

Social networks and classification in literature

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Movements and currents in literature are presumed to be text-based. Currents are assumed to designate certain textual constants within the development of literature, whereas movements are assumed to represent textual innovations. In this article classifications of contemporary literature are related to the positions authors and critics occupy within the field of occupations and organisations accommodating the production of literature. Authors, critics and other producers use classifications to name and order their social relationships. The careers of a number of Dutch literary authors in the 1970s were used to test the association between the networks of authors and the manner in which the authors are classified according to movement or school. Attention was paid to the networks surrounding literary magazines and publishing houses, as well as to networks resulting from evaluations, comparisons and literary orientations expressed in reviews and interviews. The research project aimed to show the interdependence of the material production of literature, i.e. the process of publishing texts, and the symbolic production, the establishment of an artistic image for a book and its makers.

1. Introduction

Members of various institutions divide literature into kinds: genre, current, movement, theme, level of complexity, etcetera. This article deals with the classifications made by literary critics. In fact the article is concerned with classifications explicitly stated in reviews, essays and histories of literature, as it focuses on the communicative role of classifications rather than their mental function. Classifications of literature are regarded as public statements about the artistic features of texts. However, not all statements on the artistic features of texts count as classifications. The term classification is reserved for a statement on textual similarities or dissimilarities in the work of at least three authors. The grouping of authors is central to the notion of classification. With less than three authors it would seem inappropriate to speak of a grouping.¹ This formal definition of a classification restricts the analysis to statements on trends or movements in literature.

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¹ A classification differs from a comparison in that a comparison suggests an intrinsic resemblance or difference between *two* authors.

Why do critics and authors classify literature in public, and on what grounds do they base their classifications? Since Wellek and Warren introduced a formalist approach to the historiography of literature in *Theory of Literature*, the latter question has been answered by referring to intrinsic properties of the texts.² Movements within literature are thought to be characterized by literary norms, conventions or codes. These codes are assumed to be detectable in the texts produced by members of the movement. The quest for the textual profile of a movement is problematic. The continuous flow of literary studies defining, redefining and re-redefining schools, movements and periods, illustrates this. In this paper, however, it will be argued that the code of a literary school should be seen as a social code rather than a text-code. The code serves to organize people rather than to influence the contents of literary works. Literary critics and authors are subjected to a market, called the literary field, that encourages the alignment of parties. This answers the former question as well. Critics and authors publish classifications in order to establish or attack alignments within the literary field. Thus they can strengthen or consolidate their positions.

In the next section, this function of classifications will be dealt with in more detail. The theoretical argumentation in that section will yield some suppositions about the origins of classifications and their effects on the relations between literary authors and critics. These suppositions will be tested in a case study with the help of formal network analysis.

2. Theoretical background

Like art in general, literature is more than a set of material objects or performances. For any text acknowledged to be literature, there is a body of published comments and opinions about its artistic features. Art is inconceivable without public pronouncements subdividing art and distinguishing between art and non-art. Without the interference of literary criticism, there may be a book but as yet no literature; of course it might gain a literary status later on, just as a piece of literature can lose that status. The point is that this is regulated first and foremost by the activities of literary critics and other appointed connoisseurs of literature. Around the text as a material object a coat of comments is created, which leads its own life. For any bookreader it is hard to ignore these comments. They are passed on to him or her by the recommendations of friends, blurbs, reviews, or passages in histories of literature. Before reading a book, readers already have an idea of its alleged

² *Theory of Literature* still has a great impact on the historiography of literature in the Netherlands. In a recent academic history of literature *Theory of Literature* explicitly served as a theoretical background (Anbeek 1990: 13).

artistic qualities. The book's image itself has become a social reality; the operations and cooperation of several media have turned it into a concept known to the reading public at large.

In contrast to most promotional activities for consumer goods the publicity for literature is not controlled and usually not even initiated by the organisation marketing the product. The image of books and authors is established by people dedicated to this task: literary critics, members of juries for literary prizes, etcetera. Their publications are aimed not only at the readers of literature but also, and sometimes especially, at the producers of literature themselves. The study of literature has its own organisations, practitioners and public. Furthermore it has a product of its own, viz. the artistic image of texts. Therefore the study of literature or the establishment of an artistic image can be seen as a production process. To refer summarily to this process, Bourdieu coined the phrase *production of belief* (Bourdieu 1980).

Literary authors and critics are involved in two production processes. On the one hand they write texts which are published. Supplying the raw material for books and magazines, they help to produce the set of physical objects known as literature. On the other hand they comment on literature in their reviews, essays, interviews. Thus they contribute to the establishment of artistic images or reputations. Following Bourdieu (1983: 318), the terms *material* and *symbolic production* will be used here to distinguish between these two production processes. However, the distinction merely serves to analyze their interdependence; the artistic reputations reflect and organize the material production, i.e. the social relations between the people involved in the production of literature. In order to substantiate this thesis, it is necessary to have a closer look at the material and symbolic production.

2.1. The material production of literature

A text is handled by a good number of people and organisations, before it attains its ultimate form as a book. The author starts this process and the binder completes it. Some of the people and organisations involved are interchangeable. It hardly matters who printed the book. However it does matter who wrote the book and who published it. The transition of a manuscript to copy is a crucial part of the material production.

Both writing and reviewing literature are mainly free-lance activities. Many channels are available for publishing literary work, such as publishing houses, literary magazines, and literary columns in periodicals. A literary author may gain a regular income as an editor, reviewer or writer in residence, but the writing of literature itself is not institutionalized in stable jobs. Therefore, the publication of a manuscript is usually not guaranteed; the cooperation of an author and a publisher is temporary. In practice, contracts are concluded for the publication of one book. Of course, publish-

ers try to lengthen and strengthen their relations with writers, in order to have the first choice once a new manuscript is finished. Sometimes the relation is formalized, e.g. by specifying an option on the next manuscript in a contract, but more often it is a kind of social obligation. The publication of a new book demands a financial investment by the publishing firm. The risk of making a loss on this investment is seen as a favour upon the author, putting him or her under a moral obligation to offer the next manuscript to this firm first. A loyalty like this comes to light, when authors follow their editor from one firm to another.

The market for writers is also characterized by the absence of diplomas and other formal criteria to protect and mark literary authorship. Apart from publishing there is no instrument to define or regulate the profession of letters. Any literate person might turn out to be a literary author, and, given the current literacy rate, the abilities to read and write are not scarce. The potential influx of new authors and critics is huge and there is evidence suggesting that many people indeed pursue a career as a literary author or a critic. For example, a survey of literary reviews between 1975 and 1980 shows that thousands of people reviewed literature in Dutch and Flemish newspapers or magazines, although only a minority did this on a regular basis (De Nooy and Verdaasdonk 1989: 203). The large number of unsolicited manuscripts received by publishers is another case in point. The competition between (would-be) authors and critics is hard; the market is too small to offer a successful career to everyone. Therefore an opportunity to publish must be conquered over and over again.

This implies that the allocation of jobs is continuously being decided on: whom will be given the opportunity to publish, to award a literary prize? Usually these decisions are made by peers: literary supplements or magazines are edited by people who are critics themselves; advisory boards are assembled by experienced counsellors; winners of literary prizes staff juries.³ There is no formal authority allocating jobs, nor a court of arbitration within or outside the literary field. In this respect, the literary field is autonomous. As a consequence, authors and critics are interdependent since they are tied together by countless favours and judgements. They also need one another: writers need publishing channels and editors need manuscripts to fill their magazines. But the power relations are continuously shifting. At one moment an editor might offer an author the opportunity to publish, at another moment it is the author who might ask the editor to become a member of a jury for a literary prize. Because the relations between members of the literary field are transient and formal conditions of entrance are absent, the people who write, who publish and who comment upon literature are mutually dependent.

