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

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Abstract

This article compares the classification of ethnic minority fiction writers in American, Dutch and German literary anthologies and literary history books for the period of 1978-2006. Using content analyses, I show that ethnic boundaries are much stronger in Dutch and German textbooks than in their American counterparts. Whereas, across the entire period, Dutch and German textbooks under-represent ethnic minority authors – relative to the share of ethnic minorities in the population – and emphasize their ethnicity, American anthologies from 1991 to 2006 over-represent ethnic minorities and classify these authors primarily in literary terms. These findings are not due to demographics alone but are also related to differences in the field of textbook publishing (United States) and the extent to which national cultural repertoires vary from moderate ethnic inclusion (Netherlands) to strong ethnic exclusion (Germany).

1. Introduction

The study of symbolic boundaries has been a fruitful domain of sociological research over the last decades (e.g., Benson and Saguy, 2005; Lamont, 1992; Zerubavel, 1997). 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.” 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, Liddle, Lupo and Borden, 2002) and the arts in general (Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord, 2008). Previous studies have suggested that more heterogeneous societies are likely to produce more differentiated artistic classifications (Blau, Blau and 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 and 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 and Nee, 2003; Lamont and 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 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

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.

ethnic makeup of each country's (university student) population, fields of textbook publishing and literary studies, and national cultural repertoires.

2. Cross-national differences in attention to ethnic diversity

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

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 and Verboord, 2009).

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 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 and 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). As such, these repertoires may strengthen or weaken the impact of (changing) demographics.

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.*

2.3. National cultural repertoires and persistence

Swidler (1986: 277) compares culture with “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 and 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 social-economic position. These compensatory policies probably had the most pervasive impact on college and university admissions (Alba and 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 and 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 and Niessen, 2005). In addition, ethnic tolerance and inclusion have dictated public debate about immigration and ethnic minorities, especially among the higher educated (Coenders, Lubbers and Scheepers, 2006). Depending on the time it takes to revise and publish updated editions in the Netherlands (see Section 3.4), 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, and 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 Germany³, 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

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 and 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 and Meyer, 2002). But I do not expect that these societal changes will have already influenced the content of anthologies and literary history books.

(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.*

3. Data and methods

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 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*).

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

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.

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. 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 1).

Table 1 about here

3.3. Measuring ethnic diversity in textbooks

I started my examination analysis of the attention devoted to ethnic diversity in anthologies and literary history books with a quantitative content analysis (Riffe, Lacy and Fico,

2005) of the introductory texts of each textbook. The number of ethnic terms mentioned in the prefaces or forewords is a first 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 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

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

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.

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 2).

Table 2 about here

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

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.

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.

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.

4. Results

4.1. Degree of attention to ethnic diversity

4.1.1. Ethnic composition of the population

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).

Figures 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

[Figure 1a about here]

The U.S. ethnic minority population (Figure 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 of the online supplementary data).

[Figure 1b about here]

Ethnic minorities' share within the Dutch population (Figure 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

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.

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 Appendix A of the online supplementary data). Until 2006, ethnic discourse is also largely absent from the introductions of Dutch textbooks.

[Figure 1c about here]

The share of the Turkish minority within the total German population (Figure 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 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 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 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 of the online supplementary data).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-representation 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.

4.1.2. 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

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).

the Dutch and German case, the latter factor field theory can only be used to situate the American findings.

[Figure 2a about here]

Figure 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 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 2a presents strong support for Hypothesis 1.

[Figures 2b and 2c about here]

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 2b). In Germany, the increase in attention to ethnic diversity in literary

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.

history books precedes the academic interest by no less than eight years (Figure 2c).¹¹ In both cases, the increased textbook attention to ethnic diversity cannot be attributed to the field dynamics summarized in Hypothesis 1.

4.1.3. National repertoires

Figures 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 underrepresented in American literary anthologies.

[Figure 3a about here]

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 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

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.

years (level) behind the ethnic minority (student) population. In addition, 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 3b about here]

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 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.

