**The Judge of Who?**

An experimental enquiry into the effects of minority attributes on the evaluation of

artists and artworks and artists by gatekeepers

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the extent to which minority/majority background is taken into account in the evaluation of artworks by young artists by gatekeepers in the Rotterdam cultural field. Gatekeepers make judgments based on experiential knowledge and play a key role in realizing the artistic vision of cultural organizations. As being inclusive is a goal by the majority of organizations it is the gatekeepers' responsibility to translate this vision into action. This results in decisions on artistic content that become clear through programming or exhibition making. For this reason gatekeepers are a highly relevant group for the purpose of this study, as the focus is on the extent to which diversity is taken into account in the practical decisions and selections made by cultural organizations. The data were obtained by inviting respondents (n=56) to participate in a vignette survey. Of the sample 23.3% stated to have a non-Dutch background. The data are analyzed through comparing means and multilevel models. The main finding is that the culturally distinct name of the artist influences the evaluation of the art world professionals. The artists with a non-Western name were evaluated significantly more positive than artist presented with a Dutch name *regardless* of the content the artwork is presented with. This suggest a form of positive discrimination that is in all likelihood aimed at facilitating artists with a non-Western name a place in the cultural field, but in reality when not taking into account the content of their artistic practice, it can also hinder full participation as artists. The only finding where content was taken into account was by looking at the non-Dutch subset of gatekeepers; here artworks with a non-Western content description were valuated significantly higher.

Keywords: Minority/Majority, Gatekeepers, Cultural Diversity, Cultural Policy, Arts Evaluation

It takes two people to have a baby,

It takes 19 people to have a thesis and a baby…

To Olivia

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## 1. Introduction

In 2018 the department of Culture at Erasmus University collaborated with the RRKC [Rotterdam Council for Arts and Culture] in an explorative research into cultural diversity in the Rotterdam cultural field. A survey among organizations, including primarily directors, was conducted and focus groups with Rotterdam based artists from all disciplines were held. In the focus groups, primarily culturally diverse artists were invited to shed light on their perceived position in the field and share their experiences when it comes to collaborations and structural opportunities for them to work with the subsidized Rotterdam art organizations. From this explorative research it stood out that the majority of the organizations consider diversity important and had it either included in their organization's practice, or set on their agenda as a priority. It was, however, still generally perceived as a point of improvement, or even a challenge (Berkers, Van Eijck, Zoutman, Gillis-Burleson, & Chin-A-Fat, 2018). The research opened an interesting, yet somewhat underrepresented topic in the field: the desire of the cultural institutions to be inclusive could be considered indicative of a progressive stance, but the focus groups indicated that inclusion is still only partially realized.

The research by Berkers et al. focused primarily on the directors of the cultural institutions, making clear that indeed they consider diversity to be important. It did not grant answers as to *how* this vision is translated into reality. That is why for this thesis an experiment is set up where the focus is put on those in charge of practical artistic decisions - the gatekeepers - in order to gain insight to what extent diversity is taken into account in decisions and selections made by cultural organizations as gatekeepers translate vision into reality.

As art professionals, the gatekeepers all possess experiential knowledge in the art field (Ericsson, Hoffman, Kozbelt & Williams, 2018), and have the expertise in the art-historic context of the works they evaluate (Hekkert & Van Wieringen, 1996). They decide on artistic content through programming or exhibition making, and for this reason are a highly relevant group for the purposes of study, as the focus is on the extent to which diversity is taken into account in the practical decisions and selections made by cultural organizations, rather than the general discourse these organizations produce on the topic.

Society can largely be divided into two groups: the majority and the minority group. This division generates boundaries that are in constant flux as there is a power tension between the dominant, majority, group and the minority group, which can result

in majority ingroup and minority outgroup thinking (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) In Dutch society the minority/majority division is shaped based on cultural background, and the tension lies with members from the majority group generating ideas towards the minority group based on preconceived notions. This in- and out-group thinking bears the risk of generating stereotype expectations fueled by for example one-dimensional negative media coverage of groups with an immigrant background. In arts there are more nuanced opinions regarding diversity in society, which are focused on the ways an inclusive approach can be taken. Inviting gatekeepers to be part of this experiment implies working with expertise and retrieving information based on art specific experiential knowledge. Is there a detectable pattern in the decision-making of gatekeepers when it comes to evaluating minority artworks, and is this evaluation influenced by the content of the art discipline or the perceived cultural background of the artist?

This leads to the following Research Question:

*"To what extent do the valuation of gatekeepers differ in evaluation of minority artists and artworks both combined and separately of one another?"*

Data were gathered by using a vignette experiment where artworks are shown that had different descriptions in order to influence the respondents' opinion of the work. These descriptions consisted of presenting the artist of the work with a Dutch or a non-Western name. And another separate manipulation were the artwork inspiration was linked with to a non western tradition.

As the previous research by Berkers et al. showed that some of the answers in their survey may have partially been the result of politically correct or desirable answering, this thesis tries to work differently by not asking the respondents directly about their opinion regarding diversity, but have diversity embedded in a series of evaluations they make.

Although the influence of politics does not find an explicit place in this thesis, the timeframe in which this thesis is written cannot be overlooked. A strong sense of norm and fierce debates in situations where people perceive that injustice has to be set straight, like #metoo, but also, increasing islamophobia and white supremacy groups on the other. All of this influences our day to day lives and shapes the perception of the world we currently live in.

This research attempt to contribute to the body of knowledge about gatekeepers and their influence in on art world dynamics and authority in selection processes,

although this has been extensively researched these researches often do not include empirical data on *how* decisions are made (Acord, 2015). Also the overarching topic of this thesis is of interest for the cultural field as gaining insight in the influence of minority or majority status of the artist or artwork can be used to further inform policy and practical decisions.

## 2. Theory & Previous Research

With the current demographics of Rotterdam being 51% of the citizens of a non-Dutch background (https://eenvandaag./item/rotterdam-in-cijfers/), being a public sector, one could expect to see a similar division represented in the cultural field. This is not the case though. Especially the people in the management positions in cultural organizations are primarily of Dutch origins in Rotterdam (Berkers, et al., 2018). It is this subset of people that sets out the parameters of what organizations see as priorities and formulates the goals. This is done through for example a multiple year vision document, a 'culture plan' [cultuurplan]. Directors generally envision a more cultural diverse organization than they in fact have, and in the way the Rotterdam cultural field is currently composed the day-to-day reality is different from the goals in their culture plans. It is another group of professionals in the cultural field that is responsible for transferring these goals from visions into reality: gatekeepers. The gatekeepers are those in charge of artwork selections, the choice of what is presented on behalf of the organization. They therefore have an important role in what cultural organizations do in practice.

For this thesis it is important to divide artwork selections between artists and artworks. And the way both can be judged separately and combined. In the following sections first an overview is presented on the way the concept of minority and majority is acted out and how this generates tensions that due to in and out group thinking can result in stereotyping. This stereotyping can work in two ways, it can result in discrimination, or positive discrimination. Either way, the way people evaluate other people is largely subject to preconceived expectations (Simon, Hastedt & Aufderheide). A similar process occurs in evaluating artworks. Here the visual input is not merely categorized without meaning, in aesthetic judgment subjective reactions start playing a role (Cupchik, Vartanian, Crawley & Mikulis, 2009). Gatekeepers perform both types of judgements here, they evaluate artworks and make selections, but at the same time they work with the artists linked to the artworks.

The way gatekeepers judge artworks as an indication of the way they translate the managerial artistic vision on cultural diversity into exhibition reality and which factors influence this. On an overarching level this encompasses the way that in Dutch demographics the existence of a minority/majority division based on cultural background is present. This division may lead to a power play where the dominant majority puts expectations of particular role behavior onto the minority group that have to be fulfilled. In the arts, this mechanism of inclusion and exclusion is approached by

looking at the way gatekeepers valuate artworks of artists with or without a minority background and if the artwork itself falls in a western or non-western arts tradition. The question is how the minority/majority division is acted out, and whether or not artists are subject to similar role expectations, regardless of background, and if this is resulting in favoring artists or genres over others by gatekeepers.

## 2.1 Gatekeepers – *The bridge between vision and reality*

Although the role of gatekeepers in selection processes has been discussed extensively (Acord, 2015; 2006; Alexander, 2003; Kwashima, 1999; Bourdieu, 1984, Becker 1982; 1976; Tushman & Katz, 1980; DiMaggio & Hirsch, 1976), their actual practice has seldom been looked at methodically (Foster, Borgatti & Jones, 2011). Gatekeeping is not a job in itself, it is the act of decision making by professionals in what to in- or exclude in the presentation or production of a cultural enterprise or organization. They have a critical influence in deciding which creative products will reach the audience (Foster, Borgatti & Jones, 2011). Initially in the sociology of arts and culture there was a tendency to analyze just the cultural products themselves, but not include the circumstances under which they were produced. According to DiMaggio and Hirsch (1976) this led researchers to solemnly lean into the "normative realm of aesthetics" (p.735) as opposed to incorporating the interaction in networks they consider pivotal in art production. It is therefore that in their work they use the term "situations" (ibid p.756) to look at, and compare the whole spectrum of interactions in the production of arts. This 'organizational perspective', as they call it, they see fit because it includes all stakeholders in the artistic production system.