³ De Nooy (1988).

In this situation of informal interdependence personal contacts and granted favours are paramount to the acquisition and allocation of jobs and opportunities. The more colleagues one has been of any use to, the higher one's capacity to mobilize peers for one's own purposes. Bourdieu called this power to mobilize people the social capital of a person.⁴ The word *capital* represents the fact that this power is accumulated over time. In the course of his or her career, a critic or author builds up a circle of colleagues and friends to whom s/he means something and who can mean a lot to him or her. Seniority in the literary field means first and foremost the possession of a large social capital: the respect of and the contacts with the right people, earned in the course of a long career. This explains the relation between seniority and a successful career in the world of juries, boards and committees.

2.2. The symbolic production of literature

Although the phrase *publish or perish* no doubt holds true for literary authors and critics, appearance in print is not their only aim. They want to make a name for themselves as well. The process of making a name or a reputation, has been called the symbolic production. The product of this process, an artistic reputation, is a discourse on the literary quality of an author's work. It is the outcome of an effort to evaluate and classify his or her texts. In general, evaluation and classification are closely related. The double meaning of the word *quality* illustrates this. In one sense it refers to a property or attribute of an object; e.g. liquidity is a quality of water. By means of this attribute, kinds of objects can be distinguished, in this example liquids from gases. The objects belonging to one kind are not necessarily better or worse than other kinds of objects. In another sense quality implies *good quality* and the attribution of quality to an object does entail a value judgement. The two meanings often converge. For example, metals that do not rust are called *precious* and they are precious in an economic sense as well. In the case of literature, evaluation and classification converge to a high degree. Any denomination of artistic properties seems to have an evaluative trait, or at least to have had an evaluative connotation. In a world fascinated by *personality*, *genius* and *originality*, recognition of an author's literary quality boils down to being distinguished, making a name for oneself.⁵ In the words of Bourdieu (1980: 289): 'The only way to *be* is to be *different*'. Therefore an author's literary reputation is to be seen as the way connoisseurs relate his or

⁴ Cf. Bourdieu 1986.

⁵ Bourdieu (1980: 263) calls this the *ideology of creation*. The idea of an artist as a special and unique person, central to the conception of literature of 'Romantic' poets such as Wordsworth, Coleridge and Keats, seems to live on as an ideology in the symbolic production of literature.

her work to the work of contemporary authors and predecessors. These symbolic relations include similarities as well as distinctions.

The importance attributed to relations and comparisons, explains the absence of absolute and univocal criteria in the evaluation of literature. Concepts like *tradition* and *innovation* suggest similarities and differences with respect to the work of predecessors and models. However, what is new and innovating at one moment, will be outdated later. If innovation within a literary tradition is thought to characterize good literature, absolute standards for literary quality cannot be used. No two texts are completely the same, unless one has been plagiarized. A student of literature will always be able to discern similarities as well as dissimilarities between texts. Between complete similarity and total dissimilarity there is a continuum without a univocal boundary demarcating originality from 'cheap' imitation. It is up to the individual critic to create that boundary by accepting and applying a norm. This boundary, if specified, is always open to debate. In practice statements about tradition and innovation indeed give rise to controversy.

The demarcation of innovation and imitation is one of the normative aspects of evaluation in literature. Another normative aspect is the choice of a conception of literature, i.e. a critic's assumptions about the nature and function of literature. Van Rees argued that postwar text-oriented criticism always incorporates normative conceptions of literature (Van Rees 1986, ch. 1). Neither literary critics nor scholars seem eager to specify univocal criteria and norms. Norms may be terminologically similar but the criteria for their application will vary from one critic to another, if criteria are specified at all (Van Rees 1989: 194).

Since the norms applied are arbitrary and the criteria for their application are neither specified nor generally accepted, different value judgements may be passed on the same texts. The texts may be classified in several ways and their authors may gain various reputations. The success of a judgement or a reputation does not depend on empirical validity. This has consequences for the symbolic production. First of all, reputations are not proved and settled for eternity. Authors and critics may take a stand and value texts and authors hitherto ignored. They may challenge existing reputations and propose new ones. A reputation is a transient product; it must be produced, that is, asserted over and over again. Secondly, the success of a reputation depends on its authority, its acceptance by literary critics and members of other literary institutions. The acceptance of a statement by experts functions as a test of its validity. That is why the approval of peers is the highest form of recognition for critics (cf. Van Rees 1983: 409, 1987: 283 and 1989: 195–196). Consequently, the main producers of symbols, i.e. the literary critics, are mutually dependent. They have to seek their peers' approval for their critical statements in order to make a name. The symbolic production is characterized by *orchestration*: the statements of critics tend to become more alike in

the course of time. Analyses of the critical reception of an author's works show that critics rely on previous reviews and on statements made by the author himself (cf. Van Rees 1987, Ritchie 1988, Rodden 1989). This is not to say that critical statements are mere reproductions of earlier statements. Any critic is free to use his or her own wordings and to like or dislike any literary work. However, the ideology assigning intrinsic literary quality to texts cannot be maintained if experts do not agree in general or in the long run. The orchestration of critical judgements produces the reputations of authors as well as the reputations of critics. The fact that the connoisseurs accept a critic's discourse on an author's texts, implies that they accept his or her authority and ability to evaluate this work. In the symbolic production, the reputations of critics and authors are related.

2.3. Interdependence of material and symbolic production

Authors and critics have two aims: to publish and to make a name. Both activities arrange the relations between authors and critics. By way of their publications, authors and critics are included in a social network. This network is centred around a publishing channel: a literary magazine or a publisher's list. In order to make a name, an author's work has to be compared to the work of contemporaries and predecessors. Thus, a reputation specifies the artistic affinities and differences between authors. This also applies to the reputations of critics. It can be argued that the positions of authors and critics in networks around publishing channels and their artistic reputations are interrelated. Classifications and other statements about artistic affinities and contrasts reflect the alignments of authors and critics, or serve to establish them. However, authors and critics usually align for only a short period, whereas the concept of an alignment lives on for a much longer period.

The first reason for a relationship between the material and the symbolic production is straightforward. The people involved in the production of literature assume that their judgements are justified by the literary quality of the objects they pass judgement on. An editor is supposed to select the texts that s/he appreciates and that s/he considers fit for a given magazine or publisher's list. If the published texts are written by well-known authors, the editor's appreciation is taken for granted. However, the introduction of unknown authors will be related to the editor's 'personal' preferences. Experts will assume that the authors share the qualities that this editor favours. Therefore, a new line-up of beginning authors in a magazine or publishing firm is likely to be interpreted as a new kind of literature.

In fact, Dutch literary magazines have been associated with literary movements since the end of the 19th century. Because publication in a magazine demands a considerably lower investment than the publication of a

book, magazines are viewed as a suitable means for the introduction of new authors. Literary magazines are considered to be the nursery of literary talent. In my view, however, it is not the talent but the reputation of an author that is being nursed. Through the literary magazine, a new author is introduced to the core of the literary field; his or her name is made familiar. Publications in literary magazines are often the germ of the book with which an author will make his debut. Therefore, publications in a magazine by an unknown author may encourage critics and journalists to interview the author or to pay extra attention to him or her in their reviews of literary magazines. Thus, the process of making a name may start before the author's first book has been published.

