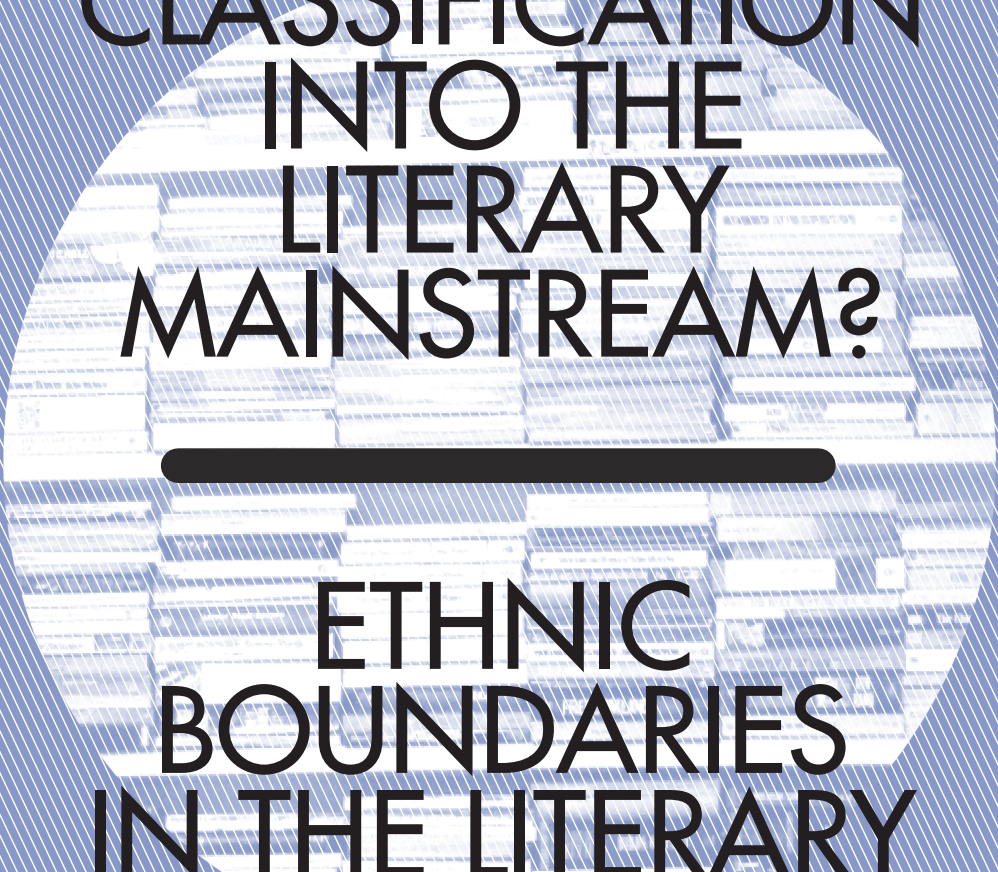# CLASSIFICATION INTO THE LITERARY MAINSTREAM?

ETHNIC BOUNDARIES IN THE LITERARY FIELDS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY, 1955-2005

Pauwke Berkers

Pauwke Berkers

As a result of mass migration, the ethnic composition of western countries has become increasingly diverse. Both inside and outside academia, this development has led to heated discussions about whether ethnic minorities are - or even have to be - assimilated into mainstream society.

In *Assimilation into the Literary Mainstream*, Pauwke Berkers addresses how literary critics, policy makers and textbook editors have dealt with ethnic diversity in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany between 1955 and 2005.
How much newspaper coverage has been devoted to ethnic minority authors and how has this changed over time? And to what extent do reviewers discuss the ethnic background of such writers? Moreover, have national literary policy organizations actively stimulated or largely ignored ethnic diversity? Finally, to what degree are ethnic minority authors canonized in national literary histories?

Examining the use of ethnic discourse, the numerical representation and the labels used to describe ethnic minority authors, the author demonstrates that ethnic boundaries are relatively weak, moderately strong and strong in the literary fields of the U.S., the Netherlands and Germany respectively.
At a macro-level, these cross-national differences are related to different national repertoires of evaluation. However, within national literary fields, ethnic classifications differ, depending on the structural position that different literary institutions hold vis-à-vis the economic and political field.

Pauwke Berkers (1977) obtained his master's degree in sociology at the University of Tilburg in 2003. He conducted the present study at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies at the Erasmus University Rotterdam as part of the VICI-project Cultural Classification Systems in Transition. Since September 2009, he is an assistant professor at the same department.

Pauwke Berkers

CLASSIFICATION INTO THE LITERARY MAINSTREAM?

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Classification into the Literary Mainstream?
Ethnic Boundaries in the Literary Fields of the United States,
the Netherlands and Germany,
1955-2005

————

Classificatie in de literaire mainstream?
Etnische grenzen in de literaire velden van de Verenigde Staten,
Nederland en Duitsland,
1955-2005

Thesis
to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
rector magnificus
Prof.dr. H.G. Schmidt

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board
The public defence shall be held on
Thursday 3 December 2009 at 16:00 hours

by
Paulus Petrus Lodewijk Berkers
born in *Deurne*

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

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For someone whose *Herz schlägt links*, sociology seemed an obvious study to pursue. As the University of Tilburg had been renamed Karl Marx University for a few months – and incidentally was near my home, the prospects of becoming a left-wing intellectual appeared promising. Little did I know that times had been a-changing. Although I was able to study the works of my sociological hero, visit his birthplace at Brückenstrasse 10 and his grave at Highgate Cemetery, I lost some of my intellectual inspiration due to the department's one-dimensional view on sociology. With hindsight however, this thorough, quantitative training provided me with essential tools to conduct this study. Eventually, I recharged my scientific batteries when writing my MA thesis on punk music and feminism. Abandoning my dreams of becoming a Marxist scholar, I realized that I really enjoyed the pragmatics of doing research. Shortly after I received my degree, I applied for a PhD position at the Department of Art and Culture Studies at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and was invited for an interview. My thesis advisor gave me a valuable tip: "Say hello to Susanne from me. I actually got my driver's license this way, as my father and the examiner were ex-colleagues." I guess it worked (although I did not control for any spurious relationships), and in December 2003 I started my PhD adventure.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor – and director of the VICI-project Cultural Classification Systems in Transition – Susanne Janssen for convincing me to study ethnic boundaries in literature, despite not being a reading omnivore myself. She guided me through the world of academia – both intellectually and professionally, challenged me to push my own boundaries and provided ample opportunities to study abroad, visit conferences and facilitate my research in general. Second, I am grateful to my co-supervisor Marc Verboord whose door was literally always open. He helped me to sharpen my theoretical as well as statistical "arguments." Marc also advised me to "kill my darlings," even though I assured him that I have only one sweetheart (more on her later). Furthermore, I thank the other members of the VICI-project: Giselinde Kuipers ("the embodiment of sociological imagination"), Alex van Venrooij ("my sparring partner and PhD colleague"), Kees van Rees ("the grandfather of the VICI-project, whose enormous enthusiasm and sociological curiosity I admire"), Tim Dowd ("symphonic musician and progressive sociologist, and vice versa") and Vaughn Schmutz ("the best – and only – tenant I have ever had").

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I am grateful to my former thesis supervisor Koen van Eijck for his humor and kick starting my academic career. I am proud that we are colleagues now at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Many thanks also go to Ton Bevers and Nel van Dijk for their confidence in my abilities as a PhD student, teacher and assistant professor, and to Denise Bielby for serving on my doctoral committee. Furthermore, I thank Ruud ("great friend and could-have-been-colleague"), Jiska ("discourse, baby"), Wouter ("rockstar and matchmaker"), Christian ("creative historian"), Björn ("my oldest friend"), Johan ("neefje") and Claire ("mathematician") for being friends and "rocking out."

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF A NATION AND THE GENIUS OF ITS WRITERS ARE ALWAYS NUMEROUS; WHOEVER KNOWS ONE IS NEVER COMPLETELY UNAWARE OF THE OTHER.

Tocqueville, 2003 [1863]

1.1   THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Paradoxically, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "which put an end to the dismal post-slavery legacy of denying elementary citizenship rights to the American blacks," (Joppke, 1996: 456) resulted in an increasingly color conscious instead of color blind society. Although the U.S. legal system prohibits discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic characteristics, it allows temporal measures as affirmative action in order to remedy past discrimination (Skrentny, 1996). As part of this "ethno-racial group rights movement," programs and departments in African American studies were set up in the 1960s, followed by other "group studies" like Latino, Native American, and Asian American studies (Duell, 2000; Joppke, 1996). These multiculturalist developments led to a "countermobilization" of agents belonging to the established academic elites in the 1980s and 1990s: the so-called canon wars (Bryson, 2005). According to these critics multiculturalism had resulted in a "shattered humanities" (Bennett, 1982) or even in the "disuniting of America" (Schlesinger, 1992). The American literary field also became a patchwork of different ethnic literatures, each with its own publishing houses (e.g., Arte Publico Press), literary prizes (e.g., Premio Aztlán Literary Prize), scholarly journals (e.g., *American Indian Quarterly*), and anthologies (e.g., *the Norton Anthology of African American literature*). These developments beg the question what the effects have been on the literary mainstream, or more specifically, the classification of ethnic minority authors into *mainstream* newspapers, *national* literary policy and anthologies of *American* literature.

Such canon wars have been largely absent in the Netherlands and Germany. Despite their relatively recent arrival, some ethnic minority authors seem to have become part of the literary mainstream. As early as 1997, the debut novel of Moroccan Dutch author Abdelkader Benali was nominated for one of the most prestigious mainstream literary prizes – the Libris literary prize, which the author eventually won with his second novel *De Langverwachte* in 2003. Ethnic minority authors were the focus of the 2001 Dutch book week entitled "Land of origin: Writing between two cultures." Furthermore, the first academic monograph about a Moroccan Dutch author – Hafid Bouazza – was published in 2007 (Louwerse, 2007). Some literary critics have even called the amount of attention to Dutch ethnic minority authors excessive and the result of political correctness and overcompensation (Anbeek, 1999). Similar developments occurred within the German literary field. Turkish German authors Emine Sevgi Özdamar and Feridun Zaimoglu respectively won the prestigious Ingeborg Bachmann Prize in 1991 and the fellowship at the German Academy Rome Villa Massimo in 2004. A review of the book which the latter author wrote about his stay in Rome was entitled *Unser Mann in Rom* (Our Man in Rome), which explicitly classifies Zaimoglu as a German majority writer (Schröder, 2007). Furthermore, in 2000, Zehra Çirak, of Turkish origin, made it into *Der neue Conrady* (The New Conrady), a prestigious German anthology.

Previous studies on how ethnic minority authors have become part of the literary mainstream focus almost solely on these authors' literary writings. At best, they propose a staged model, in which the language and themes of immigrant writings change as the author "assimilates" into mainstream society (Dunphy, 2001; Fennell, 1997). However, cultural sociologists have dismissed such simple reflection models (Griswold, 1981, 1994). One group of scholars proposes a macro-cultural model. They argue that people in different countries emphasize different aspects when they classify their surroundings – in this case ethnic minority authors – according to different national cultural repertoires that result from historical trajectories and institutionalization (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000). Thus, as literary critics, policy makers and textbook authors in the same country share a particular national repertoire, they will likely draw similar boundaries between minority and majority authors. A second group of scholars has argued that the relationship between societal conditions (macro-level) and individual literary works (micro-level) is translated at the meso-level of the literary field (Bourdieu, 1993; Dorleijn & Van Rees, 2006). As literary fields operate semi-autonomously, the classification of ethnic minorities is mediated by the "own" logic of the literary field. To assess the extent to which ethnic minority authors have indeed become part of the literary mainstream, we have to examine the dominant institutions involved in the classification of literature.

Drawing on these two influential theoretical frameworks in cultural sociology, I examine how three key institutions (criticism, policy and history) within the literary fields of three different societies (the U.S., the Netherlands and Germany) have classified ethnic minority writers between 1955 and 2005. Such a cross-national approach may improve our understanding of the supplementary impact of both field-level and society-level factors on cultural classification and the construction of ethnic boundaries (see Benson & Saguy, 2005).

My research aim is therefore twofold:

(i) *Assessing to what degree and in what ways key institutions (criticism, policy and history) in the American, Dutch and German literary field have drawn ethnic boundaries in their classifications of literature – and ethnic minority authors in particular – between 1955 and 2005;*

(ii) *Exploring to what extent developments in each country can be accounted for drawing on notions and insights from (literary) field theory and repertoire theory.*

Below I will first discuss the key concepts in my research: boundaries, classifications and ethnicity. Furthermore, I will consider why ethnic boundaries in the arts have hardly been studied. Next, I give a brief outline of Bourdieu's theory of the literary field and explain how the four empirical chapters of this book build on each other. I will also present a concise overview of each empirical study and the methods I use to study ethnic boundaries in literature. The next section provides more information on the three countries included in this study, particularly on the ethnic

1.See Lamont (2001) for a detailed historical overview of the study of symbolic boundaries, dating back to the works of, amongst others, Veblen, Elias and Douglas.

diversity of each countries population and national cultural repertoires. Finally, I will present a short outline of this book.

1.2   BOUNDARIES, CLASSIFICATIONS AND ETHNICITY

1.2.1   Boundaries

Despite a recent boom in boundary studies, the topic itself has a long tradition within sociology, dating back to Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and the profane and Weber's status groups.[1] Most scholars conceive of boundaries as having both social and symbolic dimensions. Lamont and Molnár define social boundaries as objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to an unequal distribution of resources and opportunities (Lamont & Molnár, 2002: 168). Such boundaries manifest themselves in patterns of exclusion and segregation. For example, as a result of strict citizenship laws, the German population counted more than 7 million "foreigners" (8.9% of the German population) in 2000, many of whom were actually born in Germany.

Social boundaries are based on "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space." (Lamont & Molnár, 2002: 168) Although these symbolic boundaries exist primarily at the intersubjective or cognitive level, they inform our knowledge, beliefs, expectations and practices and are as "real" social boundaries (Brubaker, Loveman, & Stamatov, 2004). In contrast to social boundaries, symbolic boundaries are not (yet) fixed and by implication are subject to classification struggles between different groups, each trying to win the authority to define reality, e.g. to determine what is "good" literature. Therefore Bourdieu (1985: 734) states that "one cannot conduct a science of classifications without conducting a science of the struggle over classifications." When these mutable symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon, they may be institutionalized into more constraining forms of exclusion, that is, social boundaries. For example, the strict German citizenship law has its historical roots in the classification of "us" and "them," based on *ius sanguinis* (descent) (Brubaker, 1992). Since value of specific literary works is not fixed, but mainly a symbolic construction, the main focus here is on symbolic boundaries (see below).

As I will show below, some scholars – particularly within the sociology of culture – refer to classifications instead of boundaries. Durkheim and Mauss (1963: 6) almost literally refer to boundaries when they state that "to classify things is to arrange them in groups which are distinct from each other, and are separated by clearly determined lines of demarcation." In a more recent study, Bowker and Star (1999: 10) define classifications as "spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentations of the world." They add that if a specific classification is widely agreed upon, has temporal and spatial reach, and persists over time, it can become a

standard. In other words, boundaries and classifications are similar concepts. But since my primary goal is to study symbolic struggles between majority and minority groups, I will refer primarily to "ethnic boundaries" to signal processes of symbolic exclusion and inequality. I use the term "classifications" to indicate more general, cognitive categorizations, which are not necessarily linked to social boundaries.

1.2.2   Classifications in Art

Building on the work of Bourdieu, sociologists of culture have primarily studied symbolic boundaries as vertical or hierarchical classifications, that is, the distinction between "high" and "low" art forms (Pachucki, Pendergrass, & Lamont, 2007). Rather than being the result of intrinsic characteristics of the art forms, scholars argue that the distinction between "high" and "low" arts is the outcome of classification struggles between social classes. In his classic work *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) showed how the French upper class developed distinct aesthetic classifications – internalized in the habitus – to distinguish themselves from the lower social classes and institutionalized their taste as the legitimate culture.[2] DiMaggio (1982) examined the symbolic construction of "high" versus "popular" culture in 19th century Boston. His study demonstrates that this distinction is not the result of a "natural" process, but of boundary work of the Boston elite, which restricted access to high art. In later articles, DiMaggio (1991a, 1991b, 1992) describes how high art eventually became cultural capital through a process of nationalization and institutionalization. More recently, omnivore theorists suggest that the taste pattern of higher status groups has changed from an exclusive focus on "high" art to a more inclusive taste favoring a wide range of cultural artifacts (Ollivier, 2008; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Van Eijck, 2001). This development has undoubtedly contributed to the decline in the privileged position of the "high" arts and the erosion of traditional cultural hierarchies (Bevers, 2005; DiMaggio, 1987; Dowd, Liddle, Lupo, & Borden, 2002; Janssen, 2005; Verboord & Van Rees, 2009). It has also fostered processes of artistic legitimization of (formerly) popular cultural genres as film (Baumann, 2001), jazz (Lopes, 2002), pop music (Janssen, 1999), television (Bielby & Bielby, 1994; Bielby, Moloney, & Gno, 2005), and comic books (Lopes, 2006).

Due to the preoccupation with hierarchical classifications, more horizontal classifications of art have received limited attention. Even the classification of genres has been primarily studied in terms of their hierarchical ordering (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992]). However, in his seminal article *Classification in Art*, DiMaggio (1987: 441) discusses how artistic classification systems, which he defines as "the way that the work of artists is divided up both in the heads and habits of consumers and by the institutions that bound the production and distribution of separate genres," not only vary with regard to hierarchy, but also in the extent to which they are differentiated into more or less genres. However, these horizontal

2.   Berghman and Van Eijck (2009) point out that Bourdieu – to some extent – also studied more horizontal boundaries. More specifically, he showed that the two fractions of the dominant class – the economic and cultural elite – have different taste patterns, preferring classical art and abstract art respectively. However, both scholars also state that these horizontal boundaries have hardly been subjected to empirical analysis.

classifications are explicitly linked to social heterogeneity and status diversity of a particular society. Whether more *ethnically* heterogeneous societies also produce more *ethnically* diverse artistic classifications has not been discussed until now.

The lack of attention to ethnic boundaries in the arts seems largely due to Bourdieu's formidable work, which inspired others to focus on social class as well. According to Hall (1992: 269), fragmentary comments in Bourdieu's works indicate that he largely ignored ethnicity because he believed that ethnicity could be reduced to class.[3] For example, Bourdieu (1985: 730) states that more directly visible distinctions (e.g., ethnic differences) may mask the most objective differences, that is, social struggles. He views groupings in terms of capital distribution as more stable and durable since other groupings (e.g., based on ethnicity) are internally stratified in economic terms. American sociologists have found that class culture is much weaker defined in the United States than in France, and, that race and ethnicity further diminish consensus over what constitutes "legitimate" and "illegitimate" culture (DiMaggio & Ostrower, 1990; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). In a recent British study on class culture, which presents the inclusion of ethnicity as a "distinct innovation," Bennett et al. (2008: 38) find that ethnic minorities show comparatively low levels of affiliation with English and European culture. Finally, scholars of race and ethnicity have argued that ethnic boundaries are often more stronger and stable than those based on class (e.g., Hale, 2004).

1.2.3   Ethnic Boundaries

Since the pioneering work of anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969), most scholars no longer study ethnicity as a set of shared traits or 'objective' cultural communalities. Instead, they focus on the social interactions of both members and outsiders through which ethnic boundaries are constructed and changed (Nagel, 1994; Wimmer, 2008). In line with this reorientation, I consider ethnicity a social construction made up "out of the material of language, religion, culture appearance, ancestry or regionality." (Nagel, 1994: 153) The shift from an objectivist to a constructivist approach implied a refocus in the study of ethnicity from social to symbolic boundaries. Thus, ethnic boundaries address how people from different ethnic backgrounds differentiate between "us" and "them." Research on the symbolic aspects of ethnic boundaries has primarily focused on the boundary-work of powerful institutions as the state and everyday (self-)classifications of ordinary people, and, again, not on the arts (Brubaker et al., 2004; Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

The strength of these boundaries can be gauged, amongst other things, by their permeability (degree of recognition in mainstream institutions) and the salience of distinctions based on ethnic origin (Alba, 2005; Pachucki et al., 2007). Alba & Nee (1997, 2003) thus define "assimilation" as the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of distinctions based on ethnic origin. Assimilation implies a weakening of

the symbolic aspects of ethnic boundaries and as such it is the opposite process of "ethnicization" (Brubaker et al., 2004), when strong cognitive assumptions about ethnicity are slotted in – or crowd out – other templates for making sense of the social world. Furthermore, boundary change is a two-sided process: members of ethnic minority groups must try to enter mainstream society and majority members must accept their entry (Alba, 1999; Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2001). Like in the societal mainstream,[4] changes in the institutional structures and organizations that constitute the mainstream within the literary field (Bourdieu, 1993) play a crucial role in the shifting and/or crossing of ethnic boundaries (see Loveman & Muniz, 2007; Zolberg & Woon, 1999), .

> 4. Alba and Nee (2003: 12) define the societal mainstream as "a core set of interrelated institutional structures and organizations regulated by rules and practices that weaken, even undermine, the influence of ethnic origins."

     Literature provides an excellent case to study ethnic boundaries in the arts. First, the extent and nature of ethnic boundaries drawn in a relatively peripheral social domain as art has however hardly been researched, even though it may help better understand the pervasiveness of ethnic boundaries in society (Alba, 2005). Second, literature is closely associated with processes of nation-building and national (ethnic) identity (Corse, 1995). Third, in order to produce literary works in the majority language, many ethnic minority authors need to acquire both the necessary linguistic as well as cultural capital, primarily through education (see Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]). Assimilation into the literary mainstream is therefore likely to be even more difficult than assimilation into other social domains.

1.3 FOUR STUDIES OF THREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE LITERARY FIELD

1.3.1 Literary Fields

Who or what constitutes a fiction author is inherently linked to the concept of the literary field (Bourdieu, 1993). A field is a separete social universe endowed with its own history, specific logic of evaluation and reward system. Thus, field theory runs counter to the tradition of internal reading, in which literary works are studied in themselves without considering the historical conditions in which the art work was produced, as well as a simple reflection model that directly links socio-economic conditions to the contents of the art work (see above). When literary fields achieve total autonomy with respect to the laws of the market and politics, "purely" aesthetic criteria dictate the selection and classification of art, on the basis of the subordination of function ("realism") to form (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979], 1993). Within the literary field, different actors struggle over the monopoly of the power to say with authority who is authorized to call himself a writer, that is, the power to consecrate producers or products (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992]). The outcome of this struggle, which often involves newcomers (e.g., proponents of ethnic minority authors) and established producers (authors, critics, publishers), determines whose works get reviewed in newspapers, which authors receive state support and

5. Several studies have demonstrated that authors are sometimes introduced into the literary field by publishing in literary magazines, since such publications demand lower investments (De Nooy, 1991; Janssen, 2000; Janssen & Olislagers, 1986; Verdaasdonk, 1989).

who will be included in national literary histories. However, in the absence of an objective instrument for measuring literary quality, critics and other agents in the literary field attune their classifications to each other. The agreement, which results from this process of "orchestration" between agents within the literary field, is crucial in sustaining the legitimacy of critics and members of other institutions as judges of literature (Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1987).

A first step in becoming a literary author – to gain access to the literary field – is to get recognized by literary publishers,[5] who act as gatekeepers (Hirsch, 1972). However, in order to get published with a literary publishing firm, aspiring authors need to possess a substantial amount of "linguistic" and "cultural" capital (Bourdieu, 1993) which are both largely dependent on social background and education. Members of the lower socio-economic strata – to which members of ethnic minorities often belong – are less likely to gain access to the literary field, and this holds *a fortiori* if they lack sufficient language skills. Compared to majority authors, ethnic minority authors generally are less likely to be published – and subsequently, are less likely to be reviewed or canonized. Despite publishers' key position, I have not studied the extent to which publishing houses draw ethnic boundaries for the simple reason that reliable longitudinal data on the ethnic minority writer population are unavailable for all three countries. It is therefore not possible to compare the proportions of (aspiring) ethnic minority and majority authors who are published or rejected. Instead, I have examined to what degree and in what ways (i) journalistic literary critics and, more specifically, (ii) literary reviewers, (iii) literary policy makers and (iv) authors of literary anthologies and history books have drawn ethnic boundaries in their classifications of ethnic minority authors, who have managed to pass the "gate" of literary publishers.

1.3.2 Literary Criticism and Quantitative Attention to Ethnic Minority Authors

Journalistic critics play a crucial role in the symbolic production of literature, that is, in the attribution of literary value to specific works. They are mandated to determine what is considered "legitimate" art. The main task of reviewers in the daily press is to assess the nature and value of newly published fiction titles (Janssen, 1997; Van Dijk, 1999). In most western countries, the population of authors supplying these titles has become ethnically more diverse in recent decades. On the one hand, international migration – one of the most omnipresent forms of globalization (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999) – has given rise to ethnic minority authors in these countries. On the other hand, postcolonial literary scholars signal a substantial "contra-flow" from the "rest" to the West (Huggan, 2001). It seems plausible that the degree of attention devoted to foreign non-western literature is related to increased interest in ethnic minority authors among readers (Kuitert, 1999).

For this reason, Chapter 2 addresses: *the dynamics of cross-cultural literary exchange not only between but also within national literary fields, considering western newspaper coverage of both foreign literary authors of non-western ethnic origin and domestic ethnic minority authors from 1955 until 2005.* So in this chapter, I will take a broad view on ethnic diversity, comparing the amount of attention (newspaper articles) devoted to ethnic minority authors with foreign non-western authors.

1.3.3 Literary Criticism and Qualitative Attention to Ethnic Minority Authors

However, not only the extent to which ethnic minority writers are covered in mainstream newspapers, but also the way in which these authors are classified tells us something about the ethnic boundaries in national literary fields. In Chapter 3, I therefore take a closer look at journalistic classifications and consider: *to what extent literary critics in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany have drawn ethnic boundaries in their reviews of ethnic minority writers between 1983 and 2009 and to what degree ethnic boundaries in literary criticism have changed in each country in the course of ethnic minority writers' careers and across time?*

I content analyzed newspaper reviews of selected ethnic minority authors. As Moroccan Dutch and Turkish German authors entered the literary only recently, I restricted my analysis to the period 1983-2009. This chapter focuses on the extent to which reviewers mention the ethnic and/or majority background of Mexican American, Moroccan Dutch and Turkish German authors or compare them with other authors (ethnic minority or majority). Furthermore, I explored when critics – who supposedly primarily use aesthetic classifications – draw ethnic boundaries. Do individual ethnic minority authors incidentally cross ethnic boundaries as their literary career progresses or do boundaries themselves shift, resulting in greater inclusion of ethnic minority authors as a group (Zolberg & Woon, 1999)?

1.3.4 Literary Policy: Between the Literary and the Political

Besides literary criticism, literary policy organizations play an important role in the symbolic production of literature. State recognition does not only improve the material position of the author but also increases the belief of other actors in the literary field that an artwork is legitimate (Bourdieu, 1980; Sapiro, 2003), increasing the odds of future success. However, being (partly) funded by – in this case, national – governments, these organizations are highly dependent on developments in the political field, e.g. the rise of affirmative action policies and pressures to fund more ethnic minority writers. The more (literary policy) organizations depend on the political field, the more their legitimacy depends its ability to tap into the dominant political beliefs and values (see Ruef & Scott, 1998). Thus, the central question of Chapter 4 is: *to what extent and in what ways has ethnic diversity been part of American, Dutch and German national literary policy from 1965 until 2005 and how can we account for potential cross-national differences?*

To answer this question I content analyzed the annual reports of national literary policy organizations: the (literature program of) the National Endowment for the Arts, the Dutch Foundation for Literature (*Fonds voor de Letteren*) and the German Literature Fund (*Deutscher Literaturfonds*), all founded between 1965 and 1980. First, I studied to what extent ethnic diversity has been part of the organizational discourse of each nation's literary policy. Second, I examined to what extent ethnic minorities are represented within the national policy, both as granters and grantees.

1.3.5 Literary History: Between the Literary and the Commercial

Among critical classifications of literature, the national literary history has the most strongly ritualized symbolic boundaries, consisting of high-cultural texts and authors selected by academics. The transmission of this history mainly takes place at secondary schools and universities, primarily – but not exclusively – with the use of literature anthologies and literary history books (Olsson, 2000). These textbooks are mostly produced within the commercial educational market. Therefore they will only change – in this case become ethnically more diverse – when it yields sufficient commercial benefits. Thus, Chapter 5 addresses: *to what extent and in what ways does the classification of ethnic diversity in literature differ in American, Dutch and German anthologies and literary history books between 1978 and 2006 and how can we account for potential cross-national differences?*

To answer this question, the most relevant anthologies and literary history books per country were content analyzed, starting in 1978, when new competitors entered both the American and German textbook market. I examined the number of ethnic minority authors, the use of ethnic discourse, the presence of special "ethnic" chapters or paragraphs, and what ethnic labels were used to describe the included authors.

1.4 THREE COUNTRIES, THREE REPERTOIRES OF EVALUATION

To explain potential cross-national differences in the classification of ethnic minority authors, I will also draw on the macro theory of national cultural repertoires. This approach sharply contrasts with frameworks that study national differences as residing in a shared, essentialist "national character" (see Coleman, 1941; Inkeles, 1979; Van Heerikhuizen, 1982). According to Swidler (1986: 277) "culture is not a unified system that pushes action in a consistent direction. Rather, it is more like a 'toolkit' or repertoire from which actors select various pieces for constructing lines of action." Such repertoires consist of the entirety of cultural material people have at their disposal. So instead of providing ends, culture equips actors with the means for solving practical matters and making sense of their environment (Swidler, 2001; Weber, 2005). However, the selection of tools is in many cases not a matter of voluntaristic choice. First of all, the tools –

the toolkit is equipped with – vary across national contexts according to the institutionalization of different historical trajectories, "which means that members of different national communities are not equally likely to draw on the same cultural tools to construct and assess the world that surrounds them." (Lamont & Thévenot, 2000: 8-9) Secondly, structural features determine what tools are most likely used, in this case primarily the ethnic composition of a society. It has been precisely this ethnic makeup that has changed over the last fifty years in all three countries, which will be discussed below. However, such repertoires only change slowly since new, "ethnic" tools have to compete with other tools that people have already learned to use (Weber, 2005).

1.4.1 Mass Immigration and Ethnic Minority Populations

Mass migration is not a totally new phenomenon in western Europe (see Held et al., 1999). In the 17th century, for example, ten percent of the Dutch population consisted of such newcomers (Lucassen & Penninx, 1996). But the main difference between mass migration before and after 1945 is the immigrants' countries of origin. While four hundred years ago the foreigners of the Dutch Republic came from France, Italy, Poland and what we now call Belgium, many recent immigrants are of non-European origin. Scholars of immigration (Hollifield, 1994; Runblom 1994; Van Amersfoort & Penninx, 1994) distinguish between three main post-World War II migration trajectories: decolonization (1945-1975), labor or guest worker migration (1955-1973) and refugee or asylumseeker migration (1975-2000). In the present study, the United States represents a traditional nation of immigration, which already before the Second World War attracted many immigrants (see e.g., Daniels, 1990). The Netherlands is a former colonial power as well as a labor migration country (Entzinger, 1985). Germany is included as a typical guest worker recruitment country (Castles, 1985; Martin & Miller, 1980). Since the early 1990s, all three countries have also become home to an increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers from across the globe (Castles, 2000).

Due to its long history of immigration, the U.S. population is ethnically much more diverse that the Dutch and German population. In the United States, ethnicity is a self-ascribed, but not a self-defined category. From 1978 onward the U.S. Bureau of the Census distinguishes between five ethno-racial categories: (non-Hispanic) white, black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander and American Indian or Alaska Native. The four ethno-racial minority groups made up 18.5% (1975), 22.3% (1985), 26.4% (1995) and 33.1% (2005) of the American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1981, 2000, 2007). Due to its history of slavery and the huge influx of European immigrants around 1900, the United States already was ethnically diverse before World War II. The post-1945 increase is primarily the result of immigration from Asia and Latin America (Fetzer, 2000). Because of this historical trajectory, U.S. ethnic groups are mainly grouped along racial lines, hence the often-

used term "ethno-racial group," while in Europe national origin provides the main basis of categorization. In this book, I will use the term "ethnic" to refer to ethno-racial categories as well as ethnic immigrant categories.

In the Netherlands, the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS) ascribes people to different ethnic minority groups. One belongs to an ethnic minority if at least one parent was born in a foreign country. A further distinction is made between western and non-western minorities. The latter group of non-western ethnic minorities – in Dutch referred to as *allochtonen* – made up 1.8% (1975), 4.5% (1985), 7.3% (1995) and 10.4% (2005) (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2009). One group of ethnic minorities have their roots in former Dutch colonies as Indonesia, Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. Particularly, the (process towards the) independence of Surinam resulted in a large migration wave in which about one third of the Surinam population moved to the Netherlands (Entzinger, 1985). Second, since the Netherlands started labor recruitment relatively late, other European countries had already recruited the preferred, culturally proximate Southern European laborers (Hammar, 1985). Therefore many Dutch ethnic minority members are the descendants from Turkish and Moroccan labor migrants.

The German *Statistisches Bundesamt* makes yet another categorization. They differentiate between Germans and foreigners (*Ausländer*). A large percentage of these foreigners are western minorities in terms of the Dutch classification system. Germany did have some colonies in Africa (e.g., Tanzania and Namibia), but these countries became independent from Germany around 1915. Germany did start fairly early with its worker rotation program. Recruitment agreements were made with several countries by the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (Castles, 1985): Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). However, as the largest group was recruited from Turkey – and many guest workers stayed in Germany, the Turkish minority is by far the largest ethnic minority group. Their numbers kept rising because of family reunification, which eventually led to a recruitment ban (*Anwerbestopp*) in 1972. As no longitudinal data on other non-western ethnic minority groups is available, the Turkish minority was chosen as a proxy for non-western minorities in the German case. Their population share was 1.8% in 1975, 2.3% in 1985, 2.6% (or 3.2% of West-Germany) in 1995 and 3.0% (or 3.8% of West-Germany) in 2005 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006).

1.4.2 Ethnic Diversity in National Cultural Repertoires

Although repertoire theory has been primarily used in inductive research designs comparing the United States and France, considering how the United States, the Netherlands and Germany have dealt with increasing ethnic diversity might help to explain how literary field actors classify ethnic minority authors.

Until the 1960s the United States can be described as ethnically exclusive, especially towards the black population. Civil Rights protests resulted several antidiscrimination laws (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1965), providing equal right to all citizens. In the following years, the policy emphasis shifted from offering redress to discriminated individuals to preventing discrimination by protecting vulnerable groups (Harper & Reskin, 2005). These affirmative action policies required public institutions to identify the ethnic identity of students, employees or grantees. As a result, the United States became more and more a color-conscious society (Joppke, 1996). The resulting preferential treatment of certain ethnic groups seems in direct opposition to other primary tools of the American repertoire, that is, egalitarianism and individualism (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985). Hence, while most white Americans now say they endorse the extension and protection of basic civil liberties to African Americans, an equally large majority firmly opposes affirmative action (Kuklinksi et al., 1997). As such, "most Americans are still suspicious of organization along ethnic lines." (Alba & Nee, 2003: 143) In addition, varied perspectives on ethnic diversity exist, ranging from white supremacists to black Muslims to multiculturalists." (Kuipers, 2006: 395) Ethnic diversity thus has a prominent, albeit ambivalent, position in the American repertoire of evaluation.

In the Netherlands, cultural pluralism and tolerance have traditionally been important instruments to regulate conflict between equal religious factions (Zahn, 1991). The institutionalization of this tradition resulted in the pillarization of Dutch society along religious and political lines (Lijphart, 1968; Stuurman, 1983). These blocs, or pillars, were to a large extent autonomous, each with their own political parties, unions, broadcasting corporations and schools. The function of these pillars was to achieve emancipation though segregation. The initial government reaction to the increasing numbers of ethnic minorities was to encourage creating new pillars for each minority group. In practice one can only speak of ethic mini-pillars, mainly because the ethnic minority population is relatively small. Still, ethnic diversity has an increasingly prominent position in the Dutch national culural repertoire.

In contrast to the United States and the Netherlands, citizenship in Germany is exclusively based on descent rather than on birth or territory (Brubaker, 1992). This exclusive definition of citizenship has its historical roots in the concept of German nationhood as a linguistically and culturally unified group (*Volk*), a community of destiny (*Schicksalgemeinschaft*). According to Labrie (1994) the question of what is German has often been answered negatively, by defining what it is not. A good contemporary example of this negative integration – that is, the exclusion of outsiders as a way of expressing German identity and unity – are the difficulties Germany experiences in "coming to terms with its embarrassing foreigner problem." (Joppke, 1996: 465) Such a large number of inhabitants without civil rights eventually forced the German government to change the citizenship rules

in 2000 (Geissler & Meyer, 2002). So we might conclude that the German way of dealing with ethnic diversity is ignoring it – at least until 2000.

However, it is hard to predict how such different national repertoires play out within the literary field, primarily because national toolkits vary to the degree of organization in time and space (Swidler, 1986). In other words, while abstract national cultural repertoires may be systematic or logical, the actual use of different tools (e.g., ethnicity) is often determined by – sometimes seemingly inconsistent – pragmatic considerations (Swidler, 2002; Weber, 2005). For example, Griswold (1987: 1102) finds that American critics in the 1950s through the 1970s "revealed their obsession with race by talking about it so much, while the British indicated their preoccupation with colonialism by avoiding the subject." Like Griswold, I will compare similar literary institutions in different countries, which should enable me to account for possible cross-national differences in terms of national repertoires of evaluation or as a different configuration of the national literary fields.