[Figure 3c about here]

4.2. Nature of attention to ethnic diversity

4.2.1. 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.

4.2.2. *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 of 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 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

¹² A separate analysis of the labels used from 1979 until 1990 also showed that ethnic (literary) background labels (62.1%) are more widely used in American anthologies than ethnic themes (37.8%).

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.

[Table 3 about here]

5. Conclusion

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 make-up of the U.S. population has always been more mixed, but until the arrival of the *Heath Anthology* in 1990, ethnic minority writers were underrepresented 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 underrepresented 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 and 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 use 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

avored 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 and 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.

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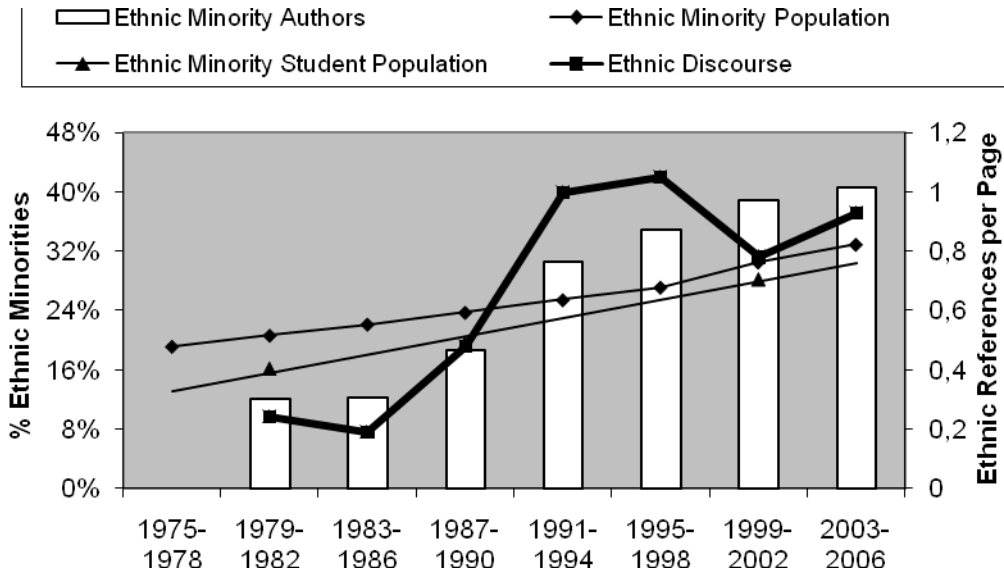
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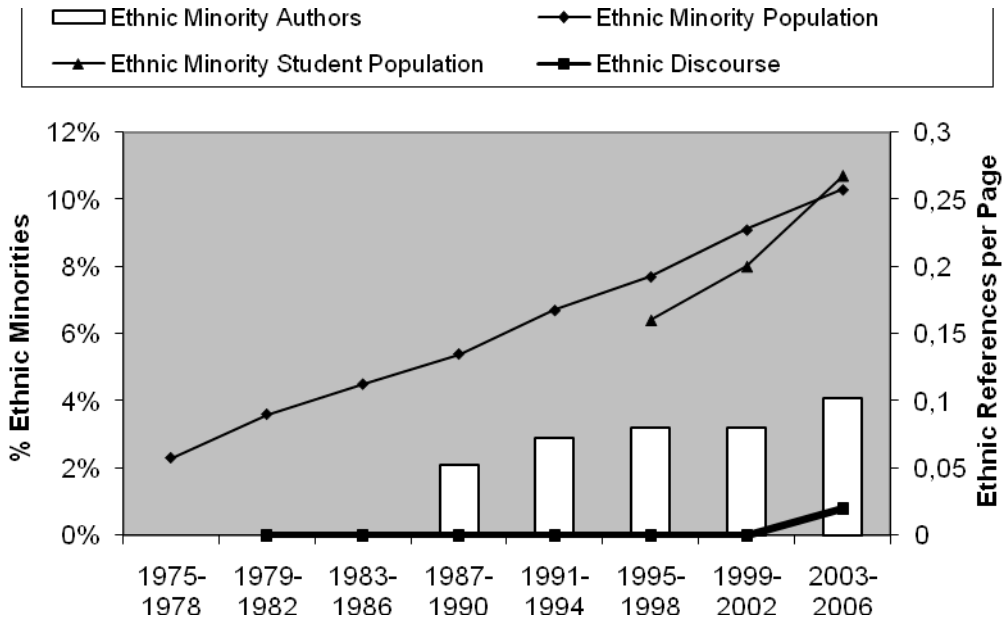
TABLES AND FIGURES

Fig.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).

