strategy to the specific situations in medical schools and accommodated users' concerns via the steering committee that advised the project. I thus conclude that the condition of external research funding has enhanced the integration of knowledge in the curriculum.

### **4.3.2 Interaction conditions**

#### ***Linkage mechanisms***

To integrate knowledge in the medical curriculum, interactions between project members and participants from the medical faculties took place before and during the project, as well as after the project had officially ended. Through for example the steering committee, links were

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<sup>103</sup> In a study on gender bias in medical textbooks (Dijkstra, Verdonk, and Lagro-Janssen 2008), the integration of gender issues in textbooks is called 'canonification' of knowledge about gender issues. The authors thereby point out that decisions about the content of textbooks (and of curricula) are political.

also made to other actors, such as ZonMw. The interactions between project members and participants were intensive, and took place through several linkage mechanisms, such as meetings, newsletters, invitational conferences, and train-the-trainer courses. It is very likely that the intensity and continuity of interactions has enhanced the integration of knowledge. In the Nijmegen pilot project, the active involvement of course coordinators in decision-making also turned out to be a positive factor (Verdonk, Mans, and Lagro-Janssen 2005). The absence of a thorough evaluation phase in the national project 'Gender in medical education', however, limited the extent of knowledge integration. This shows the relevance of linkage mechanisms as a condition in knowledge integration.

As stated, the active involvement of users in the process of integrating knowledge is seen as a characteristic of the project's action research method. I want to emphasise that the project members chose this particular (innovative) method on purpose; integrating gender in the medical curricula could have been done in a different way. This was a strategic choice that implied interactivity and as such is a factor that proved relevant for integration.

I also noted that exchanges took place within the group of users, that is, between education directors of different medical schools. This was facilitated by national activities such as conferences. I thus conclude that the combination of local and national interactions not only increased the opportunities for interaction, but reinforced these interactions, contributing to the integration of knowledge.

### ***Contextualisation***

The supposition of Mode 2 is that it is more likely that knowledge is integrated when social actors are involved in the production of knowledge and when researchers take into account the context wherein their knowledge will be applied.

We saw that knowledge in Women's Studies Medicine is indeed produced with involvement of actors such as women's health organisations and the government. However, the specific users in this case study, teachers and other medical school participants, were not part of the context already associated with Women's Studies Medicine. This has thus not worked as a positive factor.

In section 4.1.4, I mentioned that action research resembles Mode 2 science. Looking at the project, it becomes apparent that the active participation of faculty in the project was a way for the project members to take into account the specific context where knowledge had to be applied. Via this involvement, agreement could be reached about the aims of the project and the strategy that would be used in the respective faculties, but users also had a say in what courses would be studied and in what way the screening results would be implemented. Evidently, research results were not only presented at the end of the project, but, in Mode 2 terms, the users could 'speak back' to the researchers from the project's beginning. The action research method of the project thus can be said to have resulted in contextualised knowledge, which has had a positive effect on the integration of knowledge.

### ***4.3.3 Dissemination and communication conditions***

#### ***Dissemination efforts***

The project members have disseminated knowledge and insights from Women's Studies Medicine to the project participants via different media (screening reports, meetings, trainer courses, conferences, newsletters, etc.) and they communicated their message before, during, and after the project. The use of multiple dissemination channels is likely to have positively influenced knowledge integration. Especially the direct communication with participants in the faculties has enhanced knowledge integration, since knowledge was sure to reach the

prospective users. It should also be noted that knowledge was disseminated inside as well as outside the project's boundaries, and at the local as well as the national level, resulting in the repetition and eventual reinforcement of the message that project members wanted to convey.

The dissemination efforts also involved the adaptation of knowledge products and language to the users, a strategy that is expected to positively impact knowledge integration. We saw that advice was targeted to specific courses and that tools to implement gender were provided in the form of recommendations and concrete education material that could be used immediately. This turned out to be a factor that enhanced the integration of knowledge (Verdonk 2007a).

Regarding language use, two observations can be made: first, the project members adjusted their Women's Studies language to the existing medical terminology by using the Dutch word 'sekse' instead of 'gender'. In the description of the project interactions (section 4.1.4), I mentioned that the relevance of gender was often clarified by giving practical examples. Communicating this practical relevance raised gender awareness, making this strategy helpful to integrate gender in medical education (Verdonk 2007a). Providing the medical schools with examples of gender-sensitive education material also worked as an 'eye opener' in convincing faculty leaders (Interview Lagro-Janssen). These dissemination efforts thus enhanced the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the curriculum.

Second, the adaptation of language through the project members' 'careful communication' approach has had positive as well as negative effects: positive in that it resulted in the consent of the medical schools to carry out the project, but negative since it prevented the possibility to discuss the more political or delicate gender inequality issues (Verdonk 2007a). In other words, it laid the basis for the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in the curriculum, but it prevented tackling some issues that would have required getting to the bottom of the medical schools' resistance against 'feminist' issues. One could say that this is also related to the limited time in which the project had to be completed. The possible delicacy of gender issues also meant that the change agents had to be careful in carrying out their task of communicating the project aims to other staff. Verdonk (2007a) found that the communicative abilities of this person were relevant for establishing a gender-sensitive curriculum.

### ***Publication assets***

Articles, journals, books, and dissertations form the material knowledge base that renders the increasing amount of knowledge and insights from Women's Studies Medicine visible. The presence of enough publications about a certain topic is expected to enhance the integration of knowledge. In this case study, it has become clear that there are many publications about gender in medicine, which in general will have had a positive impact on the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in the curriculum. However, there is more to it than mere publication numbers.

First, it matters in what kind of journal an article is published. We saw that articles about gender in medicine are more often published in journals with a specific focus on women's health than in regular medical journals. Verdonk (Interview) drew attention to the fact that in the medical field some journals are deemed more important than others and that, when possible and relevant, the project members provided references to regular medical journals that doctors find reliable, for example the authoritative *British Medical Journal*. Having said that, even the awards of the women's weekly *Libelle* helped raise attention to women's health topics (Interview Verdonk). In 2006, for example, GP Sylvie Lo Fo Wong, researcher at the Nijmegen Medical Centre, won the *Libelle* 'GP of the year' prize for her efforts to make domestic violence debatable for GPs.

Second, in transferring knowledge to the medical schools, the project members also took into account whether literature was user-friendly and suitable for students. The literature that they selected to pass on for education purposes was ideally clear and brief, i.e. a review article or book chapter rather than a dissertation (Interview Verdonk). Despite this, dissertations and other (less user-friendly) publications are important in that they establish the academic underpinning for the field of Women's Studies Medicine, in that sense establishing a necessary basis for knowledge integration (cf. Stuurgroep Vrouwenhulpverlening 1999).

Third, publications were directly brought to the attention of medical faculty. Articles and references were provided to the participants alongside the screening reports and bibliographies about several topics were available in the Digital Knowledge Centre. Therefore, it was not necessarily the presence of the literature *per se*, but actively making people knowledgeable about that literature that has enhanced the integration of knowledge in the curriculum.

I conclude that the existence of a large number of publications has positively influenced the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in the curriculum. However, I want to draw attention to the fact that these publications do not come about automatically, but require authors writing from a women's health perspective to actually have access to journals. One of the ways in which this can be realised is by having a respected position in the field. Of course, one could argue that the publishing track record and position of a researcher mutually influence each other. Being a member of an editorial board also allows one to make sure that articles with a focus on gender are published. In section 4.1.5, I wrote that special 'gender' issues of regular medical journals were especially important in promoting insights from Women's Studies Medicine. Let me look at one example mentioned there to make my point. The special issue of the Dutch journal *Huisarts en Wetenschap* was published by an editorial board that counted two gender specialists as members: Toine Lagro-Janssen and Betty Meyboom-de Jong.<sup>104</sup> Their strategic power positions will have contributed to the publication of this special issue. This means that there is a two-way relation between researchers' publications and their power positions: the more power one has, the more one can publish, and the more publications one has written, the more power one gets. In other words, there is a reinforcing feedback loop between the two elements. In section 4.3.4 the power aspects affecting knowledge integration will be analysed in greater detail.

#### **4.3.4 Conditions related to the power aspect of knowledge transfer**

##### ***Power differences***

Considering the power relations between the actors in knowledge transfer is relevant because insights from Feminist Science Studies suggest that knowledge integration will be enhanced when actors occupy equal power positions. I noticed that the project members did not consider themselves powerful and that they were not considered powerful by the participants in the project. This perception may be related to the contested status of the field of Women's Studies Medicine, which reverberates in the position of the project members. Strikingly, the role of the Review Committee illustrates (see section 4.1.5) that the joint perception of having an insignificant position (perceived by the project members and by participants in medical schools) actually added to the power of the project members. This thus became an advantage

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<sup>104</sup> Meyboom-de Jong's focus on gender is for instance visible in the lecture she gave on the occasion of retiring as a professor (Meyboom-de Jong 2004).

to the project. Hence, the power of actors is also influenced by actors' perceptions of power positions.

As I explained, the project leader managed to get the support of the Review Committee because she knew people there. Lagro-Janssen (Interview) mentioned that having connections in the medical schools was also advantageous: on top of being a GP with education know-how, she was already acquainted with several people, making it less difficult to find 'allies' for the project. This shows that professional networks can and do bring about power. This is of course related to people's multiple roles, of which I said in 4.1.5 that they add to people's strategic power.

In the medical schools, support from leadership figures was an important factor for the successful integration of gender issues in the curricula (Verdonk 2007a). In this regard, the gendered hierarchy in medical schools needs to be taken into consideration. Women in the medical schools were more positive towards the project goals, but they occupied less powerful positions than men, who predominantly occupied decision-making positions and were less sympathetic to gender issues in general (see 4.2.6). Thus, it was particularly the support of male staff that was a positive factor in integrating knowledge in the curriculum. Verdonk (2007a) also found alliances between women and senior (male) staff to enhance curriculum change. A powerful position of change agents also proved to be relevant to integrating gender (Verdonk 2007a).

It needs to be noted that the 'careful communication approach' particularly kept supportive input from women from being expressed (Verdonk 2007a). Thus, the chosen communication strategy combined with the existing gender order turned out to be a combination of factors that negatively influenced the integration of (delicate) gender issues. On the other hand, it can also be said that the gender order was one of the reasons why such a communication approach was necessary.

### ***Institutional landscape***

In the institutional landscape of the project, it is important to note that the project is backed by the Ministry of Health and by ZonMw. According to Lagro-Janssen (Interview), Minister Els Borst's commitment to women's health care has provided the groundwork for the project. According to the project members, the neutral position of ZonMw helped to create awareness of the importance of gender (Verdonk 2007a). In a similar way, political support was sought by referencing the UN and the WHO, both credible actors that aim for gender equality and equity in health. This confirmed the *raison d'être* of the project 'Gender in medical education' and can thus be seen as a condition that has worked positively. However, this in itself has not been sufficient to integrate gender in medical education. Most striking in this regard is that the WHO concept of social accountability did not resonate with the medical schools (see section 4.2.4). Thus, despite the fact that the interests of the WHO were in line with the interests of the project members, this was not beneficial for the integration of knowledge, because the medical schools had no discourse on social accountability. This can be interpreted as an unsuccessful strategical framing attempt.<sup>105</sup> As I explained in section 4.2.4, this limited the way in which gender was integrated in education: gender was a signifier of difference more than of inequality, which in consequence hindered the inclusion of more political gender health issues. (See also section 4.3.5.)

Another neutral actor in the institutional landscape of the project is the Review Committee. That this influential body paid attention to gender in their audit has been beneficial to the project because the medical schools value the Committee's opinion. Its consideration of

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<sup>105</sup> Verloo (2001) uses the term strategical framing for gender mainstreaming processes whereby links are made to norms and values of regular actors to influence them to incorporate a gender perspective.

gender was supportive of the knowledge that the project members aimed to transfer (cf. Verdonk 2007a). Compared to the UN and the WHO, this actor is closer to the medical schools, since its main focus is education and its audit directly concerns the medical schools. I assess that the Review Committee's more direct relevance to the schools was of particular importance for enhancing knowledge integration.

Lastly, let me consider the government. Obviously, the Ministry of Health was important in making the project possible. But the role of the Ministry of Social Affairs needs to be considered too, because they were responsible for emancipation policy. Recalling the Minister of Social Affairs' 2003 statement that the emancipation of 'autochthonous' women in the Netherlands was completed (see Chapter 1, section 1.4 Societal relevance), it is not hard to see that these days the relevance of gender is no longer evident. This is also related to the 'ethnicalisation' after 9/11 and is reflected in an increasing focus on ethnicity in emancipation policy, in particular on black, migrant, and refugee women (Ferrier 2006). Verdonk (2007a) argues that the contemporary political and public context in which multicultural issues receive more attention than gender issues, as signified by a 'heated acculturation debate', has hindered the integration of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine.<sup>106</sup> This means that governmental opinions and policies have undermined the transfer of the knowledge claim that gender is relevant in medicine.

#### **4.3.5 Conditions located in the realm of the users**

Knowledge Utilisation theories have argued that integration of knowledge is more likely to occur when research results match the needs and expectations of the users as well as the ideology, self-interest, norms and practices, and prior knowledge of the users' organisation. In this section, I will consider whether and how knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine matches the needs and interests of the medical schools.

##### ***Ideology, institutional norms***

In section 4.3.1, I noted that the integration of gender has been hindered because the political character of Women's Studies Medicine did not match medicine's identification as a neutral discipline in which sex and gender are considered largely irrelevant. Verdonk (2007a) points out that this view is related to, and upheld by, the gendered hierarchy in medical schools, a hierarchy that women are more aware of than men. Accepting knowledge claims from Women's Studies Medicine that were considered feminist would have implied accepting criticism on medicine, or on men (Verdonk 2007a). Consequently, men can here be seen to function as a group that has an interest in defending their dominant position in the gender order and women as a group that has an interest in change (Verdonk et al. 2008). This shows that, on the one hand, an ideological mismatch led to resistance to the political aspects of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine. However, taking into account loyalty matters and the self-determined status of the medical profession, it could be said that critical knowledge is generally not appreciated in this field (see section 4.3.1). On the other hand, open-mindedness towards change and towards gender and feminist issues contributed positively to the integration of gender in medical curricula (Verdonk 2007a).

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<sup>106</sup> More details about the Dutch debates about culture can be found in the case study about the Canon of Dutch history and culture (Chapter 6).

### ***Educational practices***

Comparing lecture-based curricula to problem-based education structures in medical schools, Verdonk (2007a) found that a problem-based structure positively influences the integration of knowledge. However, a focus on problem-based learning is not sufficient *per se* for creating an inclusive curriculum, because the quick-scan (Verdonk 2007a) also exposed gender gaps in the curricula of schools that work with problem-based learning. The project members therefore concluded that explicit attention to gender in curriculum development is necessary to create an inclusive curriculum. More generally, they found that the existence of procedures for curriculum development had a positive effect as well (Verdonk 2007a).

A problem-based curriculum allows for integrating knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine in separate cases and assignments, for example by adding a question about what would change when a patient was of the other sex. This could imply that knowledge about sex and gender is integrated in the curriculum in a scattered way. In comparison, an elective about gender could facilitate that gender is addressed more comprehensively. In this regard, Lagro-Janssen (Interview) considers integration of knowledge a question of '*frapper toujours*'; while recognising that integrating bits and pieces of knowledge does not do the trick, she emphasises that gender can receive continuous attention by incorporating it in several places and at different moments in the curriculum.

### ***People***

It is also important to consider the people in the users' realm of the medical schools. Since I found that integrated knowledge is also located in people (see section 4.2.2), the whereabouts of this embodied knowledge obviously impinges on knowledge integration. Weijmar Schultz' statement that when he would retire his knowledge would disappear with him emphasises the key role of the project's change agents in integrating knowledge. At the same time, it shows the volatility of knowledge integration: career movements could mean a shift in attention to gender. Weijmar Schultz (Interview) suggested that he would like to transfer his knowledge to the colleague taking over his position, ideally overlapping the end of his own tenure with the beginning of his successor's in order to continue the attention to gender in the curriculum. The project members also observed that changes in personnel had an impact on the project, stating that "it obviously mattered who left the school and who was hired" (Verdonk 2007a, p. 57). Thus, the positions that staff members (especially change agents) come to occupy can affect knowledge integration in a positive or negative sense (Verdonk 2007a), which implies a certain volatility as well as some coincidence at play in knowledge integration.

### ***Self-interest***

The interest of medical schools in general comes down to training students to be good doctors. As I mentioned, the professional standards for doctors are written down in the *Blueprint* and include attention to sex and gender. The project members also made use of this *Blueprint* to screen the curricula (see section 4.2.1). Their screening results and the knowledge claims that they aimed to transfer thus matched the standard objectives of medical education. That the *Blueprint* functioned as a shared standard of the medical schools and the project members has been a condition that positively affected the integration of Women's Studies Medicine knowledge in the curricula. Verdonk (2007a) notes that this was intentional, a case of strategic framing (see section 4.3.4, institutional landscape). However, taking into account that it was the Professional Groups in Health Care project group that succeeded in getting attention to sex and gender integrated in the *Blueprint*, I see the knowledge integration that resulted from this match as being brought about by an earlier instance of knowledge transfer.

### *Needs, expectations, prior information*

How do the research results of the project members match the needs and expectations of the medical schools? A match expectedly increases the integration of knowledge. It can be said in general that the medical schools did not feel the need to integrate gender. If this had been the case, it is likely that they would have already paid more attention to sex and gender. After the quick-scan, the project members pointed out gender gaps and, by explaining the relevance of gender, influenced the medical schools to pay more attention to gender. Thus the schools did not have a concrete need for gender knowledge that could be met; this need had to be revealed to them first. The project members could then fill this need by giving recommendations for implementing gender in education.

Lagro-Janssen (Interview) explained that the project members had to put in a lot of effort to convince participants of the relevance of gender. As described, they for instance did this by connecting to teachers' own experiences. These experiences could be professional (having encountered gender-specific problems in practice) as well as personal. An example of such a personal experience is that a participant in the project became aware of the different roles of men and women in the curriculum and their different outlook on medical issues because of being married to a teacher in a medical school (Verdonk 2007a). Matching prior information, i.e. prior experiences, to new knowledge thus enhanced knowledge integration. When participants were convinced of the need to incorporate gender, or of the relevance of gender, then knowledge had a chance of becoming integrated. This highlights the two-step effort involved in transferring knowledge: first earning acceptance for knowledge claims from Women's Studies Medicine, then transferring knowledge. It also highlights possible boundaries of knowledge integration: working within an environment of acceptance implies that one cannot argue with the 'real' opposition.<sup>107</sup> At the same time, it shows the relevance of people in knowledge transfer. As I stated in 4.2.2, people have to be reached before knowledge about sex and gender can end up in education. I thus conclude that people's previous awareness of the relevance of gender had a positive impact on knowledge integration (cf. Verdonk 2007a).

Verdonk (2007a) mentions that course organisers expected that students did not have an interest in gender issues and that they might be opposed to it. These expectations were brought up as (hidden) reasons for not being positive towards the project. However, the high number of students participating in the Nijmegen elective course 'Gender, Sexuality and Ethnicity' demonstrates that these assumptions about student attitudes do not hold true (Verdonk 2007a). Hence, it is ideas about student attitudes rather than actual student attitudes that hindered knowledge transfer.

Regarding my analysis that medical schools did not feel a need to integrate gender issues in their education, it must be noted that this is associated with their view that multicultural issues were more important than gender issues (see section 4.2.5). This means that the project's emphasis on gender did not suit the schools' view that education would benefit from more attention to cultural diversity; a mismatch of needs that hindered knowledge integration.

I want to make two comments about this mismatch. First, although 'gender and culture' was one of the domains in which the project members deemed gender issues relevant, they deliberately chose to focus on gender and not on other diversity issues. Since I concluded that gender was integrated in education without its link to other social categories, it can be said that this resulted from the fact that it was principally knowledge about gender as such that the project members aimed to transfer to the medical schools. Favouring gendered power

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<sup>107</sup> Rosi Braidotti drew attention to these limits of integration in a personal communication about this case study, 15 January 2009.

differences (see section 4.2.1) thus resulted in disregarding gender in relation to other social categories. However, the fact that medical schools saw gender as one of the markers of diversity meant that they were interested in education material that dealt with both gender and ethnicity. When the schools asked for this double focus, the project members provided them with the necessary recommendations and material.

Second, the focus on gender or on differences between men and women may also have had implications for another element of the feminist understanding of sex and gender, that of non-universalism. As I concluded in section 4.2.5, the concepts of sex and gender were taken up in a universal way as a result of disregarding the other social categories that intersect with gender.

#### **4.4 Taking stock**

The ‘Gender in medical education’ project illustrates a successful case of knowledge transfer. It boosted the attention to gender in the medical schools and resulted in the uptake of knowledge claims from Women’s Studies Medicine. However, biomedical gender issues were more easily integrated than socio-cultural gender health aspects, especially when gender inequalities were addressed. Integration of gender was difficult because the political or feminist character of knowledge from Women’s Studies Medicine does not agree with the view of medicine as a neutral discipline in which gender is considered irrelevant. The project members’ limited attention to other social categories besides gender made it hard for gender to be taken up in an intersectional way. Nevertheless, the participants in the project did consider (cultural) diversity issues to be important. Knowledge integration in this case study also takes the form of achieved gender awareness: as an intervention in curricula, the project both caused change and set future possibilities of knowledge integration in motion.

The case study highlights the role of people in transferring and integrating knowledge. Embodied knowledge plays an important role in the knowledge that actors aim to transfer, since recommendations of the project members reflected their individual expertise. Second, integration of knowledge occurs in an embodied way as educational staff became knowledgeable about the role of gender in medicine.

Considering the actors and the specific context of application, it becomes clear that Women’s Studies experts’ access to the national institutions involved in medical education has been crucial for knowledge integration. Standards for the training of doctors are set by medical professionals in the *Blueprint* and adherence to these standards is examined by the Review Committee. Adjustments to standards are also brought about by the Ministry of Health, as illustrated by the role of the Women’s Health Care Steering Group. The influence of Women’s Studies experts on these national bodies was crucial in making medical curricula more gender sensitive. The involvement of project leader Lagro-Janssen in the Steering Group, more precisely in the Professional Groups in Health Care project group, has been pivotal in this regard as it gave her the power to achieve attention to gender in standards for medical education and as such laid the groundwork for the project. The power positions of Women’s Studies experts are thus important for knowledge integration. Similarly, support for the project by educational staff in powerful positions was important in achieving knowledge integration. Since medical education and the professional field of Medicine are more generally characterised by a high level of national regulation, the national character of the project had a positive effect on knowledge integration.

The intense, sustained, and careful interaction with users, as well as the targeted way in which the project members transferred knowledge from Women’s Studies Medicine to the medical schools contributed to knowledge integration. That is, knowledge was disseminated

in the form of specific recommendations and via concrete education material, accompanied by a broader dissemination of the gender message, both within and outside the context of the project. Although some dominant ideologies were challenged, the careful approach had as a consequence that the critical edges of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine were not transferred. This shows that the careful communication strategy comes with a price. The contested status of the field of Women's Studies Medicine negatively affected the status of knowledge from the field, which hindered knowledge integration. On the other hand, knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine that was integrated in the curriculum acquired the status of knowledge.

## **Chapter 5 Case 2: The Aspasia programme**

In a knowledge-based society, science and technology are considered crucial to solving societal challenges. However, the underrepresentation of women in scientific research limits the complete realisation of the knowledge society (Busquin 2000). Women's underrepresentation in the academy has been studied from the time of the second feminist wave (Bosch 2007). Research on this topic especially and recurrently poses the questions 'Why so few?' (Rossi 1965) and 'Why so slow?' (Valian 1998) (cf. Bosch 1999a). Although research has shed increasingly more light on the answers to why there are so few women in science and why their progress in the academy is so slow, scholars in this field perceive a gap between the advancement of knowledge in this field and the extent to which it is applied in the domain of science. The question 'Why is science not growing any wiser?', posed by Mineke Bosch (2007) in her inaugural lecture, epitomises this knowledge gap.

The Aspasia programme, an incentive programme installed in the Netherlands in 1999 to increase the upward mobility of women in the academy, provides a case in which knowledge about women in science did amount to knowledge integration in scientific policymaking. Focussing on the Aspasia programme, this case study delineates the particular process of transferring and integrating knowledge about women in science into the incentive programme and the conditions under which this happened.

Against the background of the low number of female academics in higher positions in the Netherlands, the Aspasia<sup>108</sup> programme was created by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU), in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, to give women the opportunity to make the career move from lecturer to senior lecturer. The statistics show that this incentive programme was by no means a luxury. At the end of 1998, only 7.7% of senior lecturers and 5.5% of professors were women (WOPI 2006).

How did the Aspasia programme work? The programme was only open to women lecturers who, with the support of their university board, could apply for an individual subsidy at NWO. Their research proposals had to be accompanied by a letter of support of their university board. NWO evaluated the research proposals via peer review and awarded the Aspasia grants either for a four-year PhD project or a two-year postdoctoral project with a maximum of €11.000 per year, under the conditions that the universities paid for the applicant's promotion to senior lecturer, and also paid her research costs for a period of five years. After a positive evaluation, the universities would be responsible for making the position permanent.

Through two rounds of subsidies, in 2000 and in 2002, NWO approved 70 research proposals. Because of the high interest in Aspasia, NWO stimulated the universities to award other high-quality proposals themselves and promote the applicants to senior lecturer, which most universities did. In total, 146 lecturers were promoted to senior lecturer via the Aspasia programme, resulting in a rise in the percentage of women senior lecturers from 9% in 1999 to 14% in 2002 (Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003).

Because of the successful results of the temporary Aspasia programme, the programme was continued, albeit in a different form. As from 2005, this Aspasia 'new style', as NWO calls it, is linked to the Innovational Research Incentives Scheme (IRIS - 'Vernieuwingsimpuls'). IRIS awards individual grants to (both male and female) researchers

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<sup>108</sup> The NWO Aspasia brochure mentioned that the name of the programme refers to the Milesian woman Aspasia (470-410 BC), who was Socrates' teacher.

who recently completed their doctorates (Veni), to experienced researchers (Vidi), and to researchers of professorial quality (Vici). Yearly, around twenty €100.000 Aspasia incentives, which NWO calls ‘premiums’, are made available to university boards that, on NWO’s recommendation, promote women Vidi and Vici laureates to senior lecturer or professor.

Questions that will be addressed in this case study are: How did policymakers come up with the Aspasia programme? How were they influenced by research findings about the underrepresentation of women in science? How did insights about what causes vertical sex segregation in academia reach the policymakers? Why did they integrate this knowledge in policymaking at this particular point in time? And more generally, through what processes was knowledge on the topic of women in science transferred to the policymaking domain?

My case study focuses on the way knowledge about ‘women in science’ is transferred to the domain of policymaking, specifically to NWO. I use the term ‘women in science’ to mean the research field that deals with the causes of gender segregation in universities and the measures that can help improve women’s positions in the academy.<sup>109</sup> My focus is on knowledge about one particular problem, women’s underrepresentation in the higher academic ranks, and one particular policy measure, an incentive programme to increase the number of women senior lecturers. It is not my intention to study the success or failure of the Aspasia programme. Hence, I will not deal with the question whether it is an appropriate measure or whether it has been successful. In my analysis, I will however include studies about the causes of women’s underrepresentation, the effectiveness of policy measures, and evaluation studies of the Aspasia programme, since these reports contain the kind of knowledge the transfer of which I aim to trace.

To gain insight into the actions and interactions around the Aspasia programme, I have interviewed Eldrid Bringmann, Margo Brouns, Mineke Bosch, and Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen.<sup>110</sup> Bringmann worked as a policymaker at NWO at the time that the Aspasia programme was set up and coordinated the programme until 2001. Brouns and Bosch carried out research projects on gender and science and were involved in activities to promote the position of women and Women’s Studies in the academy, for instance via the Dutch Women’s Studies Association (both Brouns and Bosch) and the National Consultative Body Emancipation Quality in Higher Education (Bosch). Van Vucht Tijssen was vice-president of the Utrecht University board (1991-1999) and was previously professionally involved in activities and research relating to science personnel policies and the position of women in science.

In this chapter, I will describe the process through which knowledge about women in science is produced and transferred to research funding policymakers at NWO (section 5.1); answer the question to what extent this knowledge is integrated in the Aspasia programme (section 5.2); and analyse the conditions that affected the integration of this knowledge in Aspasia (section 5.3).

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<sup>109</sup> Often a distinction is made between research about ‘women in science’ and ‘gender and science’, where the former refers to a more quantitative approach focussing on the participation of women in science and the latter to a qualitative approach focussing on the gender dimension in the content of science. I use the term ‘women in science’ in my case study in a broad sense, also covering aspects of ‘gender and science’ research.

<sup>110</sup> Interview Bringmann, March 11, 2008; Interview Bosch, March 13, 2008; Interview Van Vucht Tijssen, March 27, 2008; Interview Brouns, March 28, 2008. See also Appendix I.

## **5.1 Knowledge transfer in Aspasia**

### **5.1.1 The production and dissemination of knowledge about women in science**

#### ***Early research on women in science***

Since the beginnings of Women's Studies in the Netherlands, the marginal position of women in Dutch universities has been a topic of research. Especially in the wake of universities' equal opportunity policies, installed in the 1980s, researchers started to study the topic of women in science, particularly the underrepresentation of women in the high academic ranks of senior lecturer and professor. Research concerned the positions and careers of men and women in specific universities (Van Doorne-Huiskes 1983, 1986, 1988, 1996), the (negative) impact of universities' structure and restructuring on women's positions (Hawkins and Van Balen 1984; Hawkins and Noordenbos 1990), the working of gender stereotypes in job interviews (Van Vianen 1987), the entry and exit of men and women in Dutch universities (Portegijs 1989, 1993), the 'woman-friendliness' of the academy (Hicks and Noordenbos 1990), and positive action (Verhaar 1991). According to Bosch (1999b), much of this research was developed in cooperation with, or commissioned by, university emancipation policymakers, and the deterioration of women's positions in the academy in the 1980s particularly provided an impetus to carry out research on women in science.

This means that in producing knowledge, researchers are motivated by a concern about women's underrepresentation in the academy. Policymakers also act on this concern through devising policy measures, as well as through commissioning research to gain insight into the problem. Different groups of actors also organised themselves to address women's underrepresentation. Emancipation policymakers and members of university emancipation committees joined forces in the 1980s in the National Consultative Body Emancipation Quality in Higher Education (LOEKWO) to support emancipation policies in universities. The Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV), the professional association for Women's Studies scholars, adopted as one of its aims the promotion of women in science. In 1995, it set up Women's International Studies Europe (WISE) to lobby for the integration of gender issues and Women's Studies in European research policies. In 1993, women professors formed the Dutch Network of Female Professors (LNVH)<sup>111</sup> to plead women's case with research organisations, universities, and the Ministry of Education.

The Promotion Committee for Emancipation Research (STEO 1985-1991) and the Women's Studies Section within NWO (WVEO 1991-1997) stimulated Women's Studies and emancipation research and at the same time contributed to increasing the number of women in the academy (see Chapter 1). The so-called 'set-up subsidies' ('opzetsubsidies') established by STEO and WVEO to turn research outlines into full research proposals particularly provided better conditions for acquiring research funding (Interview Brouns; Swiebel 2009).<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> The LNVH started as an informal network and became a foundation in 2001. It associates around 400 women professors (Willemsen 2006).

<sup>112</sup> At universities, Women's Studies units also supported and coached graduates in writing and/or submitting research proposals, for example through the so-called Research workshop F/m at the Centre for Gender and Diversity at Maastricht University (Interviews Brouns and Bosch). The Research workshop F/m was set up in 2000 to address both the importance of acquiring research funding for academic careers and the fact that women submit less research proposals to organisations like NWO than men. It aimed to stimulate women as well as men to seek and acquire research funding. The Research workshop was initially funded by both the Social Fund for the Knowledge Sector (SoFoKleS) and the university's Emancipation fund (*De Start* 2002; *De Take-Off* 2003).

The political interest in women's underrepresentation in high academic ranks is signalled by the Proportional Representation Act of Women in Education Management (WEV), which was instigated by state secretary of Education Tineke Netelenbos and introduced in March 1997. LOEKWO, also active in trying to influence governmental policies that affect women's positions in universities, successfully lobbied for making the WEV applicable to universities (Pruim 1999). The WEV obliges universities to set targets for women's participation in the ranks of senior lecturer and professor and to state their concrete measures for reaching these targets, as well as to account for the results achieved. After the WEV was established, the VSNU agreed in the university Collective Employment Agreement (VSNU 1997) that universities would make efforts to increase women's upward mobility (Van Vucht Tijssen 2000).<sup>113</sup> To formulate concrete recommendations and measures, the VSNU in the autumn of 1997 set up a taskforce chaired by Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, vice-president of the Utrecht University board (*Verslag van de conferentie 'Vrouwen in de wetenschap'* 1999).

To support the implementation of the WEV, the Ministry of Education commissioned Wil Portegijs of the Leiden University Women's Studies department to study the difficulties in women's upward mobility to higher academic positions. In October 1998, her study resulted in the book *Eerdaags Evenredig?* (Portegijs 1998).<sup>114</sup> This book provides insight into the (factors that affect) career differences between men and women, as well as in the effectiveness of policy measures. It was sent to all universities (Pruim 1999).

### ***Knowledge production after Wennerås and Wold***

In the second half of the 1990s the attention to women's underrepresentation in science was especially heightened by international research and policy initiatives, both in research and policymaking circles. The foremost of these are the famous 'Nepotism and sexism in peer-review' article by Christine Wennerås and Agnes Wold (1997), and the conferences, action plans, and studies instigated by the European Commission.

In May 1997, Wennerås and Wold published an article in *Nature* in which they provided evidence of a gender bias in the peer-review system of the Swedish Medical Research Council. They demonstrated that women receive lower scores than men because of sexism: women had to be 2.5 times more productive than men to receive the same score on scientific competence. Questioning the credibility of the academic system, this article put the topic of women in science high on the agenda of scientific organisations worldwide (Bosch 1999a). In reaction to Wennerås and Wold's article, a number of studies were undertaken in the Netherlands.

Startled by the article, the two main Dutch funding agencies NWO and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) did a self-evaluation of men's and women's success scores in their subsidy programmes (Noordenbos 1999). This revealed that the success rates of men and women were about the same, but that fewer women applied. NWO found this result considerably more reassuring than the Swedish results, because the

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Since 2005, the activities are housed at the Maastricht University's Knowledge centre ([www.genderdiversiteit.nl/en/cgd/services.php](http://www.genderdiversiteit.nl/en/cgd/services.php) accessed 9 February 2010).

<sup>113</sup> LOEKWO took the initiative to develop a method for calculating target figures for the WEV that was recommended to the universities, so that different universities could be compared. It has been argued that the LOEKWO and VSNU initiatives were important for the actual production of documents with target figures but that the Wennerås and Wold article in point of fact acted as more of a stimulus for fulfilling the WEV (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999).

<sup>114</sup> The book *Eerdaags Evenredig?* consists of two parts. Part I concerns differences in careers between men and women and influencing factors; Part II concerns (the effectiveness of) policy measures. The results of Part I of the study were disseminated in limited circle as an interim report.

problem seemed not so much to lie in the research organisation but in the trajectory preceding the applications (Brouns 1999). These conclusions notwithstanding, Women's Studies researchers (Bosch 1998; Brouns 1999; Noordenbos 1999) did stress that equal success rates provided no unequivocal reason to conclude that there is no gender bias in evaluation systems. Proving that would require insight into the selection and evaluation processes (Brouns 1999).

An independent study into the uneven shares of women and men applicants for research subsidies at NWO and KNAW was done by Greta Noordenbos (1999). Her study, published in the Dutch *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* and republished in a collection of articles about gender and emancipation policy (Benschop and Dröes 2002), confirmed that the big obstacles for women lie in the trajectory that precedes the application phase, but she underlines that the criteria used by the research organisations themselves are partly responsible for the underrepresentation of women applicants. One of the criteria that Noordenbos mentions is the age limit that NWO used in its grant schemes.

NWO changed its policy on age limits after the Dutch Equal Treatment Commission in 1997 ruled that this is a form of indirect discrimination against women (CGB 1997). This was the result of a case that the Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV) made against NWO, which argued that age limits lead to discrimination because women predominantly do not fulfil these criteria due to, for instance, the later age at which women's academic careers start and their career interruptions for taking care of children. NWO abolished the age limits for NWO appointments and built in a so-called care clause in subsidy forms that lead to appointments at universities, stipulating that applicants of any gender who have taken on care tasks in the past may exceed the age limit (NWO 1998). The KNAW also decided to abolish the age limits in their grant schemes (*KNAW schaft leeftijdscriteria af* 1997).<sup>115</sup>

The Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT) commissioned Women's Studies researchers to study the causes of women's uneven representation in universities, which in November 1997 resulted in a report by Isabel Hoving et al. (Bosch 1999a). On the AWT's request, the AWT and the Dutch Women's Studies Association (NGV) also published an English summary of the report (Hoving et al. 1998). The report argued that more diversity can bring about higher scientific quality, qualifying the underrepresentation of women and people with another cultural background as underutilising talent and missing chances in science. Bosch (1999a) notes that the commissioning of the study followed an article by Lidwien Mol and Wendy Reijmerink, respectively employed by the AWT and the Ministry of Health but writing this article in a personal capacity, in the national newspaper *Trouw* on 15 July 1997, which wondered whether the findings of Wennerås and Wold would apply in the Netherlands. Stating that publicly funded research ought to be of high quality and should be allocated on the basis of objective criteria, they petitioned to have the Dutch research agencies examined for a possible gender bias.<sup>116</sup>

At the end of 1997, the Ministry of Education commissioned the NGV to perform a research project similar to that of Wennerås and Wold to find out whether similar processes are at work in the peer-review systems of KNAW and NWO. This research was commissioned on the initiative of Ilja Mottier from the Ministry of Education and in consultation with Eldrid Bringmann from NWO (Interviews Brouns and Bringmann, cf. Bosch 1998). In June 1999, Margo Brouns, NGV chair Willy Jansen, and NGV advisor

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<sup>115</sup> The Equal Treatment Commission also evaluated a case about age discrimination in the appointment of postdocs at the KNAW, filed by a professor from the University of Groningen, and ruled that KNAW's age limits lead to unlawful indirect discrimination on the ground of sex (opinion number 1997-107: CGB 1997).

<sup>116</sup> Media attention to the Wennerås and Wold article is also manifest in the VPRO television documentary 'Verlies van talent' (A waste of talent), made by Marian Tjaden and broadcast in February 1998, in which Wennerås and Wold and representatives of Dutch research organisations were interviewed (Bosch 1998).

Mineke Bosch discussed the research report (Brouns 1999) with the Minister of Education (Visser 2003). The study showed that very few women apply for the research grants and that the percentage of female PhDs would suggest more female NWO Talent and KNAW fellowship applicants than actually apply.<sup>117</sup> This partly confirmed the findings of Wennerås and Wold. Gender indeed plays a role in the evaluation systems, but there are big differences between disciplines: where women in most natural sciences get bonus points for their gender, women working in biology face implicit discrimination. The latter could also play a role in the humanities. Contrary to the findings of Wennerås and Wold, women in medicine do quite well.

To increase women's chances in science, the Minister of Education in 1999 asked the AWT for its advice on possible measures. To gather knowledge, the AWT – on the initiative of employee Lidwien Mol (*Verslag van de conferentie 'Vrouwen in de wetenschap'* 1999) – then commissioned LOEKWO to study the reasons for women's underrepresentation in science. In discussing this assignment, the AWT stressed that the study should also gather evidence about the advantages more participation by women would present to science, because fairness arguments alone were not thought to provide enough authority to trigger change (Bosch 2001a), a need which was equally felt by LOEKWO (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999). This resulted in the so-called background study *In het hart van de wetenschap*, written by Mineke Bosch, Isabel Hoving and Gloria Wekker (1999). Bosch (Interview) stresses that 'transforming' the feminist perspective of seeing the underrepresentation of women as unfair towards women into a perspective that highlights the advantages of diversity to the academy was crucial in reaching research policymakers.

The AWT also organised a 'Women in science' conference on 12 October 1999, where the Minister of Education, Loek Hermans announced the Aspasia programme. The conference urged science organisations to take action and provided them with policy suggestions to increase women's participation in the academy. It was organised on the initiative of the AWT, together with KNAW, NWO, and VSNU, partly to present the results of the aforementioned AWT background study (*De Start* 2002). LOEKWO, LNVH, and NGV assisted in the preparation of the conference, with contacts already taking place in 1998 (NGV 1999). The conference provided a forum for the dissemination of research results from the AWT background study, which were presented there by Bosch, and also of the Portegijs (1998) and Brouns (1999) studies, which were discussed in workshops.

Drawing on the AWT background study and the discussions at the 'Women in Science' conference, the AWT presented its advice *Halfslachtige wetenschap* (AWT 2000) to the Minister in January 2000. One of the AWT recommendations was to enlarge the Aspasia programme, which the Minister took up immediately (Bosch 2002). With this additional funding from the Ministry of Education, NWO could fund 30 proposals in the first round and 40 in the second (instead of 15 and 15).

The Minister also commissioned a research project instigated by a motion of parliament member Van der Hoeven and associates (Tweede Kamer 1999). This motion pointed to the expected shortage of personnel due to retirement of older staff and the universities' difficulties in keeping young and talented researchers on board, also taking into consideration women's underrepresentation in the academy. The Minister thus set up a commission chaired by Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, who in cooperation with the universities, VSNU, NWO, KNAW, TNO (Netherlands Organisation for Applied Research), and AWT, identified bottlenecks and points of action for science personnel policies. Representatives from LOEKWO, NGV, and the Leiden University Women's Studies department were among

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<sup>117</sup> The Talent stipends are for promising recent PhDs. The KNAW fellowships are for excellent young researchers.

those who provided input for the concept action plan (Van Vucht Tijssen 2000). In June 2000, Van Vucht Tijssen presented the report *Talent voor de toekomst, toekomst voor talent* (Van Vucht Tijssen 2000) to the Minister. One of the identified bottlenecks was the entry and upward mobility of women researchers. Arguing that women's underrepresentation will persist if no action is taken, the report advocates that science organisations gear their policies towards increasing the number of women senior lecturers and professors.

After the start of the Aspasia programme, more studies on women in science were carried out and new research results became available. Before I address those in more detail, I will first highlight the international character of knowledge production.

### ***The European context***

The European Commission put gender equality in science particularly high on its agenda. This is partly connected to the Lisbon goal of making the EU the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world (European Council 2000; cf. Chapter 1). The promotion of women in science is one of the strategies to counteract the knowledge gap in Europe (Cresson 1999), which is evident in one of the Lisbon goals: to realise a representation of 25% women professors in 2010. The Netherlands did not adopt this goal (Portegijs, Hermans, and Lalta 2006) as the Minister of Education set the Dutch goal at 15% women professors in 2010 (OCW 2005a).

The EC's approach to achieving gender equality is to take measures to both increase women's participation in research and to integrate a gender dimension in the research content.<sup>118</sup> Partly owing to the (Dutch-dominated) activities of WISE, which actively approached national and European bodies to incorporate gender and ethnic diversity in science policies, European science policies increasingly paid attention to research for, by, and about women (Mottier 2002; Van der Sanden 2003b). WISE for instance carried out a gender impact assessment on the Fifth Framework Programme (hoogland 1999).

In April 1998, partly because of the Wennerås and Wold article (Bosch 1999a), the European Commission organised a large 'Women and science' conference,<sup>119</sup> which sparked a number of 'women and science' activities at the European level. A second EC 'Women and science' conference was organised in April 2000.<sup>120</sup> The EC in 1998 set up the ETAN expert working group on women and science. Among the members of the ETAN group were Mineke Bosch, Agnes Wold, Christine Wennerås, and Jytte Hilden. The group produced a report (EC 2000) on gender aspects in research policy.<sup>121</sup> Bosch (Interview) notes that being an expert in the ETAN group was an enriching experience:

The ETAN group brought together Gender Studies scholars concerned with transforming and gendering research, women scientists concerned with realising a fair share of women in science, and policy officers open to both issues. They all cooperated to promote science for, by, and about women, which was in line with the European policy at that time. In the Netherlands, these issues had been separated from each other until then, though I had always tried to bring them together.

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<sup>118</sup> This double approach is symbolised in the formula 'Gender Equality = Gender Dimension + Women's Participation', or shorter: GE = GD + WP (*Vademecum* 2003).

<sup>119</sup> EC conference 'Women and science', organised by DG Research, Brussels, 28-29 April 1998.

<sup>120</sup> EC conference 'Women and science: Making change happen', organised by DG Research, Brussels, 3-4 April 2000.

<sup>121</sup> The ETAN-report was officially presented to Commissioner Busquin on 23 November 1999 ([cordis.europa.eu/etan/src/topic-4.htm](http://cordis.europa.eu/etan/src/topic-4.htm) accessed 18 February 2008).

In February 1999, the EC adopted a Women and Science Action Plan to promote women in science and to integrate the gender dimension in research content. This has become an important part of European research policies. The 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme, for example, requires that research proposals include a 'Gender Action Plan' that details how gender issues related to the research subject are considered. In November 1999, the EC set up a group of national representatives responsible for women and science, the so-called Helsinki group. The Dutch member of the Helsinki group was Ilja Mottier from the Ministry of Education. The Helsinki group produced national reports on the situation of women scientists, which were published in March 2002 (Rees 2002).

The EC conferences and reports provided opportunities to disseminate research results from Dutch studies. For instance, the AWT/NGV brochure by Hoving et al. (1998) was officially presented at the 1998 EC conference by WISE lobby coordinators Margit van der Steen and renée hoogland, at the invitation of the European Commission (NGV 1999).<sup>122</sup> Brouns' study into Dutch peer-reviews comes up in the ETAN-report and was discussed at the 2000 EC conference. Dutch speakers at the conference were Mineke Bosch, Margo Brouns, Rosi Braidotti (Women's Studies, Utrecht University), and Mieke Verloo (Women's Studies, University of Nijmegen), and their presentations were included in the conference proceedings (Colosimo, Degen, and Dewandre 2001). According to Brouns (Interview), Nicole Dewandre, who was Head of the Women and Science Unit in DG Research from 1999 until 2004, was important both in promoting gender equality in European research and in exchanging knowledge between the Netherlands and Europe.

Knowledge also travelled in the opposite direction: insights from European research found its way into Dutch research on women in science. Especially the concept of the 'leaky pipeline', introduced in the ETAN-report (EC 2000), is frequently referenced. Visualised by a scissors-shaped diagram<sup>123</sup>, the leaky pipeline makes it clear that women are lost to the academy at every step of the academic ladder, resulting in an unbalanced representation of men and women in the higher ranks.<sup>124</sup> The AWT (2000) and Bosch and Potting (2001) reports include a table taken from the ETAN-report that shows that the percentage of women in academic positions in the Netherlands is low compared to that of other countries.

From across the Atlantic Ocean, the theory of accumulated disadvantages has been influential in the Netherlands, and is especially brought up in relation to an MIT study (MIT 1999). In this 'American bastion of value-free science' (Bosch 2001b), women in MIT's School of Science felt excluded from positions of real power in their departments: they had less resources, less lab space, and a lower salary than their male colleagues. The study revealed that because of an accumulation of small disadvantages over several years women faced significant discrimination. Saliiently, the president of MIT and the dean admitted to this unintentional but real discrimination.

This example confirms the theory of Virginia Valian (1998), developed in her book *Why so slow?*, which argues that implicit assumptions about gender, so-called gender schemas, result in different evaluations of men and women as professionals, overrating men and underrating women. In the long term, small differences in evaluation and treatment result in an accumulation of disadvantages for women. Explanations for women's

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<sup>122</sup> The brochure was distributed to the conference participants. The conference proceedings include a summary of the recommendations of the study (Colosimo and Dewandre 1999; Van der Steen and hoogland 1999).

<sup>123</sup> The concerned diagram is Figure 2.4 'Women and men in academia in six Member States (1997)', which can be found in the ETAN-report (EC 2000, p. 13).

<sup>124</sup> Several Dutch studies make reference to the leaky pipeline, e.g. AWT 2000, Bosch and Potting 2001, Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003, and Van den Brink and Brouns 2006. Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) includes the scissors shaped diagram.

underrepresentation that refer to these accumulated disadvantages also show up in Dutch reports about women in science (e.g. AWT 2000; Van Vucht Tijssen 2000; Bosch and Potting 2001; Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003).

International attention to women in science not only resulted in insightful explanations for women's underrepresentation, but also made clear that the Netherlands is at the bottom of the ladder in comparison to other countries when it comes to the position of women in science (Colosimo and Dewandre 1999; EC 2000). For instance, at the 1998 EC Conference, keynote speaker Mary Osborn explicitly dealt with the underdeveloped situation in the Netherlands (Bosch 1999a). The ETAN-report (EC 2000) also illustrated the Netherlands' lowest rank. At the 2000 EC Conference, the low representation of women in Dutch academia, contrasting with the historically presented image of the Netherlands as a tolerant and progressive country, even prompted the idea of a 'Dutch case' representing the worst case (Bosch 2002; cf. Chapter 1). The low international score of the Netherlands was already demonstrated in the 1994 *World Yearbook of Education* (Stiver Lie, Malik, and Harris 1994). With only 2.3% women professors the Netherlands, in comparison with seventeen Asian, African, and European countries, only scored better than Botswana.

In the Netherlands, the country's laggard position regarding women in science was pointed out in several documents related to the Aspasia programme. Amongst these are the Minister of Education's request for AWT's advice on measures to increase women's chances in academia (in AWT 1998), research reports (e.g. Hoving et al. 1998; Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999) and NWO policy documents (e.g. NWO 1999a, 2003).

European funds also enabled research on women in science in the Netherlands. The European Science Foundation, for instance, funded the EQUAL project 'Bridging the Gender Gap at Universities' (2002-2004), which was coordinated by the Centre of Gender and Diversity (Maastricht University) and set up in cooperation with the NGV and LOEKWO. A second ESF-EQUAL project 'Participation of Women as a Priority of Science' ran from 2005-2007, and was coordinated by the same centre, with the Ministry of Education, NWO, VSNU, and the LNVH among their project partners. A highpoint of this project was the two-day WISER (Women in Science Education Research) festival in October 2007, where knowledge was exchanged and debates took place about how to make science inclusive.<sup>125</sup> The conference was opened by Ronald Plasterk, Minister of Education,<sup>126</sup> and was attended by over 400 decision- and policymakers, Human Resources professionals, and (female) scientists (Lieben and Meijer 2008). As a result of the project, a web-based knowledge centre on women and science was launched on 7 March 2008.<sup>127</sup>

### *Aspasia*

The first Aspasia round took place in 2000. By the deadline for proposals (1 February 2000), NWO had received 131 proposals, of which they funded 30. Because the interest in the programme and the quality of the proposals were both so high, NWO urged the universities to fund extra proposals that met the criteria. 68 women in total received funding for their research projects and were promoted to senior lecturer (Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003). Because they were interested in the results of the programme and wanted to make recommendations for Aspasia's second round, LOEKWO evaluated the implementation of the first round (Bosch and Potting 2001). The report was presented to the Minister of Education in April 2001 (*De Start* 2002).

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<sup>125</sup> WISER (Women in Science Research and Education) festival, organised by the EQUAL project 'Participation of Women as a Priority of Science', Maastricht, 4-5 October 2007.

<sup>126</sup> Ronald Plasterk succeeded Maria van der Hoeven as Minister of Education on 22 February 2007.

<sup>127</sup> [www.vrouwenwetenschap.nl](http://www.vrouwenwetenschap.nl) (accessed 15 January 2010).

In the second round, held in 2002, NWO received 139 research proposals. They funded 40 proposals, with the universities funding another 38 research proposals out of their own pockets, bringing the total number of (round 1 and 2) Aspasia laureates to 146. After the second round, Aspasia was evaluated by the NGV at the request of LOEKWO. In the evaluation report (Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003), one of the key conclusions is that Aspasia is worthy of being continued provided that at the same time efforts are made to improve 'business as usual' to also increase women's chances for upward mobility outside of special programmes such as Aspasia.

The results of this evaluation were presented at an NWO meeting about Aspasia in September 2003.<sup>128</sup> At this meeting, the Aspasia programme, possible alternatives, and accompanying measures were discussed by Aspasia laureates, representatives of universities, the Ministry of Education, NWO, and LNVH, as well as experts on women in science such as Margo Brouns and Mineke Bosch. The discussion generally reflected the findings of the LOEKWO evaluation. Apart from concluding that it would be good to continue Aspasia, it was also suggested to additionally award or promote women in the IRIS programme (further described below) and to improve the procedures for professorial appointments, also discussing the question whether it would be time for an incentive programme for women professors (*NWO-bijeenkomst 'Aspasia.. en hoe nu verder?'* 2003).

After the evaluation of Aspasia and the related NWO meeting about the future of the programme, NWO in 2004 decided to continue Aspasia differently, that is, in connection to the Innovational Research Incentives Scheme (IRIS). In the 'new' Aspasia programme, NWO allocates Aspasia premiums of €100.000 to those university boards that ensure that women Vidi and Vici laureates (experienced researchers or researchers of professorial quality) are promoted to senior lecturer or professor within a year after their subsidy is awarded (NWO 2006a). Yearly, around 20 Aspasia premiums are available. NWO nominates the laureates to the university boards for promotion. The boards may choose to allocate the incentive money to the laureates or to use it for other activities that aim to improve the position of women in science. In 2005, the first year of Aspasia new style, many promotion proposals were initiated for women Vidi and Vici laureates, resulting in the 2006 promotion of fifteen Vidi and two Vici laureates (NWO 2007b).

### ***IRIS***

The IRIS was originally set up by KNAW, NWO, and VSNU, supported by the Minister of Education, to impel innovative research. It to some extent was set up in response to the Van Vucht Tijssen report (2000), which pointed out difficulties in keeping young talent on board and signalled problems concerning the entry and upward mobility of women researchers. Hence, an important sub-goal of the IRIS is to improve the position of women in science (Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003).

NWO commissioned Technopolis and Dialogic to evaluate the IRIS, and their joint evaluations paid attention to the position of women in the IRIS. In the 2002 evaluation of IRIS (Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003), it was concluded that the success rates of women and men are about the same, but that women are underrepresented among the applicants. NWO had already committed itself to guaranteeing that women's average success rate, taken over the period of IRIS, would be at least as high as that of men, and the universities had concurrently agreed to make efforts to ensure that the percentage of female applicants would be at least the same as the percentage of women in the target group. This was based on the observation that women researchers face bigger career obstacles than men,

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<sup>128</sup> NWO-bijeenkomst 'Aspasia.. en hoe nu verder?', Utrecht, 18 September 2003.

resulting partly from the impact of male-dominated scientific norms and values on selection procedures (Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003).

The evaluation of the IRIS over the years 2002-2006 (Bongers et al. 2007) showed similar results. In the covered period, women were underrepresented among the applicants and, although the success rates of women were similar to those of men, there were differences between the disciplines. Although NWO had requested the universities to stimulate women to send in an IRIS proposal (NWO 2003), the evaluators also found that most universities had not made specific efforts to stimulate women to send in a research proposal.

As part of the ESF-EQUAL project 'Participation of Women as a Priority of Science' (2005-2007), NWO commissioned a study (Visser and Heessels 2007) about possible gender differences in the assessment of Vidi and Vici proposals. The study analysed whether researchers who have less research experience due to care leave – and who consequently published less – have a fair chance of receiving a grant, also addressing the question whether this has different consequences for men and women.<sup>129</sup>

Against the background of the low number of women professors, more specifically the prospect that the goal of 15% women professors might not be realised, the Minister of Education commissioned a study into the appointment procedures of professors at Dutch universities (OCW 2005a).<sup>130</sup> The results of this research (Van den Brink and Brouns 2006) were presented to the Minister in 2006. The authors found that implicit gender mechanisms in evaluating male and female candidates can negatively influence women's chances to be appointed as professor. Perceptions about women's ambitions in combination with part-time work result in evaluating women as less suitable candidates. Another finding was that the participation of women in selection committees, especially when two or more women take part in the commission, improves women's chances to be appointed.

Building on this research, Marieke van den Brink (2009) wrote her PhD dissertation about the gender practices in the appointment of professors in the Netherlands, unmasking the myths about the absence of enough positions and female potential. She also shows that a lack of transparency and accountability in the appointment system, the closed or limited recruitment of candidates, and the genderedness of the concept of scientific excellence all hinder women's chances to be appointed as professor.

Lastly, I want to mention the evaluation of *Aspasia* new style that took place in spring 2008 at the request of the Minister of Education. The evaluation shows that through the promotion of IRIS candidates the *Aspasia* premiums contributed to the upward mobility of women academics. Yet, the premiums did not stimulate (more) women to send in research proposals (*Aspasia 'new style': Evaluation* 2008). NWO therefore decided to enhance its publicity about the programme and also stipulated that as of 2009 university boards should allocate at least half of each awarded premium to policies that increase the upward mobility of women academics. The Ministry of Education doubled its financial contribution for 2009, with which forty *Aspasia* premiums can be awarded.

## Recapitulation

Looking at the production and dissemination of knowledge about women in science from a knowledge transfer point of view, several observations can be made. First, it is clear that the majority of research is produced at the request of institutions, specifically the Ministry of

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<sup>129</sup> The study results are unpublished.

<sup>130</sup> The rear position of the Netherlands was unchanged in 2005 (Portegijs, Hermans, and Lalta 2006). At the end of 2008, the Netherlands is still far below the European average with 11.7% women professors, excluding the 12.9% of women professors at university medical centres; in current pace, the Dutch goal of 15% women would be achieved in 2014, and the Lisbon goal in 2030 (Stichting de Beauvoir 2009).

Education, the AWT, NWO, and LOEKWO. By commissioning research, institutions thus bring about knowledge production about women in science. Some requests are also related to each other. For instance, the Ministry asks the AWT for its advice on measures to increase women's participation in science. In its turn, the AWT commissioned LOEKWO to do a background study on the reasons behind women's underrepresentation, which formed one of the bases for the AWT's advice to the Minister.