1.5   OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

The second chapter ("Globalization and Ethnic Diversity in Western Newspaper Coverage of Literary Authors: Comparing Developments in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States, 1955 to 2005," which is forthcoming in *American Behavioral Scientist*) gives an overview regarding the quantitative newspaper attention devoted to ethnic minority authors and compares this attention to that received by foreign non-western authors. The third chapter ("Assimilation into the Literary Mainstream? The Classification of Ethnic Minority Authors in Newspaper Reviews in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, 1983-2009," which is currently under review) presents a more in depth study on the extent to which the ethnic background of immigrant minority authors is used in newspaper reviews of their work. Furthermore, it addresses whether ethnic minority authors have been able to cross ethnic boundaries or whether ethnic boundaries have shifted as a whole. The fourth chapter ("Ethnic Boundaries in American, Dutch and German National Literary Policies, 1965-2005", which has been published in the *International Journal for Cultural Policy*) discusses the extent to which ethnic diversity has been part of national literary policy organizations and how this relates to the position of this institution vis-à-vis the political field. Chapter five ("Ethnic Boundaries in National Literary Histories: Classification of Ethnic Minority Fiction Authors in American, Dutch and German Anthologies and Literary History Books, 1978-2006," which has been published in *Poetics*) focuses on national literary histories as written down in anthologies and literary history books. To what extent has ethnic diversity been part of these books? In the last chapter, I present a synthesis of my findings, demonstrating that abstract macro-cultural factors (national cultural repertoires) are

shaped by the structural positions that different institutions occupy within the literary field. This last chapter also includes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Globalization and Ethnic Diversity in Western Newspaper Coverage of Literary Authors: Comparing Developments in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States, 1955 to 2005

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is one of the most popular albeit ill-defined topics in the social sciences (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Hargittai & Centeno, 2001). Combining common elements, Guillén (2001: 236) describes it as "a process leading to greater interdependence and mutual awareness (reflexivity) among economic, political, and social units in the world, and among actors in general." However, scholars of cultural globalization generally have a narrower focus, studying the transnational diffusion of western popular culture (Crane, 2002; Kaufman & Patterson, 2005). Their dominant theoretical perspectives either emphasize cultural homogenization through the imperialism of western multinationals or the capacities of local actors to transform global cultural products into hybrid cultural forms (Kraidy, 2002; Lizardo, 2008). As a result, cultural globalization studies have largely neglected: (i) the increasing diffusion of cultural artifacts of non-western origin in the western world; (ii) the level of institutional recognition of such artifacts within western nation-states; and (iii) the role of international migration in this context.

We address these issues through a comparative analysis of the extent and composition of newspaper coverage given to literary authors of non-western ethnic origin[1] in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States between 1955 and 2005. Postcolonial literary scholars signal a substantial "contra-flow" from the "rest" to the West, resulting in an ethnically more diverse supply of literary works in western countries (Huggan, 2001). Moreover, international migration – one of the most omnipresent forms of globalization (Held et al., 1999) – has given rise to ethnic minority authors in these countries, leading to greater awareness of the ethnic other from within western nation-states. We analyze the dynamics of cross-cultural literary exchange not only *between* but also *within* nation-states, considering western newspaper coverage of both *foreign* literary authors of non-western ethnic origin and *domestic* ethnic minority authors.

Literary coverage in western elite newspapers provides an excellent case for studying the institutional recognition of authors with a non-western background. These newspapers select, shape and frame what is considered socially and culturally relevant (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, & Rucht, 2002; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). They also play a key role in the legitimation and consecration of cultural artifacts, as their selections and judgments channel and shape subsequent perception and valuation by audiences and other actors in the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1993; Van Rees, 1983). Through a content analysis of the newspaper coverage given to non-western writers in various western countries, we may thus assess the extent to which increased awareness of the ethnic "other" has been transformed in institutional recognition in these societies. We include France, Germany, the Netherlands and the U.S. in our study to compare the journalistic attention to non-western authors across traditional nations of

immigration (the U.S.), former colonial powers (France, the Netherlands) and guest worker recruitment countries (Germany).

Institutional recognition of domestic (Berkers, 2009a; Duell, 2000) and foreign authors of non-western ethnic origin (Griswold, 1987) appears to result in part from similar macro-structural processes (e.g., international migration). However, the latter category of authors often have already received some literary recognition in their home country and/ or in one of the major literary centers (Casanova, 2004; Malingret, 2002), while the valuation of domestic ethnic minority authors seems more often linked to questions of acculturation and their relationship to the national literary field. Before presenting the design and findings of our analysis, we consider various macro-structural and field-level factors that may influence the coverage given to both categories of authors.

2.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.2.1 Coverage of Domestic Ethnic Minority Authors

Newspaper coverage given to ethnic minority authors in the studied countries may be affected by various characteristics of each country's ethnic minority population (size, language skills and level of education) and the degree of field-level recognition of ethnic minority authors.

Ethnic Minority Population, Language Skills and Level of Education
In the absence of reliable, longitudinal data on the population of ethnic minority authors in each country – only impressionistic lists of ethnic minority authors exist – we first look at the size of each country's minority population (Table 2.1) because that possibly affects the presence of ethnic minority authors in each country. The French government does not distinguish between majorities and minorities and as such only collects data on the foreign population. The share of non-western foreigners is over 3% in 1999.[2] As longitudinal data on other non-western minority groups are unavailable, we use the Turkish minority as proxy for the non-western minority population in Germany. Turks are by far the largest ethnic minority group in Germany, representing 2-3% of the population. In the U.S., ethno-racial minorities account for about one fifth (1975) to one third (2005) of the population, which is a multiple of the share of non-western ethnic minorities in the Netherlands.

However, sheer numbers provide a crude indication of the presence of ethnic minority authors at best. The literary fields of Western societies are notoriously selective in terms of social background, level of schooling and language skills. Becoming a literary author – i.e., to become recognized as such by literary publishers and other relevant actors in the literary field – requires a substantial amount of "cultural" and "linguistic" capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Members of the lower socio-economic strata are thus less likely to gain access to the literary field, and this holds *a fortiori* if

2. Fetzer and Soper (2005) estimate that the share of non-western minorities is twice as large.

Table 2.1. Background Characteristics Ethnic Minority Groups in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States

	France	Germany	Netherlands	United States
Dominant Terminology (Operationalization)	*Non-Western Foreigners*	*Non-Western Foreigners (Turkish Minority)*	*Non-Western Ethnic Minorities*	*Ethno-Racial Minorities[1]*
Size (% of total population)[2]				
1975	*2.5*	*1.8*	*1.8*	*18.5*
1995	*3.7 (1990)*	*2.6*	*7.3*	*26.4*
2005	*3.2 (1999)*	*3.0*	*10.4*	*33.1*
Origin of Main Groups	*Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia*	*Turkey*	*Surinam, Dutch Antilles, Turkey, Morocco*	*Africa, Latin America, Asia*
Language Proficiency/ Educational Attainment vis-à-vis Other Minority Groups	*Algerians* *+ / − −*	*Turks* *− − / − −*	*Surinamese/ Antilleans* *+ / − +*	*African Americans* *+ / −*
	Moroccans/ Tunisians *− + / − −*		*Turks/ Moroccans* *− / − −*	*Hispanics* *− / − −*
				Asian Americans *+ / + +*

Sources: France: Hargreaves (1995), INSEE (1999); Germany: Statistisches Bundesamt (2002, 2003, 2006); Netherlands: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2009); United States: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1981, 2000, 2007).

1. People describing themselves as black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander and American Indian or Alaska Native.
2. We did not include 1955 because no comparable data are available for that particular year.

they lack sufficient language skills and schooling.

In France, the Maghrebis – particularly the Algerian minority – have fairly good French language skills, but they are over-represented in the lower social strata (Hargreaves, 1995). The Turkish minority in Germany is generally far less proficient in German and has a lower level of education than other ethnic minority groups (Dustmann, 1994; Worbs, 2003). The language skills and educational attainment of immigrants (and their descendents) from the former Dutch colonies are not so far behind the Dutch majority, contrary to those of the Turkish and Moroccan minorities (Tesser, Merens, & Van Praag, 1999). Language homogeneity is seen as the foundation of American nationhood and identity, which has led ethnic minority groups to adapt the new language much faster than in other countries (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). However, ethno-racial groups differ strongly in English language proficiency; Hispanics lag behind other minority groups (Carliner, 2000). On average, they also have a lower educational background compared to other minority groups (Table 2.1)

Institutional Recognition and the Literary Field

In view of the above features of each country's ethnic minority population, the U.S. likely has the biggest population of ethnic minority authors and Germany the smallest, with in between positions for France and the Netherlands. However, the sheer presence of ethnic minority authors does not automatically lead to newspaper coverage of these authors. Such attention also depends on the power relations in a country's literary field (Bourdieu, 1993), where diverse groups propose, support and contest (legitimate) conceptions of literature and newcomers challenge established positions. The outcome of this struggle determines, among other things, which writers are granted institutional recognition. In the absence of an objective instrument for determining literary quality, journalistic critics tend to reproduce the selections of other experts in the literary field (Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1983). Thus, the degree to which authoritative institutions in the literary field – academic literary criticism (canons), literary policy and literary prizes – devote attention to ethnic diversity appears a good predictor of the level of newspaper coverage of ethnic minority authors.

Ethnic diversity has been an important issue in the American literary field since the Civil Rights movement. The late 1960s witnessed the initiation of programs and departments in African American studies, followed by other, albeit less successful "group studies" like Latino, Native American and Asian American studies (Duell, 2000). Despite "countermobilization" efforts by conservative academic elites in the 1980s and 1990s, these canon wars advanced the recognition of ethnic minority authors (Bryson, 2005; Corse & Griffin, 1997). Concomitantly, the representation of ethnic minority authors in literary anthologies and scholarly literary journals increased quite drastically (Berkers, 2009b). However, the National Endowment for the Arts' funding of ethnic minority authors has declined somewhat over time (Berkers, 2009a), while few ethnic minority writers have received a prestigious literary prize.[3]

The French idea of universalism suggests there is no need to challenge the literary canon: meritocracy and equality will ensure that every author – majority or minority – has the same chance of being canonized (Duell, 2000). Several France-based authors of non-western origin received the prestigious Prix Goncourt.[4] but on the whole, the French literary field seems not very receptive to ethnic diversity. Some scholars suggest that these writers simply do not meet the high demands of French publishers and critics (Lay-Chenchabi, 2004). Others indicate that French publishers are not particularly interested in ethnic minority authors since – because of the universalist French tradition – they cannot use these authors' background as a selling point (e.g., Obbema, 2003).

German literature departments have been reluctant – if not resistant – toward multiculturalism and works by ethnic minority writers have not become part of the literary canon (Jankowsky, 1997). Ethnic minority authors are largely absent from German literary history books as well as

3. Between 1955 and 2005, three ethnic minority writers won the National Book Award – Alice Walker (1983), Charles Johnson (1990), Jin Ha (1999) – while seven ehnic minoriy writers received the Pulitzer Prize Fiction: N. Scott Momaday (1969), James Alan McPherson (1978), Alice Walker (1983), Toni Morrison (1988), Oscar Hijuelos (1990), Jhumpa Lahiri (2000), Edward P. Jones (2004).

4. Tahar Ben Jelloun (1987), Amin Malouf (1993), Patrick Chamoiseau (1995).

5. Emine Sevgi Özdamar and Feridun Zaimoglu.

6. Kader Abdolah, Abdelkader Benali, Hafid Bouazza, and Mustafa Stitou.

literary journals (Berkers, 2009b). In early 2000, the German Literature Fund supported approximately 400 individual authors of whom only two - were of Turkish descent (Berkers, 2009a).[5] Both authors are also the only minority writers who won prestigious literary prizes (Rösch, 2006).

In the Netherlands, the literary canon was subjected to some debate, but no "war" was waged over it (Joosten, 2005). Since the late 1980s, the share of ethnic minority authors in literary history books increased slowly to about 4% in 2006 (Berkers, 2009b). However, the Dutch Literature Fund specifically targets ethnic minority authors and has separate funds available for such authors. The share of ethnic minority writers supported by this fund increased from 1% in 1970 to 7% in 2005 (Berkers, 2009a). In recent years, several ethnic minority authors received prestigious national literary awards (T'Sjoen, 2004).[6]

These data on receptiveness to ethnic diversity within each country's literary field suggest that ethnic minority authors are most likely to be featured in U.S. newspapers and least so in French and German newspapers, with an in between position for the Netherlands.

2.2.2 Coverage of Foreign Authors of Non-Western Ethnic Origin

The level and composition of the newspaper coverage given to foreign literary authors of non-western ethnic origin can be expected to vary across countries according to their position in the literary world-system and their geo-linguistic ties wih non-western countries.

Literary World-System

In the wake of cultural globalization, national literary fields have become embedded in transnational systems of exchange, influence, and competition. The result has been a "literary world-system," (Heilbron, 1999) which involves an implicit classification of countries according to the perceived importance of their literary production. A country's centrality in this literary world-system will likely affect the level of newspaper coverage given to foreign authors of non-western origin (Janssen, 2009): the more central a country's position, the more attention its newspapers will devote to domestic – instead of foreign (non-western) – authors; and the more attention foreign newspapers will pay to this country's (ethnic minority) writers or to foreign authors (of non-western origin) who reside in this country. Newspapers in less central countries are more likely to devote attention to foreign authors based in central countries, including those of non-western origin.

In 1955, the United States already had a prominent international position, particularly thanks to its role as a producer of popular fiction, but it shared the lead with France – which played a highly central role in most cultural fields (Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008), including literature. Since then, the U.S. has acquired an increasingly central position in the international literary arena, concomitantly with the growing supremacy of the English language and American culture. In contrast, France has come

to occupy a less dominant position than before (Sapiro, 2008), although it has remained the main center for West- and North-African writers as well as for francophone authors in Belgium, Switzerland, and Canada (Casanova, 2004). Germany has been unable to (re)gain a central literary position after World War II outside the German-speaking region, while the Netherlands traditionally occupies a (semi)peripheral position (Janssen, 2009).

In view of the above, Dutch and German newspapers will likely devote the most attention to foreign authors of non-western origin, i.e., those based in more central countries, and U.S. papers the least, while French papers will probably take an in between position.

Geo-Linguistic Ties

Studies of cultural globalization and foreign news production generally find geographic proximity and language kinship to be important predictors of the receptiveness to foreign products or events (Clausen, 2003; La Palestina & Straubhaar, 2005). The stronger a country's "geo-linguistic ties" with particular non-western countries (Table 2.2), the more attention authors with that particular non-western background will probably receive.

Table 2.2. Geo-Linguistic Ties of France, Germany, Netherlands, and the United States wih Non-Western Countries

	Colonial Ties	Language Ties	Labor Immigration Ties
France	*Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia*	*Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia*	*Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia*
	Senegal, Gambia, Niger, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Benin, Gabon, Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Chad	*Senegal, Gambia, Niger, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Benin, Gabon, Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Chad*	*Senegal, Gambia, Niger, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Benin, Gabon, Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Chad*
	French Caribbean[1]		
	Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia		
Germany			*Turkey*
Netherlands	*Surinam, Dutch Antilles, Indonesia*	*Surinam, Dutch Antilles*	*Turkey, Morocco*
U.S.	*Philippines*	*Former British Colonies (e.g., Ghana, Nigeria, India)*	*Mexico*

1. Excluding the French Overseas Departments and Territories.

France has been the center of one of the largest colonial empires. In many French colonies, French was the official language and has kept its importance even after the independence (Crystal, 1997). The Dutch colonial empire was much smaller and although Dutch is still the official language of Surinam and the Dutch Antilles, the Netherlands has never been the center of an international network of Dutch language nations.

France, Germany and the Netherlands hardly have ties with non-western countries solely based on language. The United States shares its language with many former British colonies. More importantly, since 1945, English has replaced other languages – primarily French – as the dominant and second language in many parts of the world (Crystal, 1997). Finally, the U.S. has close ties with other Anglophone countries, in particular the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, which are all important recipients of non-western immigrants.

Third, all countries have labor immigration ties with other countries. After 1945, most Western-European countries recruited large numbers of workers from abroad, initially from nearby Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain and Greece) but later also from more geographically and culturally distant nations. France recruited its guest workers mainly recruited from former (francophone) African colonies (Fetzer, 2000), while in Germany and the Netherlands, most immigrants came from linguistically distant countries, i.e., Turkey and Morocco (Lucassen & Penninx, 1996; Martin, 1998). In the United States, most labor immigrants originate in Mexico, having Spanish as their mother tongue (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

The countries' geo-linguistic ties with non-western nations suggest that French and Dutch newspapers devote the most attention to foreign authors with a non-western background, focusing on Francophone and Dutch-language writers from former colonies. U.S. and particularly German newspapers will probably cover less foreign non-western authors, focusing respectively on Anglophone writers and no group of authors in particular.

2.3   DATA AND METHODS

2.3.1   Content Analysis

We include France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States in this study to ensure sufficient comparability (i.e., all are modern western welfare states), while leaving enough differentiation on several relevant dimensions, i.e., ethnic diversity, colonial and immigration history, position in the literary world-system.

For each country, we content analyzed two leading, elite oriented newspapers (one for the U.S.): *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* (France), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Germany), *NRC Handelsblad*, *de Volkskrant* (Netherlands) and the *New York Times* (U.S.).

For each newspaper, we analyzed the coverage given to literature in 1955, 1975, 1995, and 2005. We used the constructed week sampling technique (see Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008) to pick 24 editions of each paper per reference year (28 for the *New York Times*). We selected all articles (reviews, interviews, etcetera) focusing on a specific literary author or group of authors (not necessarily one book) for the present analysis (N = 2,300).

2.3.2 Operationalization of Nationality, Ethnic Origin, and Geo-Linguistic Ties

As we compare two types of authors (domestic and foreign), we first coded writers for "nationality." Whenever the country of citizenship was not known, we used the writer's country of origin according to literary reference works.

Second, for reasons of cross-national comparability and conceptual clarity, we classified and included authors using a meta-category, "authors of non-western ethnic origin." We consider ethnicity a social construction made up "out of the material of language, religion, culture appearance, ancestry or regionality." (Nagel, 1994: 53) Thus, we operationalized "non-western ethnic origin" along the lines of regional descent, or more specifically, we broadly included those regions that culturally have *not* been dominated by the Judeo-Christian tradition and subsequent secularization (Inglehart, 1997; Therborn, 1995), *and* that have a majority language which is *not* part of the Indo-European family. As such, our analysis includes authors whose origins can be traced back to Africa, Asia (including Turkey) and Central and South America. Since African Americans and Native Americans are considered ethnic minorities – albeit not non-western anymore – we included them in this study. Thus, the meta-category "literary authors of non-western origin" includes domestic ethnic minority authors (e.g., Abdelkader Benali, a Dutch national of Moroccan origin, discussed in *de Volkskrant*), foreign ethnic minority authors (e.g., Salman Rushdie, a British national of Indian descent, covered in the *New York Times*) and non-western majority authors (e.g., Orhan Pamuk, a Turkish national of Turkish descent, discussed in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*).

Third, we operationalized geo-linguistic ties by coding the writers' countries or regions of origin as being (former) colonies and/or labor recruitment countries according to the data in Table 2.2. In addition, we determined the (predominant) language of each author's writings and whether he or she lived in the country of the newspaper at the time the article appeared.

2.4 FINDINGS

2.4.1 Extent of Coverage of Authors of Non-Western Origin

Out of the 2,300 articles devoted to literature, 172 focused on authors of non-western ethnic origin: 33 domestic and 139 foreign writers, including 33 – primarily American and English – ethnic minority authors and 106 non-western majority authors. The amount of ethnic diversity – i.e., the number of authors of non-western descent as a percentage of all authors covered – increases from 0-2% in 1955 to 7-13% in 1995, showing stability in 2005 (Table 2.3). Quite surprisingly, we find a similar longitudinal pattern in all four countries. Cross-national differences in the overall newspaper attention to ethnic diversity seem negligible.

Table 2.3. Amount of Non-Western Authors Discussed in Newspapers (Total, Domestic and Foreign) by Country and Year

		1955	1975	1995	2005
France	Total	2%	4%	13%	11%
	Domestic Ethnic Minorities	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.4% (3)	1.0% (1)
	Foreign	8.3% (1)	9.1% (5)	24.8% (27)	18.1% (25)
	- ethnic minorities	(0)	(1)	(4)	(1)
	- non-western majorities	(1)	(4)	(23)	(24)
Germany	Total	0%	2%	7%	8%
	Domestic Ethnic Minorities	0% (0)	0% (0)	0%(0)	1.4% (1)
	Foreign	0% (0)	3.9% (3)	12.1% (15)	12.1% (15)
	- ethnic minorities	(0)	(1)	(4)	(4)
	- non-western majorities	(0)	(2)	(11)	(11)
Netherlands	Total	0%	6%	12%	9%
	Domestic Ethnic Minorities	0%(0)	3.2% (1)	3.1% (2)	5.1% (5)
	Foreign	0%(0)	6.8% (4)	18.4% (19)	12.5% (15)
	- ethnic minorities	(0)	(0)	(9)	(6)
	- non-western majorities	(0)	(4)	(10)	(9)
U.S.	Total	1%	3%	11%	11%
	Domestic Ethnic Minorities	0% (0)	4.2% (3)	9.3% (8)	10.8% (9)
	- excl. African and Native Americans	(0)	(0)	(3)	(6)
	Foreign	1.6% (1)	0% (0)	13.2% (5)	10.5% (4)
	- ethnic minorities	(1)	(0)	(0)	(2)
	- non-western majorities	(0)	(0)	(5)	(2)

Note: Total gives percentage of total author sample; domestic is percentage of total domestic authors; foreign is percentage of total foreign authors.

Domestic Authors

In all four countries, newspaper attention to ethnic minority authors is limited (Table 2.3), which makes it difficult to draw conclusions about longitudinal developments. Most surprising is the near absence of ethnic minority authors in the French newspapers, despite their considerable population share and linguistic proximity. The German newspapers also cover hardly any ethnic minority authors. Neither the Dutch papers nor the *New York Times* review any ethnic minority authors in 1955. While this is not very surprising considering the share of ethnic minorities in the Dutch population (1.2%), ethnic minorities (primarily African-Americans) represented already 10% of the U.S. population in 1955. In 2005, ethnic minorities account for over 10% of the Dutch population, but ethnic minority authors take up only 5% of the literary coverage. In the U.S., ethnic minority authors' share has risen to 11%, but this percentage is well behind ethnic minorities' share (33%) in the population.[7]

Foreign Authors

Between 1955 and 1995, the share of non-western foreign authors has increased in all four countries (Table 2.3), showing stability (Germany) or decline (France, the Netherlands and the United States) in 2005. However, the overtime differences are only significant for France. Between 1975 and 1995, the share of non-western foreign authors also shows a significant rise in the German and Dutch newspapers. These trend data are in line with the development of newspaper coverage accorded to foreign authors in general (Janssen, 2009).

Whereas cross-national differences are salient when studying all foreign authors (ibid.), the extent of newspaper coverage given to authors of foreign non-western origin does not show such strong variations. This is probably due to the limited number of non-western authors. Only for 1995, we may conclude that French newspapers pay more attention to foreign authors of non-western descent than their German counterparts. Finally, articles discussing non-western majority authors – as compared to foreign ethnic minority authors – account for most of the coverage given to foreign non-western authors (Table 2.3). The details will be discussed below.

2.4.2 Qualifying the Coverage of Authors of Non-Western Origin
Table 2.4 shows to what extent authors of non-western ethnic origin are related to the four countries and how these ties can be characterized.

Domestic Authors

The coverage of ethnic minority authors remains relatively limited in all four countries. Most authors who do receive newspaper attention are linked to the country by language (Table 2.4) and they are also well-educated (see Appendix A). This finding underlines the importance of "linguistic" and "cultural" capital to writers' careers.

7. But whereas the increase in newspaper attention between 1955 and 1995 is primarily the result of a rise in the coverage of African American authors, the small increase in 2005 can be attributed to increased attention to first, second and third generation immigrant authors.

Table 2.4. Ties between Country of Newspaper and Covered Authors with a Non-Western Ethnicity (domestic and foreign), 1955-2005 (n=172)

		1955 Dom	For	1975 Dom	For	1995 Dom	For	2005 Dom	For
France	No Ties	0	0	0	3	0	18	0	16
	Ties	0	1	0	2	3	9	1	9
	- language	0	1	0	2	3	7	1	9
	- colony	0	0	0	2	2	7	0	7
	- residence	0	1	0	2	3	3	1	4
	- labor immigration	0	0	0	2	0	7	0	6
Germany	No Ties	0	0	0	3	0	15	0	13
	Ties	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	- language	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	- colony	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
	- residence	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	- labor immigration	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netherlands	No Ties	0	0	0	3	0	16	0	10
	Ties	0	0	1	1	2	3	5	5
	- language	0	0	1	0	2	3	5	4
	- colony	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	3
	- residence	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	3
	- labor immigration	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
U.S.	No Ties	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
	Ties	0	1	3	0	8	2	9	3
	- language	0	1	3	0	8	2	9	3
	- colony	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	- residence	0	1	3	0	8	1	9	1
	- labor immigration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	No Ties	0	0	0	8	0	52	0	40
	Ties	0	2	4	4	11	16	12	23
	Sample	0	2	4	12	11	68	12	63

Note: All figures are absolute numbers. Contrary to main categories (No Ties, Ties), subcategories (language, colony, residence, labor immigration) may double since authors may have several ties.

All four ethnic minority writers covered in French newspapers write in French and two of them also have a colonial tie: Rafael Confiant (Martinique) and Gisèle Pineau (Guadeloupe). Except for Francoise Chandernagor, they also studied at French universities. Despite their proficiency in French, our sample did not contain any author from a labor immigrant country. But considering the general educational level – and subsequent lack of cultural capital – we anticipated that aspirant-writers from these ethnic groups are less likely to meet the French literary field's strict entry requirements.

Despite the presence of quite a few Turkish minority authors (Rösch, 2006), German elite newspapers also hardly cover these authors, whose parents came to Germany as immigrant laborers; Imran Ayata being the only exception. This lack of coverage corresponds to the limited attention to ethnic diversity in the German literary field. However, it should be noted that many Turkish minority authors (initially) wrote in Turkish and had their books published by Turkish minority publishers (Rösch, 2006).

Half of the ethnic minority authors covered in Dutch newspapers are first or second generation immigrants from former colonies, who studied at Dutch higher education institutions: Yvonne Keuls (1975) and Rogier Boon (1995), both of Indonesian descent, and Antoine de Kom (1995) and Tessa Leuwsha (2005), both of Surinamese origin. Abdelkader Benali (Morocco) has been the only first or second generation labor immigrant discussed in our Dutch newspaper samples. In view of their higher Dutch language skills and level of educational attainment, it is not surprising that authors linked to former colonies are covered earlier and receive more coverage than (the descendants of) Turkish and Moroccan labor immigrants. Dutch newspapers also devote increasing attention to ethnic minority authors of non-related regions (China and Egypt), which accords with the greater receptiveness to ethnic diversity in the Dutch literary field.

In the U.S. case, Mexican Americans are the only ethnic group not represented in our newspaper sample, which may be also due to their relatively low level of (English) language proficiency and level of education. From 1975 onwards, the *New York Times* discusses – well-educated – African American authors (e.g., Gil Scott-Heron, Shirlee Taylor Haizlip, Gloria Wade-Gayles), followed by Asian American writers in 1995 (e.g., Amy Tan, Jin Ha) and a Native American author in 2005 (Louise Erdrich). This development corresponds to the opening up of the American literary canon since in the early 1990s. But whereas the share of ethnic minority authors in literary anthologies rises to 30%, their representation in newspaper coverage remains far more limited (Berkers, 2009b).

Foreign Authors
Geo-linguistic ties appear more important for the French newspapers than for their German, Dutch and American counterparts. From 1975 onwards, around 40% of non-western foreign authors are linked to France by language, colonial past, residence, and/or labor immigration. The majority consists of francophone authors who reside in France, but who were born in – and are still citizens of – former colonies. Newspaper critics and other agents in the French literary field may have long considered writers from its former colonies as "too similar to be celebrated as exotic foreigners but too remote to be considered worthy of interest," (Casanova, 2004: 122) but they seem to have embraced these authors – instead of English-language American and British ethnic minority authors – once France came to occupy a less central position in the literary world system.[8]

Germany has no (recent) colonial past and it has only one major resource country for labor immigrants (Turkey). This more or less explains why only two out of 33 authors in our sample have ties to Germany: Fadhil Al-Azzawi, a Berlin-based writer of Iraqi origin and 2006 Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk. Pamuk's presence in German newspapers should in all likelihood be attributed to his international literary reputation rather than the German Turkish labor immigration connection. German and Dutch papers in particular cover a significant number of these non-

8. Our findings confirm the declining centrality of France. First, although Paris still appears to function as a center for francophone authors from its former colonies, only a few non-western authors from non-related regions reside in France and/or have written in French. Second, few Paris-based, francophone authors of non-western origin received coverage in German, Dutch and American newspapers.

western, "star authors"[9] who were first "discovered" in major one of the major international centers, which seems to underline the semi-peripheral position of the Germany and the Netherlands in the literary world-system.

As expected (see Table 2.2), Dutch newspaper coverage to authors from former colonies is less extensive than in France. In 1975, one article (out of four) deals with authors of Surinamese and Antillean origin in general. The 1995 and 2005 newspaper articles feature two Antillean authors (Frank Martinus Arion and Richard Piternella) and four Surinamese writers (Albert Helman, Clark Accord, Roue Hupsel, and Trefossa). Except for the latter, these authors are Dutch-language writers, who in most cases reside(d) in their region of origin. Foreign authors originating in labor sending countries also receive minimal coverage. Many foreign authors with no direct ties to Netherlands are British and American ethic minority authors (e.g., Salman Rushdie, Hanif Kureishi, Timothy Mo). This not only underlines the peripheral position of the Dutch literary field, but also its Anglo-Saxon orientation.

In the U.S. case, the labor immigration tie is also absent as the *New York Times* covered no Mexican authors. The small number of non-western foreign authors in the *New York Times* accords with America's central position in the literary world system. Moreover, these authors all reside in other Anglophone countries – e.g., Aubrey Menen, Kazuo Ishiguro (U.K.) and Browyn Bancroft (Australia) – or in the U.S. itself – such as Anita Desai (India) and Chris Abani (Nigeria). Compared to the non-western authors based in France, the origins of these U.S. based authors are far more diverse, again pointing to America's central role in the literary world -system. This central role is also reflected in the sizeable numbers of U.S. ethnic minority writers and U.S. based foreign authors who receive coverage in the French, German and Dutch newspapers.

2.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The extent of newspaper coverage given to literary authors of non-western origin since 1955 shows a similar development for France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States. First, the share of non-western authors within the total literary coverage increased, particularly between 1975 and 1995, pointing to a growing awareness in the West of the "rest." Second, in 2005, we find a backlash in newspaper attention to – in particular foreign – authors of non-western descent. The coverage of all (western and non-western) foreign authors does not show such a general trend (Janssen, 2009). Could it be that the attention to ethnic diversity has reached a glass ceiling? Several scholars have noted a "retreat" from multiculturalism in various countries' policies (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008). So the decline in attention might be related to a change in the political climate

of most countries, resulting in a stronger focus on the national majority literature.

The coverage of foreign authors of non-western origin shows some interesting – albeit mostly not significant – cross-national differences. Concomitantly with the erosion of France's central position, French newspapers have become more interested in foreign non-western authors as have French publishers and cultural policy makers (Heilbron, 2008). This shift can partly be explained by France's geo-linguistic ties with its many former colonies, rendering France as the center of the Francophone literary world. But the significant increase of attention to non-western writers with no direct ties to France could indicate that the French discontent with globalization *à l'américaine* has promoted interest in "peripheral" foreign literatures (Sapiro, 2008). This would be in line with France's tradition as a great literary nation, and perhaps with a latent sense of its *mission civilisatrice* (Heilbron, 2008). In view of their respective positions in the literary world-system, it is hardly surprising that, the Dutch and the German newspapers pay far more attention to foreign authors of non-western origin than the *New York Times*.

As expected, newspaper coverage of ethnic minority authors is much more limited. The few ethnic minority writers who do receive attention generally have strong geo-linguistic ties with that particular country and are well-educated. This confirms the importance of linguistic and cultural capital for making a literary career. In addition, both the French and German literary fields do not seem very receptive to ethnic diversity. The virtual absence of ethnic minority writers in the French case is particularly intriguing and calls for further research, as these writers' alleged lack of writing skills and "marketability" provides a partial explanation at best. Dutch literary institutions as well as newspapers seem to have become more open to ethnic minority authors. However, probably due to lower language skills, labor immigrant minorities and their descendants lag behind authors from former colonies. Finally, in line with the larger number and greater receptiveness to ethnic minority authors in the American literary field, our *New York Times* sample counts more ethnic minority authors than all European newspaper editions combined.

Although the coverage of non-western majority authors suggests that narrowly-defined cultural globalization – the diffusion of cultural artifacts from the "rest" to the West – is (still?) responsible for most ethnic diversity, the impact of international migration has increased in importance. Except for the U.S., its direct effect on each national literary field has been limited. But the increased presence of American ethnic minority authors in Dutch and German papers, suggests that the impact of international migration is mediated by a country's position in the literary world-system. As a result of their successful mobilization, these authors could gain increasing recognition in the U.S., culminating in their inclusion in university curricula and the ranks of prestigious literary prizewinners. With the U.S.'s growing centrality in the literary world-system and the

increasing dominance of the English language, authors like Toni Morrison and even non-star authors like Edwidge Danticat and Suki Kim could also gain international literary prestige. In contrast, for Dutch or German ethnic minority writers, chances of an international breakthrough remain few, being based outside one of the Anglophone centers of the literary world-system and not writing in a hypercentral language.

CHAPTER 3

Assimilation into the Literary Mainstream?
The Classification of Ethnic Minority
Authors in Newspaper Reviews in the
United States, the Netherlands and
Germany, 1983-2009

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Participation in cultural practices, both receptive and productive, differs greatly along lines of social stratification. A body of research has shown how social boundaries – unequal access to resources and opportunities for particular social groups – affect cultural participation (for a recent overview, see Bennett et al., 2008). In recent years, however, sociologists have increasingly focused on the conceptual or symbolic distinctions that shape cultural field dynamics. These symbolic boundaries – which can be defined as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002: 168) – are manifest in every societal domain (e.g., work, art) and may concern all types of group-based classifications (e.g., gender, class, ethnicity). Here, we study possible shifts in the symbolic boundaries that ethnic minority groups face when entering the domain of high culture production, more precisely the literary field (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993). To this end, we seek to combine two strands of boundary research that have been particularly fruitful in the past decades.

Studies in the sociology of culture have highlighted how artistic classifications produce symbolic value and cultural hierarchies (Baumann, 2001; Baumann, Dowd, & Janssen, 2009; DiMaggio, 1987; Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008; Lamont, 1992). In line with the Bourdieusian framework (1984 [1979]) which presents cultural distinctions as the outcome of social class struggles, cultural sociologists have focused on hierarchical – or "vertical" – rather than "horizontal" classifications (see Schwartz, 1981). As a result of this orientation, the role of ethnicity within cultural fields has received relatively little attention (Bennett et al, 2008; Hall, 1992; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). We therefore turn to a second line of research for a better understanding of how ethnic boundaries are constructed and changed in society. Although sociologists of race and ethnicity have primarily looked at the boundary-work of powerful institutions (as the state) and everyday classifications of ordinary people (Brubaker et al., 2004), they have demonstrated that actors in all fields often rely upon ethnic classifications. They argue that such categorizations are widely used since these tend to be readily accessible and – in many instances – seem fit for understanding a complex social reality (Hale, 2004).

Drawing on these two strands of literature, we will examine how careers of ethnic minority fiction authors develop in terms of the critical reception of their work and the use of ethnic classifications by literary critics. For this purpose, we will perform a content analysis of newspaper reviews of the complete oeuvres of these authors. This enables us to trace how literary critics may draw ethnic boundaries by making references to the ethnic and/or majority background of the reviewed author but also through comparisons with other writers (ethnic minority and/or majority). When authors in the course of their career escape such "typecasting," this would indicate that they move beyond the "ethnic minority" category and

become part of the literary mainstream (Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa, & Von Rittmann, 2003). At the same time, we follow the careers of authors who made their debut in different time periods (Ekelund & Borjesson, 2002) – between 1983 and 2009 – to assess whether ethnic boundaries themselves have changed within the literary field. With this design we are able to distinguish between "boundary crossing" (individual-level assimilation into the literary mainstream of ethnic minority authors) and "boundary shifting" (structural change in the position of ethnic boundaries, leading to the inclusion of ethnic minority authors in mainstream as a group) (Zolberg & Woon, 1999). We expect these processes to differ across time and place – in relation to wider societal features, such as the size and composition of a society's ethnic minority population and particularities of the literary field. Hence, we compare three western immigration countries (United States, the Netherlands and Germany) over a 25-year period. Whereas the United States can be regarded as a traditional immigration nation, mass labor immigration ("guest workers") is a more recent phenomenon in the Netherlands (despite its colonial past) and Germany. The central question of this article is twofold: (i) to what extent have literary critics in the U.S., the Netherlands and Germany drawn ethnic boundaries in their reviews of ethnic minority writers between 1983 and 2009 and (ii) to what extent have such boundaries changed in literary criticism in each country in the course of ethnic minority writers' careers and across time?