The fact that authors share a publishing channel does not prove that their texts differ significantly from the rest of contemporary literature. It is assumed but not verified that the editor uses a particular literary standard and that he has succeeded in selecting texts that comply with this standard. However, since this assumption is shared by most members of the literary field, the authors' publishing channel provides critics with an argument for defending their classification and winning support for it. This will encourage critics to group authors according to their literary magazines and their publishing houses.

The second reason for a relationship between material and symbolic production is connected with the fact that writing literature is a free-lance activity. As has been argued before, authors are not employed by literary magazines or publishing houses. For any publication an author has to find a publisher, for any issue of a magazine an editor needs to find several contributors. Both editors and authors will strive to reduce the uncertainty about where or whom to publish. They will try to establish stable relations. According to DiMaggio, classifications in art are a means of handling social relations efficiently (DiMaggio 1987). Through the cultural preferences shown, social relations can be strengthened or discouraged. Classification has a ritual function: it is the affirmation of a person's social identity. In the production of literature, classifications fulfil this function in the contacts between producers: authors, publishers, etcetera.⁶ They supply authors and editors with a sense of belonging to a group, because they name common artistic goals or common artistic adversaries. Thus an editor may secure the author's willingness to contribute to his or her magazine, and an author may secure the editor's interest in his or her work.

The opportunity to publish is a way to be recognized as an author. This recognition, however, is partial; it is granted by the *gate-keepers* of one magazine or publishing house at a time. It is not a *passe-partout* for all other

⁶ DiMaggio assigns the classifications originated by artists to a separate class, called *professional classification* (DiMaggio 1987: 451).

publishing channels. Therefore the recognition does not apply to any qualities of the admitted work, other than those acknowledged by the publisher or the magazine's editor. The properties of the work which they say they value actually *constitute* the value of the work at that moment. Thus recognition offers an author an artistic identity. The context of a publication will be related to the artistic identity of the author. This explains why experts sometimes get confused if an author publishes in magazines considered to be opponents.

The literary field offers a successful career to few writers and critics, whereas many pursue such a career. This brings us to the third reason for a relationship between material and symbolic production. In the theory of Bourdieu, the literary field is the locus of a continuous struggle for power.⁷ Like all other fields, the literary field owes its existence and logic to the fact that a number of people want to possess a specific good or capital that is scarce. Within the literary field, the specific capital is *recognition*. Because of the scarcity of this capital, members of the field are engaged in a competitive struggle. Newcomers have to challenge established reputations and well-known authors or critics have to defend their reputations. The most obvious way to challenge established reputations is to claim that existing literary work and critical opinions are outdated by the work and opinions of new authors and critics. Newcomers often claim that their work should be seen as an artistic innovation. In order to lend weight to their claim, beginning authors and critics have to organize. If several authors and critics sustain the claim, it will be easier to convince publishers to publish their manuscripts or to finance a new literary magazine, edited by beginning authors. Once they gain control of a magazine, they can use it to publish their own work and promote their conception of literature. Like DiMaggio, Bourdieu considers classification to be a means of organising artists and critics into factions. 'The names of schools or groups which have proliferated in recent painting [...] are pseudo-concepts, *practical* classifying tools which create resemblances and differences by naming them' (Bourdieu 1980: 289). Bourdieu, however, stresses the competition between authors or critics, instead of their social identity. Beginning authors and critics have to fight their way into the magazines, publishers' lists and reviews, because their predecessors are defending their positions. This explains why quite a lot of the names for schools or groups are initiated by the authors themselves. Explicit identification with peers, then, serves to gain access to publishing channels and to attract critical attention. Once this has been secured, the need for alignment diminishes and the desire to make a name for oneself becomes the main

⁷ This sketch of Bourdieu's ideas on the production of literature and the role of classifications, is based mainly on 'The production of belief' and 'The field of cultural production, or: the economic world reversed' (Bourdieu 1980 and 1983).

objective. Authors will try to free themselves from any associations with literary groups or movements. Affiliations between magazines and literary movements lose importance or become something to avoid. This explains why reputed authors do not seem to hesitate to publish in magazines that are considered to be opponents. By the time they have made a name for themselves, the identity a magazine offers is of little importance to them. However, the concept of an artistic alignment or a movement may live on. If a critic aligns beginning authors or if s/he takes a stand in favour of authors who align, s/he claims to discern and to name a significant innovation in literature. If this proposal is accepted by his or her peers in the long run, it contributes to the critic's reputation and authority. Thus, the career of a critic is inextricably linked to the success of some authors and the acceptance of a concept for a movement. Studies on movements in art usually pay attention to the relations between artists, but the position of the critics tends to be ignored.

To Bourdieu, and perhaps DiMaggio, names for schools and trends in literature are empty concepts, in the sense that they create distinction or identity instead of naming actual textual differences. A name for a school need not be more than a banner in order to fulfil its social function, that is the organisation and mobilisation of people. Webster uses the term *charter* to refer to schools in literary criticism (Webster 1979: 9–10). This term aptly reflects the fact that a literary programme should be seen as an authority that some people accept rather than as a theory about the features of their work.

The ideas described here should not be mistaken for a conspiracy theory. There are no secret plans or strategies involved in the production of literature; the structure of the literary field itself is the driving force behind activities within the literary field. The interdependence of the actors within this field with respect to their jobs and their artistic reputations stimulates the forming of networks defined by social relations and by artistic identity. A conspiracy theory assumes bad faith on the part of participants, whereas the abovementioned ideas do not. On the contrary, in the literary field cooperation presupposes confidence or *belief* in the literary qualities of the partner. A long record of service in the literary field mirrors, so to speak, an accumulation of trust and fellowship. The connotations of the word *seniority* reflect this image of reliability very well.

3. Classifications of Dutch literature in the 1970s

In this section, the interdependence of material and symbolic production will be investigated empirically. Due to the explicit manner in which they group literary authors, classifications offer an opportunity for a systematic comparison of the material and symbolic relations between literary authors. Classifications of Dutch contemporary authors according to movement have been

gathered from reviews, essays and other literary studies that appeared in the 1970s. They form the startingpoint for the analysis. Also, data have been collected on the publications and the critical reception of authors who are regularly mentioned in the classifications. These data give a detailed picture of authors' careers in the Dutch literary field between 1970 and 1979.

The ideas set forward in the preceding section yield three broad hypotheses:

- (1) Classifications of beginning authors denominate networks around literary magazines or publishing houses.

In general, members of the literary field tend to translate contextual aspects into artistic features of a literary text. If a magazine or publishing house introduces several (beginning) authors at a time, the common context will be interpreted as a sign of a common artistic programme. Also, classifications may be used by editors in order to strengthen the bonds between a magazine or publishing house and its authors.

- (2) Classifications influence the critical reception of the authors who are classified.

Classifications offer literary critics a frame of reference that they will use when they review work by the authors who are classified. Literary critics will adjust their comparisons of authors to the way they are classified according to movement; members of one movement will usually be compared to one another and they will be contrasted with members of other movements. If a critic uses a classification to take a stand in the discussion about literary innovation, most critics will adjust their evaluations to that classification. A preference for an author will turn into a preference for the movement that the author is identified with. Conversely, an aversion to a critic will turn into an aversion to the movement supported by the critic. Classifications will have a greater impact on the way authors are treated in literary criticism, if the authors explicitly endorse the classification and publicly take a stand against the members of other movements.