In their work they discuss three levels to analyze the interaction networks in art production, ranging from micro to macro. The first level, micro, is focused on how the individual actors have their role in artistic production processes; the second, meso, or mid-range, looks at the way these artistic activities are embedded in production systems, and the third, macro, looks at how this creation and production process interacts with other societal institutions on national and international levels. For this thesis this division is suited, as it resembles the influencing elements gatekeepers encounter in their professional practice in the Dutch cultural field: on a micro level they operate as individual art experts where they work from previously gained experiential knowledge in a cultural organization. Secondly their role as arts professionals falls within the cultural field. This is a field influenced by trends, guidelines and action-plans stemming from

cultural policy. This cultural policy and the cultural field as such, is a subset of the Dutch society at large. Here, government decisions and broader societal situations set the tone for funding decisions of the arts and a general opinion of its use and value. For DiMaggio and Hirsch (1976), these three levels are influential in the decision-making by gatekeepers as they generate what they call "imaginary feedback loops" (p. 742) or assumptions as to what is and is not acceptable in artistic decisions (DiMaggio & Hirsh1976). For this thesis their approach serves a useful purpose in illustrating how in the art world gatekeepers cannot operate isolated from the rest of society, or the (art) world at large, be it national or even international. Major societal or political events are bound to reflect in some way on the goals of arts organizations and therefore subsequently on the decisions that gatekeepers make.

In the Netherlands the majority of the arts institutions receives government funding as a dominant source of income, giving the local and national political agenda a more influencing role in what is or is not included in the cultural production process. This funding flow might be one of the strongest incentives for acting on a more inclusive base. The FPK, Fonds Podiumkunsten [The Performing Arts Fund NL] actually has an active diversity policy operating in their decisions on granting funds. As this is an important source of funding for cultural institutions, individual artists and performance groups, this is bound to influence the way artistic concepts are shaped. Artistic concepts that are submitted for funding at the moment have a higher chance of being granted subsidies when the artistic team is of a culturally diverse background or when the topic or main theme is supportive of inclusivity[1]. On a broader overarching level a similar move is happening: in the NRC newspaper article 'Diversity [in] art from now on is forced with subsidies' [Diversiteit kunst dwingen wij vanaf nu af met subsidie] (August 22, 2018), not just the FPK, but on behalf of the directors of six National Culture Funds [Rijkscultuurfondsen] and Unesco a statement was presented where they explain that over the past twenty years the sector worked and tried to achieve diversity and they are supportive of the attempt but consider its developments insufficient to date. In the news article they state that they act in order to counter the negative tendencies in society that are intolerant of diversity. They refute the critique they have received earlier that consciously selecting diverse artists would be artificial by replying that "with the selection

[1] The Performing Arts Fund in its evaluation system assigns credits to different aspects of the funding proposal. In this system 'pluriformity' and 'diversity' are two seperate points on which applicants can or cannot receive credits informing the overall eligibility of the proposal as such.

all that matters is the strength of the work and the story that is being told" (NRC, August 22, 2018).

## 2.2. Cultural Field – *The Netherlands at large, and Rotterdam in particular*

For years now an inclusive policy has been advocated for, but the results tend to be meager. With the cultural field recently being described as an alp - 'the higher you come the whither it gets' - Berkers, Van Eijck, Zoutman, Gillis-Burleso, and Chin-A-Fat, (2018), summarize a seeming continuous pattern where culturally diverse employees do not reach the decision-making management level of the organization. This lack of access to management positions prohibits them from taking part in setting out the route of priorities and actions on an inclusive vision.

An active cultural policy advocating diversity started in 1987 when after an experimental five-year phase the policy document 'Cultuuruitingen van etnische minderheden' [Cultural expression of ethnic minorities] was presented by the Minister of Welfare, Public Health and Culture (http://www.catalogus.boekman.nl/pub/80-071.pdf) Elco Brinkman. Here, several main points were presented, an important one among them was 'Culturele herkenningspunten' [Cultural recognition points] (p.10). Brinkman referred to the importance for ethnic minorities to see their culture represented in the Dutch cultural field. Another point of importance was 'Verbetering van participatie van minderheden in bestaande circuits' [Enhancement of the participation of minorities in the existing cultural infrastructure] (p. 10), which was aimed at making the professional arts field accessible for minorities with professional aspirations in the cultural sector. In the document this participation paragraph is split up in two sections, where the first highlights the importance of keeping ethnic minorities in mind in the programming decisions by the cultural institutions, ergo to include artists with a diverse cultural background in the program. The second section was focused on the institutions themselves; they are urged to eliminate any possible hindrances for ethnic minorities to professionally be part of the cultural field. All of this was aimed at facilitating a process of redefining a culturally diverse identity within the existing Dutch cultural framework, a form of *integration without the loss of identity.*

Ten years later, in 1998, Dr. Rick van der Ploeg, during his term as state secretary of culture and media, again pinpointed cultural diversity as a pivotal point of attention for the Dutch cultural field. This time not as an integration measure, but to celebrate cultural pluriformity as such (Delhaye, 2008). His plans included a policy measure

imposing cultural institutions to spend three per cent of their subsidy budgets on diverse programming. Within the field this was met with such skepticism that it was eventually suspended. It is from this point on that a gap emerges between politics and the practice in the cultural field. This led to the responsibility of cultural organization for being 'inclusive' being largely placed in the hands of the cultural institutions themselves. Still the question remained as to how this inclusive approach is actually supposed to be conducted (Berkers, et al. 2018). Another decade ahead, in 2008, a substantial survey was conducted covering all aspects of the Dutch governmental subsidized cultural field. This Staalkaart Culturele Diversiteit [Sample Chart Cultural Diversity] was commissioned by Netwerk Culturele Sector [Network Cultural Sector] as a parting gift to the sector, discontinuing their existence because they argued that it was, again, time for cultural diversity to become fully embedded in the field. They concluded that not just in the factor personnel and management there were still opportunities for a more diverse team to develop, but that fulfilling this need required an active attitude within the cultural field (CS Network/LA Group, 2008). Similar findings were presented in the abovementioned 2018 Erasmus University and RRKC research, where one of the main starting points of the survey was: under what conditions can a link e.g. job connection, programming, or booking of a performance be realized (Berkers et al., 2018)?

In the survey by Berkers et al. (2018) (primarily) directors of cultural organizations were asked questions regarding cultural diversity. One of the outcomes was that respondents estimated around 38% of the directors of other organizations to have a non-western migration background. It is important to note here that a very strict definition by Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands] was used for this survey excluding a lot of nationalities as 'western', or 'expat'. What is also interesting here is that although the question was an estimation question, which is known to be subject to wrong guessing, the directors have regular meetings where they see and meet each other. What became clear in this case was a discrepancy between a desired situation and the reality, as there are virtually no directors at the present fulfilling the CBS description. The findings in the Sample Chart Cultural Diversity, and the 2018 Erasmus University and RRKC survey show that there is an awareness in the cultural field that being more diverse is a preferred situation, be it intrinsically as part of vision, or obligatory because of state funding policy, but that the reality is different, so their answering is more for desirability than part of factual observations.

## 2.3. Minority/Majority – *A division in society*

"Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person"

(Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, The danger of a single story)[2]

In the broadest sense we see a division process that splits society into two groups: majority and minority (Simon, Aufderheid, & Kampmeier, 2003). The majority are those in power, and minority those subject to power (Kanter, 1977). The boundaries of these groups are not set in stone as people in the minority group usually try to improve their situation, while those in the majority desire to maintain the dominance they enjoy (Blalock, 1967). There are two ways to approach minority and majority thinking. The first is numerically, where groups that comprise of fewer people are considered the minority as opposed to those more represented by numbers. The second revolves around power, or lack thereof, and social position, where the minority is the oppressed group, even when the group size is similar (or even larger) than the majority (Simon, Aufderheid, & Kampmeier, 2003). In the interaction between these two groups there is a process of assigning traits. These can be seen as markers of 'social differentiation' (Lewis, Gonzalez & Kaufman, 2012). The work by Messick and Mackie on power play in-group dynamics illustrates that we have a tendency to attribute more "extreme" and "negative" characteristics to out-group members (Messick & Mackie, 1989 in Simon, Aufderheid, & Kampmeier, 2003, p. 304). This is also acknowledged by Tajfel and Turner, (1979) who link the minority majority division to conflict, the more friction there is between groups the stronger in-group and out-group thinking will occur. This increases the likelihood that people will start behaving 'on behalf' of the group they belong to, as opposed to acting from individual motivations.

For this research the second concept, imbalance of power, is primarily interesting; when we look at the demographics of Rotterdam the percentage of people with an immigrant background is around fifty/fifty with the Dutch population[3], but the overall power dynamics still places people with an immigrant background in a minority

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[2]https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=nl

[3] The minority 'fifty' of course is comprised of many different nationalities and backgrounds but are combined here as they because in the societal power dynamics linked to minority and majority they are part of the minority group

position (Delhaye, 2008). So here it is more about the division of power that puts people in a less well-off position than being outnumbered. In Dutch society this concept plays out into a majority group of white, Dutch citizens and a minority group that is comprised of people with a (primarily non-western) immigrant background. The Netherlands, due to the focus on trading, and formerly having the largest port in the world, has always seen an interaction with different cultures and its inhabitants. However, it is due to the post WOII influx of Turkish migrant workers, attracted to the country to help rebuild the economy and bombed cities, that the Dutch government and society had to relate to a new subcultural demographic aspect. It is around that time that the term minority got introduced in the immigrant debate (Delhaye, 2008). This was during the same time that The Netherlands were still divided into "social and cultural blocs" (Berkers, 2009, p. 423) or pillars, a strict separation of people grouped together over religion, political preference, unions, and schools. Initially the policy was more or less oriented as seeing immigrants as just a new pillar among the rest, but this gradually evolved into a more active debate. It is not until the late 1980s however that a shift was made in the public debate towards an economic perspective: the group of migrant workers started to lose 'value' as the post war economies had been reestablished and the rebuilding of the cities lessened. There became a growing awareness that these immigrants were falling behind on the socioeconomic ladder. This resulted in an active policy where integration was seen as pivotal and cultural identity to be a private affair (Prins, 2004). The idea of cultural identity to be a private affair implies that there is a different expectation in behavior: the preference to adapt to the dominant culture in society. Here the cultural field would be expected to 'guide' this transformation. This would consequently imply that the cultural field has no facilitating role in the inclusion of culturally diverse backgrounds in their programming.