The case of the literary field provides an excellent opportunity to study ethnic boundaries in cultural fields. Literature is generally considered a highbrow art form, yet with a wide appeal to both intellectuals and common literary readers. The assimilation of ethnic minorities into such a high-status, influential domain of society would indicate the conference of symbolic value on both the concerned individuals, but also the entire, previously excluded group. However, the strongly language-based nature of literature implies that ethnic minorities face a stronger boundary in the field of literature than in other domains. In this study, we focus on newspaper critics because their selective and evaluatory activities determine to a great extent which works count as legitimate literature and which writers will eventually be canonized (Rosengren, 1987; Van Rees, 1983).

Our study contributes in several ways to earlier research. First, the role of ethnicity in the cultural domain is still vastly understudied yet highly relevant for understanding cultural classifications. Second, to our knowledge, this is one of the first studies to employ a longitudinal, cross-national design to unravel processes of boundary crossing and boundary shifting. In any case, cross-national boundary research is still relatively rare (Bail, 2008; Zhao, 2005). Third, critics tend to strongly emphasize purely aesthetic criteria ("arts for art's sake") in their assessment of literary works, but extra-textual considerations – such as the literary prestige of the publisher or previous critical judgments – have been demonstrated to deeply affect critics' evaluative schemes (cf. Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1983).

3.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.2.1 Literary Field, Critics and Aesthetic Classifications

The concept of "cultural fields" plays a crucial role in the classification of art. According to Bourdieu (1993), such fields are divided in different, historically constructed subfields which correspond to social class divisions. Whereas some actors strongly rely on market considerations in their production, distribution or consumption practices, others strive to distinguish themselves through "good" taste and focus on "autonomous" instead of "commercial" art. The cultural capital that is needed for making such distinctions is unequally distributed over social groups, generally favoring the traditionally dominant groups in society (higher social classes, men, whites). The institutions involved in the construction and dissemination of cultural capital have often been said to maintain existing hierarchies, among others in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990 [1970]) seminal study on "reproduction" in education. The institution of literary criticism has been argued to play a similar role. Critics function as gatekeepers deciding which literature conforms to the basic criteria that make a work worthy of consideration (Hirsch, 1972; Rosengren, 1987; Van Rees 1983). Besides drawing social boundaries, critics and other literary actors (e.g., publishers) attribute literary prestige (symbolic capital) to literary works, primarily by classifying them in aesthetic instead of commercial terms (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]).

Previous work on literary critics has shown how they reach a basic consensus over what texts deserve their attention and how such agreement serves to ensure the legitimacy of the institution in general (Bourdieu, 1980; Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1983, 1987; Van Rees & Vermunt, 1996). Institutionally embedded agreement supports critics' claim that they indeed have the expertise and authority to select and assess literature (Bourdieu, 1980). Finding such consensus takes time, as it requires a careful fine-tuning of evaluations, often referred to as process of "orchestration" (Van Rees, 1987). Not only do critics look at each other's classifications, they also use extra-textual information on authors' field position, which may predict how their career will develop or may help to classify newly published literary works, such as the status of the publisher (Janssen, 1997), literary sideline activities, or connections with established authors, literary groups, movements or schools (Anheier & Gerhards, 1991; De Nooy, 1991; Janssen, 1998).

In line with the "charismatic ideology" (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979], 1993), critics prefer to believe that purely aesthetic criteria ("form instead of function") prevail in their classifications of literary writers and their works. By adhering to a purely aesthetic logic, they connect to the cultural capital of the dominant social classes and help maintaining status distinctions (Bourdieu, 1993). Reviews are generally written by literary professionals – many of them academics – from an educated middle class (Griswold, 1987). They have learned to exhibit the aesthetic dispositions considered

appropriate in the literary field. What is more, as "gatekeepers" they decide which authors follow institutional conventions sufficiently to be selected of a "literary" review, and, as such, whether authors will be classified as "literary" authors.

However, selection and classification practices may also be influenced by different background characteristics of the author. Griswold (1987) shows, for example, that reviews not only discuss the literary quality, style and themes of a book under review, but may also convey information about the author's (ethnic) background. When being nonwhite constitutes an unusual feature within a particular literary field, reviewers will likely mention this, particularly when they think their readers will find it significant (ibid.). With the exception of Griswold's study, when and how ethnic classifications may become more prevalent than "purely" aesthetic classifications has hardly been studied. Although scholars have noticed that ethnic boundaries are often sharper and more stable than those based on social class (Lamont, 2000; Levitt, 2005), Bourdieu's concern for hierarchical classifications based on class distinctions has dominated the sociology of culture. For a better understanding of ethnic classifications in cultural fields, we therefore turn to the sociology of race and ethnicity.

3.2.2   Bringing in Ethnicity

Building on the pioneering work of anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969), sociologists of race and ethnicity have increasingly shifted their attention from social to symbolic boundaries. Although such classifications exist at the cognitive level, they have been found to inform our knowledge, beliefs, and practices and are therefore as "real" as social boundaries (Brubaker, Loveman, & Stamatov, 2004; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Zhao, 2005). So instead of studying ethnicity as a set of shared traits or "objective" cultural communalities, most scholars have come to examine how ethnic boundaries are constructed and changed through social interaction between ethnic minority groups and mainstream society (Nagel, 1994; Wimmer, 2008). Drawing on cognitive psychology, the latter strand of research focuses on how people use social categories (as ethnicity) to make sense of complex situations (Hale, 2004: 473). The use of particular classifications instead of others depends on both the accessibility of the category – which can either be chronically or situationally determined – and the fit between the category and the observed social reality.

First, ethnic classifications might be *chronically* accessible if that category is frequently activated (hence fresh in memory) or if it is cognitively linked to other widely used categories (Hale, 2004: 471). Sociologists of culture have made similar arguments using the metaphor of a "toolkit" from which actors select various pieces for constructing lines of action (Swidler, 1986). Which tools are frequently activated depends, amongst other things, on the degree to which they are made available by different institutions (Swidler, 2001). In some societal settings, people (including literary critics) may be more likely to draw on ethnic distinctions to classify

their environment than in other times or places (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000).[1] But as Griswold demonstrates it is hard to predict how such national differences play out – are refracted to use Bourdieu's terms – in critical reviews of the work of ethnic minority writers. For example, she finds that American reviewers of the West Indian writer George Lamming in the 1950s through the 1970s "revealed their obsession with race by talking about it so much, while the British indicated their preoccupation with colonialism by avoiding the subject." (Griswold, 1987: 1102)

A more cognitive approach to ethnicity suggests that ethnic classifications may also be *situationally* accessible, that is, directly available through direct contact, active suggestion, and cues in the environment (Hale, 2004). In the case of literary works, the most obvious relevant cues for activating ethnic classifications would be features of the work itself and contextual information given by the publisher. When a book discusses themes related to the author's ethnic background, critics might react on such a cue and address the author's background more elaborately. In addition, publishers may provide critics with active suggestions to use ethnic classifications. They offer biographical information on book covers and carefully selected blurbs that makes ethnic classification situationally accessible. Research suggests that such typecasting initially may help ethnic minority authors to enter the literary field, but at later stage can prevent them from moving beyond ethnic classifications (see Zuckerman et al., 2003).

However, mere accessibility does not suffice to invoke ethnic classifications. People cognitively weigh – either automatically or deliberatively (DiMaggio, 1997) – how well possible classifications *fit* the situation. Accessible categories will only be used to interpret a situation if they help to make sense of it and offer reasonably accurate accounts for similarities and differences among people (Hale, 2004). In our case, this raises the question of the conditions under which – and the time span during which – critics will view ethnic minority authors as different (enough) to review them using of ethnic classifications? To answer this question, we draw on new assimilation theory (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003; Alba, 1999, 2005), which defines assimilation as "the attenuation of distinctions based on ethnic origin" (Alba & Nee, 2003: 38), in other words, a weakening of the symbolic aspects of ethnic boundaries.[2] This process of assimilatory boundary change is a two-sided process: members of ethnic minority groups must try to enter mainstream society and majority members must accept this entry (Alba & Nee, 2003).

Sociologists of race and ethnicity have distinguished various types of assimilation or boundary change, referred to as *boundary crossing* and *boundary shifting* (Alba, 2005; Loveman & Muniz, 2007). Boundary crossing refers to individual-level assimilation: "someone moves from one group to another, without any real change to the boundary itself."(Alba, 2005: 23) For example, individual immigrants become part of the mainstream through naturalizations or adopting the host language (Zolberg & Woon, 1999). In

1. The cognitive schemas underlying ethnic classifications are not solely the domain of the individual, but are inherently social constructions resulting from social processes (Brubaker et al., 2004).

2. As such, assimilation is the opposite process of what Brubaker, Loveman, & Stamatov (2004) have referred to as "ethnicization," that is, when strong cognitive assumptions about ethnicity are slotted in – or crowd out – other templates for making sense of the social world.

this case, as an ethnic minority author becomes more established/is longer active in the literary field, literary critics may become less inclined to view him or her as ethnically different. Authors themselves might facilitate their entry into the literary mainstream by making ethnic classifications less accessible – e.g., by writing about majority themes, having the publisher classifythem as mainstream authors, or publishing with a mainstream publisher – and/or making aesthetic classifications more accessible (e.g., publishing with a prestigious publisher; see control variables).

In contrast, boundary shifting involves the relocation of a boundary, most likely in the direction of inclusion: former outsiders might become insiders (Alba 2005; Zolberg & Woon, 1999). As more ethnic minority authors enter the literary field, reviewers might cease to perceive their ethnic background as something unusual and no longer find it worth mentioning to their readers. In this case, ethnic minority writers as a group come to be less often classified in terms of their ethnic background. In other words, regardless whether ethnic minority authors are debutants or established authors with a long literary career, they are decreasingly classified as ethnically different. Thus, the durability of ethnic boundaries – the question whether and how long an author is considered an "ethnic minority" author – may involve two temporal variables: the phase (beginning or more established) of an author's career (boundary crossing) and the time which an author enters the literary field (boundary shifting).

3.3   DATA AND METHODS

To what extent ethnic boundaries have changed in the literary fields of the United States, the Netherlands and Germany is examined through a quantitative content analysis of newspaper reviews of ethnic minority authors who started their career between 1983 and 2006. This section discusses which ethnic minority authors are included, how we operationalized ethnic boundaries as well as boundary crossing and shifting, and which methods are used.

3.3.1   Ethnic Groups, Authors and Reviews

Entering the literary field requires a substantial amount of "cultural capital" (often indicated by the educational level). Members of different ethnic groups differ considerably in their educational success due to different immigration trajectories. To ensure sufficient cross-national comparability, this study therefore considers, for each country, one ethnic-immigrant group of a similar type (labor immigration) with a comparable level of language proficiency and schooling (cf. Berkers, Janssen, & Verboord, 2010). In the United States, the Mexican minority is the largest labor-immigrant group, making up almost 10% of the total population. On average, Mexican Americans lag behind other minority groups regarding English language proficiency and level of education (Carliner, 2000).

3.   The Turkish minority group was not selected, because very few Turkish minority authors have published in Dutch (Nap-Kolhoff, 2002).

4.   For example, the online database *Latino Literature* which includes 108 Mexican American authors, Aynan (2006) who counts 21 Moroccan minority authors, and Rösch (2006) who lists 25 Turkish minority authors in Germany. The actual numbers may be higher, since these lists generally include only established authors.

5.   Initially, data gathering focused on each country's leading elite-oriented newspapers, which are generally considered to set standards for news reporting, opinion making and value formation for a broad range of topics, including literature, in their respective countries (Janssen et al., 2008). This, however, resulted in very few reviews – particularly in German newspapers, and thus reviews in other newspapers were considered as well.

In the Netherlands, the language skills and educational attainment of the Moroccan minority[3] – about 2% of the population – are far behind the Dutch majority, which is partly the consequence of many Moroccan immigrants originally only speaking Berber, which is an oral language (Tesser, Merens, & Van Praag, 1999).

In Germany, the Turkish minority is by far the largest labor-immigrant group; its numbers grew from about 1.5 million in 1980 (2.5 % of the West-German population) to 2.5 million in 2005 (3 % of the unified German population). Compared to the majority population, the Turkish minority is generally far less proficient in German and has a lower level of education (Dustmann, 1994; Worbs, 2003).

In the absence of reliable, longitudinal data on the population of ethnic minority authors in each country, several databases and impressionist overviews[4] were used to compile a tentative list of authors who were (at least partly) of Mexican (United States), Moroccan (Netherlands) or Turkish (Germany) descent. For reasons of cross-national comparability, a number of additional criteria were applied. First, this study is limited to 1.5-generation (those who arrived before the age of 13), second and third generation immigrant authors. Second, it includes only authors who have primarily published fiction (novels, short story collections, literature for young adults). Note that the number of ethnic minority poets and playwrights is small and their works have hardly been reviewed in newspapers. Third, Turkish minority authors in Germany occasionally write in Turkish and have their texts translated into German. Such books (and authors) are excluded from the analysis since they do not strive for mainstream recognition. Fourth, data collection is confined to authors whose prose debut was published in 1980 or later. Finally, at least one book in the author's oeuvre had to be reviewed in a daily newspaper.[5]

For each author, an overview was made of the fiction books s/he had published during his or her career as well as all newspaper reviews (of more than 100 words) which were published within six months of each book publication. Reviews were collected, using *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, *LexisNexis* (U.S.), *Literom* and *LexisNexis* (Netherlands), and *Factiva* and the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* (Germany). This led to a corpus of 134 American reviews, 127 Dutch reviews and 122 German reviews, published between 1985 and 2009 (see Appendix B for the newspapers these reviews appeared in). All other information on individual authors was retrieved by consulting relevant online databases (*Latino Literature*, *Literature Resource Center*), websites (*Perlentaucher*) and other sources (Aynan, 2006; Rösch, 2006).

Table 3.1 presents the results of this selection procedure. Because of the relatively small numbers of Moroccan Dutch and Turkish German authors who have successfully entered the literary field – i.e. have managed to publish a book and were reviewed in newspapers – we notice some, albeit unavoidable differences in sample size, year of debut and gender. In order to obtain samples of a similar size we included 23 Mexican

Table 3.1. Background Characteristics and Number of Reviews of the Selected Mexican American, Moroccan Dutch and Turkish German Authors

	Ethnic Minority Authors	Year of Birth	Year Prose Debut	Age Debut	Sex	Gene-ration	Education	Occupation Father	Review Rate[1]	Total Number Reviews
	United States									**N=134**
1	Sandra Cisneros	1954	1984	30	F	2	University	Upholsterer	2/3	11
2	Helena M. Viramontes	1954	1985	33	F	2	University	Manual worker	2/3	7
3	Mary Helen Ponce	1938	1983	45	F	2	PhD		2/4	2
4	Ana Castillo	1953	1986	33	F	2	PhD	"Working class"	5/7	18
5	Dagoberto Gilb	1950	1985	35	M	2	University	Marine sergeant	4/5	10
6	Ronald L. Ruiz	1946	1994	48	M	2	University	"Poor"	2/2	5
7	Guy Garcia	1955	1989	44	M	2	University		2/3	4
8	Alfredo Vea	1946	1993	46	M	2	University	Farmworker	3/3	7
9	Cecile Pineda	1942	1985	43	F	2	University	Professor	3/3	8
10	Graciela Limon	1938	1993	55	F	2	PhD	Truck driver	5/7	8
11	Benjamin Alire Saenz	1954	1992	38	M	2	University	Cement finisher	6/7	12
12	Sergio Troncoso	1961	1999	38	M	2	University	Engineer	2/2	3
13	Luis J. Rodriguez	1954	2002	48	M	2	University	School principal	2/2	7
14	Kathleen Alcala	1954	1992	38	F	2	University	Teacher	4/4	7
15	Rigoberto Gonzalez	1970	2003	33	M	2	University	Farm worker	2/3	2
16	Alma Luz Villanueva	1944	1988	44	F	2	University	(Minister)	2/4	2
17	Rene Saldana	1968	2001	33	M	2	PhD		1/3	1
19	Daniel Olivas	1959	2001	42	M	3	University		2/3	3
20	Manuel Ramos	1948	1993	45	M	2	University	Director school	5/6	10
21	Manuel Munoz	1972	2003	33	M	2 or 3	University	Farm worker	2/2	4
22	Felicia Luna Lemus	1975	2003	28	F	2 or 3	University		1/2	1
23	Arturo Islas	1938	1984	46	M	2 or 3	PhD	Police officer	1/2	2
	Netherlands									**N=127**
1	Hafid Bouazza	1970	1996	26	M	1.5	University	Factory worker	5/5	35
2	Abdelkader Benali	1975	1996	21	M	1.5	Vocational	Butcher	5/5	33
3	Naima El Bezaz	1974	1995	21	F	1.5	University	Migrant worker	4/4	13
4	Hans Sahar	1974	1995	21	M	1.5	High school		4/4	11
5	Khalid Boudou	1974	2001	27	M	1.5	High school	Factory worker	3/3	15
6	Said El Haji	1976	2000	24	M	1.5	University		2/2	7
7	Rashid Novaire	1979	1999	20	M	2	High school	Mime player	4/4	7
8	Hasan Bahara	1978	2006	28	M	2	Vocational	"Illiterate"	1/1	3
9	Najoua Bijjir	1976	2001	25	F	2	Community	Migrant worker	2/2	3
	Germany									**N=122**
1	Emine Sevgi Özdamar	1946	1992	46	F	1	Theater		4/4	24
2	Feridun Zaimoglu	1964	1995	31	M	1.5	University	Factory worker	10/10	56
3	Yade Kara	1965	2003	38	F	1.5	University		2/2	6
4	Renan Demirkan	1955	1991	36	F	1.5	University	Engineer	3/4	8
5	Hilal Sezgin	1970	2000	30	F	2	University	Scholar	1/1	1
6	Dilek Güngör	1972	2004	32	F	2	University	Migrant worker	1/2	2
7	Selim Özdogan	1971	1995	34	M	1.5	University		5/8	11
8	Hatice Akyün	1969	2005	36	F	2	University	Farmer; miner	2/2	3
9	Imran Ayata	1969	2005	36	M	1.5	University		1/1	6
10	Dilek Zaptcioglu	1960	1998	38	F	1.5	University	Captain	1/1	3
11	Hülya Özkan	1956	2006	40	F	1.5	University		1/3	2

1. *Number of prose books reviewed at least once out of the total oeuvre of the author.*

6. Several newspaper critics mention this. For example, Goedkoop (1996) writes that while most Dutch authors publish their debut at the age of 30 or later, many second generation minority authors have not even reached adulthood when they appear on the literary market.

7. Not included are more general terms also used to address non-ethnic minorities (e.g., "foreigners," "guest workers"), references to language (since Berber is not a written language and Spanish not as exclusively linked to Mexican Americans as Turkish to Turkish Germans), and ethnic genres which not only refer to the ethnic background of an author, but also his or her literary style.

8. G (U.S.) = .809; G (Netherlands) = .759; G (Germany) = .750.

9. American reviewers in particular extensively use "hyphenated" labels (e.g. Mexican American author). Such references were coded as both ethnic as well as majority background labels.

American authors compared to 9 Moroccan Dutch and 11 Turkish German authors. Note that Feridun Zaimoglu has received many more reviews than any other Turkish German author. In addition, Dutch Moroccan authors appear to be – on average – younger when they publish their fiction debut (23.6 years old)compared to Mexican American (27.1 years old) and Turkish German authors (36.1 years old).[6] Furthermore, the Dutch sample contains fewer female writers than the American and German sample. Despite the differences, virtually all authors come from the lower socio-economic strata and have received some form of higher education, which has provided them with the necessary cultural capital to gain access to the literary field.

3.3.2 Dependent Variables

Ethnic boundaries in newspaper reviews of ethnic minority authors have been operationalized using three indicators: (i) ethnic minority background labels, (ii) majority background labels and (iii) comparisons with other (ethnic minority or majority) authors.

Ethnic Background Labels
The first indicator includes terms which (a) refer directly to the author's ethnic background, e.g., by categorizing the author as an ethnic minority ("türkischen Autor" or "the cadre of top-flight Chicana writers"), (b) mention descent or birthplace ("of Moroccan origin" or "the child of Mexican immigrants") or (c) explicitly link author's fiction and reality ("takes us to a reality that he knows well--the daily survival of Mexicans living in East Los Angeles").[7]

Majority Background Labels
While ethnic background labels clearly set an author apart as different, explicitly stressing the majority background of an author could be interpreted as a sign of inclusion. However, we argue that it should rather be viewed as a subtle way of exclusion, drawing ethnic boundaries. Indeed, in the newspaper reviews in all three countries, the total number of ethnic minority background labels significantly and positively correlates with the number of majority background labels.[8] In other words, ethnic and majority background labels both "mark" ethnic minority authors as different from the "unmarked" majority authors (Brekhus, 1996; Waugh, 1982). This second indicator of ethnic boundaries thus measures the number of labels referring to ethnic minority authors as part of the majority. Again, these terms may (a) refer directly to the author's majority background ("deutsche Schriftstellerin"), (b) stress author's descent or country of residence ("the Netherlands, his native country" or "lives in the United States") or (c) explicitly link author's fiction and reality ("writes about his American experience").[9]

Comparisons with Other Authors

In order to gain prestige, an author's work has to be compared to that of contemporaries and predecessors (De Nooy, 1991; Rosengren, 1987). Consequently, being compared to majority authors signals that the author is becoming part of the (national) literary mainstream, and is thus no longer classified as an ethnic minority writer. Again, we looked at the correlation between this indicator and the total number of ethnic minority and majority background labels, which appeared to be positive, albeit only significant in the Netherlands.[10] Besides counting comparisons with other authors, the names of the authors to which the ethnic minority authors were compared, and their ethnic background, were recorded.

3.3.3 Independent Variables

To test boundary crossing, we use "prose debut" and "book number" as independent variables.[11] First, boundary crossing can be a very abrupt process, akin to a "conversion" (Alba, 2005). In reviews of first book publications, critics may rely more extensively on ethnic background labels than when they discuss subsequent publications, because other useful "clues" for crafting a review (such as previous critical classifications or interviews with the author) are lacking or are less readily available (Janssen, 1997). In addition, debut books form a particularly strong boundary – much more so than subsequent publications, determining the chances of future critical attention (Janssen, 1994; Van Rees & Vermunt, 1996). Therefore we use "prose debut" as a first indicator of boundary crossing. Second, the number of fiction books an author has published allows us to establish whether ethnic boundaries change over the course of a literary career. Thus we included "book number" as an indicator of a more gradual process of boundary crossing.

The independent variable which measures boundary shifting is the "year of publication" of the fiction book, coded as the age of a book in number of years (counting from 2009). This enables us to determine whether ethnic boundaries change over the course of time, regardless the phase of a specific author's literary career.

3.3.4 Control Variables

We use several control variables to ensure that boundary processes situated at the field-level cannot be attributed to characteristics of individual authors, books, or reviews.

Author's Background

We controlled for the following background characteristics of each author: "age" (year of birth), "sex," and "foreign-born". The latter variable was included because critics may be more inclined to classify 1.5 generation ethnic minority authors – which are foreign-born – in terms of their ethnic background than second generation authors. Since all selected American

10. G (U.S.) = .400; G (Netherlands) = .615; G (Germany) = .167 (with ethnic background labels); G (U.S.) = .377; G (Netherlands) = .634; G (Germany) = .143 (with majority background labels).

11. Bivariate correlations in the United States (r = -.561, p = .000), the Netherlands (r = -.609, p = .000) and Germany (r = -.714, p = .000) are strong, suggesting that both variables measure a similar concept. However, multicollinearity tests show that the intercorrelations between both variables are acceptable, and therefore they can be included in our logistic regression models (see Method).

12. Including blurbs and advance praise, which in the U.S. are often written by Hispanic writers instead of newspaper critics as is the case in the Netherlands and Germany.

13. The Pulitzer Prize fiction and the National Book Award fiction (U.S.), the *AKO literatuurprijs* and *Libris literatuurprijs* (Netherlands) and the *Bremer Literaturpreis* and the German-language *Ingeborg-Bachmann-Preis* (Germany).

authors are second or third generation Mexican immigrants, the variable "foreign born" will be left out of the American analysis.

Book characteristics. We controlled for: "ethnic background author mentioned on book cover," "majority background mentioned on book cover," "book discusses ethnic themes," "book discusses majority themes," "literary prestige publisher," and "publisher of Hispanic literature" (only US). Information included on the book cover may affect reviewers' classifications (Coser, Kadushin, & Powell 1982). Publishers may try to typecast a book (or author) as "ethnic" hoping to distinguish it from other titles available on the market (Ween, 2003; Young, 2006). Ethnic classifications would thus become more situationally accessible for literary critics. Therefore, we controlled for the number of both ethnic minority and majority background labels (following the same criteria as in the reviews) on the book cover of each first (hardcover) edition of a work.[12]

We also used these book covers to determine whether a work addresses ethnic and/or majority themes. Again, this may trigger the use of ethnic classifications. Such book cover information mainly involved the location of the story ("the tale opens in the 1870s in a village in northern *Mexico*" or "Kanakas berichten ungeschminkt vom Rande der *Deutschen Gesellschaft*") and the ethnic or majority background of the main characters ("this book about *Moroccan girls*" or "Luis J. Rodriguez captures ... a little know era in *America's history*").

The literary prestige of the publisher has been found to affect reviewers' selections and classifications of authors (Coser, Kadushin, & Powell, 1982; Janssen, 1997). To measure this prestige, while accounting for possible changes in the course of time, we used the number of times that the publisher has won a prestigious literary prize in the five years preceding the work under review (see Verboord 2003).[13] In the case of publishers that specialize in ethnic minority fiction, critics might be more likely to discuss authors on their backlist through an "ethnic" lens. This control variable is only used for U.S., where several publishers specialize in Hispanic, or more broadly Chicano, literature (e.g., Arte Publico Press, Rayo and Bilingual Press), accounting for 22 of the 60 reviewed books written by the selected Mexican American authors.

Review Characteristics

Control variables are: "length of review" (number of words), "national quality newspaper," "Hispanic readership" (US), and "Hispanic reviewer" (US). Longer reviews may include more background labels and comparisons. In contrast to regional, popular and/or niche newspaper, national quality newspapers specifically target (culturally) higher educated readers – and, generally devote more attention to literature (Janssen 1999; Szántó, Levy, & Tyndall, 2004) – which are predominantly written by professional in-house reviewers. Particularly, newspapers from California and Texas may contain different classifications of Mexican minority authors as a result of having

relatively large Hispanic readership (see Appendix B). Also, American newspapers employ a considerable number of critics of Hispanic origin, who may classify Mexican minority authors differently.[14]

3.3.5   Method

Since the scores of all three dependent variables are not normally distributed (mainly scores of 0 or 1), these variables were recoded as categorical variables, that is, whether or not a review contains ethnic minority background labels, majority background labels and comparisons with ethnic minority authors, respectively. Binary logistic regression is therefore the most appropriate statistical analysis. The result section reports the odd ratios, which represent the change in odds of being in one of the categories of outcome when the value of a predictor increases by one unit. Because comparisons with other ethnic minority writers were limited, we could not perform a logistic regression analysis to determine the likelihood that ethnic minority authors were compared with other ethnic minority authors of the same group.

3.5   RESULTS

3.5.1   The Construction of Ethnic Boundaries

The first research question asked to what extent newspaper critics in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany have drawn ethnic boundaries in their reviews of ethnic minority authors. Table 3.2 shows that only 20% of all American newspaper reviews contains at least one reference to the ethnic background of the author under review as opposed to 47.2% of Dutch and 58.2% of German reviews.[15] Although the Dutch and German reviews do not differ significantly in the overall number of ethnic minority labels, Dutch reviewers generally refer more often to an author's ethnic background than their German colleagues (Table 3.2). Finally, German critics classify Turkish German authors as ethnically different *individuals*, e.g. "die Türkin Emine Sevgi Özadamar" or "deutsch-türkischer Autor." In contrast, American and Dutch reviewers classify ethnic minority authors as belonging to an ethnically different *group*, e.g. "one of the premier Latina writers" or "duo-captain of the Moroccan wave of authors." This finding will be contextualized below.

Compared to ethnic minority labels, newspaper reviewers in all three countries use majority background labels less frequently (Table 3.2). Again, a significantly smaller percentage of the American reviews include such labels, 12.4% as opposed to 33.1% and 41.1% of the Dutch and German reviews, respectively. Most of these labels refer to the country where an author has grown up. Straightforward classification of ethnic minority authors as majority authors (e.g., "this young Dutch author") occurs less often in the American than in Dutch and German reviews. However, German reviewers use such labels only to classify established authors.

14. Although several studies have shown that – due to professionalization processes – physical diversity does not automatically lead to ideological diversity (Benson 2005; Wilson, 2000), cognitive scientists state that people tend to classify others on the basis of similarities and differences with the self (Hogg & Abrams, 1988: 21).

15. We must however be careful in comparing these data. Even if we exclude direct references to country of birth from our analysis, critics might still be more inclined classify 1.5 generation ethnic minority authors in terms of their ethnic background than second generation authors.

Table 3.2. Ethnic Minority and Majority Background Labels and Author Comparisons in Literary Reviews in American, Dutch and German Newspapers

	United States	Netherlands	Germany
Total Reviews with Ethnic Background Labels	20.3% (31)[a]	47.2% (60)	58.2% (71)
One Ethnic Background Label	(15)	(28)	(43)
Two of More Ethnic Background Labels	(16)	(32)	(28)
Total Reviews with Majority Background Labels	12.4% (19)[b]	33.1% (42)	41.1% (53)
One Majority Background Label	(14)	(25)	(31)
Two of More Majority Background Labels	(5)	(17)	(22)
Total Reviews with Author Comparisons	29.9% (40)	53.5% (68)[c]	28.6% (35)
Reviews Comparisons w/ Ethnic Minority Authors	30.0% (12)	27.9% (19)	28.6% (10)
Solely Comparisons w/ Ethnic Minority Authors	(5)	(8)	(8)

a. Differs significantly from Dutch ($\chi^2 = 16.7$, $p = .000$) and German reviews ($\chi^2 = 32.7$, $p = .000$).
b. Differs significantly from Dutch ($\chi^2 = 13.0$, $p = .000$) and German reviews ($\chi^2 = 27.1$, $p = .000$).
c. Differs significantly from American ($\chi^2 = 15.1$, $p = .000$) and German reviews ($\chi^2 = 15.8$, $p = .000$).

Finally, Dutch reviewers compare ethnic minority authors significantly more often with other authors (53.5%) than their American (29.9%) and German colleagues (28.6%). If we only look at comparisons with other ethnic minority authors, we find no cross-national differences: about 30% of the reviews contain such comparisons. However, when we consider how many of these reviews compare an author exclusively with other ethnic minority writers, German reviews rank highest (9 out of 10) followed by U.S. (5 out of 12) and Dutch (8 of 19) reviews.

These results thus clearly indicate that – considering all three indicators – ethnic boundaries are stronger in the Netherlands and Germany than in the Unites States. In next section, we examine whether these boundaries changed over time, and, if so, whether we can interpret these changes as boundary crossings or boundary shifts, and whether American, Dutch and German literary critics differ in this respect.

3.5.2 Changes in Ethnic Boundaries

Before presenting multivariate analyses of boundary change, Figures 3.1 through 3.3 show the use of all three ethnic boundary indicators across an authors' career and at the time of his or her debut vs. subsequent publications (boundary crossing) and across time (boundary shifting). The percentage of U.S. newspaper reviews that contain ethnic labels, majority labels, and ethnic minority comparisons does not significantly change after an author's first book (Figure 3.1a) or in the course of an author's career (Figure 3.1b) or publication, while it remains fairly constant throughout the studied time frame studied (Figure 3.1c). Ethnic boundaries thus seem independent of whether an author is well-established or a newcomer in the literary mainstream and whether it concerns a recently published book or an older publication.

Figure 3.1a. The Percentage of American Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Debut)
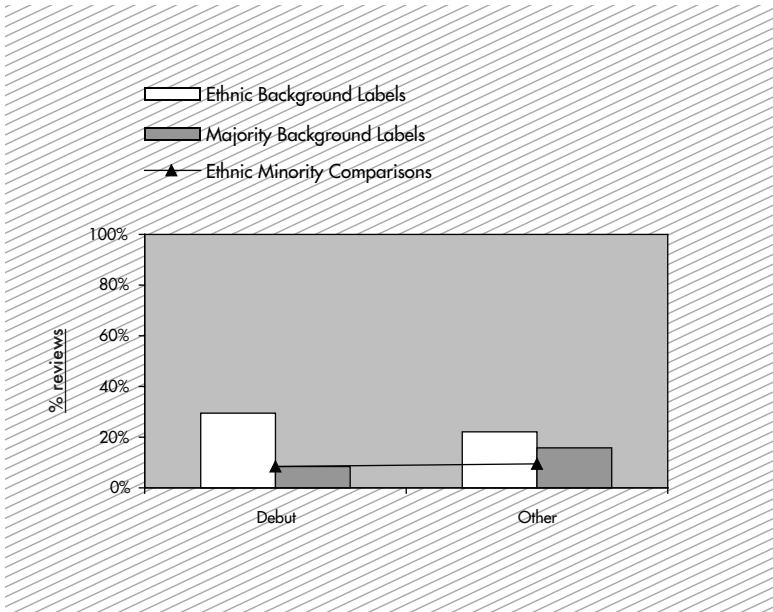

Figure 3.1b. The Percentage of American Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Book Number)
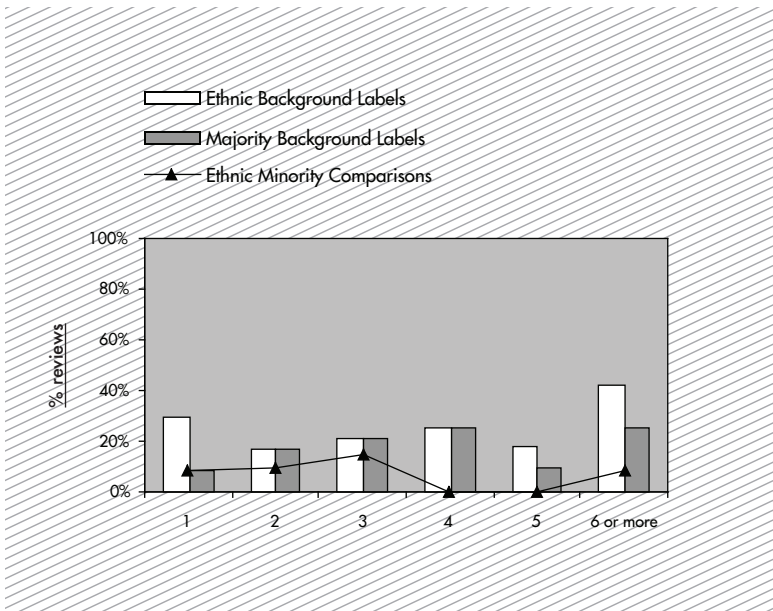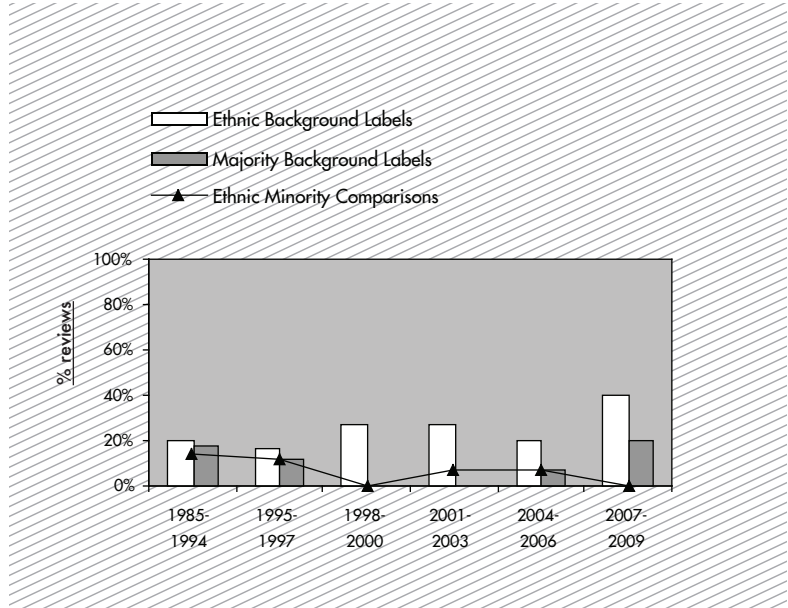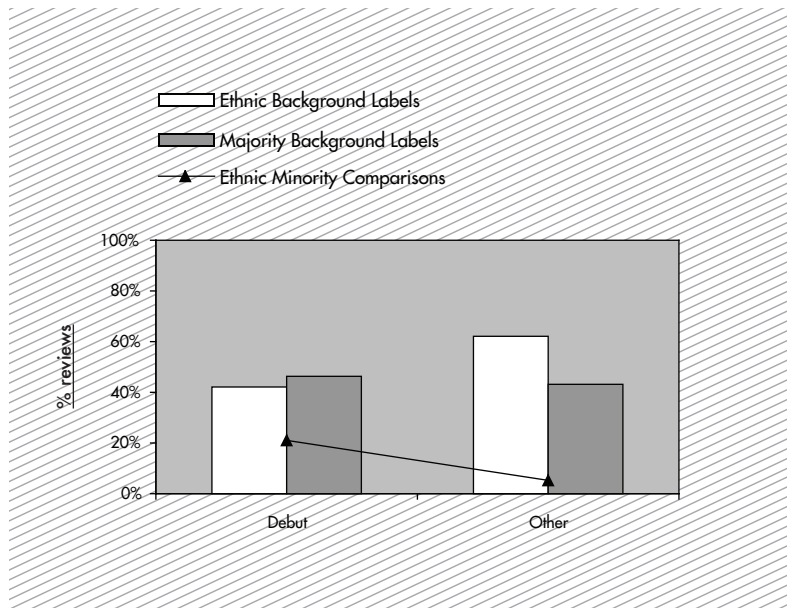
Figure 3.1c. The Percentage of American Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Period)
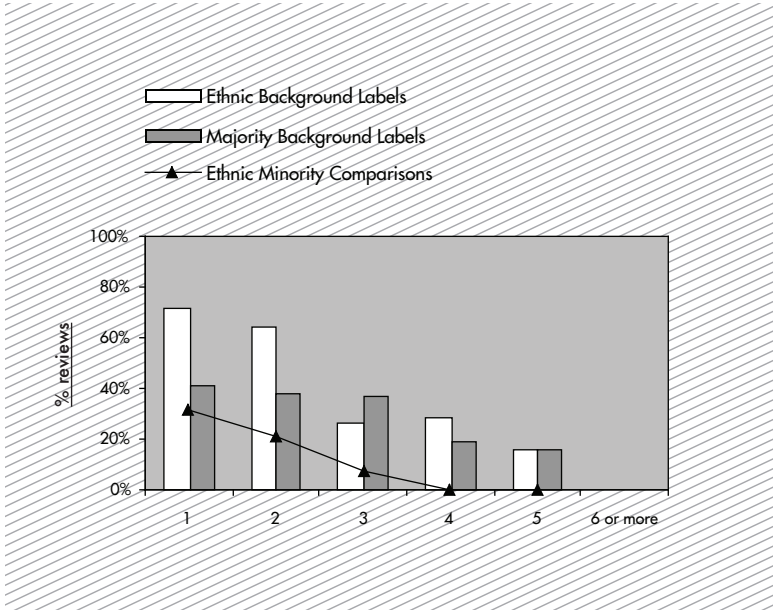