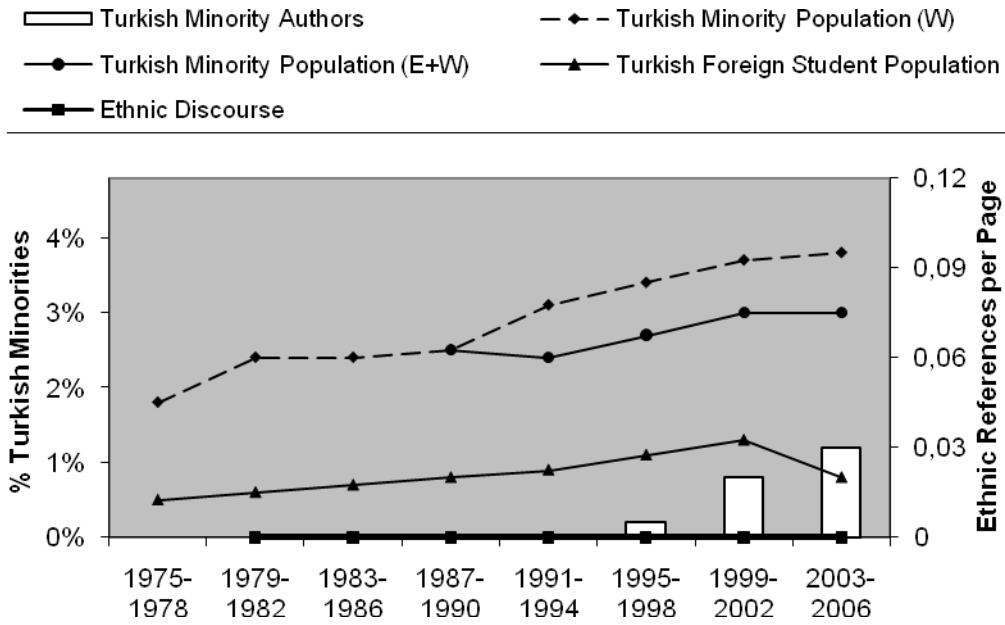
Fig. 1b. Ethnic diversity in Dutch literary history books and the ethnic minority (student) population



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.

Fig.1c. Ethnic diversity in German literary history books and the Turkish minority (student) population



Sources: Schmalz-Jacobsen and Hansen 1995; Statistisches Bundesamt 2001 (Table 9.2); 2002; 2003; 2005; 2006.
 Notes: 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.