### 2.4 Decisions – *The process of judgments making*

As mentioned above people tend to assign traits to groups of people, and when there is a perception of division between groups, the out-group is more easily subject to negative thoughts. Overall, this is a process of generalizations based on expectations. With the focus of the thesis on the influencing factors in the decision making of gatekeepers in relation to the perceived cultural background of the artist, it might be good to look closer at the way we judge and categorize our surroundings and how this reflects on group thinking.

We are exposed to an excessive amount of external stimuli per second even without being actively engaged in an activity but even merely walking around a city. We need to divide our focus between environmental situations that are important, for example judge the color of the traffic lights, but also pay attention to other physiological impulses like hunger or tiredness. Being able, not just to detect impulses, but also to interpret them correctly and even successfully act accordingly is part of our most basic means of survival. It does require constant identifying of categories and acting based on preconceived notions that have been established earlier through experience or upbringing. Eviatar Zerubavel dedicated most of his work to this process he refers to as 'cognitive sociology' or "a sociology of thinking" (p. 5, 1997). He explains that everything we do is part of an intricate system of culturally established agreements that shape the way we perceive our surroundings. This is not necessarily a conscious process, as a matter of fact for the majority of people certain "signifiers" (p.68) are so embedded in the unconscious part of their system that they do judge according to these social 'agreements' without realizing that they ever 'agreed' in the first place.

Just like the environmental or physical factors mentioned above, in a similar vein we also categorize the people we encounter. This categorization also happens so fast that we are rarely really aware that it happens. In this case, however, it does not mean that it is an arbitrary element of our cognitive functioning. It lies at the core of what we have come to adopt as deeper categorization mechanisms of our brain. Daniel Kahneman (2012) refers to this as "system 1" and "system 2" (p. 20), where system 1 is quick and automatic, we cannot really exercise a voluntary control over it, it falls close to what can be referred to as instinct, or impulses. System 2 is linked to our more advanced frontal cortex that later developed in humans. It enables us to reevaluate the initial signals received by system 1 and if necessary to correct them.

The fact that we categorize our vicinity on a micro level bears resemblances to the way people perceive society at large, we make distinctions and categorizations.

## 2.5. Minority – *A negative - & a positive connotation*
### 2.5.1. Stereotypes
If the categorization of people would happen as matter-of-factly as evaluating traffic lights this would not have much of a societal consequence. It would merely be some sort of objective analysis. But that is not all that happens, after structurally making selections towards our surroundings we also generate expectations towards the world around us

(Zerubavel, 2009). The expectations resonate in the categorization of people. Those expectations are based on preconceived notions that came to form by a combination of interpersonal contact on the one hand, but also very much by information presented to us through external sources like the media (Drew, Sleek & Mikulak, 2016) on the other. The media as an influencing source is characterized by presenting information from a certain viewpoint, or 'frame' (De Bruijn, 2014). But by presenting people through a specific framework this presentation is quite subject to result in a form of stereotyping. This can of course work in two ways, positive but also negative. The main point with (negative) stereotyping in the media is that media are technically centralized around stories of exception, but that these stories are often presented, and subsequently, accepted as though they are indicative of the general status quo consequently 'priming prejudice' (Power, Murphy & Coover, 2006).

　　　　Our tendency to internalize exceptions, in this case negative stereotypes, as truthful is also described by Taleb (2008) in his work '*The Black Swan*'. Here he mentions how we are not apt at dealing with outliers and we feel more comfortable embedding them in a broader explanatory narrative, regardless if this is accurate. A concrete example is the way Moroccan teenagers in the media have been presented as a problematic subset of Dutch society (Dibbits, 2007). In reality there are far more non-problematic Dutch-Moroccan youngsters than the group making the news. It is however at this moment rather broadly discussed how the entire community is a societal problem (Dibbits, 2007). This became all the more poignant with the right wing politician Geert Wilders getting into a lawsuit over inciting people to shout they wanted less Moroccans in the country. By being exposed to negative media portrayal, or by living in a social surrounding that does not nuance certain stereotypes, these ideas can be ingrained in a person's head quite deeply (Fiske, 1993). Once embedded into the system deep enough these negative stereotypes can become a part of what Kahneman (2012) would call system 1, and by viewing it through the work of Taleb (2008) would not result in a situation where System 2 would correct the system 1 impulse, rather it presents an explanatory narrative of justification for it. Ergo, a story is generated that justifies the prejudice.

### 2.5.2 Hiring discrimination

　　　　One of the long-term effects of stereotype thinking is reflected in research on accessibility to the work field by minority applicants and the occurrence of hiring discrimination. A whole body of work is dedicated to research on this phenomenon. In

these researches it is found time and again that information in resumes suggesting a culturally diverse background, or a minority status, is responded to with reluctance to proceed the selection process, or even direct rejection (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, & Faulk, 2012). This is not just when it comes to ideas about competence, in a research by Garcia and Abascal (2016), they discovered that using Hispanic names on resumes not just evoked a negative response to be a suited applicant, it also made the respondents generate a narrative of the candidates to be of a low socioeconomic class and to be disadvantaged in their development. The question relevant for this thesis is how these existing societal stereotype-structures influence the decision-making in the evaluation of young, culturally diverse, artists and their artworks.

**2.5.3 Positive discrimination**

Judging a person based on attribute information like a non-Dutch name can also work the other way: it can lead to specific interest or curiosity. In a research by Bernd Simon he uses the notion of the minority/majority division and power play in explaining how being a scarcity in a group makes you stand out more (Simon in Fiske & Taylor, 1983).This can be positive or negative, and that is where the power interaction becomes important: once the majority group decides you are of interest your scarcity as a numerical minority makes you important, generating a "meaningful social categorization" (Simon, Hastedt & Aufderheide, 1997, p.311). The salience of your role in the group or a field, or how meaningful you are perceived to be is again linked to the power relations between the groups and in-group dynamics. This differs from the findings by Messick and Mackie (1989) on assigning negative traits to out-group members (in Simon, Aufderheid, & Kampmeier, 2003) and is very closely tied to the highly debated concept of positive discrimination. It is arguably not completely stemming from an intrinsic positive attitude towards out-group, or minority group members, as acting from political correctness can also be hovering above it, but it is nevertheless presented as a recurring solution for inequality and rebalancing minority/majority power tensions.

Positive discrimination is a compensational measure from the presumption that a lack of equal opportunity does not coincide with competence but with limited opportunities. One of the solutions in attempting to overcome the disparity of opportunities is 'affirmative action' coined by United States President Johnson. During the introduction of the affirmative action legislation in 1961 he said:

Imagine a hundred yard dash in which one of the two runners has his legs shackled together. He has progressed 10 yards, while the unshackled runner has gone 50 yards. At that point the judges decide that the race is unfair. How do they rectify the situation? Do they merely remove the shackles and allow the race to proceed? Then they could say that equal opportunity now prevailed. But one of the runners would still be forty yards ahead of the other. Would it not be the better part of justice to allow the previously shackled runner to make up the forty yard gap; or to start the race all over again?"

(Bell, 1973, p. 429 in Noon, 2010).

The four main objectives against positive discrimination according to Noon (2010) are the failure to select the 'best' candidate, the undermining of meritocracy, the negative impact on the beneficiaries and the injustice of "reverse discrimination" (p.730). These are defied by Noon who overall states that positive discrimination is a step not capable of genuinely facilitating social change, but it is a supporting condition under which a change can take place. Also, the way it would arguably negatively affect the selection of the most suited candidate in his view can be countered by really only selecting based on the set requirements for the job. This might sound obvious but here he quotes the work by Berry and Bonilla-Silva, who in a United States based research showed that 75% of a group of managers were willing to hire a culturally diverse candidate (filling the requirements) for the sake of team diversification, but the moment a white American candidate had a slightly higher score on the required assessment willingness drops with 50% (2008, in Noon, 2010).

**2.6 Selections in art –** *Tacit knowledge and the experiential knowledge*
In art selecting based on pre-established requirements, like the job description in the work of Noon (2010) above, is something that, based on the work by Acord (2006) seldom happens because gatekeepers use "tacit knowledge" (p. 72) to inform less 'objective' measures. She describes the process of valorization of art forms as a classification process of the institutional criteria for quality (Acord, 2006). This specific autonomy gatekeepers have was translated by Becker (1982), by initially referring to gatekeepers as 'editors' as they are capable of altering the meaning of a work once contextualized in an exhibition setting. Acord also mentions how gatekeepers, in her work primarily curators, have had a role in cultural analyses on their influence in artists'

careers, but that it lacks research how they actually "*make* [emphasis in original] the decisions that drive these outcomes" (p. 73). Often working in publicly-funded organizations, gatekeepers see themselves challenged between the desire to act out individual professional decisions and being held accountable for shaping "art's public image" (p. 73). Acord summarizes this friction as "a myriad of […] personal taste, policy concerns and public expectations" (2006, p. 73).

So far, in the paragraph on judgments and (positive) discrimination, the effects of being part of a minority group, in the Netherlands this means being from a non-Dutch descent, were discussed. But working with art world professionals it is worth looking at the different dynamics in artwork evaluation and the different stances regarding native and non-native art as well. It entails how these artworks can be categorized from an art history perspective and linked to specific non-western cultures. So not just the historic timeframe, but in what tradition they fall.