- (3) The critical reception of an author, influenced by a classification, channels his or her opportunities to publish.

The fact that an author is considered to be a member of a movement will serve as an 'admission ticket' to the publishing channels dominated by the movement's supporters. Access to publishing channels belonging to other movements will be restricted. This effect will only occur in the short run. Once authors have secured their access to publishing channels, they will no longer need the identity a group offers, with its restrictions on personal recognition. They might even start to attack the concept of a movement.

3.1. Data

In the 1970s a number of critics and authors tried to expose new trends within contemporary Dutch narrative prose. Therefore, this period is suited

for investigating the role that classifications play in the production of literature. The analysis that follows will concentrate on the literary authors who were thought to represent the new trends or movements in this period. The way they were classified will be compared to their social networks around publishing channels, as well as to their critical reception. Data was collected in two steps. Firstly, classifications were analyzed in order to select the authors whom the debate on new trends centred on. Secondly, their publications, critical statements and critical reception were compiled.

Recall that classifications have been defined as critical statements on textual similarities or dissimilarities in the work of at least three authors.⁸ In a classification a critic groups authors; these groups can be called *clusters*. Classifications of contemporary prose were collected in essays and literary histories published in the 1970s. A list was drawn up, containing the authors who were clustered in these classifications. As this list exceeded 100 authors, a selection was made. Some authors appeared only once in the classifications, while others were classified many times. Furthermore, the same authors were clustered in various ways; authors who were seen as belonging to the same cluster in one classification, may have been assigned to opposing clusters in another classification. The selected authors should represent what might be called the common denominator of the classifications: they should represent the clusters that were most often distinguished in the classifications in a consequent manner.

Since it was not clear at first sight which authors had to be selected, the manner in which authors were clustered in the classifications was analyzed. For every pair of authors a distance was computed.⁹ The distance between two authors is zero if they were never allocated to different clusters within a classification. The distance is high if they were grouped in different clusters only. Thus, the similarity of positions held by a pair of authors in all classifications was expressed in terms of a distance between them. Twenty-seven authors belonging to pairs with the largest as well as the smallest distances were selected. They optimally represent the different clusters. Table 1 shows the names of the authors, the date of their literary debut, and the manner in which they were clustered in the classifications.¹⁰ The numbers of the classifications represent their order of appearance. Authors

⁸ Cf. section 1.

⁹ The distance between two authors has been measured as *continuous distance* (cf. Burt 1977, Knoke and Kuklinski 1982). Continuous distance is based on the way the two authors are related to all other authors. In this research project the distance between two authors diminishes if there are more authors who have or have not been clustered with both authors in the classifications. Even if two authors never appear in the same classification, the continuous distance between them, can be computed. That is the main advantage of this procedure.

¹⁰ Classification 1 (Peeters: 1973) was found during the collection of reviews on the selected authors.

Table 1
Selected authors and classifications.

Author	Debut	Classification number ^a										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Andriesse, Peter	1969	2			4		1			2	1	
Biesheuvel, J.M.A.	1972			1	7	5		3	1			2
Canaponi, P.	1978										3	1
Donkers, Jan	1973	2	1		2	1	1				1	3
Hart, M. 't	1971	1			2	3		3	1	1	2	2
Heeresma, H.	1962	3					2		1	2	1	
Hiddema, Arie B.	1970	1				3				2	1	
Hotz, F.B.	1976					1			1			2
Jong, O. de	1977							3	1		3	2
Joyce & Co	1975				6	4		2			3	
Kellendonk, F.	1977							1			3	1
Keulen, M. van	1972		1	1	4	3	1		1	2	1	
Kooiman, D.A.	1971	2		2	3	1	3	1	3		3	1
Luijters, G.	1970	1	1	1	4	3	1			2	1	
Marissing, L. van	1972		2		1	2						
Matsier, N.	1976					1	3	1	3		3	1
Meijsing, D.	1974					1		1	3	1	3	1
Meinkema, H.	1974					3	2	4				
Meulenbelt, A.	1976							4				
Plomp, H.	1968	2			5	3			1	2	1	
Portnoy, Ethel	1971							4	1			2
Robberechts, D.	1968					2				3		
Siebelink, J.	1975					4		2	2		3	
Sijtsma, Bernard	1971				4	3						
Trolsky, T.	1974				6	4						
Vervoort, H.	1970		1		4		1		1		1	3
Vogelaar, J.F.	1965		2	3	1	2			4	3		

^a The numbers of the classifications represent the following texts: 1 – Peeters (1973), 2 – Geel (1974), 3 – Trolsky (1975), 4 – Peeters en Kaal (1975), 5 – Goedegebuure (1976), 6 – Hogeweg (1977), 7 – Brokken (1977), 8 – Nuis (1977), 9 – Brouwers (1979), 10 – De Rover (1979) and 11 – Peeters (1979).

that share a particular number in a column have been assigned to the same movement. Peeters, for example, clustered Andriesse, Donkers, Kooiman and Plomp in his first classification, which was published in 1973. As it appears from this table, not all authors appear in all classifications, nor do they always cluster in the same way.

For all of the selected authors the following data was collected: their publications in literary magazines, their memberships of editorial boards, the books they published, their interviews and all reviews of their work that appeared in leading Dutch newspapers and weeklies. The data collection was restricted to the 1970s. As most of the authors made their literary debut in or

just before the 1970s, the data covers the initial period of their literary careers.

The contents of the interviews and reviews was analyzed with respect to evaluations and comparisons between authors. A critic's judgement in a review or an author's judgement in an interview was coded according to one of three categories: *positive*, *neutral* and *negative*. The judgement score was based on explicit evaluations and connotations of the critical terms used. Reviews of critical prose, e.g. collected essays, and replies to reviews usually contain standpoints instead of evaluations: the reviewer agrees or disagrees with the opinion ventured. Therefore judgements passed on critical texts were coded as *agrees*, *neutral* or *disagrees*.¹¹ References to other authors were also coded. Each time the work under review was compared to another author's work, a reference was registered. However, not every mention of a name in a review entails a comparison concerning the content of the work under review. Several authors may be reviewed in one article, though they are not being compared. It is up to the coder to decide whether or not the reviewer suggests kinship, influence or thematic similarity between authors. Statements by authors in interviews about their literary models are also considered to be comparisons: the authors assert artistic influences on their work. If a reference to an author is thought to be an intrinsic comparison, the coder has to classify the comparison as a resemblance or a contrast. In principle the comparison is coded as a resemblance; obviously the text made the reviewer think of another book. Just in case the authors were explicitly said to differ, the comparison is coded as a contrast.¹²

3.2. Method

In the material as well as the symbolic production of literature, relations between actors are important. Literary magazines and publishing houses serve as contexts for relations between authors. Each judgement represents a

¹¹ In order to test the reliability of the coding, a number of texts were coded by the researcher and by eight students (226 judgements coded twice). In 77 percent of the cases the coders chose exactly the same category. In no more than 7 percent of the cases did the coders pass opposite judgements on the same text. This usually occurred when the researcher concluded that a jubilant review was ironic, and coded a negative judgement. In a good number of cases the student would here code a positive judgement. The standardized inter-coder agreement (Cohen's Kappa) values 0.69, if two students with strongly deviating scores have been omitted. This value is acceptable, but far from perfect.