Fig. 2a. Ethnic diversity in American anthologies and literary journals

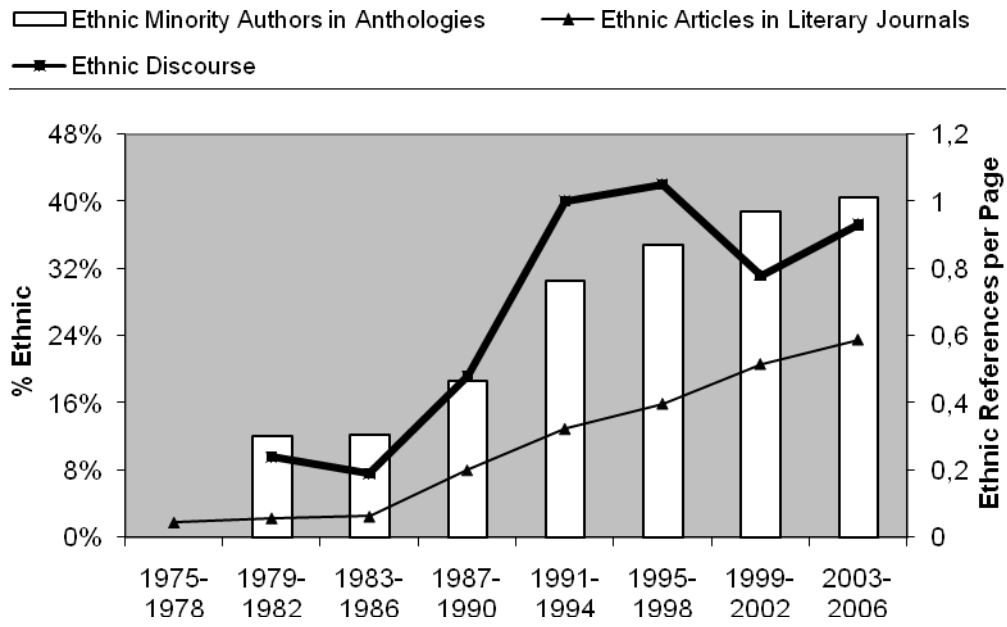


Fig. 2b. Ethnic diversity in Dutch literary history books and literary journals

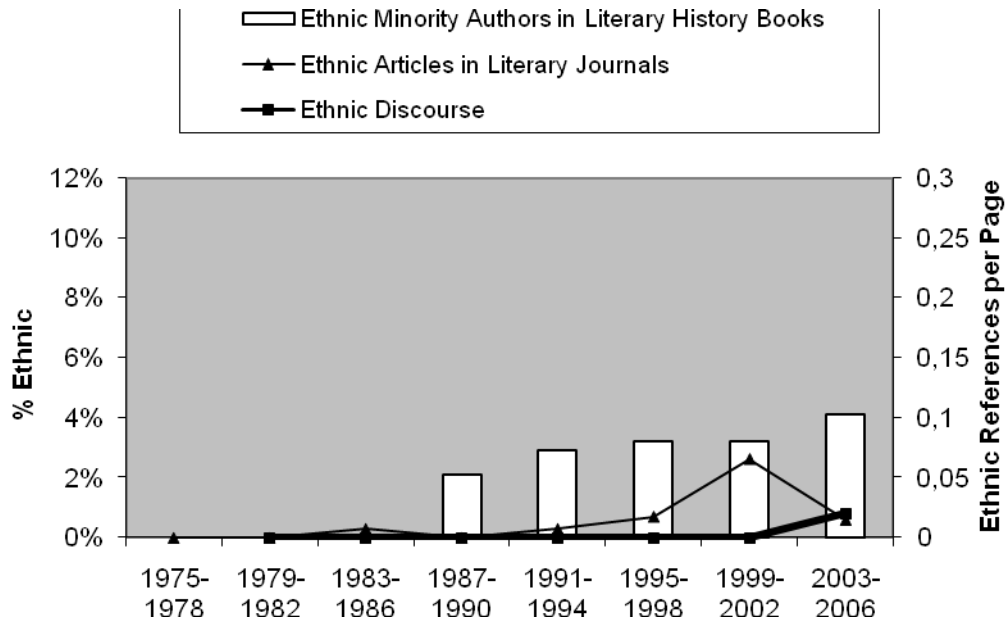
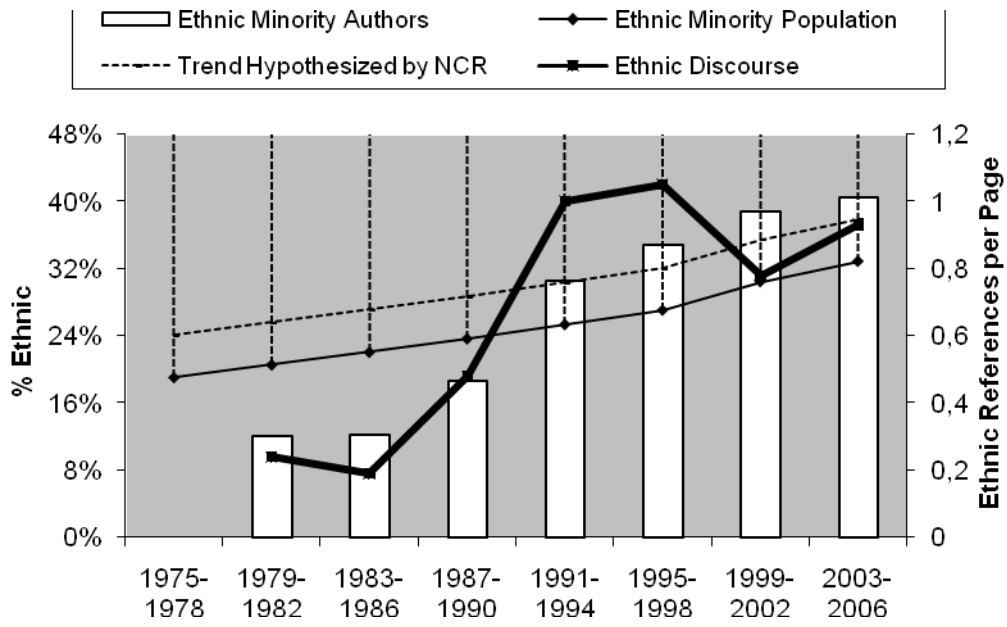