Figure 3.2a. The Percentage of Dutch Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Debut)
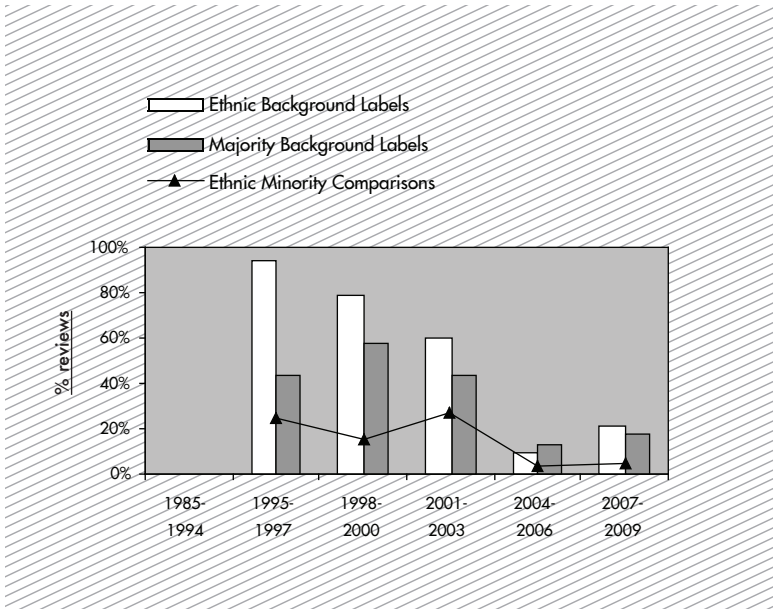
Figure 3.2b. The Percentage of Dutch Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Book Number)

Figure 3.2c. The Percentage of Dutch Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Period)

Figure 3.3a. The Percentage of German Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Debut)
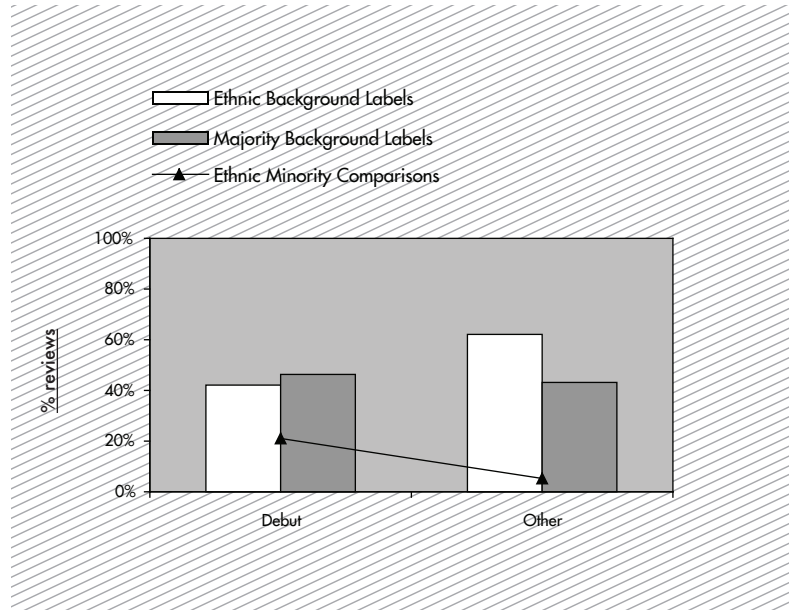

Figure 3.3b. The Percentage of German Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Book Number)
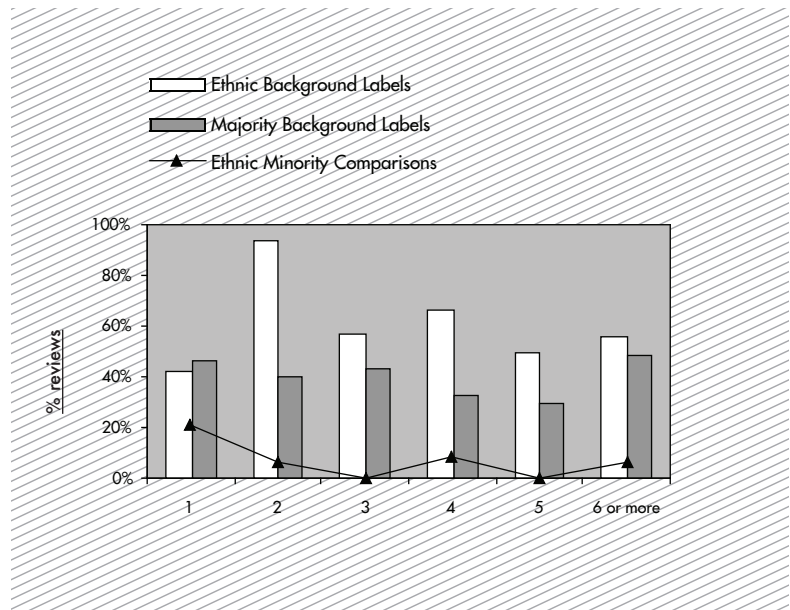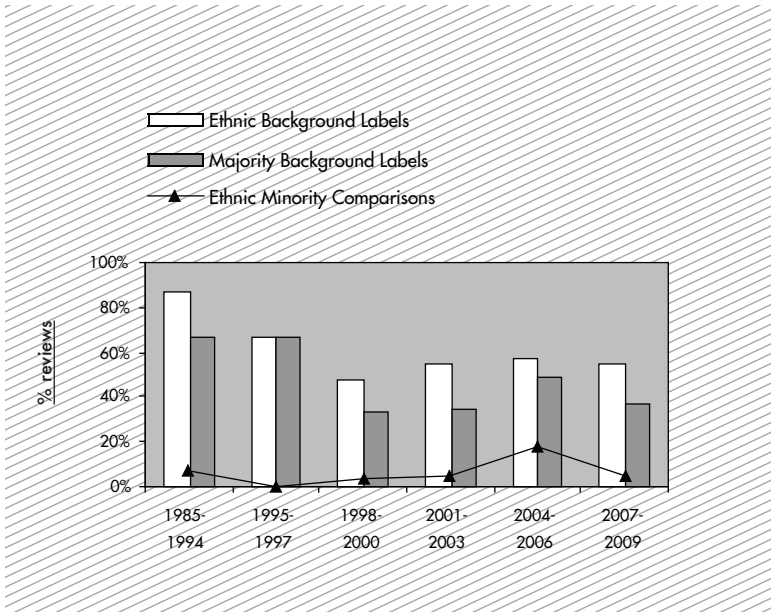
Figure 3.3c. The Percentage of German Reviews That Contain Ethnic Background Labels, Majority Background and Ethnic Minority Comparisons (By Period)

The percentage of Dutch reviews that classify ethnic minority authors using ethnic labels, majority labels and ethnic minority comparisons generally declines as an author becomes more established (Figure 3.2b), although the inclusion of majority labels does not significantly differ between reviews of debuts and subsequent publications (Figure 3.2a). Dutch reviewers also use less ethnic classifications – all three types – as time progresses (Figure 3.2c).

Although debuts generate more comparisons to ethnic minority authors than subsequent publications (Figure 3.3a), the percentage of German reviews containing majority labels or ethnic minority comparisons does not decrease during writers' careers (Figure 3.3b). However, German critics diminish their use of ethnic labels over time (Figure 3.3b). However, this decline is largely due to the fact that reviews of German authors' second books contain many more references to the author's ethnic background than both their first and later book publications. Furthermore, we find no difference in the use of such labels between an author's debut and subsequent publications (Figure 3.3a). The percentage of reviews that include ethnic labels decline in the early period 1985-2000 (from 90% to 60%, cf. Figure 3.3c), but whereas in the Dutch case this decrease continues, the use of ethnic labels in German reviews rises again after 2000. Hence, it seems fair to conclude that German reviewers continue to draw strong ethnic boundaries both throughout an author's career and across time.

To establish the significance of the above findings, we performed a series of logistic regression analyses of the use of ethnic minority labels and majority labels,[16] in which we controlled for characteristics of the author, the book under review, and the review itself.

Table 3.3 first presents a baseline model (Model 1) for each country, in which the effect of the variables "book number" and "prose debut" (boundary crossing) and "year of publication" (boundary shifting) on the use of ethnic minority labels is modeled. Model 1 shows no significant results in the U.S case. The Dutch results for "year of publication" prove to be significant. Older books (and therefore older reviews) are more likely to contain references to an author's ethnic background, which points to a process of boundary shifting. Ethnic boundaries for Moroccan Dutch authors in general have weakened over time, regardless of how many novels they have published. Thus, when controlled for year of publication, the data provide no support for a process of boundary crossing. The German results show that first book publications have a smaller chance of being labeled in ethnic terms than subsequent publications. However, the three independent variables explain only 9.2% of the variance in the German Model 1. Thus, it remains to be seen whether this findings holds when we include our control variables.

Model 2 and Model 3 for the U.S. introduce the control variables for characteristics of the author, the book under review and the review itself. If we look at Model 2, again we find evidence of boundary crossing. Reviews of first publications are almost nine times more likely to contain references to the author's ethnic background. As we find no significant effects for "book number," only the first publication appears to function as a "bright" ethnic boundary (Alba, 2005). However, once Mexican American authors have crossed that boundary, they seem to have become part of the literary mainstream. Additionally, the odds of being labeled an ethnic minority author are higher for female than for male authors. Longer reviews are more likely to contain references to the ethnic background of Mexican American authors. Finally, the likelihood that an author's ethnic background is mentioned is 17 times higher for national quality newspapers than for regional, popular and niche newspapers. These effects remain significant when, in Model 3, we control for whether the book has appeared with a publisher focusing on Hispanic literature, and whether the review targets Hispanic readers or is written by a Hispanic reviewer.

Model 2 for the Netherlands yields a very clear result: only the year in which a book was published and reviewed continues to have a significant effect on the likelihood that the ethnic background of an ethnic minority author is mentioned. If we compare the pseudo R square of Model 1 (.408) and compare it with Model 2 (.528), we see that the explanatory power of Model 1 was already quite high, particularly compared to the other countries. None of the control variables matter.

Table 3.3. Logistic Regression Analyses (Odds Ratios) for the Effects of Year of Publication and Book Number on the Likelihood that the Ethnic Background of an Ethnic Minority Author Is Mentioned in a Review in Dutch and American Newspapers

	Model 1 US	Model 2 US	Model 3 US	Model 1 NL	Model 2 NL	Model 1 GER	Model 2 GER
BOUNDARY CROSSING							
Prose debut	2.735	9.186*	8.751*	0.924	0.208	0.230*	0.118*
Book number	1.260	1.623	1.801	0.979	1.961	0.908	0.852
BOUNDARY SHIFTING							
Year of book publication (age)	0.983	1.049	1.099	1.435***	1.790***	1.053	1.082
BACKGROUND AUTHOR							
Year of birth		1.076	1.098		1.039		1.088
Foreign born		-	-		0.230		1.637
Sex (male)		0.233*	0.220*		0.429		0.234
BOOK CHARACTERISTICS							
Ethnic background auhor on cover		2.204	2.195		3.885		1.080
Majority background author on cover		3.579	3.393		0.650		1.201
Book discusses ethnic themes		0.969	0.945		1.249		0.892
Book discusses majority themes		0.753	0.812		1.222		1.027
Literary prestige publishing house		0.083	0.091		0.502		2.422
Publisher of Hispanic literature (US)			1.771				
REVIEW CHARACTERISTICS							
Length of the review		1.004**	1.004**		1.002		1.002**
National quality newspaper		0.059***	0.039**		0.337		0.372*
Hispanic readership (US)			0.517				
Hispanic reviewer (US)			2.090				
χ^2	3.7	47.9	50.7	46.3	64.0	8.6	29.2
Nagelkerke R^2	.041	.455	.476	.408	.528	.092	.289
N	134	134	134	127	127	122	122

*Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.*

Adding control variables for German reviews does not alter the effects of "book number," and "year of publication," but first book publications have a smaller chance of being labeled in ethnic terms than subsequent publications. This suggests that Turkish German authors initially encounter weak ethnic boundaries when their first book is reviewed. But moving beyond the first publication is more difficult as critics draw stronger ethnic boundaries in their reviews of subsequent publications. The only other factors which affect the use of labels are review characteristics. Lengthier reviews in national quality newspapers are more likely to contain ethnic labels.

Table 3.4 presents the results for majority background labels. The base models show limited signs of boundary crossing (Germany) and boundary shifting (the Netherlands and Germany). When controlled for background characteristics of the author, book features, and review characteristics, we find no evidence of boundary change in the U.S (Model 2). The results do show that the likelihood that reviews contain majority background labels is smaller when reviews are shorter and appear in national quality newspapers instead of regional, popular or niche

Table 3.4. Logistic Regression Analyses (Odds Ratios) for the Effects of Year of Publication and Book Number on the Likelihood that the Majority Background of an Ethnic Minority Author Is Mentioned in a Review in Dutch and American Newspapers

	Model 1 US	Model 2 US	Model 3 US	Model 1 NL	Model 2 NL	Model 1 GER	Model 2 GER
BOUNDARY CROSSING							
Prose debut	0.777	1.405	0.625	0.655	1.074	2.677	2.586
Book number	1.339	1.581	2.227	1.002	1.061	1.315*	1.395
BOUNDARY SHIFTING							
Year of book publication (age)	1.073	1.122	1.237	1.198*	1.174	1.163*	1.278*
BACKGROUND AUTHOR							
Year of birth		0.989	1.000		0.985		1.097
Foreign born		-	-		0.830		1.901
Sex (male)		0.903	3.113		2.818		0.323
BOOK CHARACTERISTICS							
Ethnic background auhor on cover		2.727	2.916		0.824		2.039
Majority background author on cover		2.297	2.466		0.824		0.595
Book discusses ethnic themes		1.140	1.153		2.439		0.864
Book discusses majority themes		0.613	0.695		0.374		1.140
Literary prestige publishing house		0.138	0.163		0.779		2.445
Publisher of Hispanic literature (US)			4.664				
REVIEW CHARACTERISTICS							
Length of the review		1.005***	1.008***		1.003***		1.001
National quality newspaper		0.397	0.035**		0.445		0.901
Hispanic readership (US)			0.058**				
Hispanic reviewer (US)			0.260				
χ^2	3.0	29.0	40.4	11.8	35.8	8.0	18.6
Nagelkerke R^2	.040	.348	.467	.124	.342	.085	.189
N	134	134	134	127	127	122	122

Note: $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

17. In addition, if we exclude "hyphenated" majority background labels (e.g., "deutschtürkischer") from the analysis, the effect of "year of publication" (book age) is not significant anymore.

newspapers. Finally, newspapers targeting Hispanic readers are far more likely to classify Mexican American in terms of their majority background than other newspapers, but no less likely to mention their minority background (see Table 3.3).

For the Dutch reviewers, the effect of "year of publication" on the use of majority labels disappears when we add our control variables. Apparently, the effect should be attributed entirely to the length of the book review: the more space critics have at their disposal, the more they use majority background labels. As such, boundaries in Dutch reviews show no shift towards greater symbolic in- or exclusion of ethnic minority authors.

In Germany, reviews of older books are still more likely to contain majority background labels, even when controlled for background characteristics of the author, book features, and review characteristics, which provides some evidence of boundary shifting. But the explained variance of the model is low (18.9%).[17]

3.6   CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study examined the presence of ethnic boundaries in American, Dutch and German reviews of ethnic minority writers' work between 1983 and 2009 by considering critics' use of various forms of labeling (ethnic minority labels, majority background labels and comparison with other authors). The results first of all show that the salience of ethnic boundaries in literary reviews differs across the three countries, particularly between the U.S. on the one hand and the two European countries on the other. Ethnic boundaries appear relatively weak in American reviews, moderately strong in Dutch reviews and strong in German reviews. The degree to which reviewers use ethnic background labels most clearly supports this conclusion. Generally, American critics less frequently classify Mexican American authors as ethnic minority authors than Dutch and German reviewers do in the case of Moroccan and Turkish minority authors, respectively. Griswold's finding that American critics were obsessed with race between the 1950s and 1970s, does not seem to hold for critics discussing second generation Mexican American authors between 1983 and 2009. Of course, ethnic boundaries may have been more prevalent in reviews of works by first and 1.5 generation Mexican American authors.

Considering possible changes in the extent to which critics draw ethnic boundaries over the course of authors' careers (boundary crossing) and across time (boundary shifting), we find no evidence of boundary shifting in U.S. reviews. Reviewers' classifications of Mexican-American authors do not show any significant changes between 1983 and 2009. However, Mexican authors who have just started to publish (debutants) are much more likely to be classified in terms of their ethnic background. Although ethnic boundaries continue to be comparatively weak, first publications emerge from this study as a bright ethnic boundary. Once Mexican American authors have crossed this boundary, however, they come to be (more or less) looked upon as part of the literary mainstream. These findings seem to indicate that ethnic minority authors assimilate into the literary mainstream similar to how minorities in general become part of American society. Once ethnic minority authors have acquired "citizenship," they are less evaluated on the basis of their ethnic background. Does this also mean that they are classified by what they have achieved as individuals, just as majority authors (see Lipset, 1996)?

In the Dutch case, ethnic boundaries have clearly shifted over time. The use of ethnic minority labels in reviews of Moroccan Dutch authors declines significantly between 1995 and 2009, regardless of how many books these authors have published. Moroccan Dutch authors were not classified as part of the literary mainstream when they first appeared on the Dutch literary field. Virtually all reviews contained references to the authors' ethnic background. However, as Dutch critics (and their readers) over time became more familiar with these authors, ethnic boundaries seem even weaker than in the American case. Ethnic classifications may

have been omnipresent in Dutch literary reviews the mid and late 1990s, because they were accessible. Not through active suggestion by publishers or the thematic content of the books, but rather because many Moroccan Dutch authors entered the literary field around the same time. The many references to these authors as a group suggest that this led to "accentuation effects" (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988), that is, in an exaggeration of the (literary) similarities between the works of Moroccan minority authors based on their common ethnic background rather than the works themselves.

In German reviews, first book publications have a smaller chance of being labeled in ethnic terms than subsequent publications. This suggests that Turkish German authors initially encounter weak ethnic boundaries when their first book is reviewed. Moving beyond the first publication, however, is more difficult as critics draw stronger ethnic boundaries in their reviews of subsequent publications. This accords with what Labrie (1994) has referred to as "negative integration," that is, defining "German" by what it is not, which has led the German state to deny citizenship to a huge number of "foreigners" – many of whom were actually born in Germany (Joppke, 1996). In a similar fashion, Turkish German authors are granted "easy" symbolic access into the literary field, but chances of becoming a full "member" of the literary mainstream are much smaller.

The above findings indicate that first publications not only play an important role in the literary careers of fiction authors – as many sociologists of culture have found, but also form a bright ethnic boundary influencing the possibilities of assimilation into the literary mainstream. To further expand on these findings, more research is needed on how the ethnic classification in reviews of first publications influences future classifications. Although not possible considering our relatively small sample, research on orchestration processes suggests that the typecasting of literary critics might have a stronger effect than that of publishers (which had not influence whatsoever). Although we found the use of ethnic minority and majority background labels to be positively correlated – suggesting that both labels draw ethnic boundaries – developments in the use of majority labels are less clear cut. As was the case with the comparisons with other authors, small numbers make it hard to differentiate between terms referring directly to the author's majority background, stressing descent or country of residence or directly linking fiction and reality. Referring to a Turkish German author explicitly as German might be the result of a more deliberate cognitive process than mentioning that an author has grown up in Germany. A more qualitative approach might help to disentangle different majority labels by taking into account how such labels are used, e.g., to provide biographical information or to explicitly classify ethnic minority authors as part of the literary mainstream. Another option would be to expand the analysis including comparable majority authors, following up on Brekhus' (1998) call to redirect our focus to the "unmarked." In other words, are contemporary majority authors as e.g.,

Chuck Palahniuk, Tommy Wieringa or Dietmar Dath explicitly classified as American, Dutch or German authors respectively or do such majority authors really function as the unmarked category?

CHAPTER 4

Ethnic Boundaries in American, Dutch and German National Literary Policies, 1965-2005

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The study of symbolic boundaries has a long tradition in social science, dating back to works of Max Weber. Lamont and Molnár (2002: 168) define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space." Scholars of race and ethnicity have shown that symbolic boundaries based on ethnic distinctions are by no means the "natural" result of demographic changes. Instead, ethnic boundaries are actively constructed (e.g., Barth, 1969; Zolberg & Woon, 1999). According to Alba (2005), the strength of these ethnic boundaries is, amongst other things, related to the number of domains of social life for which they seem relevant. Most ethnic boundary research however has focused on the economic, educational and the political field (Sanders, 2002), while several studies (see e.g., Corse & Griffin, 1997; Griswold, 1987) have shown that ethnic or racial distinctions have been relevant to the cultural field as well. Building on DiMaggio (1987), sociologists of culture have been studying symbolic boundaries in the classification of art (Dowd et al., 2002; Janssen & Verboord, 2006). According to these authors, more heterogeneous societies produce, amongst other things, more differentiated artistic classifications. While the focus has been primarily on social heterogeneity, the ethnic makeup of many western countries has also become increasingly diverse as a result of mass immigration. The degree and timing of these changes differs among traditional nations of immigration, former colonial powers and guestworker recruitment countries, in this study represented by the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, respectively. For this reason, this chapter discusses whether ethnically more heterogeneous societies also produce ethnically more diverse artistic classifications.

National literary policy organizations make an interesting case for studying ethnic boundaries for several reasons. First, literature is often considered one of the most important cultural genres in western societies and has played an important role in nation-building (Corse, 1990). Second, although literary policy organizations are not the only actors in the literary field that draw symbolic boundaries, they operate at the crossroad of the political and the literary field. As a result, these organizations function less autonomously and are much more influenced by the political field, which may lead them, e.g., to fund more ethnic minority writers. Third, state recognition does not only improve the material position of the author supported, but also increases the belief of other actors in the literary field that an artwork is legitimate (Bourdieu, 1980), improving the chances of future success. The central empirical question of this study is then: to what extent and in what ways has ethnic diversity been part of American, Dutch and German national literary policy from 1965 until 2005 and how can we account for potential cross-national differences.

The extent to which these organizations have dealt with ethnic diversity will be studied by focusing on two indicators. First, to what extent has ethnic diversity been part of the organizational discourse of each nation's literary policy? Stories are important to organizations as ways of signaling the legitimacy of their activities to members as well as external parties (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). More ethnic discourse indicates weaker ethnic boundaries. Second, to what extent are ethnic minorities represented within the national policy, both as granters and grantees? Again, the more ethnic minority granters and grantees are represented, the weaker the ethnic boundaries. Furthermore, comparing ethnic discourse ("what is said") with ethnic representation ("what has been done") may illuminate how and to what extent national literary policies have responded to increased ethnic diversity in society.

I draw on three theoretical approaches to account for potential cross-national differences. First, I will research whether demographic changes co-occur with changes in the attention to ethnic diversity by literary policy organizations. Though necessary for situating my findings, mere demographics cannot account for the under- or over-representation of ethnic minority authors nor does it suffice to explain variations in ways of attention to ethnic diversity. Second, also at a macro-level, national cultural repertoire theory predicts relative persistent cross-national differences in the classification of literature, despite changes in structural conditions. Thirdly, at a meso-level, organizational theories of legitimacy suggest that cross-national differences depend on the degree of political autonomy of the organization, the need for legitimacy and the extent to which ethnic diversity resonates within the political field. But before going into – and trying to account for – the cross-national differences in the amount of ethnic discourse and the extent to which ethnic minorities are represented as granters and grantees, I will first address the historical context and operation of the national literary policy organizations.

4.2 GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES, THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY

In this chapter, national literary policy organizations are defined as organizations (i) which are financed by the national government (directly or indirectly), (ii) whose main policy instrument is the funding of individual authors and literary organizations, and (iii) that primarily rely on the panel system for the allocation of grants and subsidies. Each country has only one national literary policy organization – the literature program of the National Endowment for the Arts,[1] the Dutch Foundation for Literature (*Fonds voor de Letteren*) and the German Literature Fund (*Deutscher Literaturfonds*) – all of which are established between 1965 and 1980.

1. Although the National Endowment for the Arts also supports other artistic genres, its literature program falls within this described definition.

3. This Act, establishing both National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, has been primary the success of the humanities lobby, which "succeeded where the arts had failed because of their emphasis on both education and (...) moral rhetoric." (Kidd, 2004: 63)

4. However, an increasing portion of the NEA's budget went to State arts agencies, which also fund literature. Ironically, the establishment of the NEA resulted in explosion of State arts agencies, which sought to benefit from the federal funds the NEA had to redirect to the States (DiMaggio, 1991a).

4.2.1 The United States Government and Literary Policy

Widespread and Diverse Opposition

Federal support for the arts has always been a controversial issue in the United States. According to McWilliams (1985), the main oppositional force is formed by the liberal and Puritan strand of the American cultural tradition. The liberal strand sees no role for the government in the arts; art should be privately created and enjoyed and if the government decides to support the arts, it should be at a local, decentralized level. While Puritans contend that society needs the arts for people to express themselves, "it is necessary to guard against the human tendency to overvalue the contribution and importance of one's own arts and interests (...)." (McWilliams, 1985: 17). Since the late 1980s, the Christian Right has continuously targeted the National Endowment for the Arts because of its alleged funding of obscene art, especially during the Mapplethorpe-Serrano controversy in 1989 (DiMaggio & Pettit, 1999). In the following years it became clear that, although being in operation for more than thirty years, the NEA's existence was by no means guaranteed as Republican candidates signed a Contract with America, which, amongst other things, aimed at eliminating the NEA.

National Endowment for the Arts

Despite widespread opposition, government involvement in the arts slowly increased from individual arts commissions in the nineteenth century to the employment programs of the New Deal in the 1930s.[2] Despite high hopes of the arts constituency, the guest lists of the White House were often the only indicators that President Kennedy was interested in the nation's art (Smith, 2000: 172). Instead, it was Congress who pushed towards a governmental arts program and a "change of heart in the 1960s" (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993: 228) about federal support for the arts led to the creation of the arts endowment. In 1965, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act was signed into law by President Johnson.[3] This act, guaranteeing the continuity of the NEA, has to be reauthorized by the U.S. Congress every few years. The main objectives of the NEA – and hereby also its literature program – have been promoting excellence and education in the arts and to reach Americans of different geographic locations (inner-cities, rural communities) and of minority and tribal backgrounds (National Endowment for the Arts, 2000). Under the leadership of Nancy Hanks, the Endowment's appropriations rose steadily, but declined after 1979 (DiMaggio, 1991a). The funds spent on the literature program varied between $332,000 in 1969 and $5,125,000 in 1985. Until the severe budget cuts of 1996, an average of 3.6% of the total funds obligated was devoted to the literature program.[4]

The chairperson, a direct political appointee of the President, heads the NEA for a term of four years and selects the other NEA staff members, e.g., the Program Director of Literature. The staff is very influential in

the granting procedure. Not only do they make the first selection in the grant applications, the program panels also largely depend on them for structure, direction and guidance. The discipline-based program panels consist of outside experts appointed for a four-year period by the NEA chairman and recommended by "NEA staff, arts lobbyists, cultural administrators, Council members, elected officials and other concerned parties of the cultural community." (Mulcahy, 1985: 319) The National Council on the Arts reviews all recommendations made by the different program panels. The National Council was composed of twenty-six private citizens – mostly famous artists – appointed by the president with the NEA head as chairperson.[5] At the end of the granting procedure the chairman has to approve the proposed grants.

5. In 1998 the National Council's size was reduced to fourteen private citizens and six members of Congress. According to Heilbrun and Gray (2001) Congress wanted to keep a closer watch on the NEA.

4.2.2   The Dutch Government and Literary Policy

From Private and Pillarized Support to General Agreement
When the Netherlands became a parliamentary democracy in 1848, arts funding was relegated to the private sphere, primary due to the dominance of the liberal ideology (Pots, 2000). With the statement that the government should not be the judge of science and art, liberal Prime Minister Thorbecke laid the foundations for the Dutch model of federal support for the arts, namely a system of art councils advising the government. During the 1930s the balance shifted from private to pillarized initiatives. Pillarization refers to a segmentation of society along religious and political lines in order to achieve emancipation through segregation (Entzinger, 1985). These blocs, or pillars, were to a large extent autonomous, each with their own political parties, unions, broadcasting corporations and schools. Within their semi-public pillars, the Catholic, Protestant and Socialist blocks enjoyed restricted government support for their arts activities. In 1918 the Ministry of Education, Arts, and Science (*Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschap*) was installed, but its power was limited. After the Second World War, the principal objections to government support for the arts gradually waned (Oosterbaan Martinius, 1990).

Fonds voor de Letteren
In 1962 and 1963 Dutch authors protested against their poor economic position and argued for more government support (Bruin, 1990). As a result, the Minister of Culture established the *Fonds voor de Letteren* in 1965. In theory, the Minister of Culture can dissolve the foundation, but the intention to do so has never occurred. According to the statutes, the foundation's goal is to promote Dutch literature by, amongst other things, serving the interests of writers in any legal way possible (Fonds voor de Letteren, 1968). Although the *Fonds* received some private support, most financial support comes from the central government. Every year the board has to account for its cost estimate to the Minister of Culture. And the organization has to present an elaborate policy and budget plan every

6. In contrast to the United States, local arts policies preceded a federal policy in Germany.

four years, in which it has to tap into the goals the Ministry of Culture has set. The annual subsidies awarded to the *Fonds voor de Letteren* have been increasing ever since 1965, peaking at almost thirteen million euro in 2003. Compared to the United States whose population and GDP are approximately twenty times larger, national funding of literature is quite elaborate in the Netherlands.

The board of the *Fonds voor de Letteren* is composed of five to seven members. Initially these board members were selected for a period of three years from specific organizations: the Art Council, writers' associations, publishers and booksellers. But in the following years the statutes were changed to include more authors. The board members put forward new candidates, including the chairman. The Minister of Culture makes the final appointment decision. The board also appoints the panel members and advisory commissions. The panels consist primarily out of authors (and translators) and literary scholars. These experts advise the board on specific grant requests. Although these panels have been accused of favoritism – primarily the result of publications by Vleesch Dubois (in 1982) and Max Pam (in 1986) – these allegations were not taken up by politicians, as has been the case in the United States. The board makes the final granting decisions and is formally responsible.

4.2.3   The German Government and Literary Policy

Widespread Opposition to Centralization
Before the establishment of the German Reich in 1871, Germany – in contrast to most European states – still consisted of different feudal states and city republics, each pursuing their own cultural policy. The Reich concerned itself with the cultural relation with foreign states, while the States (*Länder*) were in charge of their own cultural and educational policies. The National Socialist regime (1933-1945) replaced the federal system with harsh centralization. According to Sievers and Wagner (2006: 2) "this experience with centralization later led to the emergence of a strong penchant for federalism in the Federal Republic of Germany." As a result, cultural and educational policies were again made the responsibility of the *Länder* and the municipalities (Ismayr, 1987). From 1970 onward the federal government has tried to increase its jurisdiction over culture, e.g., by installing a Federal Government Commissioner for Cultural Affairs and the Media and by establishing several national policy organizations as the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*.[6] These steps towards centralization have been heavily criticized by the *Länder*, suggesting that a federal cultural policy is still controversial in Germany.

Deutscher Literaturfonds
The reasons behind the foundation of the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* are similar to those of the Dutch literature fund. Starting in the late 1960s, actors in the literary field gradually realized that they needed an organization that

would support writers. After several incarnations the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* was established in 1980 with funds provided by the federal government. It is a society (*Verein*), which can only dissolve itself. The board consists of representative of seven founding organizations, namely libraries, booksellers' associations and writers' associations. The goal of the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* is to support contemporary German-language authors and to improve the literary climate in (West)-Germany. In contrast to the NEA and the *Fonds voor de Letteren*, its budget does not have to be approved by any political institution, but is fixed to 1 million DM (Euro). Although the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*' budget is much more limited than that of its American and Dutch counterparts, it can spend its more autonomously (*Selbstverwaltung*).

The representatives of the member organizations meet at least once a year (*Mittgliederversammlung*). They appoint the administration (*Vorstand*), consisting of a head and two members, and the review panel (*Kuratorium*). The panel is made up out of seven members – one out of each organization – and their replacements. The two other (advising) panelists are commissioned by the national government and the State Cultural Foundation (*Kulturstiftung der Länder*) and – from 2002 – onward the Federal Cultural Foundation (*Kulturstiftung des Bundes*). This panel decides which authors are funded. There have been a few minor discussions – but no real controversies – over this panel system in the early years of the *Literaturfonds* (1984-1987).

4.3 CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ETHNIC DISCOURSE AND REPRESENTATION

To research the extent and the ways in which ethnic diversity has been part of American, Dutch and German national literary policy from 1965 until 2005, I analyzed the contents of the policy reports of the *National Endowment of the Arts*, the *Fonds voor the Letteren* and the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*.[7] Two different content analyses were performed (see Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005): i) on ethnic diversity in organizational discourse, and ii) on the representation of ethnic minority granters and authors. But before I elaborate on these analyses and their results, I will first define ethnic diversity.

4.3.1 Ethnic Diversity

Ethnic diversity and ethnic minorities mean different things in different countries. For reasons of cross-national comparability and because of the small number of minorities in Germany and the Netherlands, ethnic minorities have been primarily analyzed as an aggregate group. Following the U.S. Bureau of the Census, American ethnic minorities are defined as belonging to one of the four main ethno-racial groups: black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander and American Indian or Alaska Native. According to the Dutch Bureau of the Census

7. The NEA reports have appeared annually since the first year of full operation in 1967 (n=39). The reports of the Fonds voor de Letteren were published once every two years until 1976 and annually from 1977 onward (n=34). The first seven operational years of the Deutscher Literaturfonds were summarized in a book instead. The fiscal years 1988, 1989 and 1990 were reported individually, from 1991 until 1998 a report was brought out every two years and after that every three years (n=11).

8. Because the number of actual forewords was relatively small, I did not take a sample of the reports but chose to analyze them all. Because some reports did not contain a foreword, the total number of forewords was 31 for the NEA, 34 for the *Fond voor de Letteren*, and 10 for the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*.

9. The length of the texts (number of words), the author and the reported year were also recorded in the same content analysis program.

10. Not surprisingly, the National Endowment for the Arts has had the most elaborate forewords, with an average of 1375 and a maximum of 4121 words. On average, the German Literature Fund used the least words in their introductory statements (340), while the *Fonds voor de Letteren* devoted approximately twice those numbers (643). The length of the forewords shows no pattern, neither a linear increase nor peaks at certain years.

(*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*) one belongs to an ethnic minority if at least one parent was born in a foreign country. A further differentiation is made between western and non-western minorities. The latter group includes the main Dutch ethnic minority groups (*allochtonen*): the Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. Therefore I defined Dutch ethnic minorities to include all non-western minorities. Germany primarily differentiates between Germans and foreigners (*Ausländer*). In the case of Germany, the Turkish minority was chosen as a proxy for non-western minorities. First, the German Bureau of the Census (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) has no comparable data on other non-western minority groups (and related naturalizations). Second, the Turkish minority is by far the largest non-western minority group in Germany.

4.3.2 Ethnic Diversity in Organizational Discourse

All policy reports contained a foreword or statement, usually signed by the chairman or the head of the organization.[8] The discourse used in these forewords tells us what the organization wants to communicate to the outside world, primarily the political field. To examine whether ethnic diversity has been part of this organizational discourse, I performed a computer-assisted content analysis using Wordstat.[9] An "ethnic" dictionary was constructed by manually assigning all ethnic terms used in the forewords to this list. I included all conjugations of aggregate terms like "ethnic" and "race," minority group terms as "African American" or "Asian" and ideological or policy-related terms like "multicultural" and "intercultural." Geographic terms (e.g., Puerto Rico) were not included.