¹² At first the category *neutral* was used as well, in case it was not clear whether the comparison meant a resemblance or a contrast. The standardized inter-coder agreement improved, however, when this category was omitted (Cohen's Kappa = 0.56). The differences between the researcher and the students here related mainly to the decision whether or not the reference to an author entailed a comparison. Prior knowledge of the population of literary authors was important: e.g. one had to know that Prometheus and Hylas are not names of authors.

relation between the critic and the person criticized. A comparison relates two authors and by definition a classification groups more than two authors (cf. section 1). This study aims to test the similarities between the patterns of these relations. To this end network analysis will be employed. Prevailing quantitative research methods are not particularly suitable for the analysis of relations between actors. They focus on attributes, properties of independent observational units, such as social characteristics of people. Subsequently they assess the association in the attributes of the observational units. People are grouped because of their joint characteristics, e.g. in cluster analysis and discriminant analysis, and not because of their mutual relations. Network analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the pattern of relations between observational units. All relations between authors, whether they consist of shared literary magazines, shared literary examples or mutual evaluations, can be represented as a network: a set of points and a set of lines connecting these points. In the analysis that follows, the 27 selected authors are the points of all networks. Each type of relation between the authors was translated into a line. Subsequently, a network was constructed for each type of relation.

A classification of authors according to movement can be represented as a network with lines between all authors who are assigned to the same movement. Joint membership of a movement counts as a line in this network. Within the network, each movement is a cluster of authors who are related to one another, but who are isolated from all authors outside their movement. In this way a classification represents the most extreme form of grouping. This structure is called a *block*. Figure 1 gives a simple example of a classification represented as a network of two movements consisting of three (A, B, C) and two authors (D, E) respectively.

Data on the locations of the publications – literary magazines, publishing houses – were used to construct networks that represent the positions of authors in the material production of literature. The networks show the manner in which authors were grouped around literary magazines or publishing houses. The criterion for a line between two authors in these networks is the fact that their works appeared in the same magazine or on the same

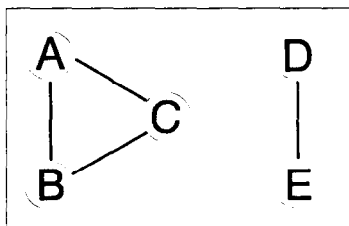


Fig. 1. A network of movements.

publisher's list. Since the selected classifications pertain to fictional work, these networks contain publications of fiction only. Furthermore, the allegiance of authors to publishing channels seems to be less important in the case of critical prose. Literary magazines often have special issues dedicated to an author or a topic. For these issues contributors are recruited because of their expertise and not because of their literary denomination. Furthermore a nonfiction article in a magazine may be an author's reply to a negative evaluation published previously in this magazine. Needless to say, these contributions do not indicate mutual agreement and alignment.

Do authors have to contribute to the same issue of a magazine in order to be connected by a line in the network, or does it suffice to publish in the same magazine once in the entire decade? It is up to the researcher to choose the time lag allowed between publications. The period has to be short enough to render an up-to-date image of the network of magazines or publishing houses, but it must be large enough to contain publications by as many authors as possible. A period of two years proved to be the optimal choice for articles in magazines as well as for publications in book form. About 80 percent of the authors published at least one article and one book in the two years preceding a classification. So the network of literary magazines represents the locations of the authors' publications in the preceding two years. Two authors who published at least once in the same magazine in this period, were connected by a line. The networks of publishing houses were constructed similarly. This approach assumes that members of the literary field adjust their impression of an author's artistic features to the context of his or her publications in the preceding two years. Figure 2 shows the construction of a network of magazines, if authors A, B and C publish in magazine I, authors C and D publish in magazine II, and author E publishes in magazine III. The upper plane represents the network of authors that will be compared to other networks. The lines between the authors were induced from the lines connecting the upper plane and the lower plane, which represented their publications in literary magazines.

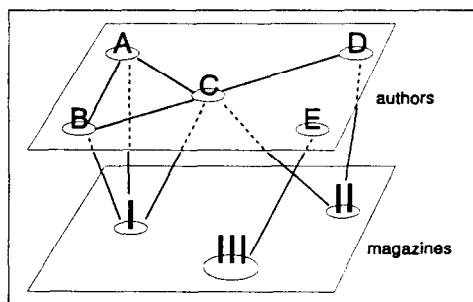


Fig. 2. A network of literary magazines.

Authors not only contribute articles to literary magazines, they staff the magazines' editorial boards as well. The composition of editorial boards can be used to map the grouping of authors around magazines. The translation of editorial positions into network-lines is quite simple. Usually, people staff an editorial board for some time. During this period s/he has to cooperate with colleagues. For the period two authors are editors of the same magazine, the network of editors should contain a line between them. But the relationship between editors does not appear to end the moment an editor resigns. An editorial position will have a more lasting effect on the author's reputation than a single publication. Therefore, lines were drawn between all present editors and all previous editors of a magazine. Members of the literary field probably associate a (former) editor with a magazine until s/he joins the editorial staff of another magazine.

Comparisons between authors in reviews were used to construct two kinds of networks: a network of direct comparisons and a network of literary models. In this paper, a *direct comparison* is a comparison that involves two of the 27 authors selected for the analysis. In the critical texts, 147 direct comparisons were found. In the network of direct comparisons, each pair of authors compared received a line, which had a positive sign if the comparison suggested a resemblance (75% of the cases), and a negative sign if it suggested a contrast (25% of the cases). Comparisons relating a selected author to a foreign author or a Dutch predecessor were used to build the second kind of network: the network of literary models (1087 comparisons).¹³ If two authors were compared to the same predecessor, they were thought to share a literary model and their work was thought to belong to the same tradition. In the network of literary models a shared predecessor was translated into a line with a positive sign. The lines received a negative sign if one author was contrasted with the example of the other author. Comparisons made by authors in interviews were treated the same as comparisons made by critics. Like the networks of literary magazines and publishing firms the networks of comparisons were based on publications from the preceding two years.¹⁴

¹³ Given the years in which the selected authors made their debut, all Dutch authors who made their appearance in 1960 or before were considered to be predecessors.

¹⁴ Lines between authors in the network of literary models were assessed in a different manner than lines in the network surrounding magazines. If two authors had just published in different magazines, this was counted as a contrast or as a *no line* relation. Thus, for each combination of authors a relation was determined, provided that both authors published at least once. They are either connected by a line, viz. in case they published at least once in the same magazine, or they are unconnected. In contrast, the fact that two authors are not related to the same predecessor does not imply they are assigned to different, opposing literary traditions. In the case of comparisons only explicit contrasts are taken into account.

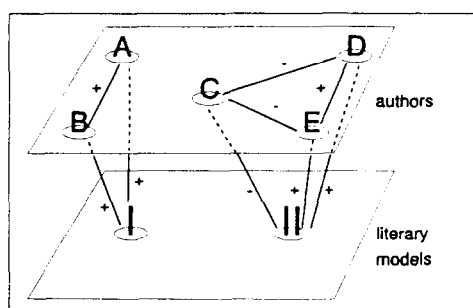


Fig. 3. A network of literary models.