Second, although government officials and research policymakers turn to researchers for more insight into reasons behind and solutions for women's underrepresentation in science, they do not 'wait' for the outcomes of studies to take action. Knowledge production and policymaking instead occur at the same time, motivated by the problem of women's underrepresentation. This shows that knowledge transfer is not a mechanical process in which research produces knowledge, which in turn is used for policymaking. In Mode 2 terms, science and policymaking co-evolve. We can also see that the Aspasia programme itself leads to new knowledge. A new situation, brought into being through this new incentive programme, leads to evaluative studies of the programme that generate new knowledge and insights. Thus, the relations between science and policymaking are reciprocal.

Thirdly, knowledge production about women in science is also contextualised in the sense that it acts on broader societal and political concerns with women's underrepresentation and possible sexism in the academy. This is visible in the different societal actors involved in identifying research topics and objectives. For instance, for the background study by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), the researchers and their commissioner (AWT) discussed the aims of the research together. The political concern is evident in the installation of the WEV and the parliamentary motion about inadequate science personnel policies to the Minister. The study that resulted from the motion (Van Vucht Tijssen 2000) took into account the 'context of application' through extensively discussing the problems and solutions with 'the field', i.e. VSNU, NWO, and KNAW. Another aspect of contextualised knowledge production, its problem focus, is visible in the interdisciplinary approaches of several knowledge products. Hoving et al. (1998) and Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) particularly deal with the complex problem of women's underrepresentation from various disciplinary perspectives, including research on the organisation of universities, diversity management, multicultural women's studies, science and technology policy, emancipation policy, and the epistemology, philosophy, sociology, and history of science.

Fourth, knowledge about women in science has been disseminated in various ways. Apart from publishing results in the form of reports and scientific articles, knowledge was disseminated to the policymakers and other actors concerned at national and international conferences and meetings. These meetings provided a forum for knowledge exchange between academics, experts, policymakers, and university leaders. Additionally, several advisory and evaluative reports were discussed in person with the commissioner of the research, for example the Minister of Education.

Lastly, I want to point to the role that people play in producing and transferring knowledge. This role is evident in the cooperation of different actors in the writing of reports and in knowledge exchanges between actors at conferences and meetings. In section 5.1.4, I will deal with this embodied knowledge in a more comprehensive way.

### **5.1.2 What knowledge is available?**

It has become clear that a lot of knowledge has been produced on the topic of women in science. In this section, I will provide an overview of the available insights and knowledge claims that have been put forward, based on a selection of the studies that are carried out.

Following the Wennerås and Wold (1997) article that provided evidence of a gender bias in the peer-review system of the Swedish Medical Research Council, several studies were undertaken in the Netherlands. In chronological order, the first one was the study by Hoving et al. (1998) (*Women in science and humanities: The difference that makes the difference*) that highlighted that the academic culture and its reorganisations and financial cutbacks are disadvantageous to women. A main point is that university culture associates quality with men, partly due to the dominance of the natural sciences, but that policy measures largely ignore this symbolic level and are therefore ineffective. The study also points to the excluding effects of the peer review system on unconventional and innovative research.

The next study was done by Portegijs (1998) (*Eerdaags evenredig? Belemmeringen en beleid ten aanzien van de doorstroom van vrouwen naar hogere wetenschappelijke functies* [Proportional positions soon?]). She found that women's underrepresentation is caused by women academics' small vertical mobility, which is due to their discomfort with the work culture (they leave the university) and their marginal positions (they are promoted less often). She also showed that time will not turn the tide, that women do not leave the university to take care of children, and that only incentive funding for women (senior) lecturers has positive effects on women's upward mobility.

Brouns in 1999 studied the evaluation procedures and decision-making processes in the awarding of NWO Talent and PIONIER grants and KNAW fellowships. Her study (*De kwaliteit van het oordeel: Een onderzoek naar sekse en beoordelingsystemen van NWO en KNAW* [The quality of the judgment]) showed that the percentage of female applicants is very low, and that an uneven disciplinary distribution of stipends, pre-selection by universities, and age limits can have negative effects on the number of women applicants and grantees. Women and men have comparable success rates but there are big differences between disciplines, indicating that decision-making about female applicants may differ from male applicants. Very few women are involved in the actual evaluation of applications and there seems to be little knowledge about a possible gender bias in criteria and procedures.

The study by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) (*In het hart van de wetenschap: Naar total e-quality en diversiteit in de universiteit* [In the heart of science]) illustrates that the underrepresentation of women and (ethnic) minorities affects the quality of science. In explaining underrepresentation, it points to factors related to emancipation policies (no broad commitment to emancipation, and emancipation policy predominantly being a HR problem that is not linked to the quality of research and education), the one-dimensional definition of quality that is used by academic management, and the negative effect that representations of masculinity and femininity have on women's position in science.

Noordenbos (1999) in her study (*Genderasymmetrie in de aanvraag van onderzoekssubsidies* [Gender asymmetry]) explained the uneven share of women and men applying for NWO and KNAW grants by pointing to obstacles for women preceding the application phase: several subsidies can only be applied for by senior lecturers and professors; until recently, age limits were used in grant schemes; most funding is set aside for the natural sciences; and the criteria of NWO and KNAW are implicitly based on a (male) scientist with full-time availability and few care responsibilities. Noordenbos also pointed to the low numbers of women in evaluation committees.

The AWT (2000) in its report (*Halfslachtige wetenschap. Onderbenutting van vrouwelijk potentieel als existentieel probleem voor academia* [Half-hearted science]) explains women's underrepresentation by pointing to 'leaks in the pipeline' (the rise of women in higher positions lags behind with respect to what one would expect to see) and highlights that in evaluating academic output no adjustment is made for whether academics work full- or part-time. Women have more difficulty with the individualistic and competitive work culture and with the prevailing one-dimensional view on academic quality. The

accumulation of subtle exclusion mechanisms and unfair treatment practices has negative consequences for the position of female academics.

In the report *Talent voor de toekomst, toekomst voor talent: Plan van aanpak voor het wetenschapspersoneelsbeleid* [Talent for the future, a future for talent], Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) presents the underrepresentation of women in the academy as one of the bottlenecks in science personnel policy. She shows that their underrepresentation in higher academic ranks will persist if no action is undertaken and notes that the Aspasia programme has a booster function for the research order as a whole but it cannot solve the problems of women's entry and upward mobility.

Bosch and Potting (2001) evaluated the first round of Aspasia. In their report *'Vrouwen moeten door dat plafond heen': Evaluatie van het Aspasia-programma, eerste ronde: ervaringen, resultaten, effecten* [Evaluation of Aspasia round 1], they conclude that the efforts to promote lecturers to senior lecturers are adequate, given that the 'glass ceiling' for female academics is at the level of senior lecturer. Aspasia offers some compensation for the accumulative effect of small disadvantages to women. The evaluators note that NWO reserved only a little amount of money for Aspasia in comparison to the funds available for IRIS, and point to possible gender effects in the evaluation of women's IRIS applications.

The 2002 rounds of IRIS were evaluated by Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot (2003). Their report, *Evaluatie Vernieuwingsimpuls 2002: Eindrapport* [Evaluation of IRIS 2002], shows that male IRIS laureates more often estimate that their chances of becoming professor have increased than their female counterparts. The peer review committees were instructed to evaluate academic output according to effective research time. Some women laureates commented on the high degree of 'grey-haired men' in the selection committees; others were pleased that some women participated in them at all. Universities in general did not put in extra effort to stimulate women to send in a research proposal, and it seems that women have to put in more effort to convince universities of their candidacy. Women and men's success rates are about the same, but there is a low share of female applicants.

Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik (2003) evaluated the Aspasia programme in the report *Succes en dilemma's van een stimuleringsmaatregel: Evaluatie van het Aspasia programma* [Evaluation of the Aspasia programme]. Calling Aspasia a great success, they at the same time point to some concerns. The additional selection criteria that many faculties set resulted in uneven chances for potential candidates. Women do not sufficiently succeed in acquiring research subsidies via the regular ways; their regular chances for moving upward have hardly changed. It is possible that Aspasia laureates encounter resistance because they have become senior lecturers via this programme.

The appointment procedures of professors at Dutch universities were studied by Van den Brink and Brouns (2006) (*Gender en excellence. Een landelijk onderzoek naar benoemingsprocedures van hoogleraren* [Gender and excellence]). They found unconscious mechanisms at work in selection and evaluation procedures that can negatively influence women's chances to be appointed professor. Perceptions about women's ambitions and part-time work result in evaluating women as less suitable candidates. Another finding is that the participation of women in selection committees improves women's chances to be appointed, especially with two or more women on the committee.

Bongers et al. (2007) evaluated IRIS over the years 2002-2006. In their report, *Evaluatie Vernieuwingsimpuls 2002-2006* [Evaluation of IRIS 2002-2006], they indicate that most universities did not make any specific efforts to stimulate women to send in a research proposal. Although the share of women applicants increased during 2002-2006, it is doubtful that universities achieved their commitment to ensuring that the percentage of female applicants was at least the same as that of women in the target group. Women's success rates are lower in the higher echelons of the programme, and there are disciplinary differences, but

NWO achieved its commitment concerning the success percentages of female researchers.

In Appendix III, the above-mentioned studies are summarised separately in more detail. Taken together, these key knowledge products provide a number of explanations for women’s underrepresentation in science, and address various factors that impact women’s academic positions. First, they make clear that the actual increase of women in higher positions lags behind the expected increase; instead of women being in ‘the pipeline’ (meaning, it is only a matter of time before they reach the top), there is a ‘leaky pipeline’, the women academics on their way to the top somehow get sidetracked instead of fast-tracked, a situation that time will not redress. Second, it is clear that women’s upward mobility in Dutch academia is halted at a glass ceiling at the senior lecturer level. An important aspect of this finding is that this is not due to any shortage of competent and ambitious women. Third, women’s underrepresentation is caused by multiple factors, related to the structure (for instance selection procedures) as well as the culture (gender stereotypes) of academia; gender thus operates at both the institutional and the symbolic level.

Researchers in the field of women in science thus portray women’s underrepresentation as a complex problem: it is not just about (a lack of diversity in) the composition of personnel, but also about scientific norms and values. Following this complex problem definition, researchers made recommendations for tackling women’s underrepresentation that address different aspects of the problem. Box 5.1 provides a schematic overview of the main explanations and recommendations.

*Box 5.1: Explanations and recommendations for women’s underrepresentation*

<b>Small upward mobility</b>	
<p><i>Explanations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fewer women are promoted than men               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Women produce a lower output (due to part-time work), work part-time, and have higher exit rates.</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Higher exit rates:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Discomfort with work culture: women value part-time work and close cooperation with colleagues and supervisors.</li> <li>o Women are in less secure positions: part-time work, temporary contracts. They deviate from the norm, but are held to the same productivity standards as full-timers.</li> </ul> </li> <li>- University reorganisations and financial cutbacks</li> <li>- Emancipation and HR policies at universities are hardly helpful. Only incentive funds have positive effects on women’s upward mobility.</li> <li>- The accumulation of subtle exclusion mechanisms, unfair treatment practices, and a gender-bias has negative consequences for the position of female academics.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Recommendations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase women’s vertical mobility:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Weigh output against the number of working hours.</li> <li>o HR measures that focus on women (positive action, incentive funding, incentive chairs)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Counter women’s exit rates by diminishing women’s discomfort (making the academy attractive)</li> <li>- Increase general chances for mobility:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Increase exit rates from higher positions (to positions outside the academy)</li> <li>o Increase the number of higher positions (flexible chairs, personal senior lectureships/professorships)</li> <li>o A career system instead of the system of fixed formation<sup>131</sup></li> </ul> </li> <li>- Gender-aware career policies to increase women’s representation in high positions, with adequate financial support.</li> </ul>

<sup>131</sup> In the career system, academics are promoted on the basis of their academic merits (‘loopbaanbeginsel’), whereas in the so-called fixed formation system, qualified academics are promoted only when positions are available (‘formatiebeginsel’).

<p><b>Gender effects in selection and evaluation</b></p> <p><i>Explanations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Few women applicants for research funding <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o criteria based on full-time academics</li> <li>o self-selection</li> <li>o pre-selection</li> <li>o disciplinary distribution of grants favours natural sciences</li> </ul> </li>   <li>- Selection and evaluation procedures ('Science is not meritocratic') <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Gender bias in evaluation (women are less likely to be evaluated as excellent because of stereotypical ideas about their talent and ambitions)</li> <li>o No gender awareness</li> <li>o No gender policies</li> <li>o Few women in committees/peer-reviews</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><i>Recommendations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Evaluate output according to effective research time</li> <li>- Refrain from using age limits</li> <li>- Encourage women to send in proposals</li> <li>- Improve the conditions under which research proposals are written</li> <li>- Reduce natural sciences bias in research priorities and in research funding</li>   <li>- Install special funding/quota measures for women senior lecturers and professors</li> <li>- Target figures for participation of women in general research funding</li>   <li>- Prevent an accumulation of selection procedures and criteria</li> <li>- Use open/objective selection procedures and transparent criteria</li>   <li>- Increase gender awareness to reduce the impact of sex stereotypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o train selectors in gender awareness</li> <li>o use of professional selectors</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Re-evaluate applications of women who score just below the threshold</li> <li>- Use emancipation expertise (emancipation officers, national expert centre)</li>   <li>- Ensure a gender balance in committees and peer reviews</li> </ul>
<p><b>Gendered academic culture</b></p> <p><i>Explanations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Representations of masculinity and femininity negatively affect women's position in science (women do not fit the image of the scientist because of part-time positions and disciplinary segregation)</li> <li>- One-dimensional view on academic quality (definitions of science and quality are informed by masculine norms)</li> <li>- Policies can only be successful when the cultural/symbolic level is addressed as well</li> </ul>	<p><i>Recommendations:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mainstream emancipation and diversity policies</li> <li>- Improve 'business as usual'</li> <li>- Use gender impact assessment with budget measures/contract compliance</li> <li>- Integrate gender and diversity studies in research and education</li> <li>- Instigate discussions about science and quality from a gender/diversity perspective</li> </ul>

Analysing the key knowledge products, I found that several studies' knowledge and insights about women in science found their way into other studies. This can be seen as an instance of knowledge transfer between knowledge products. More precisely, in the majority of knowledge products reference is made to many of the previous knowledge products, in one case even to all previous knowledge products. The only two reports in which this is not the case are the evaluation reports of IRIS. Each of them refers to only one previous report. Taking aside these exceptions, one can say that the many references connect almost all reports on women in science. It shows a continuity in the production of knowledge about women in

science and provides evidence for the growing knowledge and insights in this field. It is important to note that knowledge claims from researchers with a feminist or Women’s Studies background also ‘travel’ to more mainstream reports. For example, the AWT and Van Vucht Tijssen reports note research results from Portegijs, Brouns, and Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker. Also, the multidisciplinary explanations of Hoving et al. (1998) and Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) were taken up in later reports, such as AWT 2000, Van Vucht Tijssen 2000, Bosch and Potting 2001, and Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003. An additional observation is that, with the exception of the IRIS evaluators, the authors of the key reports all refer to the Wennerås and Wold article, indicating the relevance of this article for research carried out on women in science.<sup>132</sup> Table 5.2 gives an overview of the references that authors make to previous key knowledge products.

Table 5.2: References to previous knowledge products

	Hoving et al.	Portegijs	Brouns	Bosch, Hoving, & Wekker	Noordenbos	AWT	Van Vucht Tijssen	Bosch & Potting	Boekholt, Bongers, & De Groot	Visser, Dierdorp, & Van Emmerik	Van den Brink & Brouns	Bongers et al.
Hoving et al.			x*	x*							x	
Portegijs				x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Brouns				x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Bosch, Hoving, & Wekker						x	x	x		x	x	
Noordenbos							x	x				
AWT							x	x		x	x	
Van Vucht Tijssen								x	x		x	
Bosch & Potting										x	x	
Boekholt, Bongers, & De Groot												x
Visser, Dierdorp, & Van Emmerik											x	
Van den Brink & Brouns												
Bongers et al.												

Please read this table thus (e.g. first line): Brouns refers to the publication of Hoving et al.  
 \* Brouns as well as Bosch et al. refer to the 1997 Dutch publication of Hoving et al.

### 5.1.3 Situatedness of knowledge in terms of its partiality and locality

Research on women in science is not only done to describe women’s position in the academy or to provide explanations for their underrepresentation, but it also aims to help improve women’s academic situation. Underlying the research questions of Women’s Studies scholars is the political aim to increase women’s participation in (the higher ranks of) universities.

<sup>132</sup> Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) refers to ‘the Swedish research’, without naming the article or authors.

This aim is legitimated, on the one hand, by pointing to the unfairness of gender inequality (e.g. AWT 2000). This feminist perspective is visible in several of the key reports identified above. Bosch (1998), for instance, argues that a selection based on quality cannot show a bias towards a certain group. Sometimes, (implicit) gender discrimination is mentioned (e.g. Brouns 1999). The implied political assertion is that women ought to have equal access to research positions, grants, and other resources. Following this line of reasoning, Bosch and Potting (2001) refer to *Aspasia* as a way to compensate for the accumulative effects of the existing small disadvantages for women and advantages for men.

On the other hand, researchers point to more general benefits to science. Apart from the need to make use of all available talent, several reports claim that greater gender diversity can improve the amount of innovation and the quality of scientific research (e.g. Hoving et al. 1998; Noordenbos 1999; AWT 2000). The AWT study by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), for instance, was written with the explicit aim to show the benefits of gender diversity to science (see section 5.1.1).

Another aspect of the partiality of knowledge claims about women in science lies in their aim to transform gendered institutional practices that affect women's career chances. These knowledge claims especially address the norms and values at work in selection and evaluation procedures, and challenge the academic touchstone of meritocracy and objectivity. Several researchers (e.g. Hoving et al. 1998; Portegijs 1998; Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999) also dispute the prevailing one-dimensional definition of quality and the gendered academic culture.

Lastly, researchers studying women in science are located in different disciplines, and some reports reveal an explicit interdisciplinary approach to the problem of women's underrepresentation. The local character of knowledge is also visible in studies that examine the position of women in specific academic disciplines and in studies focussing on disciplinary differences in, for instance, women's academic careers or evaluation procedures. This implies that knowledge claims about women in science are not general or universal.

#### ***5.1.4 Interactions: intensity, sustainability, and form***

This section presents an overview of the main actions and interactions undertaken in the development of the *Aspasia* programme. I will focus my analysis on the interactions between the instigators of *Aspasia*, NWO, VSNU, and the Ministry of Education, also taking into account their dialogue with experts and interest organisations in the field of women and science, i.e. NGV, LNVH, and LOEKWO. Secondly, I will look at the intensity, sustainability, and the form of interactions that took place.

##### ***The original Aspasia programme***

One of the first steps towards the *Aspasia* programme was made in May 1998 at an expert meeting organised by VSNU's 'Women's upward mobility' ('Doorstroom vrouwen naar hogere functies') taskforce. As described, the taskforce was set up in accordance with the WEV to formulate concrete recommendations for increasing women's upward mobility. It was chaired by Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen and consisted of university leaders, among them Jozien Bensing, then dean at Utrecht University, and Yvonne van Rooy, then president of the board of the University of Brabant (Interview Van Vucht Tijssen).<sup>133</sup> Bensing was also a

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<sup>133</sup> The University of Brabant is currently called Tilburg University. It is also interesting to note that the number of women on university boards is low. In 1998, only two of the forty university board members in the

member of the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT).

At the expert meeting, ideas to concretely stimulate women's upward mobility were discussed by university board members and deans, representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Social Affairs, NWO, KNAW, and AWT, as well as researchers and emancipation officers. LOEKWO and the LNVH had a great amount of input in the expert meeting; LOEKWO's Mineke Bosch, at that time an emancipation policy staffer at Maastricht University, participated alongside then LNVH chair Bertien Colette (Interviews Bosch and Van Vucht Tijssen). Van Vucht Tijssen (Interview) explains the setup of the expert meeting:

Research had provided clear insight into the difference between the vertical career developments of male and female researchers, and a great deal of expertise and good ideas was already available, for example in the LOEKWO and in the LNVH. Above all, university leaders were increasingly aware of women's potential and increasingly ready to take action to stimulate women's upward mobility. It was thus only fitting to bring these actors together.

Van Vucht Tijssen (Interview) further recounted that Women's Studies research had generated a great deal of insight into the problem but that Women's Studies was not really fashionable in managerial circles, and that LOEKWO's position as a bottom-up initiative lacked the weight to really convince the top leaders of universities. One of the most important outcomes of the expert meeting was attaining the commitment from university leaders to take measures for the promotion of female academics.

In the process of coming up with adequate measures, NWO engaged in dialogue with external experts. An internal NWO policy document with suggestions for incentives and other measures was discussed with representatives from NGV and LNVH at the end of 1998 (Bosch 1998; Van Delft 1998). Informal contact on the topic also took place, for instance between Van Vucht Tijssen and Bertien Colette, Mineke Bosch, Greta Noordenbos, Margo Brouns, Anneke van Doorne-Huiskes, and other Women's Studies researchers (Interview Van Vucht Tijssen).

To have the universities commit to taking measures, the 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce arranged a working conference for university board members and deans in February 1999, specifically inviting university leaders who were supportive of the issue. At this working conference, NWO's chair Reinder van Duinen actually launched the idea of the Aspasia programme in which VSNU and NWO would join forces, and the VSNU and NWO agreed on the incentive programme in principle (Interview Bringmann). The idea behind Aspasia was to increase the pool of female senior lecturers to have more female talent available for professorial appointments.

Following the expert meeting, a small working group of people from VSNU and NWO worked out the parameters of what would become the Aspasia incentive programme. The group included Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen and Reinder van Duinen (Interview Bringmann). Wiljan van den Akker, chair of NWO's Division for the Humanities at the time, came up with the model in which women would be invited to submit proposals in competition and NWO would evaluate the proposals on its regular criteria (Interview Van Vucht Tijssen).

Bringmann (Interview) emphasises that people with good ideas and in key positions can make a difference, people such as Van Duinen, who used his position to do something about the position of women in science. Van Vucht Tijssen (Interview) highlighted that the

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Netherlands were women (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999, p. 37). In 2009, three of the forty-one university board members were women (Stichting de Beauvoir 2009, p. 31).

commitments to improving women's upward mobility by NWO, particularly through its chair Reinder van Duinen, the VSNU, particularly through its president Rien Meijerink, and the AWT, particularly through member Jozien Bensing, together provided the impetus for setting up Aspasia.

In May 1999, NWO's 2000-2004 policy programme announced the allocation of extra funds to increase women's upward mobility. Referring to the low number of women in higher academic posts, especially in comparison with other countries, NWO stated that together with the VSNU they would come up with appropriate incentives for female talent (NWO 1999a). The plans for the incentive programme were also supported by the then Minister of Education, Loek Hermans, who in June 1999 allocated extra money in his science budget to fund the incentives (OCW 1999).<sup>134</sup>

The thus-developed Aspasia incentive programme was launched at the 'Women in Science' conference on 12 October 1999. This conference is another high point of interaction between (representatives of) NWO, KNAW, VSNU, AWT, NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH. In the introduction to the conference, AWT chair Ben Veltman referred to the 'brain drain' that universities are facing as a result of women not climbing the academic ladder; a problem that the AWT sees as one of existential import to research organisations. He mentioned that with the need of universities to fill the many foreseen vacancies due to retirements one cannot disregard the unused female potential, additionally stating that a diverse work force in terms of gender and ethnicity can lead to innovation in research and contributes to the quality of science (*Verslag van de conferentie 'Vrouwen in de wetenschap' 1999*).

In closing the conference, NWO chair Reinder van Duinen reminded the attendees about the MIT study that showed the many accumulative instances of unnoticed (and unintended) discrimination that women academics face in their careers, creating considerable inequality between men and women. A member of the MIT research team convinced him that the accumulative effect is greater than one might think (*Verslag van de conferentie 'Vrouwen in de wetenschap' 1999*). The day after the conference, NWO sent a letter explaining the Aspasia programme to all Dutch universities (Bosch and Potting 2001).

### ***Aspasia new style***

In Aspasia new style, two sets of interaction actually come together. One is the set of interactions described above, the second set paved the way for the Innovational Research Incentive Scheme (IRIS), in which Aspasia new style is integrated.

IRIS was set up partly in response to the Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) report about the problems in science personnel policy, including the entry and upward mobility of women. As described, the report was written in close cooperation with the field (VSNU, NWO, and KNAW) and in consultation with Women's Studies experts (LOEKWO, NGV, and the Women's Studies department of Leiden University).

Aspasia new style thus connects actors generally concerned about career perspectives in science with actors specifically concerned about the positions of women in science. The integration of Aspasia in IRIS represents a coming together of insights about science

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<sup>134</sup> With this, the Minister implements the motion of Ursi Lambrechts and associates that was approved by the Lower Chamber on 19 November 1998. The motion called attention to the position of women in higher academic positions (OCW 1999). The 1.5 million Dutch guilders that the Minister allocated is characterised as 'meagre' compared to the 35 million deutschmarks that the German (federal) ministry reserved for the promotion of women in science in 1999 (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999). Brouns (in Van den Brand 2000) also commented that, considering the budget of the Ministry of Education, the amount of money allocated to NWO is very low. In the Lower Chamber, questions were also raised about this low amount (Tweede Kamer 1999). The LNVH already in April 1998 had urged the Minister to make incentive money available for the promotion of women in high academic ranks (Bosch 1998).

personnel policy and emancipation policy. This is also reflected in IRIS' sub-goal to improve the position of women in science. Since the career development of women IRIS laureates in terms of promotions lagged behind that of men, NWO aimed to stimulate women's upward mobility by introducing Aspasia premiums (NWO 2006a).

In 2004, NWO decided to continue Aspasia in this new style after the evaluation of Aspasia and the related NWO meeting about the future of the programme. This meeting provided another opportunity for intense discussion and knowledge exchange between the various actors. In deciding about the future of Aspasia, NWO consulted with the Ministry of Education, then headed by Minister Maria van der Hoeven (NWO 2006a).<sup>135</sup> The Ministry already promised to support a prolongation of the Aspasia programme (NWO 2003), and made €2 million available per year for women in the IRIS.

### ***Intensity and duration of interactions***

Looking at the two sets of interactions, it seems that the interaction between NWO, VSNU, and the Ministry of Education was constant in both the first and second set, with the KNAW as an important actor added in the second set. The dialogue with the AWT, NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH appears to have been especially intense during the first set and is less prominent in the second. I want to stress, however, that this contact between the Women's Studies field and the Ministry of Education and NWO was not new. Knowledge exchanges had already taken place, for instance, when STEO actively promoted emancipation research, and through the WVEO Section in NWO (see section 5.1.1).

To continue with the actions around Aspasia, in the second set of interactions, the interaction between the VSNU and the AWT, NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH seems to have been maintained, as the Van Vucht Tijssen report refers to the discussions at the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999 and extensively draws on earlier reports, particularly making ample reference to the AWT 2000 report that in turn builds on the study carried out by LOEKWO (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999). In addition, sustainability is visible in the consultations with LOEKWO, NGV, and the Women's Studies department of Leiden University.

A continuation is also visible in the person of Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen. She was the chair of VSNU's 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce that organised the VSNU meetings that were important in bringing about the original Aspasia, and she also chaired the commission that produced the report providing one of the reasons for IRIS, the host of Aspasia new style. She thus forms a connecting element between the original and the new Aspasia programmes. The expertise she brings to bear on Aspasia also highlights the embodied form of knowledge transfer.

### ***Form of interactions***

As I have explained, following Mode 2, knowledge includes knowledge products (reports, articles, etc) as well as people. In this section, I will discuss embodied knowledge transfer by focussing first on the involvement of people in (the making of) the knowledge products relevant to Aspasia. The idea behind this is that the knowledge in these reports is not only known to the actual researchers or writers, but to a broader group of people whom can be assumed to be knowledgeable about the report's content. I have therefore besides the authors also looked at others involved in the production of these reports, specifically advisors and people who provided input or support in another way. Secondly, I have looked at people who attended meetings where knowledge about women and science was disseminated and

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<sup>135</sup> Maria van der Hoeven succeeded Loek Hermans as Minister of Education on 22 July 2002.

exchanged, in particular the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999 and the NWO meeting about the future of Aspasia in September 2003.

I have mapped the involvement of people in the key knowledge products in Appendix IV. Appendix V provides a description of the two meetings, focussing on who were present. In Table 5.3, the main instances of both forms of involvement are presented.

The first thing that stands out when we look at people's involvement is that a number of people have participated in and contributed to several studies. Looking at the authors, we see an interesting continuing involvement. Isabel Hoving, Margo Brouns, Mineke Bosch, Gloria Wekker, and Greta Noordenbos all were writers of or advisors to more than one study. Especially Brouns and Bosch are involved in many knowledge products.

These extensive interrelations between knowledge products via people is absent in the IRIS studies. The authors of these studies are only involved in the studies in question and not in other studies. Looking at the IRIS evaluations more closely reveals that they are comparatively unrelated to the other studies. First, the IRIS evaluations are carried out by people from institutions (Technopolis, Dialogic) that were not in the first set of interactions of the Aspasia programme. Two of the authors of the IRIS 2002 evaluation, Frank Bongers and Patrix Boekholt, also co-authored the IRIS evaluation over the period 2002-2006. Second, the absence of the involvement of experts from NGV, LOEKWO, or LNVH is striking. This can be interpreted as a discontinuity in the transfer of knowledge about women in science (see also section 5.1.2). On the other hand, some people from the Ministry of Education, and of NWO, KNAW, and VSNU who were involved in the IRIS evaluations were also involved in studies from the first set of interactions.

Representatives from NWO were involved in more than half of the key knowledge products, either as advisors or by providing input or support in other ways. Eldrid Bringmann, Wilma van Donselaar, and Wim Sillevius Smitt were involved in more than one study. Via the involvement of policymakers and managers in knowledge products, NWO was thus knowledgeable about many of the knowledge products about women in science.

People from the VSNU are involved in several knowledge products, as advisors and in other capacities. People from the Ministry of Education are related to various knowledge products. Lex Oosterhuis, in particular, was an advisor to several studies. Representatives of the AWT, such as Lidwien Mol, Jozien Bensing, and Véronique Timmerhuis, and of the KNAW, such as Peter van der Vliet, were involved in several knowledge products.

It is also visible that representatives of the NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH have acted as advisors to several studies. NGV's chair Willy Jansen and coordinator Margit van der Steen were involved in several studies. The coordinator that succeeded Van der Steen, Akke Visser, authored one report.

Thus, representatives from all main organisations in the context of Aspasia acted as advisors to one or more studies. Additionally, people from all these organisations were present at the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999 and/or at the meeting about the future of Aspasia in September 2003.

It is clear that the 'Women in Science' conference was an event where a lot of knowledge was disseminated and exchanged. The AWT was instrumental in bringing together the main actors dealing with the issue of women in science. It is also important to note that many people in powerful positions were present (e.g. the Minister of Education and the president of the VSNU). Though of a smaller scale, the meeting about the future of Aspasia was another event where knowledge and ideas on the topic of women in science were discussed between academics, researchers, policymakers, and university leaders. Again, people in leading positions were present (e.g. NWO and university board members).

To conclude, a large number of people from all key institutions encountered knowledge and insights about women in science at several moments in time before, during,

and after the Aspasia programme. The picture that arises is that of a nexus of people and knowledge.

Table 5.3: Involvement of people in knowledge products and meetings

W = author A = advisor O = other involvement X = present at meeting/conference		Hoving et al.	Portegijs	Brouns	Bosch, Hoving, & Wekker	Noordenbos	AWT	Van Vucht Tijssen	Bosch & Potting	Boekholt, Bongers, & De Groot	Visser, Dierdorp, & Van Emmerik	Van den Brink & Brouns	Bongers et al.	Conference 12 Oct. 1999	Aspasia meeting 18 Sept. 2003
	Hoving	W			W										
	Portegijs		W											X	
	Wekker	A			W										
	Noordenbos	A				W		O							
	Meijer				A									X	
	Van der Waals			A										X	
	Van Vianen		A											X	
NGV	Van der Steen	O		A			O	O						X	
	Visser									W					X
	Jansen			A							O			X	
	Van Emmerik									A					
	Potting							O	W						
	Brouns	W		W						A	W			X	X
	Bosch	A		A	W				W	A				X	X
LOEK WO	Ellemers / Hodes / Van Oost				A									X	
	Knijf / Verspoor							O	A		A				
LNVH	Goulmy											O		X	X
	Van Egten											A			
	Technopolis									W			W		
	Dialogic									W			W		
Min. of Educ.	Oosterhuis		A					A				A			
	Heiligers											A	O		
	Heijs									A			O		
	Hermans													X	
	Mottier							O							
AWT	Mol	O		A	A										
	Bensing				A		W	A							
	Veltman													X	
	Timmerhuis				A		W							X	
NWO	Van Duinen/ Nijkamp												O	X	
	Hutter			O										X	
	Bringmann			O		O			A	A			A	X	X
	Van Donselaar									A	A		A		
	Sillevis Smitt			O				A							
	Hulk / Ter Meulen									O					X
KNAW	Van der Vliet							A		O					
	Van den Heuvel			O										X	
VSNU	Meijerink / d'Hondt / Noorda									O			O	X	
	Van Vucht Tijssen							W						X	
	Luttikholt								A						
	Board member(s)		A					A					O	X	X

### **5.1.5 Actors, roles, and (power) relations between the actors**

Activities in relation to the Aspasia programme were undertaken by a variety of actors: the ministry, advisory bodies, knowledge institutions, and interest organisations. In this section, I will describe the main actors' roles, aims, and interests, also illustrating how they are positioned towards each other in terms of power and gender. These actors (institutions as well as persons) form the network involved in the knowledge transfer process around Aspasia.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science governs the universities, NWO, and KNAW and sets the parameters of Dutch science policy. One of its key policy goals is for the Netherlands to be among the top knowledge economies in 2010 (Tweede Kamer 2000). The Ministry has a supportive role in countering women's underrepresentation, also taking into account advice from the advisory council AWT. The AWT portrays women's underrepresentation as a waste of talent and missed chances for universities (AWT 2000). Through allocating funding to universities and to NWO and KNAW, the Ministry exerts a certain power over these institutions. The universities and research institutes do however have a substantial amount of autonomy, as they are responsible for management and for personnel policy. In other words, they largely decide on measures to change the position of women in science themselves.

Together with the VSNU, NWO and KNAW also act jointly in defining strategies and plans to influence and implement science policy, which is evident in Aspasia and in IRIS. The VSNU deals with women in science in relation to its personnel policy, acting, for instance, on the expected shortage in university personnel. The KNAW (2001) aims to offer better career perspectives for women. In relation to Aspasia, NWO (1999b) aims to increase the number of women in higher positions, promote women's upward mobility, and make better use of all available talent.

The Ministry of Education, the universities (represented in the VSNU), KNAW and NWO, as well as the AWT, are all part of the Dutch 'knowledge infrastructure'. This gives these actors a different position from the NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH, as the latter organisations are not embedded in this infrastructure. They thus have a sort of outsider position in the network of actors, which implies a less powerful position. The independent AWT has an intermediary position between the Minister and experts/researchers in the field of women in science.

A major power differential between VSNU, NWO, and KNAW on the one hand and NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH on the other is that the latter organisations are not in a position to decide on measures in the field of women in science. They carry out research for, disseminate knowledge to, lobby with, and plead their case to the other actors, but they cannot directly influence policy. Some experts (also) carry out research independently from the interest organisations, such as Portegijs, Hoving, and Noordenbos.

The Ministry of Education financially supported the activities of the NGV. In 2000, the subsidy to the NGV was smaller (Visser 2003) and in 2005, the subsidy completely stopped. By cutting NGV subsidies, the Ministry has an effect on the resources of the NGV to carry out its activities.<sup>136</sup> The LNVH received a starting subsidy from both the Ministry of Education and NWO (LNVH 2003) and still receives a substantial subsidy from the Ministry. LOEKWO is moderately sponsored by the university that provides the LOEKWO chair (*De Take-Off* 2003).

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<sup>136</sup> The Minister of Education, in a response to questions from members of the Lower Chamber about ending the NGV subsidy, argued that institutions themselves need to pay structural attention to women's underrepresentation and that the expertise function should therefore be fulfilled by the VSNU ([www.minocw.nl/documenten/43337.pdf](http://www.minocw.nl/documenten/43337.pdf) accessed 31 December 2009).

NWO is responsible for enhancing innovation and quality in research, and for initiating and stimulating new developments in research. The KNAW is another actor that aims to promote the quality of science. Scientific quality is an important, seemingly neutral, criterion for decisions about the allocation of money and personnel. The academic system may be based on principles of objectivity and meritocracy (Brouns 2003), but a masculine bias can still be detected in definitions of scientific quality, as well as in other organisational norms and practices, such as funding policies and selection procedures (Benschop and Brouns 2003). The acknowledgement of the role gender plays in academic organisations is however not self-evident. We can see, for instance, that NWO was to some extent gender blind towards its own organisation in the Equal Treatment Commission case about age limits, as well as in their own study on male versus female success rates.

Van Balen (1998) argued that the academic culture is based on a binary opposition of masculinity and femininity, where masculine qualities such as scientists' full-time availability are the norm. The association of academia with masculinity is reinforced by the strong culture of remembrance in academia (Bosch 2007). In addition, decision-making bodies of universities, as well as NWO and KNAW, predominantly consist of men (Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999).

The male-dominated structure and culture of academia can be said to be in contrast to the organisations of NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH. The latter network is a women-only organisation and the other two are predominantly female. Focussing on Women's Studies and emancipation policy, and specifically aiming to promote the participation of women in the academy, gender is the core business of these organisations. Interconnection between these organisations is visible via people. For example, Bosch acted as advisor to the NGV board and also chaired LOEKWO.

Lastly, in the international 'institutional landscape', the European Commission is a major player in the field of women in science that acts as a catalyst for national policies to promote women in science.

## ***5.2 Integration of knowledge about women in science in the Aspasia programme***

In this section, I will analyse the extent to which knowledge about women in science has been integrated in Aspasia. Although my focus is on Aspasia, I will also deal with knowledge integration in other NWO policies and policymaking at other institutions, such as the universities. In my analysis, I will take into consideration those knowledge claims and insights from the key knowledge products of which I gave an overview in section 5.1.2. Because Aspasia evolved over time, new research results became available as the programme continued. I will thus also analyse the integration of new knowledge claims and insights in later policymaking. This means, for instance, addressing the question whether insights from the evaluation of the first round of Aspasia affected the Aspasia programme in the second round and in its new style.

### ***5.2.1 What knowledge is integrated?***

#### ***A. Integration in the original Aspasia***

The Aspasia programme corresponds to findings by Brouns (1999) and Noordenbos (1999) that too few women send in research proposals. A special programme for women obviously enlarges the number of female applicants. By linking the research grant to a promotion to

senior lecturer, the programme increases the mobility chances of women, as recommended by Portegijs (1998). She found that incentive funding is the only policy that is effective in increasing women's upward mobility, a message repeated by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999). With Aspasia, NWO thus integrates knowledge about the effectiveness of incentive programmes.

More senior lecturers implies that more women are in positions that enable them to participate in committees and exert influence on science policy and practice (Brouns 1999; Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999) and to acquire research funding (Noordenbos 1999). Aspasia also expands the reservoir of potential women professors; a recommendation made by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999). As a national programme, Aspasia is in line with the observation of Portegijs (1998) that universities will only take measures when they are introduced at all universities at the same time.

The AWT recommendation (2000) to augment Aspasia's financial base was taken up by the Minister of Education, which enabled NWO to fund more research proposals than initially planned. This is in line with the recommendation of Hoving et al. (1998) that diversity policies should receive adequate financial support. Through urging the universities to fund extra proposals, NWO implemented the recommendation (Brouns 1999) that NWO needs to make universities aware of the relevance of increasing women's participation in higher academic positions.

### ***B. Accompanying measures and disciplinary programmes***

After the Wennerås and Wold article, NWO systematically started collecting statistics about women's participation in its grant schemes (Pruim 1999).<sup>137</sup> The compulsory reporting of the percentage of women participating in research was one of the measures taken in Denmark, on which Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) report.<sup>138</sup>

At the end of 2000, NWO set targets for the ratio of men and women on its own boards and committees, based on the proportional representation of men and women in the various sectors, with the proviso that every NWO board, council, or committee must have at least one female member.<sup>139</sup> This takes into consideration recommendations (Hoving et al. 1998; Brouns 1999; AWT 2000) to establish (a policy on) gender diversity in boards and selection committees.<sup>140</sup>

NWO also installed specific programmes for disciplines where women's participation rates are very low. The NWO Foundation for Fundamental Research on Matter (FOM) installed the FOM/f programme in 1999 to increase the number of women physicists. Measures included in the programme are individual subsidies for postdocs, bridging subsidies for institutions to hire women physicists permanently, grants for small-scale activities, and a publication prize.

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<sup>137</sup> NWO reports about 2004, 2005, and 2006 that women's success rates in all programmes are the same or a bit higher than men's success rates, but that women submit less than 20 or 25% of the applications (NWO 2005; NWO 2006a; NWO 2007b).

<sup>138</sup> The former Danish Minister of Research and Information Technology, Hilden, and the chair of the UN work group Women in science, Oldham, also mentioned this in their speeches at the Women in Science conference of 12 October 1999 as one of the necessary actions in the field of women in science (*Verslag conferentie vrouwen in de wetenschap* 1999).

<sup>139</sup> According to NWO, the figures reveal a gradual increase in female membership ([www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP\\_5V7FVT\\_eng](http://www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_5V7FVT_eng) accessed 31 December 2009).

<sup>140</sup> Van den Brink and Brouns (2006) found that the participation of women in selection committees, especially when two or more women take part, improves women's chances to be appointed as professor. Having one woman in the committee can result in tokenism. They argue that preferably no sex represents more than 60% of the committee. Visser (2007) notes that in the IRIS evaluations, only the Humanities discipline has a policy on gender balanced committees; the policy in other disciplines is to have at least one woman in the committee.

In the natural sciences, a number of NWO disciplines in 1999 introduced the MEERVOUD programme: More Women Researchers as University Lecturers ('MEER Vrouwelijke Onderzoekers als UD'). The programme is directed at NWO's Earth and Life Sciences, Chemical Sciences, and Physical Sciences divisions. It aims to help women postdocs become lecturers by creating temporary (part-time) lecturer positions, with the guarantee of obtaining at least a 0.8 ft position within their research institution.

In the beginning of 2007, NWO's Chemical Sciences set up the Athena programme to stimulate talented young women. As part of IRIS, women Veni laureates who are appointed to a permanent position receive a so-called Athena premium.

### ***C. Integration in the Innovative Research Incentives Scheme (IRIS)***

That one of the important sub-goals of IRIS is to improve the position of women in science, indicates that NWO has taken up the message of Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) that action needs to be taken to counter women's underrepresentation in the academy. The integration of this gender goal in a regular programme can be seen as an instance of gender mainstreaming in NWO. This takes into account the pleas made by Hoving et al. (1998), Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), and Bosch and Potting (2001) to adopt a gender policy in regular programmes.

In IRIS, NWO took into account that women researchers face bigger obstacles in their career than men, partly because of male-dominated scientific norms and values that also affect selection procedures. This genderedness of norms and values was pointed out by Hoving et al. (1998) (academic culture associates quality with men), Portegijs (1998) (women do not fit the norm of full-time workers), and by Brouns (1999) (gender effects in selection and evaluation).

As of 2002, NWO guaranteed that the average and long-term success rates of women in IRIS would be at least as high as those of men. This puts into practice the recommendations made by Hoving et al. (1998), Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), and the AWT (2000) to set quota or targets for the participation of women in general research funds. Both the AWT and Bosch and Potting (2001) mentioned IRIS as an example of a grant scheme where targets could be set.

The insight that pre-selection by universities leads to fewer female applicants is integrated in the application procedure for IRIS, because candidates submit directly to NWO. At NWO's initiative (Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003), the universities agreed to make an effort to ensure that the percentage of female IRIS applicants would be at least the same as the percentage of women in the target group. This policy of encouraging women to apply works against self-selection mechanisms that negatively influence the probability that women will apply, mechanisms that were pointed out by both Brouns (1999) and Noordenbos (1999).

A disciplinary distribution of the available IRIS grants was set by NWO in advance. Quota were set for the number of Veni, Vidi, and Vici grants, based on the calculation of the number of postdocs per discipline, and a disciplinary distribution was made in relation to the size of the discipline (Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003). The disciplinary distribution of grants thus takes into account the recommendation (Brouns 1999) that, to increase women's share in grant funding, the distribution of grants should reflect the disciplinary distribution of PhDs.<sup>141</sup>

NWO also instructed the IRIS selection committees to evaluate the candidates' CVs on the number of effective research years. This integrates the insight that part-time work and

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<sup>141</sup> Most IRIS grants were available in Medical Sciences, Social Sciences, and Humanities, disciplines with relatively many women, but over the period 2002-2006 the success rates in Medical Sciences and Social Sciences were relatively low, as the absolute numbers of applications in these disciplines exceeded those of other disciplines (Bongers et al. 2007).

periods of leave can result in a lower academic output. Weighing academic output against the number of working hours was recommended by Portegijs (1998) and the AWT (2000).

#### ***D. Integration in Aspasia new style***

Incorporating Aspasia premiums in a regular NWO grant scheme can be interpreted as a form of gender mainstreaming, for which several researchers made a plea. NWO Aspasia coordinator Van Donselaar (in Koppelman 2005) indeed refers to Aspasia new style as a mainstreamed version of the programme.

By introducing Aspasia premiums, the programme accommodates promotion possibilities for women. This builds on knowledge claims about incentive funds and personal senior lectureships. It also takes into account recommendations for a career policy (mentioned in AWT 2000; Van Vucht Tijssen 2000; Bosch and Potting 2001; and Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik 2003).

The continuation of Aspasia in a grant scheme in which candidates send research proposals directly to NWO takes heed of the suggestion of Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) that in case of a continuation of Aspasia it is desirable to prevent an accumulation of selection procedures and selection criteria.

Promoting women Vidi/Vici laureates to senior lecturer/professor was one of the suggestions made at the NWO meeting about the future of Aspasia. Although not all women laureates are automatically promoted, a feature that was implied in that specific suggestion, the premiums do encourage universities to take action in promoting women academics. This is in line with Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) who recommended that NWO continue underlining the importance of incentive programmes to universities.

Aspasia new style also works at the level of professors. Addressing the professorial level via incentives or special/personal chairs was for instance mentioned by Hoving et al. (1998), Portegijs (1998), Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), the AWT (2000), and Van Vucht Tijssen (2000). Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker made the proviso that there needs to be a reservoir of women senior lecturers if incentive chairs for women are to be feasible. This message was repeated in the Aspasia evaluation reports. It also takes into account the finding of Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot (2003) that male IRIS laureates more often than female ones state that their chances to become professor have increased due to the IRIS grant.

#### ***E. Further research***

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science took up recommendations to study gender mechanisms in selection procedures for higher academic positions (OCW 2005a) by commissioning the study *Gender en excellence* (Van den Brink and Brouns 2006), which deals with professorial appointments in different academic disciplines. The study acts on recommendations (Brouns 1999, Noordenbos 1999) to study whether men and women evaluate applicants differently and what the impact is of the low numbers of women in evaluation committees.

The study into possible gender difference in the assessment of Vidi and Vici applications in IRIS that NWO commissioned in 2006 (Visser and Heessels 2007), which for instance addresses the calculation of research time, takes into account a recommendation of Brouns (1999) to study the transparency of evaluation criteria.

### ***5.2.2 Gap between available and integrated knowledge***

Focussing on specific knowledge claims about women in science, this section discusses the different explanations that have been given for women's underrepresentation in the academy

and the integration of related insights and recommendations in NWO's programmes and policies.

### ***Disciplines/natural sciences bias***

The original Aspasia programme was open to all disciplines. As such, it did not actively counter the uneven distribution of stipends over the different disciplines. Brouns (1999) found that among the NWO Talent stipends, disciplines with a relative high percentage of PhDs, i.e. the Humanities and Social Sciences, are underrepresented. In practice however, most Aspasia proposals and laureates came from Humanities, Social Sciences, and Medical Sciences (Bosch and Potting 2001). Hoving et al. (1998), Noordenbos (1999), and the AWT (2000) also pointed to the natural sciences bias in funding policies. As I described, however, a disciplinary distribution of grants was the case in IRIS.

### ***Pre-selection by universities versus direct application***

In the application procedure in the original Aspasia, universities recommended candidates to NWO. Bosch and Potting (2001) showed that this pre-selection had disadvantages: they found that the double selection by universities and NWO, and the uncertainty about who evaluates (what aspect of) the proposal and the candidate sometimes caused discontent. They thus recommended that NWO and universities each focus on their own aspect of the evaluation. The evaluation of Aspasia's second round (Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik 2003) again found that many faculties had set additional selection criteria. This means that the recommendations of the first round's evaluation were not effectively integrated in the second. Yet, as described, in Aspasia new style the accumulation of selection procedures and criteria was prevented through the direct submission of IRIS research proposals to NWO.

Universities' efforts to encourage women to send in research proposals for IRIS seem to have been minimal (Bongers et al. 2007). Noordenbos (1999) recommended that universities should support women during the writing of research proposals. Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) recommended coaching or mentoring to encourage women to send in research proposals for IRIS, and some universities indeed coached their applicants. Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot (2003) recommended that NWO on its IRIS website list 'good practices' to stimulate women to send in research proposals. This was not taken up by NWO.

### ***Gender expertise***

Brouns (1999) recommended that those responsible for selecting applications have gender expertise. Hoving et al. (1998) recommended that people in key positions (and I define committee members and peer reviewers as such people) are knowledgeable about 'ethnicity effects' as well. Brouns (1999) notes that attention should be paid to the transparency of application and selection procedures as well as to knowledge about 'gender effects'. To my knowledge, NWO has not taken action on this advice. Visser (2007) mentions that only in NWO's Natural Sciences did one member of the IRIS evaluation commission specifically pay attention to gender issues. It thus seems that NWO did not instruct those involved in the evaluation of applications about the possible gender bias in mechanisms and criteria, which constitutes an instance of non-integration of knowledge. The recommendation to train commission members in recognising stereotypes and biases during the selection was repeated by Van den Brink and Brouns (2006). Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) more generally recommended that (NWO) policymakers be trained in recognising gender issues. An alternative advice by Brouns (1999) to counter possible gender effects in the evaluation of women's applications was to re-evaluate applications that scored just below the threshold. I am not aware that this has happened.

I want to make another observation regarding gender expertise, specifically the gender expertise of the IRIS evaluators. In the IRIS 2002 evaluation, Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot (2003) mention that some women laureates were amazed by the prevalence of ‘grey-haired men’ in the selection committees. Drawing attention to the similar success rates of men and women in IRIS, the authors subsequently conclude that their statistics show that there is no systematic gender bias at the disadvantage of women. Taking into account that Brouns (1999), Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), and Noordenbos (1999) pointed out that similar success rates do not imply by definition that male and female applicants are evaluated the same, it seems that the evaluators are not knowledgeable about the ins and outs of gender effects in evaluations. This supports my finding that, looking at the involvement of people in knowledge products, the IRIS evaluations represent a discontinuity in the transfer of knowledge about women in science (see section 5.1.4).

Several researchers (e.g. Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999; AWT 2000; Van Vucht Tijssen 2000; Bosch and Potting 2001) recommended the Minister of Education set up a national expert centre on women and science to make optimal use of available gender expertise and to support gender mainstreaming in science policies. In 2001, the Minister asked the VSNU to develop a plan for the establishment of a ‘Women in science’ expert centre with expert input from the NGV and the Netherlands Research School of Women’s Studies (NOV). This expert centre, however, was never established (NGV 2003).<sup>142</sup>

### ***Research gaps***

In several reports, suggestions were made for further research into university and NWO selection and evaluation procedures. Brouns (1999) and Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) recommended an in-depth study into why fewer women apply for research subsidies (women’s image of the sciences, life perspective, networks, and motivations affecting the decision to apply). This suggestion was not taken up.

Hoving et al. (1998) recommended studying the ethnicity effects in selection procedures of research funding organisations. Brouns (1999) mentioned that most disciplines are extremely ‘Western’. She could however not study the possible influence of nationality and ethnicity on the evaluation and allocation of research money (NWO Talent stipends), because the files did not contain data about this issue. Studying ethnicity as a factor in selection procedures has not been taken up by NWO.

Several other selection and evaluation aspects did not receive attention in research, for instance, how external referents evaluate, what the predictive value is of external advisors’ evaluations, or what the impact is of applicants’ networks on success chances.

Still, some studies were undertaken on evaluation criteria and gender bias in appointment procedures (see section 5.2.1), but it took several years before this happened.

### ***Gendered norms and values***

I mentioned that NWO’s IRIS takes into account that women researchers face bigger obstacles than men in their career, partly because of the male-dominated scientific norms and values that also affect selection procedures. Acknowledging that selection procedures are not

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<sup>142</sup> In developing the plan, the NGV, on the request of the Minister, together with the NOV formed a sounding board with representatives from the field. The NGV and the VSNU had several meetings. In the beginning of 2002, the Minister rejected the plan. Despite insistence of the NGV at the Ministry and the VSNU, no initiatives were taken to make a new plan. In September 2002, the NGV initiated setting up a commission to study the feasibility of a national information centre on women in science. Commission members came from NGV, LNVH, LOEKWO, and NOV. The commission agreed to establish a ‘network of networks’ (NGV 2003). Plans for this were further developed in 2003 (*De Take-Off* 2003).

gender neutral, NWO guaranteed that women's success rates in IRIS would be at least as high as men's. I assessed this as an integration of knowledge claims about the genderedness of norms and values. Looking at this assessment and specifically addressing the question whether insights about gendered norms and values have been integrated by NWO, however, leads me to adapt that earlier assessment. NWO's success guarantee indeed demonstrates that they received the message that there is a norms and values issue, but the targets do not address the norms and values directly, instead they circumvent the problem.

A reassessment of this kind also applies to another NWO measure. That is, NWO instructed the IRIS selection committees to relate the evaluation of candidates to the number of effective research years. I interpreted this as integrating the recommendation of Portegijs (1998) to weigh academic output against the number of working hours. Indeed, this is an instance of gender consciousness, but on closer inspection we see it does not deal with the underlying norms and values. As the AWT advice put it: even if women work full time and publish as much as men do, they still do not attain the same career level (AWT 2000).

The point I want to make is that NWO did not address the male-dominated scientific norms and values that impact selection procedures identified by Women's Studies scholars. Brouns (1999) and Van den Brink and Brouns (2006) for instance showed that women are less likely to be evaluated as 'excellent' because of stereotypical images about women's talent and ambition. The negative impact of representations of masculinity and femininity on women's careers in science was an important conclusion of Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), who made a strong plea for integrating gender and ethnicity issues in discussions about academic quality. The AWT (2000) made a similar recommendation. Hoving et al. (1998) stressed that measures to tackle the problem of women's underrepresentation (also) need to be taken at the symbolic level. My conclusion is thus that NWO has not integrated the knowledge claims and recommendations about the gendered nature of science and quality.

### ***Ethnicity***

An important message of Hoving et al. (1998) and Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) was the relevance of academic diversity in terms of gender as well as ethnicity. In *Aspasia*, there is no attention to ethnicity; the programme focuses on women in general. Bosch (1999a) notes that women's underrepresentation in higher academic positions may look different when one takes into account that women also come from different ethnic groups. Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker recommended financing special chairs for blacks/migrants and Hoving et al. recommended target figures for people from different ethnic backgrounds. This has not been taken up by NWO. Neither in *Aspasia*, nor in IRIS does NWO pay attention to ethnicity. It thus understands diversity only in terms of gender.

It must however be mentioned that NWO in 2004 installed the Mosaic programme ('*Mozaïek*') for researchers from ethnic minority groups.<sup>143</sup> This incentive programme promotes the entry of graduates from ethnic minorities in science by awarding grants for a doctoral research position. Interestingly, no gender aspects are addressed in Mosaic. I will discuss this in more detail in section 5.2.5.

### ***Success rates***

As I mentioned, NWO started systematically collecting data about women's participation in grant schemes, a measure taken after the Wennerås and Wold article appeared in 1997. NWO publishes their findings in annual reports and advertises this on its website as one of their

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<sup>143</sup> [www.nwo.nl/kleurrijktalent](http://www.nwo.nl/kleurrijktalent) (accessed 12 January 2010).

initiatives under the heading ‘What is NWO doing for women in science?’ Reporting on the success rates of men and women, NWO writes:

A survey of the number of complete applications submitted in 2004 shows that considerably fewer were received from women than from men. The women’s success rate was no lower, but the absolute numbers of applications submitted and therefore the number of grants awarded to them was indeed far lower. In other words, women should submit more applications!<sup>144</sup>

A first comment is that though considerable disciplinary differences in the success rates of men and women have been demonstrated (e.g. Brouns 1999; Bongers et al. 2007), these are not visible in the NWO statistics, neither in the overall success rates that NWO speaks about in the above passage, nor in the more detailed NWO statistics where male to female ratios are given according to the strategic goals of the grant schemes (e.g. NWO 2005).

Secondly, pointing the finger at women for not submitting enough applications ignores the possible role that NWO and universities play in women submitting fewer applications. It enforces the image that women are the problem. Given that Bongers et al. (2007) conclude that it is doubtful that universities have kept their commitment to ensuring a targeted percentage of women applicants, NWO could just as well, instead of blaming women, have urged universities to stimulate women more to send in research proposals.

The statement that women should submit more applications seems to take us back to 1997 when NWO waived their responsibility for the small number of female applicants, arguing that the number more or less resembled the national figures. It is thus questionable whether an important insight about women’s lower number of applications has gotten through to NWO.

### ***Specific programme versus gender mainstreaming***

In their *Aspasia* evaluations, Bosch and Potting (2001) and Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) stress that apart from programmes like *Aspasia* it is necessary that NWO integrates a gender policy in its general policy and all its existing programmes. They argue that establishing a number of positions specifically for women is not sufficient to reach a balanced representation of men and women. Improving women’s entry and upward mobility in the long run requires structural measures. Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik therefore stipulated that a continuation of *Aspasia* should be accompanied by the mainstreaming of gender in NWO programmes and policies.

NWO has taken some accompanying measures (targets for women on boards and committees, data collection about women’s participation in grant schemes, and the introduction of a care clause) in its general policies and the promotion of women is a sub-goal of the IRIS programme. However, IRIS is the only mainstream programme in which NWO pays explicit attention to gender.<sup>145</sup>

This image is confirmed when one looks at NWO’s Yearbook 2002, in which NWO states that because women’s representation in science is still low, incentive measures like *Aspasia* and MEERVOUD are still necessary (NWO 2003). Although NWO also announces the targets for women’s success rates in its yearbook, the emphasis remains on special

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<sup>144</sup> [www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP\\_5V7EWQ\\_eng](http://www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_5V7EWQ_eng) (accessed 31 December 2009).