Table 4.1 shows both the absolute and relative number of ethnic terms used in each foreword of the policy reports.[10] It indicates that ethnic diversity has been part of the National Endowment for the Arts' discourse from 1972 onward. However, there are some clear peaks in the use of ethnic discourse in 1989 and 1995. The discourse itself mostly addresses one of the four ethno-racial groups in general (e.g., "black communities," or "Hispanic components of the population") or the specific ethnic background of an artist (e.g., "Chinese-American jing ehru player," or "Hispanic and Latin American artists") artwork or event (e.g., "Black Arts festival") or arts organization (e.g., "a Hispanic visual arts center"). The amount of ethnic discourse used by the *Fonds voor de Letteren* is very limited: 3 terms in 2001 and 1 term in 2002 (see Table 4.1). The discourse refers in all cases to the Intercultural Literary Policy, a small sub-policy of the *Fonds voor de Letteren* (see next paragraph). The German reports did not contain any ethnic terms whatsoever (see Table 4.1). Moreover, the introductory statements of the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* oftentimes remained the same for several years.

Table 4.1. Ethnic Terms in Forewords of the NEA, *Fonds voor de Letteren* and the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*, 1970-2005

Year	NEA Absolute	NEA % of total	FvdL absolute	FvdL % of total	DL absolute	DL % of total
1965			0	0		
1966						
1967	0	0	0	0		
1968	0	0				
1969	0	0	0	0		
1970	0	0				
1971	0	0	0	0		
1972	1	0.10				
1973	0	0	0	0		
1974	1	0.04				
1975	3	0.14	0	0		
1976	0	0				
1977	0	0	0	0		
1978	1	0.06	0	0		
1979	3	0.24	0	0		
1980	2	0.15	0	0		
1981	0	0	0	0		
1982	0	0	0	0		
1983	1	0.04	0	0		
1984	1	0.05	0	0		
1985	1	0.06	0	0		
1986	7	0.32	0	0		
1987	3	0.21	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	16	0.40	0	0	0	0
1990	2	0.08	0	0	0	0
1991	-	-	0	0	0	0
1992	-	-	0	0		
1993	2	0.19	0	0	0	0
1994	1	0.08	0	0		
1995	6	0.49	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0		
1997	-	-	0	0	0	0
1998	-	-	0	0		
1999	-	-	0	0	0	0
2000	1	0.07	3	0.48		
2001	-	-				
2002	-	-	1	0.23	0	0
2003	0	0	0	0		
2004	8	0.35	0	0		
2005	0	0	0	0		

Notes: NEA = National Endowment for the Arts; FvdL = Fonds voor de Letteren; DL = Deutscher Literaturfonds. Empty cell means no report was (yet) published that particular year; "–" indicates that the report did not contain a foreword.

### 4.3.3 Representation of Ethnic Minority Granters and Grantees

Besides "mere" discourse, the policy reports contained information on what the organization has actually done, primarily which authors have been supported and who were the panelists involved in the granting procedure. From 1970 onward, all panelists (both minority and majority) mentioned in the reports were included in my analysis, except translation and foreign (e.g., Flemish) panelists.[11] For the NEA, I also recorded the National Council on the Arts members, because it would make an interesting comparison with the more autonomously appointed literary panel members. Because the *Fonds voor Letteren* did not list its grantees until 1969, I began my analysis of both grantees and funded authors in 1970. Due to sheer numbers, I took a sample (1970, 1975, 1980, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2005) instead of looking at all grantees, with exception of the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*. I recorded the authors who had received Creative Writers Fellowships (United States), an individual grant[12] (Netherlands) or a stipend (Germany). Again, I excluded Flemish, Swiss and Austrian authors from my analyses (see above). The main sources used to research the ethnicity of both the panelists and authors were the *Literature Resource Center* in GaleNet, the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* and *Perlentaucher* (Internet databases).

Figure 4.1a. Ethnic Minority Literature Panelists and Grantees in the National Endowment for the Arts, 1970-2005
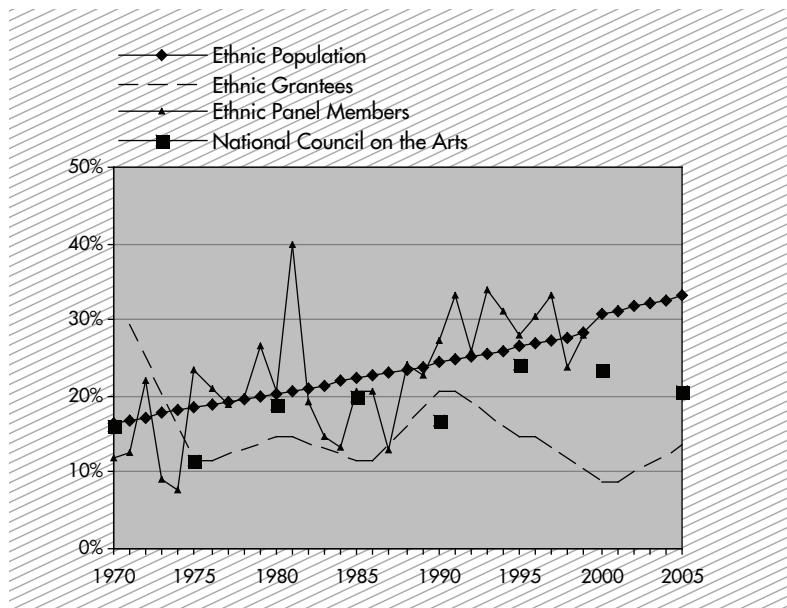

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981 (Table 75), 2000 (Table 4, Table 16), 2007 (Table 13).

Figure 4.1b. Ethnic Minority Literature Panelists and Grantees in the
Fonds voor de Letteren, 1970-2005
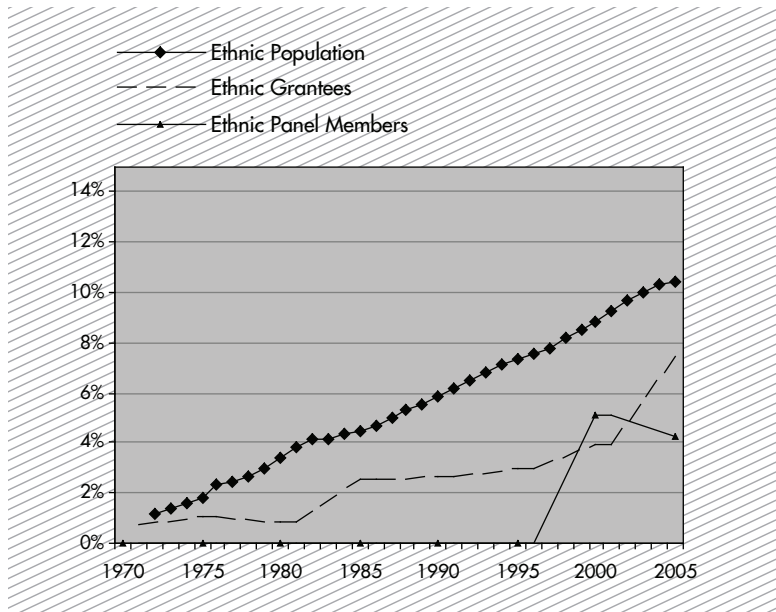
Sources: Own calculations using the Statline program of the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.

Figure 4.1c. Turkish Minority Literature Panelists and Grantees in the
Deutscher Literaturfonds, 1970-2005
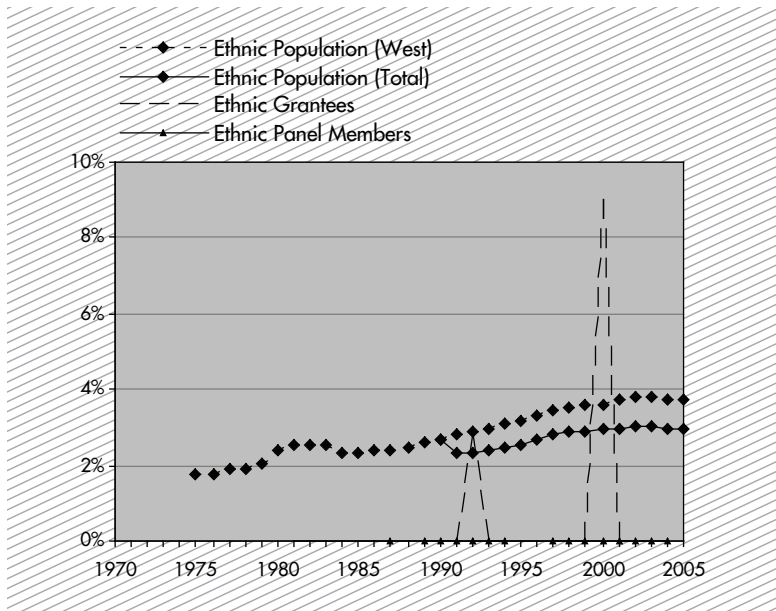
Sources: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001 (Table 9.2), 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006.

Figures 4.1a-c show (i) the share of ethnic minorities of the total population, and (ii) the percentage of ethnic minority panelists and writers of the total granter and grantee population for each country from 1970 tot 2005. Figure 4.1a indicates that, despite poor representation during the early 1970s and mid 1980s and significant over-representation in 1981, the share of ethnic minority panelists – on average – follows the population. The data on the National Council on the Arts show a trend towards (slightly) increasing under-representation of ethnic minority panel members. Thus, the politically appointed National Council on the Arts is less ethnically diverse than the more autonomously appointed literary panel. The share of ethnic minority authors of the total grantee population has varied from 29.2% (1970) to 8.6% (2000). But ethnic minority authors have been under-represented – as compared to their share in the general population – during almost the entire period. Moreover, their share has been declining ever since 1970.

In the Netherlands, both ethnic minority panelists and authors have been under-represented from 1970 to 2005 (Figure 4.1b). Ethnic minorities have been totally absent from the panels until the start of the Intercultural Literary Policy in 1999. As this sub-policy included many ethnic minority panelists, the share of ethnic granters increased from 0% (1995) to 5.1% (2000), dropping slightly in 2005. As in the United States, ethnic minority authors have been continuously under-represented – as compared to their share in the general population. But in contrast to the NEA, the Dutch results show a gradual increase in the percentage of ethnic minority grantees from 1970 to 2005.

Despite the so-called Turkish turn in German literature (see Adelson, 2005), Figure 4.1c shows that the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* has not taken this turn. Out of approximately 400 authors awarded since its foundation, no more than two of them were of Turkish descent: Emine Sevgi Özadamar and Feridun Zaimoglu. At the time they received a grant from the *Deutscher Literaturfonds*, both authors had already won prestigious literary prizes. Other non-western minorities were also largely absent (three in total). The number of ethnic minority panelists was even lower: zero.

So an ethnically more diverse society like the United States indeed devotes more attention to ethnic diversity – both in terms of amount of ethnic discourse and the representation of ethnic minority panelists – than ethnically less diverse societies such as the Netherlands and particularly Germany. However, while the share of ethnic minority grantees has been declining in the United States, it has increased in the Netherlands and also in Germany. Finally, the results show that the way in which ethnic diversity has been part of national literary policies differs cross-nationally. Ethnic diversity has been part of the NEA both as discourse and as representation, while the *Fonds voor de Letteren* and the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* have represented ethnic minorities, but did hardly employ ethnic discourse.

4.4 ACCOUNTING FOR CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES

So how can we account for these cross-national differences in the extent and ways in which ethnic diversity has been part of American, Dutch and German national literary policy? We first have to consider demographic differences.[13] A simple reflection model would predict that more ethnic diversity within a society leads to more attention to ethnic diversity, in this case more ethnically diverse literary policies. The results show that demographics do matter. In absolute terms, an ethnically more heterogeneous society (United States) devotes more attention to ethnic diversity – both as discourse and in representation – than an ethnically less diverse society as the Netherlands and particularly Germany. But although demographics are important to situate the findings, it cannot account for either the under-representation or the peaks in the amount of ethnic discourse and the representation of ethnic minority panelists and authors (see Table 4.1 and Figures 4.1a-c).

4.4.1 National Cultural Repertoires of Ethnic Inclusion or Exclusion

Although structural factors as demographics do matter, scholars studying national cultural repertoires (e.g, Lamont 2001; Swidler 1986) have demonstrated that, as a result of historical institutionalization, different countries tend to deal in different ways with ethnic diversity. Therefore, these macro-cultural repertoires react slowly to structural changes like the shifting ethnic composition of the population in the three researched countries. According to Lamont and Thévenot (2000: 8-9) "each nation makes readily available to its members specific sets of tools though historical and institutional channels, which means that members of different national communities are not equally likely to draw on the same cultural tools to construct and assess the world that surrounds them." Below, I will briefly consider the extent to which the tool of (ethnic) inclusion has been part of the national cultural repertoires of the United States, the Netherlands and Germany and whether such repertoires can clarify my findings.[14]

  Until the 1960s the United States can be described as ethnically exclusive, especially towards the black population. Civil Rights protests resulted several antidiscrimination laws (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1965), providing equal right to all citizens. In the following years, the policy emphasis shifted from offering redress to discriminated individuals to preventing discrimination by protecting vulnerable groups (Harper & Reskin, 2005). As these affirmative action policies required public institutions to identify the ethnic identity of students, employees or grantees, the United States became more and more a color-conscious society (Joppke, 1996). Although this suggests that ethnic diversity has also been part of the national literary policy of the United States, this is only the case with regard to the representation of ethnic minority panelists.

13. The ethnic composition of the total population of fiction writers would have constituted a logical starting point for accounting for my findings. Unfortunately, such data are only available for the United States.

14. Ethnic inclusion may have lost some of its appeal in the United States and the Netherlands after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. and the murder of Theo van Gogh (Alba & Nee 2003; Prins, 2004). However, since the developments described are relatively recent and national cultural repertoire change slowly, I would not expect these changes already to have impacted on literary policy.

The amount of ethnic discourse shows quite a lot annual variation, while the declining share of ethnic minority grantees seems to suggest that the American repertoire has become less inclusive.

Cultural pluralism and tolerance have traditionally been important instruments to regulate conflict between equal religious factions in the Netherlands (Zahn, 1991). Moreover, in contrast to the United States, the institutionalization of pluralism resulted in the pillarization of Dutch society along religious and political lines. According to the *European Civic Citizenship and Inclusion Index* Dutch policy still is much more inclusive than its German counterpart (Geddes & Niessen, 2005). We see some indications of this inclusive repertoire, if we look at the gradual increase in the number of ethnic minority grantees. However, national cultural repertoire theory cannot account for the sudden increase in both the percentage of ethnic minority panelists and ethnic discourse in 2000.

Unlike American or Dutch citizenship, German citizenship is based on descent rather than birth or territory (Brubaker, 1992). This exclusive definition of citizenship has its historical roots in the concept of German nationhood as a linguistically and culturally unified group (*Volk*), a community of destiny (*Schicksalgemeinschaft*). As a consequence, Germany has very strict naturalization laws. Thus, in 2000, it hosted more than 7 million "foreigners" (8.9 % of the German population), many of whom were actually born in Germany. Ethnic inclusion might have become more important after the federal government granted easier access to citizenship in 2000 (Geissler & Meyer, 2002) and – compared to the United States and the Netherlands – these changes were more directly institutionalized in policy. These recent developments have however not changed the exclusive way the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* has dealt with ethnic diversity. The German Literature Fund neither used ethnic discourse nor included any Turkish (or ethnic) minorities in its panels. Furthermore, the funding of ethnic minority authors seems incidental rather than showing an increase after 2000.

4.4.2   Literary Policy Field and Organizational Legitimacy

Although demographics and the national repertoire theory have clarified some cross-national differences, primarily regarding the representation of ethnic minorities, both approaches could not account for the variation in the use of ethnic discourse. For this reason, I will draw on organizational theories of legitimacy. Organizational legitimacy can be defined as a generalized perception that the organization is culturally accepted and its actions morally and legally proper within some socially constructed system of norms, values and beliefs (Johnson, Dowd, & Ridgeway, 2006; Suchman, 1995). An organization can be judged as legitimate in terms of three elements, which form a continuum from the taken for granted to the legally enforced (Scott, 2001).

First, cultural-cognitive legitimacy relates to cultural rules (or support) that specify what types of actors are allowed to exist (Ruef & Scott,

Figure 4.2. The Need for Legitimacy for the National Endowment for the Arts, the Fonds voor de Letteren and the Deutscher Literaturfonds, 1965-2005
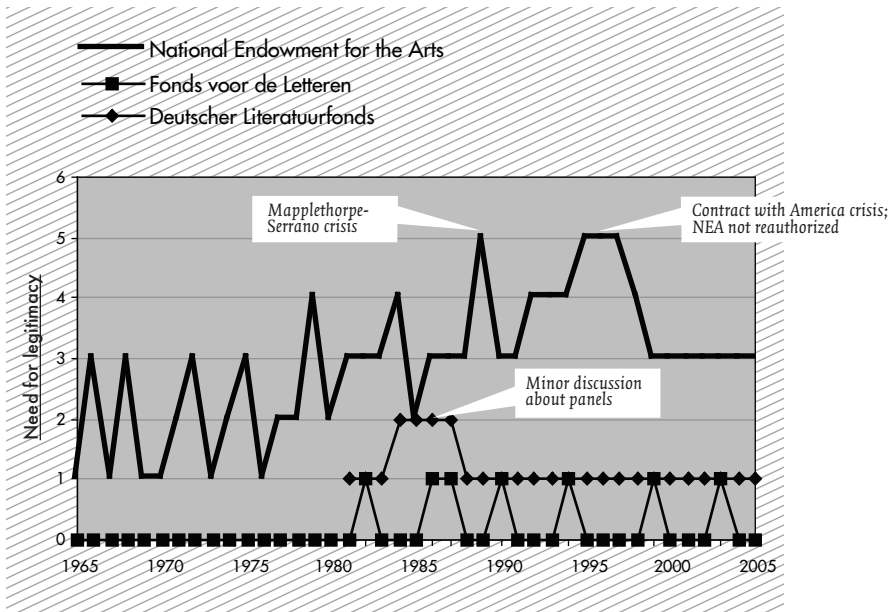
Sources: Koch (1998), National Endowment for the Arts (2000), Deutscher Literaturfonds (1987), De Glas (1994), De Vries (1994), Fonds voor de Letteren (1999).

Note: The need for legitimacy is calculated for every fiscal year by adding up the scores on three variables. First, cultural-cognitive legitimacy refers to the extent in which government support for the arts is principally questioned (0=general agreement on government support for the arts; 1=some questions on government support for the arts; 2= general disagreement on government support for the arts). Normative legitimacy has to do with the degree in which the peer review system is questioned (0=hardly any discussion about the functioning of the panel system; 1= some questions about the functioning of the panel system; 2= functioning of the panel system heavily questioned). Regulative legitimacy has been operationalized by authorization period. Literary policy organizations most urgently need legitimacy when government evaluations (reauthorization or budget renewal) are approaching (0=year directly after government evaluation; 1=years in between evaluations; 2=year before evaluation).

1998). The fundamental question underlying cultural-cognitive legitimacy in this study is whether the national government should use its (public) resources to support the arts. Since the 1950s, government support for the arts has been taken for granted in the Netherlands. Hence, the *Fonds voor de Letteren* (see Figure 4.2) faced no serious questions about its existence from 1965 onwards. In both the United States and Germany there has always been some discussion about whether the federal government should support the arts. But unlike the NEA from 1995 to 1997, the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* has never been threatened in its existence (see Figure 4.2).

Second, moral legitimacy refers to values and norms ("right thing to do"), either relating to the procedures or to the outcome of such organizational procedures (Suchman, 1995). The procedural moral legitimacy of all three organizations has been questioned in some

15. The arts community
also influences literary
policy organizations, but
in a more indirect, diffuse,
and less formal way.

16. We cannot simply
reduce this lack of societal
interest for the *Deutscher
Literaturfonds* to its limited
budget and relative
peripheral position, since
the National Endowment
for the Arts has a
comparable role and has
generated much attention.

instances, mainly concerning accusations of favoritism of peer reviewers. Only the NEA witnessed a dispute over its consequential moral legitimacy with the alleged funding of immoral art during the Mapplethorpe-Serrano controversy in 1989 (see Figure 4.2).

Third, regulative legitimacy has to do with rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities. The extent to which and the way in which the studied organizations are subjected to such activities differs, but both the NEA and the *Fonds voor de Letteren* have to go through a process of evaluation every couple of years in order to get reauthorized or their budgets renewed. These legitimacy pressures are the strongest in the years preceding political monitoring and result in the periodical peaks we see in Figure 4.2.

It shows that the NEA suffered severe legitimacy problems, especially around 1989 and 1995-1997. The Dutch and German literary policy organizations experienced only minor problems in this respect.

Although all three organizations are almost entirely funded by the national government, the degree to which the political field – as the most important stakeholder – constrains these organizations' autonomy differs greatly (see Nyhagen Predelli, & Baklien, 2003).[15] We have seen that the NEA is the least autonomous organization, since the chairman is directly appointed by the President, both the organization and its budget have to be reauthorized by Congress every several years, and political actors take part in the panels. The *Deutscher Literaturfonds* operates the most autonomously of the three literary policy organizations. The members elect their own chairman, the budget is fixed and the panels consist solely of members of the participating organizations. The *Fonds voor de Letteren* holds a middle position: the chairman is nominated by the board, but appointed by the Minister of Culture, the budget has to be approved yearly and a policy plan has to be presented every four years to renew its budget and, finally, the panels consist primarily of actors from the literary field. The more a (literary policy) organization depends on the political field, the more its legitimacy depends on the organization's ability to tap into the dominant political beliefs and values (see Ruef & Scott, 1998).

This might clarify why the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* has ignored ethnic diversity altogether. Its legitimacy has hardly been questioned and the organization operates almost independently from the federal government.[16] The German Literature Fund simply does not have to adapt its discourse or funding practices to changing political beliefs. The fact that the *Deutscher Literaturfonds* does not annually publish a policy report or renews its short forewords provides further support for the legitimacy theory. Although the *Fonds voor de Letteren* has only experienced minor legitimacy crises, it cannot ignore the political field as its German counterpart does. As stated earlier, it has to tap into government beliefs about cultural policy by presenting a policy plan every four years in order to keep its budget. When Minister of Culture Van der Ploeg presented his view in the report *Cultuur als confontatie* ("Culture as confrontation") in 2000, which was preceded by a separate policy document ("Make way for cultural diversity"), ethnic diversity

became a priority in the Dutch cultural policy. In response to this, the *Fonds voor de Letteren* published its own policy plan entitled *Het gaat om kwaliteit* ("It is all about quality"). However, the *Fonds* also launched its Intercultural Literary Policy that same year, resulting in a rise in the percentage of ethnic minority panelists. In addition, the ethnic discourse employed by the Fund – starting in 2000 – referred solely to its own intercultural literary policy, without any mention of societal ethnic diversity or ethnic minority authors and their work. All this suggests that its moderate autonomy makes it possible to act against government beliefs, but only as discourse.

The National Endowment for the Arts has been subject to the most serious political attacks of the three organizations studied, resulting in major legitimacy crises in 1989 and from 1995 to 1997. The lower levels of legitimacy might have been led the NEA to publish policy reports more often than its European counterparts. Research on the discourse used in Congressional debates on arts funding from 1965-1995 has shown that ethnic diversity strongly resonates in the American political field (Strom & Cook, 2004).[17] In line with legitimacy theory, my analyses show clear peaks in the amount of ethnic discourse during these legitimacy crises (see Figure 4.2). Compared to the Netherlands, this ethnic discourse focuses not so much on the internal functioning of the organization, but on what the organization has accomplished for various ethnic communities in general and their artists and art. This emphasis on communicating the NEA's relevance to society – external to the organization itself – provides further support for the legitimacy theory. I did not find clear peaks in the percentage of ethnic minority granters or grantees during the crises years. Probably, discourse is considered a more powerful and more convenient instrument to counter legitimacy crises than actual representation. This might also account for (relative) decline in the support for ethnic minority authors.

17. Of the nine "pro" arguments they distinguish, the "access" argument ("only government investment in the arts will provide adequate access across geographic, racial, and class divides") may have never been the most important argument, but it has always ranked between second and fifth.

4.5   CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study clearly suggest that ethnically more heterogeneous societies also produce more ethnically heterogeneous artistic classifications. The most heterogeneous society – the United States – employs the most ethnic discourse and includes the most ethnic minority granters and authors. The Netherlands holds a middle position, both with regard to societal ethnic heterogeneity as well as attention to ethnic diversity. In Germany, ethic diversity is almost absent in the national literary policy. This might not be a very surprising finding, considering the obvious differences with regard to the timeline of demographic changes and related ethnic identity politics between traditional nations of immigration, former colonial powers and guestworker recruitment countries.

However, in none of the countries does the attention to ethnic diversity in literary policy simply reflect societal ethnic diversity. The

National Endowment for the Arts has addressed ethnic diversity most prominently as discourse when in need of legitimacy. The increasing under representation of ethnic minority authors suggests that ethnic diversity has been primarily used as lip service to legislators and minority constituencies. A more elaborate analysis – including other legitimizing frames – might further clarify the relative importance of ethnic discourse as a way of improving legitimacy vis-à-vis other strategies. But despite all this, I found ethnic boundaries to be still less strong in the United States than in the Netherlands and in Germany. The *Fonds voor de Letteren* disregarded ethnic diversity for a fairly long time, until the Minister of Culture made it one of the priorities of Dutch cultural policy. Although the amount of ethnic discourse is still limited, the under-representation of ethnic minority authors has declined in recent years. Thus, while ethnic boundaries are still present in the Dutch literary policy, they seem to have become weaker. The *Deutscher Literaturfonds* has ignored ethnic diversity almost completely. The German Literature Fund has employed no ethnic discourse and hardly included any ethnic minority authors or ethnic panel members, indicating strong ethnic boundaries. As the German Literature Fund operates largely autonomously, it is relative immune to political claims for more ethnic diversity. These claims were not too strong in Germany either.

In general, cross-national differences seem to be mediated at the meso-level of the organization. Macro-level theories – both structural as well as cultural – could not very well account for my findings. As such, recent changes towards exclusion in the United States and the Netherlands and inclusion in Germany have not (yet) affected literary policy much. It would be interesting to look at other institutions (e.g., literary criticism) to see whether we find similar patterns.

CHAPTER 5

Ethnic Boundaries in National Literary Histories: Classification of Ethnic Minority Fiction Authors in American, Dutch and German Anthologies and Literary History Books, 1978-2006

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of symbolic boundaries has been a fruitful domain of sociological research over the last decades (e.g., Benson & Saguy, 2005; Lamont, 1992; Zerubavel, 1997). Lamont & Molnár (2002: 168) define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space." Building on DiMaggio (1987), sociologists of culture have been studying symbolic boundaries of a particular type – the "artistic classification" of films (Baumann, 2001), classical music (Dowd, et al., 2002) and the arts in general (Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008). Previous studies have suggested that more heterogeneous societies are likely to produce more differentiated artistic classifications (Blau, Blau, & Golden, 1985; DiMaggio, 1987). Instead of focusing on social heterogeneity and status diversity (e.g., in terms of income and educational inequality), the present study examines whether more ethnically heterogeneous societies also produce more ethnically diverse artistic classifications.

The ethnic makeup of many western countries has become increasingly diverse as a result of mass immigration. The degree and timing of this ethnic diversification vary among traditional nations of immigration, former colonial powers and guest worker recruitment countries – which in this study are represented by the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, respectively. Symbolic boundaries based on ethnic distinctions are by no means the natural and inevitable result of demographic changes. Instead, such boundaries are actively constructed (e.g., Barth, 1969; Zolberg & Woon, 1999). The strength of these boundaries can be gauged, amongst other things, by their permeability (degree of recognition in mainstream institutions) and the salience of distinctions based on ethnic origin (Alba & Nee, 2003; Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

Literature provides an interesting case for studying ethnic boundaries in the classification of art because of its close association with national (ethnic) identities (Corse, 1995). At the same time, literary fields are not easily accessible for authors since they must possess very specific credentials and competencies in order to be acknowledged as "literary authors" (Bourdieu, 1980). Literary criticism, in particular academic criticism, has been a dominant institution in the classification of literature and literary authors (Van Rees, 1983). Among critical classifications of literature, the national literary history has the most strongly ritualized symbolic boundaries, consisting of high-cultural texts and authors selected by academics. The transmission of this history mainly takes place at secondary schools and universities, primarily – but not exclusively – with the use of literature anthologies and literary history books (Olsson, 2000).

I therefore focus on these two types of publications in my analysis of ethnic boundaries in the classification of literature.[1] First, I assess the extent to which ethnic diversity is part of each country's literary history by

1. Literary anthologies and literary history books share the idea of mapping highlights in the field of literature, yet they focus on primary texts and secondary analyses, respectively. I include both since (a) the total number of available textbooks is limited and (b) this way I can compare the U.S., in which anthologies are prevalent, to the Netherlands and Germany, in which literary history books prevail.

examining the inclusion/presence of ethnic minority writers in anthologies and literary history books and the use of ethnic discourse in the introductory texts of such publications (permeability). Second, I explore cross-national differences in how these publications tend to structure and label ethnic minority writers and their work (salience).

My research aim is twofold: (i) comparing how the classification of ethnic diversity has developed in American, Dutch and German anthologies and literary history books since the 1970s and (ii) exploring how developments in the classification of ethnic diversity relate to the ethnic makeup of each country's (university student) population, fields of textbook publishing and literary studies, and national cultural repertoires.

5.2 CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ATTENTION TO ETHNIC DIVERSITY

5.2.1 Ethnic Composition of (Student) Population

To understand the attention to ethnic diversity in national literary histories, I first consider demographic developments in each country as a potential explanatory factor. Becoming a literary author requires a substantial amount of cultural and linguistic "capital" (Bourdieu, 1993). Given that such capitals are typically associated with advantaged segments of the population, this requirement implies that members of the lower socio-economic strata are less likely to gain access to the literary field. Rather than being directly proportional to a country's general population, the presence of literary minority authors may therefore keep pace with the share of ethnic minorities among the highly educated.[2]

Moreover, an ethnically diverse student population offers not only potential supply of – but also possible demand for – ethnically diverse literature. Anthologies and literary history books are primarily aimed at undergraduate students. While faculty are the key consumers of textbooks, several studies indicate that – at least in the U.S. – the increasing market-orientation of both universities (Bryson, 2005) and textbook publishers (Thornton, 2004) has rendered the perceived needs of students as consumers increasingly important. In fact, Thornton (2004) notes that text publishing in the U.S. has shifted from an editorial to a market logic, the latter emphasizing sales and marketing. Verboord and Van Rees (2008) have demonstrated that, in recent years, Dutch teachers have increasingly adopted textbooks primarily considering students' preferences. A rise in the proportion of ethnic minority students is therefore likely to push both faculty and publishers towards the adoption and production of ethnically heterogeneous anthologies and literary history books.

Though necessary for situating my findings, mere demographics alone cannot account for the potential under- or over-representation of ethnic minority authors nor do they suffice to explain variations in the

2. The ethnic composition of the population of fiction writers would have been a logical starting point for examining the representation of ethnic minority writers in such publications. However, whereas the U.S. Census does provide detailed information on the number of ethnic authors, only incomplete lists of well-established Dutch and German ethnic minority authors exist (see Berkers, Janssen, & Verboord, 2009).

nature of attention to ethnic diversity. Below, I explore how field dynamics and national cultural repertoires may mediate the relationship between population diversity and the amount and nature of literary textbooks' attention to ethnic diversity. At the meso-level, field theory points to the role of actors within specific fields – i.e., textbook producers – who may be more or less inclined to incorporate (increasing) societal ethnic heterogeneity into their classifications of literature, depending on the receptiveness of their direct environment to this diversity and the degree of competition in their field (e.g., Sapiro, 2003; Van Rees & Dorleijn, 2001). Second, at the macro-level, national cultural repertoire theory suggests that unique historical trajectories lead people in various countries to emphasize different aspects when they classify their surroundings – in this case ethnic minority authors (Lamont, 1992). Thus, these repertoires may strengthen or weaken the impact of (changing) demographics.

5.2.2   Dynamics of the Field of Textbook Publishing

Within the academic field, as well as the field of textbook publishing, diverse groups propose, support and contest specific canonical texts (and discourse) as a way of enhancing their own social standing (Bourdieu, 1988, 1996). The outcome of this struggle – often between settled agents and newcomers trying to enter the field – determines which writers are eventually included in anthologies and literary history books. The producers (authors/editors and publishers) of anthologies and textbooks must meet the conventional standards of the educational market. At the same time, they may have to renew or adjust their products when they are faced with new competitors who enter the field with new dispositions (Olsson, 2000). Launching an ethnically more diverse literary textbook would be a typical "newcomer" strategy to stand out in the crowd of competitors (Bourdieu, 1996). The eventual success of such a strategy could subsequently stimulate other textbook producers to give more attention to ethnic diversity as well. However, textbook producers are more likely to renew their products when they operate in highly competitive markets and they will only adopt a particular innovation when it yields sufficient commercial benefits. Commercial viability largely depends on the extent to which professors, lecturers and teachers assign or recommend a specific textbook to their students (Thompson, 2005). Therefore, producers of anthologies and literary textbooks are only likely to embrace ethnic diversity when it resonates with the values and principles of their "customers" – academic critics and literary scholars (e.g., Binder, 1993). One way to examine the academic interest in ethnic diversity is by studying the content of academic literary journals, which reflects the conceptions of literature favored by academic critics (Van Rees, 1983: 407).

> **Hypothesis 1:** *The presence of ethnic minority writers and the amount of ethnic discourse in literary anthologies and history books will vary across countries, depending on the degree of competition in the field of textbook publishing and the interest in ethnic diversity among academic scholars and critics.*

5.2.3 National Cultural Repertoires and Persistence

Swidler (1986: 277) compares culture to "a toolkit or repertoire from which actors select various pieces for constructing lines of action." The content of the toolkit varies across national contexts because of different historical trajectories – such as the particular government policies that nations enact and institutionalize. In addition, structural features determine which tools are most likely used. Thus, when these structural circumstances change – in this case, the ethnic composition of a society – certain (classifying) tools may no longer be fit for the job and members of a society may become more inclined to use others. Such repertoire shifts may take a considerable amount of time due to the strong institutionalization and long history of favoring certain ways of classification (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000). Below, I briefly consider the extent to which the primary conceptions of ethnicity and ethnic differences in each country appear more or less inclusive.

In the United States, a tradition of ethnic exclusion – especially with regard to the black population – has changed into a practice of ethnic inclusion. In the mid-1960s, civil rights protests resulted in several legislation changes, conferring on blacks the same rights as enjoyed by all Americans. In the following decades the State enacted affirmative action policies to help (primarily) the black population overcome their historically disadvantaged socio-economic position. These compensatory policies probably had the most pervasive impact on college and university admissions (Alba & Nee, 2003). Ethnic minority writers, who have also been subjected to exclusion, have received a compensatory treatment as well, primarily by reconstructing the national literary history. For example, a process of cultural valorization has changed the literary position of Nora Zeale Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* from being an example of "Negro folklore" in 1937 to its current position as a central canonical text (Corse & Griffin, 1997: 196). I thus anticipate American anthologies to show an equal or even an over-representation of ethnic minority authors as well as a relatively high amount of ethnic discourse. Such compensatory action has been less controversial than preferential treatment since the latter infringes on notions of egalitarianism (e.g., Gamson, 1992; Lipset, 1996). I therefore expect American textbook editors to classify ethnic minority writers in a similar (inclusive) way as majority authors, i.e. by discussing them alongside majority authors and by focusing on (ethnic) features of their literary work rather than their ethnic background.

In the Netherlands, cultural pluralism and tolerance have always been essential to regulate conflict between equal religious factions (Zahn, 1991). This tradition of tolerance is well institutionalized in Dutch policy, which promotes ethnic inclusion to a greater extent than many other European countries (Geddes & Niessen, 2005). In addition, ethnic tolerance and inclusion have dictated public debate about immigration and ethnic minorities, especially among the higher educated (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2006). Depending on the time it takes to revise and

3. Ethnic inclusion has arguably lost some of its appeal in the United States and the Netherlands after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. and the murder of the Dutch film maker and publicist Theo van Gogh (Alba & Nee, 2003; Prins, 2004). In Germany, ethnic inclusion might have become more important after the federal government granted easier access to citizenship in 2000 (Geissler & Meyer, 2002). But I do not expect that these societal changes will have already influenced the content of anthologies and literary history books.

publish updated editions, I anticipate a slow but steady increase in Dutch literary history books' attention to (relatively recent) ethnic diversity. However, this ethnic inclusion has been institutionalized differently as compared to the United States. Dutch society was traditionally split up into various religious, social and cultural blocs, or pillars, which were to a large extent autonomous, each with its own political parties, unions, broadcasting corporations and schools (Entzinger, 1985). The initial Dutch migrant policy must be seen in the light of the tradition of pillarization, i.e. integration with the preservation of a separate identity (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). Hence, I expect Dutch ethnic minority writers to be reviewed in separate "ethnic" sections, i.e. separate from majority authors. Furthermore, Dutch textbook authors are likely to classify ethnic minority authors as belonging to a separate pillar of Dutch literature and to emphasize the ethnic background of ethnic minority authors.