This is done by looking at two opposing, and yet dominant, strands in art history: ethnocentrism, and exoticism. Ethnocentrism presented as a focus on the majority culture and exoticism as a fascination for cultures lesser known. Exploring these different visions is done to focus on diversity in artworks' background, instead of people, and to inform the last section of this literature review because both ethnocentrism and exoticism are fuel for expectations which are explained in the sections on tokenism and assimilation.

**2.6.1 Ethnocentrism**

Ethnocentrism, or in this case a Eurocentric art preference (Mudimbe, 1986) might be almost considered omnipresent in the West, but for the gatekeepers working and living in this geographic area, so intrinsically embedded in the way art history is presented that it is almost non-discernable as a specific frame to look at art history. Perhaps the best way to see that there is a tendency to focus on the Western arts canon is to open the average arts history book in a Dutch bookstore or library and browse through the index; a versatile division is made from medieval art, to pop art, the Impressionists of course, and more obscure strands like vorticism. This balanced approach is an attempt to cover all art disciplines. This rigor is not met in summarizing chapters like "Indigenous art from Africa, North-and South America, Australia and Oceania" (Honour & Fleming, 2013 [1988] p. 10) geographically covering an area of over 89 million km². This is also acknowledged by Laura Braden's work on art collectors, and the status of their

collections. Here, she presents a similar imbalance in art history textbooks: when it comes to the description of art disciplines, there is a disparity of attention for the different art periods with modernism and the Renaissance being discussed most extensively, and least attention is put towards what is described as 'primitive art' (Braden, 2015). Also a more popular publication with the non-modest title 'The Art Book' in the introduction states that it "crosses boundaries by presenting artists from all ages, disciplines, visions, and techniques side by side" (Phaidon, 2012 p. 3), but throughout the entire book, containing 580 pages of artworks, it does not show any artist from a non-European/non-United States background nor an art discipline originating from a non-European/non-United States area is shown. Of course this thesis is not a literary study of art history textbook content, but it is indicative of the way the hierarchy of the art world is perceived. The western consecrated arts canon is dominant and the rest a peripheral contributing player on the art historic field.

With art history literature arguably not being representative of the current situation in the arts, because these books are usually behind on actual societal developments as Berkers (2009) argues in his comparative research into the adoption of culturally diverse authors in literature textbooks, the current art market however presents a similar focus. Even tough economic value is not the same as professional consecration, or even professional preference, it is an indicator of which artworks are seen as important or popular. When looking at the 20 artworks that were sold in auctions with the highest biddings in 2018 (https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-20-expensive-artworks-sold-2018), it is over halfway down, ranked number 12, before the first non-western work by Chinese artist Su Shi, (who then tellingly is referred to as the 'Chinese da Vinci') is presented.

Educated in the Dutch art field, the gatekeepers have most likely all been exposed to the Eurocentric hierarchy of art history presentation in their studies. Does this play a part in their (implicit) artwork preferences? In a qualitative study with students, one of the results was that they perceive the artworks of the style they have studied to be of higher quality (Day, 1976). Another outcome the research even describes a tendency to reject artworks that they deem unfamiliar or too innovative. Art professionals are of course not the same as a poule of students invited to reflect on artworks. For these professionals, working with art is a substantial part of their profession. The findings by Day (1976) do present something interesting; the lack of previous exposure negatively influences the opinion of the students regarding certain art

forms. This falls under the larger concept of the 'mere exposure effect' (Zajonc, 1968) where being exposed to a stimulus object often enough enhances the attitude towards it. In later research this concept was nuanced. Meskin, Phelan, Moore and Kieran (2013) found that indeed that works that befall the participants, by repeated exposure grow to their liking, but a similar process of increase in disliking also occurs with works that were judged 'bad paintings'.

In the process for developing preferences in cultural consumption it matters greatly what type of activities you grew up with (in the West), according to Bourdieu (1990 [1970]). These experiences are part of the encompassing concept of the 'habitus' formation described by Bourdieu, that is far richer than mere preferences, but for the scope of this thesis serves to highlight that the cultural activities engaged in during childhood are formative for the type of art people feel comfortable with. This notion coincides with the work by Solso (1995) on art appreciation. He describes how,in order to interpret art, we use pre-established "schemata" (p.117). Schemata, as he explains, are expectations frames linked to our attempt to organize visual information, in this case focused on art, but he sees these schemata to be operated broader as well. For example, he describes an experiment where people were asked to observe an image of a university office space and subsequently being asked to sum up the individual items they saw in the room. The majority of participants mentioned 'books' in the room that were not there. Just like Bourdieu, Solso (1995) stresses the importance that the formation of schemata is largely influenced by specific biographic elements of people. Being inclined to prefer artworks that have a sense of familiarity through early childhood exposure influence the idea that in the art world this may influence the perception of art professionals to feel more comfortable with working with art genres they know well, as opposed to art traditions less familiar by simply being in contact with it more extensively.

### 2.6.2 Exoticism

But on the other hand there is another tendency; Braden (2015) describes how the current art world dynamics in the West are heavily dominated by rules as to how to behave as art connoisseurs and what art is supposed to be. She mentions the fascination for artworks from other cultures to stem from a desire for 'authenticity' perceived to be linked to non-western art. The Japanese woodblock prints inspiring van Gogh in his landscape paintings, Chinese porcelain influencing the Dutch iconic 'Delftsblauw' tulip vases, Gauguin's oeuvre inspired by living in Tahiti and the numerous pieces of literature

all describing the exotic orient, like Kipling's '*The Jungle Book*'. Whether representative of the actual situation or not, in arts there has been a fascination for the unknown from the West. Collectors have long since made their collections more versatile by incorporating works from different cultures and traditions.

The Dutch cultural field seems to resemble this kind of focus too. Currently in the cultural field an almost opposite way of dealing with cultural diversity is adopted: cultural background is specifically used as a selection criteria in the current cultural field. This is for example visible in the policy tool 'Code Culturele Diversiteit' [Code Cultural Diversity] (https://codeculturelediversiteit.com), an aiding tool that cultural organizations can use in order to scan their company and find out whether their current working mode is fulfilling expectations regarding inclusion. Similarly it is used as a measuring tool for external parties that provide the cultural organizations with funding, and who wish to see in the annual reports how the money was dispersed over different activities and, for example, exhibitions. In the Dutch cultural field there is an awareness of the that artworks or cultural productions with a non-Western content through programming deserve more attention in order to realize the desired inclusivity goals. This has resulted in the establishment of  "target group policy" (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1306). This focus on including the most diverse cultural program possible is not just visible in policy measures as described above, but in the cultural production area as well. The art world is characterized as being on a "never-ending quest for the new" (Benton & DiYanni, 2014, p. 377). With the desire for renewal and innovation (Benton & DiYanni, 2014). The target group policy by Delhaye is also mentioned by Richard Sandell who in his work describes the ongoing process of museums to "reinvent themselves as agents of social inclusion" (Sandell, 1998, p.401). He links this to being a countermovement to the 1980s ethos of "economic rationalism", where museums were forced to adopt a more business model like approach to their organization as opposed to an artistic stance resulting in "quantity rather than diversity" (1998, p. 402). In 'The contemporary museum as a site for displaying values' (2007), Mare Kõiva describes a similar process occurring in the field of cultural organizations: from a 'mono-cultural museum' (p. 52) to a 'multi-functional museum'. The mono-cultural museum is described as a static way of collection display, whereas the multi-functional museum is more interactive and stems from increased focus on diversity among visitors. Sandell (1998) does wonder though if museums, or other cultural institutions, really have enough agency to actually make a difference.

**2.7 The combination of expectations - *Assimilation & Tokenism***

From a focus on western art in ethnocentrism, to specifically culturally diverse programming in cultural institutions in exoticism, now in the final section a combination is made between the artist and the artworks presented. The desire for cultural institutions to cater to the broadest audience possible can be seen rooted in the Bildung principle. A maturation notion that focuses on the idea that full citizenship can only be obtained through access and participation in the cultural field (Waters, 2015; Sorkin, 1983). Both assimilation and tokenism, paradoxically, fall within this principle. Assimilation focuses on integration *away* from a cultural different background and full adaptation to the dominant culture as means to secure a safe position in society, whereas tokenism focuses more on the development *through* the perceived culturally diverse background that is seen to be pivotal in participating.

So far in the literature the focus was on the way people get judged in society and the way the dominant majority group has the power to exercise expectations regarding group characteristics on the people part of the minority group. Simultaneously the sentiments regarding minority and majority dynamics were explored that exist in the art world. Here the power division is set between what is included in western arts traditions, and artworks that are linked to other cultural traditions. These two power dynamics, in society and in the art world are both part of overarching levels, but to refer to the three levels by DiMaggio and Hirsch (1976), there is also a form of power dynamics discernable with the decisions gatekeepers make individually. As gatekeepers make selections on what to include, consequently they also constantly judge what is excluded. As Zolberg (1992) describes it, cultural organizations function as a barrier through their programming. The following section looks at the combination of diversity in artists and diversity in content. This can either be Western or non-western. This is captured in presenting the concepts of assimilation, the rejection of cultural backgrounds other than that of the dominant group, and tokenism, being a representative of a different culture through behavioral expectations imposed by the majority group. If you take the act of gatekeeping this can be considered being part of a majority group as well. As gatekeepers decide who gets access into the field. Therefore they play a role in the formation of in – and out-group dynamics.