<sup>145</sup> At the NWO website, under the heading ‘What is NWO doing for women in science?’, IRIS is mentioned as a mainstream programme that NWO uses to promote women’s careers ([www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP\\_5V7EWQ\\_eng](http://www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_5V7EWQ_eng) accessed 31 December 2009).

programmes and incentive measures for women, not on structural improvements across the board.

That gender mainstreaming hardly receives attention is also visible in the IRIS 2002-2006 evaluation report. This report (Bongers et al. 2007) pays ample attention to the position of women in the programme, but only mentions the Aspasia premiums in a footnote. This indicates that it is still seen as a separate measure, and not an integral part of the IRIS programme. Of course, Aspasia new style only started in 2005 and its effects in 2006 (the last year that the evaluation covers) could only partly be assessed. If the Aspasia incentives had had a more prominent role in the evaluation, this would however have been evidence of gender mainstreaming. In combination with my earlier observation about a possible lack of gender expertise amongst the authors of the first IRIS evaluation, this raises questions about how serious NWO takes gender mainstreaming in IRIS. Employing gender expertise in the evaluation of a programme that aims to improve women's career chances would have been an indication of gender mainstreaming.

### ***5.2.3 Form: knowledge products - embodied knowledge***

Is the knowledge that is integrated in Aspasia located in knowledge products or in people? Regarding knowledge products, integration in Mode 2 is understood as 'application'. In this sense, the Aspasia programme can be interpreted as using knowledge to provide solutions for women's underrepresentation. Another way to look at the form of knowledge integration is by highlighting that NWO communicates about the topic of women in science through, for instance, policy documents, (annual) reports, and its website. When understanding this material as knowledge products, one could say that knowledge is integrated in the form of knowledge products.

A clear example of people taking up knowledge is visible in Reinder van Duinen's closing words at the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999. From his explanation that he became convinced of the considerable inequality between men's and women's careers, it can be discerned that a message had gotten through to him. The raised awareness indicates an instance of embodying knowledge, which consequently led him to conclude that taking action to tackle women's underrepresentation in science was apposite.

It is also evident that it was via embodied knowledge that this insight was transferred to him, as Van Duinen specifically mentions that it was one of the members of the MIT research team that convinced him of the scope of the problem. Yet, Van Duinen also refers to the report. In my view, this points out that knowledge is interwoven in both products and people, which I highlighted in section 5.1.4.

### ***5.2.4 Type and level of integration***

In Chapter 3, I identified three types of use or 'utilisation' of knowledge: instrumental, conceptual, and symbolic. Instrumental use of knowledge occurs when knowledge directly contributes to a certain decision, shift in practices, or policy-intervention that would not have been made in the absence of that knowledge. Conceptual use takes places when knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, a new definition of a policy problem, or a different understanding of issues concerned. Use of knowledge is symbolic when knowledge is used to legitimate a view that policymakers already have. In this section, I will explore the types of integration discernible in Aspasia's case, concurrently addressing the

level of knowledge that is integrated (concepts, theories, instruments) and discussing the cases of the original Aspasia, IRIS, and Aspasia new style.

### ***The original Aspasia***

The findings of Wennerås and Wold (1997) have been instrumental in that they influenced NWO to take action in the field of women in science. It gave rise to the original Aspasia programme, and also resulted in the decision to study the success rates of men and women in NWO programmes, to examine the evaluation procedures, and to gather statistics on the participation of men and women in grant schemes.<sup>146</sup>

The Minister of Education's acceptance of AWT's recommendation to augment the Aspasia's financial base, which led to NWO funding more research proposals than planned, can be seen as an instrumental use of knowledge. It is likely that without this recommendation the programme would not have been expanded.

Conceptually speaking, Aspasia represents a breakthrough in thinking about women's underrepresentation. Before Aspasia, it was seen as a problem that had to do with women's individual situations, with policy measures for instance aiming to better reconcile work and care tasks (cf. Bosch and Potting 2001). The Aspasia programme reveals a new interpretation of the problem, defining it as a problem related to the structure and culture of research organisations, and a new measure to promote women's upward mobility, introducing an incentive programme. Since we are dealing with a funding programme, the level of knowledge applied is that of instruments.

A use of the concept of the glass ceiling can be discerned in the Aspasia programme, because the policy measure is directed at the career step from lecturer – through the glass ceiling – to senior lecturer.

Through Aspasia, policymakers also let go of the idea that equality will be reached in time. This is in line with theories about the leaky pipeline and women's higher exit rates. The theory of accumulated disadvantages also clearly informed the Aspasia programme. It was this theory that convinced NWO chair Van Duinen that it was time to take action, calling it a 'paradigm change' (*Verslag van de conferentie 'Vrouwen in de wetenschap'* 1999). Aspasia thus offers some compensation for the accumulative effect of women's small disadvantages by increasing the percentage of senior lecturers to better reflect the recruitment potential (Bosch and Potting 2001).

### ***IRIS***

Because IRIS was set up partly as a result of the Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) report, the programme instrumentally responds to knowledge claims made in that report. IRIS' sub-goal of improving the position of women in science reflects the report's message that action needs to be taken to counter women's underrepresentation in the academy. Because IRIS is a programme in which gender is mainstreamed, this is a conceptual use of knowledge claims that argue that gender be integrated in regular policies.

The awareness that gendered norms and values in selection processes can hinder women researchers and that women face bigger obstacles in their careers reflects theories that argue that science is not meritocratic. To do away with the gender bias in selection and evaluation, NWO guaranteed that women's success rates in IRIS would be at least as high as those of men. These targets for women in IRIS make use of knowledge at the level of

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<sup>146</sup> The Wennerås and Wold article is the first thing NWO refers to on its website under the heading 'What is NWO doing for women in science?' [www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP\\_5V7DFD\\_Eng?opendocument&nav=Vrouwen\\_02\\_NL](http://www.nwo.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_5V7DFD_Eng?opendocument&nav=Vrouwen_02_NL) (accessed 31 December 2009).

instruments, as it is an instrument that is used to solve a problem. The universities, for their side, aimed to ensure that the percentage of female IRIS applicants would be at least the same as the percentage of women in the target group, which is another instance of knowledge integration at the instruments level. Although these measures or instruments theoretically reflect that selection and evaluation procedures are not gender neutral and that practices in universities affect whether women send in proposals, these measures actually work around the problem of norms and values, as I argued before.

In weighing academic output against the number of effective research years (the instruction to the IRIS selectors), the insight that productivity standards are based on male/full-time standards is integrated. Through the application of this measure, an instrument, the productivity norms are adapted to give women/part-time workers a fairer chance to be selected.

### *Aspasia new style*

The insight provided by Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) that Aspasia is worthy of being continued because women do not sufficiently succeed in acquiring research subsidies via the regular ways seems to have been instrumental in setting up Aspasia new style. Incorporating the Aspasia premiums in IRIS shows a conceptual use of knowledge claims about gender mainstreaming in the sense that gender is mainstreamed in a regular NWO grant scheme.

With the Aspasia premiums, NWO encourages universities to promote more women academics. This could be seen to have been influenced by the recommendation of Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003) that NWO continue underlining the importance of incentive programmes to universities. It also instrumentally acts on the finding of Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot (2003) that fewer female IRIS laureates than male laureates estimate that their chances to become professor have increased because of the IRIS grant. NWO indeed states that the Aspasia premiums aim to stimulate women's upward mobility because the number of women promoted to professorships lags behind compared to that of men (NWO 2006a, 2007b).

To conclude, instrumental as well as conceptual use of knowledge about women in science occurred in Aspasia and IRIS, but I have not found instances of symbolic knowledge integration. At the knowledge level, concepts, instruments, and theoretical insights were integrated.

## **5.2.5 Reflection of contemporary feminist understandings of sex and gender**

Does the integration of knowledge about women in science by NWO reflect contemporary feminist understandings about sex and gender? In Chapter 3, I stipulated that that would be the case if concepts and theories of sex and gender that underlie policy practices are used in a way that matches common feminist understandings. That is, the concepts of sex and gender should be used in a non-universal and non-essentialist way, and gender should be linked to power and to other social categories.

In implementing Aspasia, NWO recognised that the differences in women and men's academic careers are not due to biological differences between the sexes or due to supposedly intrinsic female characteristics, such as being less ambitious or qualified. The fact that NWO installed the incentive programme demonstrates that they believed that there are ambitious and qualified women of whom they expected research proposals. Instead of locating the

problem of women's underrepresentation in women themselves, they saw that the problem was located elsewhere. This means that they thought about sex and gender in a non-essentialist way.

It is especially visible in the reasoning behind the IRIS programme that NWO understands that gender is linked to power. NWO has taken measures in IRIS (such as their commitment to equal success rates of men and women, and the universities' agreement to ensure a targeted percentage of female applicants) because of the observation that women researchers face bigger obstacles in their career than men. It is explicitly mentioned in NWO policy documents (cf. Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003) that this partly results from male-dominated scientific norms and values, showing that NWO takes into account that gender is related to power. However, one must keep in mind my earlier note that NWO's policy merely works around the gender bias in selection procedures.

In the Aspasia case study, the relation of gender to other axes of power especially applies to age and ethnicity. The first thing to be noted is that NWO used no age limits in the original Aspasia programme. In the IRIS programme, candidates can send in research proposals for the Veni, Vidi, or Vici rounds depending on how long ago they earned their PhD. The maximum number of years between their PhD and their application may be prolonged in case of long-term leave for pregnancy, parental, and care leave. This takes into account that some women (and men) have passed this limit because of career breaks. NWO thus takes into account possible age differences between equally qualified male and female applicants.

Regarding ethnicity, it is striking that Aspasia pays no attention to this social category. As mentioned in section 5.2.2, the programme only focuses on women and does not take into account that this group consists of women with diverse ethnic backgrounds. The NWO policy is instead based on the idea of separate social categories. This is confirmed when one looks at the NWO Mosaic programme, the incentive programme for graduates from ethnic minority groups. In 2004, about half of the Mosaic candidates were women, and two thirds of the awardees were women. In 2005, about two thirds of the candidates were women, and more than three quarters of the awardees were women. In 2006 and 2007, women again formed the majority of candidates and awardees. According to press releases about Mosaic, female candidates performed 'remarkably well' (NWO 2004, 2007a). This phrasing suggests the high-quality performances of the female applicants came as a surprise. It would go too far to conclude that NWO underestimates the capacities of female black and migrant graduates (although the implication is present), but it does show that NWO did not approach the Mosaic programme from an intersectional perspective. Such a perspective would have accounted for gender differences among graduates from ethnic minority groups.

It can thus be concluded that Aspasia is 'white' and that Mosaic is 'gender blind'. In other words, NWO does not take into account how the social categories of gender and ethnicity intersect. This conclusion also means that the concepts of sex and gender as well as that of ethnicity are employed in a universal way, not acknowledging differences between women or differences between ethnic minority groups.

### ***5.2.6 Ideological change or political impact***

In my research model, I pointed out that knowledge about sex and gender cannot be separated from the political project of Women's Studies. The scholars in this field are committed to change, to having an impact on society. In this section, I will analyse whether the integration of knowledge about women in science involves an ideological change or political impact in

policymaking. I stated that integration of knowledge about sex and gender cannot be characterised as successful without this political impact.

### ***How a complex problem becomes uncomplicated***

I wrote earlier that the available knowledge about women's underrepresentation shows it to be a complex problem: it is about (a lack of diversity in) the composition of personnel, as well as about scientific norms and values. Looking at knowledge integration from this perspective shows that Aspasia only responds to the quantitative aspect of women's underrepresentation. NWO focuses on reaching a higher number of women senior lecturers and (with the Aspasia premiums) also a higher number of women professors. In IRIS, the focus is also on reaching a targeted number of women applicants and grantees. In the descriptions of Aspasia and IRIS' programmes and goals, as well as in NWO policy documents, annual reports, and press releases, the underrepresentation of women is merely mentioned as a numerical issue. Thus, NWO focuses on the quantitative and not the normative aspect in both its problem definition and its policy interventions. There is only one occasion where NWO refers to the symbolic level. In its policy document for 2007-2010 (NWO 2006b), NWO announced that it wants to contribute to the visibility of women and people from ethnic minorities, for instance by paying explicit attention in its communication to the academic performance of 'role models' from these groups.

As I described (section 5.2.2), NWO hardly pays attention to its norms and values. Such an approach would have implied closer attention to, for instance, how representations of gender construct the model of the scientist and how this reverberates in institutional practices such as selection procedures. Ignoring this aspect of the problem, for instance by not installing policy measures that open up possibilities to reassess definitions of science and scientific quality, implies that the male-dominated norms and values are left intact. I thus conclude that a change in power relations has not occurred.

More generally, it can be said that NWO does not make use of knowledge claims about the qualitative aspect of the problem or about how greater gender diversity in science can improve the innovation level and quality of scientific research. It is striking that this quality issue is not mentioned in NWO's communication about the Aspasia programme. Though NWO acknowledges the waste of female talent, it neglects that in under-representing women academics universities and research institutes miss chances to improve the quality of science. An NWO press release (NWO 2000a) about the first Aspasia round mentions that the increase in women senior lecturers will result in structural changes in the ratio of men to women academics. The only effect of a changed ratio the press release referred to is a bigger talent pool for higher positions; there is no mentioning of possible or foreseen qualitative changes. The only instance where this is referred to is the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999, where the AWT chair stressed that a diverse work force can lead to innovation and contributes to the quality of science. However, this ideological perspective has not been put into action by NWO.

Moreover, NWO does not seem to recognise the interconnection between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the issue. The IRIS goals provide a good example of this. The goal of IRIS is to promote innovation in academic research; the scheme is designed to give excellent researchers the opportunity to conduct their own research and thus to help them gain entry to the academy or to earn a promotion. NWO also uses this programme to promote women's careers in academic research. It has been argued in several research reports in this case study that by increasing the number of women researchers, i.e. by creating more diversity amongst researchers, one would by definition stimulate the level of innovation and the quality of research. However, NWO does not mention this.

### ***Not a word about gender discrimination or gender bias***

In my view, NWO addresses the problem of women's underrepresentation in a businesslike manner. That is because, apart from reducing the problem to a numerical issue, NWO also leaves out any specifics about the reasons for the problem. NWO documents only mention that Aspasia aims to reach an adequate representation of women in higher academic positions and aims to promote women to senior lecturer or professor. In this businesslike approach, references to gender discrimination or gender bias are omitted, whereas this is an important source of the problem. The only instance where NWO uses the term discrimination is in the words of its chair, Reinder van Duinen, in the closing session of the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999. He there refers to the accumulation of small instances of discrimination that build up to create inequality. However, this view can be called politically innocent, as no one seems to be held accountable for the instances of discrimination or the resulting inequality. In conclusion, the depoliticised way in which knowledge and insights are integrated means that no change in power relations was brought about.

I find the omission of gender discrimination or unfairness towards women particularly striking because the uproar about the problem of women's underrepresentation and the roots of the Aspasia programme both lie in knowledge claims about gender discrimination in peer review processes. A clear statement about this was for instance made in relation to the leaky pipeline in the ETAN-report. In discussing "the astonishing impact of gender on the *outcome* of scientific careers" the authors state that: "To ignore these patterns is to accept discrimination in the sciences" (EC 2000, p. 13). It would go too far to point the finger at NWO for accepting discrimination, but the general line is that discrimination or the gender bias is not explicitly brought up and not explicitly tackled with policy measures. Addressing the gender bias would have meant a change in power relations.

In the way NWO deals with the problem of women's underrepresentation, the problem is largely removed from its discriminative background. The feminist or political claims about the gender bias in selection procedures have not been taken up by NWO. NWO certainly does not call Aspasia a feminist programme. What has been removed from the picture is the feminist view that women ought to have equal access to research positions, grants, and other resources.

I want to use one last example to illustrate that NWO does not take a possible gender bias into account in its research structures. A NWO press release about the MEERVOUD programme (NWO 2000b), which also mentions MEERVOUD's connection to Aspasia, brings up an outdated explanation for women's underrepresentation in the academy that refers to women's private lives. In explaining the background of MEERVOUD, NWO states that the majority of women academics leave the academy before they acquire a lecturer position. The reasons mentioned for this are that only few lecturer positions are available, that working part-time in higher positions is not common, and, above all, that women PhDs start families in that phase of their lives. Bearing in mind the Portegijs (1998) finding that women do not leave the university to take care of children, it is unambiguous that the stereotypical idea that women's private lives are related to their promotion chances has not been cleared up.

Looking back on Aspasia, NWO appraises it as successful. In its strategy for 2007-2010, NWO describes the doubling of the number of female senior lecturers in the two rounds of the original Aspasia programme and mentions that this 'breaking through the glass ceiling' subsequently continued in the promotion of eighteen Aspasia laureates to professorial positions (NWO 2006b).

In the Aspasia evaluations by LOEKWO and the NGV, the researchers applaud Aspasia's effectivity in increasing the number of women in higher academic positions, but they also note that little has changed in women's chances of moving upward the 'regular' way (Bosch and Potting 2001; Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003). They point to the

success of the incentive programme as well as to the dilemmas it presents,<sup>147</sup> arguing that gender mainstreaming is necessary alongside specific programmes like Aspasia.

Some researchers noted that the extent to which female talent is wasted does not correspond to the scope of the Aspasia programme. Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) notes that, even with the extra promotions made by universities, Aspasia's effects are but drops in the ocean. Acknowledging that Aspasia will not be able to completely solve the problem of women's underrepresentation in higher positions, she underlines Aspasia's booster function for the research community as a whole.

### **5.3 Conditions affecting the integration of knowledge in Aspasia**

The Aspasia case study has so far shown that policymakers have become familiar with several knowledge claims about women in science and that some of these claims have been integrated in NWO policies. This section will address the factors that enhanced or hindered integration of knowledge about women in science in NWO policymaking, in particular in the Aspasia programme.

#### **5.3.1 Conditions related to the production of knowledge about sex and gender**

##### ***Partiality***

Following the Feminist Science Studies perspective, I assumed that when actors agree on the political and epistemological values with which knowledge is produced, knowledge integration will be enhanced. In this case study, I see a disagreement between the ideology underlying knowledge claims related to the gendered nature of science and the principles of NWO.

The partial or political perspective with which knowledge about women in science is produced by Women's Studies scholars aiming to contribute to increasing women's participation in the academy manifests itself in the drive to change research policies and academic practices. Several reports argue that gender diversity will lead to greater innovation in research.<sup>148</sup> One of NWO's principles, however, is that science is objective and that it does not matter who (male or female) carries out research. As I made clear, NWO does not take into account that a diverse work force contributes to innovation in science. They basically adhere to the idea that gender does not make a difference in science. There is a discrepancy between the feminist perspective in knowledge claims about women in science and the male-dominated NWO perspective. Both perspectives are partial (situated); the problem is that they are not in agreement with each other.

Thus, the disagreement on norms and values has had a hindering impact on the integration of knowledge claims about women and science that are related to the qualitative aspects of gender diversity. Accordingly, NWO mainly addressed the quantitative aspects of women in science, rather than relating it to the quality of science. This explains why the

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<sup>147</sup> This evaluation is also evident in the title of the evaluation report by Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik (2003).

<sup>148</sup> This is exemplified in the title of the report by Hoving et al. (1998): *Women in science and humanities. The difference that makes the difference.*

integration of knowledge was not accompanied by an ideological change. (See also section 5.3.4.)

### ***Local character of knowledge***

The majority of key knowledge products in this case study specifically dealt with the position of women in universities and with NWO and KNAW grant schemes and funding practices. This means that many of the results are explicitly applicable to NWO. That is, the knowledge claims in these studies had a local or located character and corresponded to the specific context of NWO. For these knowledge claims, the locality was a condition that had a positive influence on knowledge integration. Had the research results been more general or about another specific context, knowledge integration would have been less likely.

That this condition is important can be seen when we compare this to what happened with the knowledge claims of Wennerås and Wold (1997). Their study focused on the medical sciences in a Swedish research council and their findings about sexism and nepotism in peer-review were not deemed applicable *per se* to the Dutch situation at NWO, and hence were not integrated. One first had to examine whether the knowledge claims of Wennerås and Wold applied to the Dutch situation. Their findings did however alert policymakers to the fact that a gender bias can occur in assessment procedures, which stimulated both research into the Dutch situation and spurred policymakers to take action on women in science. The Wennerås and Wold article is thus seen as an important cause for the Aspasia programme (Bosch and Potting 2001; Visser, Dierdorff, and Van Emmerik 2003).

### ***Type of research***

Let me assess the impact of the Wennerås and Wold article in more detail. Bosch (1998) argues that one of the reasons for the huge response to their study, besides the fact that it was published in the prestigious journal *Nature*, is that their findings are based on quantitative research, which apparently is more convincing than the whole body of qualitative, historical research that had been done previously. Emphasising that Wennerås and Wold factually proved that there was a problem, Van Vucht Tijssen (Interview) observes that previous Women's Studies research that conveyed a similar message was more easily disposed of as the biased opinions of emancipation-minded women. This implies that knowledge claims originating from a feminist perspective, i.e. from Women's Studies research, were not considered neutral and thus carried little credibility.

The 'non-fashionability' of Women's Studies in management circles (see section 5.1.1) indicates that there is a difference between the contexts of researchers and users, a difference that hindered knowledge integration.

### ***External funding makes a difference***

The expected importance of external research funding is related to the supposition that researchers carrying out research projects with funds external to universities are more outward-looking and consequently more sensitive to the needs of users (outside the academy), a condition derived from Knowledge Utilisation theories. The majority of the research undertaken on women in science was commissioned and funded by actors external to universities, in particular by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. As we saw, these studies were particularly commissioned to gain more insight into the specific situation of users such as universities or NWO, as well as to come up with appropriate measures to counter women's underrepresentation. This makes the sensitivity of the researchers to the needs of users even more likely. As I will show in section 5.3.4, the research results are tuned to the needs of the users. I conclude that the outward-looking perspective of researchers positively impacted knowledge integration.

### **5.3.2 Interaction conditions**

#### ***Linkage mechanisms have a positive effect***

In this case study, I identified two sets of interactions between researchers and users (section 5.1.4). A first set of interactions leading up to the original Aspasia and a second set of interactions wherein those interactions join with interactions leading up to IRIS and eventually Aspasia new style. The interactions between users (NWO, VSNU, and the Ministry of Education) and researchers/experts advisers (AWT, NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH) were especially intense during the first set of interactions and less prominent in the second. In my view, the intense interactions in the first set of interactions laid a foundation for later interactions and brought about a continuation of interactions. In line with the Knowledge Utilisation supposition that these linkage mechanisms make knowledge integration more likely, I conclude that the intense and sustained interactions around Aspasia have positively influenced knowledge integration.

#### ***Peaks of intensity***

The VSNU expert meeting in May 1998 was a place where researchers and users discussed ideas and measures to counter women's underrepresentation; this intense interaction has positively impacted knowledge integration. The 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce, chaired by Van Vucht Tijssen, was important in creating the conditions for this interaction, as the outcomes of this meeting ultimately resulted in Aspasia.

Another event of intense interaction between researchers and a considerable number of leading knowledge actors is the 'Women in Science' conference in October 1999. I conclude that this interaction condition has enhanced the integration of knowledge about women in science. For the original Aspasia, it resulted in additional financial means for the programme via the successful AWT recommendation. It also led to the integration of knowledge claims in IRIS via the succeeding Van Vucht Tijssen report. That is, because knowledge claims from reports about women in science, some of which were presented and discussed at the conference, found incorporation in that report, the mainstreaming of this knowledge resulted in the mainstreaming of gender in the regular IRIS programme.

Another event of intense interaction was the NWO meeting about the future of Aspasia in September 2003. Again, researchers and users came together, this time to evaluate the original Aspasia programme and to discuss future actions. Recommendations made at this meeting, and knowledge and insights from the evaluation reports about Aspasia were integrated in Aspasia new style. Thus, the intense interactions at this NWO meeting seem to have been a condition that positively influenced knowledge integration.

#### ***Continuity of interactions***

The dialogue around Aspasia between, on the one hand, policymakers and research organisations, and on the other hand, researchers and interest organisations in the field of women in science was continuous. Building on the earlier dealings between the Women's Studies field and the Ministry of Education and NWO, I argue that the latter organisations were already 'sensitised' to the topic of women in science, a condition that has enhanced knowledge integration.

The continuous involvement of several people from the researchers' side as well as that of users or policymakers in these knowledge exchanges is another positive factor. This involvement is visible in both meetings and contacts between people, for instance around the production of knowledge. A long-term actor is for example Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, who as vice-president of the Utrecht University board and later as a freelance advisor was involved in

policymaking and research on the topic of women in science. Mineke Bosch continually dealt with the topic as well, also in different functions: as a historian she carried out research on gender and science, as an emancipation policy staffer at Maastricht University she was involved in LOEKWO, and as a Women's Studies expert she was an advisor to the NGV board.

### ***Contextualisation***

As we have seen, the production of knowledge about women in science happened in a contextualised way: societal actors were involved in setting the research agenda and many studies took into account the 'context of application', i.e. organisations like VSNU, NWO, and KNAW where their insights were to be used. Thus we can observe a coming together of the production and application of knowledge. The involvement of people from various organisations in producing knowledge, as advisors or through giving input or comments in other ways, resulted in socially robust knowledge. This contextualisation factor, as Mode 2 suggests, indeed had a positive effect on knowledge integration.

### **5.3.3 Dissemination and communication conditions**

#### ***Concrete recommendations and language***

The majority of researchers in the *Aspasia* case study explicitly addressed potential users by translating their findings into concrete recommendations. Most reports then contain concrete recommendations that are directly addressed to NWO and VSNU, as well as to the Ministry of Education. These policy recommendations are specific and several of these recommendations have been integrated in *Aspasia*, IRIS, and other NWO measures. By pointing to possible benefits of acting on knowledge claims (e.g. Hoving et al. 1998; Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999; AWT 2000) and providing examples of good practices from other countries (e.g. Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999), researchers have adapted their knowledge products to the users. These dissemination efforts have enhanced knowledge integration. Bringmann (Interview) underscores the relevance of such practical recommendations:

Whereas complex analyses can increase insight into the various aspects of the problem of women's underrepresentation, policymakers are dealing with a concrete problem for which practical analyses and solution-oriented research reports are especially helpful.

Bringmann mentions the study by Portegijs as an example of a study that both factually explained the problem and contained suggestions for solving women's underrepresentation.

Understanding *Aspasia* as a practical measure that directly results in a higher number of women senior lecturers may explain why the researchers' complex account of the problem became uncomplicated in NWO policymaking, for instance by not integrating knowledge claims related to the symbolic layer of gender (see section 5.2.6). The qualitative and feminist character of these knowledge claims may also have hindered knowledge integration (cf. section 5.3.1).

Adapting language to the users is another dissemination strategy that Knowledge Utilisation theories consider an enhancing factor in knowledge integration. Keeping in mind that fairness arguments do not resonate well in university policymaking (see section 5.1.1), the fact that many of the research reports highlight the benefits of a more diverse academic workforce is likely to have enhanced knowledge integration. Bringmann (Interview) supports this view, explaining that when the problem of women's underrepresentation is rendered in

terms of inequality or discrimination this precludes some people from taking on board research results.

### ***Dissemination channels***

Researchers in the Aspasia case study have informed potential users about relevant knowledge and insights in several ways. The publication of research findings is one of the obvious ways in which knowledge and insights have been disseminated to NWO. By discussing research results with users, one brings the research results more directly to the users' attention. This for instance happened with the reports of Brouns (1999), Van Vucht Tijssen (2000), and Bosch and Potting (2001), which were discussed with the Minister of Education. Knowledge was also disseminated at conferences and meetings, where users were present. The use of various dissemination channels is a condition that has enhanced the integration of knowledge.

An interesting consequence of the fact that the majority of key knowledge products in this case study was made at the request of actors external to universities is that the results are published in a medium that readily identifies useful knowledge to potential users. That is, research results are published in the form of research reports by organisations such as the AWT (for instance Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999), the Ministry of Education (for instance Portegijs 1998), and the VSNU (for instance Van Vucht Tijssen 2000), rather than via articles in academic journals. This has enhanced the integration of knowledge.

Both the expert meeting organised by the VSNU's 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce as well as the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999 formed an appropriate platform/event to disseminate and exchange knowledge. At the conference, knowledge from several studies was disseminated to concerned policymakers and decision makers. The conference thus provided the opportunity to make potential users aware of relevant knowledge and insights simply by inviting them. The availability of such a dissemination platform has enhanced the integration of knowledge about women in science. If research results had for instance been presented at the European Feminist Research Conference, it is less likely that this would have attracted the attention of policymakers and decision makers to the extent that it did now.

I argue that the use of dissemination channels that specifically addressed users is also due to the fact that research was commissioned by these very users. Thus, the contextualised knowledge production (see above) affected what dissemination channels were used. Since both contextualisation as well as researchers' dissemination efforts positively impacted knowledge integration, these conditions have strengthened each other.

### ***Travelling knowledge***

A Knowledge Utilisation hypothesis is that when the number of publications increases, researchers have more research results available for use by policymakers. Publications are important because they constitute the materialisation of knowledge about women in science. This case study shows that there is (a large amount of) material evidence on why women's position in science does not just improve with time (and why action is necessary or legitimate). I have discussed the publication of research findings as a dissemination channel above, but there are more reasons why publications are important.

As I have shown in section 5.1.2, a great deal of knowledge 'travels' from one knowledge product to another. In this way, the message that researchers want to convey is repeated in other reports. Thus, the message is not only repeated by using various dissemination channels, but also via references and citations in other knowledge products. Making research results public ('publishing') thus augments the dissemination of knowledge. This condition has enhanced the integration of knowledge, especially because knowledge and

insights from feminist researchers were taken over in mainstream reports. For instance, the advice of the independent or neutral AWT transferred knowledge gathered for them by LOEKWO to the Minister of Education, thereby integrating knowledge from Women's Studies research. This intermediary role of the AWT in knowledge transfer enhanced the impact of knowledge about women in science. The Van Vucht Tijssen report similarly added 'neutral' value to the 'partial' knowledge claims from Women's Studies.

Another important aspect is that the publication of research results was well timed. It came at an appropriate juncture, just as policymakers were dealing with related issues. It therefore was not just the availability of a large amount of knowledge and insights about the problem of women's underrepresentation, but also the timely availability of this knowledge that has enhanced the integration of knowledge about women in science.

### **5.3.4 Conditions located in the realm of the users**

#### *Users' needs and interests*

A match can be discerned between the needs and interests of users and the research results about women in science, a match that according to Knowledge Utilisation is expected to have a positive effect on knowledge integration. In the light of the concerns about future personnel shortages, Aspasia can be seen as a way to keep available talent on board, reduce this shortage, and increase the universities' return on their investment. This need of NWO, the universities, and the Ministry of Education matches research results that show that the underrepresentation of women is a problem that time will not solve and that necessitates an intervention. This match has enhanced the integration of knowledge. This is visible in the fact that NWO, VSNU, and the Ministry of Education set up Aspasia together, an action that exemplifies knowledge integration.

Women's Studies research also highlights that it is unfair that women academics do not attain higher positions in the same way as men do and that they should be equally able to capitalise on their qualities and ambitions. This interest partly resonates with NWO, as it does make statements about not wanting to waste female talent, but NWO still predominantly highlights the numerical growth of women in higher positions that Aspasia effects (see section 5.2.6).<sup>149</sup> The match between emancipation and Human Resources policies, with its benefits to both women and universities, had a positive effect on knowledge integration (cf. Bosch and Potting 2001).

Still, the match between research results and NWO's interests is not perfect. As demonstrated in section 5.2.6, NWO does not take into account that greater gender diversity is beneficial to the level of innovation and the quality of science, whereas promoting the quality and innovation level of science is precisely NWO's major task (see 5.1.5). I argue that not acknowledging this qualitative aspect is due to NWO's basic understanding of quality as a neutral concept.

In IRIS, the interest of universities to make use of female talent and to achieve greater innovation is more outspoken, because IRIS focuses on the entry and upward mobility of talented researchers (NWO 2003), even though it is also linked to personnel problems. Connecting the goal to stimulate women's positions in science to a programme that aims to stimulate innovative research more explicitly connects women to creativity and talent. This has likely enhanced the gender mainstreaming in this programme and in Aspasia new style.

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<sup>149</sup> Also in MEERVOUD, the upward mobility of women is explicitly linked to solving the foreseen shortage of researchers (NWO 2000b).

### ***Institutional norms and practices***

Under ‘Partiality’, I identified that the integration of knowledge claims related to the qualitative aspects of gender diversity has been hindered because of a disagreement between ideologies underlying these claims and the NWO’s ideas about objectivity. A similar disagreement can be seen between the dominant idea that the academic system is based on objectivity and meritocracy (see 5.1.5) and the insights about how a gender bias affects selection procedures. The feminist knowledge claim that it is unfair that women do not have equal access to research grants or positions has not been integrated (see 5.2.6) because of this ideological disagreement.

As I showed, NWO has not fully integrated the insight that gendered norms and values impact selection procedures (see 5.2.2). Instead of tackling these norms and values directly, they work around the problem; after all, integrating this insight would have involved a change in the institutional practice of peer review. Moreover, this concrete practice is informed by the principles of meritocracy and objectivity. Changing the practice would thus have implied an adjustment of the norms. This may explain why only some of the recommendations to further study selection procedures were put into action and that it took a long time before these issues were examined. The depoliticised way of dealing with gendered norms and values may also explain why no measures were initiated that would open up possibilities for reassessing definitions of scientific quality.

This underscores that (some of) the measures that would help tackle the problem of women’s underrepresentation touch the heart of NWO’s organisation.<sup>150</sup> NWO, one could say, is both part of the problem and part of the solution. Because knowledge integration involves not only changes in policy, but (ideally) also changes in organisational practices, this makes the integration of knowledge more complicated. This far-reaching consequence has hindered knowledge integration. This conclusion is in line with another reason that Bosch (1998) mentions for the huge response that the findings of Wennerås and Wold generated: their findings brought into disrepute the peer-review system that is one of the foundations of quality assurance in science.

### ***Knowledge hits home***

A more positive condition that I want to bring up is that people close to the professors, deans, and NWO and KNAW managers involved in setting up Aspasia played an important role in convincing them of the problems that women in academic careers encounter. Both Bringmann and Van Vucht Tijssen (Interviews) reported on the fact that many of those men working at universities and research organisations had daughters studying or working in the academy; these daughters drew attention to the fact that women’s careers in academia do not progress in the same way as those of men. By discussing these issues at home, the problem became concrete and close-by, which increased their awareness of the problem. This condition enhanced knowledge integration.

## ***5.3.5 Conditions related to the power aspect of knowledge transfer***

### ***Support for Dutch knowledge claims***

My case study shows a match between knowledge claims put forward by researchers in the

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<sup>150</sup> The title of the AWT background study by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999), *In het hart van de wetenschap: Naar total e-quality en diversiteit in de universiteit* [In the heart of science: Towards total e-quality and diversity in the university], exemplifies this issue.

field on women in science and the aims and interests of actors in the broader, international institutional landscape. According to Mode 2, this match is expected to enhance knowledge integration. The European Commission's activities and policies on women in science are particularly supportive of knowledge claims on this topic. Interestingly, the European discourse about women in science is put in more political terms than the discourse at the national level, as the Commission for instance speaks about achieving gender equality. That the European Commission is a driving force behind national policies in the field of women in science is evident in that the European Commission's targets function as a norm and put pressure on national actors to pursue those set goals. This is for instance visible in the Dutch ministerial goal to have at least 15% women professors in 2010, which was set following the Lisbon goals. On top of political pressure exerted via the WEV, this, in turn, puts pressure on universities and research organisations to meet the terms.

Interestingly, it was partly through the lobbying of WISE, in which Dutch Women's Studies scholars played a leading role, that the European Commission started to pay attention to gender in science to the extent that it does. The efforts at the European level, or broader, the knowledge exchanges between 'Europe' and the Netherlands, thus boomeranged back to Dutch knowledge actors with a positive effect on knowledge integration.

Knowledge integration was also enhanced because outcomes of European and American studies (see section 5.1.1) were supportive of Dutch research findings about women in science. In this regard, the leaky pipeline and accumulated disadvantages theories were influential. The resonation of the latter theory, specifically in the words of Reinder van Duinen at the 'Women in Science' conference, also illustrates the relevance of people in transferring knowledge. Since it was a member of the MIT research team that convinced him of the seriousness of the problem, one can pose the question whether it was the transfer of embodied knowledge more than the knowledge in the MIT-report that was significant. Notwithstanding the importance I attach to publications (see section 5.3.3) and my argument that knowledge is interwoven in products and people (see section 5.1.4), this particular example suggests that knowledge in research products (alone) was not convincing enough; embodied knowledge was apparently more powerful. This becomes even more likely when taking into account the advantage of direct or personal contact with researchers. Van Vucht Tijssen (Interview) explained that such personal contacts are excellent opportunities to enquire about the research methods or data used, which can shed a clearer light on the study and on the interpretation of its outcomes.

Another question that can be raised is whether knowledge and insights from Dutch studies (be they in the form of people or knowledge products) were not convincing enough in themselves. Did the fact that the knowledge came from someone from a prestigious American institution like MIT carry greater weight? What about the fact that the MIT president and dean, people in powerful positions, both acknowledged the problems at MIT? Taking into account MIT's status as an institute that is also associated with value-free science (cf. section 5.1.1) and the disputed status of Women's Studies (cf. section 5.3.1), it is likely that knowledge from MIT was accorded a certain status, and probably a higher status than (feminist) Dutch knowledge claims would have been accorded.

At the national level, the never-realised national expert centre is evidence of a lacking match between strategies: despite the NGV and NOV's efforts to realise such a centre, the Ministry of Education and the VSNU did not go through with it. Since one of the functions of such a centre was to make managers and policymakers knowledgeable about research insights and policy experiences, its absence is likely to have hindered knowledge integration. Given that one of the ideas behind this centre was to support gender mainstreaming efforts in policymaking and practice, one could conclude that this has especially hindered the use of expertise about gender mainstreaming.

### ***International naming and shaming***

The key studies about women in science in this case study made it crystal clear that women in Dutch universities are underrepresented in higher positions. Though Women's Studies researchers had long argued that this is a problem in itself, the problem became more pressing when it became painfully visible that the position of women in science in the Netherlands was the lowest anywhere in Europe (see section 5.1.1). This 'shameful' position seems to have made the problem so significant that it became worth acting on. I come to this conclusion because this bad international position, apart from being mentioned in (Women's Studies) research reports, was explicitly brought up in NWO policy documents and also highlighted by the Minister of Education (see section 5.1.1). Thus, the international 'naming and shaming' of the Netherlands created a need to increase the number of women among higher academics, hence also opening up opportunities for knowledge integration.

That the Netherlands is sensitive to benchmark-like information can be seen in, for instance, the recurrent mentions of the comparison of the Netherlands to Botswana when it comes to women in science. Though the comparison dates back to 1994, it still reappears frequently.<sup>151</sup> Though there are difficulties in comparing scores from dissimilar systems of higher education and the comparison with Botswana can be criticised for its Eurocentric character, it nonetheless had an impact. One can also perceive a competitive attitude in relation to the Lisbon goals. The goal of the Ministry of Education to acquire a position among the top knowledge economies points towards a drive to achieving success over others. This supports my conclusion that the rhetoric about 'the Dutch case' became an instrument in improving the low Dutch score on women in science.

Given that NWO and the VSNU could both counter the Netherlands' low international ranking on women in science and solve (future) personnel problems (see section 5.3.4) through Aspasia, it seems likely that the coincidence of these interests has reinforced (chances for) knowledge integration. That is, it entails a double match: a match between research results and users' needs and interests, as well as a match between the aims of researchers and those of institutions in the background of knowledge production.

### ***Power differences***

The power differences between actors in the knowledge transfer process, especially the fact that researchers and the interest organisations NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH cannot directly influence policy, is likely to have hindered the knowledge integration in research policies. This relates to the condition derived from Feminist Science Studies that when actors occupy equal power positions, integration of knowledge will be enhanced.

I argue that with more equal positions, more knowledge could have been integrated. For example, one of the knowledge gaps that I identified (see section 5.2.2) is related to the gender expertise of people responsible for evaluating and selecting research proposals. If Women's Studies researchers would have been asked to be involved, it is likely that they would have made efforts to ensure that people in such key positions would be knowledgeable about the possible 'gender effects' in selection and evaluation procedures.

In light of the power differences between the actors, the alliance between the NGV and the AWT positively impacted knowledge integration. This alliance is manifest in the AWT

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<sup>151</sup> The comparison with Botswana is even being recalled when women's participation in other sectors than the academy is at stake. In a newspaper article about the absence of women in the formation of the new government (Nourhussen 2007), Carmen Breeveld, who was chosen as 'black businesswoman' in 2003, mentions that the Netherlands scores as bad as Botswana and Pakistan when it comes to women's participation in higher positions. Although the comparison in these cases is not accurate, it shows the far-reaching impact that the ranking of Stiver Lie, Malik, and Harris (1994) has made in the Netherlands.

initiating both the study by Hoving et al. (1998) and the making of an English summary of that study. Van der Steen and Hoogland (1999, p. 189) in this regard highlight the bundling of forces between the AWT and the NGV and its European counterpart WISE, calling the AWT “one of the first official political advisory boards to acknowledge the urgency of the WISE-campaign”. The influential position of the AWT is visible, for instance, in the Ministry of Education agreeing to AWT’s suggestion to assign more money to the Aspasia programme.

One of the most important factors in making policies to increase women’s participation in the academy possible is the support of decision makers in research institutes and universities. This kind of commitment from the top was sufficiently present to instigate Aspasia. The AWT (2000) in this regard marks the ‘Women in Science’ conference of October 1999 as an occasion that bears evidence of this managerial support. As Bringmann highlighted, people in powerful positions can make a difference. Brouns (Interview) in this regard stresses that an effective strategy for implementing Women’s Studies insights is when ‘people in the know’ get in touch with like-minded people who are in a position to influence decision makers and are capable of fine-tuning knowledge to the political agenda. From this perspective, it is evident that Van Vucht Tijssen, for instance, was such an ‘ally’ who could bridge the gap between knowledge and power.

## **5.4 Taking stock**

Through installing the Aspasia programme, the NWO, the VSNU, and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science increased the upward mobility of women in academia, integrating the knowledge claim that time would not solve the problem of women’s underrepresentation in higher academic ranks and the insight that incentives are the only effective instrument to counter the problem. Aspasia indicates a new conceptualisation of the problem as related to the structure and culture of research organisations, and no longer defined as a problem related to women’s personal situations. Since Aspasia was a specific programme for women, knowledge claims about structural and cultural changes in research organisations and universities were not integrated. In the new style of Aspasia however, insights about gender mainstreaming were integrated, as Aspasia was incorporated in the regular IRIS scheme.

Knowledge and insights about women and science have partly been integrated by NWO. Women’s underrepresentation in the academy is predominantly interpreted as a numerical issue and NWO’s solution does not really incorporate knowledge about gendered norms and values, norms that for instance affect selection and evaluation procedures. Leaving out the feminist perspective which reveals discriminative aspects to the problem of women’s underrepresentation, knowledge is integrated in a depoliticised way. NWO did not take into account the insight that gender diversity enhances innovation and quality in science. The complex account of the problem Women’s Studies researchers provided thus became uncomplicated in NWO policymaking, for instance because knowledge claims related to the symbolic layer of gender were not integrated. In Aspasia new style, specifically in the IRIS programme, insights about gendered norms and values are recognised, but because of the instrumental way in which they are integrated NWO merely works around those norms and values.

Many studies were undertaken on women and science before, during, and after Aspasia, co-evolving with policymaking on the topic. To a large extent, knowledge was commissioned by external actors and motivated by broader societal and political concerns with women’s underrepresentation. This contextualised knowledge production, also involving users and other societal actors, resulted in socially robust knowledge and recommendations

for solving the problem that explicitly addressed potential users, all of which enhanced knowledge integration. Communicating the benefits of a diverse academic workforce, rather than highlighting aspects of unfairness towards women helped knowledge integration as well. Knowledge also travelled between research reports, indicating a stacking up of knowledge. That insights from Women's Studies research were integrated in the mainstream AWT and Van Vucht Tijssen reports especially enhanced knowledge integration, adding neutral value to feminist knowledge claims. It should be added that over the course of the Aspasia programme, and even before the programme started, a large number of people became knowledgeable about research results, adding to the dissemination and integration of knowledge.

Research results were brought to the attention of research policymakers and university leaders directly, for instance via meetings where insights and possible solutions were discussed. These interactions between policymakers and researchers were intense and sustained, also building on earlier dealings between the Women's Studies field and the Ministry of Education and NWO, which enhanced knowledge integration. Important in this regard were the VSNU expert meeting in May 1998, through which the 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce, chaired by Van Vucht Tijssen, created the conditions for Aspasia to come about, the AWT 'Women in Science' conference in October 1999, and the NWO meeting about the future of Aspasia in September 2003, which led to knowledge integration in Aspasia new style.

A match between the aim of researchers and interest organisations to enable women to break through the glass ceiling and the need of policymakers and universities to reduce an expected personnel shortage enhanced knowledge integration. A disagreement between the feminist perspective underlying knowledge claims related to the gendered nature of science and the principles of NWO that foreground objective and neutral science has hindered the incorporation of knowledge about gendered norms and values. Knowledge claims about a gender bias in research practices and selection procedures were difficult to integrate because NWO adheres to the idea of science as a meritocracy and of quality as a neutral concept.

The partiality of Women's Studies seems to have hindered knowledge integration, because the feminist and qualitative character of the field negatively impacted the status of knowledge about women in science. Support from high-status and neutral actors improved the credibility of knowledge claims and seems to have compensated for the field's partiality.

Although power differences between actors involved in knowledge transfer have likely hindered knowledge integration, for instance limiting the use of expertise about gender mainstreaming, alliances between researchers and interest organisations NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH on the one hand and the AWT and influential people like Van Vucht Tijssen on the other hand enhanced knowledge integration. Through these alliances, the gap between knowledge and power could be bridged, a necessary condition since decision makers are ultimately the ones who decide on changes to policies. In this regard, the increasing commitment from the highest levels of research organisations and universities to stimulating women's upward mobility was a positive factor.

Lastly, international attention to the topic of women in science, caused by the Wennerås and Wold article, enhanced knowledge integration in several ways. Dutch knowledge claims were supported by findings from other studies. The activities of the European Commission, partly brought about by the Dutch dominated lobby of WISE, were also a driving force behind national policies and research on women in science. The low international ranking of the Netherlands regarding the position of women in science encouraged both knowledge production and policymaking, enhancing chances for knowledge integration.

## Chapter 6 Case 3: The historical and cultural Canon of the Netherlands

On 15 October 2009, feminist scholar Jolande Withuis won the Dutch ‘Grote Geschiedenisprijs’ for her book about war hero Pim Boellaard. The prize goes to the most original and thorough historical piece of history writing that is accessible to a broad audience. This well-respected history prize, an initiative of the *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, and TV broadcasters NPS and VPRO, was awarded to a woman for the first time. Although it was only awarded for the third time, one could say that Withuis made it to the top of this genre, into the canon of this field. The term ‘canon’ was originally used to denote the collection of biblical books that the Church accepts as genuine.<sup>152</sup> In the field of history, a canon can be defined as “a historical grand narrative” or, more specifically, “what textbook histories, historical commemorations and the dominant collective memory have in common” (Stuurman and Grever 2007, p. 3-4). Traditionally, women were underrepresented in history, both as historians and as subjects in history. The emergence of the field of Women’s History would attempt change this by specifically researching the history of women as well as the gendered character of the historical discipline itself. With the Women’s Studies knowledge gap in mind, we know that the knowledge produced in this field does not automatically lead to an integration of Women’s History insights in the mainstream discipline. Understanding the canon as a specific example from this historical field, I will study the transfer and exchanges of knowledge from Women’s History in relation to the making of a particular canon. This case study provides an analysis of how, whether, and under what conditions knowledge from Women’s History was integrated in this particular canon.

The canon at hand is the *Canon* of the Netherlands: a collection of knowledge about Dutch history and culture that is deemed essential to everyone in the Netherlands. It was established after the Education Council, in January 2005, presented a report (Onderwijsraad 2005) to the erstwhile Minister of Education in which it recommended establishing a cultural and historical canon to reinforce the relevance of education to society. The Minister of Education, Maria van der Hoeven, took up this recommendation and decided to have a historical canon developed for use in primary and secondary education. On 26 May 2005, she assigned this task to a Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon.<sup>153</sup>

The Canon Committee published the *Canon* in October 2006 (Van Oostrom 2006b), accompanied by a book on the rationale behind its design (Van Oostrom 2006a).<sup>154</sup> In May 2007, the Canon Committee reported on the reception of the *Canon* and presented a revised *Canon* (Van Oostrom 2007b). That is, following the presentation of the initial *Canon*, the Committee used the responses of persons and institutions in the field of education and cultural heritage to rework the initial *Canon*.

The *Canon* consists of fifty so-called windows referring to people and events in Dutch history and culture, starting circa 3.000 BC with ‘Megalithic tombs’ and ending in the present with ‘Europe’. The fifty sections are called windows because they offer a “view” of the history and culture of the Netherlands (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 39). The window texts are elaborated in sub-topics and references. Apart from the windows, fourteen main lines connect the persons, events, and topics in the *Canon*. In addition to the book, a special wall chart

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<sup>152</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “canon, n.”  
[dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/cgi/entry/50032546](http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/cgi/entry/50032546) (accessed 5 January 2010).

<sup>153</sup> In this chapter, I will use ‘*Canon*’, with a capital C and in italics, when dealing with the canon of Dutch culture and history that has been established by the Canon Committee. In other instances, I will use ‘canon’.

<sup>154</sup> An English version of the *Canon* (Van Oostrom 2007a) was published in 2007.

shows the iconic images of the fifty windows on a timeline. All this is also published on the website [www.entoen.nu](http://www.entoen.nu).

The perceived relevance of a canon in the early 21<sup>st</sup>-century Netherlands on the one hand rests on the contention that young people in the Netherlands are somehow deficient in knowledge about their country's history and culture, and on the other hand relates to widespread discussions about cultural identity; with societal concerns about 'integrating' newcomers, the canon is also supposed to communicate our cultural identity (Onderwijsraad 2005). The Education Council's appeal for a canon was thus embedded in discussions about citizenship, education, and history in a time of social upheaval. The murder of filmmaker and polemicist Theo van Gogh in November 2004 intensified the discussions about national identity, multicultural society, and integration issues that had already swelled since politician Pim Fortuyn was murdered in 2002 (Kurstjens 2007).<sup>155</sup>

The Education Council report thus set off a broad debate about the canon. Historians, journalists, politicians, and the public threw themselves into the proceedings and media coverage was widespread. Major topics of discussion are the preference for a chronological or a thematic approach to history education, the desirability of a national canon, and the status of history as a subject in schools (Klein 2006). Views on the canon differ widely, ranging from professors who advocate a canon, such as Maarten Doorman (2004), to those who assess the *Canon* as 'completely unnecessary', such as Maarten van Rossem (in Bouma 2006a).

Debates about cultural heritage and the historical canon also take place in other European countries as national canons are revitalised across the continent (Grever 2008). The focus on national canons and with it national identities reflects the disorientation that people experience due to globalisation, migration, and the growing European Union (Stuurman 2006b). In Denmark, a cultural canon was compiled of the 108 most important works in Denmark's cultural heritage, with the aim of making the Danish people aware of who they are and to strengthen their sense of community.<sup>156</sup> In Greece, the introduction of a new history textbook written from an international historical perspective instigated a heated discussion about whether the book destabilised the Greek identity (Liakos 2008).<sup>157</sup>

Using the Education Council's working definition, the Canon Committee defined a canon as "the valuable aspects of our culture and history which we wish to pass on via education to new generations" (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 18). The production of a canon can be seen as a process of defining what counts as valuable or important knowledge. This canonisation of knowledge, of cultural capital, thus entails the inclusion of some knowledge claims and the exclusion of others. Women's historians have thoroughly studied the exclusion of women from history, laying bare a male bias in the historical discipline, as well as undertaking efforts to create more inclusive histories. In the Netherlands, the field of Women's History is characterised by a high level of development and institutionalisation. However, as stated in Chapter 1, women's historians are concerned about the extent to which their knowledge is integrated in mainstream history.

This case study deals with the transfer and integration of knowledge from Women's History into the domain of civil society. That is, I see the *Canon* as the vehicle with which

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<sup>155</sup> The discussions about ethnic groups have a clear gender dimension, which is for instance visible in opposing emancipated Dutch or Western women to suppressed Muslim women. For more details, see Botman, Jouwe, and Wekker 2001.

<sup>156</sup> See [kulturkanon.kum.dk](http://kulturkanon.kum.dk) and [www.kum.dk/sw37439.asp](http://www.kum.dk/sw37439.asp) (accessed 10 November 2008).

<sup>157</sup> In academy and society, research and debates also deal with canonisation at the European level (e.g. Passerini 1998; Bal and Van Nierop 2008). Examples of projects and conferences are the European Science Foundation project 'Representations of the past: The writing of national histories in Europe' (2003-2008) and the conference 'A European cultural canon,' organised by the Centre for International Cultural Activities and EUNIC Netherlands, Amsterdam, 8 December 2006 and 10 February 2007.

historical knowledge is transmitted to civil society. In the context of the *Canon*, this specifically means primary and secondary education, but also encompasses the wider public. Questions that will be addressed are: How was the Dutch *Canon* created? How did knowledge from Women's History end up in the *Canon*? What criteria were used for the in- and exclusion of knowledge claims about history and culture? How were women's historians and feminist organisations involved in compiling the *Canon*? What does this mean for the integration of knowledge from Women's History?

To gain insight into knowledge transfer, I have interviewed three members of the Canon Committee (Frits van Oostrom, Susan Legêne, and Els Kloek) and two specialists who were involved in the *Canon* debate: Maria Grever, director of the Center for Historical Culture at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, and Evelien Rijsbosch, board member of the Dutch Association for Women's History and information specialist at Aletta, Institute for women's history.<sup>158</sup> Key documents for my analysis are the Education Council's report, the initial and revised versions of the *Canon*, their accompanying rationales, and many related articles in journals, books, newspapers, and other media. In my analysis, I have also included material from the *Canon* website and the Canon Committee archive.<sup>159</sup> This archive consists of documents and minutes of the Committee's meetings, as well as minutes of meetings with experts, interested parties, and advisors.

In this chapter, I will describe the field of Women's History and the process through which knowledge from this field is transferred to the *Canon* (section 6.1); answer the question to what extent this knowledge is integrated in the *Canon* (section 6.2); and analyse the conditions that affected knowledge integration (section 6.3).<sup>160</sup>

## 6.1 Knowledge transfer in the Canon

This section deals with how knowledge from Women's History was transferred to the *Canon*. I will describe the production and dissemination of knowledge in this field, profiling the available knowledge and insights and the situatedness of this knowledge. I will also zoom in on knowledge claims that are related to canonisation and education. I will analyse the interactions that took place in the context of the *Canon*, focussing on the interactions between women's historians and the Canon Committee. Lastly, I will take a close look at the relations between the actors involved.

I use the term Women's History to refer to knowledge about sex and gender produced in the historical discipline. Some authors (e.g. Dieteren 1999) make a distinction between Women's History and Gender History, where the former refers to the early period of knowledge production in which women are a major research topic and the latter to the later period in which socio-cultural and historical phenomena are studied from a gender perspective. The term Gender History gradually replaced Women's History (Dieteren 1999). However, in line with the broad definition of Women's Studies that I employ (see Chapter 1),

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<sup>158</sup> Interview Kloek, May 23, 2008; Interview Legêne, May 26, 2008; Interview Grever, June 4, 2008; Interview Van Oostrom, June 13, 2008; Interview Rijsbosch, December 16, 2009. See also Appendix I.

<sup>159</sup> Documents and minutes of the meeting of the Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon, 31 August 2005 - 3 July 2007 ('Canon van Nederland/Vergaderstukken en -verslagen/vergadering 1-18'). I visited the archive of the Canon Committee on 24 October 2008 at Anno, The Hague. References to the archive in this chapter are indicated with 'CC archive'.

<sup>160</sup> Preliminary results of parts of this case study (Van der Sanden 2009) were published in the context of the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence.

Women's History in this case study encompasses knowledge and insights from both Women's and Gender History.

### **6.1.1 The field of Women's History: knowledge production and dissemination**

#### ***Knowledge production***

Women's History is an established field of study in the Netherlands. Since the mid-1970s, it has strived for more attention for women and girls in history.<sup>161</sup> This entailed acknowledging women's contribution in social, economic, cultural, and political domains, and countering the stereotypical representation of the women (spouses, housewives, exceptional women) who already did figure in history (Grever 1989). In the theoretical development of the field, the gender concept of Joan Scott (1986) played a crucial role (cf. Chapter 1). Scott argued that gender is a useful category of historical analysis, whereby she understands gender as a constitutive element of social relationships and a primary way of signifying power relations.

With the concept of gender, Women's History moved beyond studying and writing about women's culture or the 'woman's sphere' (Cott 1977). It opened the door to addressing the different impact of historical events and processes on men and women's experiences and the role of gender in the definition of historical concepts such as war, labour, and family (Grever 1989). Thus, women's history is "not just an attempt to correct or supplement an incomplete record of the past but a way of critically understanding how history operates as a site of the production of gender knowledge" (Scott 1988, p. 10).

In this critical approach to the historical discipline, one of the issues was the unravelling of the distinction between the public and the private spheres. This meant both showing that a sexual division of labour is not valid at all times and criticising the hierarchical character of the distinction (Waaldijk 1993). In answering the question why 'mainstream' history is about public history (politics, economy, art, and sciences) and not about the private sphere, the insight that this distinction is an outcome of gendered power relations was instrumental (Scott 1988). Rather than taking differences between the sexes for granted, women's historians aimed to gain more insight into the *raison d'être* of gender relations.