Fig. 2c. Ethnic diversity in German literary history books and literary journals

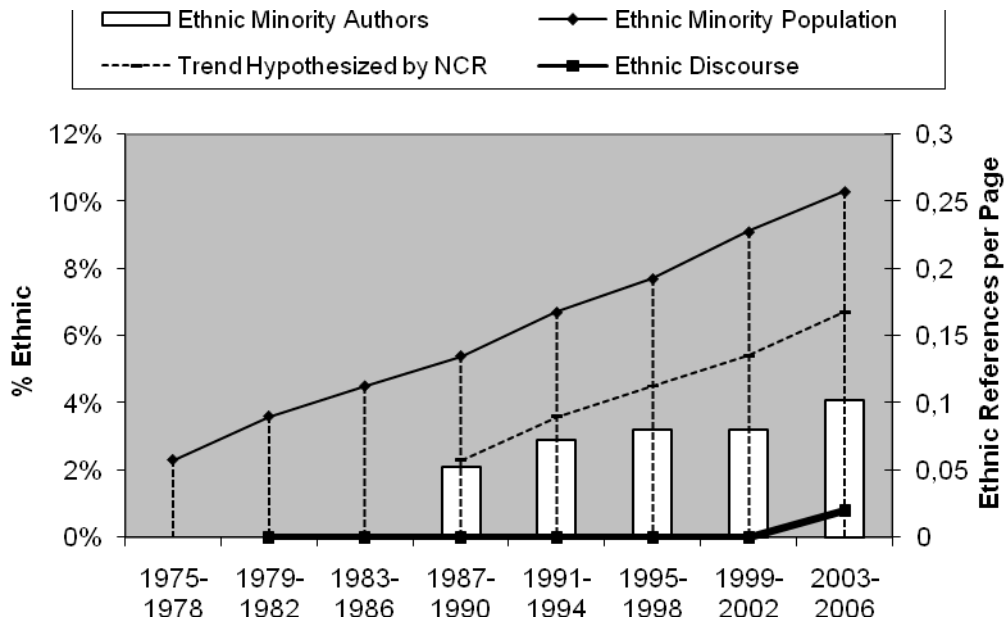


Fig. 3a. Ethnic diversity in American anthologies and national cultural repertoire theory