Hence, the two kinds of networks have slightly different meanings. Both networks represent artistic similarities and dissimilarities among the work of contemporary authors as they were pronounced by literary critics in the 1970s. The network of direct comparisons may be seen as an ordering of contemporary literature; authors are being compared who have yet to gain prominence. However, the network of literary models represents literary traditions. This procedure stems from the historiography of literature, where it serves to distinguish between what should be preserved and what should not. The model's literary value has been determined, for the time being. Thus, a comparison transfers the model's (positive or negative) literary value to the model's follower. In all likelihood, the network of literary models is loaded with evaluations. Figure 3 represents the network of literary models that will result if author I is thought to be a model to authors A and B, author II is said to bear resemblance to authors D and E, and to differ from author C. As in figure 2, the upper plane contains the network that will be compared to other networks. The lines in this network were induced from the lines between the planes, which represented comparisons between authors and their literary models.

Like comparisons, critical judgements can be divided into two kinds, yielding two different networks. The first network contains direct judgements, passed by the selected authors on one another (158 judgements). They may occur in interviews, reviews, and replies to reviews. Direct evaluations were translated into arrows from the judge to the author who is being judged. A positive evaluation became an arrow with a positive sign. A negative evaluation was translated into an arrow with a negative sign. The neutral evaluations, covering 12 percent of all mutual evaluations, were disregarded in the construction of this network. This was justified as they did not contain information about the sympathies and antipathies among the authors. The number of positive and negative judgements were approximately equal (75 and 64 respectively). The critical statements of the previous two years were

used to construct the network. Roughly 80 percent of the judgements relevant to a classification are passed within a period of two years. Note the use of the word *arrow* instead of *line*. The lines in this network are directed. A mutual evaluation is not the same as a one-sided evaluation.

The second network was based on evaluations of selected authors by other members of the field (894 evaluations). Assuming – as I actually do – that classifications are related to the position taken by critics, movements will correspond to the critics' preferences. The construction of a network representing the critics' preferences was somewhat complicated. Firstly, for each critic a network must be constructed that separates those authors who received a positive evaluation in one group and those who received a negative evaluation into another. The network was based on the judgements passed in the two years preceding a classification. Unless the critic passed both positive and negative judgements on the same author in this period, the network consisted of two blocks. Sixty-nine critics passed judgement on at least two of the selected authors; this amounts to 471 judgements. About half of the critics evaluated two or three authors, whereas one critic passed judgement on as many as 22 of the 27 selected authors. Some of the critics also published classifications: Aad Nuis, Carel Peeters, Jaap Goedegebuure, Frans de Rover and Jeroen Brouwers. In the next step, the networks of the individual critics were summed up. In the resulting network any line between two authors was labelled with a positive number indicating the number of critics who evaluated both authors in the same way, i.e. either positively or negatively, and/or a negative number indicating the number of critics who evaluated the authors differently. Perhaps it should be pointed out that two critics with completely opposing preferences contribute to the same lines in this analysis. Whether a critic's preferences are with one trend or the other, the resulting network of critical preferences will remain the same if the boundaries between the authors are the same. Figure 4 shows the network that results if critic I evaluates authors A and C positively, but author D negatively, while critic II passes a negative judgement on author C and

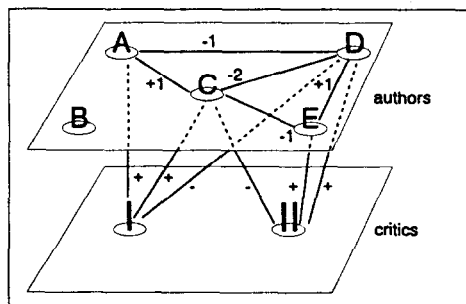


Fig. 4. A network of critics' preferences.

positive judgements on D and E. The number -2 labelling the line between authors C and D, indicates that two critics preferred either author C or author D. If the authors are grouped according to the critics' preferences, C and D are least likely to be grouped together.

Classifications, publications, comparisons and evaluations were thus translated into networks. In order to test the hypotheses on the interdependence of classifications and the material as well as the symbolic relations between the authors classified, each network of movements was compared to networks representing material relations (literary magazines, editorial boards and publishing houses) and networks representing symbolic relations (direct comparisons, literary models, direct evaluations and critical preferences). In fact, all classifications from the 1970s were analyzed separately. Since the classification was assumed to reflect as well as to influence material and symbolic positions, it was compared to the networks of authors based on their publications and their critical reception in the two years preceding the classification and in the two years afterwards.¹⁵ Prior to the analyses two questions need to be answered: how are the networks supposed to overlap and how is the overlap to be measured?

There is a general answer to the first question. In a network of movements, which represents a classification, authors who are thought to belong together are clustered. If this network reflects another network, e.g. a network of magazines, the authors would also cluster there. Members of a movement are supposed to use the same publishing channels; it was assumed they were compared rather than contrasted; they were thought to have common literary models; they would value their colleagues' work and there would be critics favouring their work. Technically speaking, a network of movements would duplicate another network, if each pair of authors connected by a line in the network of movements was also connected by a line in the other network, and if each pair of unconnected or contrasted authors was also unconnected in the network of movements. Figure 5 illustrates this. It represents the overlap of a network of movements with a network of literary magazines and a network of literary models respectively. The network of magazines differs in two respects from the network of movements (the classification): the line between C and D does not exist in the classification, whereas the line between D and E is missing in the magazines network. Two out of ten relations between the 5 authors were not identical in both networks. Note that the absence of a line counts as a relation here. However, the absence of a line in the network of literary models does not imply a contrast. Only explicit contrasts were used; they are represented by lines with

¹⁵ Because the networks of the magazines' editorial boards were constructed in a different manner, the classifications were not compared to the networks of editors in the period after the publication of the classification.

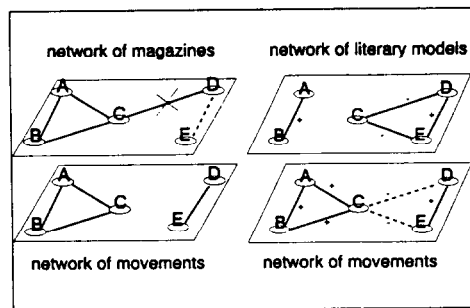


Fig. 5. Network multiplicity graphically.

a negative sign. In fact, absent lines in the network of literary models were unknown, as no comparisons were found that relate, among others, A to D or C. Therefore the two networks must be compared only with regard to the lines in the network of literary models. All four lines in this network correspond to the lines in the network of movements. For the sake of clarity, some absent lines in the network of movements were replaced by lines with a negative sign.

The overlap between the network of movements and the network of critical preferences is more complicated. The lines in the latter network bear a sign and a number. If the members of a movement were judged similarly by more critics and the members of different movements were judged differently by more critics, the classification represented the preferences of the critics better. More critics value either the members of one movement, or the members of another movement. The overlap between a classification and a network of critical preferences was computed as before: lines with positive signs were supposed to correspond with lines in the network of movements and lines with negative signs would match absent lines. However, each line in the network of critical preferences was weighed by the number of times it occurred, i.e. the number of critics whose preferences was expressed by the line. This means that each line was counted for each critic evaluating both authors in a similar way.