The relation between gender and ethnicity, and the history of black women received attention from the mid-1980s (see for instance Reijs et al. 1986). Women's historians focused on gender, ethnicity, and class in relation to (post-) colonialism; in the Netherlands this especially entails the study of the Dutch East Indies colonies (e.g. Grever and Waaldijk 1998; Captain 2002). The Dutch movement of black, migrant, and refugee women has been studied in the context of the multicultural society (Botman, Jouwe, and Wekker 2001).

Scott (1988) underlines that the role of gender in signifying power relations not only affects the definitions of historical concepts, but also what counts as history. The male bias in defining history resulted in a focus on the public sphere from which women were traditionally excluded. Thus, gender plays a role in decisions about what knowledge will end up in history books or what person or event is of historical importance (cf. Waaldijk 1993).

#### ***Dissemination of knowledge***

Knowledge produced in Women's History enters the world in various ways. Since 1978, there has been the *Women's history newspaper*, which since 1995 is published as the *Historica*

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<sup>161</sup> The first feminist wave already gave an impulse to historiography about women and to the production of biographical and commemorative books about feminist pioneers (Grever 1989).

journal. Under the auspices of the Dutch Association for Women's History (VVG - Vereniging voor Vrouwengeschiedenis), *Een tipje van de sluier* was published (1978-2000). Women's historians annually publish the best of their discipline's work in their *Yearbook* series (since 1980). Articles are also published in regular history journals, as well as in Women's Studies journals, such as *Lover* (1974- ) and the Dutch Women's Studies journal *Tijdschrift voor Vrouwenstudies* (1980, continued as *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* from 1988 onwards). Appendix VI provides more details on Women's History journals, yearbooks, and bibliographies.

Women's History publications reflect the diversity of the field: revealing different disciplinary perspectives (political history, social and economic history, cultural history, family history, agricultural history, etc.) and covering a variety of topics and times. After the institutionalisation of the field, the first PhD dissertations were written in the mid-1980s. Appendix VII provides an overview of 67 Women's History PhD dissertations written between 1985 and 2009.

The field of Women's History is documented in archives, comprehensive (online) bibliographies, and the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women. These make information about Women's History and biographies of Dutch women in history easily accessible for historians as well as a broader public. Archives with a large collection of Women's History are Aletta, formerly known as the IIAV (International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement),<sup>162</sup> the IISG (International Institute of Social History)<sup>163</sup>, and there are also archives and documentation centres for gay and lesbian history (for example the International Gay/Lesbian Information centre and Archive (IHLIA) and the Lesbisch Archief Nijmegen). Lastly, museums and exhibitions embody the history of women and the women's movement, for example the 1998 IIAV exhibition in remembrance of the Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labour of 1898.<sup>164</sup> The increased attention to the diversity of memory cultures and *lieux-de-mémoire* is also visible in Women's History (see, for instance, M. Huisman and Kopijn 2003; Grever 2004b; Kopijn 2005; Bosch 2007).

The journals, dissertations, and archives reflect the high level of institutionalisation of Women's History in the Netherlands, an institutionalisation that took place both in- and outside universities. In universities, women's historians are affiliated to History departments or to (interdisciplinary) Centres for Gender Studies. With women's historians occupying several chairs, either in Women's History or in other historical fields, Women's History has made it to the highest ranks in the academy. The chairs include History of Dutch Catholicism (Marit Monteiro, RUN), Gender studies (Mineke van Essen, emeritus, RuG), Women's history (Marjan Schwegman, UU)<sup>165</sup>, History of technology (Ruth Oldenziel, TUE), Language and culture studies (Berteke Waaldijk UU), Theory and methodology of history (Maria Grever, EUR), Modern history (Mineke Bosch, RuG), Women's history (Selma Leydesdorff, UvA), and Political history of gender in the Netherlands (Mieke Aerts, UvA). The latter chair illustrates the cooperation between academy and society in knowledge production in the field of Women's History, as this so-called Wilhelmina Drucker chair is established by the IIAV.

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<sup>162</sup> The IIAV started in 1935 as IAV (International Archives for the Women's Movement) and changed its name to Aletta, Institute for women's history, in 2009.

<sup>163</sup> The IISG hosts Kenau, the electronic discussion list about Women's and Gender History in the Netherlands and Belgium that started in 1999.

<sup>164</sup> Exhibition 'De glorie van het ongeziene: "Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid 1898" 100 jaar later', organised by the IIAV, 1998, Amsterdam. About the 1898 exhibition, see Grever and Waaldijk 1998.

<sup>165</sup> Since 2007, Schwegman is the director of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD - Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie).

Women's historians have associated in various forms. 1976 saw the founding of the National Assembly for Women's History (LOV - Landelijk Overleg Vrouwengeschiedenis), which is currently called the Dutch Association for Women's History (VVG). The Foundation for Early Modern Women's History (SVVT - Stichting Vrouwengeschiedenis van de Vroegmoderne Tijd) exists since 1991, originating as an interdisciplinary study group in 1988. The professional Association of History Teachers (VGN - Vereniging van docenten Geschiedenis en staatsinrichting in Nederland) had a special Commission of Women's History between 1988 and 2002. This commission had the goal to strengthen the position of Women's History in education, a goal that they share with the VVG and Aletta.

### ***Knowledge from Women's History and canonisation***

Several women's historians have dealt with canonisation in their work. Grever (1994), for instance, shows that the professionalisation of history as a discipline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has excluded women from the historiographical canon. Similar processes in the medical sector and the exclusion of midwives from that profession have been studied by Bosch (1994). In literature, Maaike Meijer (1988) spotlights Dutch women poets from the 1950s who have been neglected by historiography in favour of their male colleagues (the 'Vijftigers').

From a Women's History perspective, the concept of a canon has been criticised for its non-inclusive or gendered character. In particular, the national framing of historical canons has been critiqued for its tendency to exclude women. Applying gender as an analytical category, the concept of the nation was uncovered as inherently gendered: the history of nations is often portrayed through events and people from the public sphere, hindering the representation of women and civil society (the private sphere) (Blom 2000).

During the *Canon* debate, the Dutch Association for Women's History organised a symposium<sup>166</sup> about how women in diverse domains (contemporary politics, popular music, Medieval literature, and the academy) were ex- or included in the canon or the top of their specific domains. The June 2005 special issue of *Historica* reflected on the symposium's topic and contains several articles about gender and canonisation, also in relation to historical culture.

In the research project 'Paradoxes of de-canonization. New forms of cultural transmission in history' (2004-2006), Maria Grever, Siep Stuurman, and Kees Ribbens thoroughly studied canonisation in relation to gender and ethnicity.<sup>167</sup> These scholars have shown that initiatives for Dutch historical canons, such as those by Bank and De Rooy (2004)<sup>168</sup> and Beliën et al. (2005), are predominantly male and white with a focus on political history, lacking other perspectives such as those of migrants, women, and slaves (e.g. Grever and Ribbens 2005; Stuurman 2006a). They hence argue for multiple perspectives on history in an international context to open up the canon for more marginal ideas (Grever 2004a). This allows more room for rendering women's historical experiences visible and acknowledging their contribution to society. With gender being an integral aspect of the research project, the research results have a clear bearing on both the Canon and on the field of Women's History.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Symposium 'Over de top: Vrouwen in de canon' ('Over the top'/'At the top'), organised by the Dutch Association of Women's History (VVG), Utrecht, 15 April 2005.

<sup>167</sup> The project was carried out between January 2004 and May 2006 under the NWO research programme 'Cultural change and the fundamentals of the Humanities'.

<sup>168</sup> Their canon proposal was based on the ten periods established by the De Rooy Commission. In March 2005, it was published in book form, co-authored by NRC journalist Gijsbert van Es (Bank, Van Es, and De Rooy 2005).

<sup>169</sup> Project leader Grever undertook research in Gender History in the 1980s and 1990s. The research interests of Stuurman and Ribbens include equality and early-modern feminism and the canon in relation to the multicultural society.

At this point, in order to explicate the relation between research and the practical application of the *Canon*, I want to take a closer look at how the Paradoxes project produced knowledge. On the one hand, research was set up in line with the researchers' existing interests. Project leader Maria Grever explains that the Paradoxes project partly built on her dissertation about Johanna Naber:

My dissertation from 1994 already dealt with canonisation processes. It questioned how the professionalisation of the historical discipline in the second half of the 19th century influenced the historical representation of women and the relations between the sexes. (Interview Grever)

The Paradoxes project thus built on earlier research on canonisation and historiography. In 2003, the research proposal was delivered and the project started in 2004. Referring to the murder of Van Gogh and the report of the Education Council, Grever says: "Then so many things happened that we were more or less overtaken by the events of the day." (Interview Grever) The project thus 'happened to fit' broader societal concerns about citizenship and the multicultural society.

On the other hand, the *Canon* provides an impulse for new research (cf. Grever 2007). An example is a new research programme, granted by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) in December 2008, that Maria Grever prepared with Carla van Boxtel.<sup>170</sup> Its aim is to investigate the possibilities of creating shared historical knowledge in the classroom whilst acknowledging a plurality of perspectives. It focuses on heritage education, linking the field of history education to heritage institutions and museums.

Experiences with translating the *Canon* to the museum and heritage sector show that this sector requires practical guidelines that go beyond instructions for education. We want to act on connecting these fields in our project, thereby also focussing on gender and ethnic diversity. (Interview Grever)

We thus see that the Paradoxes project stems from earlier research interests and matches broader societal concerns. We also see that research originates from a practical application like the *Canon*. Knowledge production, practical applications, and societal debates around the *Canon* thus coincide. Hence, historians are studying the very processes of which the *Canon* is an upshot, or, in Mode 2 terms, we can see science and societal applications co-evolve.<sup>171</sup>

The research results of the Paradoxes project were disseminated via articles in newspapers and journals (e.g. *Kleio*, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, *Geschiedenis Magazine*, and *Historica*)<sup>172</sup> as well as through (participation in) conferences and other meetings. Besides writing articles themselves, participants in the Paradoxes project also voiced their opinions in articles and books published by others (e.g. Van de Laar 2005; Bouma 2006a;

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<sup>170</sup> NWO programme 'Heritage education, plurality of narratives and shared historical knowledge', 2009-2014.

<sup>171</sup> In relation to the Canon, co-evolution is also visible in activities of the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) and in the NWO research programme Cultural Dynamics. Originating from debates about Dutch identity and the multicultural society, the WRR assigned a study about the identification of students with the country they live in and the role of national history in this process. This study (Grever and Ribbens 2007) formed one of the bases of a WRR (2007) report on this issue. That report also examines how the Canon Committee deals with Dutch identity. The research programme Cultural Dynamics (2007-2014) studies the formation of cultural heritage and reflects the broad societal concern with citizenship and canonisation, dealing amongst other things with processes of in- and exclusion and certification of sustainable values.

<sup>172</sup> The special issue of *Historica* that followed the VVG symposium 'Over de top' includes an article by Ribbens (2005b).

Grever 2005b). The project resulted in two books: *Controverses rond de canon* (Grever et al. 2006b) and *Beyond the canon* (Grever and Stuurman 2007).<sup>173</sup> The first book contains a commentary on the *Canon* and was launched at a symposium in November 2006.<sup>174</sup> The second derives from an international conference in June 2005.<sup>175</sup>

The latter book's contribution by gender historian Geertje Mak (2007) analyses the mechanisms through which canonical histories, including the one presented in the *Canon*, render women invisible. Scrutinising the absence of women in the *Canon*, she argues that it is due to a male-biased notion of history. Focussing as it does on the public domain and leaving out long-term social, economic, and cultural transitions, the *Canon* leaves little room for women. She also stresses that the inclusion of "the emancipatory moments when women entered the public (political or scientific) domain or when they obtained equal rights" does not appropriately integrate women's contribution to history (Mak 2007, p. 132). Mak claims that working on the connections between biography and history may be a fruitful way to teach alternative narratives. She suggests teaching about the everyday lives of men and women throughout history would enable us to break away from one dominant collective memory and from one specific perspective. This accounts for stories or histories of women - since women are already there, there is no need to 'add women' to a canon - and it reflects the complex relations between gender and other social categories (Mak 2007).

### ***Women's History in education***

The integration of Women's History in mainstream history is a recurrent topic in debates within the field (see Chapter 1). These discussions also deal with the position of Women's History in history education, a concern visible in contributions in the 25<sup>th</sup> Yearbook of Women's History (Altena 2005; De Vos 2005).

Through the concerted efforts of the Dutch Association for Women's History (VVG) and the Commission of Women's History of the Association of History Teachers (VGN), attention to gender and ethnicity was structurally embedded in secondary education's history curricula. This was first achieved through the introduction of Women's History as a compulsory examination topic in 1990 and 1991 (Grever 1995). The subject was the position of women in 20th century Netherlands and the US.<sup>176</sup> Experiences with this examination topic provide insight into the gendered character of history curricula. The course increased teachers' awareness of Women's History and led to girls scoring better grades for their exams (Grever 1995). This indicates that attention to Women's History and references to women may match the historical interests of girls. European research indeed shows gender differences in historical interests. Boys are more interested in heroes, wars, and politics, whereas girls are more interested in daily life and religion (Angvik and Von Borries 1997). Research also showed ethnic differences, such as 'autochthonous' Dutch boys identifying more with the history of the Netherlands than autochthonous girls and 'allochthonous' girls and boys (Grever and Ribbens 2007). In sum, the topics offered in history curricula impinge on both the

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<sup>173</sup> Both books also include contributions by participants in the NWO project 'Re-vitalizing the humanities', which was carried out under the same NWO research programme as the Paradoxes project. The authors are Ed Jonker (project leader of 'Re-vitalizing the humanities') and Hendrik Henrichs. In the remainder of this chapter, I will refer to the book *Controverses rond de canon*, by calling it *Controverses*.

<sup>174</sup> Symposium 'Met of zonder Canon?' (With or without a canon?), organised by the Faculty of History and Arts (Erasmus University Rotterdam), 11 November 2006, Utrecht.

<sup>175</sup> International conference 'Beyond the canon: History for the twenty-first century', organised by the Faculty of History and Arts (Erasmus University Rotterdam), 16-17 June 2005, Rotterdam. A conference book (Grever, Ribbens, and Stuurman 2005) with the same title was also published.

<sup>176</sup> The educational texts were written by Carla Wijers and Maria Grever with the support of other women's historians (Grever 1995).

fulfilment of historical interests and the possibilities for identification with historical figures of boys and girls from different ethnic groups.

Secondly, Women's History was embedded in the teaching 'domains' for history education that were introduced for HAVO and VWO (senior general secondary education and pre-university education) in 1998.<sup>177</sup> More precisely, two of the ten domains deal with aspects of family history and women's history and the general instructions insist on paying attention to gender, ethnicity, and other dimensions of identity in all domains (De Vos 2005; Interview Grever).<sup>178</sup>

The examination balances political history, social and economic history, and cultural history. Teaching these content domains with these general instructions in the history classes of the upper levels of secondary education thus offered scope for making women in history more visible and for discussing gender relations. This so-called thematic and chronological approach to history education also includes teaching historical skills or competences for the interpretation of history (De Vos 2005; Klein 2006). Grever (Interview) argues that, in 1992, a majority of history teachers within the VGN (Association of History Teachers) appreciated the combination of these domains with the application of cognitive skills to teach students to think about historical processes, also underlining that these skills are important to acquire insight into gender relations.

This attention to Women's History in the secondary history education curriculum and examination would however change after the advice of the De Rooy Commission, which emphasised chronological knowledge of historical events. In 1999, state secretary Karin Adelmund installed the Commission Historical and Social Development ('Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming') to develop new attainment targets for all school types, as well as an exam programme for the combined subjects 'history and civics' for the upper levels of both HAVO and VWO.<sup>179</sup> The commission, chaired by Piet de Rooy, presented a frame of reference for history education consisting of ten periods about which pupils should know the most distinctive characteristics and in which they should be able to place the most important persons and events of Dutch history (Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming 2001).<sup>180</sup> The Minister of Education decided to incorporate the Commission's proposal in the new attainment targets.<sup>181</sup>

Women's historians have explicitly commented on the gender blindness of the De Rooy Commission's proposal. The VVG and the Commission of Women's History of the VGN wrote a letter to the state secretary in which they objected to the report (Van Zon 2002).

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<sup>177</sup> These domains were designed by the so-called Second Phase History Curriculum Committee (1994-1996), which was chaired by Maria Grever.

<sup>178</sup> The CEVO (Central Exam Content Board) every year selects a new examination topic from the teaching domains.

<sup>179</sup> This assignment resulted from the advice of the 'De Wit Commission', the main lines of which the De Rooy Commission had to implement. The De Wit Commission, officially called the History Education Commission ('Commissie Geschiedenisonderwijs'), was installed by state secretary Tineke Netelenbos in 1997. This Commission was asked to advise on the main direction that history education should take. In their advice (Adviescommissie Geschiedenisonderwijs 1998), they recommended a new balance between historical knowledge, insights, and competences, which required a fine-tuning between the school types and a basic amount of historical knowledge.

<sup>180</sup> The ten periods are: hunters and farmers (-3000 BC), Greeks and Romans (3000 BC-500 BC), monks and knights (500-1000), cities and states (1000/1200-1500), discoverers and reformers (1500-1600), governors and monarchs (1600-1700), wigs and revolutions (1700-1800), citizens and steam engines (1800-1900), world wars (1900-1950), and television and computer (1950- ).

<sup>181</sup> The Minister of Education announced that the new attainment targets would be put into practice in the lower forms of primary education as of August 2006, that they should be completely implemented in primary education as of August 2009, and that the attainment targets of secondary education would also be adjusted (OCW 2006).

The then-president of the VVG, Marieke Hellevoort, also voiced her concern in a newspaper (Jager 2001) and on the radio (OVT 2001).<sup>182</sup> The points of criticism were that women and allochthonous people are almost absent, that the names of the ten periods reflect a male, white perspective (for example ‘monks and knights’), and that women’s history only figures in relation to feminism (Van der Leeuw-Roord 2002). The division in ten periods was also criticised for foregrounding political events of exploitation, war, and violence (Grever 2006b) that leave little room for female historical subjects. Moreover, not providing enough points of recognition for female pupils in history education is not in line with the policy of eliminating sex stereotypes in education (Jager 2001). Hellevoort (OVT 2001) expressed her wariness about grand narratives, stating that it is difficult to adjust the dominant story that children are presented with by bringing in other perspectives afterwards. She therefore argues for integrating and mentioning categories like sex and gender from the start. Acknowledging this pluriformity and giving insight into the pasts of marginal groups such as women is also beneficial to developing children’s critical attitude towards myths and stereotypes (Grever 1998). The comments of women’s historians on the De Rooy report were however not taken into account (Grever 2005b; Grever 2006b).

The IIAV developed secondary education teaching materials about Aletta Jacobs, as well as the teaching package ‘Woman decides’ about the second feminist wave.<sup>183</sup> The material about Aletta Jacobs focuses on historical competences and connects to examination topics such as the Dutch East Indies, which was the examination topic in 2007.<sup>184</sup> The material was published as articles in the VGN journal *KLEIO* in 2005 and 2006. The teaching package about the second feminist wave was developed in consultation with women’s historians and history teachers, with Rijsbosch as the project leader.<sup>185</sup> It takes the form of a board game with assignments and is based on the book *De vrouw beslist* (Van de Loo 2005), which was distributed to all history teachers in secondary education.<sup>186</sup>

### **What knowledge is available?**

Based on the above description of knowledge production in the field of Women’s History, one can conclude that the field has many aspects. It has highlighted women’s contribution in the social, economic, cultural, and political domains, going beyond the stereotypical ways in which women often are represented in history. Using the concept of gender as an analytical category, women’s historians address the gendered impact of historical events and processes, as well as the genderedness of historical concepts. It is also clear that Women’s History can be found in different places, including publications, archives, and online sources.

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<sup>182</sup> The former president of the VVG, Maria Grever, reacted in the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (Grever 2001).

<sup>183</sup> The teaching material is available online, see [www.iiav.nl/onderwijs](http://www.iiav.nl/onderwijs) (accessed 29 October 2008).

<sup>184</sup> Regarding the 2007 history exam about the Dutch East Indies, women’s historian Elsbeth Locher-Scholten commented that the subject matter, which at the behest of the De Rooy Commission was deliberately Dutch-oriented, was a ‘white male history’ written from a Dutch perspective (Boersma 2007).

<sup>185</sup> The project’s advisory group included gender historian Anneke Ribberink, gender studies specialist Mineke van Essen, and IIAV’s Annemarie Kloosterman who previously worked as a history teacher.

<sup>186</sup> For teaching in higher education, women’s historians developed the educational tool *Teaching with memories* (Pető and Waaldijk 2006), which connects research on women’s memories with teaching in international and interdisciplinary classrooms, using oral history and memories of ‘foremothers’ as important tools. The book reflects a core issue of writing Women’s History, the relation between private memories and public narratives in producing (national) identities. It was developed in the context of the Advanced Thematic Network of European Women’s Studies, ATHENA II.

### **6.1.2 Situatedness of knowledge in terms of its partiality and locality**

Originating in the second feminist wave, Women's History is practiced through a feminist perspective. The field can be characterised as a field of knowledge by, about, and for women (cf. Altena et al. 2005a). The feminist impulse is to provide women and girls with interesting histories that they can identify with and that contribute to a better understanding of both past and present (Grever 1989). Most practitioners deal with women and gender relations in history and critically scrutinise the practices of mainstream history. However, their interests reach beyond women, arguing that Women's History is not only relevant to women, but also to the discipline of history and to society as a whole. That is, both historical research and history teaching can benefit from Women's History, because it helps to understand the full scope of human existence and the course of history (Grever 1989). The political perspective of Women's History is also present outside academia. For example, Aletta, the Institute for women's history, not only aims to preserve the cultural heritage of women and the women's movement, but it also aims to serve the interests of the women's movement and to contribute to improving women's positions in society.

The partiality of Women's History lies in the specific perspective from which it asks questions (Grever 1987). Being conscious of the historical marginalisation of women as subjects and objects of knowledge enables a theoretical and political perspective on history. This perspective is certainly not neutral or objective. However, women's historians claim that neutral perspectives do not exist, thereby challenging the male bias of mainstream history (Bock 1989; Grever 1987).

By bringing the different historical experiences of men and women as well as differences between women to the fore, Women's History also challenges the universality claims of history. Histories about a collective 'we' are met with scepticism as women's historians uncovered man as the universal subject in history (Scott 1988). Women's historians thus engage in knowledge production about specific or located socio-cultural situations. Epistemologically speaking, the knowledge claims from Women's History have a local or non-universal character.

### **6.1.3 Interactions**

In this section, I will discuss the interactions that took place around the development of the *Canon*, focussing on the interactions between the Canon Committee and women's historians and other experts on sex and gender. Starting with the Committee's inception, my aim is to analyse how knowledge from Women's History was exchanged between the various actors and to analyse the form, intensity, and sustainability of the interactions that took place.

The Canon Committee developed the *Canon* between 1 September 2005 and 1 September 2006. In making the *Canon*, they consulted (academic) experts as well as the larger public. This was done via a number of meetings that the Committee held with teachers, advisors, and interested parties, and via a website where visitors could 'rate' topics for the *Canon* and could post comments on a discussion forum.

#### ***Canon Committee***

The Canon Committee consisted of eight members from several disciplines (history, literature, geography, philosophy) and several domains (academy, education, cultural institutions, journalism). Frits van Oostrom, Professor of Dutch Medieval literature at Utrecht University,

chaired the Committee. Together with the Minister of Education, who appointed him as chair, he selected the other members.

The expertise that is brought together in the Canon Committee also includes Women's History. First and foremost because of Committee member Els Kloek, a women's historian specifically engaged in studying and documenting the role of women in Dutch history (cf. Dieteren, Kloek, and Visser 1987; Kloek 1990; Dieteren and Kloek 1990; Bibliographies of articles about women's history in professional journals, and the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women. For the latter two, see Appendix VI.). Besides Kloek, Committee member Susan Legêne also has an affinity with gender, especially in relation to colonial history (cf. Legêne and Waaldijk 2007), and Frits van Oostrom is knowledgeable about gender in literary history (cf. Steenbergh 2005). Let me take a closer look at the composition of the Canon Committee. At the presentation of the Committee, Van Oostrom introduced the members by pointing out their specific qualities: vice-chair Van Meenen represents the educational orientation of the project; Beliën and Kloek are introduced as historians sensitive to the societal role of history; Groot connects the content of the *Canon* with its application in schools; Van der Vaart brings in the geographical component; and Legêne and Drenth represent the *Canon*'s broad cultural surroundings (Van Oostrom 2005). From this, we can derive that knowledge of education (Van Meenen and Groot), museums (Legêne), culture (Drenth), public science (Beliën), and popularisation of science (Kloek) are all seen as important qualities. A Women's History perspective is not explicitly formulated as a valued angle. However, in the description of the Committee members in the *Canon* book (Van Oostrom 2007a), it is mentioned that Kloek is project leader of the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women. Kloek (Interview) explains that she thinks that being an editor of the series of popular history books, *Verloren verleden*<sup>187</sup>, was a more important factor in her being asked than her activities in Women's History. This suggests that knowledge from Women's History is not an expertise that was regarded to be vital for the Committee.

In any case, knowledge and insights from Women's History were available in the Canon Committee. How did they deal with this? According to Van Oostrom (Interview), Women's History was not an issue of special attention. Kloek and Legêne (Interviews) both said they paid attention to the presence of women in the *Canon* and embedded this effort in trying to balance the *Canon* in respects such as periods and themes. Kloek was in a way the spokesperson when it came to women's topics (Interview). She suggested windows be dedicated to specific women (such as Jacoba van Beieren and Princess Wilhelmina, the wife of Stadtholder William V); suggested topics like poverty relief and beguinages, and the abolishment of women's legal incompetence in 1957; and asked for more attention to the private sphere (family and home life) (CC archive). However, an equal representation of men and women was not a leading principle for the Canon Committee (Van Oostrom 2007b, p. 27).

### ***Consultations and discussions***

The list of discussion partners (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 107-109) shows that the Canon Committee consulted people from different domains. They particularly came from educational institutions (teachers from different school levels, didactic experts, teacher trainers, and representatives of educational testing institutes), heritage institutions, museums, and cultural institutions. The Committee also contacted the Ministry of Education, governmental advisory bodies, organisations such as Anno, the promotion bureau for Dutch history, the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (NiNsee), as well as allochthonous

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<sup>187</sup> The series *Verloren verleden*, the title of which can be translated as 'Lost past', was published between 1998 and 2004 and consists of twenty-four volumes about memorable moments and events in Dutch history.

specialists active in the field of the *Canon*. Although Women's Studies experts were on the list of possible allochthonous consultation partners (CC archive), they were not consulted.

According to the Committee members that I interviewed (Van Oostrom, Kloek, and Legêne), they did not consider inviting people from Women's History as this was not an issue: "Based on our own expertise, we thought that we could cover the field of Women's History ourselves" (Interview Legêne). However, in an informal discussion between Legêne and her colleagues about the canon and non-western perspectives, two Women's Studies experts working on the multicultural society and Dutch colonial history were present (CC archive).

Practitioners of Women's History also did not request to speak to the Canon Committee themselves and no discussion partners explicitly asked the Committee to pay attention to the role of women in history (Interviews Canon Committee members). Maria Grever, who was doing research on canonisation and gender at the time that the *Canon* was being developed, explains:

Our research team from the Paradoxes project and the experts who gave advice to our project formed important cultural capital on history education research. However, the Canon Committee never consulted us. I thought, OK, in that case I'd like to voice my opinion in the media whenever possible. (Interview Grever)

### ***Exchange of knowledge from Women's History***

Despite the absence of discussion partners from the field of Women's History, the Canon Committee was confronted with Women's History knowledge from the outside. I will show that via publications, conferences, and meetings, knowledge and insights from Women's History were transferred to the Committee. Legêne (Interview) explains that the Canon Committee closely followed everything that was published during the making of the *Canon*. In the 'From the press' section<sup>188</sup> on the *Canon* website, one can see that the Committee has taken notice of the many articles that were published about the *Canon*.

A gender perspective is visible in several newspaper and journal articles, published before and during the making of the initial *Canon*, that critically consider the idea of a canon. Among these are articles written by scholars from the Paradoxes project (e.g. Ribbens 2005a; Grever and Ribbens 2005; Stuurman 2006a) that point to the gendered and non-inclusive character of canons and argue for including the history of women, migrants, and ethnic and religious minorities. In other words, they argued for the relevance of gender and other social categories (see also Ribbens 2004; Van de Laar 2005), additionally commenting on the anachronistic character of a canon (Stuurman 2006a) and questioning the governmental interference (Ribbens 2005a; Grever 2006a). The Canon Committee was aware of these insights, since they mention three of these critical articles as examples of sceptical views on the canon (Van Oostrom 2007a) and listed two articles on the *Canon* website in the section 'From the press'.

Legêne was a speaker at the 'Beyond the canon' conference that was organised in the framework of the Paradoxes project in June 2005, as well as a contributor to the book (Grever and Stuurman 2007) that derived from the conference. I assess this conference as an event where knowledge about sex and gender in relation to canonisation was exchanged, in this case (via Legêne) also to the Canon Committee.

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<sup>188</sup> The 'From the press' section used to be a separate section on the *Canon* website, but after the restructuring of the website in the summer of 2009 it is now subsumed under the section with topical matters (in Dutch: 'Actueel').

After the initial *Canon* was published in 2006, more sex and gender-related comments were expressed, in particular in reaction to the content of the *Canon*. These comments were exchanged via publications and meetings as well as via the forum on the *Canon* website.

Cisca Dresselhuys, chief editor of the popular feminist monthly *Opzij*, opines that women and emancipation are underrepresented in the *Canon*. Only three windows are about women: Aletta Jacobs, Anne Frank, and Annie M.G. Schmidt.<sup>189</sup> In the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (Bouma 2006a), Dresselhuys stated that although she is content that Aletta Jacobs and Annie M.G. Schmidt are included, she would have liked it if Joke Smit had also figured in the *Canon* as an illustration of the second feminist wave. In reaction to the underrepresentation of women and emancipation in the *Canon*, *Opzij* took the initiative for a Women's Canon.<sup>190</sup> To develop this initiative, *Opzij* joined forces with the IIAV (International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement) and the VVG (Dutch Association for Women's History), organisations that also received reactions about the lack of women in the *Canon*. These reactions came from feminist organisations such as Women's Interests and the Christian women's movement organisation Passage, as well as from individual feminist academics and activists (Interview Rijsbosch). In the beginning of 2007, the IIAV placed a call for reactions on their website and in the journal *Historica* to discuss the Women's Canon. The outcome was that creating a counter-canon would clearly give women visibility, but it would not counter the male-dominated history of the *Canon*. That is, creating a feminist canon alongside the traditional canon would merely involve adding a feminist perspective to the same story, and it should be the 'grand narrative' of a canon that needs to be scrutinised (Stuurman and Grever 2007). The IIAV therefore devised a second strategy to gender the *Canon* by trying to get gender-specific information linked to relevant *Canon* windows (Interview Rijsbosch).

Conversely, some people also criticised the presence of Anne Frank and Annie M.G. Schmidt. The *Historisch Nieuwsblad* issued a questionnaire about the *Canon*, the outcome of which was that these persons do not belong in the canon of Dutch history (Van Haperen 2006). Since this would mean the disappearance of two of the three women who have their own window, Kloek (Interview) suggests this shows little awareness of Women's History.

Other comments that resonate with insights from Women's History are that the *Canon* lacks attention to the lives of normal people and to the development of social structures. The first issue was raised by Rien van Dongen on the *Canon* website's forum (20-10-2006) who questions the vast amount of attention given to the lives of 'king, emperor, and admiral'.<sup>191</sup> The second issue was raised by historians Jan Luiten van Zanden, who misses historical information on marriage and households,<sup>192</sup> and Gert Oostindie, who misses issues dealing with kinship development, family, gender, and generations (both in *U-blad* 2006).

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<sup>189</sup> The Aletta Jacobs window deals with the emancipation of women. The Anne Frank window deals with the persecution of the Jews. The Annie M.G. Schmidt window illustrates a critical view on bourgeois Dutch society.

<sup>190</sup> See [www.opzij.nl/opzij/show/id=31057](http://www.opzij.nl/opzij/show/id=31057) (accessed 24 December 2009). The Women's Canon is one of the many other canons that were or are being developed. Other canons for example are about the natural sciences, religion, classical music, social work, military history, sports, and medicine, and there are many regional and local canons. The religious canon was criticised for underrepresenting women and for not mentioning feminist theology (Van Baars 2007). Aletta Jacobs is included in the medicine canon (F. Huisman and Van Lieburg 2009).

<sup>191</sup> The expression 'king, emperor, and admiral' refers to a Dutch toilet paper advertisement of the Popla brand that suggests even important figures (have to) use their product.

<sup>192</sup> Together with De Moor, Van Zanden studied changing gender relations between 1200 and 1500 in Western Europe, and the impact of the modernisation of marriage patterns on society and economy, particularly the rise of capitalism after 1500 (De Moor and Van Zanden 2006).

Grever, Jonker, Ribbens, and Stuurman (2006a) wrote a commentary on the *Canon* in *Controverses*, in which they assess the *Canon* as rather traditional, neglecting ‘other’ perspectives, compartmentalising women as a separate group, and avoiding issues of identity and ethnicity.<sup>193</sup> Concrete issues mentioned as missing in the *Canon* are the beguinages and the contraceptive pill. These comments were also expressed in a newspaper article (Grever 2006a). The meeting where *Controverses* was launched was attended by two members of the Canon Committee, Legêne and Groot (Van Oostrom 2007b, p. 86).

More people thought the pill deserved a place in the *Canon*, arguing that this invention had revolutionized people’s lives (for instance Maria van der Gulik-Bomers in the *Canon* forum (17-10-2006) and emancipation expert Hieke Snijders-Borst (2006) in the newspaper *Trouw*). Christian historians adapted the *Canon* and included a window about the introduction of the pill in their version (Van den Berg and Van Soest 2007). Ronald Plasterk, professor in Developmental Genetics,<sup>194</sup> argued for windows on public health, the pill, and sexual freedom, explaining that the pill had huge societal consequences and that history is also made by the natural sciences (Plasterk 2006; U-blad 2006).<sup>195</sup>

The Canon Committee knows about the comments from the field of Women’s History that were raised after the publication of the initial *Canon*. In its report on the *Canon*’s reception (Van Oostrom 2007b), the Committee mentions the article in which Dresselhuijs comments on women’s underrepresentation in the *Canon* and the *Opzij* initiative for a Women’s Canon. They refer to the reactions of historians and natural scientists (U-blad 2006; Plasterk 2006) who commented on the absence of the development of social structures and the pill. They also mention the *Canon* commentary in the *Controverses* book (Grever et al. 2006a) and Grever’s newspaper article (2006a). However, these comments did not result in major changes in the revised *Canon*. The Canon Committee replaced the window about The printing press with one about Christiaan Huygens, elaborated the main lines, and made a number of other smaller changes and additions. One addition that reflects an important feminist topic, commented on by several actors, is the addition of the contraceptive pill as a secondary education sub-topic in the Aletta Jacobs window.

The fifty windows of the *Canon* were maintained as presented in the revised *Canon*, but the website version would be further elaborated with new topics. Comments continued after the presentation of the revised *Canon*, also touching upon women and the women’s movement. In the IIAV annual report of 2007, the chair of the IIAV board Trude Maas (2008) criticises the underrepresentation of women in the *Canon*, questioning why so little attention is devoted to the second feminist wave and where the voices of migrant women are. On International Women’s Day, the *Canon* was referred to as an example of how women’s position is still unfavourable (Gouden vrouwen 2007) because it features only three women. Didactic specialist Arie Wilschut misses a few crucial people in the *Canon*, one of whom is Queen Wilhelmina (EénVandaag 2008).

The IIAV even communicated with the *Canon* website editors, requesting additional links to material about the women’s movement and the positions of black, migrant, and refugee women, an ongoing strategy that particularly focuses on the Aletta Jacobs and

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<sup>193</sup> They also criticise the fact that the Canon Committee is not to be held accountable for the chosen windows, and so does Wilschut in Bouma (2006b). The *Canon* is accompanied by a rationale (Van Oostrom 2006a) that explains its design and use, but this does not explain the Committee’s choice for these specific 50 windows. Davids (2005) notes that tangible criteria for what should be part of a canon are already missing from the report of the Education Council.

<sup>194</sup> Plasterk would become Minister of Education in 2007, but he was still a professor at this time.

<sup>195</sup> Stressing the relevance of the natural sciences, astronomy professor Frank Verbunt (U-blad 2006) advocated, among other things, including a window about the inventors of electricity, plastic, blast furnaces, aspirin, penicillin, or the contraceptive pill.

Diversity in the Netherlands windows (Interview Rijsbosch). This resulted in the addition of the IIAV's education material about Aletta Jacobs and also the second feminist wave ('Woman decides'), which was not mentioned in the initial version of the *Canon*.

### ***The Canon in society***

Although the main purpose of the *Canon* is its use in teaching, the Ministry of Education also aims to educate the wider public about Dutch history and culture. This is to happen through several initiatives that originate from the *Canon*, such as establishing a National Historical Museum and (multi-) media activities.

In 2009, the then Minister of Education, Ronald Plasterk,<sup>196</sup> decided that the *Canon* would be used as a source of teaching inspiration alongside the ten historical periods for schoolchildren between the ages of eight and fourteen (Staatsblad 2009). Plasterk's original plan, however, was to make the whole *Canon* obligatory material by incorporating it in the attainment targets of both (upper level) primary and (lower level) secondary education (Tweede Kamer 2007), which would follow the recommendation of the Canon Committee. That plan included the fifty windows of the *Canon* in the already existing curriculum, which for primary education is based on the ten historical periods of the De Rooy Commission. This commission presented a frame of reference for history education consisting of ten periods of which pupils should know the most important characteristics (Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming 2001). Incorporating the *Canon* in the curriculum would thus mean adding content to these ten periods. 23 historians objected to making the *Canon* compulsory, among them Carla van Boxtel, Maria Grever, Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Wijnand Mijnhardt, and Piet de Rooy. On 30 October 2008, they sent a letter (Van Boxtel et al. 2008) to the Dutch parliament urgently requesting them to vote against the incorporation of the *Canon* in history education. They argued, amongst other things, that the *Canon* first of all hardly matches the ten periods of the De Rooy Commission, and more importantly that the government should not interfere with the precise content of history education. The Council of State also advised the Minister to reconsider the original plan, because it is not in line with the policy of giving schools more autonomy and prescribing educational content in less detail (Raad van State 2009). Still, in January 2010, the Ministry of Education decided that the *Canon* windows should be taken up as a starting point to illustrate the ten historical periods, which was taken up in the attainment targets (Staatsblad 2010).

How is the *Canon* perceived by history teachers? After all, they are the ones that would be applying the *Canon* in practice. In June 2008, the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* found that the *Canon* is hardly used in primary schools. The paper's inquiries showed that schools are flooded with ideas and innovations for which they lack the time to add them to their curriculum. An additional barrier seems to be that schools are bound by the textbooks they work with, and they cannot financially or practically afford to keep up with constantly changing attainment targets (Alberts 2008a). Even the fact that the *Canon* would become obligatory, which was the case at the time of the *NRC* inquiry, does not seem to affect future teaching practices. As one of the interviewees said: "Listen, so many things are made obligatory. I just do what is good and useful" (Alberts 2008b). In November 2008, teachers in secondary education expressed similar concerns and opinions but also positive reactions to the *Canon* (EénVandaag 2008). Women's historian and secondary school teacher Mieke de Vos (2009) stresses the creativity of teachers and publishing houses in taking up the *Canon* in their classes and textbooks. She shows that the creativity of history teachers as well as educational publishing houses can result in, for instance, devoting more attention to family and women's

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<sup>196</sup> Ronald Plasterk succeeded Maria van der Hoeven as Minister of Education on 22 February 2007, a duty he would fulfil until 23 February 2010.

history, bringing up gender and ethnicity, and critically discussing the (national) past. In sum, practical concerns as well as semi-autonomous and creative agents such as teachers and publishers all affect how the *Canon* is taken up in schools and how much attention will be paid to knowledge from Women's History.

To strengthen the historical knowledge of the wider public, the Dutch parliament in June 2006 sanctioned the establishment of a National Historical Museum. In September 2006, the Minister of Education stated that the *Canon* would be one of the leading principles for this museum (Tweede Kamer 2006). The directors of the museum, which is to be located in Arnhem, announced however that the *Canon* will be present but not form the basis for their museum plans (Byvanck and Schilp 2008). To make important historical women adequately visible in this new National Historical Museum, Aletta, the Institute for women's history, is specifically lobbying through contacts with board members of the museum (Interview Rijsbosch). In discussions about Amsterdam as an optional location for the National Historical Museum, the local GroenLinks party warned that since history is too often written from the perspective of the dominant group a different view should be included, perhaps through a museum wing featuring 'women like Kenau Hasselaar, Mata Hari and Joke Kool-Smit' (Pleidooi GroenLinks 2007).

In the wake of the development of the *Canon* and the National Historical Museum, ten heritage institutions have taken the initiative to digitalise the key pieces of their collections in relation to the *Canon* and in coherence with the National Historical Museum.<sup>197</sup> The *Canon* is also promoted to cultural and heritage institutions via the so-called Canon caravan. With financial support from the government, the Netherlands Institute for Heritage (Erfgoed Nederland) in cooperation with the entoen.nu Foundation<sup>198</sup> organised a series of conferences for teachers and cultural institutions to strengthen their cooperation in relation to the *Canon*. The Canon caravan visited all provinces and the four biggest cities in 2007 and 2008.

Television productions are being developed for schoolchildren as well as for the larger public. SchoolTV, a division of the educational broadcasting agency Teleac, has made videos and songs that go with a number of *Canon* windows. The broadcasting agency NCRV aired the TV series 'Kaaskoppen en Waterlanders' (Cheeseheads and waterworks) between February and May 2008.<sup>199</sup> Geert Mak and Gijsbert van Es initiated the multimedia project 'Verleden van Nederland' (History of the Netherlands).<sup>200</sup> With financial support of the government, they developed three sets of fifty educational clips (targeting respectively groups 5-6 and 7-8 of primary education and years 1-2 of secondary education) in connection with the *Canon*, which were disseminated to all primary and secondary schools. A documentary series broadcast by the NPS and VPRO in the last quarter of 2008 is the centrepiece of this big project, which also includes books, debates, exhibitions, and special radio programmes. The IIAV contacted the makers of the TV series 'Kaaskoppen en Waterlanders' and 'Verleden van Nederland' to bring to their attention the wealth of (visual) material that the

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<sup>197</sup> The consortium of heritage institutions consists of Sound and Vision, the National library of the Netherlands, the Literary Museum, the Nationaal Archief, Naturalis, the Dutch Institute for Architecture, the Nederlands Fotomuseum, the Open Air Museum, the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, and the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities. Their project is called Nederlands Erfgoed: Digitaal! See [www.nederlandserfgoeddigitaal.nl/index.html](http://www.nederlandserfgoeddigitaal.nl/index.html) (accessed 7 January 2010).

<sup>198</sup> The entoen.nu Foundation was established by the Canon Committee after the publication of the revised *Canon* to maintain the *Canon* design and the website. The members of the Committee form the board of the Foundation.

<sup>199</sup> See [kaaskoppenwaterlanders.ncrv.nl/](http://kaaskoppenwaterlanders.ncrv.nl/) (accessed 24 December 2009).

<sup>200</sup> The campaign was initiated by writer/journalist Mak and journalist Van Es, and developed in cooperation with historians Jan Bank, Piet de Rooy, René van Stipriaan, and Wim van der Weiden. See [www.verledenvannederland.nl](http://www.verledenvannederland.nl) (accessed 10 November 2008).

archive has about Aletta Jacobs, which resulted in them using IIAV material in the series (Interview Rijsbosch).<sup>201</sup>

There are many commercial applications of the *Canon*, including quizzes, stamps, games, DVDs, and books. This material is produced by broadcasting agencies, publishers, and other organisations, as well as by the Canon Committee and the entoen.nu Foundation.<sup>202</sup> In short, one can speak of a real canon industry.<sup>203</sup> The government also decided to give the *Canon* book to every migrant who receives his or her ‘integration diploma’ (Tweede Kamer 2007).

In conclusion, there are many initiatives that transfer the *Canon* into society via different media, potentially reaching large and diverse groups of people. The initiatives moreover make clear that education is not the only way through which knowledge about history is disseminated.

### ***Form, intensity, and sustainability of interactions***

The interactions around Women’s History knowledge within the Committee can be characterised as exchanges of embodied knowledge; Kloek, Legêne, and Van Oostrom are knowledgeable about Women’s History and Women’s Studies perspectives in their field. That knowledge from Women’s History in the Canon Committee is on hand implies that there is no clear boundary between academy and practice, but that these domains are (in Mode 2 terms) ‘de-differentiated’.

The transfer of knowledge from Women’s History via external actors to the Canon Committee predominantly happened via knowledge products; information reached the Committee from research in books, journals, and newspapers. These interactions took place indirectly; women’s historians were not among the people that the Committee consulted. More direct knowledge exchange took place via conferences and meetings: Legêne speaking at the Paradoxes conference (June 2005), her and her colleague’s presence at the *Controverses* book launch meeting (November 2006) as members of the Canon Committee, and the contribution of Legêne in the book *Beyond the canon* (2007) all indicate ongoing contact between a member of the Canon Committee and those involved in the Paradoxes project. These interactions took place before, during, and after the making of the *Canon*.

Knowledge claims and insights about women and gender in history were mainly disseminated by a small group of actors, particularly from the Paradoxes project, *Opzij*, the IIAV, and the Dutch Association for Women’s History (VVG), which limited the scope of interactions. Initiatives that were launched in relation to the *Canon* also provided opportunities for actors in the field of Women’s History to (continue to) transfer their knowledge, as is visible in the activities of the IIAV in relation to television programmes and the National Historical Museum. In these societal applications, but also in the *Canon* itself, the production and application of knowledge come together.

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<sup>201</sup> The Aletta Jacobs archive formed the start of the IIAV (IAV) in 1935. In the new name of the IIAV, Aletta, this historical link is made visible. That Aletta Jacobs has a window in the *Canon* is believed to add to the visibility of Aletta as an institute about women, feminism, and emancipation among a young audience. See [www.aletta.nu/aletta/nl/over\\_aletta/\\_pid/column2\\_1/\\_rp\\_column2\\_1\\_elementId/1\\_3016](http://www.aletta.nu/aletta/nl/over_aletta/_pid/column2_1/_rp_column2_1_elementId/1_3016) (accessed 24 December 2009).

<sup>202</sup> The products of the Canon Committee and the entoen.nu Foundation are listed in a web shop on the *Canon* website: [www.entoen.nu/webwinkel](http://www.entoen.nu/webwinkel) (accessed 24 December 2009).

<sup>203</sup> The term canon industry is taken from Carmel Bird, who edited an anthology of Australian short stories for the American market. She identifies the market and the publisher as key players in the formation of canons. Having selected these short literary texts, she sees herself as part of the “Australian Canon Industry”. See [www.carmelbird.com/bunyip.html](http://www.carmelbird.com/bunyip.html) (accessed 10 November 2008).

I conclude that the interactions between women's historians and the Canon Committee have been neither intense nor sustainable. This is particularly true of knowledge exchanges between external actors and the Committee, and to a lesser extent of exchanges within the Committee. In general, however, the discussions of the Canon Committee with various stakeholders reflect what in Mode 2 terms would be called an 'agora', a place where science and society speak to each other.

#### **6.1.4 Actors, roles, and power relations**

A variety of actors was involved in the making of the *Canon* and the surrounding larger debate. In this section, I will analyse the relations between these actors, as well as their roles, interests, and aims. The Canon Committee was well aware of the broad public debate, in which positive as well as critical views were expressed. The Committee stressed that it did not carry out research into the Dutch people's knowledge about their nation's history, but following the ministerial stance and referring to the Education Council's recommendation, it did adopt the standpoint that the overall level of historical knowledge could be improved (Van Oostrom 2007a).

The Education Council's advice, however, goes beyond achieving more historical knowledge; they see the canon as an "expression of our cultural identity" (Onderwijsraad 2005, p. 119; Duursma and Valk 2005). The Minister of Education followed the recommendation of the Education Council, her most important advisory body, but she stressed that the primary goal of a canon is to achieve a shared body of cultural-historical knowledge, the core of which will be related to educational attainment targets. She expects that the canon could contribute to citizenship and integration, but this is not its main goal (OCW 2005b). Initially distancing itself from the relation between identity and history, the Canon Committee made it its main goal to develop a canon for education. In the revised version, however, they see the *Canon's* contribution to social cohesion as a welcome side effect (Van Oostrom 2007b, p. 31).

In making the *Canon*, primary education was at the centre of the Committee's attention. They aimed to make "the story of the Netherlands" (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 35) practicable, narratable, and visually attractive to schoolchildren between the ages of eight and fourteen. In relation to this target group, the Committee for instance questioned whether contraception and the pill would be suitable topics for young children (Interview Kloek). The Committee expressed its concern over purely thematic approaches to history education and, in line with the framework of the De Rooy Commission, underscored the importance of chronological knowledge (Van Oostrom 2007a).

The framework within which the Canon Committee operated was partly outlined by its ministerial instructions. The ministerial assignment reveals the governmental stance in favour of including the Dutch involvement in slavery and highlighting the multicultural society (Wilschut 2005).<sup>204</sup> This is reflected in the Committee's consultations with the NiNsee and its deliberate consultations with allochthonous specialists. The context of the *Canon* is also informed by a dominant political focus on national history and national identity (Wilschut 2005; Grever 2005a). This is visible in politicians' appeals for more knowledge about Dutch history (Duursma and Valk 2005) and a museum for national history (Marijnissen and

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<sup>204</sup> The governmental recognition of the involvement of the Netherlands in slavery is visible in the establishment of the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (NiNsee - Nationaal instituut Nederlands slavernijverleden en erfenis) in June 2002 and in the National Monument to Commemorate the History of Dutch Slavery that was unveiled in Amsterdam in July 2002.

Verhagen 2006). This museum would also help establish bonds between the diverse cultures in the Netherlands.

Feminist actors in society that exchanged knowledge in relation to Women's History are particularly connected to *Opzij*, the VVG, and the IIAV. The latter two organisations aim to strengthen the position of Women's History in research as well as in teaching, targeting the academy and secondary education in particular.<sup>205</sup> *Opzij's* actions show its interest in making women as well as emancipation visible. The researchers in the Paradoxes project also communicate gender knowledge as part of their historiographical criticism on the *Canon*. The historians in the Paradoxes project prefer to show diverse and multicultural perspectives on historical events rather than a chronological line of historical facts and they question the nation state as a self-evident base for identity. They value pluriformity and universal values and aim for an understanding of broad societal developments outside one's own cultural circle (Grever 2005a).

The Canon Committee ascribes the Paradoxes project a pioneering role in research on the canon (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 64). Acknowledging that the canon is a gendered construction, the Committee states that a canon "will always be plagued by blind spots and sly mechanisms of exclusion as regards cultural minorities, women, all that is considered valuable in the so-called margins" (p. 24). Only in secondary education should the emphasis be more international and should more attention be paid to the relativity of the canon, for instance through more attention to marginal figures and groups (Van Oostrom 2007a). In other words, the Committee made the choice not to start from the margins "because the *Canon* is the central story" and "it is only when you know the central story that the margins become interesting" (Interview Van Oostrom).

Van Oostrom (Interview) says he regards Women's Studies and Women's History highly as disciplines, but he considers "the scrupulous or academic discussions within the [disciplines] less relevant to the basic level of history education that the canon targets". Kloek is of the opinion that schoolchildren should not be troubled too much with gender issues, mentioning that patterns of masculinity and femininity are not the most obvious themes to deal with in history education, nor are they suited to teach children historical consciousness:

I see Women's History as a sort of icing on the cake and I am not in favour of setting it apart, as for instance happened when Women's History was in the central examination. I rather prefer a more subtle and pragmatic way of dealing with these issues. (Interview Kloek)

The status of history education is a main concern of history teachers and didactic specialists. The Association of History Teachers (VGN) aims to make sure enough time is dedicated to history education and the professional training of teachers. In their reaction to the *Canon*, the VGN asked the Canon Committee to take into account that without a well-developed implementation plan teachers would be unable to use the *Canon* in their lessons (VGN 2007). Didactic specialist Wilschut (in Obbink 2006), as well as Grever and Ribbens (2005), suggested that increasing the teachers' expertise and the hours set aside for history education may be more beneficial to enhance children's knowledge about Dutch history than compiling a canon. The Institute for History Didactics (IVGD 2007) also asked for a clarification about the relation of the *Canon* to the existing attainment targets in history education. In the revised *Canon*, this relation has been elucidated with a chart that shows how the fifty windows fit in the ten periods.

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<sup>205</sup> For the aims and (planned) IIAV activities in secondary education, see Kloosterman 2008.

The media still pay a great deal of attention to the *Canon*. Apart from an interest in history, this is also due to the media-friendly concept of a canon. Apparently, people are attracted to ‘historical lists’ and the canon concept, which is evident in the many other local, regional, and thematic canons that are being developed (Slings in Van Soest 2008).<sup>206</sup> The involvement of the media in canon-like initiatives is for example visible in the ‘The greatest Dutchman’ TV contest (Ribbens 2005b).<sup>207</sup> However, the popularity of canons and historical lists could imply that complex accounts about canonisation, including those from a gender perspective, are harder to convey in the media, because they are less mediagenic (Interview Grever).

The Dutch popular media moreover widely espouse an essentialist heritage model that foregrounds the culture of the established group and present the historical identity of the Netherlands as static and closed (Frijhoff 2007, 2008). This suggests that critical scholars are less visible or have fewer opportunities to express their views in the media. Grever (Interview) experienced that in a media climate that is celebrative of the *Canon* it is difficult to get a dissonant message across, since you have to put in more effort to publish an article in a newspaper. Then again, one of the positive aspects of the *Canon* debate is that it stimulates reflection on history education and processes of canonisation (Interview Grever).

The response from women’s historians to the De Rooy report seems to be in contrast to the tamer reaction of the field to the *Canon*. Grever (Interview) puts forward that this is likely related to the fact that this time gender historians Els Kloek and Susan Legêne were involved in the Canon Committee. Another reason for the lower response may lie in the resources available to actors. Organisations like the Dutch Association for Women’s History and the IIAV, working with volunteers and a low budget, now have less time and money, which is especially strenuous because the present time seems to be more demanding than the early 1990s (Interview Rijsbosch). Grever (Interview) assesses that the discontinuation of the Commission of Women’s History of the VGN is also related to the many demands on teachers’ time, suggesting that this discontinuation could have made it more difficult to ask for attention to gender aspects in initiatives such as the *Canon*.

Another issue to consider is that the *Canon* was introduced quite shortly after the implementation of De Rooy’s ten periods. Perceiving it yet another change in history education, some teachers showed reluctance to act upon the new plans (see section 6.1.3). I believe that this could also have led to a lower motivation among historians, including women’s historians, to confer with the government or (governmental) committees about the content and form of history education. Lastly, the powerful position of the Canon Committee also needs to be considered. Although the members of the Committee take part in a personal capacity, their affiliation with the organisations they work for cannot be neglected. Committee chair Van Oostrom was the president of the respected and influential Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) when he took up his task; this position may have prevented academics to openly voice opinions that are in opposition to the *Canon* (Interview Grever).

The Canon Committee was also powerful in that they had the ‘final cut’ on what would be part of the *Canon*. In a sense, they had the power to define what aspects of our

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<sup>206</sup> Hubert Slings was the secretary of the Canon Committee.

<sup>207</sup> ‘The greatest Dutchman’ was broadcast by KRO television on 15 November 2004. The winner was Pim Fortuyn, a person that some regret is not present in the *Canon* (Gerrits 2007). The Committee responded to this omission by mentioning Fortuyn as a neo-patriot in a sub-topic under The patriots on the *Canon* website. Anne Frank was the only woman who ended in the top ten of the ‘The greatest Dutchman’, placing eighth. Because of the low number of women nominees, *Opzij* organised the election of ‘The greatest Dutch woman’, which was won by Aletta Jacobs; Annie M.G. Schmidt was listed in second place and Anne Frank in third place (Nobis 2004).

culture and history are ‘valuable’. When looking at the changes in the revised *Canon*, we see that actors who commented on the underrepresentation of the natural sciences and on the insufficient attention to pillarisation were influential in these changes. Natural scientists articulated widespread criticism about ‘their’ underrepresentation in the *Canon* (e.g. Dijkgraaf and Fresco 2006; Verbunt in U-blad 2006).<sup>208</sup> The Canon Committee went along with the demand for a more prominent representation of the natural sciences (Van Oostrom 2007b, p. 22), which is reflected in the revised *Canon*’s new window on Christiaan Huygens. Several historians had criticised the *Canon* for paying inadequate attention to pillarisation. Among them were Christian historians (e.g. Van den Berg and Van Soest 2007), the chair of the VGN (in Bouma 2006a), and historians like Gert Oostindie (U-blad 2006) and Ed Jonker (in Van den Berg and Van Soest 2007, see also Jonker 2006). In the revised *Canon*, pillarisation receives more emphasis through its integration as a sub-topic under ‘Television’, as well as via its addition to the description of the main lines, in particular under ‘The rise of modern society’.<sup>209</sup> The Canon Committee thus assessed the natural sciences’ criticism and comments about the political topic of pillarisation as main points of criticism on the *Canon*.

## **6.2 Integration of knowledge from Women’s History in the Canon**

### **6.2.1 Integrated knowledge and knowledge gaps in the Canon**

In this section, I will analyse to what extent knowledge from Women’s History is integrated in the *Canon* by examining its instances of knowledge integration and non-integration, or gaps. The *Canon* not only deals with history, but also covers topics related to the school subjects Dutch, art, and geography. My focus is on the historical topics. This means that I will refrain from discussing issues like gender and literature or the position of female artists. Based on the knowledge that is available in the field of Women’s History, I have devised a set of questions to focus my analysis. I will answer these questions by looking at the selected windows, the key text of the windows, the elaboration of the windows in Sub-topics and References, and the main lines of the *Canon*.<sup>210</sup> The questions are:

- A. Is women’s contribution in social, economic, cultural, and political domains acknowledged?
- B. Is the gendered impact of historical events and processes taken into account?
- C. Are women represented in a non-stereotypical way?