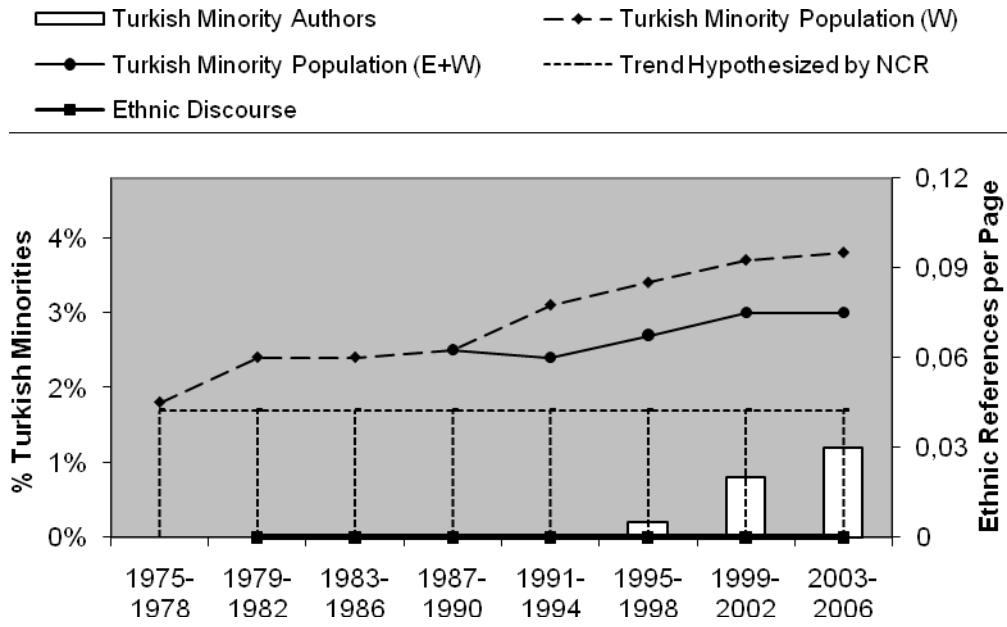
Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory

Fig. 3b. Ethnic diversity in Dutch literary history books and national cultural repertoire theory



Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory

Fig. 3c. Ethnic diversity in German literary history books and national cultural repertoire theory



Note: NCR = National Cultural Repertoire Theory

Table 1
Selected literature textbooks

Name Anthology / Literary History Book	Main Editor	Year 1	Year Recent	Type
The Norton Anthology of American Literature (1-6)	Gottesman, 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: Poëtische Opvattingen in de Nederlandse Literatuur (1)	Van Bork & Laan	1986	1986	LHB
Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur tussen 1885 en 1985 (1 & 5)	Anbeek	1990	1999	LHB
Nederlandse Literatuur: Een Geschiedenis (1)	Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen	1993	1993	LHB
Altijd Weer Vogels Die Nesten Beginnen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur 1945-2005 (1)	Brems	2006	2006	LHB
Literatuur van de Moderne Tijd: Nederlandse en Vlaamse Letterkunde in de 19 ^e en 20 ^e 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 (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

Note: A full version of this table is available as Appendix A of the online supplementary data.

Table 2
Selected academic literary journals

Name Journal	Type / Focus	Year 1	Annual Editions	Analyzed Period	Mean Articles Per Year
PMLA	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	G, p	1971	4	1975-2006	25.7 (797)
Tijdschrift Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde	H	1881	4	1975-2006	16.2 (503)
Literatuur	C	1984	6	1984-2004	38.9 (816)
Forum der Letteren	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	1950	4	1975-2006	24.4 (780)
Wirkendes Wort	C	1950	6/3	1975-2006	16.8 (538)
Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie	G	1869	4	1975-2006	24.8 (794)

Note: A full version of this table is available as Appendix B of the online supplementary data.

Table 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)

Online Appendix: Supplementary data

Appendix A: Selected literature textbooks

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.

Name Anthology / Literary History Book ^a	Main Editor	Year 1	Year Recent	Type ^b
The Norton Anthology of American Literature (1-6)	Gottesman ^c , 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: Poëtische Opvattingen in de Nederlandse Literatuur ^d (1)	Van Bork & Laan	1986	1986	LHB
Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur tussen 1885 en 1985 ^e (1 & 5)	Anbeek	1990	1999	LHB
Nederlandse Literatuur: Een Geschiedenis ^f (1)	Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen	1993	1993	LHB
Altijd Weer Vogels Die Nesten Beginnen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur 1945-2005 (1)	Brems	2006	2006	LHB
Literatuur van de Moderne Tijd: Nederlandse en Vlaamse Letterkunde in de 19 ^e en 20 ^e 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 ^g (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

Notes: ^a The numbers between brackets indicate the studied – first or revised – editions of each anthology or literary history book.