The last thing needed is a formal measure for the similarity of networks. The degree to which all combinations of authors have the same relation in two or more networks is known as the *index of network multiplicity*. In the example given above, the index of network multiplicity of the network of movements and the network of magazines is 80 percent: eight out of ten relations are identical in both networks. As a measure of association between networks, however, the index of network multiplicity has some drawbacks. Its value depends on the size of the clusters distinguished in the classification, and the 'affluence' of the data, i.e. the number of lines found. The bigger the

blocks and the more lines a network has, the higher the chance lines will be found between members of a block. So the index of network multiplicity will be higher by chance, if the classification contains less and bigger blocks and the data provide more lines. The index has to be corrected for chance. In this project the correlation coefficient (r_{mb}) of Arabie et al. (1978: 16–48) was used with the correction for missing cases proposed by Carrington et al. (1980: 223–226).¹⁶ This correlation coefficient takes into account the size of blocks and the number of lines found in both networks, thus correcting for chance. The absolute value of this coefficient is equivalent to the phi coefficient for the association between a variable indicating the occurrence of a line in the first network for each pair of authors and a variable indicating the occurrence of a line in the second network. The values of the correlation coefficient range from -1 (the networks are completely different) to 1 (the networks are identical). It is 0 if the correspondence of the networks is equal to the association expected by chance.¹⁷

3.3. Results

In this section the association between classifications and material or symbolic networks will be assessed and interpreted. Data on the positions and activities of the individual authors will be used to back up the interpretation of the correlation coefficients; these data cannot be presented fully in the scope of this article.¹⁸ The correlation coefficients are presented in table 2. In a number of cases the correlation coefficient could not be computed, because the networks compared did not share enough authors; these cells contain a dot. The classifications published in 1979 cannot be compared to

¹⁶ The index (b) that Carrington et al. (1980) propose as a substitute for the correlation coefficient does not suit the purposes of this project. Although this measure (b) uses a model division of points into blocks, it does not account for a priori relations between blocks. A classification, serving here as the model, assumes no relations or solely negative lines (contrasts) between blocks.

¹⁷ In the notation of Carrington et al. (1980: 224) the correlation coefficient is defined as:

$$r_{mb} = (\iota \cdot n_{mb} - n_m \cdot n_b) / \sqrt{(n_m \cdot n_b \cdot z_m \cdot z_b)}$$

With:

ι = the number of pairs of points which have a valid observation in both networks

n_{mb} = the number of pairs of points connected by a (positive) line in both networks

n_m = the number of pairs of points connected by a (positive) line in the first network

n_b = the number of pairs of points connected by a (positive) line in the second network

z_m = the number of pairs of points unconnected or contrasted in the first network

z_b = the number of pairs of points unconnected or contrasted in the second network

This measure is computable only if at least one pair of connected points and one pair of unconnected points is found in both matrices.

¹⁸ A more comprehensive presentation of the data can be found in the author's dissertation due to appear in 1992.

networks in the period thereafter, because the survey was confined to the 1970s. These cells contain a dash.

The column means give an impression of the association between the classifications and the networks of authors. The networks of literary magazines and the networks resulting from direct comparisons and evaluations in literary criticism bear the strongest resemblance to the classifications. The association between classifications and the critics' preferences or the networks round publishing houses was in general lower. Contrary to the expectations there was no correlation whatsoever between classifications and networks of literary models. This is all the more surprising as references to literary models have considerable status as a critical argument. A closer look at the predecessors named explains why literary models do not relate to movements; some authors were referred to very frequently and in no clear relation to the movements distinguished by the classifications. They were the most successful Dutch literary authors of that period.¹⁹ They seem to function as a common standard to gauge young authors in general; they cannot be regarded as the godfathers of particular movements. But less frequently named literary examples were also related to authors and movements in a rather unsystematic fashion. The extremely low values of the correlation between movements and literary examples in the oldest classifications suggest that the authors of these classifications tried to break with existing literary traditions, rather than to observe them.

A classification was compared to the material or symbolic network as it existed at the moment the classification was published, as well as to the network that formed after the publication. With the exception of the network of editors, each kind of network has two columns in table 2, labelled *before* and *after*. The coefficient in the first column indicates whether the classification reflects a network; the coefficient in the second column shows whether it anticipates the formation of a network. If the second coefficient is considerably larger than the first, the classification may have exerted an influence on the social relations that make up a network. If the mean correlations before and after the publication of classifications are compared, it can be seen that they rise most sharply in the case of the networks based on the reception of authors. Comparisons, mutual evaluations and the critics' preferences seem to have been adjusted to the classifications after their appearance in print. A public classification seems to influence the reputation of the authors classified, more than their commitment to literary magazines or publishing houses does. However, the mean correlations offer only a very rough picture. They do not account for missing coefficients and trends within the period.

A closer look will now be taken at the separate classifications. The association between classifications and networks of magazines shows no clear

¹⁹ Examples are W.F. Hermans, G. Reve and J. Wolkers.

trend in the 1970s; on the whole, it is neither getting better nor worse. The classifications by Geel and Trolsky, published in 1974 and 1975 respectively, resemble the networks of magazines very closely. In the course of four years the correlation increased in the case of the former classification, whereas it decreased in the case of the latter. Both classifications correspond best to the networks of magazines in more or less the same period, centred round 1974. The classifications focus on the same magazines: *Propria Cures*, a student magazine with explicit literary aspirations since the late 1960s, and *De Revisor*, a literary magazine founded in 1974. Both classifications correlate quite well with the direct evaluations, comparisons and the critics' preferences. All this suggests that both Geel and Trolsky clustered approximately the same authors. In 1974 their clustering most clearly took place on the basis of material as well as symbolic aspects.

With respect to the critics' preferences, a clear difference was found to exist between Geel's and Trolsky's classification. The former classification reflected preferences that existed at the moment the classification was published, but vanished in the subsequent two years. The latter classification, on the other hand, anticipated the alignment of critics. This may be due to the positions that Geel and Trolsky themselves occupied. Geel was employed at a Faculty of Arts. He had made his appearance as a literary author in the beginning of the 1960s, and he was reviewing literature in the oldest and – at that moment – least controversial literary magazine in the Netherlands (*De Gids*). Geel nor his magazine were involved in the making of names and the assumption of positions associated with the publication of classifications. His classification was not loaded with evaluations; it merely served as a background to the books he wanted to review. Trolsky was a beginning author at that time. His classification of trends within contemporary literature was part of an attack on a leading critic who had severely criticized his poetry. As an argument for his defence, he called the critic a proponent of a certain kind of literature, to which he did not reckon his own work. Trolsky explicitly challenged the critical set-up, provoking reactions and *prises de position* by the critics involved.