Germany has a long tradition of ethnic exclusion, which has its historical roots in the concept of German nationhood as a linguistically and culturally unified group (*Volk*), a community of destiny (*Schicksalgemeinschaft*). Consequently, German citizenship is exclusively based on descent rather than on birth or territory (Brubaker, 1992). The concept of ethnic exclusion has been institutionalized in such policies as strict naturalization laws. Public attitudes toward ethnic minorities are also somewhat more exclusionist in Germany than in the Netherlands (Coenders et al.., 2006). Therefore, ethnic minority authors will probably be under-represented – compared to their share in the German population – and the amount of ethnic discourse will likely be low in German literary history books. Considering the emphasis on ethnic exclusion, German textbook editors will likely review ethnic minority authors in separate sections and use ethnic background labels to classify minority writers as ethnically different.

To summarize, national cultural repertoires seem to vary from strong and moderate ethnic inclusion in the United States and the Netherlands to ethnic exclusion in Germany,[3] leading to two additional hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: *The presence of ethnic minority writers and the amount of ethnic discourse in each country's literary anthologies and history books will remain relatively stable over time, showing an increase (toward over-representation) in the U.S., a gradual rise (toward more equal representation) in the Netherlands, and low levels (under-representation) in Germany.*

Hypothesis 3.1: *Unlike American textbooks, German and Dutch textbooks will tend to classify ethnic minority writers in separate "ethnic" sections.*

Hypothesis 3.2: *In their use of ethnic labels, Dutch and German literary history books will refer more often to the ethnic background of ethnic minority authors compared to their American counterparts, whereas the latter will focus more often on the (ethnic) content of these authors' work.*

5.3   DATA AND METHODS

5.3.1   Ethnic Categories

For reasons of comparability, and because of the small number of minorities in Germany and the Netherlands, I primarily analyzed ethnic minorities as an aggregate group.[4] Following the U.S. Bureau of the Census, I defined American ethnic minorities as belonging to one of the four main ethno-racial minority groups: black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander, and American Indian or Alaska Native. The Dutch Bureau of the Census (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*) classifies people as belonging to an ethnic minority if at least one parent was born in a foreign country, while it makes a further differentiation between western and non-western minorities. The latter group includes the main Dutch ethnic minority groups (*allochtonen*): the Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. Therefore, my definition of Dutch ethnic minorities includes all non-western minorities. The German Bureau of the Census (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) primarily differentiates between Germans and foreigners (*Ausländer*). It only has comparable longitudinal data on the Turkish minority, which is by far the largest non-western minority group in Germany. Therefore, I use the Turkish minority – the sum of foreigners and annual naturalizations – as a proxy for non-western minorities in Germany.

5.3.2   Selecting Anthologies and Literary History Books

I used several criteria for selecting among the numerous anthologies and literary history books in each country. First, these works preferably had to cover as large a period as possible. Although my study focuses on the post-1945 literary period, inclusion of an (ethnic minority) author in a national literary history of all times has greater significance than his or her inclusion in a history of contemporary authors (see e.g., the re-evaluation of author Nora Zeale Hurston mentioned earlier). Secondly, I selected books with the highest circulation, i.e. those that are most often listed at university curricula (see Appendix C). The starting point of my analysis is 1978, when the competitors of the dominant Martini textbook first appeared on the German market and the *Norton anthology* began its rise to dominance on the U.S. market. Third, I chose books that were in print for a longer period of time. I included all 45 (revised) editions of the selected anthologies and literary history books from 1978 to provide a more conclusive test of my hypotheses. In total, I analyzed four American anthologies, five Dutch literary history books and four German literary history books (see Table 5.1).

5.3.3   Measuring Ethnic Diversity in Textbooks

I started my examination of the attention devoted to ethnic diversity in anthologies and literary history books with a quantitative content analysis (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005) of the introductory texts of each textbook. The number of ethnic terms mentioned in the prefaces or forewords is a first

4. For comparative purposes, I consider race as a subtype of ethnicity (see Wimmer, 2008: 973-975).

Table 5.1. Selected Literature Textbooks

Name Anthology / Literary History Book[1]	Main Editor	Year 1	Year Recent	Type[2]
The Norton Anthology of American Literature (1-6)	Gottesman,[3] Baym	1979	2003	A
The Anthology of American Literature (2-8)	McMichael	1980	2004	A
The American Tradition in Literature (5-10)	Perkins	1981	2002	A
The Heath Anthology of American Literature (1-5)	Lauter	1990	2006	A
Twee Eeuwen Literatuurgeschiedenis: Poëticale Opvattingen in de Nederlandse Literatuur[4] (1)	Van Bork & Laan	1986	1986	LHB
Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur tussen 1885 en 1985[5] (1 & 5)	Anbeek	1990	1999	LHB
Nederlandse Literatuur: Een Geschiedenis[6] (1)	Schenkeveld-Van der	1993	1993	LHB
Altijd Weer Vogels Die Nesten Beginnen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur 1945-2005 (1)	Dussen Brems	2006	2006	LHB
Literatuur van de Moderne Tijd: Nederlandse en Vlaamse Letterkunde in de 19e en 20e Eeuw (1)	Van Boven & Kemperink	2006	2006	LHB
Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von Anfängen bis Gegenwart (17-19)	Martini	1978	1991	LHB
Kleine Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur[7] (1, 7, 15 & 18)	Rothmann	1978	2003	LHB
Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (1-6)	Beutin	1979	2004	LHB
Neue deutsche Literaturgeschichte (1-2)	Brenner	1996	2004	LHB

1. The numbers between brackets indicate the studied – first or revised – editions of each anthology or literary history book.
2. A = Anthology, LHB = Literary History Book.
3. Gottesman was the main editor of the Norton Anthology of American Literature in 1979.
4. While the second edition was titled Twee Eeuwen Literatuurgeschiedenis 1800-2000, it was an unchanged reprint of the first edition.
5. Later renamed Geschiedenis van de Literatuur in Nederland, 1885-1985. While five editions have been in print, only the fifth contained revisions.
6. The second edition of 1998 was an unchanged reprint of the first edition.
7. Although Rothmann's literary history has been reprinted 18 times, most editions are unchanged reprints.

indicator of the importance of ethnic diversity, at least as discourse. I considered only explicit ethnic terms (e.g., "Sioux," "Moroccan") and aggregate terms (e.g., "minorities") clearly referring to ethnic groups.

The second indicator is the actual presence of ethnic minority fiction writers in these textbooks. Therefore, for all authors (minority and non-minority) belonging to the post-1945 literary period who featured in one of the analyzed editions of the textbook sample, I recorded their ethnicity and, if possible, the number of pages devoted to their work. Poets as well as prose writers and playwrights were taken into account. I excluded foreign writers (e.g., Austrian nationals in German textbooks) since they are neither minority nor majority writers of the studied country. The authors' ethnic background was retrieved drawing on the textbooks themselves and Internet databases, notably the *Literature Resource Center* in Galenet, the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* and *Perlentaucher*.

Third, I examined the structure of the anthologies and literary history books. The criteria for grouping or ordering authors into sections (e.g., chronology, literary genre, or ethnicity) became apparent from the

chapter and section headings in each textbook.

Finally, for the first and latest editions of the textbook corpus, I analyzed all text units (except for the forewords) containing ethnic labels.[5] Ethnic terms were considered to be words or phrases that address ethnicity in general (e.g., "race," but not "migrant") or refer to specific ethno-racial or ethnic-immigrant groups (e.g., "slavery," "Turkish migrant").[6]

Building on Bourdieu (1984: 30-44) and Griswold (1987), I studied the use of two different ethnic label categories:

(i) Labels describing specific ethnic themes related to the author's ethnic identity (e.g., "writes about the Turkish migrant experience," "reservations")

(ii) Labels addressing the ethnic background of the author, either through a direct reference (e.g., "black author," "born in Morocco") or by classifying an author's work as part of an ethnic literary genre (e.g., "Chicano literature," "writes in Spanglish")

Labels that refer to specific ethnic themes addressed by an ethnic minority author focus on (selective aspects of) the artwork. As such, these labels draw relatively weak ethnic boundaries. References to the ethnic background of an author tell us that these particular writers have more in common than just a certain theme or literary style, i.e. a shared ethnic background. Hence, the emphasis moves away from a purely artistic classification, categorizing the writer as ethnically different. Such labels therefore draw comparably strong boundaries.

5.3.4 Indicators of Field Dynamics

To assess the extent to which ethnic diversity has entered the field of literary studies, I examined the contents of four academic literary journals for each country (see Table 5.2).

Since the majority of the authors published in these journals are affiliated with a university, their combined journal publications are a good indicator of the academic interest in ethnic diversity. For every volume, I recorded the total number of scholarly articles and the percentage of articles addressing ethnicity (or race) in general, ethnic minority literature, or specific ethnic minority writers. In total, I examined 3,476 American, 2,588 Dutch and 2,995 German articles.

5. It would be very time-consuming and redundant to include all editions, because the texts actually addressing ethnic minority authors – in most cases – hardly changed. Consequently, the few minority authors only included in the other editions were not considered for this analysis.

6. In the American anthologies, these text units were biographical and chapter introductions. Since specific (biographical) discussions of a single author are non-existent in German and Dutch literary history books, I coded all ethnic terms as representing either a unique label referring to one specific author, a shared label referring to a group of authors, or a general label not referring to specific authors.

Table 5.2. Selected Academic Literary Journals

Name Journal	Type / Focus[1]	Year 1	Annual Editions	Analyzed Period	Mean Articles Per Year
PMLA[2]	G, p	1888	4	1975-2006	30.4 (974)
Modern Fiction Studies	H	1955	4	1975-2006	33.9 (1085)
Contemporary Literature	C	1968	4	1975-2006	19.5 (623)
American Literature	G	1929	4	1975-2006	24.4 (755)
Spektator / Nederlandse Letterkunde[3]	G, p	1971	4	1975-2006	25.7 (797)
Tijdschrift Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde	H	1881	4	1975-2006	16.2 (503)
Literatuur[4]	C	1984	6	1984-2004	38.9 (816)
Forum der Letteren[5]	G	1960	4	1975-1998	18.3 (439)
Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte	G, p	1923	4	1975-2006	28.4 (909)
Euphorion : Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte	H[6]	1950	4	1975-2006	24.4 (780)
Wirkendes Wort	C	1950	6/3[7]	1975-2006	16.8 (538)
Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie	G8	1869	4	1975-2006	24.8 (794)

1. For every country, I selected two general academic literary journals (G), including the most prestigious journal of that specific country (p), one journal with a contemporary focus (C), and one with a more historical emphasis (H). Unfortunately, citation rankings are largely absent for arts and humanities journals. Therefore I made my selection with the help of experts.

2. As the official journal of the Modern Language Association of America, it includes only articles written by its members. PMLA is published five times per year, but one issue contains only a member directory and no scholarly articles.

3. Spektator was split into two journals in 1996: Nederlandse Taalkunde, focusing on linguistics and Nederlandse Letterkunde, discussing philology.

4. In 2004 this journal became a supplement of the weekly De Groene Amsterdammer.

5. From 1996-1998 this journal was named Tijdschrift voor Literatuurwetenschap.

6. At least one issue is annually devoted to medieval studies.

7. In 1988 the number of editions of Wirkendes Wort was reduced from six to three per year.

8. The first and third issue of each volume focuses on historical literature, while issues two and four address contemporary literature.

7. The *Anthology of American Literature* (1993-2004), *American Tradition in Literature* and the *Heath Anthology of American Literature* have been published by Pearson Education, McGraw-Hill College and Houghton Mifflin, respectively. W.W. Norton, although large, remained independent (Thompson, 2005). Most Dutch (Aarts, Arbeiderspers, Bert Bakker, Contact, Coutinho and Nijhoff) and German (Kröner, Max Niemeyer, Metzler and Reclam) publishers are neither specialists in the field of textbook publishing nor are they part of major (European) conglomerates (e.g., European Commission, 2000).

In the absence of sales figures and other relevant data on the literature textbook markets, textbook competition is measured through two – rather crude – empirical indicators. First, I look at new editions of a book since these "provide a general indication of how publishers assess its market appeal." (Griswold, 1987: 1109) Between 1978 and 2006, U.S., Dutch, and German textbooks respectively had on average 6.0, 1.2, and 4.0 editions, suggesting that – due to strong competition – U.S. textbooks had to renew themselves more frequently than their Dutch and German counterparts. Second, inter-organizational competition also tends to produce differentiation and specialization among publishers (Thompson, 2005). In the United States, specialized college divisions of large conglomerates have published most anthologies, whereas local trade or literary publishing companies have been responsible for most Dutch and German textbooks.[7] This also hints to strong competition in the United States and weak market competition in the Netherlands and Germany.

5.4   RESULTS

### 5.4.1   Degree of Attention to Ethnic Diversity

Ethnic Composition of the Population

Figures 5.1a-c show the development of (i) the amount of ethnic discourse (references per page) used in these textbooks´ introductions and (ii) the presence of ethnic minority authors in American, Dutch and German anthologies and literary history books relative to (iii) the share of ethnic minorities in each country's population and student population. In order to calculate national averages, I divided the period 1975-2006 in four-year periods.[8]

The U.S. ethnic minority population (Figure 5.1a) increases strongly from 19.1% (1975-1978) to 32.9% (2003-2006) of the total population, while the proportion of ethnic minorities students enrolled in two- and four-year degree-granting institutions of post-secondary education rises gradually. But neither the presence of ethnic minority writers nor the amount of ethnic discourse in American anthologies shows a clear correspondence with the share of ethnic minorities within the U.S. (student) population. Instead, we find a shift from under-representation during 1979-1990 to over-representation of ethnic minority authors, while the amount of ethnic discourse used in American anthologies also rises sharply around 1990. A similar shift occurs in the space (number of pages) devoted to ethnic minority writers (see Appendix C).

Figure 5.1a. Ethnic Diversity in American Anthologies and the Ethnic Minority (Student) Population
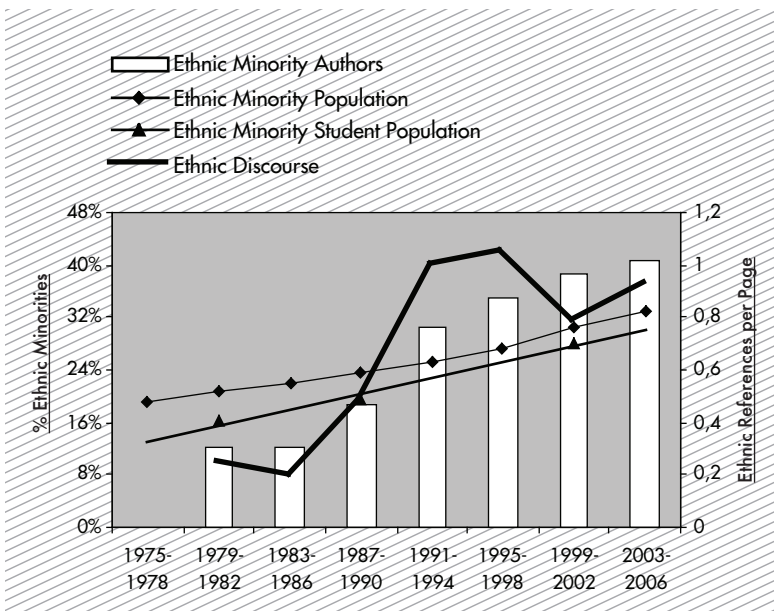
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981 (Table 75), 2000 (Table 4, Table 16), 2007 (Table 13); National Center for Education Statistics, 2003 (Supplemental Table 7.1b), 2004 (Table 206).
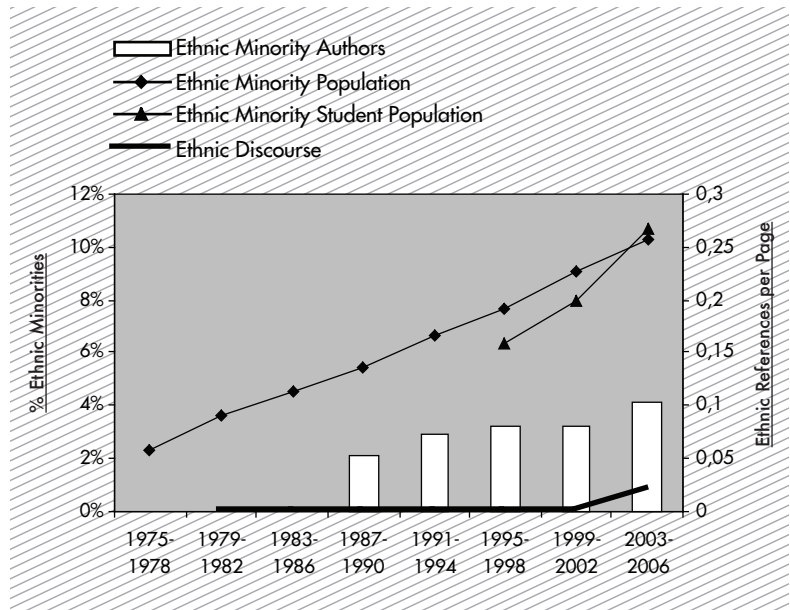
8.   On average, it takes 4.25 years for a revised edition of an American anthology to appear. Both in the Netherlands and Germany this number is much higher, 9.0 and 6.8, respectively. For this reason I decided to work with four-year periods.

Figure 5.1b. Ethnic Diversity in Dutch Literary History Books and the Ethnic Minority (Student) Population


Sources: *Own calculations using the Statline program of the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.*

Note: *Information on the Dutch ethnic minority university student population only dates back to the academic year 1995/1996.*

Ethnic minorities´ share within the Dutch population (Figure 5.1b) rises from 2.3% (1975-1978) to 10.3% (2003-2006), whereas the percentage of non-western ethnic minorities enrolled at Dutch universities increases from 6.4% in 1995-1998 to 10.7% in 2003-2006. The share of ethnic minority authors in Dutch literary history books shows a gradual, but only modest growth. Compared to both the ethnic minority and the ethnic minority student population, ethnic minority authors remain clearly under-represented in Dutch literary history books. At the level of individual textbooks (not shown), only *Literatuur van de Moderne Tijd* over-represents ethnic minority authors (12.0%) compared to the ethnic minority population (10.5%), including almost twice as many ethnic minority authors than its 2006 competitor – and the semi-official Dutch literary history book – *Altijd Weer Vogels Die Nesten Beginnen* (see Note 5). Until 2006, ethnic discourse is also largely absent from the introductions of Dutch textbooks.

The share of the Turkish minority within the total German population (Figure 5.1c) almost doubles from 1975-1978 to 2003-2006. This rise is less spectacular if we include former East Germany in our analysis from 1991-1994 onward. Unfortunately, German data on ethnic minority university enrollment only differentiate between national and foreigners. As a result, the number of Turkish students enrolled at

Figure 5.1c. Ethnic Diversity in German Literary History Books and the Turkish Minority (Student) Population
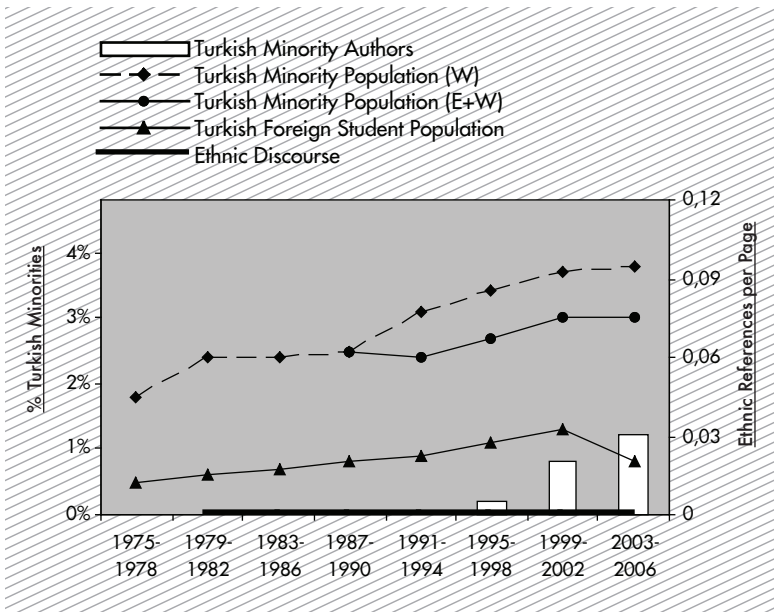
Sources: Schmalz-Jacobsen & Hansen, 1995; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001 (Table 9.2), 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006.

Note: W = West Germany; E = East Germany. From 1991-1994 onward, the share of the Turkish foreign student population is calculated over the total German population.

German universities increases until 2003-2006, but subsequently drops again due to changed naturalization laws. The share of Turkish minority authors in literary history books does keep pace with the Turkish minority (student) population. Until the mid-nineties, the German textbooks do not include a single Turkish or other ethnic minority author. Also in later years, Turkish minority authors remain under-represented compared to the Turkish minority population. Finally, the introductions of the German history books do not carry any references to Turkish or ethnic minorities, as represented by "Ethnic Discourse" in Figure 5.1c.

The results indicate that demographics indeed matter, but not in any straightforward fashion as a "simple" reflection theory would have it (see Griswold, 1981). An ethnically diverse society like the United States devotes relatively much attention to ethnic diversity – both in terms of the presence of ethnic minority authors and the amount of ethnic discourse in literary textbooks, indicating relatively weak (permeable) ethnic boundaries. This may come as no surprise since the Dutch and German ethnic minorities are primarily recent immigrants with low literacy backgrounds, while ethnic minorities in the United States are far more diverse, including more members who possess the cultural capital and language skills to successfully enter the literary field. However, when we confine our analysis

9. Although the histories of the three groups in relation to the receiving nation is still somewhat variable, all groups pose a special challenge to inclusion with regard to size of the group, educational background and language (e.g., Alba, 2005; Koopmans et al., 2005).

for each country to recent ethnic (immigrant) groups coming from low literacy contexts (the Hispanic minority in the United States, the Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands and the Turkish minority in Germany), this conclusion still holds (see Appendix D).[9]

The recognition of Hispanic minority authors proves to be far greater – particularly when compared to the minority student population – than both the representation of Turkish and Moroccan minority writers in the Netherlands and Turkish minority authors in Germany. However, the shift from under-representation to over-representation in the United States as well as a continuing under-represtation of ethnic minority writers in the Netherlands and Germany suggests that we have to look at other factors than demographics to account for these cross-national differences.

Field Dynamics

How do the trends in the presence of ethnic minority writers and the amount of ethnic discourse in textbooks compare to field factors? I highlight ethnic diversity in literary journals and textbook competition, while reckoning that due to the enduring low level of competition in the Dutch and German case, the latter factor field theory can only be used to situate the American findings.

Figure 5.2a gives the proportion of articles devoted to ethnic diversity in American academic literary journals per four-year period from 1975 to 2006. These numbers remain fairly low from 1975 to 1986, but they

Figure 5.2a.

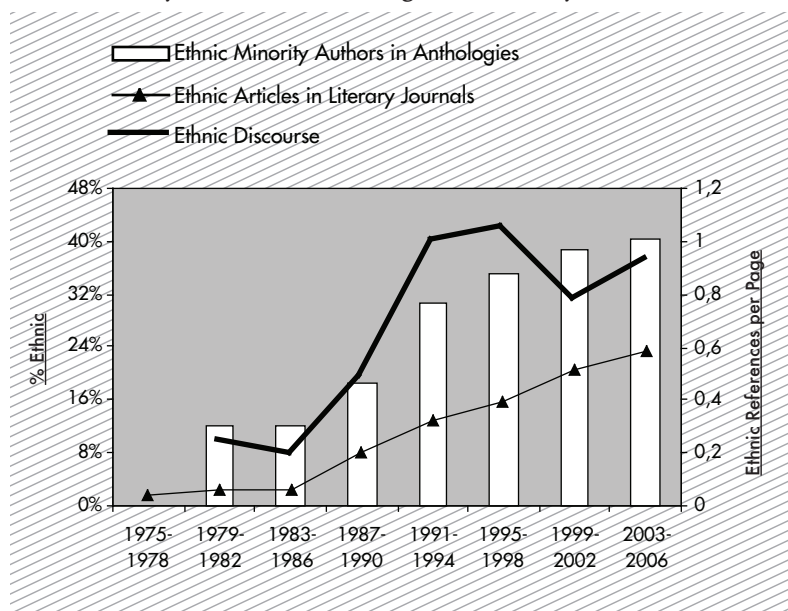Ethnic Diversity in American Anthologies and Literary Journals

Figure 5.2b.
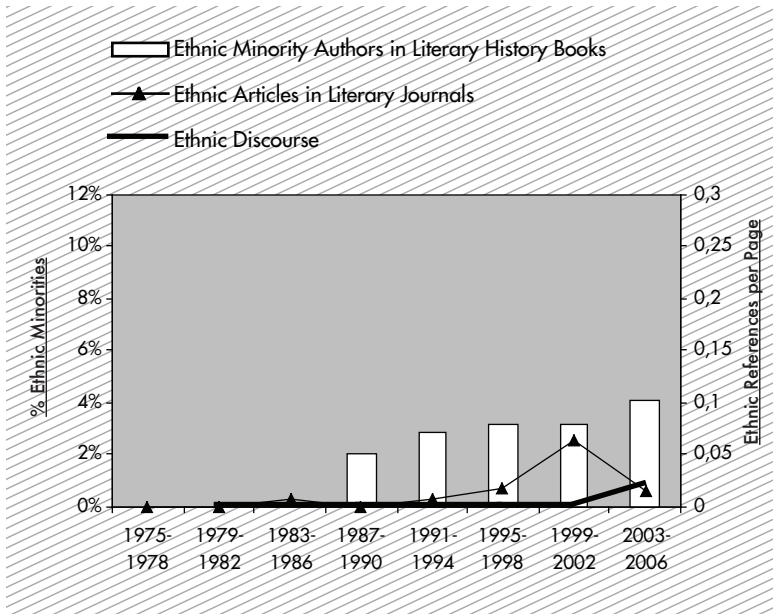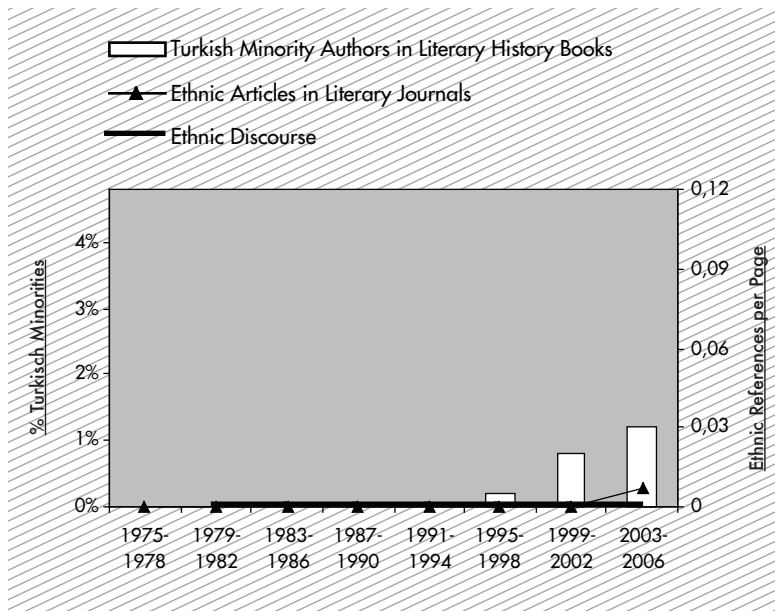Ethnic Diversity in Dutch Literary History Books and Literary Journals

Figure 5.2c.
Ethnic Diversity in German Literary History Books and Literary Journals

10. This suggests that faculty members' choice of textbooks may be more strongly influenced by their peers' preferences than the perceived interests of their students.

11. Although the Dutch and German fields of textbook publishing have hardly been affected by global (or American) trends towards multiculturalism, it is interesting to note that many scholars who have published about Dutch or German ethnic minority authors work at British or American universities.

increase afterwards, concomitantly with the start of the canon wars at the English departments of American universities (Bryson, 2005). The growing academic interest in ethnic diversity preceded the sharp rise in attention to ethnic diversity in American anthologies (from 1987-1990 to 1991-1994), following the success of the *Heath Anthology* (e.g., Bak, 1993). The editors of this anthology tried to open up the canon by including an unprecedented large number of ethnic minority authors. This newcomer entered the field of textbook publishing with new dispositions and "provoked attacks by scholars who did not share these values...". (Edelstein, 2005: 20) But it also proved most successful: 300 colleges had adopted the anthology in the fall of 1990, a number that rose to 500 a year later (CEPACS, 2006).[10] In order to stay competitive, other anthologies had to follow suit and adapt to this new, "ethnic" logic, which resulted in an overall increase in ethnic minority inclusion. As such, Figure 5.2a presents strong support for Hypothesis 1.

In the Netherlands, the increased textbook attention to ethnic diversity from 1999-2002 to 2003-2006 coincides with a decrease – instead of the expected increase – in academic interest in ethnic diversity (Figure 5.2b). In Germany, the increase in attention to ethnic diversity in literary history books precedes the academic interest by no less than eight years (Figure 5.2c).[11] In both cases, the increased textbook attention to ethnic diversity cannot be attributed to the field dynamics summarized in Hypothesis 1.

National Repertoires
Figures 5.3a-c show the longitudinal development in the amount of attention devoted to ethnic diversity in textbooks – relative to the ethnic minority (student) population – as hypothesized by the national cultural repertoire theory (slope). The exact position (level) of the hypothesized trend (slope) might vary along the vertical y-error bars, because the theory does not allow us for any precise predictions about the level of over- or under-representation. Because the American national cultural repertoire favors ethnic inclusion, I expected ethnic minority writers and ethnic discourse to have a prominent position in American literary anthologies, not only compared to Dutch and American textbooks, but also relative to the ethnic minorities´ share in the U.S. (student) population (Hypothesis 2). From the previous sections, it has already become clear that the latter is not the case; until the 1990s, ethnic minority writers are clearly under-represented in American literary anthologies.
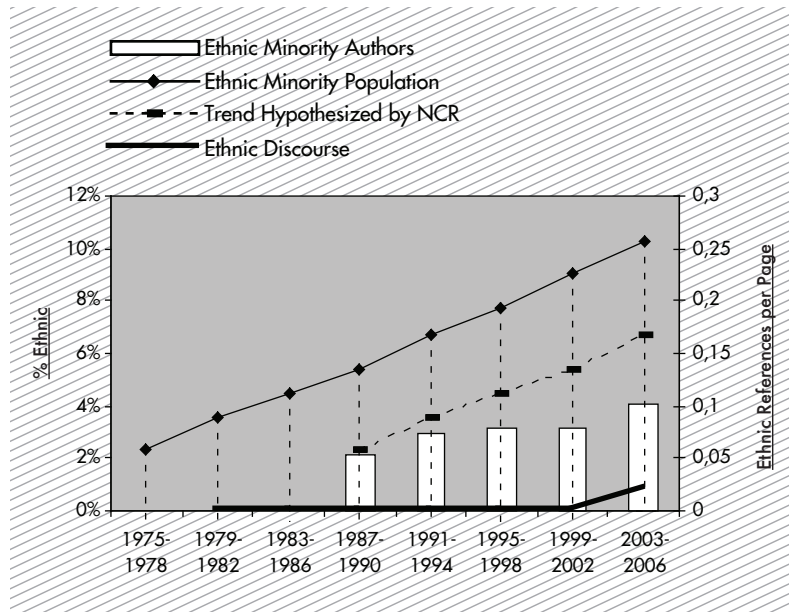
Figure 5.3a. Ethnic Diversity in American Anthologies and the National Cultural Repertoire Theory
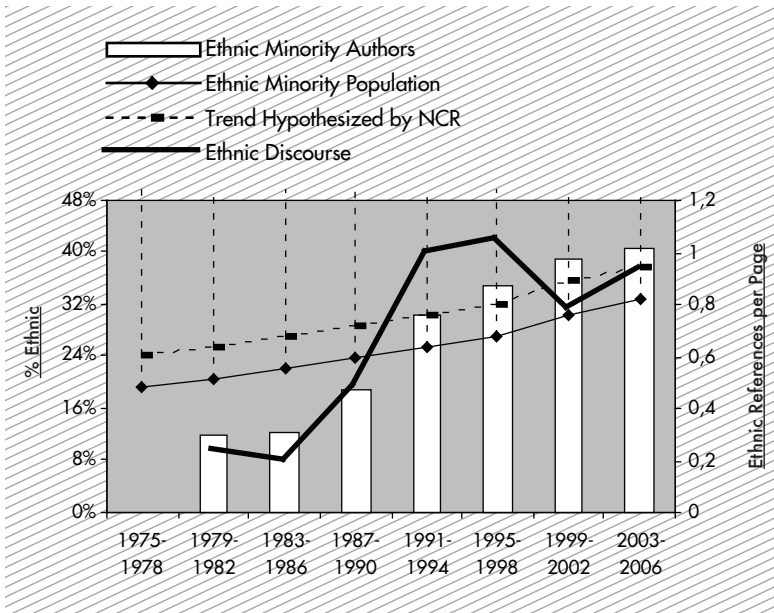
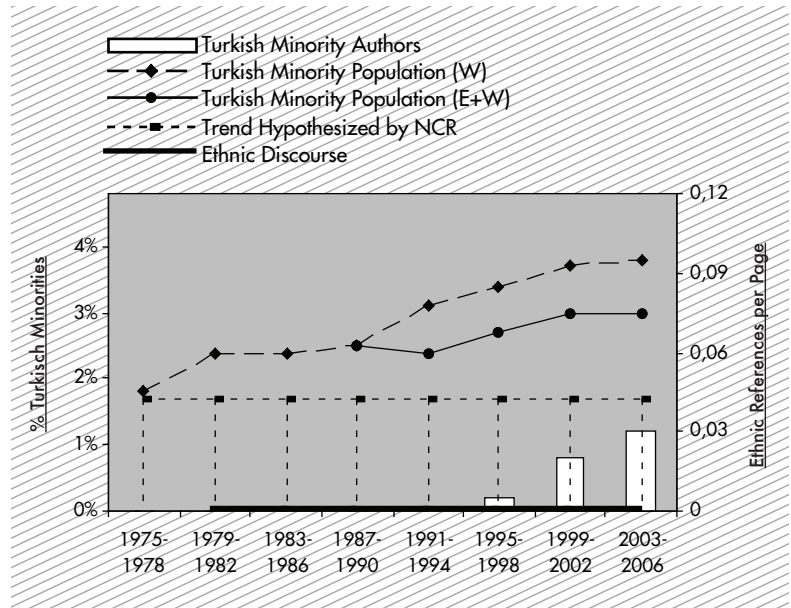Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory.

The Dutch national repertoire appears less inclusive than that of the U.S., but it still led me to anticipate a slow but steady increase in the attention to ethnic diversity in Dutch literary history books (Hypothesis 2). Figure 5.3b is more or less in line with his hypothesis. Attention to ethnic diversity in Dutch literary history books has indeed slowly increased, lagging at least 12 years (level) behind the ethnic minority (student) population. In addittion, the increase (slope) is not as steep as anticipated. This may partly be due to the absence of a commercial impetus (low level of competition) to update textbooks as well as the likely lag time in the proportionality of (student) population share and author population share. Writers do not emerge all at once in literary history books, but instead have to pass through a multistage selection process in which the selection of other actors, notably literary publishers and reviewers, tends to precede those of literary historians and textbook editors (Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1983). Hence, although the higher educational attainment of second generations of ethnic minorities likely leads to a growing number of ethnic minority writers entering the field, it may take a decade or two before such increase does translate into a more equal representation of ethnic minorities in literary histories.

Figure 5.3b. Ethnic Diversity in Dutch Literary History Books and the National Cultural Repertoire Theory

Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory.

Figure 5.3c. Ethnic Diversity in German Literary History Books and the National Cultural Repertoire Theory

Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory.

With regard to Germany, national repertoire theory suggested that the degree of attention devoted to ethnic diversity would remain low during the studied period. Our findings provide some support for Hypothesis 2. First, Figure 5.3c shows a complete absence of ethnic discourse in the introductions of German literary history books. Second, the share of Turkish minority writers in German literary history books remains considerably below 1.8%, i.e. the point when the share of the Turkish minority within the German population was at its lowest (level). However, one could argue that the percentage of Turkish minority authors in German textbooks seems to be increasing, instead of showing stability (slope). At this moment, it is hard to say whether this trend will continue and whether these recent developments could be attributed to a national repertoire moving more towards ethnic inclusion.

5.4.2. Nature of Attention to Ethnic Diversity

Structuring of Literary Textbooks

The dominant structuring of the American anthologies is based on chronology and literary genre. Ethnic minority authors are not grouped together in separate ethnic sections. There is one minor exception in the *American Tradition in Literature*. The chapter entitled "Globalization in American Literature" (1999, 2002) compiles American authors of foreign birth, without, however, any reference to ethnicity or race. As for the pre-1945 period, both the *Heath* ("The New Negro Renaissance") and *Norton* ("Native American Oratory" and "Native American Chants and Songs") feature a few occasional chapters, which group ethnic minority authors together in separate paragraphs. In contrast to American anthologies, almost all ethnic minority authors included in Dutch and German literary history books are categorized in special chapters or sections. In Hugo Brems' book nearly every chronological chapter has an "ethnic" (sub) section. Special attention is paid to literature from (former) colonies (Indonesia, Surinam and the Dutch Antilleans) and multicultural literature from allochthonous writers. Almost all ethnic minority authors in Van Boven and Kemperink's textbook are grouped in the chapters "Koloniale en Postkoloniale Literatuur" (Colonial and Post-colonial Literature) and "Interculturele Letterkunde" (Intercultural Philology). Brenner's only Turkish minority writer, Emine Sevgi Özdamar, appears in an "ethnic" section, although without a specific heading. And in the sixth edition of Beutins literary history book all ethnic minorities are part of the chapter "Literatur aus naher Fremde" (Literature from Nearby Others). These findings are in line with Hypothesis 3.1 that expected Dutch and German textbooks to classify ethnic minority writers in separate "ethnic" sections, as opposed to the more "inclusive" approach of their American counterparts, drawing weaker (less salient) ethnic boundaries.