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<sup>208</sup> Natural scientists also developed their own canon (Fresco and Dijkgraaf 2007). *De Volkskrant* published contributions to this canon for about a year. The commission of the natural science canon numbered Robbert Dijkgraaf, Louise Fresco, Bas Haring, and, until his installation as Minister of Education, Ronald Plasterk among its members. Their canon was published in book form in 2008 (Dijkgraaf et al. 2008).

<sup>209</sup> Because the Canon Committee focused on primary education, they thought that the abstract character of pillarisation was too difficult, and they therefore originally dealt with it under Diversity in the Netherlands (Van Oostrom 2007b). The Committee also enlarged the attention to pillarisation through adding sub-topics under the Opposition to child labour and Diversity in the Netherlands windows (Van Oostrom 2007b).

<sup>210</sup> This analysis is based on the revised version of the *Canon*. The Sub-topics section expands the window with suggestions for subjects for primary and for secondary education, comparisons between past and present, and items to make the past tangible. The References section contains suggestions for places to go for excursions, books for young people, background literature, and links to websites. On the restructured *Canon* website, the Sub-topics and References sections are joined in one menu in which the initial sub-topics for primary and secondary education are no longer visible.

- D. Is gender used as an analytical category? Is the genderedness of historical concepts taken into account?
- E. Are Women's History publications and other knowledge sources integrated in the *Canon*?

### **A. Women's contribution to history**

Of the eighteen *Canon* windows on individuals, only three are about women.<sup>211</sup> These women are Aletta Jacobs (1854-1929), Anne Frank (1929-1945), and Annie M.G. Schmidt (1911-1995). Aletta Jacobs embodies the 19<sup>th</sup> century women's movement and her window also deals with the second feminist wave. The window on Anne Frank covers the persecution of the Jews. Annie M.G. Schmidt is a writer whose texts illustrate a critical view of bourgeois Dutch society. Her window also illustrates Dutch language and (children's) literature. Chronologically speaking, the window on Aletta Jacobs is the first. Thus, it is not until the 19th century that the first woman gets a prominent role in the *Canon* (Grever et al. 2006a).

In the window texts, we find more female historical subjects. These are Margaret, Duchess of Parma (The *Beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic outbreak)); Wilhelmina, sister of the Prussian king and wife of Stadtholder William V (The patriots); Anna Maria van Schurman, the first woman who attended university lectures (Aletta Jacobs); Fiep Westendorp, the illustrator with whom Annie M.G. Schmidt cooperated (Annie M.G. Schmidt); and Miep Gies, the woman who helped the Frank family when they were in hiding (Anne Frank). In the World War II window, the queen is mentioned, but without her name and without discussing her role in the war. The queen in question is Queen Wilhelmina. This 'mother of the fatherland', as she is often referred to (e.g. Lammers 1972), thus remains unidentified. Her anonymity and unmentioned role signify a depreciation of Wilhelmina as a historical subject.

In the sub-topics sections of the *Canon*, we find more women. These are Queen Beatrix (Charles V), the wives of William of Orange (William of Orange), Maria van Reigersberch (in the window on her husband: Hugo Grotius), Orangist heroine Kaat Mossel (The patriots), and Hannie Schaft (World War II). In the window on Aletta Jacobs, several 'canonical' women are mentioned under the sub-topic 'Famous women from Dutch history': Jacoba van Beieren, Kenau Simons Hasselaar, Anna Maria van Schurman, Betje Wolff, Wilhelmina Drucker, Queen Wilhelmina, Joke Kool-Smit, and Queen Beatrix.<sup>212</sup> This list can be called stereotypical because it represents women as a separate category. These women do apparently not have a self-evident place in the history of the Netherlands (Grever et al. 2006a).

The Aletta Jacobs window is about feminism and women's emancipation, and deals with several topics of concern in Women's History: women's educational opportunities, women's suffrage, contraception, and women's working conditions. It acknowledges Jacobs' contribution to achieving women's rights and advancing women's emancipation. There is one other first-wave feminist mentioned in the window, Wilhelmina Drucker. In discussing the second feminist wave, the women's libbers are referred to as 'dolle minas' and the only second-wave feminist mentioned by name is Joke Kool-Smit. She and Drucker appear on the list of 'famous women from Dutch history'. The contributions of other first and second wave feminists are thus less visible.

The window on Aletta Jacobs is referred to in the main line 'The rise of modern society'. This line also deals with the railways, industrialisation, and pillarisation. Three central topics are mentioned in relation to the latter: the school funding controversy, universal suffrage for men and women, and the social question. The Aletta Jacobs window is of obvious

<sup>211</sup> The initial *Canon* had seventeen windows on individuals. In the revised *Canon*, Christiaan Huygens replaced The printing press, resulting in one more window on an individual.

<sup>212</sup> Nijsten (2004) identifies Jacoba van Beieren as one of the women who belong in the canon of Dutch history.

importance to universal suffrage for men and women, but via the reference to her window in this main line, she is also connected to social inequalities in a broader sense, such as unequal access to education for men and women and bad working conditions.

The main line ‘The welfare state, democratisation and secularisation’ deals with changing lifestyles and living standards after World War II, including the change of male and female role patterns and an increasingly open view on sexuality. It is an omission that Aletta Jacobs’ is not among the cross-referenced windows here, because her window explicitly deals with contraception and the second feminist wave. This omission is especially striking when we look at the other windows in this main line, because only one of the six other windows addresses gender and sexuality, and that only to a limited extent; the window on Television mentions programmes about ‘controversial issues’ such as sex and emancipation.<sup>213</sup> Hence, not including Jacobs’ window is a missed chance to provide relevant insights about gender roles and views on sexuality, and disregards the contribution of second wave feminists in the developments discussed in this main line.<sup>214</sup>

Portraits of Aletta Jacobs and Anne Frank head their windows, but the icon for Annie M.G. Schmidt’s is that of the cover of her book *Pluk van de Petteflet*. The latter icon was chosen because children are more likely to recognise that popular book cover than a picture or photograph of the author, so that children would be drawn to *Pluk* on the wall chart already (Interview Van Oostrom). Although a photograph of Annie M.G. Schmidt is among one of the two additional pictures of this window in the *Canon* book, the wall chart thus only presents two women figures. This diminishes the immediate visibility of women as historical subjects.<sup>215</sup> However, Kloek did make efforts to make women more visible in the images and titles of the windows to break the ‘white male dominance’ of the *Canon* (CC archive). This for instance led to using a picture of Van Gogh’s ‘Sunflowers’ instead of his self-portrait, a picture with girls instead of boys for the Oppositon to child labour window, and the title ‘*De Stijl*’ instead of Gerrit Rietveld.

Similar to what Grever and Ribbens (2005) argued about the canon proposal of Bank and de Rooy, the protagonists in the *Canon* are predominantly white men: soldiers, kings, noblemen, counts, merchants, stadtholders, emperors, mariners, admirals, scientists, intellectuals, and painters. In conclusion, women do not figure to a large extent in the *Canon*. It gives the impression that women’s contribution to history is limited to issues like women’s emancipation and feminism, which, as Mak (2007) argued, is not an appropriate integration of women’s contribution to history.

### ***B. Gendered impact of historical events and processes***

In the window texts, there is not much that shows that historical events and processes can have a different impact on men and women. Only in relation to war and suffrage, this is made visible. In the windows on World War II, Indonesia, and Srebrenica, it is noticeable that war can mean different things for men and women. The texts mention that men were forced to work and that men and women were separated from each other. However, there is no attention to what war actually means for the lives of men and women.

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<sup>213</sup> Annie M.G. Schmidt is also referred to in the main line ‘The welfare state, democratisation and secularisation’, where she is related to the less hierarchical relationships between parents and children and the anti-authoritarian movements of the 1960s.

<sup>214</sup> The missing link to the second feminist wave was pointed out by feminist activist Lottie Schenk in the IIAV website discussion about the Women’s Canon.

<sup>215</sup> Research on national history and collective memory increasingly pays attention to visual representations, including iconic images and wall charts. For an analysis of visualisation and collective memories that addresses gender, see for instance Grever 2004b and De Kruif 2009.

The right to vote figures in three windows: The Constitution, Aletta Jacobs, and World War I. In these windows, it is clear that women and men had different positions in this over the course of history: women were granted the passive (1917) and active vote (1919) later than men and the active right to vote for women was set down in the constitution (1922) later than men's. However, under World War I, we find: "From 1919 onwards, the Netherlands was a fully democratic country: every adult man and woman had the right to vote in elections." This text implies that democratic struggle for the vote was completed, and thereby neglects that women's constitutional rights were incomplete until 1922. At the presentation of her biography of Aletta Jacobs, Mineke Bosch (2005) mentions that this gendered misrepresentation of the democratisation process often occurs in teaching material. Although the texts of the three windows together give a full picture of the democratisation process regarding suffrage, the World War I window privileges a masculine perspective.

The different social and political positions of men and women - through which historical events and processes have a different impact on men and women - are also mentioned under Aletta Jacobs. There it says that for "centuries, politics had been the exclusive domain of men, just like the academic world, the Church and the armed forces". It additionally mentions (feminist) criticism of patriarchal ideas. With the addition of the meaning of the contraceptive pill as a sub-topic for secondary education pupils under Aletta Jacobs, the revised *Canon* also pays attention to the impact of the pill on women's and men's lives. This addition is due to comments on the initial *Canon* made by women's historians and other actors (see section 6.1.3). There is also a sub-topic on equality and non-discrimination under The Constitution. In general, however, the *Canon* does not substantially reflect on the positions of men and women.

In fact, as Mak (2007) argues, 'ordinary people', both men and women, are largely absent from the *Canon*. She relates this to the absence of long-term social, economic, and cultural transitions in the *Canon*. This indeed goes for the window texts, but the main lines do refer to such transitions, for instance 'The rise of modern society' and 'The welfare state, democratisation and secularisation'. In the revised version, the former pays more attention to social issues than it did in the initial version.

### ***C. Representation of women***

Let me now consider the ways in which women are represented in the *Canon*. I already mentioned that the list of 'Famous women from Dutch history' represents women as a separate category and that Queen Wilhelmina figured in the text without her name. There are more window texts that do not mention women's names. For instance in the window on Anne Frank, her father has a name but her mother (Edith) and sister (Margot) are unnamed. Also in the window on Charles V, his father has a name, but his mother's name (Juana of Castile) is not mentioned. In these instances, women are not given the same appreciation or individuality as men.

A stereotypical representation occurs in the World War I window, which states that "despairing housewives" plundered food stocks. The adjective 'despairing' could be seen as to devalue the women in question. Another interesting note is struck in Willem Drees' window, in which Mrs. Drees figures. According to the window text, Mrs. Drees served an American diplomat visiting the Prime Minister at home a cup of tea and a biscuit. This event is mentioned to illustrate the thriftiness of Willem Drees, but Mrs. Drees is simultaneously represented in a stereotypical way, that is, as a spouse and homemaker.

In the window *The Beeldenstorm*, women and men are both visible as agents in history, because the text says that iconoclasts came from every layer of society: "high and low, rich and poor, male and female and young and old". In this window, "men and women" are also mentioned as victims of the persecution of heretics. The latter is a passive mentioning

of people, which occurs more often in the case of women. For example, under World War II and Anne Frank, we read that “over 100,000 Jewish men, women and children” were transported to and died in concentration camps. As a result, an active role seems to be reserved for men, and when discussing victims, women become visible by not talking of ‘people’ but explicitly mentioning men and women.

#### ***D. Gender as a category of historical analysis***

That gender is a constitutive element of social relations and a primary way of signifying power relations only comes to the fore explicitly in the *Canon* in relation to the emancipation of women under Aletta Jacobs. There is one place in which the sexual division of labour is implied, that is the sub-topic ‘The way of life of hunter-gatherers’ in the window Megalithic tombs. In other windows, the gendered organisation of society, for example in terms of household, marriage, and family relations, is absent (cf. both Van Zanden and Oostindie in Ublad 2006). The term gender is also not mentioned in the *Canon*.

In assessing what counts as history in the *Canon*, Mak (2007) points out that the fifty windows of the *Canon* mainly belong to the domains of politics, ideas, art, and in a few cases technology and economics. Although some windows are about topics from social and cultural history, for example Opposition to child labour and Willem Drees, the *Canon* gives more visibility to the public sphere. Analysing the role of women in the history that the *Canon* presents, we see that they have a visible role in the context of emancipation and that their emancipation is largely connected to the public sphere and to (women’s) rights, in particular the right to vote. The *Canon* thereby reflects the gendered dichotomy of the public and the private sphere, a reflection that is partly related to its canonical form and national framing. Mak (2007) thus concludes that the *Canon* presents a gendered picture of Dutch history. This means that the *Canon* does not take into account insights from Women’s History related to a one-dimensional definition of history.

Does the *Canon* integrate results from research on canonisation from a gender perspective? As I described (see section 6.1.4), the Canon Committee is aware that canons are gendered constructions. The Committee incorporates the insight of existing exclusion mechanisms pertaining to women and ethnic minorities by mentioning it in its rationale behind the *Canon*, but still carried out its task and made a canon regardless. The Committee thus more or less (had to) accept the exclusion of women and other minorities as a negative ramification. Grever et al. (2006a) assess that the *Canon* as a single story with a national focus lacks multiple narratives and an international comparison. This means that results from research on canonisation in relation to Women’s History have not been taken up substantially.

Does the *Canon* integrate insights about different historical interests among schoolchildren and provide possibilities for identification? That there are few women in the *Canon* means that girls do not have much opportunity to identify with female historical figures. In reaction to the criticism of an overrepresentation of the province of Holland in the *Canon*, the Committee responded that an equal representation of provinces or “- to give just one example - men and women” was not a leading principle (Van Oostrom 2007b, p. 27). This statement suggests that the Committee did not consider it important to provide equal identification possibilities for boys and girls. Especially the insertion ‘to give just one example’ seems to imply that gender does not matter. With much attention to politics and war, the historical interests of boys seem to be served best. The Canon Committee did however make efforts to provide identification possibilities for ‘allochthonous’ people (CC archive). Legêne (Interview) explains that this was done through the conscious mentioning of diverse ethnic groups by name, such as Moluccans, Turks, and Surinamese, without suggesting that each group would have its ‘own’ window, and, for instance, by writing the Indonesia window, about a colony fighting for its freedom, starting from the Indonesians unilateral declaration of

independence. The Committee notes that teachers may profit from refresher courses, for instance on teaching the *Canon* in multicultural classes, suggesting the relevance to the multicultural society might not be immediately self-evident (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 67).

### ***E. Women's History publications and other knowledge sources***

It is predominantly in the Aletta Jacobs window that publications from women's historians are referred to. As background literature we find, for instance, the biography of Aletta Jacobs by Mineke Bosch, another publication of hers about Jacobs, a popular work on the history of women in Europe written by Fia Dieteren, Els Kloek, and Antoinette Visser, and several publications written by Inge de Wilde, such as her dissertation about female students and teachers at the University of Groningen, the university that admitted Jacobs as the first female student, and an article in a *Yearbook for Women's History*. Also, two of the feminists that figure in the window are given a voice: Aletta Jacobs and Joke Kool-Smit are included with a work of their own. Many volumes of the popular science series *Verloren verleden*, edited by women's historian Els Kloek, are also included in the *Canon* as background literature. Several contributions to the series pay attention to women and girls, such as *Het kindernetje van Van Houten*, written by Willemien Schenkeveld, which is included under Opposition to child labour. Under Aletta Jacobs we find Judith Amsenga's contribution to the series about Dolle Mina.

Regarding the integration of subdominant heritage institutions, we find the websites of women's archives and other information sources about women and emancipation listed under Aletta Jacobs. The websites refer to dossiers about Aletta Jacobs in mainstream archives (National Archive), feminist archives (IIAV), and in educative children's programmes. Websites also refer to teaching material developed by the IIAV about the second feminist wave and about Aletta Jacobs. The websites of the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women, the IIAV, and [www.emancipatie.nl](http://www.emancipatie.nl)<sup>216</sup> are also listed here. The *Canon* lists several subdominant heritage institutions as 'Places to go': the Jewish Historical Museum (The *Statenbijbel*; Anne Frank) and the Museum Maluku (Indonesia; The Dutch East India Company). Local and regional museums are listed as well. No archive for gay history is included, even though it is related to topics such as the persecution of homosexuals (noted under Anne Frank) and to changing views on sexuality (noted under Annie M.G. Schmidt). Under Aletta Jacobs, the Dollhouse museum and the Open Air Museum are listed as 'Places to go'. These museums are places where schoolchildren can learn about women's lives.<sup>217</sup> The IIAV is not mentioned as an excursion possibility, but neither are other heritage institutions.

### **6.2.2 Form: knowledge products - embodied knowledge**

I showed that publications from the field of Women's History are listed as background literature in the *Canon*, albeit only under Aletta Jacobs. This is clearly an integration of knowledge products. Interpreting 'products' in a broad sense, there are more instances of knowledge integration. For instance in Aletta Jacobs' References section we see teaching material developed by the IIAV and the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women. However, it

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<sup>216</sup> The website [www.emancipatie.nl](http://www.emancipatie.nl) started as an initiative of the Joke Smit Foundation and is currently managed by the Stichting Emancipatie Online.

<sup>217</sup> The suggested excursion to the Dollhouse museum was received with discontent by Grever (2007) and by a woman named Susan who posted a comment about this on the forum on the *Canon* website (10-08-2007), because it would do no justice to the meaning of Aletta Jacobs' accomplishment.

must be noted that people brought the IIAV teaching material to the attention of the makers of the *Canon*.

Embodied knowledge is also integrated in the *Canon*. For instance Jacoba van Beieren was one of the persons suggested by Kloek and Van Oostrom (CC archive). She is mentioned as one of the ‘famous women from Dutch history’ under Aletta Jacobs. Kloek (Interview) says:

Even if a window is not explicitly about the position of women, you can pay attention to women in the window text and in the sub-topics. I tried to make sure that women also figured in the *Canon* in this respect. For instance by mentioning Margaret of Parma in the window about the *Beeldenstorm* and by including a sub-topic about the wives of William of Orange in his window.

### **6.2.3 Type: instrumental, conceptual, symbolic utilisation**

Three types of knowledge integration are identified in Knowledge Utilisation: instrumental, conceptual, and symbolic. To recap, in the case of instrumental use, knowledge directly contributes to a certain decision or shift in practices that would not have been made in the absence of that knowledge. Conceptual use is the case when knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, or a different understanding of the issues at hand. Use of knowledge is symbolic when knowledge is used to legitimate a view that professionals already have.

In the case of the *Canon*, I identify several instances of instrumental knowledge use. The addition of the contraceptive pill as a sub-topic under Aletta Jacobs is an example of this. Several feminist and non-feminist actors commented on the omission of the pill in the initial *Canon*.<sup>218</sup> It is likely that the pill would not have been added without these comments. Another example is the changes in icons and titles that Kloek proposed in the Canon Committee to make women more visible (or men less visible), such as using the Sunflowers painting for the Vincent van Gogh icon instead of his picture (see section 6.1.3). It is likely that without her involvement, this would not have happened.

I have not discerned any symbolic use of Women’s History knowledge. In my view, there was also no conceptual use of knowledge, because the practical application of the *Canon* takes no notice of insights from women’s historians about the lasting imprint that canons leave. I come to this conclusion because the Committee stated that only in secondary education should more attention be paid to marginal figures and groups, and to the relativity of the canon (see section 6.1.4). Although paying heed to the relativity of the *Canon* is commendable from a Women’s History perspective, this seems to underestimate the powerful impact of canons. That is, it is difficult to adjust the grand narrative that children are presented with by putting forward other perspectives afterwards (see section 6.1.1).

### **6.2.4 Level of knowledge: concepts, theories, instruments**

Women’s History is about making women and their contribution to history visible but it also

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<sup>218</sup> The new window on Christiaan Huygens in the revised *Canon* can also be seen as an instrumental use of knowledge, because it is apparent that without comments from natural scientists this would not have become part of the *Canon*.

entails a critical view on historical concepts and on history itself. Several famous women figure in the *Canon* and historical facts and figures in relation to emancipation and the women's movement are presented. Knowledge and insights from Women's History are concentrated in the Aletta Jacobs window, although women's suffrage is also included in The Constitution. However, the *Canon* does not move beyond this aspect of Women's History. Thus, the disapproval of women's historians about trimming down Women's History to emancipation or feminism has not been taken into account.

As I showed in section 6.2.1, gender does not play a role as a constitutive element of social relationships in the *Canon* and it signifies power relations merely in relation to women's issues. The key concept of Women's History is thus not integrated in the *Canon*, nor is the term gender mentioned. Also, the focus in the *Canon* that privileges the public above the private sphere has to a large extent resulted in the exclusion of women. With this gendered definition of history, the *Canon* reflects the gendered politics of the historical discipline (cf. Scott 1988).

In the *Canon* rationale, the Committee does mention theoretical insights from research on canonisation, specifically the mechanisms via which women and ethnic minorities are excluded. Yet, they did not act on this insight, as their task was to make a canon. Given the Committee's acceptance of 'blind spots' and 'mechanisms of exclusion' in a canon, I conclude, in Knowledge Utilisation terms, that this knowledge was used without it having an effect on the *Canon* itself (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Books and other publications, as well as websites and teaching material can be regarded as instruments. Many references to these instruments, produced from a Women's History perspective, are included under Aletta Jacobs. Considering didactical approaches as instruments, we see that knowledge claims about the benefits of thematic history education to making sense of gender relations have not been integrated in the *Canon*. Instead, the chronologic approach of De Rooy has been left intact.

Taking into account the broader debate about the *Canon*, we see that the Committee's recommendation to focus more on subject content in teacher training reflects a concern of teachers and didactic specialists. This concern, which was also voiced by the researchers in the Paradoxes project, called for increasing teachers' expertise in order to enhance children's knowledge about Dutch history. The level at which this has been taken up is that of instruments.

### **6.2.5 Reflection of contemporary feminist understandings of sex and gender**

In Chapter 3, I stipulated that feminist understandings of the concepts of sex and gender would be visible if these concepts were used in a non-universal and non-essentialist way and if gender was linked to power and other social categories. In this section, I will answer the question whether the integration of knowledge from Women's History in the *Canon* reflects contemporary feminist understandings of sex and gender.

In the main line 'The welfare state, democratisation and secularisation', attention is paid to changes in lifestyles, including the changing roles of women and men. Under Aletta Jacobs it becomes clear that femininity and masculinity are socio-cultural constructions and that women's and men's roles are related to people's ideas. There the text states people "believed that women were not the equals of men". Via the Aletta Jacobs sub-topic that asks whether women are fully emancipated in the present, the *Canon* pays attention to the different roles of men and women in different periods. I therefore conclude that the concepts of sex and gender are not used in an essentialist way.

The Aletta Jacobs window hints at the power aspect of gender relations, by mentioning male-dominated domains and (feminist) criticism of patriarchal ideas. However, the connection of gender to power is limited to this one window and does not play a role in the *Canon* at large.

In the *Canon*, gender is not linked to other social categories such as ethnicity, class, or sexuality. The social category that is most visible in the *Canon* is that of ethnicity. Mak (2007) argues that ethnicity is fairly well represented via the topics of slavery, colonialism, and multiculturalism, but that these illustrate political and emancipatory landmarks rather than present ethnicity as a category structuring Dutch history. Regarding issues of multiculturalism, Grever et al. (2006a) point out that the Diversity in the Netherlands window slims these down to religious differences, because the multicultural society is mostly discussed in relation to different religions and the schoolfunding controversy, thereby overlooking phenomena of ethnic or cultural identity that transcend religion.

It is striking that the term ethnic is reserved to refer to other groups than Dutch or white Western groups. This represents Dutch as the unmarked category, as if this group does not have an ethnicity. This explicitly is the case in Diversity in the Netherlands, where the sub-topic ‘The influence of ethnic groups on Dutch eating habits’ comes up and where ‘ethnic restaurants’ are listed as Places to go.

The categories of class and sexuality are less visible than ethnicity and religion. Class differences between citizens and nobility are for example mentioned in the main line ‘The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands’. The Opposition to child labour window signals socio-economic differences via the sub-topic about life at the bottom of society. Sexuality is mentioned under Anne Frank, where homosexuals are included in the ‘Nazi persecution of other minorities’ sub-topic. We thus see that several social categories play a role in the *Canon*; however, none of these categories is discussed in relation to gender. This thus forms an instance of non-integration. The missing links between gender and other social categories imply that women are presented as a homogeneous group. This also works the other way around. For instance when migrants are discussed, there is no attention to gender. Hence, black, migrant, and refugee women are not present in the *Canon* (cf. Maas 2008). Since there is no differentiation between women, the non-universal character of gender is not reflected in the *Canon*.

### **6.2.6 Ideological change or political impact**

I asserted that knowledge about sex and gender cannot be separated from the political project of Women’s Studies. Scholars in this field are committed to change the status quo, to have an impact on society. Does the knowledge that is integrated in the *Canon* involve an ideological change or political impact in civil society? As I have stated in my research model, without this political impact, integration of knowledge about sex and gender cannot be regarded as successful.

We have seen that Women’s History asks attention for several different issues in history education, thereby challenging what is regarded as basic historical knowledge. The *Canon* however presents a rather traditional overview of Dutch history. It is traditional, first, because the topics of all windows already feature in standard schoolbooks (Van Oostrom 2007a). Grever et al. (2006a) note that, apart from the most recent ones, a 1940 history textbook already contained almost all windows of the *Canon*.<sup>219</sup> Second, the *Canon*’s grand

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<sup>219</sup> The book in question was written by Blonk and Romein (1940).

historical narrative reflects a male-biased notion of history. This obscures the unequal gender relations on which this narrative is based, thereby reinforcing rather than challenging gender hierarchies (Mak 2007). Thus, the *Canon* does not challenge gender ideologies and does not have a political impact on gender relations.

In the *Canon*, the Aletta Jacobs window, representing the emancipation of women, seems to present the highest extent of possible knowledge integration:

In the case that feminists had stood up for more women in the *Canon*, there would not have been another window for Joke Kool-Smit for instance, or Hedy d'Ancona, because Aletta Jacobs already has a window. (Interview Van Oostrom)

Whereas some historians seem to be discontented that the women who came before Aletta Jacobs do not figure noticeably in the *Canon* windows (cf. Grever et al. 2006a as mentioned in section 6.2.1), others assess the integration of Women's History in the *Canon* more positively. As Kloek stated:

It is an accomplishment that there are three windows about women and that a lot of Women's History has been integrated in the window on Aletta Jacobs. [...] Although I would have liked to include a window dedicated to the more private sphere, I am pleased that there are three windows about women. I think it is important that their stories are told. (Interview)

Feminist actors found an alternative way to 'compensate' for women's underrepresentation in the *Canon* by compiling the Women's Canon. The IIAV also saw new opportunities to spread the heritage of the women's movement to a broad public in *Canon*-related initiatives such as television series, and is aiming to make women visible in the new National Historical Museum.

In the field of education, it comes down to teachers to integrate knowledge from Women's History into their classes. As Legêne (Interview) said: "The *Canon* design, with its windows that allow for various perspectives, provides many opportunities for paying attention to gender and ethnicity, but it is up to the teachers to open the windows."

## **6.3 Conditions affecting the integration of knowledge in the Canon**

### **6.3.1 Conditions related to the production of knowledge in Women's History**

#### ***Margin vs. centre***

The condition of partiality implies that an agreement between actors on the political and epistemological values with which knowledge is produced may enhance the integration of knowledge. In this case study, there is a disagreement between the political and epistemological values underlying Women's History and the ideology underlying the *Canon*. Whereas Women's History foregrounds a specific and political perspective on history, the project of the *Canon* reflects the idea that a neutral and universal history can be written. The Canon Committee is aware of the constructed and exclusive character of canons, but they still cling to universality claims by presenting the *Canon* as 'the story of the Netherlands'. Although calling it the 'story' of the Netherlands is different from calling it the 'history', the link to history is evident.

From Van Oostrom's account that the *Canon* presents the central story and thus starts from the centre and not the margins (see section 6.1.4), it can be derived that the Committee considers the specific perspective of Women's History too marginal. The disagreement between Women's History and the Committee on political and epistemological values has thus hindered the integration of knowledge from Women's History in the *Canon*.

That the partiality of Women's History has hindered the integration of knowledge claims from this field is especially likely when comparing it to the integration of pillarisation in the revised *Canon*. Pillarisation may be integrated in the *Canon* because it is a topic that belongs to the domain of political history. Since political history belongs to mainstream history, its non-contested character may have contributed to a firmer integration in the *Canon*.

### ***Academy vs. education***

Another condition related to the production of knowledge is locality. The Knowledge Utilisation argument about this condition suggests that similarities in the contexts of users and researchers may enhance the integration of knowledge. At first glance, the contexts of this case study seem dissimilar, since there is a (perceived) difference between the focus of the *Canon* on primary education and the academic world of Women's History.

Despite a general appreciation for Women's History, the Canon Committee, specifically the chair (see section 6.1.4) considered the thorough scholarly discussions of the discipline not applicable or pertinent to the objective of making a canon for the basic level of history education. The context of the *Canon* is thus defined as different from an academy buzzing with too-scrupulous discussions. Women's History is thereby assessed as an undertaking that is too intellectual for the *Canon*. In defining these contexts as far apart from each other, knowledge from Women's History had less of a chance at integration.

Although women's historians are indeed located in the academy, this does not preclude the relevance of their work to history education. The involvement of women's historians in the development of the Women's History examination topic, the experience that several historians with gender expertise have as history teachers (e.g. De Vos, Kloosterman, Grever), as well the cooperation with history teachers in the development of the IIAV teaching package 'Woman decides' all show that the distinction between Women's History and educational practice is not that impermeable. Moreover, empirical research on history education also dealt with relevant issues of nationality and identification of pupils (see section 6.1.1). In other words, the perceived distinction between the contexts of higher and primary education is to be understood as one that is not shared by women's historians. However, it is indeed the case that actors from Women's History have targeted their efforts more to secondary than primary education. Nevertheless, the perceived difference between academy and education has had a real hindering impact.

### ***Outward-looking perspective***

According to Knowledge Utilisation theories, research with a more outward-looking perspective and user-friendly sensitivity can be expected to enhance knowledge integration, which would especially be the case with externally-funded research. Looking at the Paradoxes research project, we see that research is carried out under a NWO research programme and thus is not externally funded. However, part of the research results of the Paradoxes project specifically addressed the *Canon*, which is particularly visible in the *Canon* commentary in the *Controverses* book. Thus, although Knowledge Utilisation theories do not consider internal research funding an important factor, research that is internally funded does not *per se* lack an outward-looking perspective. The teaching material developed by the IIAV did not come about through university funding. That this material is integrated in the *Canon* could suggest that external research funding has enhanced the integration of knowledge in that case.

However, it is more likely that its direct applicability, which would be a condition related to dissemination efforts, has played a larger role. I will further discuss this in the ‘Dissemination (and communication) conditions’ section.

### **6.3.2 Interaction conditions**

#### ***Linkage mechanisms***

Knowledge Utilisation theories assume that the more intense and sustained the interactions between researchers and users are at different stages in the knowledge transfer process, the more likely it is that knowledge gets integrated. I showed that within the Canon Committee, linkages and knowledge exchange on the topic of Women’s History occurred in direct and embodied ways. However, there was limited and indirect interaction between women’s historians and the makers of the *Canon*, and other external actors did not strongly voice feminist viewpoints either.

Regarding the intra-actions (or interactions between the Committee members), it is clear that knowledge from Women’s History was discussed. Kloek in particular raised issues of relevance to women. This has enhanced the integration of knowledge from the field of Women’s History, especially regarding the visibility of women in the *Canon*.

The Committee created opportunities for external actors to interact with the Committee in a more or less direct way, for instance by posting comments on the discussion forum of the *Canon* website. However, feminist academics and activists made only little use of this opportunity to voice their concerns. I believe that this is partly related to limited resources (in terms of time and money) on their side (see section 6.3.4). I find it likely that more intense and sustained interaction would have resulted in more knowledge integration.

In my interviews with the Committee members (Interviews Van Oostrom, Legêne, Kloek), they explained that the Committee’s consultations with external actors did not include special-interest groups asking to integrate certain knowledge claims. That is, they took on board the concerns of their discussion partners, but the *Canon* was not established by representing the interests of certain discussion partners. This way of working is also reflected in Van Oostrom’s account (see section 6.2.6) that more feminist involvement or action to include more women in the *Canon* would not have resulted in another window about an important woman alongside Aletta Jacobs. However, when taking into account that the sustained criticism of natural scientists has resulted in an adaptation of the *Canon*, more prominent criticism from Women’s History could well have made a difference. This is even more likely when one takes into consideration the way Van Oostrom evaluates the criticism from the natural sciences:

I felt the judgement that there was insufficient attention to the natural sciences was exaggerated, as there was quite a lot of knowledge from the natural sciences in the *Canon*. But because Dutch science in the seventeenth century was thriving and because Christiaan Huygens, as a prodigy, provides nice didactic possibilities, we found it would strengthen our concept. (Interview)

Thus, despite the fact that the knowledge exchanges that took place between the Canon Committee and external actors were supposedly not vulnerable to special-interest lobbying, persistent criticism by natural scientists did result in changes in the *Canon*.

#### ***Contextualisation***

The Mode 2 premise of the contextualisation condition is that knowledge is more likely to be

integrated when researchers take into account the context in which knowledge will be applied and when social actors are involved in the production of knowledge. Analysis of this condition's relevance for the integration of Women's History knowledge in the *Canon* reveals several things.

Looking at knowledge production in the broad field of Women's History with a bearing on the *Canon*, it is visible that knowledge is produced from different disciplinary perspectives, including for instance Literature; that knowledge is produced in cooperation with societal actors, for instance the IIAV; and that there are strong relations with education, as for example in studies into the historical interests of female and male students. In this sense, knowledge production in Women's History is contextualised. The integration of IIAV teaching material in the *Canon* suggests that the cooperative production of knowledge in the form of teaching material by history teachers (the context of application) and women's historians has enhanced the integration of this particular knowledge product. It was additionally also already targeted to specific users, that is, teachers and schoolchildren. However, I assess that the ready-made form of this product has also enhanced its uptake in the *Canon* (see next section).

When assessing knowledge production about gender and canonisation, in particular in the Paradoxes project, it becomes apparent that the contextualisation mainly takes place through the connection to public debates about the *Canon* and to a lesser extent through social actors' involvement in the production of knowledge. Regarding the context in which knowledge is to be applied, the Paradoxes project mainly focuses on theoretical and methodological developments and less on the *Canon*, the 'context of application' at hand. This implies that this aspect of contextualisation has not contributed to the integration of knowledge claims about canonisation and gender. However, knowledge claims from the Paradoxes project did include criticism specifically addressed to the *Canon*. Thus, the context of application is not completely out of the picture.

### **6.3.3 Dissemination and communication conditions**

#### ***Dissemination efforts***

Knowledge and insights from Women's History were disseminated via different channels (reports, books, journals, newspapers, and conferences/meetings) and women's historians communicated their message before, during, and after the making of the *Canon*. These dissemination efforts are likely to influence knowledge integration in a positive way. However, women's historians hardly disseminated their knowledge via the more direct communication channel of the *Canon* website's discussion forum, nor did they contact the Canon Committee directly.

Another important observation is that conditions for communicating a gender perspective via newspapers were not optimal, and it was especially in newspapers that the public debate about the *Canon* took place. The pro-*Canon* media climate made it specifically difficult to get critical messages across, and the complexity of the message from Women's History had to compete with the media-friendly message of the *Canon*. Access to a key dissemination channel in the *Canon* debate was thus limited, negatively affecting the possible impact of Women's History knowledge.

Still, knowledge from Women's History was transferred to the Canon Committee, through, for instance, meetings and publications, and knowledge was available and exchanged within the Committee. Thus, the problem here does not seem to be that knowledge claims did not reach the Committee. In other words, dissemination and communication conditions have not significantly hindered the integration of knowledge from Women's History. I will argue

that the non-integration of knowledge claims, in particular those related to gender and canonisation, is related to the dissonant message of Women's History (see section 'Conditions in the realm of users').

Dissemination efforts also included adapting knowledge products and language to the users. The ready-made form and accessibility of knowledge products like the IIAV teaching material, the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women, and websites about Aletta Jacobs (National Archive, IIAV) are likely to have contributed to the integration of these Women's History products in the *Canon*. These products were made with specific users in mind.

### ***Publishing popular history helps***

The more articles, chapters, and books that researchers publish, the more likely it is that 'their' knowledge gets integrated, that is the Knowledge Utilisation reasoning behind the condition of publication assets. Taking into account the vast amount of knowledge produced in Women's History and the limited integration of this knowledge in the *Canon*, one can conclude that this condition does not apply. This is in any case true for theoretical knowledge about gender and canonisation; the researchers involved in the Paradoxes project have for instance published widely about their project both before, during and after the *Canon* was developed, and yet hardly any integration of this kind of knowledge took place.

Let me now focus on the integration of publications in the *Canon* itself, more precisely in the Background literature sections. It is worth noting that many of the works referred to here fall under the category of history for a broad public or popularised history. These include, for instance, contributions to the series *Plaatsen van herinnering* and to the series *Verloren verleden* of which many volumes are included in the *Canon* as background literature.<sup>220</sup> Publications about Women's History listed as background reading under Aletta Jacobs also include contributions to these series, as well as other popular works. This suggests that Women's History that is written in a popular-scientific way has more of a chance of being integrated in the *Canon*. Though there is also a Women's History dissertation among the mentioned publications, popularisation nevertheless seems to be a condition that enhances knowledge integration in this specific application. This also becomes apparent in the Websites section, which references websites that contain popularised knowledge, for example the IIAV website and the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women.

Another characteristic of the *Canon's* Background literature is that it mainly contains publications written in Dutch. Only one English book is included (under Blaeu's *Atlas Major*). This suggests a tension between writing in English, aimed at academic ranking and international cooperation, and the *Canon's* specifically Dutch telling of history.

Lastly but importantly, women's historians have paid a great deal of attention to feminists, feminist organisations and other topics dealing with the first and second feminist waves. Appendix VII includes several dissertations about these issues (e.g. Jansz 1990; Grever 1994; Costera Meijer 1996; Ribberink 1998; Linders 2003). The high number of publications about these topics will have made it harder to disregard Women's History research. The inclusion of Aletta Jacobs in the *Canon* as the representative of the emancipation of women, specifically concerning the two feminist waves, can be understood as a result of the scholarly work by women's historians.

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<sup>220</sup> E.g. Van den Doel 2005; Schenkeveld 2003.

### **6.3.4 Conditions related to the power aspect of knowledge transfer**

#### ***Power differences***

From Feminist Science Studies, I derived the supposition that when actors in knowledge transfer processes occupy equal power positions, knowledge integration will be enhanced. The power differences between knowledge producers and users in this case study may have hindered the integration of knowledge from Women's History in the *Canon*.

I argued that the Canon Committee has a powerful position as it has the ultimate say in what ends up in the *Canon*. Moreover, academics who voiced sceptical views towards the *Canon* were less visible in the media (see 6.1.4). This may not only have limited the impact of knowledge from Women's History on the makers of the *Canon*, it will almost certainly also have resulted in other actors in the debate not being fully aware of knowledge and insights from Women's History. This would mean that other actors had less chance to be affected by it, especially since the media are mostly positive towards the *Canon* and illustrate an idea of culture and identity that is not in line with that of women's historians. That this condition may have played a role, especially for insights about the exclusive character of canons, becomes more likely when taking into account that the media-friendly design of the *Canon* successfully resonated in society in the form of many other canons.

Although Women's History has a high level of institutionalisation in- and outside academia, the persons and organisations active in the field of Women's History have a less powerful position because they are short of resources. They had less time and money, and their efforts were possibly hindered by the lack of a structure such as the VGN's old Commission of Women's History. This means that they had a weaker position and fewer possibilities to carry out activities in relation to the *Canon*. In all, the unequal power positions thus contributed to a non-capitalisation of knowledge.

#### ***Institutional landscape***

The aims, strategies, and interests of the institutions in the background of knowledge production may also be relevant for the integration of knowledge. More precisely, Mode 2 scholars put forward that when these institutions are supportive of the knowledge produced, knowledge integration is likely to be enhanced.

In this case study, the aims of the actors in the 'institutional landscape' largely do not agree with those of Women's History. This is especially the case in the political landscape; the focus on national history and national identity is visible in actions and expressions of politicians, the Education Council, and the Minister of Education. These more closely match the aims and interests of the Canon Committee than those of women's historians. After all, they particularly argued for a more international context in history education, as well as for the inclusion of multiple perspectives to render women's historical experiences and actions visible.

Looking at the Ministry of Education specifically, it is visible that the Minister's assignment to the Committee did not refer to the ministerial policy of eliminating sex stereotypes (OCW 2005b). Taking into account that the Committee took notice of other ministerial instructions, it is likely that explicitly mentioning such a guideline in the ministerial assignment would have resulted in a *Canon* with more points of recognition for female pupils. The Canon Committee *did* pay close attention to 'allochthonous' people, an issue strongly emphasised by the Minister.

Institutions in the background of knowledge production, and also the media (see above), have thus largely not been supportive of knowledge from Women's History, a condition that has hindered the integration of this knowledge in the *Canon*.

### ***Natural sciences support***

Power aspects in the knowledge transfer process also manifested themselves in the inclusion of the contraceptive pill as a new sub-topic under Aletta Jacobs. It is likely that his instance of knowledge integration from Women's History was enhanced by the shared interest in the issue between women's historians and natural scientists and, especially, the powerful position of this latter group of scientists. That the addition of the pill might be due to the lobbying power of this particular field is likely because the comments of the natural sciences also led to a new window on Christiaan Huygens. Moreover, one of the commentators was the influential scientist Ronald Plasterk, who also successfully proposed to include the topic of public health. This was added as a sub-topic under Aletta Jacobs' Past and Present section. Thus, support for a feminist issue from non-feminist actors positively influenced the integration of the contraceptive pill in the *Canon*.

## **6.3.5 Conditions located in the realm of the users**

### ***Making a canon***

When research results match the ideology, self-interest, institutional norms and practices, and prior information of the users, then integration of knowledge is more likely to occur. In this case study, there is a discrepancy between research results from Women's History and the interests of the Canon Committee. The biggest discrepancy is related to insights about gender and canonisation. Whereas women's historians are suspicious towards canons because of their exclusive character, the interest of the Committee was to make a canon "for *all* Dutch people" (Van Oostrom 2007a, p. 31). Although the criteria for including topics in the *Canon* are not explained, it is clear that gender was not a selection criterion. Weighing the critical information about canonisation and the desirability of a canon, the Canon Committee does mention sceptical views on canonisation in their rationale behind the *Canon* (see 6.2.1), but in the practical application of the *Canon* they more or less put these critical knowledge claims about canonisation aside, which obviously hindered knowledge integration.

The Committee for instance does acknowledge that women and other marginal subjects run the risk of being excluded by a canon, but because their *Canon* still reflects the ideology of a neutral and universal history, its practical application excludes most women and other marginal subjects. The Committee defined what belongs to the *Canon*. In this, the *Canon*'s national focus and its gendered definition of history negatively affected the room for recounting women's lives (cf. Mak 2007).

When taking into account the important women and the history of the women's movements that figure in the *Canon*, a match between this aspect of Women's History, i.e. emancipation and feminism, is present. That is, the Canon Committee and women's historians seem to match in their evaluation of the Dutch developments in emancipation and feminism. However, this match does not occur in the other windows of the *Canon*.

Lastly, different approaches to history education are also visible. The *Canon* takes a chronological approach to history education, whereas thematic-oriented history education seems to offer more possibilities to make the role of women and gender in history visible. This may also have hindered the integration of Women's History knowledge in the *Canon*.

### ***Focus on schoolchildren***

Since a match expectedly increases the integration of knowledge, it is important to ask how research results from Women's History match the needs and expectations of users. The Canon Committee wanted to make a practical canon that was limited in size. Since competition was fierce over the fifty windows, the limited size had a negative effect on the integration of

women in the *Canon*. Van Oostrom and Kloek (Interviews) explained that the limit of fifty resulted in not including a window on Jacoba van Beieren:

I would have loved to include Jacoba van Beieren, because it gives you ample opportunity to discuss the position of women in royal histories and marriage politics, but there was no room for that. (Interview Kloek)

The Canon Committee also aimed to make the *Canon* understandable for young children, which prevented them from explicitly including gender issues in the *Canon* (see section 6.1.4). A criterion related to this target group was that the Committee aimed to make the *Canon* visually attractive and thus sought topics that could go with appealing iconic images. According to Jonker (2006), dramatic political events and great statesmen are more suitable for presentation as icons than socio-economic developments, which may explain the strong focus of history publications on the public domain. This practical reason was thus a condition that hindered attention to those topics that would allow more room for women's historical experiences.

Taking into account that teachers in primary and secondary education are the ones supposed to use the *Canon* may explain why accessible history publications written in Dutch and for a broad public rather than English academic publications are included as Background literature (cf. section 6.3.1).

Overall, the fact that the Canon Committee had to make a selection for the available *Canon* windows, as well as the chosen target group and formal criteria had a negative impact on the integration of knowledge from Women's History: not explicitly taking up gender issues, and limiting the visibility of women's contribution to socio-political and cultural history.

## **6.4 Taking stock**

To some extent this case study illustrates the Women's Studies knowledge gap as it shows the disappointment of women's historians with the underrepresentation of women and feminism in the *Canon*. Although famous women are included and historical facts and figures in relation to emancipation are present, the *Canon* does not move beyond these aspects of Women's History. It reflects the gendered politics of the historical discipline, wherein the focus on the public or political domain has to a large extent resulted in the exclusion of women.

The concept of a canon was criticised for its gendered and non-inclusive character. Although the Committee acknowledged the theoretical insights in relation to gender and canonisation, they still accepted gaps on women and cultural minorities in the *Canon* itself. Women's History and women are thereby discounted as marginal, and gender knowledge as too specific or political. However, when looking beyond the *Canon* itself and taking into account the rationales that accompanied the two versions of the *Canon*, a more positive conclusion is possible. That is, academic research results as well as criticism from societal feminist actors did have an effect as they were mentioned in the accompanying rationales. In the process of making the *Canon*, the Canon Committee was supported by a political and media climate that was in favour of compiling a national canon. The interests of the actors in this institutional landscape largely did not match those of gender experts, who after all stress the relevance of history education in a (international) context that marks multiple perspectives and allows room for integrating the experiences of women and ethnic minorities.

Historians dealing with gender all the same disseminated knowledge and insights to

the Canon Committee, especially via research reports, books, articles in newspapers, as well as via conferences and meetings. The Committee also incorporates (embodied) expertise in the field of Women's History. As a Committee member, women's historian Kloek in particular successfully proposed to pay attention to the visibility of women in the *Canon*. The Committee consulted stakeholders such as teachers, but no direct external knowledge exchanges with women's historians took place. These limited external linkages have negatively affected the integration of Women's History in the *Canon*.

In the knowledge transfer process, power aspects manifest themselves, for instance, in the way the contraceptive pill was added as a new sub-topic. The integration of this issue (one that is important in Women's History), was due to influential natural scientists arguing for this topic, which supported the comments of feminist academics and activists. Feminist organisations also successfully devised strategies to get their knowledge integrated in media initiatives that originated from the *Canon*.

An important factor that hindered the integration of insights about gender and canonisation is that, although these insights did reach the Committee, they did not match the Committee's central aims, which inevitably involved selection and consequently in- and exclusion. The main target group of the *Canon* being schoolchildren also had a negative effect on the integration of women in the *Canon*, due to the limited number of windows and the criterion of visual attractiveness. It is also important to note that because the Committee perceived the work of women's historians as (too) academic, it was evaluated as not applicable because of the Committee's focus on primary education.

I also assessed that Women's History that is written in a popular-scientific way, and in Dutch, had more of a chance to be integrated in the *Canon*. Still, the *Canon* does integrate some scholarly works from the field of Women's History. A lesson to be learned from this case study, then, is that it is not only the production of more or better knowledge that matters, but the style in which this knowledge is disseminated also plays a role. This is especially visible in user-friendly knowledge products like websites, the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women, and the teaching material that is included in the *Canon*. Lastly, the window on Aletta Jacobs about women's emancipation and the women's movement can be seen as a result of this being one of the research focuses in Women's History.

## **Chapter 7 Case 4: Women's Studies graduates as knowledgeable actors**

Women's Studies is a well-established field of education and research in the Dutch academy. With many students being trained in Women's Studies who end up working in- and outside the academy, it is clear that there is a vast amount of 'embodied knowledge' about sex and gender. Following Mode 2's understanding of knowledge as knowledge products as well as knowledge embodied in people, this chapter spotlights the role of people in knowledge transfer.

In Social Studies of Knowledge, particularly in Mode 2, the involvement of human capital in knowledge production is highlighted in the context of the knowledge society, or "knowledgeable societies" (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001, p. 49). Mode 2 scholars argued that because of the expansion of higher education, academic graduates increasingly end up working in different employment areas outside the academy. Through their main argument that these experts or "knowledgeable social actors" (p. 55) produce knowledge in these settings, illustrating the socially distributed knowledge production system, Mode 2 draws attention to the role of universities in producing 'knowledgeability' and to the active role of academically trained people in society. What is it that these actors do and want, and how do they make use of their knowledge in practice? In what ways do they transfer or integrate knowledge in their professional and societal practice?

Feminist Science Studies scholars have pointed out that actors produce knowledge informed by their specific socio-political contexts. To understand knowledge that is located in Women's Studies graduates, it is necessary to consider where and how they became knowledgeable. Taking into account Women's Studies graduates' education also allows for gaining insight into the interrelations between the contexts of knowledge production and application when focussing on people in knowledge transfer. What are the interrelations between Women's Studies education and knowledge integration? How does the partial character of knowledge from Women's Studies, i.e. the situatedness of graduates, impact embodied knowledge transfer?

In order to gain insight into what embodied knowledge transfer might look like, I have interviewed Dutch Women's Studies students and graduates about their training and the way they perceive their role in transferring knowledge. In a face-to-face setting they reported on their experiences with Women's Studies and their possibilities for using Women's Studies knowledge in their professional lives. Taking into account Women's Studies' attributed transformative character (Griffin 2002), I also asked them how they assess the impact of their knowledge in society.

A first set of interviews was held in 2002 as part of the research project 'Employment and Women's Studies: The impact of Women's Studies training on women's employment in Europe' (EWSI), funded by the European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme.<sup>221</sup> The interviews were part of my research activities for the Dutch contribution to the EWSI project. I interviewed twenty graduates at MA level, six MA students, and four PhD students. Coming from six different universities, all had taken Women's Studies courses in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2001. Three of the PhD students had also received Women's Studies training at the MA level. The interviewees had taken Women's Studies

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<sup>221</sup> EWSI project 2001-2003, contract number HPSE-CT2001-00082, coordinated by Gabriele Griffin, University of Hull. Project information and reports are available at [www.hull.ac.uk/ewsi](http://www.hull.ac.uk/ewsi) (accessed 6 May 2009). Dutch project results were also published in other forms (e.g. Van der Sanden 2004).

courses in diverse fields: Economy, Law, Liberal Arts, English, Dutch, International Relations, General Social Sciences, Anthropology, Sociology, Andragology, Political Sciences, Psychology, History, Philosophy, and Theology. At the time of the interviews, the Bachelor-Master model had not yet been introduced, and students 'did Women's Studies' in different ways. Their training reflects the diverse ways in which Women's Studies was institutionalised.

For the present research project, I held three more interviews in November and December 2009 with Women's Studies graduates from the three disciplines that are central in my other three case studies: Medicine, Social Sciences, and the Humanities.<sup>222</sup> The interviewees were a health scientist with a specialisation in Gender Studies, someone with a master's degree in Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics who was trained as a social scientist in Cultural Anthropology, and a historian with an MA in Gender History. The latter two interviewees went to university after the Bachelor-Master model was implemented following the Bologna process<sup>223</sup>, and graduated from specific Women's Studies MA programmes.

In total, I conducted thirty-three interviews with Women's Studies students and graduates. The interviewees were all women, and are presented here with fictitious names. I did not come across big differences between the interviewees who graduated before and after the Bologna process, they talked about their Women's Studies education and their employment experiences in similar ways. Several students were also able to report on employment experiences, for instance in relation to jobs they were doing alongside their studies or volunteer work. Appendix I lists the education details of all interviewees.

The main questions that will be addressed in this chapter are: Where have Women's Studies graduates and students received their education? How do Women's Studies graduates perceive themselves as embodying knowledge? Where or when do they think this results in transfer and integration of knowledge? What opportunities and constraints do graduates experience in integrating knowledge and how is this related to their (power) positions?

In this chapter, I will first describe the Women's Studies education that students receive, as well as the knowledge and skills they acquire, also including graduates' employment ambitions (section 7.1). Secondly, I will focus on how graduates transfer and integrate knowledge in practice (section 7.2). In the third section, I will discuss the relation between embodied knowledge and the institutionalisation of Women's Studies (section 7.3).<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> I started thinking about knowledge transfer, and in fact about my research project, during the time I was working for the EWSI project. I thus want to mention that, although the selection of the additional interviews is related to the case studies in Chapter 4, 5, and 6, studying Women's Studies graduates was part of my intended research project from the start.

<sup>223</sup> Apart from adopting the Bachelor-Master model in higher education, the Bologna process also includes the aims of making academic degrees comparable between different European countries and stimulating student mobility. See [ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1290\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1290_en.htm) (accessed 9 March 2010).

<sup>224</sup> In the process of writing my dissertation, I published several articles about parts of this case study (Van der Sanden 2006, 2007, 2008).

## 7.1 The experience of Women's Studies education

### 7.1.1 The 'production' of knowledgeable people

In the early years of Women's Studies in the Netherlands, the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were no complete courses yet and students set up Women's Studies themselves. Three interviewees (all from the field of Theology) experienced this, trying to integrate feminist or women's issues in the curriculum, studying in their own women's groups, and organising lectures. One of them also reported on such grass root activities in her training as a teacher:

I graduated from the teacher training course Dutch and English in 1979, and that was the time that women's groups first set up Women's Studies. In this case, we started a women and literature project, but we also tried to infiltrate other courses, well, infiltrate is a big political word, but I mean for instance that in an exam on realism we were supposed to read big French realists, which I did, but I also put Anja Meulenbelt's *Shame is over* [note JvdS: this is a well-known book from the second feminist wave, published in Dutch and translated in several languages] on the reading list. Women's Studies at that time was a sort of resistance group. [...] You could say, we were Women's Studies. (Simone, June 3, 2002)

In the mid-1980s, there were more possibilities to study Women's Studies. Three interviewees mentioned that Women's Studies themes had already been integrated in modules, for instance in Philosophy and Political Sciences.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Women's Studies was more institutionalised and students from several disciplines could follow optional or obligatory courses within their own study programme. Above all, a number of possibilities for extensive Women's Studies specialisation existed within integrated BA-MA programmes: a specialisation in Women's Studies in the Arts at Utrecht University, a study route Women's Studies in the Social Sciences at the University of Nijmegen, a specialisation programme in Political Socio-Cultural Sciences at the University of Amsterdam, and a Women and Policy programme at the VU University Amsterdam.<sup>225</sup> Of my 2002 interviewees, five MA students, two PhD students, and eight graduates chose one of these majors.

With the introduction of the Bachelor-Master model in 2002-2003, the big change for Women's Studies in the Netherlands was that MA programmes could be set up that can award Women's Studies degrees. These MA programmes are evidence of the growing acknowledgement of the field of Women's Studies, and they contribute to a stronger institutional position. Since 2003, Utrecht University offers a two-year research MA ('Gender and Ethnicity') and since 2004, a one-year professional MA ('Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics'). Since 2005, Radboud University Nijmegen offers a one-year MA in Gender History and the University of Amsterdam offers a one-year MA in Gender, Sexuality and Society.<sup>226</sup> Of my 2009 interviewees, two graduates followed such an MA programme.

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<sup>225</sup> At the time of the EWSI project, we counted at least 361 students who did a major or minor in Women's Studies between 1990 and 1996 (Eggermont 1997). In 2001, at Utrecht University, a university with a large number of Women's Studies students, 50 students were enrolled in the Women's Studies Arts programme.

<sup>226</sup> In Utrecht, seventeen students graduated from the two-year MA and twenty-four from the one-year MA (e-mail communication with Marcel van Kempen from the Utrecht Faculty of Humanities, 15 January 2010). In Nijmegen, eleven students graduated from the MA in Gender History (telephone communication with Rachel

The universities of Groningen and Maastricht, as well as Utrecht, Nijmegen, and Amsterdam, each offer one or two minors in Women's Studies (Van der Sanden 2008). Almost all universities have separate Women's Studies optional modules at both the BA and MA level, some have obligatory modules.

The Bologna process also boosted educational cooperation between Women's Studies programmes in Europe, as one of the goals of the Bologna process is to stimulate student exchanges. Studying Women's Studies abroad had already been possible since 1987 via student exchange programmes like NOISE and WINGS. In 2006, the first joint degree programme in Women's and Gender Studies, GEMMA, was established.<sup>227</sup> The internationalisation of education is assessed as contributing to a stronger position of Dutch Women's Studies, because, amongst other things, it makes courses attractive for foreign students, which stimulates attracting more non-exchange students (Van der Sanden 2003a). This is reflected in the fact that more and more courses are taught in English. Thirteen of the graduates I interviewed studied abroad as part of their Women's Studies training, via exchange programmes or in other ways.

All graduates I interviewed enjoyed their Women's Studies courses. They talked about their experiences with Women's Studies in positive terms, mentioning the intellectually inspiring atmosphere, the encouraging attitude of teachers, and the high motivation of students. They also mentioned that the smaller groups of students in classes gave ample opportunity for discussion. At the same time, graduates indicated that their chosen field of study placed great demands on them. The passion for Women's Studies is illustrated by the following interviewee:

Women's Studies courses were always the subjects that you liked to do, and for which you had to do a lot of work, thus you had to put in a lot of effort, always, and you did not think about the time it cost, there were so many texts to read, and of course you also read the footnotes and then you came across another interesting article, so you read that too. Women's Studies is just working passionately hard, and that is what I do. Women's Studies is not about getting course credits, it is all about the content. (Simone, June 3, 2002)

Almost all graduates indicated that their Women's Studies training met their expectations. What were their expectations? Why did they embark on Women's Studies courses? Factors that were mentioned as most central to students and graduates' motivation are a personal and academic interest in the subject, and an awareness of gender inequality or discrimination against women. The interviews made it clear that personal reasons for studying Women's Studies included self-development, looking for recognition, and wanting to learn more about their own lives. A few graduates related their personal motivation to being bisexual or lesbian. The academic interest in the subject was often an interest in the content of Women's Studies, for instance in feminist theory, gender relations, Women's History, interdisciplinarity, or discussions within the women's movement. Many students wanted to know more about gender inequality in society, and some also referred to their reasons as political.