In the research by Berkers et al. (2018) this was made clear by inviting focus groups composed of artists with a cultural diverse background to reflect on their experiences in the Rotterdam cultural field, in which they expressed not feeling accepted

as full professionals by the field. Similar findings are presented in the work of Bergsgard & Vassenden (2014). Here, the artists primarily hold the gatekeepers responsible for the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. In their qualitative research they interviewed artists in Norway with a visible culturally different background (to be sure, the artists were either born or raised in Norway, and therefore fully familiar with the Norwegian culture). Still they perceived hindrances in full participation in the professional cultural field. They mentioned how the gatekeepers in their opinion force them into what they call stereotyped roles, and that feedback about their work by the gatekeepers usually focuses on the averting, non western, quality feeling forced to believe that it is only once fulfilling these western requirements they will be able to fully participate in the cultural field as professionals.

### 2.7.1. Assimilation

In The Netherlands cultural assimilation focuses on the conservation and celebration of Dutch national heritage: "Culture enriches the individual and enforces society"[4] (VVD Coalition agreement, 2017, p. 19). With the current Coalition agreement of the a development that was started in 1987 by Elco Brinkman comes to a halt: it is the first time that the coalition agreement does not mention anything regarding cultural diversity in its culture section (Rutte, van Haersma Buma, Pechtold, & Segers, G, 2017). What is presented as leading is the Dutch historical culture. The only things mentioned in detail are that from now on all school-going children will learn the Wilhelmus, the national anthem, and visit the Rijksmuseum, which on the website describes itself as "Dutch art and history from the Middle Ages to the present day" (www.rijksmuseum.nl/eng). The document focuses on integration by means of active participation in Dutch culture, which as the document describes is largely oriented on Dutch historical culture. Delhaye (2018) describes how the 'culturalisation of politics' dichotomizes citizenship between those part of this historical culture and the 'others'. In an article reflecting on the Coalition agreement Duyvendak and Kesic even detect what they describe as political nativism, presenting an optimistic, hardworking, progressive Dutchman as the leader of Dutch democracy, contrary to 'them', those people that will in all likelihood never fulfill this profile (Duyvendak & Kesic, 2017, https://www.groene.nl/artikel/to-be-dutch-or-not-to-be).

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[4] "Cultuur verrijkt het individu en verbindt de samenleving" (p. 19), Regeerakkooord 2017-2021 (https://www.kabinetsformatie2017.nl/documenten/publicaties/2017/10/10/regeerakkoord-vertrouwen-in-de-toekomst)

Michèle Lamont summarizes the rejection by the majority group of a culturally multifaceted society as a process of enlargement of the "recognition gap" (p. 419) between groups in society. Undervalued groups are continuously facing degrading of their importance, ultimately leading to forms of stigmatization. Similar to Duyvendak and Kesic, Lamont describes a process of increasing tensions between nativism directed at exclusion of the culturally other. She describes how minority groups that wish to see their existence acknowledged are directly opposite to nationalist groups that refuse to share what they perceive as their "rightful place" (p. 420) in society. According to Lamont (2018), social institutions, like cultural organizations, are important actors in bridging this gap. But just like Delhaye (2018) is skeptical about the real opportunities cultural organizations have. She acknowledges the importance of cultural organizations as such but she also states that without proper definitions and goals, concepts like inclusivity, that encompasses cultural diversity as well, can end up being used by cultural institutions as just a marketing tool, instead of actually facilitating social change. Overall, the pressure on people to reject cultural otherness in favor of the culture imposed by the majority group is what is referred to as the process of assimilation.

**2.7.2. Tokenism**

In society there is an emphasis on integration that appears to be pinpointed towards assimilation, but the cultural field at the moment is perhaps more interested in the role of the exotic stranger. Inviting artists to share stories of their culturally different backgrounds has broadened the visual and lingual scope of the Dutch cultural field (Delhaye, 2008). The downside, however, is that individuals are expected to be a spokesperson for an entire country or culture as opposed to the lead in their autonomous art practice. The concept where due to expectations by a dominant group somebody from a minority group is expected to display certain behavior is closely linked to the notion of tokenism. In the case of culturally diverse artists this means that they are only 'allowed' to work according to their background and that it is seen as surprising.

In tokenism people get treated differently because they are perceived as distinct from the dominant category (Linkov, 2014). Focusing on a migrant context, it is often the case that because one originates from a certain country, there is an expectation to know everything about this country (Cloud, 1996). For this thesis, given the current Rotterdam demographics, this gets particularly interesting when for example a person's parents came from a certain country but the person him- or herself has never been there

and still might be seen as a representative of that 'different' culture (Linkov, 2014). This idea might be considered an oversimplification of the pluriformity of a society but it still occurs on a large scale in all kinds of settings, primarily in the workforce (Kanter, 1977). Tokenism as referring to the behavioral expectations and role play directed at people in a minority position stems from the work by Rosabeth Moss Kanter '*Men and Women of the corporation*' from 1977. Here, the perceived position of female employees as a numerical minority was extensively researched and this resulted in the establishment of three recurring points in interaction that Kanter saw projected on the women treated as tokens: 1. Performance pressure, 2. Social isolation, and 3. Role encapsulation. In performance pressure, Kanter argued, by being numerically underrepresented as women, it resulted in standing out and this in turn generates a situation where you are observed and judged more. Social isolation occurs when male colleagues exaggerate differences in work mode, and are especially harsh in critique points. And the last one, role encapsulation is when the women treated as tokens are only 'allowed' to play a certain role. Any deviation is responded to with surprise of even rejection (1977). Even though Kanter's work focuses on the distinction between male and female workers, it is also applicable to the majority/minority relation in cultural background.

Overall Kanter's work on tokenism is considered indispensable in sociological research (Yoder, 1991), but the main point of critique is that Kanter's ideas on numbers function as a backdrop for potential equity. Her solution to the unequal treatment of women, in oversimplified terms, is to enlarge their numbers until a tipping point is reached. What is largely left out in her work here is that there is a power play going on as well. This is captured in Herbert Blalock's work on intrusiveness. He argues that it is not just the enlargement of female part of the companies workforce that will make attitudes shift: in his work *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations* he states that a sudden increase of minority members is actually perceived as a threat to the dominant majority group and results in an increase of dominant behavior by the majority group as opposed to gradual equality (1967) suggested by Kanter. What is central by both of them is that certain roles have to be enacted based on preconceived expectations. Linkov, (2014) on the other hand describes a process where tokenism is not necessarily enacted in a negative way, but by ascribing special features to somebody. Still, this is done based on preconceived ideas and not actually taking into account the individual.

## 2.8 Research Question & Sub-Questions

The literature framework regarding the decision making process of gatekeepers and the majority/minority division in society at large informs the research question below. This research is set up in a way that generates insight in the way the perceived minority or majority status of the artwork influences the evaluation by art professionals that are gatekeepers as part of their profession. This is done through an experiment that is set up to measure the influence of the minority/majority context in which the artworks are presented. The approach is by means of a vignette-study where respondents were presented with images of artworks, as stimuli, which are accompanied by a description that contextualizes the image shown (a fully detailed description of experiment characteristics and parameters is provided in the 'Methodology' chapter below).

From the literature it becomes clear that it is not just the cultural organizations in the art field that decide autonomously in what way they wish to see their vision on cultural diversity acted out. For over 30 years there has been an influential government policy (Delhaye, 2018). Nevertheless these overarching concepts and policy structures are still acted out by individuals, the gatekeepers, who all possess individual traits and characteristics (DiMaggio & Hirsch, 1976). The process from vision to reality is a large part of the gatekeepers' responsibilities as they make the decisions on behalf of the cultural organizations when it comes to artwork selections and programming. To see if their judgments are influenced by the presence of links in the descriptions of artworks that connect the work to either Dutch or bi-cultural artists and whether or not the works 'represent' different cultures the experiment is designed to answer the following overarching research question:

> *"To what extent do the valuation of gatekeepers differ in evaluation of minority artists and artworks both combined and separately of one another?"*

These artwork descriptions are aimed at gaining insight in the way minority/majority role expectations are acted out in judgment of the gatekeepers. They bear on the judgment of people but also in the evaluation of artworks, since there is a difference in the perception towards consecrated Western art, and works that are peripheral and represent other cultures. Therefore an experiment is set up, in order to take the two important aspects in artwork evaluation: the *name* and cultural *tradition of the artwork*, so they can be isolated.

The two isolated factors: the artist' name and artistic tradition describing the shown image of the artwork, are important to split up because it offers an opportunity to gain insight if these factors influence the judgments separately or combined. There is the assumed influence of presupposed ideas about the socioeconomic impact suggested by names (Garcia & Abascal, 2016) resulting in the following sub-question:

> *"To what extent is the evaluation by the gatekeepers affected by the minority or majority status of an artist?"*

Then there is the experiential and professional artistic knowledge gatekeepers have, and established coding schemes (Solso, 1995) linked to categorizations of the artworks based on art historic knowledge that informs their decisions, containing potential bias (Lewis, Gonzalez, & Kaufman, 2012). This is centralized in the second sub-question:

> *"To what extent are works presumed to be situated in a non-Western tradition evaluated differently by gatekeepers as compared to works assumed to be situated in a Western tradition?"*

In the *Method & Research Design* section below the main research question and sub-questions are further explored by formulating hypotheses that are informed by the literature and subsequently explained through a description of the operationalization of the experiment.

## 3. Method & Research Design

As stated in the final part of the literature section above, to tackle the research question the most accurate way is to make use of an experiment (Bryman, 2012). It allows seeing if there is a relation between the perceived background of the artist and the tradition of the artwork and if this influences that perception of the artwork as such. The use of an experiment in this case is useful because it can keep certain factors constant and exclude others. It therefore allows to remove potential influencing factors. In controlling various conditions it is possible to single out specific cause-and- effect relations between variables. Furthermore the experiment has as a characteristic that it enables a comparison between the respondents since everybody was exposed to the same stimuli. Because the number of art professionals working in the different institutions of the cultural field in Rotterdam is rather limited, a within-subject approach is taken, exposing the respondents to all conditions (Privitera, 2012). In the experiment four different conditions are presented to the respondents (a description of the conditions can be found below in the hypothesis section).