^b A = Anthology, LHB = Literary History Book.

^c Gottesman was the main editor of the *Norton Anthology of American Literature* in 1979.

^d While the second edition was titled *Twee Eeuwen Literatuurgeschiedenis 1800-2000*, it was an unchanged reprint of the first edition.

^e Later renamed *Geschiedenis van de literatuur in Nederland, 1885-1985*. While five editions have been in print, only the fifth contained revisions.

^f The second edition of 1998 was an unchanged reprint of the first edition.

^g Although Rothmann's literary history has been reprinted 18 times, most editions are unchanged reprints.

Appendix B: Selected academic literary journals

Name Journal	Type / Focus ^a	Year 1	Annual Editions	Analyzed Period	Mean Articles Per Year
PMLA ^b	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 ^c	G, p	1971	4	1975-2006	25.7 (797)
Tijdschrift Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde	H	1881	4	1975-2006	16.2 (503)
Literatuur ^d	C	1984	6	1984-2004	38.9 (816)
Forum der Letteren ^e	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 ^f	1950	4	1975-2006	24.4 (780)
Wirkendes Wort	C	1950	6/3 ^g	1975-2006	16.8 (538)
Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie	G ^h	1869	4	1975-2006	24.8 (794)

Notes: ^a 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.

^b 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.

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

^d In 2004 this journal became a supplement of the weekly *De Groene Amsterdammer*.

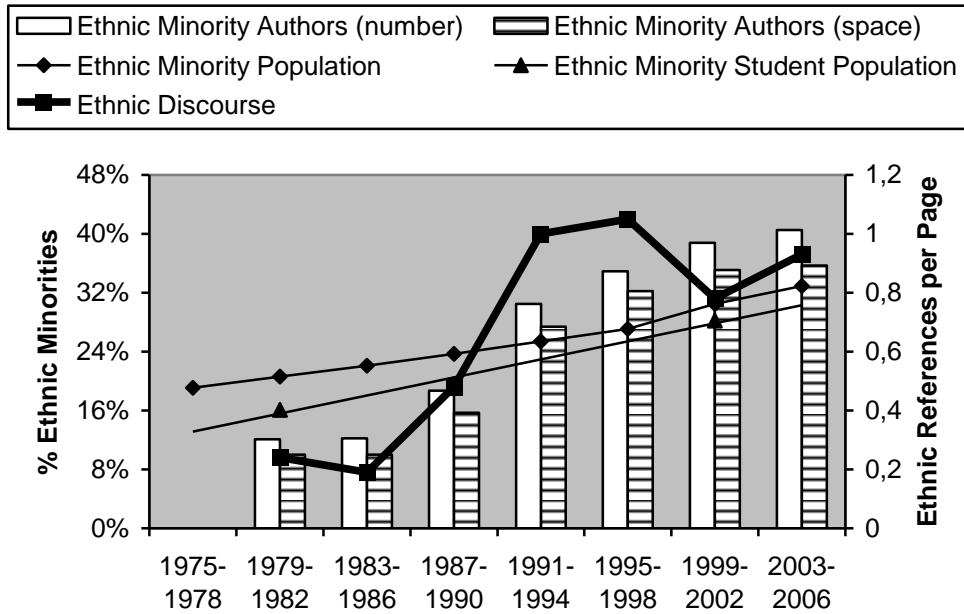
^e From 1996-1998 this journal was named *Tijdschrift voor Literatuurwetenschap*.

^f At least one issue is annually devoted to medieval studies.