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van de Logt from the Nijmegen History secretariat, 18 January 2010). In Amsterdam, twenty-five students graduated with an MA in Gender, Sexuality and Society since the Masters' official accreditation in September 2005 (e-mail communication with Marieke van Leeuwen, programme manager of the Amsterdam Graduate School of Social Sciences, 25 February 2010).

<sup>227</sup> For the impact of European Women's Studies' student mobility on women's employment, including Dutch educational mobility, see Juhasz et al. (2005). For NOISE, WINGS, and GEMMA, see Chapter 1.

Employment related reasons were not important in the decision to take a Women's Studies course. This non-labour-market-related attitude is not uncommon for university students in the Netherlands<sup>228</sup>: university education is seen as opposed to vocational education, which does lead to specific jobs. Women's Studies programmes in the Netherlands can also be said to not directly focus on a certain niche in the labour market. Women's Studies rather is a broad and critical academic education that prepares students for a wide range of jobs and careers.

Of course [Women's Studies] is very vague and it doesn't lead anywhere according to some people and you will not be able to earn money with it from an employment perspective. You start when you are eighteen and you do not become a lawyer or physician. You choose the uncertain path as far as money and perspective go. But with Women's Studies and in my studies I have always done what I enjoyed. I always followed my intuition and thought: this is interesting, and this is interesting. I always had a big mouth saying: 'When I like it, when I'm motivated, then I'll get there.' I was bluffing, but I turned out to be right. (Maria, May 22, 2002)

The way of talking about the relation between Women's Studies and employment displayed in the above quote, highlighting vague career expectations, has been called "typical" for Women's Studies students in Europe (Silius 2005, p. 115). The interviewed students did not always articulate clear ideas about future work prospects, but the majority of them wanted to do something with gender, women, or Women's Studies. Many interviewees want to do research or continue doing research after they complete their MA thesis or their PhD dissertation, sometimes explicitly mentioning the academy or doing a PhD. Another preference was to work in social organisations or to combine research and practice.

According to the interviewees, acquiring Women's Studies knowledge is not restricted to the classroom and does not end upon graduation. Women's Studies graduates develop and continue to develop their knowledge by participating in Women's Studies networks, attending lectures, doing volunteer work, and participating in Women's Studies conferences. These activities provide many opportunities for further learning, intellectually challenging discussions with one's peers, and an open exchange of information. At the same time, these activities strengthen the identification with and the feeling of belonging to the Women's Studies community (cf. Griffin, Green, and Medhurst 2005). When asking Sandra what she had learned from Gender History, she stated:

It was not just Gender History, but also the optional modules I did in Culture and Sexuality Studies. In fact, it was even broader because of the experience I gained from being a student assistant and student board member at the Institute for Gender Studies. [...] That was very instructive. I learned a lot about the academic world but also built a sort of network. And at a certain moment I knew I felt at home there. (Sandra, December 7, 2009)

Another example is Barbara, who, although no longer working in the field of Women's Studies, kept on reading articles and attending lectures to keep up with developments in the field. She is still attracted by Women's Studies topics and even said she missed it.

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<sup>228</sup> I want to remind the reader here that the labour market participation of Dutch women is low and that their situation is also characterised by a low level of economic independence (cf. Chapter 1).

### **7.1.2 Knowledge, skills, and drive**

What is it that students and graduates learn through Women's Studies education? This section describes the knowledge and skills that graduates reported on in the interviews.

#### ***Knowledge***

Through Women's Studies, graduates gained knowledge about women's issues, the social problems of women, discussions within the women's movement, the position of women in society, and social inequality. The interviewees see their expertise in understanding the complexity of gender, the relation of gender to other social categories such as ethnicity and sexuality, the relation between sexism and racism, having insight into mechanisms of in- and exclusion, having a sound grasp of social relations and power relations, having tools to scrutinise representation, and the ability to make social inequality visible.

Talking about their knowledge, many interviewees mentioned a 'Women's Studies perspective' or 'gender glasses' with which they look at reality. This means that they notice gender wrongs, heteronormativity, stereotypes, and other inequalities, for instance that a board only consists of white men or that advertisements are sexist. In explaining the gender glasses, the interviewees often talked about having a critical view, a certain way of analysing, and looking at something from different angles. The interdisciplinarity of Women's Studies insights is also mentioned by several interviewees.

Because of Women's studies interdisciplinarity, you learn to scrutinise your own and other people's ideas, to question your stereotypical ideas, to put your scientific ideas into perspective. (Barbara, April 2, 2002)

Interviewees often gave examples of insights they gained from disciplinary 'junctions'. For Fiona, a combination of Social Sciences with Women's Studies led to specific knowledge about gender norms operating in daily interactions between people and intersecting with other diversity markers. From her Women's History specialisation, Agnes said she learned to look at the societal, ethical, and political relations in historical realities, a perspective which made her more aware of different perceptions of one reality.

#### ***Skills***

Apart from highlighting gender knowledge, the interviewees also talked about more general skills and personal competences. Although these skills, at first sight, are not directly related to the content of Women's Studies courses, graduates for the most part did obtain these skills through Women's Studies. Significant competences mentioned are critical analysis, looking at something from different perspectives, and debating and grounding their arguments rather than just collecting facts. Graduates learned not to take ideas, concepts, and theories for granted and were stimulated to think independently. Moreover, they learned more than just answering questions, but to ask new and better questions.

Though it is possible that critical thinking can be learned in other studies, the students I interviewed in the EWSI research project marked this feature as characteristic for Women's Studies. When comparing it with other programmes, such as Liberal Arts, English, Economy, Law, Sociology, Psychology, and Management Sciences, they found Women's Studies more intellectually challenging. The intellectual demands that students mentioned as valuable are critically scrutinizing issues, making logical connections, and independent thinking. One graduate compared Women's Studies with Sociology as follows:

In Women's Studies, the discussion has a central role in the courses, and everyone's viewpoints may and can be heard, there is not one generally received opinion. Everything is possible and everything can be discussed. [...] You are very much stimulated to think critically. So, not to take something for granted, something which is more often the case in Sociology. There you are taught something and later you have to reproduce that. Whereas in Women's Studies it is more that you focus your thoughts and come to your own standpoints by reasoning and having a discussion with each other. It is appreciated if you try to think independently and originally, and that's great. (Mireille, May 7, 2002)

Students and graduates often pointed out that they gained personal skills through Women's Studies training. Interviewees spoke about being more self-confident and having more self-knowledge, being more assertive, and gaining respect for their own ideas or positions. In the EWSI questionnaires, 73% of the graduates and 63% of the students said that taking a Women's Studies course improved their self-confidence.<sup>229</sup> Regarding self-knowledge, several women said that Women's Studies helped them to position or understand themselves better in terms of gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity. The following interviewee describes both the academic and the personal aspects of her Women's Studies experience:

Women's Studies was a tough programme, but I also found it intellectually the most challenging. It's also sort of special because it gives you knowledge that most other people don't have, so you get extraordinary knowledge. And because the programme was very personal, it's not always easy. Yes, I often compare Women's Studies with the apple of knowledge. It really is a special programme, because it is not part of the canon. On the one hand it is very personal and on the other hand it is intellectually so fundamentally philosophical about scholarship and so critical of the social structure. (Anne, June 11, 2002)

Research by Dever and Day (2001) shows that self-confidence is a quality that specifically results from Women's Studies and not necessarily from university education in general. In their research, Women's Studies students from the UK and Australia often mention increased self-confidence as the outcome of their Women's Studies training, whereas the control group with students from Arts and Social Sciences do not mention this quality. This increased confidence was also found among Women's Studies students from the US (Dever 2008).

A sense of empowerment is also something women report. On the one hand, this is because they get more knowledge of social relations, gender relations, ethnicity, and power structures and become more aware what their position is. On the other hand, the ability to discuss and exchange ideas and experiences with kindred spirits is a factor in experiencing self-confidence and empowerment. The pedagogical project of Women's Studies teachers to empower students professionally, personally, and otherwise (Le Feuvre 2002) thus seems to be fruitful.

Women's Studies strengthened me in my beliefs concerning the position of women, that I was not alone in that and that it is an important issue to discuss. Having a platform to discuss and analyse that. [...] Before Women's Studies I had this vague feeling that I could not place, a feeling of powerlessness, so in that sense Women's Studies brought me empowerment. (Patricia, May 28, 2002)

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<sup>229</sup> In the EWSI project, 51 Dutch students and 80 Dutch graduates filled out a questionnaire.

Many women said that they have been given words or a language to talk about issues of injustice, inequality, and the discrimination of women.

The first course on Women’s Studies I did was really terrific, I thought: this is exactly what I always wanted to say, but I never had the words or means to do so. It was a real revelation, that this programme existed which was in exactly my line of thought, and I immediately felt at home. Yes, doing Women’s Studies is the best choice I ever made in my life. (Nora, April 23, 2002)

The increase in gender awareness, critical thinking, and self-confidence are evidently positive effects of taking Women’s Studies training in all countries involved in the EWSI research project, principally in those countries with a high degree of institutionalisation of Women’s Studies (Griffin 2003). In the EWSI project, these are Finland, Germany, and the UK. The other countries involved were France, Hungary, Italy, Slovenia, and Spain, all with a low level of institutionalisation (Silius 2002). In the EWSI questionnaires, a considerable amount of Dutch students and graduates reported on an improvement of gender awareness and critical thinking. This can be seen in table 7.1.

*Table 7.1:* Dutch Women’s Studies students and graduates reporting an improvement in gender awareness, critical thinking, and self-confidence as a result of taking a Women’s Studies course

	<i>Graduates</i>	<i>Students</i>
Gender awareness	96%	98%
Critical thinking	95%	96%
Self-confidence	73%	63%

Source: Hanmer and Wigglesworth (2002a, 2002b).

Actors in the European field of Gender Studies attach a great deal of importance to gender awareness and critical thinking as general academic competences, a finding from the Gender Studies EU Tuning project (Just Forthcoming) carried out by the ATHENA network. This project shows that Gender Studies academics, graduates, and students evaluate the ability for abstract thinking, analysis and synthesis, the ability to be critical and self-critical, and the ability to show awareness of equal opportunities and gender issues as the three most important ‘generic’ competences. Activists in women’s centres also deem the latter two competences to be of high importance. The level to which these competences are assessed as having been developed through Women’s and Gender Studies programmes is considerable, especially from the perspective of students and graduates.

***Drive***

In addition to the obtained knowledge and skills, all graduates displayed a social or political engagement, reflecting the partial or political perspective of Women’s Studies knowledge. Its political character is what makes Women’s Studies distinct from other disciplines such as History or Medicine. This political or change-oriented perspective is reflected in graduates’ aspirations to act against gender injustice and to achieve changes in society, both in professional and societal settings. Their engagement not only concerns women or women’s societal positions but is also connected to social relations in a broader sense. In the interviews, graduates for instance mentioned wanting to change inequalities between ‘allochthonous’ and ‘autochthonous’ people, giving psychiatric patients a voice, or empowering lesbians. This

broad outlook is epitomised by Fiona, who said her aim was “to make the world a better place” (November 12, 2009).

Fiona also explained that, although she was aware of societal inequalities before studying Women’s Studies, her education made her realise the extent of these inequalities, as well as their deep embeddedness in all aspects of society, such as business organisations, science, language, and media. Several graduates indicated that they were already interested in feminism or politically engaged before they began with Women’s Studies; for some this was among their reasons to choose Women’s Studies. The interviewees however also reported an increase or alteration in their awareness of gender inequalities, for instance mentioning that it sparked a fire in them, that it worked as an eye-opener for specific issues, or that it really showed them that they themselves were highly affected by unequal power relations.

Several interviewees stressed that they find it important to disseminate Women’s Studies knowledge to a large audience. Some of them are, for instance, graduates working in research who are at the same time involved in women’s organisations, or women who want to combine their theoretical work with (feminist) practice. Some consciously aim to transfer their knowledge to these larger audiences. The Women’s Studies graduates all have their own means to disseminate knowledge: for one person it is writing, for another it is preaching; one can be research oriented, another is a more practical person; some are also engaged in both theory and practice.

The social engagement of Women’s Studies graduates is also visible in their career orientation. They find it important that the content of their job is interesting for them, which is especially true of PhD students (cf. Wilpink 1997), and they want their work to be of social or political significance. In general, and like German, Finnish, and Italian interviewees (Griffin 2003), most Dutch Women’s Studies students do not aim to attain a certain position, move up the career ladder, or make a great deal of money. One of the exceptions is a young researcher who stated that in the past she wanted to become a professor as soon as possible. Most students and graduates, however, aspired to interesting or relevant jobs. The following interviewee commented on her ambitions as follows:

Well, having a career in the sense of making a lot of money is just not an issue, then I shouldn’t have become a PhD student, money has never been an important motive. [...] And talking about ambitions, that is something that I consider to be an issue, but more in the sense of wanting to be heard, because I think I have something to say, in that sense you could say I have ambitions. Some people say that I am ambitious, but I do not recognise myself in just making money. What I do find important is to notice that there is an audience for the things I am engaged in. In that sense you can call me ambitious. (Edith, April 11, 2002)

### **7.1.3 Embodied knowledge**

In talking about their experiences with Women’s Studies education and the knowledge they gained, students and graduates repetitively stress how Women’s Studies has provided them with a certain perspective. They look at reality with ‘gender glasses’. Importantly, these ‘gender glasses’ are omnipresent, not only affecting work-related matters, but also impacting other aspects of graduates’ lives. Graduates indicated that Women’s Studies also plays a role in their personal lives, in their contacts with relatives and friends. It is not uncommon for Women’s Studies graduates in Europe to describe Women’s Studies as a life changing experience (Le Feuvre 2002). Hence, graduates are not just academically trained people who have knowledge about certain topics, but they carry a specific perspective with them that

makes them sensitive to gender issues and diversity matters. This subjective perspective, I argue, is a form of knowledge that is embodied in graduates.

In the way students talk about their knowledge, their skills, and their drive, this embodiment comes across in several ways. Jacqueline literally talks about Women's Studies as something she internalised:

Women's Studies for me is a way of seeing, or a way of life, you can't let that perspective go. When I am somewhere, for instance at a lecture, I always see whether there are only men, or only women, [...] or who is speaking, so it is, well, you can say, internalised. (Jacqueline, May 14, 2002)

This widespread 'internalised' perspective shows that Women's Studies knowledge is literally incorporated in graduates. Several interviewees even called it a sort of 'second nature'. Graduates also explicitly referred to Women's Studies in talking about themselves:

I think Women's Studies has shaped me in such a way that it is a large element of my character, of who I am. (Jennifer, May 27, 2002)

For me, Women's Studies has contributed to who I am for a large part, so it has made me more aware of myself and I will get something out of that in my search for an employer and a nice place to work. (Claudia, May 24, 2002)

Many women said that, independent from where they end up in the labour market or what they would do, they could never let go of their Women's Studies perspective. A 28-year-old policymaker explains:

That perspective, no one can ever take that away from you. The perspective, the analytical model, the attitude you have regarding power relations, is something that you have been given, and that is a big gift. Of course you did develop it yourself too, but it is also given to you. (Maria, May 22, 2002)

A drive towards change is visible in the impact of the 'gender glasses' on students and graduates. Many of them reported how looking through 'gender glasses' can be frustrating.

Yes, [seeing through gender glasses] and seeing stereotypes everywhere can be frustrating. Sometimes there are periods that I am even angry about it. [...] A friend of mine once said to me, either you are angry or you do something about it and stop being angry. Then I thought, yes, she is right, I should take real action. (Sandra, December 7, 2009)

Thus, students and graduates not only notice inequality and sex or gender stereotypes, they also experience an (increased) drive to change the world, or at least the way we do things. Students' knowledge, or their perspective, is thus tightly linked to their drive towards change. One could argue that having developed the skills and words to address matters of inequality, they are also equipped to make changes. The knowledge, skills, and drive of Women's Studies graduates then are all closely interconnected.

### **7.1.4 Positions and possibilities**

Taking into account possible power differences between actors in the knowledge transfer process, I will in this section focus on how students and graduates perceive of themselves and their knowledge in an employment context. How do they see their position and the possibilities for Women's Studies knowledge in the labour market?

Strikingly, Women's Studies graduates consider their knowledge to be useful or necessary 'everywhere' in the labour market, even when a job does not specifically focus on gender. Many respondents in the EWSI project, from all participating countries, talked about the relevance of gender expertise for all employment situations (Griffin 2003). Areas that Dutch students and graduates mentioned most are policymaking, politics, government, education/university/scholarship/research, and business. Other areas are journalism/media, childcare/healthcare/medicine, and women's organisations/equal opportunities organisations.

Assessing the acceptance of Women's Studies, the general observation of graduates is that Women's Studies often has a negative image because employers and colleagues lack knowledge about the actual content of Women's Studies programmes, do not take it seriously, or connect it to stereotypical ideas about feminism. Some graduates mention that especially men consider it intimidating. Graduates often have to explain what Women's Studies is and what its use is. Commenting on the reception of Women's Studies in the workplace, the following graduates mentioned both positive and negative aspects.

I think Women's Studies is in any case beneficial for your own experience. It can be hampering, but that is more related to the image of Women's Studies, that people think of you as a radical feminist or something [...] It surprises me that people still think that. [...] If people read in your CV that you graduated in Women's Studies, they won't all be pleased. (Edith, April 11, 2002)

I can imagine it is a disadvantage sometimes. I even know that at my present workplace people are pretty hesitant to introduce me as someone from Women's Studies, they rather say that I have worked in the Pedagogy department. [...] But, it did not prevent them from hiring me. (Barbara, April 2, 2002)

Looking at the different employment areas, graduates perceive a certain hierarchy between the areas. Some interviewees thought that working in the academy could diminish their chances of getting a job outside the academy. Some interviewees mentioned that working too long on topics related to women might diminish their chances of getting a job outside that sector. A policymaker at a regional emancipation bureau illustrates this point:

Maybe I don't want to continue working in this 'women' branch you know, it doesn't have such a good name. If I can make a difference and set up projects in this sector, I could do that in other sectors as well. I have the impression that I could still do that in other sectors. But if I stay in this branch for too long, then I may lose my standing, because I have been around in this 'women' branch too much. Unfortunately, it is not perceived as something positive. I don't agree, but that is how things still work. (Jacqueline, May 14, 2002)

Still, many Women's Studies graduates are attracted to an academic career. This could be related to the relatively high proportion of Women's Studies professors who may function as role models for their students. The institutionalisation of postgraduate education in the

Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies and the emphasis of Women's Studies education on theory and research, in combination with the intellectual challenge that many Women's Studies students seek, could also contribute to explaining why the academy is such a desired field of employment. Not only in the Netherlands, but in most countries covered by the EWSI study, the academy is among the most wanted workplaces (Griffin 2003).

The academy is however characterised by a tight labour market: with small budgets and few vacancies, there is a higher demand than there is a supply of positions. In Women's Studies, this may even be more true because, while universities and research funding structures are organised along disciplinary lines, Women's Studies is an interdisciplinary research area, which makes it more difficult to get adequate funding (cf. Griffin, Green, and Medhurst 2005). A 34-year-old graduate was confronted with the tight academic labour market:

Women's Studies trains you for scholarship, which is a good thing, you can't lower your standards, but the result is that you want to be a scholar and then it turns out there is no place for you. [...] I remember having been angry about that. It is a very thorough academic training that doesn't leave many options outside the university, and then you can't get started. (Suzanne, May 23, 2002)

Although none of the interviewees in the EWSI project explicitly mentioned expecting or wanting to get a job in equal opportunities, which correlates with a loosening of the connection between Women's Studies and emancipation policy in the Netherlands and in northwest Europe (Bosch 1999b; Griffin 2002), several students and graduates expressed concern about the limited possibilities for working in women's organisations, since many such organisations are being abolished or need to work on tighter budgets. Some interviewees specifically related this to governmental emancipation policies. The EWSI interviews took place around the time of the May 2002 elections for the Dutch parliament, which resulted in a centre-right coalition of Christian Democrats, Liberals, and the Pim Fortuyn List. Maria, who was working in a subsidised equal opportunities institution, was afraid that the institution she worked for would be abolished.

My job will end, that is certain, in this political climate my institution will cease to exist. Yes, it really hurts to say that, but we finally dare saying it out loud, this election is no guarantee for subsidies for feminism, really it's not. (Maria, May 22, 2002)

In the newly formed coalition, Aart Jan de Geus, the Minister of Social Affairs, was responsible for the governmental emancipation policy, a task that he would fulfil until 2007.<sup>230</sup> Louise, who I interviewed in 2009, said that his cuts to subsidies for women's organisations, but above all his 2003 statement that the emancipation of 'autochthonous' women was complete, were disadvantageous for women's emancipation process. In comparison, she reckoned that the succeeding minister responsible for emancipation, Education minister Ronald Plasterk,<sup>231</sup> is an improvement; he stated that he would fight for women's emancipation 'like a hellcat'.

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<sup>230</sup> This specific government coalition would only be in office from July 2002 until October 2002, but Aart-Jan de Geus continued to be Minister of Social Affairs in the two following governments until 22 February 2007.

<sup>231</sup> The responsibility for emancipation policy was reassigned from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Ministry of Education when a new government was installed on 22 February 2007. In this government, Minister of Education Ronald Plasterk was responsible for emancipation until the resignation of his party from the coalition government on 23 February 2010.

All interviewees made it clear that, contrary to the general opinion in the Netherlands, they did not consider women's emancipation to be complete. They are aware that this view contests established meanings and norms; with a Women's Studies background, you are seen as someone who 'swims upstream', a metaphor that both Monique and Nathalie used.

In talking about their positions, some graduates expressed concern about specific job opportunities and some interviewees also expressed a sense of expertise about mechanisms affecting these opportunities. Most importantly, they emphasise the benefits of Women's Studies for themselves and the broad relevance of their knowledge and skills for the labour market and society at large.

## **7.2 Transferring and integrating knowledge**

### **7.2.1 Actions and strategies**

What do Women's Studies graduates do with their knowledge and skills in practice? What actions do they undertake to get their knowledge integrated and what interactions can be identified in the knowledge transfer process? In the interviews with Women's Studies graduates, I came across several strategies that graduates use in their work to get their knowledge accepted and integrated.

Let me start by briefly reporting on the employment achievements of Women's Studies graduates. In the EWSI project, I found that Dutch graduates found employment in a wide variety of jobs. The majority of graduates ended up as professionals in the public sector. A number of them ended up in research, in- as well as outside the academy, and in professions on the edge of research, such as advisors, teachers, journalists, or policymakers. Although some of the jobs were related to Women's Studies, for instance in women's NGOs or emancipation related organisations, the employment trajectories of graduates showed that graduates are very versatile, working in various organisations, for instance, as project coordinators, trainers, office managers, secretaries, and social and educational workers. Several women were self-employed or worked as freelancers.

It is striking that many women, aside from their paid labour, are also actively engaged in volunteer work, often related to Women's Studies, emancipation, or feminism, such as editorial work for a feminist magazine (like *Lover*, *Raffia*, and *Savante*) or working in a project with black, migrant, and refugee women.

The first step to using Women's Studies knowledge at work is of course to get a job in which you are able to do that. In light of employers' potentially negative image of the Women's Studies field, some interviewed graduates already use strategic actions in the application procedure. To enhance her chances of being selected for a job interview, the following Women's Studies graduate makes sure that she lists her Management Sciences degree first in her curriculum vitae:

If I would apply for a job, and the selection committee mainly consisted of men, I don't think that [Women's Studies] would be an incentive to invite me for a job interview. [...] Until now, I have always put it in my CV, because I find it important that I have done that [training] and it has to a large extent formed me at a personal and definitely at the academic level. And I didn't want to involve myself in ridiculing Women's Studies. So I put it on my CV, but from a strategic point of view I always put Management Sciences first and Women's Studies second. Well, this is because I

assume that they then at least will take the first half seriously. (Monique, May 13, 2002)

Once employed, actions taken by graduates and employers form the basis for possible knowledge integration. This happens through both push- and pull-type actions. On the side of Women's Studies graduates, I noticed that they never lose their Women's Studies perspective and are always keen to use their knowledge. This is related to their ambition to make a difference. In addition, the perception of their knowledge being relevant 'everywhere' is likely to contribute to their efforts to integrate knowledge in various work settings. What is clear in any case, is that graduates 'push' knowledge to the users around them. Graduates also refer to ample occasions in which they are specifically asked to bring a Women's Studies perspective to courses and projects, are invited to give lectures in civil society, or to act as student supervisors. This demonstrates a demand for Women's Studies expertise from the side of the organisations they work for, from co-workers, and from societal actors. In other words, users also 'pull' the knowledge that they need for their organisation.

Depending on the context, integrating knowledge can be an easier or more difficult task. In this regard, graduates frequently distinguish between what some interviewees call 'the Women's Studies world' and the 'outside world'. The first world includes, for instance, Women's Studies in the academy, women's organisations, and feminist magazines. The outside world consists of 'regular' organisations and corporations that are not specifically concerned with gender. A graduate that gave a lecture about women's upward mobility for a large international engineering firm for instance referred to her audience as working in a 'man's world'.

In the Women's Studies world, people are aware of the relevance of gender and speak the same language. Although not everyone necessarily agrees with each other, there is a common basis on which discussions can be held. According to the interviewees, the relevance of a gender perspective is not self-evident in the outside world, and putting forward Women's Studies knowledge can be met with opposition. In the engineering company for example, men as well as women were reluctant to acknowledge that there was a problem with women's upward mobility. It is not hard to see that transferring knowledge to the Women's Studies world is perceived as relatively easy, some graduates called this 'preaching to the choir', and transferring knowledge to the outside world as relatively difficult.

However, the distinction between the two worlds is not so clear-cut. Several women talked about this ambiguity when discussing the acceptance of Women's Studies knowledge, especially its critical character. One graduate working in a mainstream organisation said:

In general, people tend to think in a mean way about Women's Studies, they don't see it as a field of expertise. [...] Though Women's Studies was critical, it was tolerated, you might say, and I had made very clear what my position was, and yet I was asked to take a seat in the centre of power. That is something that happened to more women, coming from an anti-establishment position, they were still asked to take part in the dominant culture. So I thought this critical attitude proves to be valuable after all. (Jennifer, May 27, 2002)

Jennifer's comments show that it matters whether employment organisations, the context where Women's Studies knowledge is applied, consider Women's Studies knowledge to be valuable or relevant.

The interviewees reported on the different strategies they used to put their knowledge to use in situations where this was more difficult. One of the obvious ways to get Women's Studies knowledge accepted is to explain the relevance of the knowledge and to ground their

arguments in facts and figures. A teacher at an institute for higher vocational education, who is also a member of an advisory taskforce on gender and ethnicity, for instance describes how she tries to strengthen the taskforce's recommendations to the board of the institute with results from academic research.

Other strategies that graduates used fall under the category of strategic framing (cf. Verloo 2001). One of these strategies is to use Women's Studies knowledge, but not explicitly reveal the specific source of that knowledge. A feminist theologian gives an example of this from her sermons:

Where five or ten years ago I would be clear in my sermons that I was passing on feminist theological ideas as such, now I convey it in a politically more neutral way, but I use the same sources. So for a sermon I do use work of feminist theologians [...] But I don't add that a certain feminist theologian said it. (Simone, June 3, 2002)

Graduates also commonly chose an alternative framing for their knowledge, incorporating (or hiding) a feminist perspective under the theme of, for instance, multiculturalism. Framing often involved an adaptation of language or terminology. One teaching Women's Studies graduate for instance talks about 'Women's Studies philosophy' instead of 'feminist scholarship'. In their language, Women's Studies graduates thus circumvent the use of feminist terms and employ more neutral terms to avoid resistance to feminist ideas.

Although a switch in terminology can be a successful strategy to, for instance, attract policymakers' attention to feminist issues, it can also lead to an evaporation of the critical aspects of a feminist perspective. Fiona, for example, notes that governmental policy documents use the term 'domestic violence' and that no reference is made to gender, which results in an invisibility of the reality that women are typically the victims of this violence and men typically the perpetrators.

To transfer gender knowledge, some graduates also chose to adjust their statements to the target group. A teacher for instance focused her Women's Studies course for students training to be speech therapists on gender linguistics and not on political debates and emancipation. The latter was what her predecessor had focused on, a choice which was not welcomed by the students.

Broadening a topic or generalising the advantages of a certain plan are other framing strategies that Women's Studies graduates make use of in their work. An advisor working at a university explained how she managed to do this:

I am currently working on a project to improve the recruitment and selection procedures at the university. For me that starts with the question of how to make sure that women are assessed fairly in these procedures and that they become more inclined to apply for jobs. In the project I have broadened this to the general recruitment and selection procedures, but it is in fact about men and women. (Jennifer, May 27, 2002)

In different ways, Women's Studies graduates pick their battles. They refrain from potentially unsuccessful knowledge transfer attempts, choosing to convince others of their viewpoints when they estimate that their efforts would be worth it. When they expect that someone would not be receptive of their arguments, they do not start a discussion or instead make a joke about the issue to avoid a bitter dispute. Another way of picking battles is by balancing the significance of a certain action in relation to other actions, and using knowledge where it matters most. Jennifer makes the following case:

Looking at the organisation internally, I sometimes refrain from saying something about it, I don't feel like nagging about it all the time. I see it as an expertise that is relevant for part of the policy area [...] When it concerns coaching of managers, then the situation for female managers is very different. Other issues are at stake and you may need another approach. And then I do find it important that people are aware of that. (Jennifer, May 27, 2002)

Half of the interviewees, both students and graduates, referred to the unfavourable position of women in the Dutch labour market. They talked about issues like unequal pay, the underrepresentation of women in higher positions, and the different ideas that some employers have about men and women. The interviewees are aware of these issues, have seen it in their surroundings, and some have experienced difficulties themselves. A 26-year-old advisor said:

In the present project I'm working on I succeeded in keeping myself going [between male colleagues]. In the beginning it really bothered me, because I, well, I was approached as a beautiful young woman, and then you must show that you have a lot going for you [intellectually as well], but you will get jokes anyway, so you must learn to handle that, and I can handle it, but it does use up more of my energy. (Jacqueline, May 14, 2002)

Several other graduates experience this differently. Another interviewee mentioned that she did not have to put in a lot of effort to get treated equally. A 32-year-old staff member experienced that she was sometimes approached as a student rather than a future doctor. Although she was not sure whether this was related to her age, her being of Indonesian descent, or because she was a woman, she explained that she, in situations where she felt this was needed, resorted to the strategy of adding a touch of power. For instance by adding her title to her name or by the following - particularly embodied - strategy:

When I go to work, I can dress casually, but sometimes I just need to power dress. Well, I will not refrain from doing that when I need to meet with people at the top, also because I notice that by doing that I do get a certain authority which I otherwise would not get, apparently you must play that game. (Edith, April 11, 2002)

In knowledge transfer terms, the strategies of Women's Studies graduates are a form of interaction between them and social actors. In this interaction, the graduates try to generate support for their knowledge by accommodating for (potential) concerns or resistance that the social actors might present. They adjust their knowledge and language to the context of the users, and by doing so try to overcome barriers to get their knowledge accepted and integrated. What can also be derived from the strategies of the Women's Studies experts is that they estimate their chances for a successful integration of knowledge and are selective in their efforts to make the most significant impact possible.

### **7.2.2 Applying knowledge**

The employment experiences of Women's Studies graduates show that almost all graduates apply their Women's Studies knowledge in their jobs. The graduates often formulated the applicability of their Women's Studies knowledge in general terms, mentioning, for instance, the critical assessment of certain debates, understanding complex issues, and being alert for

issues that are relevant to women. Looking at the interviewees' different jobs, it is clear that the critical view resulting from Women's Studies is very important for graduates who end up in research. The following researcher (age 29) working outside the field explains the impact of Women's Studies on her research method, even specifying that it makes you a better researcher:

In my work I detect [the impact of Women's Studies] in my way of thinking, in my way of setting up research, and in the way of interpreting research results [...] I always notice that I put forward research designs and explanations that are different from most researchers'. [...] I mean this broader outlook, being able to put things in perspective, I just think that by doing Women's Studies you become a better researcher, maybe this is a bold thing to say, but I really think that that is the case. Especially for researchers I think Women's Studies is very beneficial, you acquire better competencies, better qualities as a researcher, because of that broad perspective, the crossing of boundaries, and not thinking in stereotypes. (Barbara, April 2, 2002)

This critical view is also transferred to others. Several teachers for instance claim that they try to teach their students to think independently and not take concepts and ideas for granted. The interviewee above, together with many others, also finds the interdisciplinarity of Women's Studies applicable in her work. Barbara for example mentioned that it made it easier for her to discuss things with researchers from other disciplines.

For a junior researcher and a senior lecturer working in the academic field of Women's Studies, applying Women's Studies knowledge was especially evident; the latter summarises this by saying: "I have made my job of it." (Veronique, June 12, 2002).

Graduates can also apply their Women's Studies knowledge in the field of equal opportunities. A policymaker in an organisation specialised in gender and ethnicity that advises the government on emancipation policies translates the theories from her Women's Studies in the Arts training in the practice of policymaking. For instance in a research project about the representation of gender and ethnicity in governmental policy documents, she explains to civil servants how power works and how that is related to gender and ethnicity.

Graduates also integrate their knowledge in jobs that are not directly related to Women's Studies. An interviewee that took Women's Studies courses within Political and Socio-cultural Studies gave the following example. In her work as an advisor/researcher at a research agency in the field of safety, quality of life, and social integration, she uses her gender knowledge when working on themes such as abortion, sexual violence, and domestic violence. Another example is a graduate working in public relations who makes use of her knowledge about the analysis of representation.

Insights about power relations or power structures are relevant for the work of many graduates. Maria connects this to positioning herself in relation to 'men and power'. This insight, in combination with an increased self-confidence, helped some interviewees to better hold their own in male-dominated surroundings (such as the labour market). A 30-year-old graduate says:

The training that I got from Women's Studies gives you ammunition that other people don't have, because I have been engaged with myself pretty thoroughly during my studies. Yes, it is knowledge; self-knowledge and security that helped me hold my own in male surroundings, because you see through certain patterns. (Anne, June 11, 2002)

Personal competences can thus be considered professional qualities (cf. Griffin 2003; Dever and Day 2001; Just Forthcoming). Despite the fact that self-confidence is a determining factor for a

successful career (Perkins 1992, cited in Dever 2008), only a few of the interviewees explicitly mention this as a professional asset. One of them was the 25-year-old student Claudia (see section 7.1.3).

The self-knowledge that Anne refers to also figures in accounts of other interviewees in relation to gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. A few women, 'white' as well as 'non-white', said that Women's Studies helped them better understand themselves in terms of ethnicity. Edith mentions how this is useful in her work:

Because of Women's Studies, [...] it became very clear how gender is connected to ethnicity, sexuality, class, and age. Maybe this list sounds obligatory, but partly from my research and partly in daily life I found that it is not possible to say that gender is the most important structuring principle. Maybe in one case, but in another case it can be subordinate to something that in that situation is far more important. It is that whole fabric that [...] for me has become very clear. [...] That knowledge gives you tools to position yourself, which is very pleasant because it gives you some sort of steady base in the first place. And when you know something inside out, you also can make it understandable to others, for instance when I hold a lecture for people who are not familiar with it, for instance for a non-academic audience, you can explain things in a simple way, things that you usually talk about in jargon. And being able to pass on such abstract information in an understandable way is a real merit. (Edith, April 11, 2002)

Although the interviewees reported on many successful practices of knowledge integration, some also mentioned negative experiences. They especially found gaps in knowledge integration to be related to Women's Studies' critical and political stance. Some interviewees reported on jokes being made in job interviews about Women's Studies, fellow teachers not being supportive, or research results being discredited. The latter is illustrated in the example of a graduate who carried out research on young mothers:

So it is my opinion, and that goes against the opinion of many others who are working on the topic of young mothers, that it is a conscious choice, and though it may be tough in the beginning, they can learn a lot in a short time and they actually become more powerful because of the difficulties they face. So I would not say that on average they perform worse than other mothers. But by saying that, all social workers will turn on you. My critical position is very much related to my personal vision on the topic, because social workers do not agree with me. They claimed that if my results show that young mothers are doing all right, well, than I certainly did not include the other half of the young mothers in my research! (Nathalie, May 31, 2002)

The interviews make clear that graduates apply gender knowledge in their work and that the general academic skills they learned, and also the more personal ones, are relevant to their work. They also make use of Women's Studies knowledge in their volunteer work and political activities. Whether through activities like writing articles for feminist magazines, setting up debates about globalisation, or giving lectures for a Christian feminist organisation, Women's Studies graduates all practically apply what they learned in their studies.

### **7.2.3 Changing society**

In correspondence with the ideas of Feminist Science Studies, I reasoned that the integration

of knowledge about sex and gender cannot but involve an ideological change. Mohanty appropriately expresses this notion as follows:

Feminist scholarship [...] is not the mere production of knowledge about a certain subject. It is a directly political and discursive *practice* in that it is purposeful and ideological. It is best seen as a mode of intervention into particular hegemonic discourses (1991, p. 53)

The accounts of Women's Studies graduates clearly demonstrate a focused drive to have an impact on society. For most graduates, using Women's Studies knowledge also means changing their work environment, or changing society. Their actions are geared towards emancipation of certain groups or achieving equality in terms of gender, sexuality, and other diversity markers. In this section, I will address whether and how the graduates construe their (professional) practices as bringing about ideological or political changes in society.

No less than 90 percent of the Dutch graduates indicated in the EWSI questionnaires that Women's Studies affected how they operate at the workplace and how they conduct their work. This impact holds true for all countries involved in the EWSI project (Griffin 2003). Thus, Women's Studies not only affects the kind of jobs graduates are attracted to or what they do with their knowledge in their work, but it also has an impact on how the majority of Women's Studies graduates perform their work

The interviews can be used to explore what this entails in more depth. Women's Studies graduates frequently reported on being alert to discrimination or injustice, putting women's issues on the agenda, handling gender and diversity matters, and standing up for themselves. They do this for instance by raising attention to the representation of women and ethnic minorities in commissions and by acting against sexist remarks or homophobic jokes in contacts with colleagues. Through these actions, they thus act as change agents in the workplace.

The insights and the 'gender glasses' graduates get from Women's Studies help them notice how things work and what goes 'wrong' in organisations. A topic regularly mentioned in this context was the glass ceiling. As they are critical towards the underrepresentation of women in high positions, in some cases they tried to improve the position of women in their companies. It is evident that this is influenced by their social or political engagement.

The ambitions of most graduates, in a professional as well as in a general sense, centred on finding interesting jobs and being of social or political significance. As a student phrased it:

I am ambitious, but in the sense of wanting to achieve something good or helping other people. (Cindy, June 12, 2002)

These professional aspirations may be interpreted as a reaction to the masculine professional culture, in which competition and moving up the career ladder are characteristic elements. By achieving self-realisation, gaining intellectual fulfilment, and meeting social relevant goals, graduates thus redefine and effect a change in professional working culture (cf. A. Rich 1979).

Some graduates explicitly aspired to prove themselves in a masculine environment. A radio reporter (age 30) wanted to do political reporting, which is seen as a masculine branch of reporting, and a senior lecturer (age 35) wanted to show that women can hold their own at university. Both succeeded. The latter says:

The very fact that by being there yourself you already do something about it, because the students in any case get to see a woman teaching in the lecture hall sometimes. (Veronique, June 12, 2002)

In the above account, Veronique not only points to breaking through gender segregations but also highlights its effect on students. In relation to the underrepresentation of women in high positions, graduates stressed the importance of female role models and some said they now are a kind of role model themselves. One interviewee for example consciously presents herself as a woman entrepreneur to defy stereotypical ideas. Women's Studies graduates thus embody change.

But how do graduates evaluate the outcomes of their (other) efforts to achieve change? In general, they seem to be happy with where they are and with what they have accomplished. Some interviewees are sceptical about the possibilities of achieving equality, realising women's emancipation, or 'improving the world'. They all acknowledge that this requires hard work and a lot of endurance.

Some interviewees mentioned that they had a lot of theoretical baggage but not always the concrete tools to change unequal situations, especially when confronted with existing power structures in organisations. Louise stressed that being able to instigate changes often depends on whether people are open or positive towards change. As she put it: "You turn their world upside-down and not everyone wants that." (November 10, 2009).

Still, graduates reported on progress or change being made. As contributions to change they for example mention doing research about women's positions in different societal sectors, supporting feminist initiatives, and being active via journalism. Highlighting successful knowledge integration, Louise reported on the integration of lesbian women and transgender people in the Dutch shadow report for the UN Women's Treaty. The changes can also be smaller, like questioning the expectation that women arrange for the coffee and tea in meetings, or embodied, like not behaving and dressing in (stereotypically) feminine ways. Although Fiona said she had not yet experienced a revolution, she was proud that she instigated a new understanding of empowerment at the language institute where she was involved in a project to increase the language skills and societal participation of 'allochthonous' women:

In the language institute, project members talked about how they were going to empower women. I pointed out to them that they were not the agents in this, but that the 'allochthonous' women need to be seen as actors who themselves direct the course of their lives. This changed their idea of empowerment. (Fiona, November 12, 2009)

### **7.3 Women's Studies institutionalisation and embodied knowledge**

Assessing the interviewees' accounts of their Women's Studies education and their experiences in putting knowledge to use, I discern several commonalities. For example, the fact that many interviewees mention the 'gender-glasses' reflects the existence of a community of Women's Studies scholars. I argue that this, together with the other common characteristics I found, can be interpreted as a result of the institutionalisation of Women's Studies in the academy.

What are these commonalities and shared experiences? It is evident that graduates do not just talk about knowledge in a strict sense but that they also include skills and drive. All the graduates that I interviewed developed a specific Women's Studies perspective, or 'gender glasses', to look at reality. Interestingly, the graduates use this perspective in their different

jobs but also outside employment settings: in volunteer work, political activities, or their private lives. In putting their knowledge to use, professionally or otherwise, all graduates made use of (at least) one of the knowledge transfer strategies that I described in section 7.2.1, by, for instance, picking their battles wisely. Lastly, all graduates are oriented towards change, either by perceiving change as welcome or by actively contributing to making change happen.

Importantly, the key concept in Women's Studies research, gender, is firmly visible as part of the graduates' knowledge. They incorporated this concept, exemplified by the 'gender glasses', as a perspective and a way of analysing the various realities they are confronted with. Without Women's Studies' institutionalisation in the academy, graduates would not have shared this important common feature. Moreover, just like Women's Studies research is not only about developing more knowledge but also about transforming societal practices, graduates not only gain knowledge but also a political drive towards change. This drive was key in setting up Women's Studies programmes in universities, and graduates, as 'products' of Women's Studies training, embody this feminist perspective.

That the knowledge students gain from Women's Studies shapes their professional conduct can be derived from the impact of graduates' education on how they perform their jobs. They do not merely apply knowledge in a strict sense, but they act as change agents in their workplace. In the same way that Mohanty (1991; cf. section 7.2.3) sees feminist scholarship as an intervention in hegemonic discourses, feminist professionalism or graduates' professional conduct can be understood as an intervention in professional practices.

Women's Studies education however also affects graduates in a personal sense. Their Women's Studies perspective has an all-pervading character that surfaces both at work and in personal practices, linking the professional to the personal. This personal impact is reflected in the way graduates talk about themselves, as they say that Women's Studies shaped them or became a part of them (see section 7.1.3). What graduates know is thus intertwined with who they are (cf. Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop 2004). Taking into account that their knowledge also includes personal skills like self-knowledge, one could say that Women's Studies education is not only about gaining knowledge, but also about developing one's personality.

The term professional, traditionally, refers to a member of a disciplined group who adheres to established standards and a code of ethics, in particular in relation to the working practices of doctors and lawyers.<sup>232</sup> Women's Studies' interdisciplinary and non-vocational character makes it difficult to label the field a profession in this sense. According to Mode 2 scholars, interdisciplinary fields of study are organised as "professional microcultures held together by intellectual affinity" (Gibbons et al. 1994, p. 100). Scrutinising the professional identity of interdisciplinary programmes, Caughie (2003) suggests that this identity is rather based on the personal and political character of study programmes than on an intellectual affinity.

When foregrounding the links between knowledge and power it becomes hard to distinguish between intellectual and political affinity, meaning that the views of the above-mentioned authors are not really dissimilar. As several interviewees commented that the academic and personal are hard to separate, my interviews reveal that the intellectual level and the personal/political level are tightly knit together in Women's Studies. The common

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<sup>232</sup> The sociology of professions has been criticised by feminist scholars for focusing on male-dominated professions and for not incorporating gender in its theories, despite the fact that women have now long entered these professions (Davies 1996). Feminist research was carried out on women in male professions and on female-dominated professions, showing that gender is a key factor in both the concept of 'professions' and the process of professionalisation.

characteristics of Women's Studies graduates, which may or may not involve a professional affinity or identity, seem to be located in their shared gender knowledge and change-oriented perspective. In any case, just as people who are trained in medicine see themselves as doctors, and people educated in history see themselves as historians, so do Women's Studies graduates see themselves as Women's Studies experts or specialists.

I also assessed that the conviction of Women's Studies graduates that their knowledge is relevant or useful everywhere in the labour market is a factor that likely encourages graduates to transfer knowledge. Women's Studies graduates' embodied and impassioned knowledge, which also includes a social or political drive, makes sure that they are always keen to use their knowledge and to achieve social change. In knowledge transfer terms, it results in 'pushing' knowledge to the users. Embodied knowledge, then, is an important element in transferring and integrating knowledge in society. Since I argued that graduates' knowledge results from their shared Women's Studies training, one could say that the institutionalisation of Women's Studies in the academy contributes to the transfer of Women's Studies knowledge.

## **7.4 Taking stock**

This chapter showed that Women's Studies graduates gain gender knowledge, general as well as personal skills, and a drive to achieve changes in society. The characterisation of Women's Studies graduates that can be derived from the accounts of the interviewees is that they are engaged people with a critical view towards both society and scholarship. They are knowledgeable about inequalities between men and women and other social categories, and express the wish to put an end to these kinds of inequalities. I demonstrated how these knowledge, skills and drive toward change together form a whole in the sense that they are embodied in Women's Studies graduates.

Women's Studies knowledge helps a substantial number of graduates find a connection between what they learn at university and what they find important themselves. Women's Studies affected them in a personal as well as professional sense. The Women's Studies perspective or 'gender glasses' with which graduates look at reality impacts how they perform their work. It is not just that they are actors with knowledge about certain topics that they apply in their jobs, but they carry specific skills and a specific perspective with them that makes them sensitive to gender issues and diversity matters, and enables them to act as change agents in the workplace.

Women's Studies graduates are important actors in transferring and integrating Women's Studies knowledge in their jobs, but also in volunteer work, political activities, and their personal lives. This denotes the embodied form in which knowledge is transferred: graduates are human transporters of knowledge. Knowledge transfer occurs in both 'pull' and 'push' forms. Because Women's Studies graduates aim to achieve change and find their expertise relevant, they find ways to try to get their knowledge accepted and integrated in their work. They communicate their knowledge in several strategic ways, either to prevent barriers from popping up or to overcome existing ones. The strategies they apply are a form of interaction between academics and social actors. The 'interactivity' and 'dissemination competence' (Huberman 1994) of graduates, visible in taking into account potential concerns of social actors and in language adaptations, thus create the conditions to put knowledge to use.

Transferring knowledge is not simply the dissemination of a package of knowledge from the academy to society at large, but a process in which *people*, in this case Women's Studies graduates, involve themselves.

This chapter also showed that the embodied knowledge of graduates is an outcome of their university training in Women's Studies. The institutionalisation of this field in modules and programmes results in knowledgeable actors that not only possess knowledge but also crucial skills and drive. Women's Studies education then functions as a motor, helping graduates become actors who transfer knowledge to their place of employment and other societal settings. The ambitions and activities of Women's Studies graduates push knowledge forward and increase the societal impact of knowledge.

## **Chapter 8 Conclusion**

In this dissertation, I have discussed the transfer of knowledge about sex and gender to society in an effort to contribute to a better understanding of how these processes take place and to provide a better insight into the factors that impact the integration of this knowledge in society. The main academic field that produces knowledge about sex and gender is Women's Studies. In the Netherlands, this has developed into a well-established field of research and education within the academy. Since Women's Studies scholars aim to help improve women's position in society, the large body of knowledge about sex and gender they produce not only contributes to theoretical development; Women's Studies scholars aim to make a difference in society. They however do perceive a discrepancy between their ambitions to bring this knowledge to bear on society and the extent to which the knowledge is integrated in social domains. In other words, there is a Women's Studies knowledge gap.

Taking the Women's Studies knowledge gap as my starting point, I showed that there has been no extensive investigation of the reasons behind the lack of transfer and integration of knowledge about sex and gender, and that the discussions about the Women's Studies knowledge gap are short of precise and comprehensive information about how knowledge is transferred and integrated into societal domains. Hence, my central research question was: Through what processes is knowledge about sex and gender transferred to society? That is, how to describe knowledge transfer and integration, and how to assess the conditions that affect the integration of knowledge in society?

Undertaking four specific case studies, I considered three different societal domains to which knowledge is transferred: policymaking, the university curriculum, and civil society. Taking into account the interdisciplinary character of Women's Studies, I dealt with knowledge from different disciplines: Social Sciences, Medicine, and Humanities. Understanding knowledge as knowledge products as well as knowledge embodied in people and by scrutinising knowledge transfer via Women's Studies graduates to professional settings in society, I also specifically studied how embodied knowledge transfer takes place. The basic case studies research strategy that I used, complemented with the Grounded Theory approach, provided insight into the complex process of knowledge transfer.

To analyse knowledge transfer processes, I turned to the Social Studies of Knowledge, building my theoretical framework by combining the approaches of Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. Though each highlights important elements of knowledge transfer, they cannot separately explain the integration of knowledge in society. Allow me to reiterate the relevance of these theoretical approaches. Knowledge Utilisation theories identify concrete factors that may affect the integration of knowledge in societal domains, pointing in particular to the interactions between researchers and users. Focussing on the socio-political context that impacts the production of knowledge, Feminist Science Studies calls attention to both the fact that knowledge is invested with power and to possible power differences between knowledge transfer actors. Mode 2 is important too in that it highlights the mutual relations between science and society, and also because it understands knowledge as both knowledge products and as academically trained people, hence allowing for studying knowledge transfer in a broader sense.

Of course these theoretical approaches face certain challenges. By addressing them, my research also aimed to contribute to theories of knowledge transfer and integration. A first challenge is that the field of Knowledge Utilisation lacks a general theoretical framework that can integrate different knowledge utilisation perspectives or models, and that can incorporate the complex relations between the various factors impacting knowledge integration. By complementing Knowledge Utilisation with Feminist Science Studies and Mode 2, I aimed

for a more comprehensive understanding of these complex relations between knowledge producers and users, and of the conditions that impact knowledge integration in society.

I specifically chose the Feminist Science Studies perspective to study the phase of knowledge production, but since Knowledge Utilisation and Feminist Science Studies stem from different Social Studies of Knowledge traditions, I included the conceptual framework of Mode 2 to bridge these traditions. Pels (1996) calls these two traditions the Mannheimian and the Wittgensteinian tradition.

Mode 2 allows for paying attention to the broad variety of actors that is involved in the complicated process of policymaking and it enables us to examine the context in which policymaking and other courses of action such as decision-making take place. Mode 2 thus helps address the difficulties that Knowledge Utilisation theories face when trying to understand knowledge integration in such complicated processes.

Since neither Knowledge Utilisation nor Mode 2 pay adequate attention to power aspects in knowledge transfer, the Feminist Science Studies perspective allows us to consider both the impact of the actors' situatedness in socio-political contexts and the partiality of knowledge claims on knowledge integration.

Another challenge is to shed light on the seeming inconsistency between Knowledge Utilisation models that propose that more interaction between researchers and users will make knowledge integration more likely, and the contextualised Women's Studies practice. Despite its multiple relations with societal actors, the field apparently faces a knowledge gap.

In this final chapter, I will first present my main findings. Reviewing and comparing the findings of the case studies, I will address how knowledge transfer processes can be conceptualised, how and to what extent integration of knowledge occurs, and what conditions impact knowledge integration. Secondly, I will discuss my research in terms of its theoretical and societal contributions. Finally, I will address the limitations of my research project.

## **8.1 Transferring knowledge**

My case studies have illustrated that knowledge transfer happens in different ways. In the first case study, Women's Studies scholars devised a project to integrate gender-specific knowledge in medical curricula. This action research project illustrated knowledge transfer as part of an innovative project designed to make integration happen. The Aspasia case study focused on an incentive programme to increase women's upward mobility to higher academic positions, and discussed the actions through which knowledge and insights on the topic of women in science became integrated in this policy measure. The case study on the *Canon* dealt with an initiative developed to spread knowledge about Dutch culture and history to the public. In this case, the activities of women's historians to include a gender perspective in the *Canon* are central. The case study of Women's Studies graduates looked beyond knowledge transfer taking place through specific projects or targeted actions, highlighting knowledge transfer in more unintentional contexts. Even so, the graduates that embody Women's Studies knowledge displayed a clear drive to put their knowledge to use.

### **Processes**

What are the processes through which knowledge about sex and gender is transferred from the academy to society? Although I analytically distinguished between the phases of production, dissemination, and integration, it is clear that these knowledge transfer phases are not clearly separated. The overlap between them already becomes clear when you consider the contextualised way in which knowledge about sex and gender is produced.

This is very clear in the *Aspasia* case study. Since institutions such as the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT) commissioned research projects, the production of knowledge about women in science happened in interaction with societal actors. It is important to note that people from these organisations, as well as from the intended users of the knowledge these studies would produce, such as the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the universities, were involved in these studies as advisors or they presented their input or comments to the project in other ways. Via this involvement, users already became knowledgeable about insights in the problem of women's underrepresentation in higher academic positions. Hence, dissemination of knowledge started before the project's research reports or other knowledge products even came into existence.

On the side of Women's Studies researchers, we find feminist reasons behind the production of knowledge, reasons that also translate into a drive to put their knowledge to practice. In my case studies these include: providing women and girls with interesting histories they can identify with, improving women's health and health care for women, and increasing women's upward mobility in the academy. Moreover, researchers in each case argue that the benefits of paying attention to gender have a broader reach: Women's History will contribute to a better understanding of past and present, a gender-sensitive health care will also be beneficial to men, and more women in science will increase scientific quality and innovation.

The gender perspective with which Women's Studies experts scrutinise existing practices is political in that it challenges the male bias in, for instance, history, medicine, or science. In the face of the claimed gender neutrality or objectivity of these fields' practices, Women's Studies presents knowledge claims that challenge this status quo.

Depending on the power positions of Women's Studies actors, their strategies for transferring knowledge differ. In the *Aspasia* case study, for instance, researchers and organisations such as the NGV (the Dutch Women's Studies Association), LOEKWO (the National Consultative Body Emancipation Quality in Higher Education), and LNVH (the Dutch Network of Female Professors) are not in a position to decide on measures in the field of women in science. They carry out research for, disseminate knowledge to, lobby with, and plead their case to the other actors, but they cannot directly influence research policymaking. In dealing with these power differences, Women's Studies actors turn to establishing interactions and alliances with intermediary bodies such as the AWT, influential people, and organisations such as the European Commission. In the *Canon* case study, we see that Women's History experts on the Canon Committee were in a position that enabled them to transfer and integrate knowledge more directly. The International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (IIAV) successfully devised strategies to integrate material about Aletta Jacobs in two television series that originated from the *Canon*.

An important channel of disseminating knowledge to society obviously is the publication of research findings. However, researchers also disseminated knowledge in other ways. Comparing the different case studies makes it clear that where and how knowledge is disseminated depends on the specific societal application into which Women's Studies actors aim to integrate their knowledge and insights.

In the case of the *Canon*, we see that knowledge exchanges particularly took place through public debates. Women's historians and experts on gender and canonisation thus addressed the Canon Committee via the media and, for instance, by posting comments on the discussion forum of the *Canon* website. Within the Committee, experts on Women's History could directly influence the attention to women and gender in the *Canon*.

The project that was set up to integrate gender in medical curricula made direct contacts possible between experts in Women's Studies Medicine and the teachers and

managers at the medical faculties. Specific conferences and teacher training courses also allowed for bringing knowledge to the direct attention of users.

Conferences and other meetings are important forums for the exchange of knowledge and ideas between researchers, users, and the other actors that are involved (such as advisors and independent experts), especially when users are invited to participate. This is clear in all my case studies, for example in the Aspasia case where especially the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999 stands out as an event displaying intense interaction between various actors.

Dissemination is thus an interactive process in which researchers negotiate with the users to put their knowledge to use. This is clearly illustrated in the 'Gender in medical education' project, where the project members applied a strategy of 'careful communication' with the users, taking into account any potential resistance towards the project goals' ideological character. In their dissemination efforts, the project members transferred knowledge in the forms of specific recommendations and concrete education material, and also adjusted their language to medical terminology, for instance by using the Dutch term 'seks' (sex) instead of gender. The Aspasia case specifically shows that in communicating knowledge about women in science, Women's Studies researchers adapted their message to research policymakers by pointing out the advantages of diversity for science, instead of arguing that women's limited upward mobility in the academy is unfair towards women. In sum, knowledge transfer entails a two-way communication in which people advocate their knowledge and take users' responses into account.

In all these case studies, it is visible that knowledge transfer is not a mechanical process in which researchers produce knowledge that in turn is used in policymaking, in education, or other societal applications. Knowledge production and application rather co-evolve, especially when they are motivated by, or a part of, broader societal and political concerns. For example, the Wennerås and Wold article that provided evidence of sexism in the Swedish Medical Research Council's peer-review system set off research as well as policymaking in the field of women in science, and the existence of the *Canon* led to discussions and new research about history education.