### 3.1 *Conditions & Hypotheses*

In the arts gatekeepers are those professionals that have the authority to decide who gets in- or excluded from programming or presentation. taking into account the majority/minority dynamics in society (where those in power can be described as the majority group and those who lack authority the minority group), it is the dominant group that decides on whether or not members of the minority group are 'salient' (Simon, Hastedt & Aufderheide, 1997). This can be translated to gatekeepers and their position to decide what artists they consider 'salient' or not. Just as DiMaggio and Hirsch (1976) mention in their work on art world dynamics, for this thesis there is little use in looking at aesthetics of the works itself, because the stimuli are kept constant. The focus of the manipulations in the experiment is the context in which the artworks are shown. And in this case specifically a context that is linked to the perceived minority or majority status of the work separated between the artist and the artwork.

Based on the literature there is the assumption that because we make normative judgments when it comes to categorizing people there will be a difference in valuation of the artworks depending on whether these are presented to the gatekeepers in a majority or minority context. This results in the formulation of the first hypothesis:

$H_1$ *There is a difference in judgment by gatekeepers between artists and artworks presented in a minority or majority context*

For the experiment this context is translated into descriptive texts that accompany the images of the artworks shown to the respondents. In a broad sense this means that two factors in the vignettes are systematically manipulated in the descriptions generating four different combinations based on name of the artist and artistic tradition, or inspiration, of the artwork (see Appendix 2 for stimuli and full descriptions):

1. Artist, *Name*:           Minority: a non-Western name
                             Majority: a typical Dutch name
2. Artwork, *Content*:       Minority: a non-Western inspiration
                             Majority: a Western art tradition

These descriptive texts containing the different combinations of artist *name* and artwork *tradition*, or conditions can be presented in four different combinations, this allows to isolate the effects of the manipulations, leading to the second set of hypotheses based on an attempt to answer the first sub-question which is focus on isolating the effect of the artist alone:

*To what extent is the evaluation by the gatekeepers affected by the minority or majority status of an artist?*

'The status of an artist' as mentioned in the sub-question is translated in presenting the gatekeepers with either Dutch or non-Western name for the artist in the vignette. It is important to mention that there is no direct mentioning of background by mentioning information on country of birth. All that is presented in relation to cultural background is the name. Focusing on the name of the artist and the link with the *perceived* background, leads to hypothesis $H_{2a}$ and $H_{2b}$.

*$H_{2a}$ Art works by artists with a non-Dutch name are evaluated less positively regardless of the content description of the artwork*

The perception of a non-Western name can be used as a signifier for categorization. As was found by Cassilde (2013) a name is immediately linked to ideas regarding

sociocultural background. Being inclined to judge people based on preconceived knowledge, it is likely that gatekeepers perform some kind of expectation based on stereotype ideas when being presented with a non-Dutch name. This can be rooted in negative, stereotypical, portrayal in the media (Power, Murphy & Coover, 2006). The effect of negative group thinking is illustrated in resume selections based on name (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos & Faulk, 2012). A name proves to be very influential in the selection of candidates. Non-western names tend to be linked to fixed ideas on deprived social-economic standards which results in a discriminatory stance.

On the other hand, in the Dutch cultural field for years now an attempt is done in being inclusive, also specifically towards minority artists. Stemming from the awareness that not everybody has equal opportunities from the start (Noon, 2010) it is imaginable that an opposite stance, positive discrimination is adopted which results in the hypothesis $H_{2b}$

> $H_{2b}$ *Art works by artists with a non-Dutch name are evaluated more positively, regardless of content.*

In this research artist and work are presented as separate manipulations, because the focus is to gain insight in if these manipulations influence the opinion separately, and what happens when combined. That is why the following sub-question is presented below.

> *To what extent are works presumed to be situated in a non-Western tradition evaluated differently by gatekeepers as compared to works assumed to be situated in a Western tradition?*

Again this results in two seemingly contradicting hypotheses $H_{3a}$ and $H_{3b}$

> $H_{3a}$ *Art works with a non-western content description are valuated less, regardless of the artists' presumed cultural background*

The hypothesis presented above leans on the theory that being socialized in a Western arts world makes gatekeepers' inclined to prefer artworks from that tradition as they were exposed to these works more frequently (Meskin, Phelan, Moore & Kieran, 2013; Zajonc, 1986) making it easier for them to 'process' the works resulting in higher appreciation (Reber, 2004) resulting in a form of Etnocentrism. The hypothesis below

suggests the opposite, namely that in the arts sector the search for innovative groundbreaking artworks (Benton & DiYanni, 2014) evokes a curiosity, or a sense of exoticism, towards the unknown that trumps the preference for the familiar.

$H_{3b}$ *Art works with a non-western content description are valuated more, regardless of the artists' presumed cultural background*

As a last step the combination between work and artist should also be checked; this in order to see if there is an interaction between name and work. Because of the set up of the experiment, per artwork four different combinations can be made for the artwork description: there is the option of a Dutch or non-Dutch name, and an artwork description linking the work to a Western arts tradition, or place the artwork in the non-Western arts tradition corresponding to the culture of origin with the non-Dutch name (for full description see 'set-up of the experiment section below).

Currently in Dutch politics the focus solemnly lies on the celebration of Dutch national heritage when it comes to art that is promoted as important for society. Their current integration discourse actually is one of assimilation where the cultural background should be set aside in favor of the culture of the majority group. This results in the following hypothesis:

$H_{4a}$ *Art works by minority artists are valuated less with a non western content description*

'All stories must be heard' is what the cultural sector in The Netherlands promotes. After decades of having cultural inclusion on the agenda a recent statement was released by the directors of six large art funding foundations. In this statement not just artist with a culturally diverse background are encouraged to participate in the field, but specifically artworks containing 'minority' themes are mentioned as deserving a place in the cultural field, making this connection; the background of the artist in relation to thematic content of the artwork falls under the concept of 'tokenism'.

$H_{4b}$ *Art works by bicultural artists are valuated higher when accompanied by a non-western content description*

## 3.2 Vignette study

For the research question to be answered it has to be researched if there is a link between the cultural background of artists and the evaluation of their artwork. The most accurate way to measure this is in the form of an experiment (Bryman, 2012). Using an experiment to answer the research question has as an advantage that the factors, in this case the artist name and the artwork tradition can be isolated

Furthermore, it enables a comparison between the respondents since everybody was exposed to the same stimuli. Because the number of art professionals working in the different institutions of the cultural field in Rotterdam is rather limited, a within-subject approach is taken, exposing the respondents to all conditions. In this way, optimal use is made of the sample size (Privitera, 2012) as respondents' reactions can be observed across the different treatments. The way the experiment will be conducted is in the form of a *vignette study* where a number of visual stimuli are combined with manipulated explanatory texts, in order to prime the opinion the respondents have about the visual stimuli and see if this influences judgment of the works.

The antecedent of vignette study was the "factorial survey" (Rossi & Anderson, 1982 p.15), a combination of the 'balanced multivariate experimental design' and 'sample survey' procedures. When combined, this resulted in the development of a tool for the study of human evaluation processes. For this thesis using a factorial design allows for testing multiple independent variables simultaneously, in this case the two factors *name* and *artwork inspiration*. Because both factors have two conditions: a minority and majority condition this design is referred to as a 2x2 design (Krishnan Namboodiri, Carter & Blalock, 1975).

To test the abovementioned hypotheses, the factors in this experiment are controlled and therefore grant the opportunity for replication and comparison by other researchers, something that is virtually impossible by conducting a field experiment. But as the main objective of the thesis is to gain understanding of selection processes happening in the day-to-day work of the respondents, the choice of a vignette experiment is justified because evaluations through self-report have been shown to be closely linked with actual behavior (Baert & De Pauw, 2014). The experiment is administered as a digital survey, presented to the respondents in their working space by a research assistant, or via email.

### 3.2.1 Set up of the experiment

For this experiment respondents were asked to evaluate a series of artworks. In total, each respondent was presented with six images of artworks (see section 'stimuli' below for a detailed description) together with brief descriptions containing information about the artist's name and the artistic tradition or inspiration for the artwork. They were also invited to share information regarding gender, age and cultural background. The way the response scales are set up allows for insight into the evaluation of the works (O'Brien, Rossi & Tessler, 1982).

### 3.2.2 Vignettes

The vignettes consisted of different elements: constant elements, varying and the manipulations. There are two constant elements: all the artists are female, and they are all students or recent graduates of art schools. Choosing all female artists in the vignette descriptions is decided on given the small sample size and focus of this thesis, which is minority/majority dynamics in cultural background and, in this case, not in gender. Therefore, this characteristic was kept constant. The second, choosing students is because of the lack of status of their work. By only working with work from unknown artists, effects of majority/minority labels could not be affected by possible prior status. Also, by only presenting student work, it was implied that artists had similar levels of experience. This is important as previous research has pointed out that only an increase of years of work experience positively influence the attitude towards non-Dutch names in job selection procedures (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos & Faulk, 2012).

The manipulations are based on the names used that are common names in the countries presented in the list below.