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

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

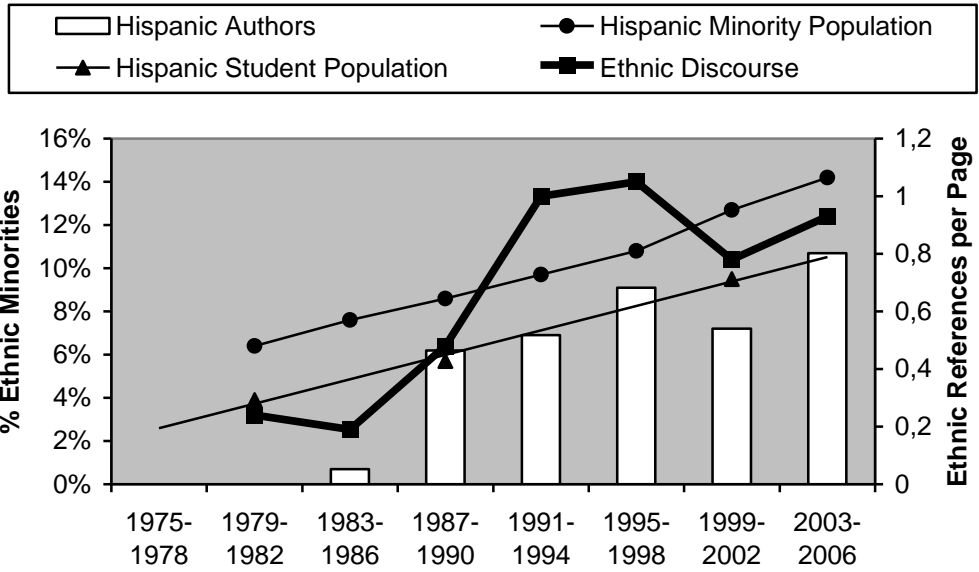
Appendix C: Percentage of (space devoted to) ethnic minority authors in American anthologies



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)

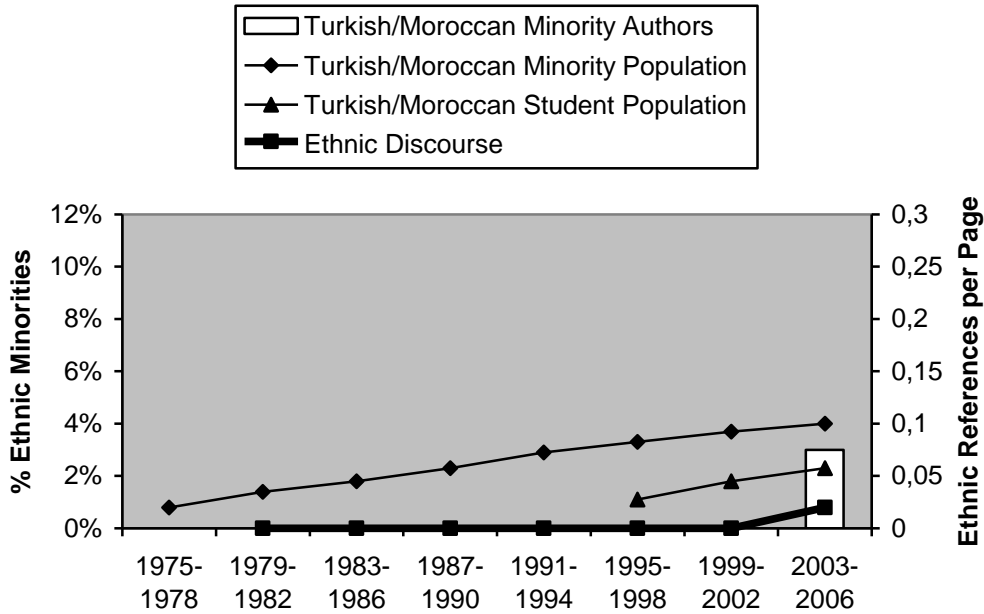
Appendix D:

Mexican minorities American anthologies and the Mexican 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).

Turkish/Moroccan minorities Dutch Literary History Books and the Turkish/Moroccan 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.