### **Integration**

To what extent is knowledge about sex and gender integrated in society? In my research project, the analysis of knowledge integration was especially important in pointing out how this integration in different societal domains can be understood. I will first summarise the main instances of integration and non-integration for each case study, then address whether knowledge integration entailed a change in power relations, and lastly look more closely into the different types, forms, and levels of knowledge integration.

#### *Main instances of (non-)integration*

The 'Gender in medical education' project illustrates a successful case of knowledge transfer. It boosted the attention to gender in medical schools and resulted in the uptake of Women's Studies Medicine knowledge into curricula. However, according to the project members, biomedical gender issues were more easily integrated than socio-cultural gender health aspects, which, when gender inequalities were addressed, faced substantially more resistance. Knowledge integration in this case study also took the form of achieved gender awareness: as an intervention in curricula, the project both caused change and enabled future possibilities of knowledge integration.

To some extent the case study about the Canon illustrates the Women's Studies knowledge gap best, as it shows the disappointment of women's historians with the underrepresentation of women and feminism in the *Canon*. Although famous women were

included, and historical facts and figures about emancipation were present, according to gender historian Mak (2007), the *Canon* did not move beyond these aspects of Women's History. It thus reflects the gendered politics of the historical discipline, wherein the focus on the public or political domain has to a large extent resulted in the exclusion of women.

Through installing the Aspasia programme, NWO, the VSNU (Association of Universities in the Netherlands), and the Ministry of Education integrated both the knowledge claim that time alone would not solve the problem of women's underrepresentation in higher academic ranks, as well as the insight that incentives are the only effective instrument to counter the problem. Aspasia indicates a new conceptualisation of the problem as an issue that is related to the structure and culture of research organisations, and that is no longer defined as a problem related to women's personal situations. Since the original Aspasia was a specific programme for women only, knowledge claims about the necessity of structural and cultural changes in research organisations and universities were not integrated. In the 'new-style' Aspasia however, as the programme was incorporated in the regular Innovational Research Incentives Scheme (IRIS), such insights were taken into account.

### *Changes in power relations*

Following Feminist Science Studies, I specified that integration of the transformative body of knowledge about sex and gender in society expectedly brings about a politically advocated change in power relations. My case studies indicate that some norms and values underlying societal practices are challenged but that, considering the aims of Women's Studies scholars to make a difference in society, knowledge integration did not affect all (aspects of) these practices.

Women's historians and experts on canonisation criticised the concept of a canon for its gendered and non-inclusive character. Although the Canon Committee acknowledged the mechanisms of exclusion that underlie the construction of a canon, it still accepted gaps on women and cultural minorities in the practical application of the *Canon* itself. According to Mak (2007), the *Canon*'s grand historical narrative reflects a male-biased notion of history, which obscures the unequal gender relations on which this narrative is based and thereby reinforces rather than challenges gender hierarchies. However, when looking beyond the *Canon* itself, that is, taking into account the rationales that accompanied the two versions of the *Canon*, a more positive conclusion is possible. That is, knowledge claims about exclusion mechanisms in canonisation processes as well as criticism from societal feminist actors did reach the Committee and were mentioned in the accompanying rationales. Moreover, the Committee stated that more attention should be paid to marginal figures and groups in teaching the *Canon* in secondary education, at which point the relativity of the *Canon* could also be addressed.

In the Aspasia case study, we see that research organisations predominantly interpreted women's underrepresentation in the academy as a numerical issue. The Aspasia programme does not really incorporate knowledge about gendered norms and values, norms that for instance affect selection and evaluation procedures. Leaving out feminist knowledge claims that point to the gendered nature of science and a masculine bias in academic practices, knowledge is integrated in a depoliticised way, without bringing about a change in power relations. NWO did not take into account the insight that gender diversity enhances innovation and quality in science. The complex account of the problem that Women's Studies researchers provided thus became uncomplicated in NWO policymaking, for instance because knowledge claims related to the symbolic layer of gender were not integrated. Hence, both the idea of objective and neutral science and NWO's basic understanding of quality as a neutral concept largely stayed intact.

Aspasia new style, however, recognised insights about gendered norms and values. Specifically in the IRIS programme, which integrated the new Aspasia, we saw that NWO understands that gender is linked to power. NWO policy documents explicitly state that the (bigger) obstacles that women researchers face in their careers partly result from the impact of male-dominated scientific norms and values in selection procedures. This formed one of the reasons behind the decision to both specifically stimulate women to send in research proposals and to set targets for the number of women IRIS grantees. The latter action reflects theories that argue science is not meritocratic. As I suggested in the Aspasia chapter, one could ask whether these measures do not merely circumvent the norms and values issue.

Regarding the different layers of gender (Harding 1986; Scott 1986), we see that in both the curriculum and the Aspasia case, Women's Studies experts recommended that specific institutions be set up to gather gender expertise, as well as to support and monitor the integration of gender in respectively medical education and science policies. In the first case, the project members argued for an autonomous Women's Studies department or gender health office in medical schools to avoid a superficial uptake of gender issues by teachers. In the Aspasia case, setting up a national expert centre on women and science was deemed especially valuable for bringing about and facilitating a mainstreaming of gender in science policies. Both examples reveal that researchers assessed that the integration of knowledge about gender in health and illness, and about women in science was or would be incomplete when it was not institutionally materialised. This reverberates the notion of gender mainstreaming, i.e. change is only possible when gender seeps through at all levels at the same time (cf. Benschop and Verloo 2000). In both case studies, a change in power relations is however manifest when looking at the persons in the institutions. The 'Gender in medical education' project strengthened teachers that already were working with gender issues and staff that was positive towards change, and Aspasia, with the increased number of women senior lecturers, contributed to a different gender balance in the upper ranks of the academy.

#### *Different types, forms, and levels of knowledge integration*

My research project shows that knowledge integration occurs in diverse ways. Looking at the different types of integration that Knowledge Utilisation theories discern, these cases feature conceptual, instrumental, as well as symbolic uses. I will present the clearest examples from my case studies, simultaneously taking into account the different levels (concepts, theories, instruments) and different forms (knowledge products and knowledge in people) of integrated knowledge. If you will recall, conceptual use takes place when knowledge results in people gaining a new interpretation of reality, a new definition of a policy problem, or a different understanding of issues concerned. Instrumental use of knowledge occurs when knowledge directly contributes to a certain decision, shift in practices, or policy-intervention that would not have been made in the absence of that knowledge. Use of knowledge is symbolic when it legitimates a view that policymakers already have.

The conceptual type of use is visible in the Aspasia case. The Aspasia programme represents a breakthrough in thinking about women's underrepresentation. Before the programme was installed, underrepresentation was seen as a problem that had to do with women's individual situations; policy measures for instance thus aimed to better reconcile work and care tasks. Aspasia revealed a new conceptualisation of the problem, defining it as a problem related to the structure and culture of research organisations, and it presented a new measure to promote women's upward mobility, introducing an incentive programme.

The Aspasia case also provides a clear example of knowledge being integrated in an embodied form, specifically in the closing words of NWO chair Reinder van Duinen at the 'Women in Science' conference of October 1999. From his explanation that a member of the MIT research team convinced him of the scope of the problem through explaining that small

disadvantages in women's careers build up to considerable inequality between men's and women's academic careers, it can be gleaned that a message had gotten through to him. The raised awareness indicates an instance of embodying knowledge, which consequently led him to conclude that taking action to tackle women's underrepresentation in science was apposite. The level of knowledge integrated in this example is that of theories; the awareness raised reflects the theory of accumulated disadvantages. Another level of knowledge integration is also visible in the Aspasia case. Since it is a specific programme, the level of knowledge applied is that of instruments, an instrument that was also recommended by researchers in the field of women in science.

An instrumental type of use of knowledge is evident in the Canon case, specifically in the addition of the contraceptive pill as a sub-topic in the Aletta Jacobs window. Several feminist and non-feminist actors commented on the absence of the pill in the initial *Canon*. Since it is likely that the pill would not have been added without these comments, the use of knowledge is instrumental. This case study also demonstrates the integration of knowledge in the form of products: publications from the field of Women's History are listed as background literature under the Aletta Jacobs window.

In the curriculum case I argued that because medicine considers reproduction a common and accepted area in which sex differences matter, and one domain in which project members aimed to gain attention to sex and gender was that of reproduction and gynaecology, the integration of knowledge pertaining to reproduction could be qualified as symbolic. That is, it affirms a view that users already have. In this case study, integration of knowledge also occurred in an embodied way as the project helped educational staff become knowledgeable about the role of gender in medicine.

### **Hindering and enhancing factors**

In assessing the factors that affect the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society, I took into account conditions related to the production and dissemination of knowledge, the power relations and interactions between actors in the knowledge transfer process, and conditions located in the realm of users. I derived the expected relevance of these conditions from the three approaches in my theoretical framework: Knowledge Utilisation, Feminist Science Studies, and Mode 2. By presenting examples from my case studies, I will explain how these factors enhanced or hindered knowledge integration.

#### *Feminist and socially robust knowledge*

The feminist perspective with which knowledge about sex and gender in the different disciplines or areas is produced has a clear impact on knowledge integration. As the curriculum, Aspasia, and Canon case studies make clear, users did not always value this feminist character.

In the Canon case, Women's History and women were discounted as marginal, and gender knowledge as too specific, too political, too academic for a canon to be used in primary and secondary education. This factor hindered knowledge integration.

In the curriculum case, the integration of gender was difficult because the political or feminist character of knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine did not agree with the view of medicine as a neutral discipline in which gender is considered irrelevant. The contested status of the field of Women's Studies Medicine, which is not always regarded as a proper scientific domain or discipline, negatively affected the status of knowledge from the field, hindering knowledge integration. On the other hand, knowledge from Women's Studies Medicine that was integrated in the curriculum did acquire the status of knowledge. Also, by acquiring support for their project from the influential Review Committee as well as from

educational staff in powerful positions the researchers were able to achieve knowledge integration.

In the context of *Aspasia*, we saw that Women's Studies knowledge about women in science was long considered mere feminist opinion, not serious knowledge. However, when knowledge claims were taken up in mainstream advices and research reports, especially those authored by the AWT and by Van Vucht Tijssen, this added neutral value to the feminist knowledge claims and enhanced knowledge integration. Support for feminist knowledge from high-status and 'neutral' actors thus improved the credibility of knowledge claims and also compensated for the partiality of knowledge claims about women in science. The contextualised manner of knowledge production, especially visible in the *Aspasia* case in which users and other societal actors were involved in several studies, resulted in socially robust knowledge and explicit recommendations for solving women's underrepresentation that addressed potential users, both of which enhanced knowledge integration.

### *The impact of power relations*

Apart from the power of knowledge, power differences between the actors also affected knowledge integration. In the *Aspasia* case study, for instance, alliances between researchers and interest organisations NGV, LOEKWO, and LNVH on the one hand, and the AWT and influential people like Van Vucht Tijssen on the other hand enhanced knowledge integration. Through these alliances, the gap between knowledge and power could be bridged; this was a necessary condition, as decision makers are ultimately the ones who decide on policy changes. In this regard, the increasing commitment from the highest levels of research organisations and universities to stimulating women's upward mobility was another positive factor.

The importance of power positions is well illustrated in the curriculum case, where the project leader was in a position to both bring about and enhance knowledge integration. This was also connected to the specific discipline and the context of application. The case shows that the project leader's access to the national institutions involved in medical education was crucial in making medical curricula more gender sensitive. Standards for the training of doctors are set by medical professionals in the *Blueprint* and adherence to these standards is presided over by the Review Committee. Adjustments to standards can also be brought about by the Ministry of Health, in this case by the Women's Health Care Steering Group. The involvement of project leader Lagro-Janssen in the ministerial Steering Group has been pivotal in this regard: it gave her the power to achieve attention to gender in standards for medical education and as such laid the groundwork for the project. She was also able to gain support from the Review Committee and from educational staff in powerful positions, factors that positively affected knowledge integration. Since medical education and the professional field of Medicine are more generally characterised by a high level of national regulation, the national character of the project also had a positive effect on knowledge integration.

The institutional landscape in which knowledge production takes place clearly impacts knowledge integration, especially because it affects power positions. Let me give two examples: In the *Aspasia* case, knowledge claims about women in science were supported by research activities and policymaking in the European Commission. The importance that the European Commission attached to the topic of women in science, which was influenced by the Dutch-dominated lobbying of WISE (Women's International Studies Europe), was a driving force behind national policies and research on women in science. Moreover, the Netherlands' low European ranking regarding the position of women in science encouraged both knowledge production and policymaking, thus enhancing the chances for knowledge integration. That is, the 'shameful' position of the Netherlands seems to have made the problem so significant that it became worth acting on, as the country is especially sensitive to

benchmark-like information. This thus created a sense of urgency to really increase the number of women among higher academics, also revealing a need for knowledge and insights on problem causes and effective measures. In all, it resulted in recognising women's underrepresentation in the academy as a problem, a perception that instigated action.

In the Canon case, however, the interests of the actors in the institutional landscape largely did not match those of gender experts. Whereas gender experts stressed the relevance of history education in a (international) context that marks multiple perspectives and allows room for integrating the experiences of women and ethnic minorities, the political and media climate was in favour of compiling a national canon. This made it difficult for gender experts to get their critical message across via newspapers - where the *Canon* debate chiefly took place. Still, they did manage to transfer gender knowledge to the Canon Committee. Without support from the interests of politicians, the Education Council, and the Minister of Education, the integration of this knowledge was nevertheless thwarted.

### *Does dissemination help?*

Dissemination conditions that affected knowledge integration relate to the dissemination efforts of researchers as well as to their publication assets.

The project members in the 'Gender in medical education' project interacted and communicated with the medical schools in an intense, sustained, and careful way. These efforts contributed to knowledge integration. Their careful communication approach however came with a price: the critical edges of Women's Studies Medicine knowledge were not transferred and hence not integrated. Choices in disseminating knowledge are also visible in the project members' deliberately limited attention to other social categories besides gender, which made it hard for gender to be taken up in an intersectional way.

In the Canon case, I assessed that Women's History publications written in a popular-scientific style and in Dutch, had more of a chance to be integrated in the *Canon*. Though the *Canon* does integrate some scholarly works from the field of Women's History, it is clear that for this specific application it is not only important to produce more knowledge and more publications, but that the style in which this knowledge is disseminated also plays a role. This is also visible in user-friendly knowledge products that were integrated in the *Canon*, such as websites, the Online Dictionary of Dutch Women, and ready-made teaching material. Nevertheless, the Aletta Jacobs window about women's emancipation and the women's movement can be seen as a result of this being one of the research focuses in Women's History about which many publications have appeared.

The above examples first show that dissemination efforts can have a positive effect on the integration of some knowledge claims and simultaneously hinder the uptake of other knowledge claims. Secondly, they show that knowledge integration is not straightforwardly enhanced when more publications are available but that integration also depends on the suitability of different sorts of knowledge products for the specific application and its intended users.

### *Interactions are important*

The relevance of interactions in achieving knowledge integration becomes clear when comparing two examples from the case studies. In the Aspasia case, interactions between researchers and policymakers were intense and sustained, also building on earlier dealings between the Women's Studies field on the one hand and the Ministry of Education and NWO on the other, which enhanced knowledge integration. Important forums for interaction were the VSNU expert meeting in May 1998, through which the 'Women's upward mobility' taskforce, chaired by Van Vucht Tijssen, created the conditions for Aspasia to come about, the AWT 'Women in Science' conference in October 1999, and the NWO meeting about the

future of *Aspasia* in September 2003, which led to knowledge integration in *Aspasia* new style.

In the *Canon* case, I assessed that limited external linkages between the *Canon* Committee and gender experts negatively affected knowledge integration in the *Canon*. Yet, the (embodied) expertise available in the Committee had a positive effect. In the Committee, women's historian Kloek in particular successfully proposed suggestions to make women more visible in the *Canon*.

These cases indicate that more interactions between knowledge producers and users, but also interactions with intermediary parties, have a positive effect on knowledge integration.

### *Users' realm*

From Knowledge Utilisation theories I derived that the idea that when research results match with users' needs and expectations, existing knowledge in organisations, as well as their ideology, self-interest, and institutional norms and practices, knowledge integration is more likely. My research shows that this is indeed the case. In the *Aspasia* case, for instance, we see that a match between the aim of researchers and interest organisations to enable women to break through the glass ceiling and the need of policymakers and universities to reduce an expected personnel shortage enhanced knowledge integration, whereas a disagreement between the feminist perspective underlying knowledge claims related to the gendered nature of science and the principles of NWO that foreground objective and neutral science hindered the incorporation of knowledge about gendered norms and values.

In the *Canon* case, a factor that hindered the integration of insights about gender and canonisation lies in the fact that, although these insights did reach the Committee, they did not match the Committee's central aim of making a canon, which inevitably involved selection and consequently in- and exclusion. This shows that while researchers' dissemination efforts and publication assets can be seen as necessary conditions for knowledge integration, this in itself is not enough to result in integration, as there was no match with the needs and interests of users.

### **Embodied knowledge transfer**

The case studies about the curriculum, *Aspasia*, and the *Canon* already indicated that people are important in knowledge transfer, as evidenced, for instance, in the interrelations between people and knowledge products in the *Aspasia* case, and the way knowledge embodied by the members in the 'Gender in medical education' project affected what knowledge they transferred.

Zooming in on Women's Studies graduates as actors in knowledge transfer, I showed that they can be conceptualised as change agents. This highlights that transferring knowledge is a social and political activity. Their clear drive to act against gender injustice and to achieve changes in society particularly stimulates graduates to disseminate their knowledge in professional and other societal settings, and motivates them to target audiences that are not specifically concerned about or familiar with gender. In Feminist Science Studies terms, the socio-political context of actors makes a difference in knowledge transfer. The 'gender glasses' with which graduates look at reality impacts how they perform their work: they apply knowledge about certain topics in their jobs and, what is more, they carry specific skills and a specific perspective with them that makes them sensitive to gender issues and diversity matters, enabling them to effect changes in the workplace. These changes are only one part of knowledge integration, since graduates' career achievements as such also represent change in the sense that graduates broke through gendered segregations in the labour market and redefined what counts in a career. In other words, graduates embody change.

In communicating their knowledge to others, graduates interact with social actors and employ several strategies to prevent barriers from popping up or to overcome existing ones. The 'interactivity' and 'dissemination competence' (Huberman 1994) of graduates, which become visible in their language adaptations and in their accounting for social actors' potential concerns, thus create the conditions to put knowledge to use. This, too, signifies the social character of knowledge transfer.

## **8.2 Theoretical contributions**

To contribute to the development of knowledge transfer theories, I combined three specific Social Studies of Knowledge approaches and focussed on a body of knowledge from the contextualised field of Women's Studies.

Knowledge Utilisation theories identified several concrete factors that may affect knowledge integration in societal domains, particularly pointing to the interactions between producers, users, and other actors involved in knowledge transfer. In my research project, I indeed found that intense and sustained interactions enhance knowledge integration overall. My research project also highlights the role of people in these interactions. Meetings and conferences, for instance, provide negotiation sites for researchers and users. Since knowledge about sex and gender, or knowledge in general, does not speak for itself, Women's Studies practitioners can speak for their knowledge in these interactions, trying to raise awareness of problems they perceive and trying to find a match with the users' realm. Since Knowledge Utilisation scholars recognised that their framework does not provide enough leads to explain or predict integration or non-integration, I turned to the Mode 2 approach for a double focus, on use as well as on production.

Using Mode 2, I was able to focus more clearly on the interrelations between knowledge producers and users, especially as part of the broader network of persons and institutions involved in knowledge transfer and integration within the domain of policymaking. For example, the contextualised knowledge production in the Aspasia case, where users and other societal actors were involved in several studies, resulted in socially robust knowledge and recommendations that explicitly addressed potential users, which enhanced knowledge integration. The commissioning and external funding of many studies on women in science made a difference, because this not only increased the outward-looking perspective of researchers and their sensitivity to the needs of users, but they also resulted in the use of dissemination channels that readily identified useful knowledge to potential users. Apart from conferences and meetings, these for instance included research reports published by organisations such as the VSNU rather than articles in academic journals. Enhanced knowledge integration thus resulted from a combination of conditions related to the production and to the dissemination of knowledge.

The different theoretical models of Knowledge Utilisation focus on science push, demand pull, dissemination, or interaction conditions (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001). Feminist Science Studies brought into focus the conditions related to the production of knowledge and the power aspects in knowledge transfer, and Mode 2 helped contemplate the interrelations between the contexts of knowledge production and application. This larger perspective provides leads for understanding how different factors that impact knowledge integration may be related to each other.

My research reveals several relations between different sorts of conditions. In the Aspasia case, where contextualised knowledge production influenced the use of specific dissemination channels (see above), we saw that conditions from one model can influence conditions from another model, together enhancing knowledge integration. In the curriculum

case, I discerned a two-way relation between researchers' publications and their power positions: the more power one has, the more one can publish, and the more publications one has written, the more power one gets. This shows a reinforcing feedback loop between power aspects in knowledge transfer and dissemination conditions. In the Canon case, the actual impact of a dissemination condition (knowledge about gender and canonisation did reach the Canon Committee) was thwarted because of conditions in the users' realm (the knowledge did not match their needs and interests).

Aside from showing reinforcing and negating ways in which conditions can be interrelated, the findings in my case studies indicate that both power conditions and production conditions are factors that impact knowledge integration through interacting with and influencing conditions present in other models. This suggests that, in building a more comprehensive theoretical framework, Knowledge Utilisation theories can profit from explicitly taking up these two conditions.

Since Knowledge Utilisation theories, and to a certain extent also Mode 2, basically work from assumptions that consider knowledge to be neutral and assume no differences between the power positions of knowledge producers and users, I assessed that, following the Feminist Science Studies approach, a focus on power aspects in knowledge transfer would be necessary and helpful for understanding the conditions that impact knowledge integration.

My research showed that the relative power positions of actors do indeed have an impact on knowledge integration. It does matter whether researchers are in positions from which they can influence decision making or whether they are involved in advising policymakers. Moreover, the power positions of Women's Studies actors are not only related to the structural positions of people or organisations, but they also depend on how users evaluate Women's Studies knowledge. The partiality of knowledge claims about sex and gender especially hinders knowledge integration. When users assessed this knowledge as produced from a feminist or political perspective, this hindered the uptake of (at least some) knowledge claims about sex and gender. Interestingly, such assessments seem to result from the perspective of users who assess their own practice as being the opposite of political: neutral, objective, unbiased, or universal. The values with which knowledge is produced, more precisely users' disapproval of these values, thus impact the status of this knowledge. This means that knowledge transfer processes ought to be understood as political processes. This implies that it is crucial that power aspects be integrated in Knowledge Utilisation theories.

It also imperative to address the seeming inconsistency between Knowledge Utilisation theories, which expect that more interaction between researchers and users increases knowledge integration, and the contextualised Women's Studies practice, which, though it is characterised by a great deal of interaction with society, apparently does not necessarily or automatically result in the integration of knowledge about sex and gender. How to understand this relation between interaction and integration? Although my research shows that interaction conditions enhance knowledge integration, the possible users were not always involved in knowledge production. For instance, knowledge in Women's Studies Medicine partly resulted from knowledge production which involved actors such as women's health organisations and the government, but the specific users in the case study, i.e. teachers and other medical school participants, were not *per se* part of that context already associated with Women's Studies Medicine. The difference between the areas where interaction and integration took place thus may explain the inconsistency.

Also, whereas in the Mode 2 approach the relations of Women's Studies to civil society and to politics are interpreted as positive aspects because they contribute to producing socially robust knowledge, in the eyes of users this social engagement is sometimes evaluated differently. This may stem from an evaluation of Women's Studies knowledge from a Mode 1

perspective, a perspective in which knowledge is expected to be free from social or political interests, or from a mismatch between the norms of researchers and users. All my case studies show instances of non-integration due to users' norms and practices. This first suggests that conditions in the users' realm are more important than can be accounted for with the interaction model of Knowledge Utilisation. Secondly, this is one of the reasons why social robustness cannot guarantee the acceptance or integration of knowledge in society. Hence, strong relations to society may be important in the production of knowledge but in itself are not enough to achieve integration.

Lastly, in considering the inconsistency between interaction and integration, it is necessary to mention that this inconsistency may indeed be more seeming than real. As I will argue in section 8.3, part of the perceived Women's Studies knowledge gap can be explained.

### ***People***

In accordance with Mode 2, I understood knowledge as residing in knowledge products (articles, books, reports, etc.) as well as in academically trained people. This allowed for studying knowledge transfer in a broad sense and for highlighting the interrelations between the production and use of knowledge, or more general, the intertwining of knowledge and society. Addressing the role of people in knowledge transfer, which I foremost did in the chapter on Women's Studies graduates, led to relevant insights for understanding knowledge transfer.

An insight relevant for Knowledge Utilisation theories is that a 'knowledge push' does positively contribute to knowledge integration. This not in the sense that a supply of (new) knowledge claims and insights in itself or automatically leads to knowledge being used in policymaking or societal applications, a supposition criticised by Weiss (2003), but in the sense that people move knowledge forward. These knowledgeable actors, exemplified in my research project in the Women's Studies graduates, are motivated by both their drive to put their knowledge to use in society and their conviction that their knowledge is highly relevant and pertinent. Although knowledge integration is not dependent on the applicability of knowledge, an insight that Knowledge Utilisation theorists are well aware of, a perception of applicability on the side of knowledge owners does lead to knowledge transfer efforts and hence contributes to knowledge integration.

This also shows that an important starting point of Feminist Science Studies, the argument that knowledge cannot be separated from people but is embodied and situated in practices is a relevant factor to take into account when studying knowledge transfer. That is, considering the constructed character of the knowing subject's position (Haraway 1988), i.e. the specific social location where knowledge is produced, be it in the form of products or people, focuses the drive and commitment of people in transferring knowledge. My research shows that this social and political drive is an important reason behind producing and disseminating knowledge, but it also demonstrates that this political motivation impacts both societal actors' evaluation of knowledge claims and consequently knowledge integration itself. This means that neither knowledge producers nor knowledge users can be seen as neutral actors. For Knowledge Utilisation theories, taking into account the non-neutrality of researchers and of the knowledge they produce, and seeing them as conditions affecting knowledge integration may better explain why knowledge comes to be used or not.

It was by studying the specific body of knowledge about sex and gender that this became very visible, as the scholars in the field of Women's Studies both value and evince their political drive. Following the Feminist Science Studies claim that no knowledge is neutral, this power aspect also plays a role in the transfer and integration of knowledge produced in other scholarly fields. Without regard to the disciplinary origins of knowledge, the non-neutrality of knowledge thus is a factor impacting knowledge utilisation.

Lastly, my findings about the key role of people in transferring knowledge, which I gleaned from graduates' accounts of their experiences with Women's Studies education and of their practical use of Women's Studies knowledge, imply that sociological knowledge transfer theories cannot disregard this other manifestation of knowledge. People play a role in all phases of the knowledge transfer process (production, dissemination, integration) and my interviews with young professionals clearly highlighted the connection between university training (the context of production) and the impact embodied knowledge has on knowledge integration in diverse societal settings (the context of application). Hence, incorporating knowledgeable people in Social Studies of Knowledge is beneficial in that it contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of knowledge transfer processes and of the impact of knowledge on society. It particularly does this by making tangible the connection between the context of knowledge production and the context of application, and by showing that people's drive to put their knowledge to use in society positively contributes to knowledge integration. The connection between the contexts of production and application, as Stehr (1992) argued, is an essential element for understanding the conditions under which knowledge comes to be used. My research shows that this also holds true for embodied knowledge.

### ***8.3 Contribution to discussions about the knowledge gap***

The relevance of my research project particularly, but not exclusively, pertains to the scholarly field of Women's Studies, an interdisciplinary and relatively young academic field that emerged from society and produces knowledge in connection to societal concerns. Whilst changing gendered power relations in society is one of its main purposes, the knowledge gap that Women's Studies scholars perceive suggests that knowledge about sex and gender does not always find its way into practice.

#### **Knowledge valorisation**

My focus on Women's Studies graduates has shown the importance of Women's Studies' institutionalisation in the academy. Aside from producing knowledge about sex and gender (in the form of research results in books, articles, etc.) that can be integrated by societal actors, Women's Studies education produces knowledgeable actors or knowledgeability (Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). My focus on people also highlighted that Women's Studies graduates not only gain knowledge, but also important general and personal skills, as well as a drive to have their knowledge impact society. This 'embodied knowledge', I showed, results from Women's Studies' institutionalisation.

The drive of Women's Studies graduates to change societal inequalities emphasises how key Women's Studies ambition to make a difference in society is and it is an important element in the transfer of Women's Studies knowledge. This implies that the institutionalised Women's Studies courses and programmes are a crucial factor contributing to the transfer and integration of Women's Studies knowledge in societal settings.

The relevance and meaning of Women's Studies knowledge for the graduates I interviewed also shows that knowledge valorisation does not only occur when knowledge claims are taken up by societal actors but that it can also be found in Women's Studies graduates. Valorisation occurs because the graduates value what they know and who they are. As I showed, these aspects are intertwined: Their education helped them find a connection between what they learned at university and what they found important themselves. For many of the graduates, their education had an impact beyond employment, also affecting various other aspects of their lives. For Women's and Gender Studies programmes this implies that

not all knowledge has to 'fit' a social demand, but that knowledge valorisation or integration also lies in this societal value.

### **Insight into the Women's Studies knowledge gap**

What insights does my research project provide for understanding the Women's Studies knowledge gap? What is the status of the knowledge gap, and what successful transfer and integration practices and instances of knowledge integration can be identified? Studying knowledge transfer with parameters from different theoretical perspectives allowed me to understand processes of knowledge transfer and integration in a broad way, a way that in my view is helpful in understanding the perceived Women's Studies knowledge gap.

First, when understanding knowledge production as both research and training, and understanding knowledge as including skills and drive, i.e. by specifically looking at embodied knowledge, we can see that knowledge ends up in places beyond work: in graduates' volunteer work, in their political activities, and in their personal lives. Recognising knowledge integration in a broader sense, including the different forms (products and people) but also the different types (conceptual, instrumental, and symbolic) and levels (concepts, theories, and instruments) of knowledge integration may decrease the perception of an underutilisation of knowledge. For example, one could see that knowledge about sex and gender can be integrated even when concepts and theories of sex and gender underlying certain knowledge claims are not fully accepted. As the *Aspasia* and curriculum cases show, even though knowledge is integrated in a depoliticised way, policy practices and educational curricula are still changed for the better. In other words, even without becoming advocates of gender equality, actors can still instigate policy measures or curriculum changes that are relevant for the position of women in science or that are beneficial to taking women's health issues seriously. Also, instances of integration are not necessarily the end of integration. As the *Aspasia* case shows, knowledge claims about gender mainstreaming were not incorporated in the original programme, but in *Aspasia* new style the programme was mainstreamed.

That this is important also became clear to me when I discussed findings from my Women's Studies graduates interviews with colleagues from the field. My results were interpreted as positive, but at the same time questions were regularly raised about how I came up with this 'success story'. What about Women's Studies graduates who did not find a job or those who were disappointed in their career? The fact is that some Women's Studies graduates indeed reported difficulties to put their knowledge to use or concerns about finding a job. However, I looked beyond job outcomes and knowledge utilisation in working practices. It was by using a Mode 2 perspective that I was able to notice embodied knowledge transfer and integration, as well as the many other ways in which integration can occur.

Second, taking into account how central the drive towards change (still) is in Women's Studies and its graduates might explain why a knowledge gap is perceived. Let me recall that, following Feminist Science Studies, my research project departed from the assumption that integration of knowledge about sex and gender by definition implies a change. Because Women's Studies scholars focus on effecting societal changes they are more likely to perceive knowledge gaps than knowledge integration, or are more likely to spot non-integration, than scholars who (only) focus on theoretical development. Departing from an ambition or assumption of (total) utilisation, Women's Studies scholars impose an expectation on themselves that seems impossible to match, one that also limits the perception of knowledge integration.

In the ambition of total or optimal utilisation one can recognise a 'maximising' (Simon 1957) approach towards knowledge integration. In practice, other strategies are visible as well. In the curriculum case, we saw that the project members made use of what resembles a 'satisficing' (Simon 1957) line of attack. Aware as they were of the difficulties to integrate

the political load of Women's Studies Knowledge, they aimed for an acceptable level of knowledge integration and were able to recognise the achievements made: the increased gender awareness was recognised as a change that set future possibilities of knowledge integration in motion. Hence, depending on the aims and choices of Women's Studies actors, the discrepancy between the actual and an ideal situation can be bigger or smaller.

Third, I want to highlight that the accounts of the Women's Studies knowledge gap present a linear model of knowledge utilisation that reflects a (Mode 1) understanding of science and society as being relatively unconnected to each other. This notion, however, can no longer be maintained. I discern that Women's Studies scholars' accounts of underutilisation (presented in Chapter 1) put forward explanations for non-utilisation and suggestions to counter non-integration that are based in a discourse of knowledge transfer that is not in line with how knowledge transfer actually works. For instance, in suggestions to focus more on the dissemination of Women's Studies knowledge one can discern a view characterised by the one-way direction in which knowledge travels from knowledge producers to users. This view also supposes a separation between the phases of knowledge production, dissemination, and integration.

My research has however shown that knowledge transfer is not a one-way process and that integration is not the end of a knowledge transfer process nor the only stage in which knowledge integration occurs. The *Aspasia* case showed that actors already become knowledgeable simply through their involvement in studies. A similar point is made in the curriculum case where the project members concluded that, although not all (feminist) knowledge claims were taken up by the medical schools, discussing recommendations with the medical school staff did raise awareness about the relevance of gender. In 'action research' terms, discussing topics is an intervention and brings about changes in the actors involved even when they choose to continue as before (Wadsworth 1998). The project members also expected that change will occur slowly, which is for instance visible in the estimation that recognising sex differences can work as a lever for recognising socio-cultural gender issues. This more multidimensional understanding of knowledge integration can shed a different light on the knowledge gap and can lead to a more positive evaluation of the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society.

This insight is in line with findings from a study into the societal impact of the Humanities (Broek and Nijssen 2009). This study argues that a knowledge 'paradox' only exists when departing from a linear model in which research leads to innovation and subsequently to application, and that the paradox is hence 'solved' by conceptualising knowledge production and innovation as parallel processes. In agreement with this view, I conclude that a different conceptualisation of knowledge integration contributes to unravelling the knowledge gap. When not departing from a linear model of knowledge utilisation, one can perceive knowledge integration taking place before and during knowledge production, as well as after societal applications have come into existence. However, conceptualising knowledge integration differently cannot, I argue, explain away the knowledge gap completely. That is because what is left out of the picture are the power effects at work in knowledge transfer. Since my research shows that power differences clearly have an effect on knowledge integration, including positive but also negative influences on knowledge integration, part of the knowledge gap comes about through non-integration due to the impact of power differences.

To conclude, the perception of a knowledge gap can partly be explained by a limited definition of both knowledge and integration, and by taking into account the centrality of the focus on change in Women's Studies. Part of the knowledge gap's perceived size also rests on a misconception of knowledge transfer processes; understanding knowledge transfer and

integration from a multidimensional perspective can lead to a more positive account of the societal impact of Women's Studies knowledge. Still, a power gap has led to knowledge gaps.

### **Societal implications**

I assess that the insights in knowledge transfer as well as in the knowledge gap are relevant to other (interdisciplinary) fields with an orientation towards society. With an increased political call for 'knowledge valorisation', these fields may profit from understanding that valorisation also pertains to education and manifests itself in academically trained people. This seems especially relevant for the humanities and social sciences. After all, these disciplines are also involved in understanding the social world and generating new meanings (Gibbons et al. 1994).

Insights in the knowledge gap that results from power differences seem especially relevant for scholars in contextualised fields, or fields that are marked as 'political', such as environmental sciences, especially when contending with a (perceived) underutilisation of their knowledge. A more political and embodied approach to knowledge utilisation also seems relevant for those involved in defining and measuring knowledge utilisation, and for science policymakers who have the societal impact of research high on their agenda. Whereas knowledge utilisation is generally recognised in terms such as innovation and marketisation, especially in relation to the technical and natural sciences, my research shows that it is important to look beyond these terrains.

Ultimately, my research project is also of public interest. That is, with knowledge expectedly contributing to solving societal issues, a higher level of knowledge integration is beneficial to the public at large. Regarding the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in societal domains, this would imply a more informed dealing with gender issues, and because of the transformative character of Women's Studies knowledge would also mean a change in gender relations towards more equality.

## **8.4 Looking backwards and forwards**

Although my research provides more insight into processes of knowledge transfer and factors impacting knowledge integration, my project is limited in that only some knowledge domains and societal domains are included. For instance, considering the relatively small distance between the contexts of production and application in the Social Sciences and Humanities (Gibbons et al. 1994), and the practice-oriented character of Medicine, more research is necessary to see how the relation between these contexts affects the integration of knowledge in disciplines where the distance between production and application is larger. Yet, I deliberately included the Humanities as these were largely disregarded in research on the knowledge society and the valorisation of knowledge. Another question is what happens when dealing with knowledge integration in other societal domains, such as the business sector. It is possible that when other dynamics and interests, for example achieving economic value, are at stake, knowledge transfer processes may look different. In other words, while my research project offers new views on conceptualising and appraising the transfer and integration of knowledge that in any case are relevant for the knowledge domains and societal domains that I studied, its applicability for other disciplines and domains in society needs to be studied in more detail.

Another specificity of my research project is its national character. Looking back on my research, let me point out what seems most particularly Dutch. What stands out is that Women's Studies in the Netherlands was able to grow because of governmental subsidies. These subsidies enabled the young field of Women's Studies to explore new research themes,

for instance via the Promotion Committee for Emancipation Research (STEO). The government also allocated a large amount of emancipation money to women's organisations and societal initiatives concerned with women's position in society. These subsidies add to the possibilities of addressing gender issues in public places, an issue that Women's Studies graduates also pointed to when voicing concerns about subsidy cuts. Also, a great deal of research on gender issues is commissioned by the government and public institutions, partly resulting from and also resulting in a fairly high amount of interaction and cooperation between these actors and (feminist) researchers. This is well illustrated in the curriculum and Aspasia case studies and reflects the typically Dutch consensus model ('polder model') in approaching policy matters.

In all, these Dutch factors seem to have enhanced knowledge exchanges between academy and society, and positively contributed to the integration of knowledge about sex and gender in society. Yet, my research also shows that international actors like the European Commission play an important role in putting gender on the agendas of national actors, which in the Aspasia case for instance was helpful in achieving integration of knowledge about women in science. The curriculum case also highlighted that researchers try to find support for their cause by connecting to the UN and the WHO. Relating to organisations and developments in the international institutional landscape also may offer chances for Women's Studies in other countries. To conclude, it seems logical that my findings would apply to Women's Studies in countries in which the field is also characterised by a high level of institutionalisation and development. More studies are however necessary to compare the findings with information about knowledge transfer in countries with different levels of governmental support for gender issues and different levels of Women's Studies institutionalisation. More research is also needed to make country-specific knowledge available on how activities in the international landscape of policymaking and research, such as those of the European Commission, affect knowledge transfer and integration in countries dissimilar to the Netherlands.

## **Appendix I - List of interviewees**

### **Chapter 4. Curriculum change in medicine**

Toine Lagro-Janssen. Interview February 9, 2009, in Nijmegen.  
Petra Verdonk. Interview January 15, 2009, in Utrecht.  
Willibrord Weijmar Schultz. Interview October 28, 2009, in Groningen.

### **Chapter 5. The Aspasia programme**

Mineke Bosch. Interview March 13, 2008, in Maastricht.  
Eldrid Bringmann. Interview March 11, 2008, in Utrecht.  
Margo Brouns. Interview March 28, 2008, in Leeuwarden.  
Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen. Interview March 27, 2008, in Utrecht.

### **Chapter 6. The historical and cultural Canon of the Netherlands**

Maria Grever. Interview June 4, 2008, in Nijmegen.  
Els Kloek. Interview May 23, 2008, in The Hague.  
Susan Legêne. Interview May 26, 2008, in Utrecht.  
Frits van Oostrom. Interview June 13, 2008, in Utrecht.  
Evelien Rijsbosch. Interview December 16, 2009, in Amsterdam.

### **Chapter 7. Women's Studies graduates as knowledgeable actors**

#### ***Women's Studies students (fictitious names), interviews 2002, quoted***

Cindy, student at the University of Nijmegen, Anthropology, side jobs: sales assistant and clerical worker, age 24. Interview June 12, 2002.  
Claudia, student at Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, side jobs: clerical worker and teleservice worker, age 25. Interview May 24, 2002.  
Edith, PhD student at the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, second job: policy staffer, age 32. Interview April 11, 2002.

#### ***Women's Studies students (fictitious names), interviews 2002, not quoted***

Aukje, student at the University of Amsterdam, major Political Socio-Cultural Sciences, age 26. Interview April 2, 2002.  
Eva, student at the University of Amsterdam, major Political Socio-Cultural Sciences, side job: lawyer, age 35. Interview April 24, 2002.  
Harriet, student at the University of Nijmegen, major Women's Studies in the Social Sciences, age 50. Interview May 30, 2002.  
Nicole, student at Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, age 24. Interview March 13, 2002.  
Pauline, PhD student at the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, age 36. Interview April 10, 2002.  
Roos, PhD student at the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, second job: junior researcher, age 30. Interview March 7, 2002.

Trijntje, PhD student at the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, second job: freelancer, age 35. Interview May 7, 2002.

***Women's Studies graduates (fictitious names), interviews 2002, quoted***

Agnes, graduate from the VU University Amsterdam, Humanities, reporter/editor, age 30. Interview June 5, 2002.

Anne, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, public relations officer, age 30. Interview June 11, 2002.

Barbara, graduate from the University of Nijmegen, Sociology/major Women's Studies in the Social Sciences, researcher/consultant, age 29. Interview April 2, 2002.

Jacqueline, graduate from the University of Amsterdam, Political Sciences, advisor/researcher, age 26. Interview May 14, 2002.

Jennifer, graduate from the University of Nijmegen, Theology/Philosophy, HR advisor, age 40. Interview May 27, 2002.

Kate, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, junior researcher, age 26. Interview March 20, 2002.

Maria, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, policy staffer, age 28. Interview May 22, 2002.

Mireille, graduate from the University of Amsterdam, Sociology, officially qualified as unable to work, age 54. Interview May 7, 2002.

Monique, graduate from the University of Amsterdam, Political Sciences, unemployed, age 28. Interview May 13, 2002.

Nathalie, graduate from the University of Groningen, Andragology, policy staffer, age 33. Interview May 31, 2002.

Nora, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, ICT coordinator, age 31. Interview April 23, 2002.

Patricia, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, project manager, age 32. Interview May 28, 2002.

Simone, graduate from Utrecht University, Theology, manager, age 45. Interview June 3, 2002.

Suzanne, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, teacher/freelancer, age 34. Interview May 23, 2002.

Veronique, graduate from the University of Nijmegen and the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, Political Sciences, senior lecturer, age 35. Interview June 12, 2002.

***Women's Studies graduates (fictitious names), interviews 2002, not quoted***

Brigitte, graduate from Leiden University, Linguistics, freelancer, age 51. Interview May 16, 2002.

Caroline, graduate from the University of Nijmegen, Theology, freelancer, age 64. Interview March 5, 2002.

Gisela, graduate from the University of Nijmegen, Philosophy, teacher, age 50. Interview March 14, 2002.

Mascha, graduate from the University of Nijmegen, Theology, unemployed, age 43. Interview May 30, 2002.

Sue, graduate from Utrecht University, major Women's Studies in the Arts, volunteer, age 47. Interview April 25, 2002.

***Women's Studies graduates (fictitious names), interviews 2009, quoted***

Fiona, graduate from Utrecht University, MA Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics, policy staffer, age 27. Interview November 12, 2009.

Louise, graduate from Maastricht University, Health Sciences/major in Gender Studies, freelancer, age 36. Interview November 10, 2009.

Sandra, graduate from Radboud University Nijmegen, MA Gender History, policy staffer, age 26. Interview December 7, 2009.

## **Appendix II - Dissertations in Women's Studies Medicine**

Noordenbos, Greta. 1987. *Onbegrensde lijnen: Een onderzoek naar culturele en sexespecifieke factoren in de ontwikkeling van anorexia nervosa*. PhD diss., University of Groningen.

Davis, Kathy. 1988. *Power under the microscope. Toward a grounded theory of gender relations in medical encounters*. Dordrecht: Foris. PhD diss., VU University Amsterdam.

Knijn, Trudie, and Carla Verheijen. 1988. *Tussen plicht en ontplooiing: Het welbevinden van moeders met jonge kinderen in een veranderende cultuur*. Nijmegen: ITS. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Meeuwesen, Ludwien. 1988. *Spreekuur of zwijguur? Somatische fixatie en sekse-assymetrie tijdens het medisch consult*. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Mens-Verhulst, Janneke van. 1988. *Modelontwikkeling voor vrouw-en-hulpverlening: Op weg naar het land Symmetria* [Developing models in support of women's health care: On the way to the land of Symmetria]. Utrecht: ISOR. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Kolk, Annemarie. 1989. *Ontwikkelingsantecedenten van psychisch disfunctioneren, in het bijzonder de fobie*. Amsterdam: Thesis. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Draijer, Nel. 1990. *Seksuele traumatisering in de jeugd. Gevolgen op lange termijn van seksueel misbruik van meisjes door verwanten*. Amsterdam: SUA. PhD diss., VU University Amsterdam.

Kleiverda, Gunilla. 1990. *Transition to parenthood. Women's experiences of 'labour'*. Amsterdam: Wereldvenster. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

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## ***Appendix III - Summary of key knowledge products in the Aspasia case study***

### **Hoving et al. 1998. Women in science and humanities**

The authors portray the underrepresentation of women and people with another cultural background as underutilising talent as well as missing chances for scientific quality. It is argued that diversity - both in the composition of personnel and in the views about what constitutes knowledge - offers chances for academia because different viewpoints lead to alternative solutions and scientific innovations. In short, greater diversity in gender and ethnic and cultural background will enable higher academic quality.

The authors discuss explanations for the current vertical sex segregation, particularly highlighting that the organisational culture of universities is disadvantageous to women, but that policy measures largely ignore this symbolic level and are therefore ineffective. Financial cutbacks and reorganisations further hindered the effectiveness of policy measures. A main point is that the culture in universities associates quality with men, partly due to the dominance of the natural sciences. For instance, the explanation that women's academic output is lower than men's does not hold true when corrected for the fact that there are fewer publications in cultural sciences and in lower positions than in the natural sciences and in higher and full-time positions. Moreover, evaluating quality in terms of past performance disfavours innovative research. Combined with the excluding effects the peer review system can have on academics who are not yet established, newcomers and unconventional research proposals have less of a chance to succeed. The authors conclude that policies should focus on creating pluriformity and diversity in both personnel and in scientific approaches. This requires insight into the values that structure science. Diversity policies must form an integral part of mainstream policies.

Amongst other solutions, the authors recommend financing special chairs for women, setting target figures for women and people from different ethnic backgrounds at higher career levels, developing coherent selection protocols, establishing the percentage of female commission members, advancing specialisms in the area of diversity policy and in perspectives connected with gender and ethnicity, and stimulating Women's Studies and ethnic studies.

### **Portegijs 1998. Proportional positions soon?**

Studying the careers of lecturers and senior lecturers, Portegijs found that more women than men leave their university position, especially because of discomfort. Women's discomfort is rooted in two factors. First, women value the possibility to work part-time and appreciate cooperation with colleagues and supervisors more than men. Second, women are in a worse position: they more often have temporary contracts and work part-time, thus deviating from the (male) norm. At the same time, part-time workers are held to the same productivity standards as their full-time colleagues.

Both factors result in a limited vertical mobility for women: because of their discomfort with the culture, they are more likely to leave the university; and because they do not fit the norm, they remain in a marginal position as they are promoted less often. Portegijs shows that at the current level of upward mobility, it would take 51 years before a proportionate representation is reached. An important finding is that factors in women's private lives are not related to promotion chances, i.e. women do not leave the university to take care of children.

In addition, Portegijs found that current emancipation and Human Resources policies at universities are hardly helpful in reaching a proportionate representation. Only incentive

funding for women (senior) lecturers has positive effects on women's upward mobility.

Portegijs recommends: 1) Increase the vertical mobility of women scientists by implementing a policy for part-time work in which academic output is weighed against the number of working hours; open and objective selection procedures (with professional selectors to reduce the impact of sex stereotypes), and HR measures that focus on women (positive action, incentive funds for women). 2) Counter women's voluntary exits by diminishing women's discomfort. 3) Increase the mobility chances overall, e.g. by increasing the number of higher positions (flexible chairs for professors and personal senior lectureship for lecturers). 4) The Ministry of Education is advised to connect (financial) consequences to compliance to the WEV and (also addressing the VSNU) take into account that universities will only take measures when these are introduced at all universities.

### **Brouns 1999. The quality of the judgment**

Brouns studied the evaluation procedures and decision-making processes in the awarding of NWO Talent and PIONIER grants and KNAW fellowships to give insight into the relation between research qualifications and the awarding of research grants, specifically focussing on differences between the sexes in obtaining grants.

She found that for all subsidy forms the percentage of female applicants is very low. Based on the percentage of women PhDs, one would expect more female applicants for the Talent stipends and KNAW fellowships. In the case of NWO's Talent, this partly results from an uneven disciplinary distribution of the stipends, because disciplines with a relative high percentage of PhDs are underrepresented. The low percentage of women applicants for KNAW fellowships indicates that pre-selection by universities can have a negative effect on women. The age limit, fixed at 41, that was applied until recently, could have had a negative effect on the number of women applicants from 'alpha' and 'gamma' sciences in the PIONIER scheme. Further research is necessary to find out why so few women apply for Talent and PIONIER subsidies.

The study further shows that women and men have comparable success rates, but that there are big differences between disciplines. An analysis of two disciplines in the Talent scheme, one with respectively high success rates for women (Physical Sciences) and another with low success rates for women (Earth and Life Sciences), provides reason to believe that decision-making about women applicants differs from that about men applicants. The key academic qualities form a factor in decisions about men, but hardly play a role in decisions about women. Gender plays a strong, but contradictory, role in the decision-making about applicants from the two disciplines: in the Physical Sciences, women get bonus points for their sex, whereas being a woman in the Earth and Life Sciences gives you a worse chance at being accepted. The study suggests that women are not only judged on academic qualities, but that considerations related to gender and science are involved too. In general, women scored better on productivity, indicating that mechanisms of pre- and self-selection could have resulted in female applicants being better qualified than men. Further study into the gender effects of evaluation procedures and disciplinary differences is recommended. The study partly confirms the findings of Wennerås and Wold. Implicit discrimination in evaluating scientific competence is visible in Earth and Life Sciences and perhaps also plays a role in the Humanities. Contrary to the Swedish findings, Dutch women do pretty well in Medical Sciences.

The study also found that very few women are involved in evaluating applications. No women were present in the KNAW selection committees, and the peer reviewers are predominantly (older) male professors. The gender consciousness of secretaries, who have a big role in the PIONIER evaluations, is low: secretaries are not always aware of a possible gender bias in criteria and procedures, and only some have knowledge about the sex ratios in

their discipline. Only the Foundation for Fundamental Research on Matter (FOM) has an explicit policy to increase the number of women (applicants).

Recommendations: 1) Those responsible for selecting applications should have expertise on the subject matter. Attention should be paid to the transparency of selection procedures and to knowledge about 'gender effects'. 2) A distribution of stipends that reflects the disciplinary distribution of PhDs would increase women's share in the Talent stipends. 3) Given women's low success rates in the Humanities, a round table conference about this topic with universities, NWO, and KNAW is advisable. 4) Seek gender diversity in the pool of peer reviewers. 5) The selection processes at universities that precede the application must be studied. 6) NWO and KNAW need to make universities aware of the importance of women's participation in higher positions for an optimal future for Dutch academia. Universities ought to promote the recommendation of women for individual grants. 7) Due to possible gender effects in the evaluation of women's applications, boards of funding organisations are advised to re-evaluate applications that scored just below the threshold.

### **Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker 1999. In the heart of science**

This study highlights the benefits of a diverse workforce for the quality of science. The book illustrates that the underrepresentation of women and (ethnic) minorities is at the heart of science. The underrepresentation of women is explained as a complex multi-factored process. It points to factors related to emancipation policies (no broad commitment to emancipation; a gap between bureaucracy and science; reorganisations, financial cutbacks), highlighting that emancipation was predominantly a Human Resources problem that was not linked to the quality issue of research and education.

Women's underrepresentation is also related to the one-dimensional definition of quality that is used by academic management. An important conclusion is that representations of masculinity and femininity in relation to science negatively affect women's position in science (women do not fit the image of the scientist). The book also lists good practices in other countries.

It concludes that in order for women to exert influence on policy and practice, an increase in the number of women senior lecturers and professors is necessary, a development for which an explicit incentive policy for women (and financial support) is indispensable. Secondly, it is necessary to see gender and diversity as a quality issue.

In the final chapter of the book, Bosch recommends a plan for total e-quality and diversity in science and recommends the following actions: 1) Create extra chairs for women and blacks/migrants. NWO and KNAW could create special funds and use quota measures. The reservoir of potential women professors must be expanded. 2) Enlist gender equality and diversity goals linked to budgetary measures in agreements between government and universities. 3) Total e-quality and diversity policy is the responsibility of politics, management, and professionals. Mainstreaming requires (the input of) emancipation expertise. 4) Integrate gender and diversity studies in research and education, in combination with a discussion about the quality of science. 5) Install a national advisory and expert centre to make optimal use of gender expertise and to support the mainstreaming of policy.

### **Noordenbos 1999. Gender asymmetry**

Noordenbos studied the uneven share of women and men applying for NWO and KNAW grants. She found that the big obstacle for women lies in the trajectory that precedes the application phase. Opposing NWO's conclusion that the low number of women applicants roughly resembles the national statistics about women's underrepresentation in higher positions in universities, Noordenbos argues that the funding policies of NWO and KNAW in part account for the low number of women applicants. That is because several subsidies can

only be applied for by senior lecturers and professors, positions in which women are underrepresented, and because age limits in grant schemes until recently limited women's possibilities for applying. Other explanations for the low number of women applicants are that the most funding is available for the natural sciences, where women are underrepresented, and that the criteria of NWO and KNAW are implicitly based on a (male) scientist with full-time availability and few care responsibilities. The low numbers of women in evaluation committees and the extent to which women scientists are part of the networks of experts that evaluate research proposals needs further investigation.

Arguing that having more women researchers is beneficial for the development of scientific research, Noordenbos makes the following recommendations to increase the number of women applicants: 1) Universities should pay more attention to the vertical mobility of women in order for them to occupy positions that enable them to apply for grants and evaluate research proposals. 2) NWO and KNAW should take action to reduce a possible natural sciences bias. 3) Improve the conditions under which research proposals are written (encouragement, cooperation, and feedback at universities). 4) More research is necessary among potential applicants about (differences between) men and women's motivations affecting the decision to apply. 5) Increase women's participation in the evaluation of research proposals, by allowing experienced postdocs and (senior) lecturers to take part in evaluation committees. 6) Take measures to prevent the danger of nepotism.

#### **AWT 2000. Half-hearted science**

The AWT looks at women's underrepresentation as an existential problem for science, because institutions cannot allow themselves to disregard female potential and because a greater diversity can enhance the quality and innovation of teaching and research.

The report explains women's underrepresentation as follows. First, the rise of women in higher positions lags behind expectations: there are 'leaks in the pipeline'. Female academics in all age cohorts are two to three times less likely to become senior lecturers or professors than men. Second, part-time employment and the impact this has on academic output is a problem for women, because no adjustment is made for academics working part-time. However, even if women work full time and publish as much as men, this does not lead to equality in their positions. Third, women have more difficulty with the individualistic and competitive work culture and with the prevailing one-dimensional view of academic quality. The accumulation of subtle exclusion mechanisms and unfair treatment practices with a gender-bias has negative consequences for the position of female academics.

The AWT recommends the government to encourage and support policies in the institutions using the following strategies. 1) Strongly place the underrepresentation of women on the agenda. 2) Encourage the establishment of an expert centre to facilitate activities for supporting the policy process. 3) Introduce special incentives, augment the financial base of the Aspasia programme, and create a separate incentive for women professors. 4) Set targets through agreements about the participation of women in general research funds, such as in the IRIS. 5) Initiate a discussion about a broader definition of the quality of research (with special attention to the contribution of science to social development and responding to social issues and requirements).

#### **Van Vucht Tijssen 2000. Talent for the future, a future for talent**

This report presents an overview of bottlenecks in science personnel policy and a problem-solving action plan. The background to this report is the shortage of personnel that is expected due to the retirement of older staff and the unattractive career prospects for new researchers, and it also takes into account the underrepresentation of women in the academy.

The report identified the following as the main bottlenecks: The age-related issues at universities; a high number of staff is over 50 and universities do not yet have enough resources for the many researchers between 25 and 29. The poor image of universities as potential employers hinders the recruitment of new personnel. Exit of experienced researchers from 2003 onwards and difficulties in keeping young talent on board. Problems concerning the entry and upward mobility of women researchers; women's underrepresentation at higher academic levels will remain if no action is undertaken.

Van Vucht Tijssen notes that the Aspasia programme has a booster function for the research order as a whole, but that it cannot solve the problems of women's entry and upward mobility; it is a drop in the ocean.

Van Vucht Tijssen makes the following recommendations: 1) Improve and accelerate the upward mobility of young researchers and postdocs. 2) Science organisations need to replace the system of fixed formation (in which promotion depends on the availability of positions) with a career system based on quality and experience, for instance by installing personal professorships. This must be accompanied by a powerful Human Resources policy and stimulating academic leadership. 3) Science organisations need to improve the labour market position, for instance by ensuring a pleasant working climate. 4) Science organisations need to gear their policies towards greatly increasing the number of women senior lecturers and professors. Installing an expert centre on women in science can be a stimulus in this regard. 5) The government needs to support the organisations financially so they can employ available talent exceeding the existing positions.

### **Bosch and Potting 2001. Evaluation of Aspasia round 1**

This report evaluates the implementation of the first round of the Aspasia programme, which the evaluators call a great success. The evaluators conclude that the effort to promote lecturers to senior lecturers is adequate, given that the 'glass ceiling' for female academics is at the level of senior lecturer, as was demonstrated by Van Emmerik, Dekker, and Claringbould (2000). Aspasia brings the percentage of senior lecturers more in agreement with the actual recruitment potential, offering some compensation for the accumulative effect of small disadvantages to women. NWO and the universities funded 68 proposals, the majority of which come from the Social Sciences, Medical Sciences, and Humanities.