- ∴ Dutch
- ∴ Ghanese
- ∴ Japanese
- ∴ Chinese
- ∴ Turkish
- ∴ Moroccan

And of course by the descriptions of the artwork content, which in a more specific sense can be split up between:

- ∴ Art work technique
- ∴ Specific genre
- ∴ Thematic inspiration
- ∴ Cultural tradition

These are used as the which is used as descriptive manipulation for *content*. This means that in the vignette this varies a bit. But in the description of minority content it is consequently linked to the culture that the name belongs to. For example in artwork (or stimulus) 5, the manipulation *artist* describes a Ghanese choreographer, and in the minority description of the work a Ghanese ceremonial wedding dance is presented.

### 3.2.3 Stimuli

All six stimuli depict images of visual arts. These artworks were carefully selected for having the properties to appear ambiguous when it comes to cultural diversity. This because it was of course needed that the respondents can perceive the work to be linked to all four conditions. The decision to refrain from stimuli depicting for example theatre or film is because of the temporality of the disciplines and the fact that these art forms rely on a narrative for comprehension. This could arguably be said for dance as well, but a dance still does posses aesthetic properties in its own right.

### 3.2.4 Dependent variables

The evaluation of the vignettes by gatekeepers was done through asking them to evaluate the artwork shown on the image, after reading the descriptive text. Per stimulus, respondents were requested to indicate how well a number of criteria applied according to them. This rating was presented in a 5-point Likert scale format, ranging from *not at all* to *completely*[5]. Five evaluative criteria are presented:

- ∴ Promising
- ∴ Interesting
- ∴ Authentic
- ∴ Predictable
- ∴ Good

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[5] In Dutch there is a more mirroring translation: "*helemaal niet*", to "*helemaal wel*"

The words used for evaluation fall in the artistic discourse often employed to describe artists and artworks in for example newspaper reviews, jury rapports or information provided by museums.

Four are positive terms. One, *predictable*, carries a negative connotation. This was done in order to avoid people starting to evaluate on auto-pilot, which is a potential pitfall here, as the respondents are specifically asked to react from their first impressions and maintain a certain speed in answering. The four positive evaluative criteria promising, interesting, Authentic and Good were merged to form a scale (Cronbach's $\alpha$ = .85).

In the survey an additional evaluation criterion is presented to the respondents: '*capable*'. As a final question per artwork, the respondents were asked to rate on the Likert scale whether or not they perceive their knowledge to be adequate for evaluating the work as such. As respondents come from different Rotterdam organizations that are focused on different artistic disciplines, it is unclear from the start whether or not their day to day practice exposes them extensively to the disciplines in the survey, or if they have to rely more on their general knowledge and experience within the artistic field.

**Versions 3.2.5**

Each respondent was presented with one of the four versions below. Within the versions the images were presented in a fixed order and the evaluation words used as dependent variables were randomized, except Good, which was systematically presented as the last one. Because of its overarching normative properties, it could have the undesired effect of influencing the respondents with regard to their other evaluations.

Treatments

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork        C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork

B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork        D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork

| Version 1 | Name | Artwork | Country | Treatment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artwork 1 | Majority | Majority | Chinese | A |
| Artwork 2 | Minority | Majority | Moroccan | D |
| Artwork 3 | Majority | Minority | Ghanese | B |
| Artwork 4 | Minority | Majority | Turkish | D |
| Artwork 5 | Majority | Majority | Ghanese | A |
| Artwork 6 | Minority | Minority | Japanese | C |

| Version 2 | Name | Artwork | Country | Treatment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artwork 1 | Minority | Majority | Chinese | D |
| Artwork 2 | Majority | Minority | Moroccan | B |
| Artwork 3 | Minority | Minority | Ghanese | C |
| Artwork 4 | Majority | Minority | Turkish | B |
| Artwork 5 | Minority | Majority | Ghanese | D |
| Artwork 6 | Majority | Majority | Japanese | A |

| Version 3 | Name | Artwork | Country | Treatment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artwork 1 | Majority | Minority | Chinese | B |
| Artwork 2 | Minority | Minority | Moroccan | C |
| Artwork 3 | Majority | Majority | Ghanese | A |
| Artwork 4 | Minority | Minority | Turkish | C |
| Artwork 5 | Majority | Minority | Ghanese | B |
| Artwork 6 | Minority | Majority | Japanese | D |

| Version 4 | Name | Artwork | Country | Treatments |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artwork 1 | Minority | Minority | Chinese | C |
| Artwork 2 | Majority | Majority | Moroccan | A |
| Artwork 3 | Minority | Majority | Ghanese | D |

| Artwork 4 | Minority | Majority | Turkish | A |
| Artwork 5 | Minority | Minority | Ghanese | C |
| Artwork 6 | Majority | Minority | Japanese | B |

In sum, the within-subjects design meant that the respondents evaluated each of the four conditions in the survey at least once. Because of the selection of six images, instead of eight, it was not possible to have the respondents evaluate all four combinations twice within one survey. Had the survey contained eight images, including the additional questions it would have become too lengthy.

**3.3 Data collection & gatekeepers**

The experiment is carried out in collaboration with the RRKC [Rotterdam Council for Art and Culture], an advisory council that will provide initial access to the group of respondents, the gatekeepers. Data is specifically collected from gatekeepers as they have an important role in selecting artistic works and programming tasks, and in that sense translate the vision of these cultural organizations into reality. This means it is not just people that select art works to be on display in for example an exhibition, it encompasses all tasks of communicating and deciding what is being presented *on behalf* of the cultural organization. Data was collected by inviting half of the large subsidized cultural organizations in Rotterdam (with an annual budget exceeding 1 million euros) were invited to participate. Per organization, as many employees as possible that could be characterized as a gatekeeper were requested to participate. A total of 68 employees participated. Of this total, in the end 12 participants mentioned not to fulfill the criteria of performing selections, they were therefore left out of the analyses resulting in *n* 56.

**3.4 Data Analysis**

To estimate the population parameters for the effects of Minority Artist (1 = minority, 0 = majority) and Minority Content (1 = minority, 0 = majority) and their interaction effect on the Total Score of *general positive* (mean value of promising, authentic, interesting and good) several Multilevel (ML) Regression Analyses were run (with Maximum Likelihood as estimation method). In this analysis also the effects of non-Dutch (1 = non-Dutch, 0 = Dutch) and the interaction effect with the above is described. SPSS (version 25) was used.

The main model discussed in this thesis contains the two main effects of "artist" and "content", (content is described above as *artwork*, but adjusted for means of clarity in the tables and figures as the individual stimuli are also described as artworks) and their interaction. Also to explore more possible effects and to correct for possible covariates, like capability and work experience, a model has been run with several other predictors and their two-way interactions. To also probe for effects of the six different objects on the attributes (total score) these 6 objects were taken into account (as dummies, 5 for object 2 to 6, with the object 1 as the reference category. These predictors, work experience, capable and age, were centered, and a dummy variable was created coding for Male. This model was used to inform figures number 2 and 3.

Only respondents who answered that they had, at least 'something' to do with the selection of art works in their job were included ($n = 56$). As mentioned above, each respondent evaluated six images of artworks, which led to a total of 336 observations.

## 3.5 Limitations

By using an experiment to answer the research question the factors tested can be controlled since this is an artificial approach as opposed to the individual, subjective characteristic of qualitative research. Furthermore, the element measured; cultural background can be made present and absent in the survey, something that is virtually impossible in everyday life. Therefore this aspect can be isolated, making it suitable for measurement. Another benefit is the reliability of the experiment, it can be easily replicated and because there is little interaction between the researcher and the participant the experiment itself has a higher level of objectivity. Also the within-subjects design enhances statistical strength since all the participants provide data for all four conditions (Greenwald, 1976).

There are some disadvantages to the experiment as well: once known what it measures, the difference in cultural background and artistic tradition of the work, it is possible that responses will be consciously adapted to a perceived desired answer, e.g. politically correct answers. Another concern is the question why the fictional vignettes would evoke a real-world valid response. "Unlike the world of hypothetical vignettes, real-world phenomena are tied to structural constraints" (Liker, 1982, p. 140). The subjects in this experiment have to take into account far more in their professional surroundings than just their personal valuations of a work: budgets, policy and other factors also play a role here as well.

## 4. Findings

A sample of 68 respondents, all professionals in the Rotterdam Cultural field, took part in this experiment. After data gathering it turned out that 12 respondents (17.6%) were not involved in artwork selection in their day-to-day work. As this experiment focuses on the gatekeepers those respondents were left out of the dataset and in analysis. Thus, the remaining sample consisted of 56 respondents (59.3% female age $M$ 44.09, ranging from 26 to 65 years $SD$ 11.88). Of this sample 57.3% states to work with artwork selection either now and then or rarely, and 42.6% on a regular basis or very often.

The arts discipline the respondents felt most familiar with was film (57.1% of the cases) and fine arts (51.8%) (please note that participants could select more than one discipline, so the percentages are based on cases). On a third place there is theatre (46.6%), followed by music, (41.1%), literature and poetry (32.1%), graphic design (25.0%) and dance (23.2%). fashion (16.1%) and industrial design (8.9%) and architecture were least chosen.

When it comes to work experience 33.9% has been working in the cultural field up to ten years. 28.6% from 11 to 20 years and the largest part of the sample, 37.5 has a working experience of over 20 years in the cultural sector.

As this is a research where the response to cultural diversity in presented artworks and artists is important, taking into account the own cultural background of the gatekeepers is important as well as it is not unlikely that this will influence the evaluation. Of the sample 23.2% has stated to have a non-Dutch background, this includes people stating that -one of- their parents were not born in The Netherlands or that they themselves were not born here.