Use of Ethnic Label Categories

The absolute number of ethnic minority authors included in American anthologies is much larger than in Dutch and German textbooks. Accordingly, I recorded many more ethnic labels in American textbooks (n=2,597) than in their Dutch (n=244) and German (n=26) counterparts. In each country, nearly all ethnic minority fiction writers have somehow been classified as ethnic, 99% (97 out 98 writers) in American, 90% (18 out of 20) in Dutch and 80% (8 out of 10) in German textbooks. In addition, classification using solely ethnic terms that refer to the literary object itself (ethnic themes) is nonexistent in the United States and the Netherlands and limited in Germany. As such, the most literary oriented classification of ethnic minority authors is not widely drawn upon.

Table 5.3. Proportion of Ethnic Labels in Four American, Two Dutch and Two German Literature Textbooks, 2001-2006

Labels	United States	Netherlands	Germany	US-NL	US-G	NL-G
Ethnic Theme	0.42 (760)	0.20 (48)	0.23 (6)	0.22***	0.19†	-0.03
Ethnic (Literary)Background	0.58 (1050)	0.80 (196)	0.77 (20)	-0.22***	-0.19†	0.03
Total	1810	244	26			

Notes: Table includes general and unique labels referring to a specific author. Shared labels are included only once.
US = United States; NL = Netherlands; G = Germany.
†p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (Chi-square test).

Table 5.3 shows the distribution of ethnic labels across the two main categories per country from 2001 to 2006. American anthologies (58.0%),[12] as well as Dutch (80.3%) and German literary history books (76.9%), appear primarily to classify ethnic minority authors according to their ethnic (literary) background. However, the country-by-country comparison for each label category separately demonstrates that, although references to ethnic themes are not the most frequently used ethnic labels in American anthologies, they do appear twice as often in the American than in Dutch and German textbooks. Moreover, American anthologies contain fewer references to the ethnic background of authors. The label proportions do not significantly differ between Dutch and German textbooks. These findings support Hypothesis 3.2, indicating that compared to Dutch and German textbooks, American anthologies put more emphasis on ethnic themes and less on an author's ethnic background and as such draw weaker (less salient) ethnic boundaries.

5.5   CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

I find that both the degree of recognition of ethnic minority authors and the use of ethnic discourse are much more limited in a former colonial power (Netherlands) and a guest worker recruitment country (Germany) than in a traditional country of immigration (United States). As noted above, this is somewhat expected given that Dutch and German ethnic minorities are primarily immigrants with low literacy backgrounds, while ethnic minorities in the United States are far more diverse. But even if we substitute a broad operationalization of ethnic minorities for a more limited one – comparing Hispanic Americans with Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands and Germany – we still find a higher degree of recognition of ethnic minority authors in the United States. Thus, ethnically more heterogeneous societies might indeed produce more ethnically diverse artistic classifications.

However, more ethnic diversity does not "automatically" lead to more ethnic diversity in the classification of literature. In the United States, the recognition of ethnic writers started much earlier than in the other two countries. This may sound like a truism since the ethnic makeup of the U.S. population has always been more mixed, but until the arrival of the *Heath Anthology* in 1990, ethnic minority writers were under-represented in proportion to their share in the general population. But as academics and scholars became more receptive towards ethnic diversity, producers operating in the highly competitive field of textbook publishing faced increasing pressures to shift to a more "ethnic" logic. As the *Heath Anthology* successfully adopted this logic, its competitors subsequently increased their attention to ethnic diversity and ethnic minorities even became to be slightly over-represented in anthologies. The use of ethnic discourse in the introductory texts of these books increased too. So ethnic boundaries became weaker, more permeable, after the arrival of *Heath*. In line with the national repertoire theory, the attention to ethnic diversity has been much more limited in the Netherlands and Germany. Moreover, ethnic minorities have been under-represented in the textbooks of both countries compared to the ethnic minority (student) population, although in recent years the share of ethnic minority authors in both Dutch and German textbooks has slowly increased. A possible explanation for this relatively slow rise might be that it takes a generation for generally low educated immigrant groups to produce ethnic minority authors. This will probably take even longer when immigrants are denied access to citizenship as has been the case in Germany. Many Turkish minority authors (initially) wrote in Turkish and had their books published by Turkish minority publishers (Rösch, 2006). Furthermore, the Dutch national cultural repertoire might not be as inclusive as anticipated (e.g., Prins, 2004), while the German national cultural repertoire may have become more inclusive (e.g., Geissler & Meyer, 2002).

Ethnic boundaries were also the least strong in the United States with regard to the nature of the attention to ethnic diversity. Unlike their Dutch and German counterparts, American ethnic minority writers were not reviewed in physically separate sections. Furthermore, compared to Dutch and German literary history books, American anthologies more frequently used labels that refer to the artwork itself – ethnic themes – to classify ethnic minority authors, and, as such, draw relatively weak, less salient ethnic boundaries. Dutch and Germans textbooks favored labels referring to the ethnic background of the author. Thus, they depart to a greater extent from purely literary classifications (see Bourdieu, 1984) and base their distinctions more prominently on ethnic origin (see Alba & Nee, 2003). However, I could not fully account for the specific cross-national differences. A comparison of the classification of ethnic minority with non-minority authors might shed further light on this matter. Comparing the labeling of different ethnic minority groups within each country could also provide interesting insights on the ethnic boundaries in the classification of literature. For example, are recent immigrant groups more likely to be classified on non-literary grounds than native or ex-colonial ethnic groups? Finally, I found that nearly all ethnic minority authors have somehow been labeled as "ethnic." These findings demonstrate the pervasiveness of ethnic boundaries. Not only do they affect classificatory practices in a relatively peripheral societal domain as literature, but they also remain salient even in the case of ethnic minority authors who made it to the top of the literary hierarchy.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Discussion

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters, I have tried to answer my two main research questions. First, to what degree and in what ways have key institutions (criticism, policy and history) in the American, Dutch and German literary field drawn ethnic boundaries in their classifications of literature – and ethnic minority authors in particular – between 1955 and 2005? By content analyzing newspapers, fiction reviews, literary policy documents and anthologies and literary history books, I found ethnic boundaries to be comparatively weak, moderately strong and strong in the national literary fields United States, Netherlands and Germany, respectively. However, the strength of these boundaries also differs between the institutions of criticism, policy and history within each national literary field.

So the second research question asked to what extent developments in each country can be accounted for by notions and insights from (literary) field theory and repertoire theory. In the first chapter, I indicated that both theories should be seen as supplementary, but how do they compliment each other exactly? The combined results of the preceding chapters indicate that macro-cultural repertoires provide a general framework, but the structural position of specific institutions within the literary field in the end determines the numerical representation of ethnic minority authors and panelists, the classification of included ethnic minority authors and the use of "ethnic" organizational discourse.

These findings also provide room for discussion as I have indicated in the conclusions of each chapter. Furthermore, since ethnic boundaries are highly understudied within the sociology of culture, I will provide suggestions for future research.

6.2   ETHNIC BOUNDARIES IN THE LITERARY FIELDS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY

To answer the first research question, I will synthesize the results of various chapters, by looking at three indicators of ethnic boundaries: (i) numerical representation of ethnic minorities as authors (all chapters) and panelists (Chapter 4); (ii) "ethnic" labels and comparisons used to classify ethnic minority authors (Chapters 3 and 5); and (iii) the attention to ethnic diversity in organizational discourse (Chapters 4 and 5). The latter indicator does not so much measure the strength of ethnic boundaries, but rather signals the extent to which organizations feel obliged to convince relevant stakeholders that ethnic boundaries are weak.

### 6.2.1   Numerical Representation
First, I examined the numerical representation of ethnic minority authors in literary criticism, policy and history. Comparatively higher representation

of ethnic minority authors in these institutions signals weaker ethnic boundaries. In the absence of longitudinal data on the ethnic minority writer population in each country, I compared the attention devoted to ethnic minority authors to the share of ethnic minorities in general. Figures 6.1a –c summarize the degree to which ethnic minorities are under- or over-represented – compared to their population share – in literary criticism, policy and history for each country.

In the American literary field, the numerical representation of ethnic minorities by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) provides mixed results. While ethnic minorities were over-represented among the grantees in 1970, their share has declined rapidly in subsequent years. However, ethnic minorities were slightly over-represented among the panelists, which is probably due to the influence of the political field on the organizational structure of the NEA. The inclusion of ethnic minority authors in literary anthologies shows a shift from under-representation in the 1980s to over-representation in the 1990s and 2000s. The institution of literary history thus appears to draw weaker ethnic boundaries than the other institutions included in this study. On the one hand, this is quite a surprising, since national literary histories generally have strongly ritualized symbolic boundaries, consisting of high-cultural texts selected by academics. On the other hand, it seems in line with the literary scholars' active engagement in the so-called canon wars at American academia. Despite counter-attacks by conservative critics, academics and scholars became more receptive towards ethnic diversity. As a result, producers operating in the highly competitive field of textbook publishing faced increasing pressures to shift to a more "ethnic" logic. Journalistic literary critics, at least those working for the *New York Times*, apparently did not make such a shift since they draw stronger ethnic boundaries, under-representing ethnic minority authors to a higher degree than literary textbook authors and policy makers.

In the Dutch literary field, ethnic minorities have been under-represented more strongly than in the United States, indicating moderately strong ethnic boundaries. Only newspaper critics over-represented ethnic minority authors in 1975, but this was caused by the inclusion of only one author – Yvonne Keuls – of Indonesian descent. Before 2000, the degree of recognition of ethnic minority authors differs quite strongly between the literary institutions. As in the American literary field, the editors of literary history books include slightly more ethnic minorities in 1990 and 1995 than literary policy makers. In comparison tot the other institutions, the Dutch Foundation for Literature (*Fonds voor de Letteren*) disregarded ethnic diversity for a fairly long time, until the Minister of Culture declared it one of the priorities of Dutch cultural policy. As a result, in 2000 and 2005, the representation of ethnic minorities in literary policy shows a substantial increase, whereas representation levels in literary criticism and history remained almost the same.

Figure 6.1a. Under- and Over-representation of Ethnic Minorities in the U.S. Literary Field, 1955-2005
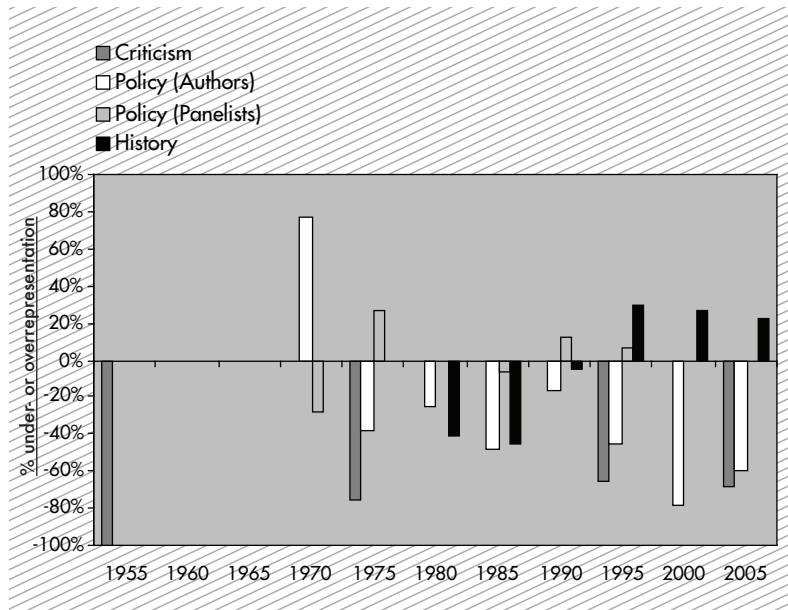
Note: For US history, 1979-1982 = 1980; 1983-1986=1985; (1987-1990 + 1991-1994)/2 = 1990; 1995-1998 = 1995; 1999-2002 = 2000; 2003-2006 = 2005.

Figure 6.1b. Under- and Over-representation of Ethnic Minorities in the Dutch Literary Field, 1955-2005
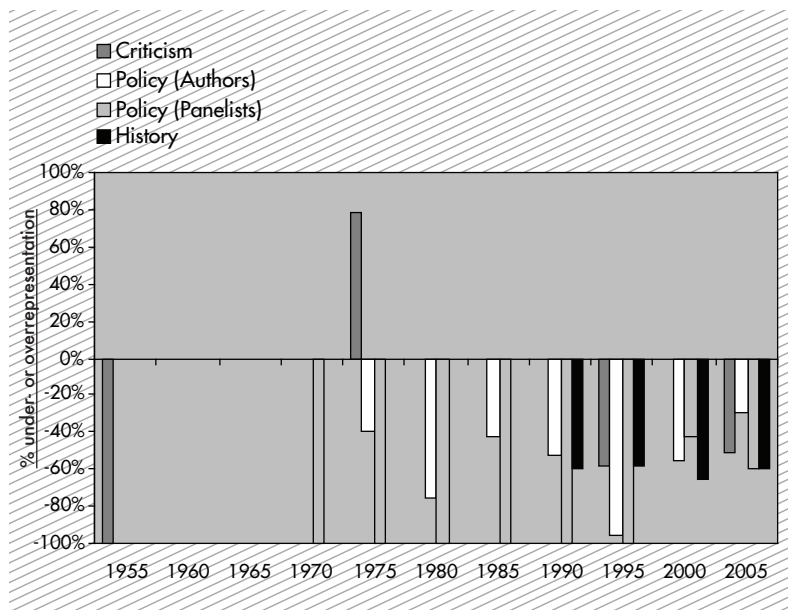
Note: For NL history, 1979-1982 = 1980; 1983-1986=1985; (1987-1990 + 1991-1994)/2 = 1990; 1995-1998 = 1995; 1999-2002 = 2000; 2003-2006 = 2005.

In the German literary field, all three institutions (criticism, policy and history) draw very strong ethnic boundaries, including hardly any Turkish minority authors until 2000. The only exception would be the federal support given to ethnic minority authors in 2000. However, in practice, it was only Turkish German author Feridun Zaimoglu who received a stipend. Many scholars have argued that German literary scholars have been hesitant to embrace ethnic minority literature (Jankowsky, 1997; Veteto-Conrad, 1999; Teraoka, 1997). Others have noted, however, that many first generation Turkish minority authors (e.g., Aras Ören and Güney Dal) already were authors when they came to Germany, and as a result, (initially) wrote in Turkish and had their books published by Turkish minority publishers (Rösch, 2006; Sievers, 2007). This may have seriously hampered Turkish minority authors' assimilation into the German literary mainstream. However, in 2005, ethnic boundaries seem to have become somewhat weaker (with the exception of the German Literature Fund), suggesting that the ethnically exclusive German national repertoire is changing towards inclusion. Nevertheless, compared to the United States and the Netherlands, ethnic boundaries are still strongest in the German literary field.

Figure 6.1c. Under- and Over-representation of Ethnic Minorities in the German Literary Field, 1955-2005

Note: or US history, 1979-1982 = 1980; 1983-1986=1985; (1987-1990 + 1991-1994)/2 = 1990; 1995-1998 = 1995; 1999-2002 = 2000; 2003-2006 = 2005.
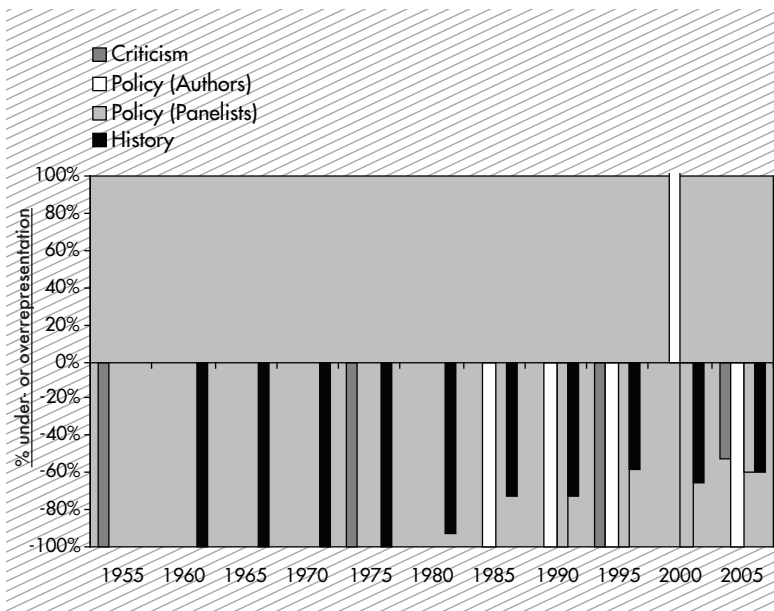
6.2.2 Classification of Ethnic Minority Authors

Second, ethnic boundaries have been researched by looking at how literary critics and literary textbook editors classify ethnic minority authors. Labels that refer to specific ethnic themes addressed by an ethnic minority author focus on (selective aspects of) the artwork. As such, these labels draw relatively weak ethnic boundaries. References to the ethnic background of an author (ethnic minority and majority background labels and comparisons with other ethnic minority authors) tell us that these particular writers have more in common than just a certain theme or literary style, i.e. a shared ethnic background. Hence, the emphasis moves away from a purely artistic classification, categorizing the writer as ethnically different. Such labels therefore draw comparably strong boundaries. Table 6 shows how literary critics and textbook authors have classified these ethnic minority authors.

American literary critics and anthology editors clearly classify ethnic minority authors quite similarly. Compared to their Dutch and German counterparts, both institutions make relatively few references to such authors' ethnic background, focusing more on (the ethnic aspects of) the artwork. Furthermore, ethnic minority authors are discussed alongside majority authors (and not in separate sections), which suggests that they have become part of the literary mainstream. Finally, my study of boundary change in literary reviews (Chapter 3) indicated that individual Mexican American authors cross ethnic boundaries, that is, their ethnic background is less likely to be mentioned in subsequent publications in comparison to debut works. In line with the numerical representation of ethnic minority authors and panelists, ethnic boundaries are comparatively weak, and become even weaker after authors' first publication gets reviewed.

Dutch literary critics make more use of ethnic and majority background labels than their American counterparts. Likewise, Dutch textbook authors classify ethnic minority authors as ethnically different by

Table 6. Classification of Ethnic Minority Authors Included in Newspapers and National Literary Histories

Journalistic Criticism	United States	Netherlands	Germany
Ethnic Background Labels	–	o	o
Majority Background Labels	––	–	–
Comparisons with Ethnic Minority Authors	–	–	–
Boundary Change	+ (boundary crossing)	+ (boundary shifting)	– (boundary crossing)

Literary History			
Ethnic Theme Labels	+	––	––
Ethnic Background Labels	–	++	++
Ethnic Sections	–	+	+

Note: –– = scarce; – = limited; o = moderate; + = substantial; ++ = extensive.

referring to these authors' ethnic background, instead of focusing on the discussed (ethnic) themes, while they also discuss their work in separate ethnic sections. However, my findings suggest that these moderately strong ethnic boundaries have shifted over time, increasingly including Moroccan Dutch authors as a group (Chapter 3). Again, these findings accord with my data on the numerical representation of ethnic minorities.

In the German literary field, ethic minority authors have been classified in a similar way as in the Dutch literary field. But whereas in the Dutch case I found evidence of boundary shifting – a decline in the use of ethnic classifications over time – ethnic boundaries in reviews of Turkish German authors increase after the first publication. Using this indicator, once more I find the strongest ethnic boundaries in the German literary field.

6.2.3 Ethnic Diversity in Organizational Discourse

Third, institutions whose relative autonomy is most extensively restricted either by the political (literary policy) or the commercial field (literary history), use (ethnic) discourse to communicate past achievements, current practices and future plans to political actors and potential customers. The extent to which prefaces or forewords make use of ethnic terms signals the importance of ethnic diversity, at least as discourse. Therefore ethnic discourse is not so much used to draw ethnic boundaries, but convince relevant stakeholders that such boundaries are weak, depending on the extent that such discourse resonates among these political actors. Table 6.2 combines the data of Chapters 4 and 5, showing how the use of ethnic discourse by American and Dutch literary policy organizations and literary textbooks develops over time.

Most forewords of the annual NEA reports as well as many introductions to U.S. anthologies contain references to ethnic diversity from the 1970s onward, peaking around 1990. The NEA has addressed ethnic diversity most prominently as discourse when in need of legitimacy (Chapter 4), while American anthologies increased their use of ethnic discourse due to the arrival of the "multiculturalist" Heath anthology on the highly competitive textbook market, both around 1990 (Chapter 3). The increase in ethnic discourse thus seems to spring from changes in these institutions' field positions rather than a shift in the U.S.'s national cultural repertoire.

Since 2000, ethnic diversity has occasionally been part of the organizational discourse of Dutch literary policy and literary history books, demonstrating the weakening of ethnic boundaries. This development relates to the growing importance of ethnic diversity within the political field, which increased the resonance of "ethnic" organizational discourse. The change in the use of ethnic discourse in literary textbooks might also indicate a change in the field of field of textbook publishing. However, these developments seem too recent to draw strong conclusions.

Figure 6.2. Ethnic Discourse in American and Dutch Literary Policy
Reports and Textbooks, 1965-2006
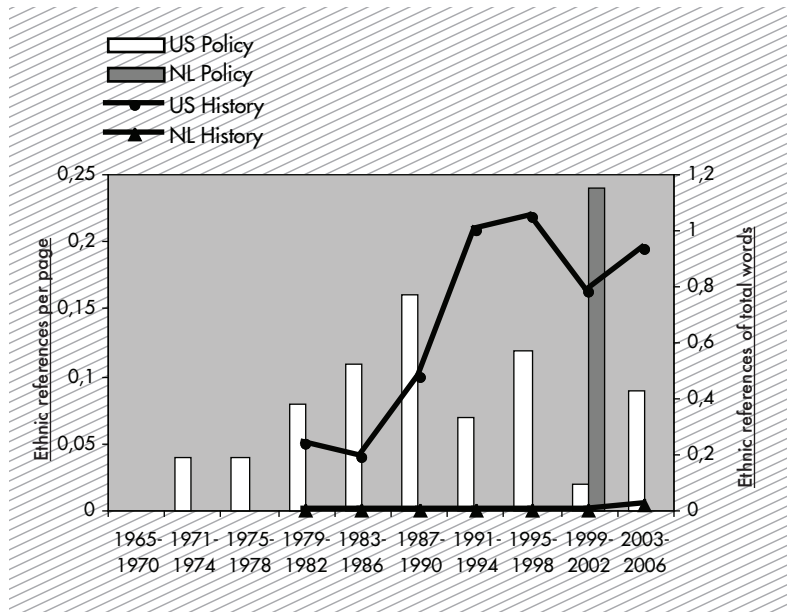
Note: Since ethnic discourse is absent from German literary policy and history, Germany has been excluded.

The German case presents the clearest results: none of the forewords of
German literary or literary history books mention ethnic diversity. Thus,
although the numerical representation of Turkish minority authors
increases from the 1980s onwards, German textbook authors make no
explicit references to these authors in their introductions. Apparently, the
autonomy of the German Literature Fund is such that it is not required to
deliver proof of its "inclusive" character, at least not with regard to ethnic
recognition. The absence of ethnic discourse in literary history books could
mean that the academics who have written these textbooks are reluctant
to discuss ethnic diversity (as discussed earlier) or they (probably rightly)
assume that such discourse will not resonate among literary scholars.

To sum up, I find ethnic boundaries to be comparatively weak, moderately
strong and strong in the national literary fields of a traditional country of
immigration (United States), a former colonial power (Netherlands) and a
guest worker recruitment country (Germany), respectively. In other words,
American ethnic minority authors emerge as the most assimilated into the
literary mainstream, Turkish German authors appear to be largely excluded
from mainstream German literature, while Dutch ethnic minority writers
hold a middle position.

6.3   EXPLORING CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES

My findings clearly show that ethnically more heterogeneous societies produce weaker ethnic boundaries. However, more ethnic diversity does not "automatically" lead to what Alba and Nee (1997, 2003) call assimilation, a decline in salience of distinctions based on ethnic origin. Considering that the ethnic writer populations are probably smaller than the ethnic minority populations in general (see Discussion and Avenues for Future Research), a simple reflection model cannot explain my findings. First, it does not clarify variations in the degree to which various literary institutions draw ethnic boundaries. For example, why is the German Literature Fund in 2005 far less receptive to Turkish minority authors than the other institutions in the German literary field? Second, a simple reflection model cannot account for sudden changes at particular moments in time. For example, why does ethnic discourse in the introductions of American anthologies peak in the early 1990s? For this reason, I have drawn on notions and insights from (literary) field theory and repertoire theory, exploring to what extent both theories can account for developments in each country.

National repertoire theory suggests that people classify ethnic minority authors according to different national cultural repertoires that result from historical trajectories and institutionalization (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000). This theory would predict that literary critics, policy makers and textbook authors in the same country draw equally strong boundaries between minority and majority authors because they share the same national repertoire. At a first glance, this seems to be the case, since I have shown that – on average – ethnic boundaries are weak, moderately strong and strong in the literary fields of the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, respectively. On an abstract level, these general differences seem to result from different national cultural repertoires, emphasizing ethnic inclusion or exclusion (see Chapter 1). However, different institutions within the same national literary field classify ethnic minority authors differently. For example, American anthologies shift from under- to over-representation of ethnic minority authors, while such authors remain highly under-represented among the recipients of NEA grants. Thus, repertoire theory alone cannot fully account for (cross-national) differences in the degree to which and the ways in which key institutions (criticism, policy and history) draw ethnic boundaries in their classification of literature.

In order to explain such variations, I have to bring in a second, complimentary approach: (literary) field theory. As literary fields operate semi-autonomously, the actual classification of ethnic minorities is mediated by the "own" logic of the literary field and depends on a particular institution's structural position within the field. Since the studied institutions hold a structurally different position within literary field

vis-à-vis the economic and the political field, their ethnic classifications differ, even though they share a similar national repertoire. Therefore, institutions operating largely in the same field with a similar logic show less homogeneity than is often assumed (see Benson, 2006). For example, I found ethnic boundaries to be comparatively weaker in the American literary field, but such boundaries appeared to become even weaker in the case of textbook authors, who faced increasing pressures from both the market and the academy to include more ethnic minority authors. Similarly, ethnic boundaries are generally fairly strong in the Dutch literary field. But along with the increased political interest in the participation of ethnic minorities in the late 1990s, the institution of literary policy was found to draw weaker ethnic boundaries than other Dutch literary institutions. Taken together, my findings indicate that – instead of a set of abstract values detached from material reality – culture is embedded or grounded in semi-autonomous fields (see Bryson, 2005; Bourdieu, 1993; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Friedland & Mohr, 2004; Weber, 2005).

6.4 DISCUSSION AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

My study also generates several discussion points as well as possible directions for future research. First, I examined the newspaper coverage given to French ethnic minority authors in Chapter 2, but decided not to include France in the other chapters. The lack of data on the ethnic minority population in general makes studying ethnic boundaries in the French literary field a complicated – if not impossible – affair. Having said this, the French reluctance to classify people on the basis of their ethnic origin would provide an interesting comparison with the United States. Particularly, since I found that ethnic boundaries are comparatively weak in the United States, which contradicts previous studies arguing that American critics are obsessed with race (e.g., Griswold, 1987). The results of Chapter 2 showed that ethnic minority authors are highly under-represented in French elite oriented newspapers. It might be that the French literary field is not as egalitarian as is often propagated (Obbema, 2003). Furthermore, France is a country whose literary culture is particularly strong (Clark, 1987). As a result, the French literary field may have comparatively strong boundaries, restricting access to such a valuable good as literary prestige. Finally, most critics pointing to the absence of ethnicity in Bourdieu's analyses were American scholars. They likely are right that ethnicity is an important cultural tool in the United States – although my results show relative weak boundaries in the American literary field, but how about contemporary France? Despite the influx of many immigrants, can ethnicity still be more or less reduced to social class as Bourdieu has argued?

In order to compare ethnic boundaries in literature in three countries, I have defined "ethnicity" primarily from an Anglo-Saxon perspective, that

is, as "ethnic minorities." In Chapter 2, I already point out that different countries have different conceptualizations of what constitutes an ethnic minority. However, I largely neglected the question how different nation-states – and their statistical agencies (Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Nagel, 1995; Simon, 2008) – construct and constitute ethnic groups they seemingly only describe (Bourdieu, 1991 Brubaker, 2009). The dominant terminology (see Chapter 2) is by no means a "neutral" categorization, but an (highly contested) expression of the majority's symbolic power or even "violence" (Bourdieu, 1993) toward minorities. These official classifications strongly impact on self-classifications and social organization (Joppke, 1996), which was also evident in the terminology used by literary critics and anthology authors. The relation between official classifications and the way ethnic boundaries in art are drawn is an interesting topic for future research. I found several literary reviewers to be indeed highly critical and sensitive of the terms used to describe ethnic minorities.

Furthermore, my focus on minorities of non-western ethnic origin did not address the extent to which other (western) ethnic minority groups have become part of the literary mainstream. For example, authors that are reckoned to the golden age of Jewish American fiction (e.g., Saul Bellow, Philip Roth) enjoyed mainstream success in the 1950s and 60s, but recent multiculturalism does not seem to consider contemporary Jewish American authors as "suffering minorities" (Furman, 2000). I also largely ignored the so-called *Aussiedler*. These minorities, who were born in Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania, former USSR), but are of German origin, were allowed to enter Germany after World War II. Although they generally were better educated than many other immigrant groups, these *Aussiedler* often did not speak German (Martin, 1998; Münz & Ulrich, 2003). A comparison between Turkish German and *Aussiedler* authors (e.g., 2009 Nobel prize winner Hertha Müller) may help us better understand the pervasiveness of the *ius sanguinis* principle in the German national repertoire.

Even through I have used the term "literary mainstream" fairly loosely, one could raise the question whether we can still speak of a mainstream or whether the literary field is fragmented in different "ethnic" enclaves of similar prestige. I have not explicitly addressed this topic here. Still, my findings do not point to the existence of such ethnically rooted literary subcultures in the Netherlands and Germany (see Kuipers, 2006b). First generation Turkish German authors might be a "temporary" exception. These writers generally wrote in Turkish and were published by Turkish (minority) publishers and therefore remained outside the literary mainstream. But even in the American literary field, which showed some evidence of fragmentation, (national) mainstream publishing houses, newspapers, anthologies and prizes are still considered much more prestigious than their "ethnic" counterparts.

The study of ethnic boundaries in literary fields can also be broadened by including several other relevant institutions. This study focused on the reception of ethnic minority authors, leaving us with several unanswered

questions regarding the symbolic production of literature. A first step in becoming a literary author – to gain access to the literary field – is to get recognized by literary publishers, who act as gatekeepers. However, we do not know whether German publishers draw stronger ethnic boundaries than their U.S. and Dutch colleagues, restricting the representation of ethnic minority authors in the studied institutions. This would require data on the rejection rates of ethnic minority writers' work but such data is almost impossible to obtain for more than one publishing firm, let alone for publishers in various countries. Second, the publishing industry itself has changed during the time frame of this study (Thornton, 2004). If book publishers have turned to more commercial business models, how has this affected the recognition of ethnic minority authors? In the previous chapters, I provided some anecdotal evidence that the saleability of "ethnicity" differs between national fields (see also Weber, 2000). A systematic comparison of national publishing fields might answer some of the questions left unanswered in this study.

Another institution which requires a more in-depth study are literary prizes, being key indicators of literary prestige (English, 2005; Verboord, 2003) as well as important cultural policy instruments, providing an additional source of income for authors (Street, 2005). Furthermore, I focused mainly at national cultural policies. Yet a large part of cultural policy takes place on a local or regional level, both in the United States and Germany. An analysis of local or regional policy organizations might further illuminate the relation between the need for legitimacy and the use of ethnic discourse and inclusion of ethnic minorities (see Pankratz, 1993). The role of the ethnic minority authors themselves has only been touched upon in Chapter 3. Reviewers often cite from interviews with ethnic minority authors. Subsequent studies should therefore examine how ethnic minority authors classify themselves, e.g. by studying printed interviews and how this affects the way in which they are classified by reviewers and other actors in the literary field. Finally, previous research has shown that side-line activities (e.g., critical writing for newspapers, membership of jury awarding literary prizes) have a significant effect on the amount of critical attention (Janssen, 1998). How ethnic minority authors are classified could thus be related to different "ethnic" activities these writers have participated in. For example, are ethnic boundaries stronger for authors who are highly visible in the public debate on migration?

A second avenue for future research is to deepen the analysis of ethnic boundaries in literary (and cultural) fields. Earlier studies found that – in order to become part of the literary canon – authors had to "pass" three types of criticism: journalistic, essayistic and academic. Each type functions as a gatekeeper, selecting only the "best" literary works. Corse & Griffin (1997) show that, at least in the United States, some ethnic minority authors that were reviewd unfavorably, were "rediscovered" by academics trying to reconstruct the literary canon. My research also shows that literary canons might actually be more inclusive than the selections of

journalistic critics. In addition, scholars have demonstrated that – at least in the Netherlands – the authority of institutional literary criticism itself has declined among readers (Van Eijck & Van Rees, 2000; Verboord, 2009). These changed relationships between literary institutions and readers call for more research on ethnic typecasting. By tracking the careers of specific ethnic minority authors, we could study in more detail how long and whose ethnic classifications come to dominate national literary fields.

One drawback of my research design is that I do not compare ethnic minority authors with majority writers. Sociologists have devoted a disproportionate amount of attention to the "marked" (here: ethnic minority authors), thereby losing sight of the "unmarked," the taken for granted, leading Brekhus (1998) to propose a tactic of reverse marking, foregrounding what is unmarked. I suggest several ways to pursue this research agenda. A relatively simple strategy would be to include majority authors. In Chapter 3, I assumed a dichotomous distinction between unmarked majority authors and marked ethnic minority authors. But I have not actually studied whether this is the case. Future research might look at possible cross-national differences in the degree to which majority writers are marked. Furthermore, this distinction presents both categories are monolithic entities, while ethnicity has been shown to be a mutable social construction. Therefore future research should focus more on the extent to which different ethnic minority groups are marked (e.g., highly assimilated Asian Americans versus Hispanics), and different majority groups (e.g., Jewish Americans or ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe) are unmarked. Instead of examining "ethnic" labels, we might also study when e.g. reviewers could have used marked categories such as "Turkish author" or "American author" to classify an ethnic minority author, but instead used unmarked references as "author."

Finally, future studies should compare the use of ethnic boundaries in different artistic genres. These boundaries may be weaker in less prestigious, popular art forms. The authority of critics within the popular arts appears much more limited (Shrum, 1991; Bielby & Bielby, 2004). Does this mean that – besides aesthetic classifications (see Van Venrooij, 2009) – ethnic boundaries are also weaker? Moreover, how does the ethnic background of an artist interact with the ethnic construction of artistic genres? While ("highbrow") literature is mainly a European construction (Casanova, 2004), many more popular artistic genres originate from non-European and nonwhite cultural traditions, e.g. hip-hop, reggae. As this might influence the horizon of expectations of critics (and cultural consumers) regarding the ethnic background of the artist, does this mean that majority – instead of minority – artists become the marked category? Or do ethnic boundaries become stronger as both the genre and the artist have "ethnic origins"?

Considering these and many related questions, the study of ethnic boundaries in the arts provides a challenging – and highly relevant – domain for future sociological research.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF DISCUSSED ETHNIC MINORITY AUTHORS BY YEAR AND COUNTRY

Year	Country	Author Name	Ethnic Background	Generation	Occupation father (Mother)	Education (Country)
1955	-	-	-	-	-	-
1975	NL	Keuls, Yvonne	Indonesian	2	Teacher	Vocational (NL)
1975	US	Scott-Heron, Gil	African-American	-	Athlete	University (US)
1975	US	Killens, John Oliver	African-American	-		University (US)
1975	US	Bradley, David	African-American	-	Preacher	University (US)
1995	FR	Chandernagor, Françoise	Indian	?		
1995	FR	Pineau, Gisèle	French Caribbean	-		University (FR)
1995	FR	Confiant, Rafael	French Caribbean	-		University (FR)
1995	NL	Boon, Rogier	Indonesian	1		Art School (NL)
1995	NL	Kom, Antoine A.R. de	Surinamese	2		University (NL)
1995	US	Haizlip, Shirlee Taylor	African-American	-	Preacher	University (US)
1995	US	Johnson, Helene	African-American	-	(Housewife)	
1995	US	Orlandersmith, Dael	African-American	-	("poor")	University (US)
1995	US	Wade-Gayles, Gloria	African-America	-		University (US)
1995	US	Woodson, Jacqueline	African-American	-		University (US)
1995	US	Mochizuki, Ken	Asian-American	3	Social worker	University (US)
1995	US	Tan, Amy	Asian-American	2	Preacher	University (US)
1995	US	Tilly, Meg	Asian-American	3	(Teacher)	? (US)
2005	FR	Ladjali, Cecile	Iranian	2		University (FR)
2005	G	Ayata, Imran	Turkish	2		University (G)
2005	NL	Leuwsha, Tessa	Surinamese	2		University (NL)
2005	NL	Benali, Abdelkader	Moroccan	1	Butcher	University (NL)
2005	NL	Nasr, Ramsey	Palestinian	2		Theater school (US)
2005	NL	Wang, Lulu	Chinese	1	Politician	University (CH)
2005	NL	Wang, Lulu	Chinese	1	Politician	University (CH)
2005	US	Williams, Maiya	African-American	-	Entomologist	University (US)
2005	US	Danticat, Edwidge	Black	1	Taxi diver	University (US)
2005	US	Jin, Ha	Asian-American	1	Military officer	University (US)
2005	US	Jin, Ha	Asian-American	1	Military officer	University (US)
2005	US	Revoyr, Nina	Asian-American	2		University (US)
2005	US	Lahiri, Jhumpa	Asian-American	2	Librarian	University (US)
2005	US	Hosseini, Khaled	Asian-American	1	Diplomat	University (US)
2005	US	Erdrich, Louise	Native-American	-	Teacher	University (US)
2005	US	Erdrich, Louise	Native-American	-	Teacher	University (US)

Note: FR = France; G = Germany; NL = Netherlands; US = United States; CH = China.