A negative side-effect is that there were unequal chances for women in different faculties. Some faculties argued that they could not sign the letter of support for financial reasons and some saw Aspasia as a breach of their autonomous personnel policy. Other faculties appealed to a shortage of positions to support their non-commitment. Another point worthy of attention is that the accumulation of selection procedures and the uncertainty about who evaluates what aspect of the proposal and the candidate has sometimes caused discontent.

The publicity about Aspasia regularly had a negative undertone, also in comparison with the publicity about IRIS that ran at almost the same time: Aspasia sometimes was portrayed as a programme for 'disadvantaged women' while IRIS researchers were depicted as 'outstanding researchers'. The little amount of money that NWO has reserved for Aspasia in comparison to the money available for IRIS could have brought about the idea that NWO does not take women's underrepresentation that seriously.

The low percentage of women applicants for IRIS (20%) and women's lower success rate (10%) could be due to gender effects in the programme and in the evaluation of women's applications. Mainstreaming gender in the IRIS could have resulted in a more favourable outcome for women.

To prevent an accumulation of selection procedures and criteria in the second round of Aspasia, the authors recommend that NWO instruct peer reviewers to evaluate the applicants

only on their capacity to supervise the proposed PhD or postdoc project and on the research experience of the applicant in view of her own research project, and that faculties should realise that they only evaluate the candidate's worthiness for senior lectureship. Other recommendations to NWO are: 1) Carefully inform universities to build support and to prevent misunderstandings about the division of financial means and responsibilities between NWO and the universities. 2) Mainstream gender policy in NWO, i.e. integrate it in all existing programmes and in the general policy. 3) A comparative study into publicity about Aspasia and IRIS is useful to analyse the 'hidden' gender text, to take into account its effects in later programmes.

Recommendations to universities/faculties/VSNV: 1) The possibilities for personal promotions should be made widely known to university leaders, so that the argument of a shortage of positions becomes unlikely. 2) In implementing a programme like Aspasia, universities could make better use of available gender expertise. 3) University boards could stimulate faculties more to develop a gender-aware career policy that takes into account the (small) accumulative disadvantages that women encounter and that result in an undervaluation of female potential.

Finally, recommendations are made to the Minister. Given the success of Aspasia and the extent of women's underrepresentation, the AWT's recommendation to enlarge the scope of the Aspasia programme remains in full force. In addition, recommendations that have been made by several bodies remain valid: create a national expert centre; continue and actively support the WEV; develop a coherent and integrated gender policy for higher education; use budgetary measures and contract compliance to support legislation and policy.

### **Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot 2003. Evaluation IRIS 2002**

Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot evaluate the 2002 rounds of IRIS, wherein 227 grants were awarded. According to the laureates, IRIS increases their status in the research community (especially for women) and enhances the chances for pioneering research (especially for men). Men more often than women estimate that their chances to become professor have increased due to IRIS.

The selection of candidates was done by selection committees via peer review. The committees were instructed to relate the evaluation of the academic output to effective research time. Some women laureates were amazed by the high degree of 'grey-haired men' in the selection committees; others were pleased that some women participated in the selection committees. The statistics do not show a systematic bias at the disadvantage of women.

Although the candidates personally send in a proposal, matching by and embedding in the universities is expected. Giving an institutional guarantee (the guarantee that the candidate's work will be embedded into the university's larger framework) is sometimes used as a means of pre-selection.

Universities in general have not made extra efforts to stimulate women to send in a research proposal. Men more often receive an institutional guarantee before the application (69% male, 51% female); although this is compensated for after the grants have been awarded. It seems that women have to put in more effort to convince universities of their candidacy. The success rates of women and men are about the same, with the exception of the first Veni round wherein women had twice as much chance to be awarded. The low share of female applicants (Veni 35%, Vidi 31%, Vici 13%) is a big source of worry. Universities will have to do more to stimulate women to send in research proposals.

Recommendations to NWO include: 1) Prevent pre-selection in NWO disciplines as much as possible. 2) Settle the institutional guarantee of (Veni and) Vidi candidates after their research has been awarded, so that negotiations will not be used as a means of selection due to

financial issues. 3) Avoid making use of referees that have not achieved the expected quality. 4) Pay more attention to the participation of women in the IRIS. The IRIS website could list the 'good practices' that some universities have used to stimulate women to send in research proposals and advertise the effects that these practices have accomplished.

Recommendations to universities include: 1) Set aside funds for the IRIS at the central level to diminish the chances for potential candidates in some disciplines to become discouraged from sending in a research proposal. 2) Make use of the examples of some universities in coaching and training applicants, without using this as a means of pre-selection.

### **Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003. Evaluation of the Aspasia programme**

This report evaluates the second round of Aspasia and examines whether the programme has attained its goal. The evaluators call Aspasia a great success. In the two rounds, 146 women received an Aspasia grant, raising the percentage of women senior lecturers to 14.4%. At least five Aspasia laureates from the first round have been promoted to professor.

Points of attention are that many faculties have set additional selection criteria, resulting in uneven chances for potential candidates; some candidates have criticised the evaluation of their proposal in the faculty and/or university; a small number of 'round 1' Aspasia laureates are still unsure about the prolongation of their promotion after five years.

The success of Aspasia shows the effectiveness of such a programme, but it also makes clear that women do not sufficiently succeed in acquiring research subsidies through regular grant schemes. Given that women's underrepresentation is a complex, multi-faceted process, structural measures are necessary (e.g. explicitly encouraging women to acquire research subsidies, using quota in NWO grant schemes, making selection procedures more transparent, and removing barriers to women).

The long-term effects of Aspasia are hard to predict. Little has changed in women's regular chances to move up. Aspasia has also generated some discussion; it is possible that its laureates encounter resistance because they have become senior lecturer through this incentive programme.

The main recommendation is that Aspasia is worthy of being continued - possibly in a number of years - provided that efforts are made to improve 'business as usual' to improve women's upward mobility chances at the same time. It is recommended that NWO perform a study into the representation of Aspasia compared to other grant schemes; consider evaluating the impact of Aspasia again in 2005 and 2007; and continue underlining the importance of incentive programmes to universities.

In case of a continuation of Aspasia, evaluating the research proposals by NWO exclusively (to prevent an accumulation of selection criteria and the rejection of research proposals on grounds other than content) needs to be considered. Universities are recommended to guarantee a contribution to extra costs for faculties with many women lecturers (to prevent faculties to exclude women lecturers from promotion for financial reasons). Boards need to convince faculties of the necessity of such a measure. In addition, the Minister is asked to enlarge the financial scope of the programme, so that the budget per grantee can be raised.

Recommendations for other measures to improve women's upward mobility are: a temporary incentive measure for women professors; a programme aimed at increasing women in higher academic management positions; and special attention to women in natural sciences. It is recommended that NWO mainstream gender policies, for instance by using gender quota. NWO and universities could do more to encourage women to send in research proposals for IRIS, possibly via coaching or mentoring programmes. Recommendations for universities are: make selection procedures more transparent; consider replacing the fixed formation system

with a career system, i.e. base promotions on the merits of academics instead of on available positions; create positions for appointments of women. Lastly, the Minister is advised to monitor the entry and mobility of women and to tackle the underrepresentation of women in the academy at the national level.

### **Van den Brink and Brouns 2006. Gender and excellence**

Van den Brink and Brouns studied the appointment procedures of professors at Dutch universities, focussing on whether gender mechanisms are at work in the procedures and in the evaluation of male and female candidates. They found that implicit/unconscious mechanisms are at work in selection and evaluation procedures that can negatively influence women's chances to be appointed as professor. Quite apart from women's competences, perceptions about women's ambitions and part-time work result in evaluating women as less suitable candidates. Especially in procedures with a scouting system, this leads to a gap between women's potential and actual appointments. Another finding is that the participation of women in selection committees improves women's chances to be appointed, especially when two or more women take part in the committee. No relation was found between open or closed selection procedures and the appointment of women.

Recommendations to improve selection procedures are: 1) Insight in the working of stereotypes, tokenism, and bias can contribute to more transparent and adequate selection procedures. Committee members should be trained in recognising this. 2) Making selection committees accountable for their selection, both in terms of quantity (reaching targets for women) and in terms of quality (for instance by taking into account different publication styles of men and women). 3) A balanced representation of men and women in committees improves the atmosphere and representativeness of the evaluation. Having one woman in the committee can result in tokenism. It is thus preferable to have no sex representing more than 60% of the committee.

Recommendations to improve women's career strategies are: 1) Mentoring and coaching of women can improve their visibility in committees and networks. 2) Personal chairs are important in women's careers. An effective measure is to appoint successful women on personal chairs to a functional chair.

### **Bongers et al. 2007. Evaluation IRIS 2002-2006**

This report evaluates IRIS over the years 2002-2006. Concerning the position of women in the IRIS, the most important findings are: most universities did not make specific efforts to stimulate women to send in research proposals. In 2002-2006, women made up 38% of Veni, 26% of Vidi, and 18% of Vici applicants. It is doubtful the universities have achieved their commitment to ensure that the percentage of female applicants is at least the same as that of women in the target group. The share of women applicants has increased during 2002-2006, and the percentage of women laureates in Veni was 39%, 27% in Vidi, and 18% in Vici. The success rates of women are thus lower in the higher echelons of the programme. NWO has achieved its result commitment that on average and in the long range the success rates of women would be at least as high as men's success rates.

Concerning the division across disciplines, the success rates of women in Physics and the Humanities are much higher than for men, whereas in the Chemical and Social Sciences women's success rates are a bit lower than men's. With the money from the Ministry of Education (the 'ViV-fund') eighteen extra women Vidi and Vici proposals have been awarded. Even without these extra awards, NWO would have achieved its commitment concerning the success percentages for female researchers.

The recommendation concerning women in the IRIS is to continue to pay attention to the position of women in the IRIS, especially to the share of women Vidi and Vici laureates.

## ***Appendix IV - The involvement of people in knowledge products***

### **Hoving et al. - Women in science and humanities - April 1998**

This brochure was written by Isabel Hoving, Margo Brouns, Agneta Fischer, Anneke Linders, and Monica Scholten, under the guidance of Hoving. It is the English summary of the report that they wrote in 1997 at the request of the AWT. Advisors to the study were Mineke Bosch, Mary Holthuis, Frans-Willem Korsten, Greta Noordenbos, and Gloria Wekker. People from the AWT and NGV assisted in the making of the brochure: Annette Geelink, renée hoogland, Lidwien Mol, and Margit van der Steen.

### **Portegijs - Proportional positions soon? - October 1998**

This report was written by Wil Portegijs from the Women's Studies department of Leiden University, together with Marga Brugman. The advisory board consisted of three people from the Ministry of Education (the commissioner of the study), among them Lex Oosterhuis; Willem Albert Wagenaar (Rector of Leiden University); and Joyce Outshoorn and Annelies van Vianen, Women's Studies experts from respectively Leiden University and the University of Amsterdam.

### **Brouns - The quality of the judgment - June 1999**

This report was written by Margo Brouns (Brouns & Sibbes research and support) with Monika Scholten (Belle van Zuylen Institute, University of Amsterdam) under the auspices of the NGV. The research team further consisted of researchers from the universities of Leiden (Ton van Raan), Groningen, and Amsterdam. The scientific advisory board included representatives from the NGV (chair Willy Jansen and director Margit van der Steen) and AWT (Lidwien Mol), Mineke Bosch (Maastricht University), Anneke van Doorne-Huiskes (Erasmus University Rotterdam), H. Sonneveld (ASSR, University of Amsterdam), and Joan van der Waals (Leiden University).

The study was commissioned and sponsored by the Ministry of Education (EC 2000), and carried out with the cooperation of NWO and KNAW; conversations were held with, for instance, Ine van den Heuvel (KNAW), Wim Hutter (director of NWO), and Eldrid Bringmann (NWO policymaker). The latter received special thanks in the preface of the report for having supported the research and having paved the way for increased gender awareness at NWO. Wim Sillevius Smitt and Janny Consoline from NWO were also thanked.

### **Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker - In the heart of science - October 1999**

This study was written by Mineke Bosch, Isabel Hoving, and Gloria Wekker. Bosch is senior lecturer at the Centre for Gender and Diversity of Maastricht University and a member of the ETAN Workgroup Women and Science. Hoving and Wekker are experts in gender and ethnicity, employed respectively at the University of Antwerp/Leiden and Utrecht University.

The advisory board consisted of members from LOEKWO (Naomi Ellemers, Monic Hodes, and Ellen van Oost); the Centre for Gender and Diversity of Maastricht University (Maaïke Meijer) and from the AWT (Jozien Bensing, Annemarie Mol, Lidwien Mol, and Véronique Timmerhuis). The AWT was the commissioner of this study. The preface of the book is written by AWT chair Ben Veltman.

### **Noordenbos - Gender asymmetry - December 1999**

Greta Noordenbos conducted this study into gender asymmetry in applying for research subsidies at NWO and KNAW. She is a lecturer at the Joke Smit Women's Studies Institute of Leiden University and works at the department Women's Studies Medicine of Maastricht

University. Noordenbos thanks Eldrid Bringmann and Harm Prins from NWO and Ton van Raan from Leiden University for information and comments. The results of her study were published in the Dutch *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*.

#### **AWT - Half-hearted science - January 2000**

The AWT wrote this report at the request of the Ministry of Education. Véronique Timmerhuis and Jozien Bensing played a major role in the writing of the advice (Interviews Bosch and Van Vucht Tijssen). The report is partially based on the AWT background study by Bosch, Hoving, and Wekker (1999) and on the 'Women in Science' conference of 12 October 1999.

#### **Van Vucht Tijssen - Talent for the future, a future for talent - June 2000**

The author of this report, Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, was project leader of the study and chair of the commission that the Ministry of Education installed for this study. The report is written together with Egbert de Weert (CHEPS, Twente University) in close consultation with VSNU, NWO, KNAW, TNO, and AWT.

Advisors in the steering committee were Jozien Bensing (AWT), Hans Chang (FOM), Ronald Westerhof (TNO), Peter van der Vliet (KNAW), and several (vice-) chairs of university boards. The working group consisted of R.H. Derksen (Ministry of Education) Lex Oosterhuis (the Ministry of Education), Theo Peperkamp (VSNU), Wim Sillevius Smitt (NWO), Huub van Wersch (KNAW), and Bert Wiersema (VSNU).

In May 2000, a final meeting was organised to discuss the action plan. Many people participated in this meeting, among them Trudy Knijn (LOEKWO), Margit van der Steen (NGV), Greta Noordenbos (Women's Studies Institute of Leiden University), Marianne Potting (emancipation officer Maastricht University), Els Veenis (women's network Utrecht University), and Ilja Mottier (Ministry of Education).

#### **Bosch and Potting - Evaluation of Aspasia round 1 - March 2001**

This report was written on behalf of the NGV by Mineke Bosch and Marianne Potting and financially supported by NWO. Both authors work at the Centre for Gender and Diversity of Maastricht University. The advisory board consisted of Eldrid Bringmann (NWO policymaker in charge of the Aspasia programme), Jaap Franse (University of Amsterdam), Harry Lutikholt (VSNU), Trudy Knijn (LOEKWO chair), and Marianne Bast-Huls (secretary LOEKWO). The evaluation was carried out in cooperation with LOEKWO, which commissioned the study.

#### **Boekholt, Bongers, and De Groot - Evaluation of IRIS 2002 - August 2003**

The *Evaluation of IRIS 2002* was written by staff members of Technopolis and Dialogic: Ptries Boekholt, Frank Bongers, and Hilde de Groot. Advisors to the evaluation were representatives from VSNU/Utrecht University (Stephan van Galen/Eldrid Bringmann), KNAW (Patricia Vogel), the Ministry of Education (Francien Heijs), the National Postdoc Platform (Karin Mattern), and NWO (Wilma van Donselaar, chair of the advisors). This evaluation was commissioned by NWO.

For the evaluation, the authors interviewed many people, among them representatives from universities, KNAW board member Peter van der Vliet, VSNU president Ed d'Hondt, and NWO board member Aafke Hulk.

#### **Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik - Evaluation of the Aspasia programme - September 2003**

The *Evaluation of the Aspasia programme* was carried out by the NGV. The authors of the

report are all related to the NGV: Akke Visser (coordinator), Manon Dierdorp (intern), and Hetty van Emmerik (board member). Advisors to the report were Mineke Bosch (Maastricht University), Margo Brouns (University of Groningen), Robert Maier (Utrecht University), Wilma van Donselaar (NWO, the successor of Eldrid Bringmann, the previous Aspasia coordinator), and Marjolijn Verspoor (chair of LOEKWO). LOEKWO commissioned the evaluation.

#### **Van den Brink and Brouns - Gender and excellence - October 2006**

The authors of this report, Marieke van den Brink and Margo Brouns, both work at the University of Groningen. Advisors to the study were Lex Oosterhuis/Denise Heiligers (Ministry of Education), Hella van de Velde/Els Veenis (Ministry of Social Affairs), André Kouwenberg (VSNU), and Caren van Egten (on behalf of the board of the LNVH). Comments and suggestions were given by Sietske Wallander and Ine Gremmen (University of Groningen), Willy Jansen and Yvonne Benschop (Radboud University Nijmegen), and Linda Vaessen. Among the other persons who supported the study is Els Goulmy (Leiden University). The study was commissioned by the Ministry of Education.

#### **Bongers et al. - Evaluation of IRIS 2002-2006 - June 2007**

NWO assigned the *Evaluation of the IRIS over the period 2002-2006* to Technopolis and Dialogic. The report was written by staff members, two of whom were involved in the evaluation of IRIS' 2002 round. The authors are Frank Bongers, Patries Boekholt, Wieneke Vullings, Sander Kern, Barbera van den Berg, and Jon van Til.

For the evaluation, the authors had conversations with many people, among them IRIS laureates and representatives from universities, the Ministry of Education (Denise Heiligers, Francien Heijs), KNAW, NWO (chair Peter Nijkamp), and VSNU (president Sijbolt Noorda).

## **Appendix V - Exchange of knowledge at meetings**

### **AWT conference ‘Women in Science’ (12 October 1999)**

The conference was opened and presided over by Ben Veltman, chair of the AWT. This was followed by plenary speeches from Loek Hermans, the Minister of Education; Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, vice-president of the Utrecht University board and chair of the VSNU taskforce ‘Women’s upward mobility’; and Mineke Bosch, senior lecturer of the Centre for Gender and Diversity of Maastricht University. In addition, speeches were given by Jytte Hilden, former Danish Minister of Research and Information Technology, and Geoffrey Oldham, chair of the UN’s ‘Women in science’ working group.

Van Vucht Tijssen gave a presentation about the work of the VSNU ‘Women’s upward mobility’ taskforce. Bosch presented the 1999 AWT background study in a plenary session. Results from two other studies were presented in workshops. Margo Brouns presented results from her 1999 research on evaluation procedures and decision-making in the awarding of NWO and KNAW research grants, which was followed by reactions from the vice-chair of NWO, Douwe Breimer, the president of the KNAW, Rob Reneman, and the Rector of the University of Nijmegen, Theo van Els. The workshop about the (un-) attractiveness of an academic career was introduced by Portegijs, reporting on her 1998 study, and by Wim Hutter from NWO, reporting on NWO’s measures to improve the appeal of an academic career. Two other workshops took place: one dealt with effective representation, focussing on gender and the perception of academic quality, with a lecture from Maaïke Meijer (Maastricht University). The other workshop was about the government’s possible and required role and duty in this issue. This workshop was introduced by Jacques van Velzen (Ministry of Education) and Rien Meijerink (VSNU president).

Among the people who attended the conference were Karl Dittrich (chair of the board of Maastricht University), Annelies van Vianen and Joan van der Waals (Leiden University), Heleen Sancisi (Utrecht University), Margit van der Steen and Willy Jansen (NGV), Eldrid Bringmann (NWO), Els Goulmy (LNVH chair), Ellen van Oost (LOEKWO chair), Veronique Timmerhuis (AWT), and Ine van den Heuvel (KNAW). They were all especially invited for the conference.

The AWT conference was closed by NWO chair Reinder van Duinen.

### **NWO meeting about the future of Aspasia (18 September 2003)**

The results of the NGV evaluation of the Aspasia programme (Visser, Dierdorp, and Van Emmerik 2003) were presented by Akke Visser at an NWO meeting where leaders and policymakers of universities, NWO, and the Ministry of Education, as well as Aspasia laureates discussed the Aspasia programme, possible alternatives, and accompanying measures. Eldrid Bringmann was present too (Interview Bringmann).

Speakers at this meeting were Aafke Hulk (resigning member of the NWO board), Els Goulmy (chair LNVH), José van Eijndhoven (chair of the executive board of Erasmus University Rotterdam), Margo Brouns, Mineke Bosch, and Alice ter Meulen (entering member of the NWO board).

## **Appendix VI - Women's History journals, yearbooks, and bibliographies**

*Historica* / 1995-

Journal of the Dutch Association for Women's History (VVG). Continuation of *Vrouwengeschiedenisblad* (VVG-blad) 1990-1994 and *Vrouwengeschiedeniskrant* 1978-1990.

*Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* / 1980-

Since 1980, the Stichting Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis publishes the Yearbook for Women's History. Initially it contained separate articles, nowadays the yearbook centres on a specific theme. [www.iisg.nl/~womhist/jvv-toc.html](http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/jvv-toc.html) has the indexes of all issues of the Yearbook.

*Een tipje van de sluier: Vrouwengeschiedenis in Nederland* / 1978-2000

A twelve-volume book series published under the auspices of the Dutch Association for Women's History (VVG).

*Vrouwengeschiedenis in het vaktijdschrift: Een bibliografie van artikelen*

Printed bibliography of articles about women's history in professional journals. This series started in 1990 by Els Kloek as a project at the Utrecht University History Department. The first edition (1991) covers the period 1975-1989; edited by Irmgard Broos et al. The second edition (1992) covers the period 1990-1991; edited by Els Kloek and Els Stoffers. The third edition (1995) covers the period 1992-1994; edited by Els Kloek, Marijke Huisman, and Petra Dreiskämper. The series was published by the Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Continued as ViVa.

*ViVa: Vrouwengeschiedenis in het Vaktijdschrift* / 1995- [www2.iisg.nl/viva/](http://www2.iisg.nl/viva/)

ViVa is a current bibliography of articles about gender and women's history in historical and women's studies journals. Articles published in English, French, German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are selected from 180 European, American, Canadian, Asian, Australian, and New Zealand journals. The ViVa database describes about 12.000 articles published since 1975. The database is maintained by the International Institute of Social History.

*Online Dictionary of Dutch Women* / 2003- [www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN](http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN)

The 'Online Dictionary of Dutch Women' (Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland) provides information about the most remarkable women in the history of the Netherlands and its overseas territories from the earliest times up to around 1850. It consists of concise biographies of women who once were famous, infamous, or influential, but have often faded into obscurity. The Dictionary was started in 2003 on the initiative of Els Kloek. Currently, more than 800 women's lives are described, and part of the dictionary is translated into English.

## Appendix VII - Dissertations in Women's History

This appendix lists PhD dissertations in the field of Women's History in chronological order. The list is not meant to give a complete overview of dissertations in the field of Women's History but rather to illustrate the available expertise. It also includes dissertations in fields such as Literary Sciences and Sociology written from an historical perspective.

Essen, Mineke van. 1985. *Onderwijzeressen in niemandsland. Beroepsontwikkeling in Nederland 1827-1858*. PhD diss., University of Groningen.

Sevenhuijsen, Selma L. 1987. *De orde van het vaderschap. Politieke debatten over ongehuwd moederschap, afstamming en het huwelijk in Nederland, 1870-1900*. Amsterdam: IISG. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Brandenburg, Angenies Maria. 1988. *Annie Romein-Verschoor 1895-1978, Leven en werk*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Dijk, Suzan van. 1988. *Traces de Femmes. Présence féminine dans le journalisme français du XVIIIe siècle*. Amsterdam: APA-Holland Univ. Press. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Meijer, Maaïke. 1988. *De lust tot lezen. Nederlandse dichters en het literaire systeem* [Lust for letters. Dutch women-poets and the literary system]. Amsterdam: Van Gennep. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Schwegman, Marjan. 1989. *Feminisme als boetedoening: Biografie van de Italiaanse schrijfster en feministe Gualberta Alaide Beccari (1842-1906)*. The Hague: Nijgh & Van Ditmar. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Jansz, Ulla. 1990. *Denken over sekse in de eerste feministische golf*. Amsterdam: Sara. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Kloek, Els. 1990. *Wie hij zij, man of wijf. Vrouwengeschiedenis en de vroegmoderne tijd: drie Leidse studies*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Withuis, Jolande. 1990. *Opoffering en heroïek. De mentale wereld van een communistische vrouwenorganisatie in naoorlogs Nederland 1946-1976* [Sacrifice and heroism. The mental world of a communist women's organisation in the post-war Netherlands]. Meppel: Boom. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Drenth, Annemieke van. 1991. *De zorg om het Philipsmeisje. Meisjes in de elektronische industrie 1900-1960 in Eindhoven*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers. PhD diss., Leiden University.

Janssens, Angélique. 1991. *Family and social change. The household as a process in an industrializing community*. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Boven, Erica van. 1992. *Een hoofdstuk apart: 'Vrouwenromans' in de literaire kritiek, 1898-1930* [A chapter in its own right: The reception of women's novels in literary criticism]. Amsterdam: Sara/Van Gennep. PhD diss., University of Groningen.

- Braun, Marianne. 1992. *De prijs van de liefde: De eerste feministische golf, het huwelijksrecht en de vaderlandse geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Haan, Francisca de. 1992. *Sekse op kantoor. Over vrouwelijkheid, mannelijkheid en macht, Nederland 1860-1940* [Gender in the office. On femininity, masculinity and power, the Netherlands]. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Bervoets, Liesbeth. 1993. *Opvoeden tot sociale verantwoordelijkheid: De verzoening van wetenschap, ethiek en sekse in het sociaal werk in Nederland rond de eeuwwisseling*. PhD diss., Wageningen University and Research Centre. (Also published as: Amsterdam: IISG, 1994.)
- Bussemaker, Jet. 1993. *Betwiste zelfstandigheid: Individualisering, sekse en verzorgingsstaat*. Amsterdam: SUA. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Aerts, Mieke. 1994. *De politiek van de katholieke vrouwenemancipatie: Van Marga Klompé tot Jacqueline Hillen*. Amsterdam: SUA. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Bosch, Mineke. 1994. *Het geslacht van de wetenschap. Vrouwen en hoger onderwijs in Nederland 1878-1948* [The gender of science. Women and higher education in the Netherlands]. Amsterdam: SUA. PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Eijl, Corrie J. van. 1994. *Het werkzame verschil. Vrouwen in de slag om arbeid 1898-1940*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Utrecht University.
- Everard, Myriam. 1994. *Over liefde en lust tussen vrouwen in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw*. Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij. PhD diss., Leiden University.
- Grever, Maria. 1994. *Strijd tegen de stilte. Johanna Naber (1859-1941) en de vrouwenstem in geschiedenis* [Struggle against the silence. Johanna Naber and women's voice in history]. Hilversum, Verloren. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.
- Eijt, José. 1995. *Religieuze vrouwen: bruid, moeder, zuster. Geschiedenis van twee Nederlandse zustercongregaties, 1820-1940*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.
- Mossink, Marijke. 1995. *De levenbrengsters. Over vrouwen, vrede, feminisme en politiek in Nederland 1914-1940*. Amsterdam: IISG. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Costera Meijer, Irene. 1996. *Het persoonlijke wordt politiek. Feministische bewustwording in Nederland 1965-1980* [The personal becomes political. Feminist consciousness-raising in the Netherlands]. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Monteiro, Marit. 1996. *Geestelijke maagden. Leven tussen klooster en wereld in Noord-Nederland gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.
- Poelstra, Jannie. 1996. *Luiden van een andere beweging: Huishoudelijke arbeid in Nederland (1840-1920)*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

- Pol, Lotte C. van de. 1996. *Het Amsterdams hoerdom: Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek. PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Waaldijk, Berteke. 1996. *Het Amerika der vrouw. Sekse en geschiedenis van maatschappelijk werk in Nederland en de Verenigde Staten, 1890-1950* [A new world for women. Gender and history of social work in the Netherlands and the United States]. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff. PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Dudink, Stefan. 1997. *Deugdzaam liberalisme. Sociaal-liberalisme in Nederland 1870-1901*. Amsterdam: IISG. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Grotenhuis, Saskia. 1997. *Op zoek naar middelbaar onderwijs: het VHMO in discussie tussen 1900 en 1970*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Mak, Geertje. 1997. *Mannelijke vrouwen. Over grenzen van sekse in de negentiende eeuw*. Meppel/Amsterdam: Boom. PhD diss., Utrecht University.
- Vries, Petra de. 1997. *Kuisheid voor mannen, vrijheid voor vrouwen: De reglementering en bestrijding van prostitutie in Nederland, 1850 - 1911*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.
- Misset-van de Weg, Magda. 1998. *Sara & Thecla: Verbeelding van vrouwen in 1 Petrus en de Acta Theclae*. PhD diss., Utrecht University.
- Ribberink, Anneke. 1998. *Leidsvrouwen en zaakwaarneemsters: Een geschiedenis van de aktiegroep Man Vrouw Maatschappij (MVM), 1968-1973*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., VU University Amsterdam.
- Sturkenboom, Dorothée. 1998. *Spectators van hartstocht: Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.
- Tilburg, Marja van. 1998. *Hoe hoorde het? Seksualiteit en partnerkeuze in de Nederlandse adviesliteratuur 1780-1890*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. PhD diss., University of Groningen.
- Wilde, Inge de. 1998. *Nieuwe deelgenoten in de wetenschap: Vrouwelijke studenten en docenten aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen 1871-1919*. Assen: Van Gorcum. PhD diss., University of Groningen.
- Huisman, Greddy. 2000. *Tussen salon en souterrain: Gouvernantes in Nederland 1800-1940*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker. PhD diss., University of Groningen.
- Jeu, Annelies de. 2000. *'t Spoor der dichtersessen'. Netwerken en publicatiemogelijkheden van schrijvende vrouwen in de Republiek (1600-1750)*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Utrecht University.
- Veltman-Van den Bos, Ans J. 2000. *Petronella Moens (1762-1843): De vriendin van 't vaderland*. Nijmegen: Vantilt. PhD diss., University of Nijmegen.

Groot, Gertjan de. 2001. *Fabricage van verschillen: Mannenwerk, vrouwenwerk in de Nederlandse industrie (1850-1940)* [Manufacturing differences: Men's work, women's work in Dutch industry]. Amsterdam: Aksant. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Hammer-Stroeve, Tina. 2001. *Familiezoet: Vrouwen in een ondernemerselite, Enschede 1800-1940*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Jensen, Lotte. 2001. *'Bij uitsluiting voor de vrouwelijke sekse geschikt': Vrouwentijdschriften en journalistes in Nederland in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

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Marcus-de Groot, Yvette. 2003. *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer. De eerste generatie in Nederland voor 1921* [Women art historians in the Netherlands: Pioneers before 1921]. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Baar, Mirjam de. 2004. *'Ik moet spreken'. Het spiritueel leiderschap van Antoinette Bourignon (1616-1680)* ['I must speak'. The spiritual leadership of Antoinette Bourignon]. Zutphen: Walburg Pers. PhD diss., University of Groningen.

Groot, Marjan. 2004. *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940*. PhD diss., Leiden University. (Also published as: Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2007.)

Kruyswijk-Van Thiel, Sophia. 2004. *Het vrouwenkorps-KNIL*. Amsterdam: Dutch Univ. Press. PhD diss., Tilburg University.

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Veld, Simone. 2005. *Tot lof van vrouwen? Retorica, sekse en macht in paradoxale vrouwenloven in de Nederlandse letterkunde (1578-1662)* [In praise of women? Rhetoric, gender and power in paradoxical praises of women in Dutch literature]. Utrecht: Utrecht University. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Verheggen, Evelyne. 2006. *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht. Bid- en devotieprenten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 17de en 18de eeuw*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers. PhD diss., Radboud University Nijmegen.

Derks, Marjet. 2007. *Heilig moeten. Radicaal-katholiek en retro-modern in de jaren twintig en dertig*. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Radboud University Nijmegen.

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Hengel, Louis van den. 2009. *Imago. Romeinse keizersbeelden en de belichaming van gender* [Sculpting the self. Roman imperial representations and subjective embodiment in the context of ethico-aesthetic praxis]. Hilversum: Verloren. PhD diss., Radboud University Nijmegen.

Tijsseling, Anna. 2009. *Schuldige seks. Homoseksuele zedendelicten rondom de Duitse bezettingstijd*. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

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## ***Nederlandse samenvatting (Dutch summary)***

Dit proefschrift gaat over de overdracht van kennis over sekse en gender naar domeinen binnen en buiten de academie. Het belangrijkste academische veld dat kennis over sekse en gender produceert is vrouwenstudies. In Nederland heeft dit veld zich sinds de jaren '70 ontwikkeld tot een duidelijk omljnd gebied van onderzoek en onderwijs. Vrouwenstudies richt zich zowel op theoretische ontwikkeling als op het leveren van een bijdrage aan het verbeteren van de positie van vrouwen in de samenleving. Veel beoefenaars van vrouwenstudies ervaren echter een discrepantie tussen hun ambities om kennis over sekse en gender in de samenleving te doen gelden en de mate waarin die kennis in maatschappelijke domeinen wordt gebruikt. Kortom, er is een vrouwenstudieskenniskloof.

Er is geen uitgebreid onderzoek gedaan naar de redenen voor het geconstateerde gebrek aan overdracht en integratie van kennis over sekse en gender en in de vrouwenstudiesdiscussies over de kenniskloof ontbreekt het aan precieze en volledige informatie over hoe kennis wordt overgedragen naar en geïntegreerd in de maatschappij. Ten behoeve van vrouwenstudiesbeoefenaars beoogt dit proefschrift bij te dragen aan een beter begrip van de manier waarop kennisoverdracht plaatsvindt en een beter inzicht in de factoren die de integratie van kennis over sekse en gender beïnvloeden.

Om inzicht te krijgen in het complexe proces van kennisoverdracht zijn vier case studies verricht waarin drie specifieke domeinen aan bod komen: beleid, universitair onderwijs en de civil society. Vanwege het interdisciplinaire karakter van vrouwenstudies is kennis uit verschillende vakgebieden onderzocht: sociale wetenschappen, geneeskunde en geesteswetenschappen. Aansluitend op de betekenis van kennis als kennisproducten en belichaamde kennis is ook specifiek onderzocht hoe kennis doordringt via de professionele en maatschappelijke activiteiten van vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden.

De kennissociologie vormt het theoretische kader voor het onderzoek, waarbij gebruikgemaakt is van theorieën uit kennisutilisatie, feministische wetenschapsstudies en Mode 2. Het belang van de kennisutilisatietheorieën (o.a. Huberman, Landry) is dat ze concrete factoren aanwijzen die op de integratie van kennis in de maatschappij van invloed kunnen zijn; ze wijzen in het bijzonder op de interacties tussen kennisproducenten en -gebruikers. Zich richtend op de sociaal-politieke context die kennisproductie beïnvloedt, vragen feministische wetenschapsstudies (Hartsock, Harding, Haraway) aandacht voor het feit dat kennis doordrongen is van macht en voor de mogelijke machtsverschillen tussen de actoren in processen van kennisoverdracht. Mode 2 (o.a. Gibbons, Nowotny) benadrukt de wederzijdse relaties tussen wetenschap en samenleving en vat kennis specifiek op als kennisproducten en als academisch opgeleide mensen. Door het combineren van deze theoretische benaderingen beoogt dit proefschrift ook een bijdrage te leveren aan het verbeteren van theorieën over kennisoverdracht en -integratie.

### ***Hoe gaat kennisoverdracht in zijn werk?***

Mijn onderzoek laat zien dat er verschillende manieren van kennisoverdracht zijn. In de eerste case zetten beoefenaars van vrouwenstudies geneeskunde een innovatief project op waarin ze gerichte acties ondernemen om genderspecifieke kennis in medische curricula te integreren. In de case over Aspasia, een stimuleringsprogramma om vrouwen door te laten stromen naar hogere posities binnen de universiteit, zien we verschillende interacties tussen vrouwenstudiesbeoefenaars en maatschappelijke actoren in het produceren, verspreiden en integreren van kennis over vrouwen in de wetenschap. In de case over de Canon van Nederland vragen vrouwenhistorici zowel via het maatschappelijk debat als door deelname in de commissie die de canon van de Nederlandse cultuur en geschiedenis ontwikkelde aandacht

voor gender in de Canon. De case over de vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden toont dat kennisoverdracht ook plaatsvindt buiten specifieke projecten of gerichte acties, maar tegelijkertijd dat de afgestudeerden een duidelijke motivatie hebben om hun kennis in te zetten in hun werk.

Dit onderzoek maakt, zoals verwacht op basis van Mode 2, inzichtelijk dat de productie, disseminatie en integratie van kennis geen duidelijk onderscheiden fasen in het proces van kennisoverdracht zijn. De productie van kennis over vrouwen in de wetenschap, bijvoorbeeld, kwam veelal tot stand door opdrachtonderzoek. Vertegenwoordigers van onderzoeksorganisaties traden op als adviseurs bij het onderzoek en waren zo al op de hoogte van kennis voordat er onderzoeksrapporten verschenen. Onderzoek en beleid ontwikkelen zich dus gelijktijdig, ingegeven door, in het voorbeeld van Aspasia, zorgen van onderzoekers en onderzoeksorganisaties over onder andere seksisme in beoordelingsprocedures. Al deze aspecten drukken uit dat er nauwe banden bestaan tussen wetenschap en samenleving en dat kennisproductie een gecontextualiseerde activiteit is.

Kennis wordt verspreid via onderzoeksrapporten en andere publicaties maar ook via het publieke debat, zoals in de Canon case, via directe contacten met gebruikers, zoals in de curriculum case, en via congressen en andere bijeenkomsten. Deze bijeenkomsten zijn plaatsen waar kennis uitgewisseld wordt tussen kennisproducenten, -gebruikers en intermediaire actoren. Disseminatie van kennis is dan ook geen eenrichtingsverkeer, maar een interactief proces waarin actoren onderhandelen over kennis; dit communicatieaspect wordt benadrukt door kennisutilisatietheorieën. Afhankelijk van hun machtsposities gaan vrouwenstudiesonderzoekers allianties aan met machtige(re) of neutrale(re) personen en organisaties om hun kennis breed te verspreiden en kracht bij te zetten. Zij stemmen hun kennis ook af op gebruikers, onder andere door het aanpassen van terminologieën, het gebruiksklaar maken van kennis en het benadrukken van het belang van handelen naar bepaalde inzichten. In de Aspasia case benadrukken onderzoekers bijvoorbeeld dat het vergroten van het aandeel van vrouwen in de wetenschap ook kan leiden tot een groter innovatief vermogen van de wetenschap.

Mijn onderzoek maakt duidelijk dat kennisoverdracht een sociaal proces is. Zoals verondersteld door Mode 2 is het een proces waarin mensen een belangrijke rol spelen. Mijn interviews met vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden laten zien dat deze academici niet zomaar mensen zijn die iets weten maar dat ze 'change agents' zijn. Hun opleiding resulteert in genderkennis, specifieke en persoonlijke vaardigheden en sociaal en politiek engagement. Veel afgestudeerden hebben het over een 'genderbril' waarmee ze naar de maatschappij kijken, een bepaald perspectief op de werkelijkheid, waardoor ze maatschappelijke ongelijkheden waarnemen. Ze zetten ook verschillende strategieën in om hieraan iets te veranderen.

### ***Hoe kunnen we kennisintegratie opvatten?***

Een van de veronderstellingen in mijn onderzoek is dat integratie van kennis over sekse en gender een verandering in machtsverhoudingen met zich meebrengt. Mijn onderzoek laat zien dat kennisintegratie soms, of gedeeltelijk, een effect heeft op normen die ten grondslag liggen aan sociale praktijken. In de Canon case, bijvoorbeeld, bekritiseerden gender experts het concept van een canon vanwege zijn uitsluitend en gegenderd karakter. De canoncommissie was zich van dit inzicht bewust, maar de Canon zelf reflecteert een geschiedenis die de ongelijke genderverhoudingen waarop het historische verhaal gebaseerd is eerder versterkt dan ter discussie stelt. In de uiteenzettingen bij de Canon worden kennisclaims over uitsluitingsmechanismen echter wel specifiek genoemd en geeft de canoncommissie aan dat in het middelbaar onderwijs meer aandacht besteed dient te worden aan marginale groepen en figuren.

De Aspasia case laat zien dat onderzoeksorganisaties het probleem van de ondervertegenwoordiging van vrouwen in hoge wetenschappelijke posities vooral zien als een numeriek probleem. Het oorspronkelijke Aspasia programma veranderde niets aan de universitaire cultuur en liet de bestaande beoordelings- en selectiepraktijken intact. Kennisclaims over de werking van gendernormen in deze praktijken werden niet geïntegreerd. Kennis over vrouwen in de wetenschap werd dus op een gedepolitiseerde manier geïntegreerd. Doordat Aspasia resulteerde in een hoger percentage vrouwelijke universitair hoofddocenten veranderde er echter wel iets aan de genderverhoudingen binnen universiteiten. In Aspasia nieuwe stijl, het vervolg op Aspasia waarin het opgenomen werd in de Vernieuwingsimpuls, worden normatieve kwesties wel meegenomen. Met NWO's afspraak om het slagingspercentage van vrouwelijke indieners minstens zo hoog te laten zijn als dat van hun mannelijke collega's wordt het inzicht geïntegreerd dat selecties niet gebaseerd zijn op meritocratische principes.

Mijn onderzoek laat zien dat er verschillende vormen en typen van kennisintegratie zijn en dat verschillende niveaus van kennis geïntegreerd kunnen worden. Mode 2 vestigt de aandacht op de verschillende vormen van kennis. Integratie van kennis in een belichaamde vorm is zichtbaar in de curriculum case waar docenten en onderwijsmakers door het project kennis en inzichten opdeden over de rol van gender in geneeskunde. Integratie van kennisproducten is zichtbaar in de Canon case waar vrouwengeschiedenispublicaties opgenomen zijn als achtergrondliteratuur bij het Aletta Jacobs venster.

Kennisutilisatietheorieën onderscheiden verschillende typen van integratie. Een instrumenteel gebruik van kennis is bijvoorbeeld de toevoeging van de anticonceptiepil als een onderwerp bij het Aletta Jacobs venster in de herziene Canon. Mijn onderzoek constateert dat dit zonder het commentaar van feministen en bèta wetenschappers op het ontbreken van dit onderwerp in de oorspronkelijke Canon waarschijnlijk niet zou zijn toegevoegd. Een conceptueel gebruik van kennis is zichtbaar in het Aspasia programma waar beleidsmakers de ondervertegenwoordiging van vrouwen niet langer zagen als een probleem van vrouwen maar als een probleem gerelateerd aan de wetenschappelijke cultuur en structuur. Een mogelijk symbolisch gebruik van kennis zien we in de curriculum case. Hoewel de projectinformatie niet precies duidelijk maakt of kennis uit vrouwenstudies geneeskunde over voortplanting en gynaecologie in de curricula is opgenomen, kan gezegd worden dat integratie van deze kennis symbolisch zou zijn, omdat dit binnen de geneeskunde een onderwerp is waarvan bekend en geaccepteerd is dat sekseverschillen daar een rol spelen.

Integratie van verschillende niveaus van kennis, concepten, theorieën en instrumenten, is zichtbaar in de Aspasia case. Het concept van het glazen plafond wordt vertaald in beleid, de theorie van cumulerende nadelen voor vrouwen wordt ter harte genomen en als instrument ter bevordering van de doorstroom van vrouwen wordt een stimuleringsprogramma ingezet.

### ***Welke factoren belemmeren of bevorderen de integratie van kennis?***

Het feministische perspectief waarmee kennis geproduceerd wordt heeft een duidelijke impact op kennisintegratie. Mijn onderzoek maakt duidelijk dat kennisgebruikers het feministische karakter van kennis over sekse en gender niet altijd waarderen. In de Canon case vond de commissie kennis uit vrouwengeschiedenis bijvoorbeeld te politiek en te specifiek; dit belemmerde kennisintegratie. In de Aspasia case werd vrouwenstudieskennis overgenomen in mainstream rapporten van 'neutrale' en invloedrijke organisaties en personen, waardoor de 'partijdige' kennis van vrouwenstudies in aanzien en geloofwaardigheid steeg; dit bevorderde kennisintegratie. De gecontextualiseerde manier van kennisproductie, goed zichtbaar in de Aspasia case, leidde tot sociaal robuuste kennis en expliciete aanbevelingen voor potentiële gebruikers van kennis over vrouwen in de wetenschap, wat kennisintegratie op een positieve manier beïnvloedde.

Door het feministische wetenschapsstudieperspectief te gebruiken is duidelijk geworden dat machtsverhoudingen tussen actoren in het proces van kennisoverdracht een belangrijke invloed hebben op kennisintegratie. In de curriculum case had de relatief machtige positie van de projectleider een positieve invloed op kennisintegratie. Haar toegang tot de nationale gremia die zich bezighouden met medisch onderwijs was cruciaal om curricula gendersensitief te maken. Als lid van de ministeriële stuurgroep vrouwenhulpverlening kon ze aandacht vragen voor het belang van gender in het medisch onderwijs en legde daarmee de basis voor het project om sekse in het medisch basisonderwijs te integreren. Ze was tevens in de positie om steun voor het project te verkrijgen van de visitatiecommissie en van leiders van medische faculteiten.

Het institutionele landschap waarin kennisproductie plaatsvindt, wat ik zichtbaar heb gemaakt met behulp van Mode 2, is ook bepalend voor kennisintegratie, vooral omdat het de machtsposities van actoren beïnvloedt. In de Aspasia case werd vrouwenstudieskennis ondersteund door overeenkomstige beleidsdoelen van de Europese Commissie; dit stimuleerde Nederlands onderzoek en beleid op het gebied van vrouwen in de wetenschap en bevorderde kennisintegratie in beleid van Nederlandse actoren. Bovendien maakten Europese studies glashelder dat Nederland in vergelijking met andere landen een heel laag percentage vrouwelijke universitair hoofddocenten en hoogleraren had, wat de urgentie voor het nemen van maatregelen vergrootte. In de Canon case echter werden inzichten uit vrouwengeschiedenis niet ondersteund door doelen en belangen van andere instituties. Terwijl gender experts het belang benadrukten van geschiedenisonderwijs vanuit een meervoudig perspectief en in een internationale context, waren de Onderwijsraad, het Ministerie van Onderwijs en politici juist voor het samenstellen van een nationale canon. Niet gesteund door doelen en belangen van dergelijke actoren werd de integratie van deze inzichten belemmerd.

Disseminatie-inspanningen kunnen een positief effect hebben op kennisintegratie maar dit effect is niet eenduidig. In de curriculum case bijvoorbeeld bood het zorgvuldig communiceren van de projectleden, toegepast om weerstand tegen het politieke karakter van het project te voorkomen, wel de mogelijkheid om kennis over te dragen, maar het belette tegelijkertijd het bespreekbaar maken van politieke onderwerpen zoals seksueel geweld. Integratie van kennis over zulke onderwerpen werd daardoor belemmerd. In de Canon case zien we dat niet alleen een grote hoeveelheid publicaties kennisintegratie bevordert, resulterend in de aandacht voor Aletta Jacobs en de vrouwenbeweging, maar de vele populairwetenschappelijke boeken die in de Canon staan opgenomen als achtergrondliteratuur bij de vensters laten zien dat ook de soort publicatie verschil maakt.

Interacties tussen kennisproducenten, -gebruikers en intermediaire actoren hebben een positief effect op kennisintegratie, zoals voorspeld door kennisutilisatietheorieën. Dit geldt vooral wanneer de interacties intens en duurzaam zijn, zoals in de Aspasia case. In de Canon case had de belichaamde expertise in de canoncommissie een positief effect op kennisintegratie, in het bijzonder door de aanwezige vrouwenhistorica. De beperkte externe interactie tussen de canoncommissie en vrouwenhistorici werkte mogelijk belemmerend op het integreren van meer kennis.

Een overeenstemming tussen onderzoeksresultaten en de behoeften, belangen en normen van gebruikers heeft een duidelijk positief effect op kennisintegratie; het ontbreken van een dergelijke overeenstemming werkt belemmerend. In de Aspasia case bijvoorbeeld werd kennisintegratie bevorderd door een match tussen resultaten uit vrouwenstudiesonderzoek en de behoefte van beleidsmakers om het verwachte personeelstekort op universiteiten te reduceren en beide partijen streefden naar een hoger aantal vrouwen in de wetenschap. Kennisclaims over het gendeerde karakter van de wetenschap vonden echter moeilijk ingang, omdat deze botsten met NWO's opvatting van wetenschap als een neutraal iets.

### *Theoretische bijdrage*

Kennisutilisatietheorieën gaan ervan uit dat actoren in processen van kennisoverdracht neutrale posities innemen en dat kennis geen macht heeft. Door gebruik te maken van feministische wetenschapsstudies heb ik aan kunnen tonen dat machtsaspecten een belangrijke rol spelen in kennisintegratie. Zowel de machtsverschillen tussen actoren in het kennisoverdrachtsproces als de partijdigheid van kennis hebben hierop een bepalende invloed. Kennisoverdracht is dus een politiek proces. Het incorporeren van machtsaspecten in kennisutilisatietheorieën kan derhalve bijdragen aan een betere verklaring van kennisintegratie. Omdat deze machtsaspecten deels samenhangen met het perspectief waarmee kennis geproduceerd wordt, vraagt dit ook een expliciete blik op condities die gerelateerd zijn aan de productie van kennis.

Kennisutilisatietheorieën hebben moeite met het verklaren van integratie van kennis in gecompliceerde beleidsprocessen. De Mode 2 benadering in mijn onderzoek biedt een perspectief op het bredere netwerk van actoren die betrokken zijn bij beleid en op de context waarin beleid gemaakt wordt of besluitvorming plaatsvindt. Ontwikkeling van beleid en productie van kennis over vrouwen in de wetenschap werd bijvoorbeeld gestimuleerd door buitenlandse onderzoeksresultaten en Europees beleid op dit gebied. En opdrachtonderzoek van buitenuniversitaire en intermediaire actoren vergrootte de oriëntatie van onderzoekers op beleidsmakers, de potentiële kennisgebruikers. Door, zoals Mode 2 doet, te kijken naar de samenhang van maatschappelijke praktijken (de toepassingscontext van kennis) met de productie van kennis (de productiecontext van kennis) komen ook factoren in beeld die te maken hebben met kennisproductie. Deze dubbele focus, een focus op zowel de productie als het gebruik van kennis, kan bijdragen aan een betere verklaring van kennisintegratie.

Mijn onderzoek laat zien hoe factoren uit verschillende kennisutilisatiemodellen (modellen die kijken naar de context van onderzoekers of van kennisgebruikers, naar disseminatie-inspanningen en naar interacties tussen kennismakers en -gebruikers), met elkaar in verband kunnen staan en hoe een combinatie van factoren kennisintegratie kan bevorderen of juist belemmeren, iets waaraan kennisutilisatietheorieën behoefte hebben. Zo leidt gecontextualiseerde kennisproductie tot het gebruik van specifieke disseminatiekanalen die kennis op een directe manier tot de gebruikers brengen, waardoor de afzonderlijke positieve effecten elkaar versterken. Een op zichzelf positief effect van een bepaalde factor kan ook teniet worden gedaan door een andere factor, bijvoorbeeld wanneer disseminatie er wel toe leidt dat kennis de gebruikers bereikt, maar kennisintegratie uiteindelijk gedwarsboomd wordt door het ontbreken van overeenstemming met de doelen van de gebruiker. Zowel machtsfactoren als factoren die samenhangen met de productie van kennis, in mijn onderzoek in beeld gebracht via feministische wetenschapsstudies, opereren in wisselwerking met en oefenen invloed uit op het effect van factoren uit andere modellen. Bij het ontwikkelen van meeromvattende kennisutilisatietheorieën zouden deze twee factoren dus niet mogen ontbreken.

Doordat ik belichaamde kennis bestudeerd heb is duidelijk geworden dat mensen een belangrijke rol spelen in processen van kennisoverdracht. Vooral de motivatie van kennisdragers om hun kennis te gebruiken is een factor die disseminatie van kennis stimuleert en positief bijdraagt aan kennisintegratie. Deze motivatie om kennis in de praktijk in te zetten, in mijn onderzoek goed zichtbaar bij vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden, komt voort uit de wil om de samenleving te veranderen én de overtuiging van de toepasbaarheid en relevantie van hun kennis. De politieke motivatie achter kennis heeft een effect op hoe gebruikers kennis beoordelen en daardoor ook op kennisintegratie. Kortom, theorieën over de overdracht en het gebruik van kennis dienen kennisoverdracht op te vatten als een sociaal en politiek proces.

### ***Bijdrage aan discussies over de kenniskloof***

Welke inzichten biedt dit onderzoek voor de gepercipieerde kenniskloof? Het maakt ten eerste duidelijk dat de vrouwenstudieskenniskloof kleiner wordt wanneer kennis opgevat wordt als kennisproducten en als belichaamde kennis en wanneer de verschillende types van kennisintegratie en niveaus van kennis in ogenschouw worden genomen.

Wanneer specifiek gekeken wordt naar belichaamde kennis wordt duidelijk dat de impact van vrouwenstudies verder gaat dan het toepassen van kennis in werksettings; het raakt ook diverse andere aspecten van het leven van vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden. De veelomvattende betekenis van vrouwenstudieskennis voor de afgestudeerden kan opgevat worden als een van de vormen van kennisvalorisatie: zij waarderen wat ze weten en wie ze zijn. Dit betekent voor vrouwenstudiesprogramma's dat kennisintegratie ook ligt in deze maatschappelijke waarde. Mijn focus op vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden maakt tegelijkertijd het belang van de institutionalisering van vrouwenstudies in de academie zichtbaar. Die resulteert niet alleen in kennis over sekse en gender in de vorm van boeken en artikelen maar ook in kenniseigenaren, in belichaamde kennis. De motivatie van vrouwenstudiesafgestudeerden om te ageren tegen sociale ongelijkheden is een belangrijk element in de overdracht van vrouwenstudieskennis.

Door het in ogenschouw nemen van de verschillende types van kennisintegratie en niveaus van geïntegreerde kennis wordt de kenniskloof kleiner. Zo vindt kennisintegratie ook plaats wanneer theorieën of concepten niet volledig worden geïntegreerd in maatschappelijke praktijken. Zelfs wanneer kennis wordt geïntegreerd op een gedepolitiseerde manier kunnen beleidspraktijken veranderen. In het geval van Aspasia bijvoorbeeld nemen beleidsmakers maatregelen die bijdragen aan een verbetering van de positie van vrouwen in de wetenschap zonder meteen voorvechters te worden van gendergelijkheid.

Ten tweede zou de wezenlijkheid van de motivatie tot maatschappelijke verandering binnen vrouwenstudies kunnen verklaren dat een kenniskloof wordt waargenomen. Het is aannemelijk dat de focus op integratie van kennis, oftewel de focus op verandering, leidt tot een verhoogde waarneming van non-integratie. Het nastreven van totale of optimale integratie beperkt het zien van integratie, terwijl het nastreven van een acceptabele en haalbare mate van kennisintegratie het mogelijk maakt om kennisintegratie te herkennen. Zo waren de leden van het curriculumproject in staat om een verhoogd genderbewustzijn bij de deelnemers te zien als een verandering die ook perspectief biedt op nieuwe kansen voor kennisintegratie.

Ten derde is duidelijk geworden dat de vrouwenstudiesdiscussies over de kenniskloof gebaseerd zijn op veronderstellingen over kennisoverdracht die niet in overeenstemming zijn met hoe kennisoverdracht eigenlijk werkt. De discussies reflecteren bijvoorbeeld een lineair model van kennisintegratie waarin wetenschap en samenleving als relatief gescheiden domeinen gezien worden en geven verklaringen voor non-integratie die voortkomen uit een beeld waarin kennis via een eenrichtingsverkeer van producenten naar gebruikers stroomt. Mijn onderzoek laat echter zien dat kennisoverdracht een wisselwerking tussen producenten en gebruikers inhoudt en dat integratie van kennis ook plaatsvindt in de fasen van kennisproductie en -disseminatie. Deze meer multidimensionale opvatting van kennisintegratie leidt tot een positiever beeld van de integratie van vrouwenstudieskennis in de maatschappij.

Ten vierde maakt mijn onderzoek evident dat machtsaspecten een rol spelen in processen van kennisoverdracht. Deze machtswerking verdwijnt niet door kennisoverdracht anders te conceptualiseren. Zowel de machtsposities van actoren als de partijdigheid van kennis hebben een invloed op kennisintegratie, soms positief, soms negatief. Een deel van de kenniskloof is dus het gevolg van machtsaspecten.

## ***Curriculum vitae***

Jeannette van der Sanden was born on 17 November 1969 in Drunen. Her pre-university education took place at the Dr. Mollercollege in Waalwijk, from which she graduated in 1989. In the same year, she started studying Speech Therapy at the Hogeschool Nijmegen, from which she graduated in 1993. She continued her education at the University of Nijmegen, in 1994 passing her propaedeutic examination in Pedagogy *cum laude*, and obtaining her MA degree in Social Sciences, with a major in Women's Studies, *cum laude* in 1997.

In 1998 and 1999, she worked as a junior-researcher at the University of Nijmegen's Department of Women's Studies Medicine, participating in the 'Gender specific health care in the medical curriculum' project. From 1999 until 2001, she was a staff member of the emancipation committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the same university. From 2001 until 2003, she worked as a junior-researcher at Utrecht University's Department of Women's Studies, participating in the 'Employment and Women's Studies: The impact of Women's Studies training on women's employment' project in the 5th Framework Programme of the EU. From 2005 until 2009, she was managing director of AOIFE, the Association of Institutions for Feminist Education and Research in Europe.

Since 2006, she has been conducting her PhD research at Utrecht University's Research Institute for History and Culture. As a PhD student, she participated in the European Network of Excellence 'CLIOHRES.net'.