In 1977 something similar happened. The three classifications published that year showed an increasing correlation with networks of literary magazines, comparisons and preferences of critics over time. Since 1977 the reputations of authors as well as their commitment to literary magazines changed drastically. Brokken's classification was the most controversial and fiercely debated critical event of the year. Of course, this is no evidence to prove that these changes were due to his classification. Brokken knew about imminent changes in the magazines, when he published his classification. In his article he announced the foundation of a new magazine for women's literature and changes in the editorial board of another magazine (*De Revisor*). He incorporated these changes in his classification. Although the

classification probably did not influence the networks of magazines, the fact that it explicitly accounted for these networks might have been the cause of the debates it triggered and thus for the subsequent adjustments to the reputations of the authors involved. Brokken's position in the literary field was a peculiar one, since he never published reviews, but only interviews with literary authors. His classification served as a preface to interviews with four contributors to *De Revisor*, whom he called representative of the newest movement in Dutch literature. To the literary critics Brokken was a journalist, not a critic; in this sense he was an outsider.²⁰ Maybe this position allowed him to ignore the prevailing classifications, based on outdated networks surrounding *Propria Cures*, and to explicitly state the new power relationships with respect to the literary magazines, thereby violating the *doxa* in criticism that obscures the power structure. The young magazine *De Revisor* was recognized by Brokken as a new and important element of this power structure. The classifications published by De Rover and Peeters in 1979 corresponded quite well to the way the classified authors had been compared and evaluated in the preceding two years. As this period started in 1977, the Peeters' and De Rover's classifications could be regarded as instances of the image building which had been started, or at least anticipated, by Brokken and Hogeweg. This interpretation is validated by the history of Peeters' classification. In 1977 Peeters reacted to Brokken's classification by rejecting his labels; he did, however, retain the essential clustering of authors. In 1979 and again in the 1980s, Peeters modified and extended the clustering and the justification for the clusters, accounting for the current networks of magazines. Both De Rover and Brouwers attached less importance to these networks. Brouwers' classification did not correspond to the current discussions in literary criticism, because it struck out at the authors once grouped around *Propria Cures*. The correlation coefficients indicate that this group no longer existed in magazines or in critical discourse.

The networks of editorial boards and publishing houses did not fit the pattern displayed by the contributions to magazines and the critical reception of the authors. On the whole the classifications corresponded with the way the editorial boards of the magazines were staffed. The variation between the classifications, however, did not show a trend. The crude data suggest that in particular the first editorial staff an author belongs to influences his or her reputation. Later appointments as an editor obscure this factor in the analyses. Since the networks of editorial boards are computed in a way differing from the other networks, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the relations between these networks.

Peeters' 1973 classification was the only one which showed a strong correlation to networks of publishing houses. Two of the three groups he

²⁰ De Nooy (1991) reports on this matter in more detail.

distinguishes were grouped around two publishing houses each. Although the two groups had publishing houses of their own, not all members of a group shared a publishing house. In general, authors who form a group or movement tend to be clustered around more than one publishing house. This lowers the value of the correlation coefficient. The groups distinguished by Brouwers in 1979, for example, were characterized by a certain kind of publishing house. The authors Brouwers attacked were being published at small and recently established publishing houses, whereas Brouwers' favourites were connected to the bigger and better known publishing houses. As stated before, Brouwers classification revived classifications made in the first half of the decade. The authors who had been grouped around a magazine (*Propria Cures*), were now, at the end of the 1970s, clustering around publishing houses. Apparently, networks of publishing houses need a longer period to develop than other networks.

If classifications of authors according to movement followed a general pattern, it would look like this. Firstly, beginning authors would cluster around a literary magazine, as magazines are usually the first media available to them. Critical attacks on established peers and their advocates launched from this platform would improve the chances that the contributors to this magazine would be classified publicly as a new movement or trend in literature. A classification would probably induce reviewers to compare members of the movement; although it would not anticipate all reviewers' comparisons, it would clearly appear to boost the number of such comparisons. Explicit positive and negative evaluations passed by classified authors on one another would add to the endurance of the reputation created by the classification. A critic's *parti-pris* in favour of a movement may also increase its endurance, and it may incite other critics to take a stand in favour of or against authors who are said to belong to the movement. If they do, they are in fact adjusting their preferences to the classification. In the long run the classification may correspond to the networks of publishing houses. If a movement is stigmatized, access to the established publishing houses will be hampered for its representatives, who will end up at less prominent publishing houses. A classification offers a picture of a group of authors who are cooperating at a given moment, for instance in literary magazines. From that moment on, it can lead a life of its own and it may become a critical concept. In the short term, such a concept seems to influence the networks of literary magazines, and in the long run it might even affect the networks of publishing houses.

4. Conclusion

In this article classifications of literature were related to the material and symbolic positions that authors and critics occupy in the literary field.

Network analysis was employed to determine the interaction between material networks, consisting of positions in magazines and publishing houses, and symbolic networks, based on comparisons, evaluations and classifications in literary criticism. The analysis was successful in a number of respects. The earlier classifications in particular mirror the networks of literary magazines, based either on contributions or on membership of editorial staffs. At the end of the decade, when most authors have passed through the initial phase of their career, classifications reflect material networks to a much lesser degree. This corroborates the first hypothesis, which stated that the classifications of beginning authors label their material positions.

The influence of classifications on the reputation of the classified authors, the second hypothesis, was only partially corroborated. On the whole, classifications correlate to a greater degree to symbolic networks in the period after their publication than in the period preceding them. This indicates that evaluations, comparisons and preferences in literary criticism are adjusted to the classifications. However, the correlation coefficient did not increase significantly for all classifications. Only two classifications were followed by a sharp increase of the correlation coefficients. Either or both of these classifications might conceivably have channelled the literary reception of the authors. Just one of the two actually caused a public debate in literary criticism; only in this case is it safe to speak of influence. Additional circumstances seem to be required for a classification to thoroughly affect the literary reception. In this case study the definition of critical positions seems to have contributed to the effect of a classification. However, the classifications did not relate to the literary models or traditions that authors and critics chose. This is a remarkable result because references to predecessors and models have the status of evidence in literary criticism.

No clear evidence was found to support the third hypothesis, that is, the influence of classifications on the networks of magazines and publishing houses. Although a single classification anticipated changes in these networks, the changes were known to the author of the classification, eliminating this fact as proof of influence. The correlation between a classification and the network of publishing houses did not increase within a period of four years. In the long run networks of publishing firms and classifications seem to adjust slightly. Some authors who had been classified as a group in the first half of the 1970s, clustered around two publishing houses in the second half of that decade. Since many things had happened to the authors between their (first) classification and their publications near the end of the decade, it would not be correct to interpret the clustering around publishing houses as a direct result of the classification.

The relations between concepts of literary movements and the positions of authors and critics in the literary field shed new light on the meaning of these concepts. As they reflect material positions, classifications represent knowl-

edge about the power relations in the literary field at a given moment. They summarize, so to speak, knowledge that is vital to the members of the field. Then what is their relevance outside the literary field? ²¹ Any effort to relate these classifications to intrinsic properties of the texts that were classified, and subsequently to the preferences of certain segments of the reading public, tends to search for order at a level that does not contain order in the first place.

Finally I would like to make some evaluative statements on the method used. Network analysis is not a technique commonly used in the analysis of literary movements. Considering the results, how useful is this technique? Usually classifications do not group large numbers of authors. Table 1 illustrates that subsequent classifications vary considerably with regard to the authors included and the way these authors are grouped. Therefore, it is impossible to aggregate classifications in literary criticism in order to obtain large groups without mutilating the original classifications. Network analysis permits analysis at the level of separate classifications, whereas attribute-oriented statistics are of little use with groups of this size. However, data on the members of the movements are sometimes sparse; with only a small number of observations it is sometimes impossible to compute the correlation coefficient. In this research project mutual evaluations between authors often turned out to be too scarce. Nevertheless, network analysis allows for statements on systematic similarities between movements and the relations of their alleged members; this is a welcome supplement to traditional literary historiography. Various kinds of relations can be compared systematically, provided they are computed from the actors' activities in a similar way. If activities have a very different rhythm, e.g. contributions to literary magazines and editors' appointments, correspondence between these activities will be difficult to assess. Time is of considerable importance when actors and activities have to be translated into a network of points and lines.

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²¹ This issue was also explored in the research project, but the results will be reported elsewhere.

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