APPENDIX B. NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers in Which Reviews Appeared

United States
Los Angeles Times (28), *Washington Post* (20), *New York Times* (18), *El Paso Times* (12), *San Antonio Express-News* (8), *Denver Post/Rocky Mountain News* (7), *Houston Chronicle* (6), *Dallas Morning News* (5), *San Francisco Chronicle* (4), *San Diego Union Tribune* (4), *Santa Fe New Mexican* (3), *Austin American-Statesman* (3), *Boston Globe* (2), *Chicago Sun-Times* (2), *Milwaukee Sentinel* (2), *Albuquerque Journal* (2), *Sunday Oregonian* (2), *USA Today* (1), *Boston Herald* (1), *Seattle Times/ Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (1), *Los Angeles Daily News* (1), *Tulsa World*, *Deseret News* (1) and identical reviews appearing in more than one newspaper (1).

Netherlands
De Volkskrant (23), *NRC Handelsblad* (20), *Trouw* (15), *Parool* (12), *Leeuwarder Courant* (8), *Algemeen Dagblad* (7), *Telegraaf* (6), *Haarlems Dagblad* (5), *Nederlands Dagblad* (4), *Financiële Dagblad* (3), *Dagblad van het Noorden* (3), *Haagsche Courant* (3), *Eindhovens Dagblad* (3), *De Gelderlander* (2), *Noordhollands Dagblad* (2), *BN/De Stem* (1), *Stentor* (1), *PZC* (1), *Rijn en Gouwe* (1), *Rotterdams Dagblad* (1), *Brabants Dagblad* (1), *De Limburger* (1) and identical reviews appearing in more than one newspaper (4).

Germany
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (19), *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (15), *Die Tageszeitung* (12), *Neues Deutschland* (11), *Frankfurter Rundschau* (9), *Der Tagessiepiegel* (8), weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* (8), *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (6), *Berliner Zeitung* (6), *Die Welt* (6), *Nürnberger Nachrichten* (5), *Badische Zeitung* (4), *Rheinische Post* (2), *Hamburger Abendblatt* (2), *Berliner Morgenpost* (2), *Financial Times Deutschland* (1), *Märkische Allgemeine* (1), *Schwäbische Zeitung* (1), *Esslinger Zeitung* (1), *Schwäbisches Tagblatt* (1), *Wiesbadener Kurier* (1) and *Müncher Merkur* (1).

Newspapers Coded as National or Supra-Regional Quality Newspapers

United States
New York Times and the *Washington Post* (Benson, 2006).

Netherlands
De Volkskrant, NRC Handelsblad, Trouw, Het Parool (De Bakker, 2007).

Germany
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Die Tageszeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, Die Welt, and the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* (Esser, 1999; Schoenbach, 1987).

**U.S. Newspapers Coded as Having a Large Hispanic Readership**

Hispanic readership data are not available for all newspapers in the sample but scarce data suggests a (strong) correlation between Hispanic readership and the size of the Hispanic population by state (Benson, 2006; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). The following Californian (*Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, San Diego Union Tribune, Los Angeles Daily News*), New Mexican (*Santa Fe New Mexican, Albuquerque Journal*) and Texan newspapers (*El Paso Times, San Antonio Express-News, Houston Chronicle, Dallas Morning News, Austin American-Statesman*) were thus coded as most likely having a large Hispanic readership.

APPENDIX C. SELECTING ANTHOLOGIES AND LITERARY HISTORY BOOKS

Neither sales statistics nor longitudinal data on textbook use at universities were readily available. For the United States I followed the selection made by Olsson (2000) and included the dominant *the Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1979, 1985, 1989, 1994, 1998, 2003), the conservative *the American Tradition in Literature* (1981, 1985, 1990, 1994, 1999, 2002) and the progressive *the Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006). I added *the Anthology of American Literature* (1980, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004) because it supposedly takes a centrist approach in the canonization debate. For the Netherlands, I included those textbooks which were most frequently used at Dutch universities offering (introductory) courses in Dutch literary history in 2005-2006: Anbeek's *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur tussen 1885 en 1985* (1990, 1999), Schenkelveld-Van der Dussen's *Nederlandse Literatuur, een Geschiedenis* (1993) and Van Bork and Laan's *Twee Eeuwen Literatuurgeschiedenis* (1986). Brem's *Altijd Weer Vogels Die Nesten Beginnen* (2006) and Van Boven and Kemperink's *Literatuur van de Moderne Tijd* (2006) were added because the former – partly funded by the Dutch government – could be considered the semi-official Dutch literary history and the latter contains several ethnic minority authors making the analysis of ethnic labels more fruitful. In Germany, Martini's *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von Anfängen bis Gegenwart* (1978, 1984, 1991) and – to lesser extent – Rothmann's *Kleine Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur* (1978, 1985, 1997, 2003) are considered standard works among literary history books (Saltzwedel, 2003). A study of the curricula in 2005-2006 shows that Beutin's *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (1979, 1984, 1989, 1992, 1994, 2001) and Brenner's *Neue deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (1996, 2004) are the most widely recommended and used at German universities.

APPENDIX D. SPACE

Percentage of (Space Devoted to) Ethnic Minority Authors in
American Anthologies
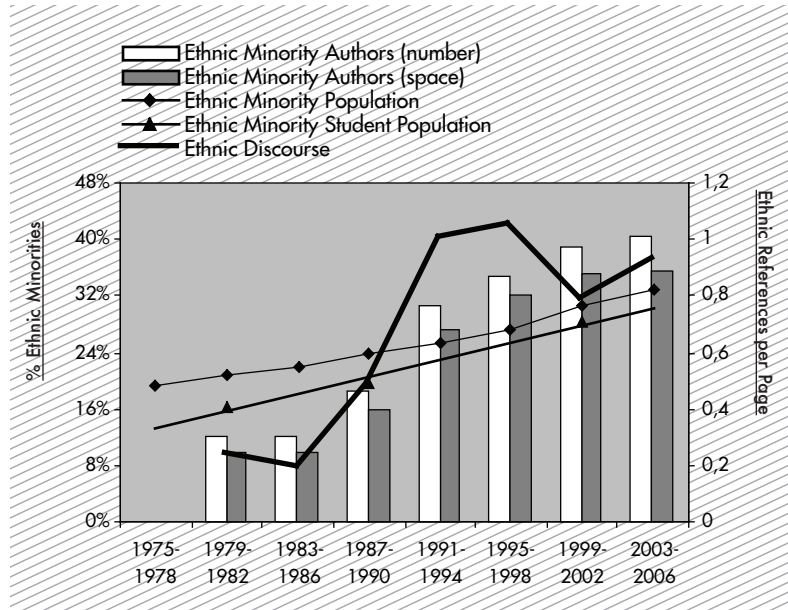
Sources: *U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981 (Table 75), 2000 (Table 4, Table 16), 2007 (Table 13); National Center for Education Statistics, 2003 (Supplemental Table 7.1b), 2004 (Table 206).*

APPENDIX E. MEXICAN, TURKISH AND MOROCAN MINORITIES

Mexican Minorities American Anthologies and the Mexican Minority (Student) Population
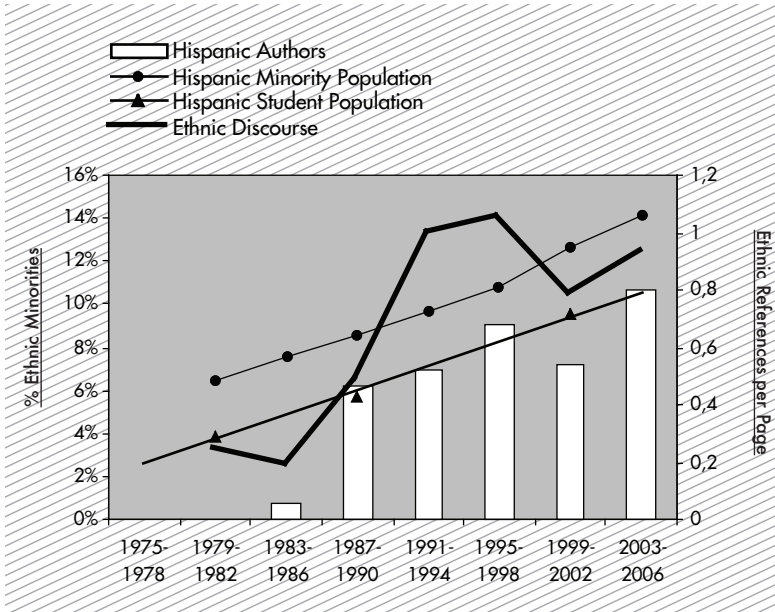
Turkish/Moroccan Minorities Dutch Literary History Books and the Turkish/Moroccan Minority (Student) Population
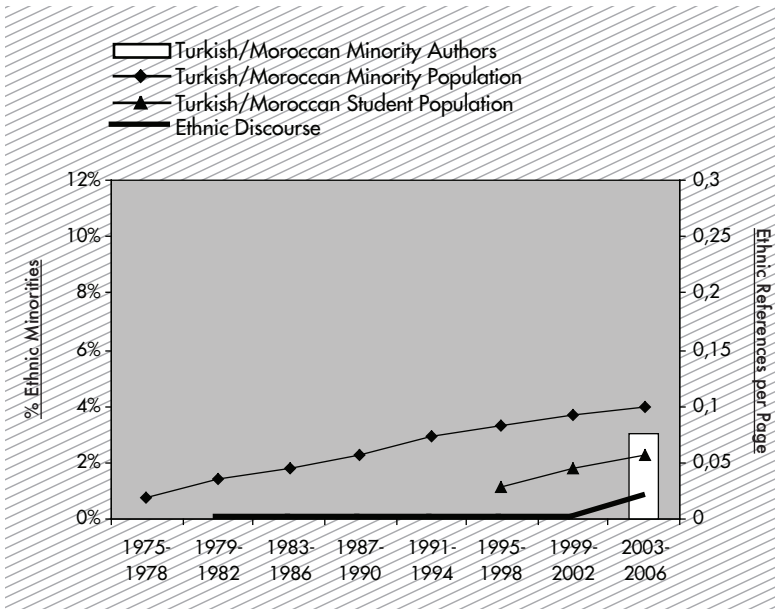
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SAMENVATTING (DUTCH SUMMARY)

Classificatie in de literaire mainstream? Etnische grenzen in de literaire velden van de Verenigde Staten, Nederland en Duitsland, 1955-2005

INTRODUCTIE EN ONDERZOEKSVRAAG

Als gevolg van toegenomen immigratie is de bevolkingssamenstelling van veel Westerse landen in de afgelopen vijftig jaar sterk gewijzigd. Deze verandering heeft duidelijk zijn weerslag gehad op het politieke veld, vooral in de discussie over de multiculturele samenleving en hoe daarmee om te gaan (zie bijvoorbeeld de Nederlandse discussie over het "multicultureel drama"). De toegenomen etnische diversiteit heeft ook geleid tot veranderingen in het literaire veld. Zowel de mate als het verloop van deze veranderingen vertoont echter aanzienlijke verschillen tussen de Verenigde Staten (een traditioneel immigratieland), Nederland (een voormalige koloniale macht) en Duitsland (een arbeidsmigratieland).

Het literaire veld in de Verenigde Staten is een ogenschijnlijke lappendeken van minderheidsliteraturen met elk hun eigen uitgevers (bijv. Arte Publico Press), literaire prijzen (bijv. Premio Aztlán Literary Prize), academische tijdschriften (bijv. *American Indian Quarterly*), en literaire anthologieën (bijv. de *Norton Anthology of African American Literature*). Men kan zich afvragen in hoeverre etnische minderheidsschrijvers geclassificeerd worden in de literaire mainstream? Of meer specifiek: in hoeverre krijgen zij ook een plaats in kranten als de *New York Times*, het beleid van de *National Endowment for the Arts* en de Amerikaanse literatuurgeschiedenis?

Hoewel grootschalige migratie een relatief recente ontwikkeling is in Nederland en Duitsland lijken sommige etnische minderheidsauteurs volledig te zijn opgenomen in de literaire mainstream. Zo werd de Marokkaans Nederlandse schrijver Abdelkader Benali in 1997 genomineerd voor één van de meest prestigieuze Nederlandse literatuurprijzen (de Libris literatuurpijs), die hij uiteindelijk in 2003 won met zijn tweede roman *De langverwachte*. Ook stonden etnische minderheidsauteurs centraal in de Boekenweek van 2001, die als thema had "Het land van herkomst: Schrijven tussen twee culturen." In 2007 verscheen verder de eerste (academische) monografie over een etnische minderheidsauteur, namelijk Hafid Bouazza (Louwerse, 2007). In het Duitse literaire veld vinden vergelijkbare ontwikkelingen plaats. Turks-Duitse auteurs Emine Sevgi Özdamar en Feridun Zaimoglu wonnen respectievelijk de prestigieuze Ingeborg Bachmann prijs in 1991 en een beurs aan de Duitse academie Villa Massimo in Rome in 2004. Ook werd werk van Zehra Çirak, van Turkse afkomst, in 2000 opgenomen in *Der neue Conrady*, een belangrijke Duitse poëzie anthologie. De vraag is echter of deze mainstream aandacht structureel is of dat het hier gaat om de spreekwoordelijke uitzondering op de regel?

De centrale onderzoeksvraag – die ik heb onderzocht aan de hand van inhoudsanalyses van dagbladen (Hoofdstuk 2), dagbladrecensies (Hoofdstuk 3), (jaar)verslagen van nationale literatuurfondsen (Hoofdstuk 4) en anthologieën en literatuurgeschiedenissen (Hoofdstuk 5) – luidt dan ook:

(i)   In welke mate en op welke manier trekken instituties (kritiek,beleid en geschiedenis) in de literaire velden van de Verenigde Staten, Nederland en Duitsland in de periode 1955 en 2005, etnische grenzen in hun classificaties van literatuur in het algemeen – en etnische minderheidsauteurs in het bijzonder?

(ii)   In hoeverre kunnen we de ontwikkelingen in elk land duiden met behulp van theorieën over het literaire veld en nationale culturele repertoires?

Literatuur vormt een interessante casus om etnische grenzen (zie Theoretische achtergrond) in de kunst en cultuur te onderzoeken. Ten eerste geeft de aanwezigheid van etnische grenzen in een relatief perifeer sociaal domein als kunst inzicht in de dominantie van etnische scheidslijnen in de samenleving als geheel (Alba, 2005). Ten tweede is literatuur een relatief prestigieuze cultuurvorm; zowel de productie als de receptie ervan vereist het nodige linguïstische en cultureel kapitaal (Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]). Daarmee is assimilatie in de literaire mainstream voor etnische minderheden waarschijnlijk moeilijker dan integratie in andere sociale domeinen.

THEORETISCHE ACHTERGROND

Grenzen, classificaties en etniciteit

In de cultuursociologie worden doorgaans twee soorten grenzen onderscheiden. Onder sociale grenzen verstaan we geobjectiveerde verschillen – veelal tussen groepen mensen – die zich uiten in een ongelijke toegang tot – en distributie van – hulpmiddelen en mogelijkheden (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Aan dergelijke sociale grenzen liggen symbolische grenzen ten grondslag, namelijk conceptuele classificaties die mensen gebruiken om dingen, personen, gewoonten en zelfs tijd en ruimte te categoriseren (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Omdat deze symbolische scheidslijnen niet vastliggen, zijn ze onderwerp van strijd tussen verschillende groepen, die elk hun ideeën, over bijvoorbeeld wat goede literatuur is, aan anderen willen opleggen. In dit boek onderzoek ik deze symbolische dimensie van etnische grenzen, dus hoe instituties in het literaire veld een onderscheid maken tussen "wij" en "zij" in de manier waarop ze etnische minderheidsauteurs – en hun werk – classificeren.

In de sociologie van ras en etniciteit heeft in de afgelopen decennia een verschuiving plaatsgevonden in de definitie van "etniciteit," van een verzameling gedeelde, objectieve culturele kenmerken naar etniciteit als een sociale constructie (Nagel, 1994; Wimmer, 2008). Ik sluit me aan bij deze constructivistische benadering van etniciteit als een specifieke combinatie van de ingrediënten taal, religie, cultureel uiterlijk, afkomst en regionale oorsprong (Nagel, 1994: 153). In mijn onderzoek richt ik me specifiek op etnische minderheden van niet-westerse afkomst. Hierover later meer.

Nationale culturele repertoires

Bestaande studies naar hoe etnische minderheidsauteurs zijn opgenomen in de literaire mainstream richten zich uitsluitend op de literaire werken an sich. Deze onderzoekers beschrijven hoe de taal en thematiek van immigrantenliteratuur veranderen wanneer de auteur "assimileert" in de literaire mainstream (Dunphy, 2001; Fennell, 1997). Dergelijke reflectiemodellen – die een rechtstreeks verband tussen de mate van etnische diversiteit en de hoeveelheid aandacht voor deze diversiteit suggereren – geven echter een te simplistisch beeld van de werkelijkheid (Griswold, 1981, 1994).

Een belangrijke stroming binnen de cultuursociologie stelt daarom dat mensen in verschillende landen de nadruk leggen op andere aspecten wanneer zij hun omgeving – etnische minderheidsauteurs in dit geval – classificeren. Zij maken met andere woorden gebruik van verschillende nationale culturele repertoires (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000). Literaire critici, beleidsmakers en tekstboekauteurs uit hetzelfde land trekken volgens deze benadering waarschijnlijk overeenkomstige grenzen tussen meerderheids- en minderheidsauteurs omdat zij hetzelfde nationaal repertoire delen.

In hoeverre en op welke manier etnische grenzen worden getrokken hangt allereerst af van de structurele kenmerken van een samenleving, in dit geval de mate van etnische diversiteit. De vier etno-raciale minderheidsgroepen in de V.S. (*black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander* en *American Indian or Alaska Native*) vormen 18.5% (1975), 22.3% (1985), 26.4% (1995) en 33.1% (2005) van de totale populatie (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1981, 2000, 2007). Het aandeel niet-westerse minderheden (allochtonen) is in Nederland beduidend lager, namelijk 1.8% (1975), 4.5% (1985), 7.3% (1995) en 10.4% (2005) (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2009). Omdat voor Duitsland geen goede longitudinale data over niet-westerse minderheden beschikbaar zijn, heb ik alleen gekeken naar de Turkse minderheid. Daarvan was het aandeel in de totale populatie 1.8% in 1975, 2.3% in 1985, 2.6% (of 3.2% van West-Duitsland) in 1995 en 3.0% (of 3.8% van West-Duitsland in 2005) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006).

Ten tweede hangen de mate en manier waarop etnische scheidslijnen worden getrokken af van de historisch bepaalde, institutionele verankering van de omgang met etniciteit. Etnische diversiteit speelt een belangrijke – maar complexe – rol in het Amerikaanse culturele repertoire. Aan de ene kant heeft zich in de V.S. een verschuiving van etnische uitsluiting naar positieve discriminatie voorgedaan. Aan de andere kant bestaat er veel verzet tegen een voorkeursbehandeling van etnische minderheden en kent de V.S. een enorme diversiteit aan opvattingen over etniciteit. Etnische diversiteit lijkt ook een steeds belangrijkere positie in te nemen in het Nederlandse repertoire, mede door de sterk gegroeide demografische diversiteit. De traditionele manier om met diversiteit om te gaan is verzuiling, het realiseren van emancipatie door (tijdelijke) segregatie. De laatste jaren lijkt

deze traditie van culturele pluriformiteit en tolerantie echter steeds meer onder druk te staan. Lange tijd was in Duitsland de geijkte manier om met etnische diversiteit om te gaan het negeren ervan. Zo heeft de etnische exclusieve definitie van staatsburgerschap tot gevolg gehad dat er in 2000 zeven miljoen "buitenlanders" (8.9% van de totale populatie) in Duitsland woonden, van wie velen in Duitsland geboren waren. De laatste jaren lijkt hier echter voorzichtig verandering in te zijn gekomen.

Theorie van het literaire veld

Een andere groep cultuursociologen stelt dat de relatie tussen maatschappelijke omstandigheden (macroniveau) en individuele literaire werken (microniveau) wordt "vertaald" op het mesoniveau van het literaire veld (Bourdieu, 1993; Dorleijn & Van Rees, 2006). Omdat literaire velden semi-autonoom functioneren ten opzichte van het economische en politieke veld geschiedt de classificatie van etnische minderheden binnen de "eigen" logica van het veld. Dus om te bepalen in hoeverre etnische minderheidsauteurs zijn opgenomen in de literaire mainstream, moeten we de instituties onderzoeken die een belangrijke rol spelen in de classificatie van literatuur.

Een veld is een semiautonome "ruimte," met een eigen geschiedenis, classificatielogica en waarderingssysteem. Wanneer het literaire veld totaal autonoom kan opereren ten opzichte van de wetten van de markt en politiek, domineren esthetische principes – vorm in plaats van functie – het literaire veld (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979], 1993). Binnen dit veld strijden verschillende actoren om de zeggenschap over wat (goede) literatuur is en wie een (groot) schrijver; de macht over consecratie (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992]). De uitkomst van deze strijd, bijvoorbeeld tussen voor- en tegenstanders van "multiculturele" literatuur, bepaalt welke boeken gerecenseerd worden, welke auteurs overheidssteun krijgen en welke schrijvers de literatuurgeschiedenis halen. Bij ontstentenis van objectieve criteria ter beoordeling van literaire kwaliteit, stemmen literaire actoren en instituties hun classificaties veelal op elkaar af (Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1987).

De eerste institutie die ik heb onderzocht is de literaire kritiek. Dagbladen spelen een essentiële rol in het selecteren en kaderen van wat wij sociaal en cultureel relevant vinden (Ferree et al., 2002; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Zij vervullen ook een belangrijke taak in het legitimeren en consecreren van cultuurproducten, aangezien hun keuzen en oordelen grotendeels bepalen hoe het publiek en andere actoren in het literaire veld aankijken tegen deze producten (Bourdieu 1993; Van Rees 1983). Om deze redenen heb ik eerst de mate van de dagbladaandacht voor literaire auteurs met een niet-westerse achtergrond in Frankrijk, Duitsland, Nederland, en de Verenigde Staten van 1955 tot 2005 onderzocht. Dit verschaft een genuanceerd beeld van de hoeveelheid aandacht voor etnische minderheidsauteurs vis-à-vis buitenlandse auteurs met een niet-westerse achtergrond.

In een tweede analyse zoom ik in op hoe etnische minderheidsauteurs – meer specifiek: Mexicaans-Amerikaanse, Morokkaans-Nederlandse en Turks-Duitse schrijvers – tussen 1983 en 2009 in kranten geclassificeerd worden. Daarbij heb ik gekeken in hoeverre de achtergrond van deze schrijvers genoemd wordt in dagbladrecensies. Worden ze geclassificeerd als etnisch of behorend tot de meerderheid? Met welke andere (etnische) schrijvers worden ze vergeleken en hoe lang blijft een schrijver een etnische minderheidsauteur? Hangt dit af van het aantal boeken dat een individuele schrijver heeft gepubliceerd of verschuift de etnische grens voor de hele groep naarmate de tijd vordert?

Mijn derde deelstudie betreft het nationale literatuurbeleid van de drie onderzochte landen, dat wil zeggen het literatuurbeleid van de *National Endowment for the Arts*, het Fonds voor de Letteren en het *Deutscher Literaturfonds* van 1965 tot 2005. Deze organisaties opereren op het kruisvlak van het literaire en het politieke veld. Omdat zij in meer of mindere mate afhankelijk zijn van de overheid, kunnen deze organisaties niet volledig autonoom beslissen hoe zij literatuur classificeren; het politieke veld kan hen bepaalde classificaties opleggen, bijvoorbeeld door te eisen dat ze meer aandacht moeten schenken aan etnische diversiteit. Dit kan tot uiting komen in "etnisch" discours, in subsidiëring van etnische minderheidsauteurs en/of een aanwas van het aantal jury- en commissieleden behorend tot een etnische minderheidsgroep.

Ten slotte zijn de belangrijkste anthologieën en literatuur-geschiedenissen van ieder land voor de periode 1978 tot 2006 onder de loep genomen. In tegenstelling tot de journalistieke literatuurkritiek richten deze tekstboeken zich primair op toonaangevende literaire teksten, samengesteld door literatuurwetenschappers, wat impliceert dat de grenzen tussen wat wel en niet tot de literaire geschiedenis wordt gerekend relatief sterk zijn. De vraag is dan ook in hoeverre etnische diversiteit en etnische minderheidsauteurs deel uitmaken van de nationale literatuurgeschiedenis? Hoe worden ze hierin besproken? Worden ze geclassificeerd in aparte etnische hoofdstukken of samen met meerderheidsschrijvers? En in hoeverre wordt er melding gemaakt van de etniciteit van de auteur?

BEVINDINGEN

Literaire kritiek en de kwantitatieve dagbladaandacht voor etnische minderheidsschrijvers

De hoeveelheid aandacht voor etnische minderheidsauteurs in dagbladen hangt sterk samen met de kenmerken van de verschillende minderheidspopulaties (taalbeheersing en opleidingsniveau) en de mate waarin belangrijke literaire instituties ontvankelijk zijn voor etnische diversiteit. Eén en ander resulteert in respectievelijk veel en weinig dagbladaandacht voor etnische minderheidsauteurs in de V.S. en Duitsland.

Dagbladen die verschenen in landen die een centrale positie innemen in het "literair wereldsysteem" (Verenigde Staten) leggen sterker de nadruk op binnenlandse etnische schrijvers, terwijl kranten uit minder centrale landen meer berichten over buitenlandse auteurs met een niet-westerse achtergrond, met name wanneer er sterke geo-linguïstische banden bestaan met de betrokken landen (Frankrijk). Ten slotte laten de resultaten zien dat Amerikaanse etnische minderheidsschrijvers veelal eerst erkenning kregen binnen het nationale literaire veld om vervolgens – dankzij de centrale positie van de V.S. in het literair wereldsysteem – internationale faam te vergaren.

Literaire kritiek en de kwalitatieve dagbladaandacht voor etnische minderheidsauteurs

De dagbladaandacht voor etnische minderheidsauteurs is kwalitatief onderzocht door te kijken in hoeverre recensenten de nadruk leggen op de achtergrond (etnische minderheid, meerderheid en vergelijkingen met andere schrijvers). Waar Amerikaanse recensenten weinig aandacht schenken aan de etnische achtergrond van Mexicaans-Amerikaanse schrijvers, besteden hun Nederlandse en Duitse collega's veel meer aandacht aan de etnische afkomst van respectievelijk Marokkaans-Nederlandse en Turks-Duitse auteurs. De zwakke etnische scheidslijnen die Amerikaanse recensenten aanbrengen, veranderen nauwelijks gedurende de periode 1983-2009. Wel zijn deze grenzen sterker voor debuterende dan voor gevestigde auteurs. De relatief sterke etnische grens die Nederlandse critici trekken, wordt significant zwakker vanaf begin jaren negentig tot 2009. Dit geldt niet alleen voor gevestigde auteurs, maar voor alle Marokkaans Nederlandse schrijvers. In tegenstelling tot hun Amerikaanse collega's trekken Duitse recensenten niet alleen sterke etnische scheidslijnen, maar deze grenzen nemen bovendien in sterkte toe ten opzichte van debuut publicaties. Deze analyses laten dus zien dat het Amerikaanse, Nederlandse en Duitse literaire veld zich achtereenvolgens kenmerken door zwakke, gematigd sterke en sterke etnische grenzen.

Literatuurbeleid: tussen het literaire en politieke veld

De analyse van de (jaar)verslagen van de *National Endowment for the Arts*, het Fonds voor de Letteren en het *Deutscher Literaturfonds*, geeft respectievelijk zwakke, gematigde en sterke etnische grenzen te zien. Zo wordt door de NEA veelvuldig, door het Fonds voor de Letteren met mate en door het *Deutscher Literaturfonds* geen gebruik gemaakt van etnisch discours in de voorwoorden van hun (jaar)verslagen. Crossnationale verschillen blijken sterk samen te hangen met de mate waarin deze organisaties afhankelijk zijn van politieke legitimering. Etnische minderheden zijn het minst ondervertegenwoordigd als juryleden en schrijvers binnen de NEA, op enige afstand gevolgd door het Fonds voor de Letteren, terwijl het Duitse fonds nauwelijks laureaten of panelleden telt die behoren tot een etnische minderheid. Deze verschillen lijken wederom in overeenstemming met de verschillende nationale culturele repertoires.

Literatuurgeschiedenis: tussen het literaire en het commerciële veld

De studie van anthologieën en literatuurgeschiedenissen laat zien dat etnische grenzen – wederom – veel sterker zijn in Nederland en Duitsland dan in de Verenigde Staten. Waar etnische minderheidsauteurs ondervertegenwoordigd zijn in Nederlandse en Duitse tekstboeken, blijken zulke schrijvers in de periode 1991-2006 oververtegenwoordigd in Amerikaanse anthologieën. Amerikaanse tekstboekauteurs maken bovendien veel meer gebruik van etnisch discours in de introducties van hun boeken. Nederlandse en Duitse tekstboekschrijvers brengen etnische minderheidsauteurs meestal onder in aparte hoofdstukken en paragrafen; dit is in Amerikaanse anthologieën niet het geval. Ten slotte leggen Amerikaanse tekstboekauteurs in vergelijking met hun Nederlandse en Duitse collega's meer nadruk op de etnische thematiek in het werk dan op de etnische achtergrond van de auteur. Deze bevindingen kunnen niet louter door demografische verschillen verklaard worden. De oververtegenwoordiging van etnische minderheidsauteurs in Amerikaanse tekstboeken lijkt veel meer het gevolg van een competitieve tekstboek markt – het economische veld – en een toenemende ontvankelijkheid voor etnische diversiteit vanuit het academische veld, onder invloed waarvan tekstboekauteurs de inhoud van hun boeken herzien hebben. De bevindingen voor Nederland en Duitsland zijn meer direct in lijn met de gematigd inclusieve en exclusieve repertoires in beide landen.

CONCLUSIE EN DISCUSSIE

Deze studie toont aan dat de etnische grenzen in de classificatie van literatuur relatief zwak, gematigd sterk en sterk zijn in de literaire velden van achtereenvolgens de Verenigde Staten, Nederland en Duitsland. Mijn bevindingen geven daarmee aan dat etnisch diverse samenlevingen minder sterke etnische grenzen trekken. Etnische diversiteit leidt echter niet "automatisch" tot wat Alba en Nee (2003) assimilatie noemen, i.e. een afnemend belang van etnische classificaties. Een eenvoudig reflectiemodel kan de resultaten dan ook niet verklaren. Ten eerste kan een dergelijk model onvoldoende inzichtelijk maken waarom er binnen een bepaald land verschillen bestaan tussen literaire instituties. Waarom is het Duitse literatuurfonds, bijvoorbeeld, (nog) minder ontvankelijk voor etnische diversiteit dan andere instituties in het Duitse literaire veld? Ten tweede vallen fluctuaties in de tijd moeilijk te verklaren vanuit een reflectiemodel. Waarom is er bijvoorbeeld een piek in de hoeveelheid "etnisch" discours in de introducties van Amerikaanse anthologieën in 1990?

Theorieën over nationale culturele repertoires suggereren dat binnen een gedeelde nationale context, literatuurcritici, beleidsmakers en schrijvers van literatuurgeschiedenissen dezelfde etnische grenzen, in even sterke mate trekken. Zij delen immers hetzelfde nationale culturele repertoire waaruit zij putten om etnische minderheidsauteurs te classificeren

(Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000). Op het eerste gezicht lijken mijn bevindingen deze theorie te bevestigen. De deelstudies van de verschillende literaire instituties laten immers allemaal zien dat de VS, Nederland en Duitsland zich respectievelijk kenmerken door zwakke, gematigd sterke en sterke etnische grenzen in de classificatie van literatuur. Dit lijkt het gevolg van nationale repertoires die in meer of mindere mate de nadruk liggen op etnische in- en uitsluiting. Ik stuit echter ook op verschillen tussen diverse instituties binnen eenzelfde nationale context. Zo zijn etnische minderheidsauteurs na 1990 oververtegenwoordigd in Amerikaans anthologieën, terwijl dergelijke schrijvers ondervertegenwoordigd zijn onder de ontvangers van overheidssubsidies. Met andere woorden: repertoire theorie alleen kan de crossnationale verschillen in de mate en manier waarop belangrijke literaire instituties etnische grenzen trekken, slechts gedeeltelijk verklaren.

Veldtheoretici stellen dat concrete institutionele classificaties worden gemedieerd door de logica van het veld. Deze hangen onder meer af van de structurele positie die een institutie inneemt in het literaire veld vis-à-vis het economische en het politieke veld. Om die reden kunnen de classificaties binnen nationale literaire velden verschillen, ondanks een gedeeld nationaal cultureel repertoire, en bestaat er minder consensus tussen verschillende instituties dan soms wordt aangenomen (see Benson, 2006). Zo toont deze studie aan dat de etnische grenzen over het algemeen zwakker zijn in het Amerikaanse dan in het Nederlandse en Duitse literaire veld. In het geval van literaire anthologieën blijken deze grenzen echter nog zwakker te worden op het moment dat zij door de markt en het academische veld "gedwongen" werden om meer etnische minderheidsauteurs in hun tekstboeken op te nemen. Waar de etnische scheidslijnen in het Nederlandse literaire veld over het geheel genomen gematigd sterk zijn, worrden ze rond 1999 in het literatuurbeleid zichtbaar zwakker dan in de andere instituties. Dit hangt sterk samen met de toegenomen ontvankelijkheid voor etnische diversiteit in het politieke veld en de druk die er vanuit het Ministerie van OCW werd uitgeoefend om dit te vertalen naar het literatuurbeleid.

ABOUT
THE AUTHOR

CURRICULUM VITAE

Pauwke Berkers was born - earlier than expected - on December 6th, 1977, in Deurne, Noord Brabant. He studied sociology at the University of Tilburg, specializing in the sociology of arts and culture. His MA thesis, entitled *Rock against Gender Roles: Women in Punk and Feminism in the Netherlands around 1980*, addresses the extent and ways in which female band members have dealt with gender boundaries, drawing on both do-it-yourself and feminist ideologies. After obtaining his master's degree in 2003, he started his PhD project at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. This dissertation, which was part of a large-scale international research project called Cultural Classification Systems in Transition, discusses how and to what degree ethnic minority authors have become part of the literary mainstream (criticism, policy and history) in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany from 1955 to 2005. In 2005, he was a Visiting Student Research Collaborator at the Sociology Department of Princeton University. Currently, Pauwke Berkers is an assistant professor at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. His main interests include symbolic boundaries, race and etnicity in the arts, gender and culural fields and policy.

PUBLICATIONS

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Berkers, Pauwke, Susanne Janssen, & Marc Verboord. (under review). Assimilation into the literary mainstream? The classification of ethnic minority authors in newspaper reviews in the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, 1983-2009.

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PROPOSITIONS
To accompany the PhD thesis of Pauwke Berkers

Classification into the Literary Mainstream? Ethnic Boundaries in the Literary Fields of the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, 1955-2005

1. Being based in semi-peripheral countries, Dutch or German ethnic minority authors – even when they are classified into the national literary mainstream – are highly unlikely to gain international literary fame unless they move to one of the centers of the literary world system, notably New York or London (This PhD thesis).

2. Although the assimilation of ethnic minority members into the societal mainstream is a two-way process, the crossing or shifting of ethnic boundaries in fiction primarily depends on the receptiveness of key institutions in the literary field which are beyond the control of ethnic minority authors (This PhD thesis).

3. Literary policy organizations do not become ethnically more diverse as the ethnic heterogeneity of society increases. Only interference for the political field can change how these semi-autonomous organizations deal with ethnic diversity (This PhD thesis).

4. Without strong competition with the field of textbook publishing, literary anthologies and history books will hardly include ethnic minority authors, even if ethnic diversity resonates among literary scholars (This PhD thesis).

5. Contrary to what Bourdieu, according to his critics, assumes, ethnicity cannot be fully reduced to mere class (This PhD thesis).

6. The Dutch repertoire of evaluation has changed so dramatically since 09-11 that there will never be a 'new' Hans Faverey (who seems to be the only Dutch minority author who was not classified by his ethnic background).

7. Repertoire theory is not very well suited for deductive hypothesis testing, unfortunately.

8. Man muss nicht Bourdieu studiert haben, um zu verstehen dass ein in 1964 im anatolischen Bolu geborener Junge, der als Bester seines Jahrgangs in Bonn Abitur macht, dann 1984 in Kiel Medizin studiert, in seinem späteren selbstgewählten Beruf als Literat keine halben Sachen machen wird. (Frankfurter Allgmeine Zeitung, April 3, 2004)

9. As the biological aspects (e.g., skin color) of ethnic differences are highly visible and difficult to change, ethnic classifications are used "automatically," making a color-blind society even harder to achieve than a classless civilization.

10. Turning your hobby into an object of sociological study occurs significantly more often than vice versa.

11. Instead of thinking about propositions, it is more fruitful – and fun – to empirically test hypotheses.