For each subject, six observations were taken which led to a total of a total of 336 observations. This means that within a subject we deal with repeated observations so these measurements are likely to be correlated. Therefore an ordinary least square (OLS) multiple regression analysis is not appropriate since this analysis assumes independent observations (residuals). Within this experiment, observations within a person are likely to be correlated and therefore not independent since we are dealing with *nested* observations. For this Multilevel Regression Analysis there are only two different levels of measurement: at the first or lowest level are the observations, or measurements on attitude. These observations are nested within the subjects (grouping variable), which is the second level. For reasons of simplicity only the intercept was set to vary across subject (random intercept) and all slopes are kept fixed and are assumed to be the same

for each respondent. Therefore the presented model contains fixed slopes for each predictor and a random intercept.

Several models were run, from sparse, or a fixed intercept only model (see table 1), to more complex, several main effects and interactions (used for image 2 and 3). The model presented in table 1 includes the main effects of artist and content and their interaction, as well as the effect of non-Dutch background of the respondents. First the main hypotheses will be compared to the outcome (estimates of regression slopes). In the main model the intercept ($b_0$ = 3.35, $SE$ = 0.08, $p$ < .001) represents the estimated mean value for the total score for all objects together for subjects in the reference condition (majority artist and majority content). All differences in total score due to the effect of change in predictor values or their interaction can be compared to this estimated mean value. As a covariate "capable" (centered) was added to the ML regression model. After looking at the results from the ML regression analysis in table 1 the averages were calculated per condition using the dependent variable Total Score, *Promising Interesting Authentic* and *Good*, added with *Predictable (reversed)* (table 2). Lastly with the output of the ML regressions three figures are made, in the first the average judgment valuations across valuations specified per condition are presented (figure 1) The second and third figure are specified per condition and individual artworks, or, *Objects* as they are named in the figures. Confidence intervals are large due to the sample size. Resulting in lack of stability in the patterns, which make them overlap.

This research focused on the extent to which the perceived minority/majority background is taken into account in the evaluation of artworks by gatekeepers. The role of gatekeepers in the formation of artistic careers has been thoroughly researched, but the generation of empirical data has remained somewhat underrepresented (Acord, 2015).
For over 30 years an active debate has been taking place in the arts world how to respond to the changing demographics due to the settlement of immigrants. In a broad sense this resulted in a societal division between a majority and a minority group.

Because of a growing awareness that members of the minority group face continuous challenges in integration and consequently see themselves in disadvantaged socioeconomic positions, an active political attitude was adopted in an attempt to facilitate successful integration in society. This political stance can be linked to the

Bildung principle; a maturation notion that sees only those members of society that are culturally and personally developed to be capable of full participation. By translating this Bildung principle towards culture in the Netherlands it becomes clear that in politics the concept of integration in relation to culture varies: starting with the policy document in 1987 by Elco Brinkman that focused on the importance of visual marker of diversity in the cultural field, through employees and programming and access to the field for culturally diverse artist with professional aspirations, to the most recent coalition agreement only emphasizing the importance of Dutch cultural heritage to be the sole focus of heritage education (VVD, 2017).

In the cultural field a different sound is heard: recently the six largest funding foundations made a statement that budgets will be reserved specifically for artists wish a culturally diverse background that wish to contribute to the cultural field from that, culturally diverse, perspective. The fact that this message was part of a statement presented in one of the leading Dutch newspapers NRC and part of the keynote during the annual Paradiso debate[6], specifically intended for professionals in the cultural field can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand it means that the cultural field considers cultural diversity very important and sees it as their responsibility to facilitate to the broadest audience possible, instead of just focusing on the preservation and presentation of Dutch Cultural Heritage as is in line with the current political stance. On the other, cultural diversity needing a separate 'stage' (the 2018 edition of the Paradiso debate was entirely dedicated to the topic of cultural diversity) actually acknowledges that after 30 years of reflecting, policy measures, and acting, still the desired goals have not yet been met. Cultural diversity is not embedded in the overarching cultural field, but remains a separate topic.

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[6] The Paradiso debate, or Paradisodebat, has been an annual gathering for professionals in the cultural field where the current state of the Dutch cultural field is evaluated and discussed. It can be considered leading in addressing thematic and practical matters occurring in the field (https://www.kunsten92.nl/?s=paradisodebat.)

## 4.1 Conditions – Main Findings

Table 1: Total Score By Artist, Content and their interaction, Multilevel
Regression, Main Model Results

| Predictor | Slope (B) | St. Error | t | p | 95 % Confidence Interval (B) Lowerbound | Upperbound |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept (mean) | 3.35 | 0.08 | 41.30 | <.001 | 3.19 | 3.51 |
| Minority artist | 0.31 | 0.11 | 2.85 | .005 | 0.97 | 0.53 |
| Minority content | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.43 | .67 | -0.05 | 0.26 |
| artist * content | -0.20 | 0.16 | -1.28 | .20 | -0.50 | 0.11 |
| Capable | 0.15 | 0.04 | 3.88 | <.001 | 0.07 | 0.23 |
| Non-Dutch | -0.22 | 0.18 | -1.20 | .23 | - 0.58 | 0.14 |
| Minority artist * Non-Dutch | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.81 | .42 | - 0.29 | 0.69 |
| Minority content * Non-Dutch | 0.49 | 0.24 | 2.08 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 1.05 |
| Minority artist * Minority content * Non-Dutch | -.034 | 0.34 | -0.10 | .92 | -.071 | 0.64 |

| | -2 Log Likelihood | Delta Chi-Square (df = 9) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regression Model (random intercept, fixed slopes) | 627.32 | 78.07 | p < .001 |
| Regression Null Model (fixed intercept only) | 705.39 | | |

*Note*: The intercept represents the estimated mean for the reference condition: *Majority artist / Majority content*

### 4.1.1 Artworks

*"To what extent are works presumed to be situated in a non-Western tradition evaluated differently by gatekeepers as compared to works assumed to be situated in a Western tradition?*

The main effect of minority content (1 = minority, 0 = majority) was also found to be positive but non-significant ($b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .67$). This finding means that there are, on average, somewhat higher scores on Total Score (within this sample) when

subjects valuate an object under the condition minority content but these findings cannot be generalized to the population, since the results are non-significant.

> *"To what extent do the evaluations of gatekeepers differ for minority artworks as compared to majority artworks?"*

### 4.1.2 Non-Dutch

With the evaluation of content by gatekeepers there is an exception though; when only looking at the subset of the sample with a culturally diverse background themselves, the interaction effect of Minority content and Non-Dutch respondent is found to be significant ($b = 0.49$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .01$). For this regression dutch gatekeepers are the reference condition and a dummy variable (Dutch =0 Non-Dutch=1) was made. Even tough the survey asked more detailed questions regarding cultural background, the subset of respondents with a bicultural background was too small to work with separate categories for the analysis. This means that in this model it turns out that gatekeepers with a non Dutch background pay significantly more attention to the content of the artwork ($p = 0.01$). They are more positive when it comes to evaluating a non-Dutch content.

### 4.1.3 Combination

The estimated or predicted (mean) values for total score are plotted and depicted in figure 1 which makes the interpretation of the (non-significant) interaction (and the main effects) effect easier.

On the left (majority content) there is a bigger difference in total score due to artist than on the right (minority content). Or put differently, minority artist are likely to be valuated higher then majority artists (main effect) but this effect appears stronger (but not significantly, since interaction is non-significant, table 2) when the content is under the condition majority. On the right, when the condition is minority content, the effect appears smaller (but again not significantly, due to non-significant interaction).

### 4.1.4 Capable

The effect of capable is positive and significant (b = 0.17, $SE$ = 0.04, $p$ < .001). This finding means that participants that considered themselves more capable in judging the artworks on average have a higher total score.

### 4.2 What's in a name?

*'To what extent is the valuation by gatekeepers affected by the minority or majority status of an artist?'*

The (main) effect of minority artist (1 = minority, 0 = majority) on the Total Score was found to be significant and positive ($b$ = 0.31, $SE$ = 0.11, $p$ = .005).

### 4.2.1 Sector

The importance of what a name represents becomes clear through several types of research on the matter. The first, and most extensive one, is the body of work on hiring discrimination showing that cultural distinct names can evoke negative connotations in perception of capability to perform the job. But the, negative, association reached further, since a name is also linked to more biographical features, such as being behind on the socioeconomic ladder (Garcia & Abascal, 2016). Lastly a name as such can be considered a 'label' that immediately evokes a sense of 'the other' enforcing the minority majority division (Tajfel & Turner, 1976). But in the Dutch cultural field also a different sound has been present for some years now, the "target group policy" where people with a culturally diverse background are *specifically* invited to participate. This is reflected in the results: based on the ML regression analysis there is a significant effect of the artist name, in a minority condition, on the overall appreciation of the works under that condition.

This does not coincide with the recent statement of the directors of the funding foundations though. What is surprising about this outcome is not that the name yields a significant positive result, it is that both content as such, and the interaction between content and artist have no significant results. This means that, in the experiment, after looking at the image of artwork and reading the accompanying text, the evaluation only focuses on the perceived cultural diverse background of the artist and not on the content. This is not in line with the statement of the directors who claim that "all stories must be heard" and not "all names should be visible".

What seems to be happening here is in line however with the previous research by Berkers et. Al (2018): desired answering. It might be the case that diversity in the

current situation in the cultural field is such a sensitive topic that professionals have a hard time answering based on their own opinion, but see themselves in a position where they need to fulfill certain behavioral expectations themselves.

### 4.2.2 Funding

Another possible explanation is the subsidies structure in The Netherlands, the majority of cultural institutions receive government funding. Part of this subsidies is receiving funding based on the, culturally diverse assemblage of the group and resumes accompanying the grant proposals. And not based on the content, as the artistic 'product' is not yet developed, what is looked at is the profile of the artist. By skipping content the funding parties do not look whether or not different cultures are represented in the proposed product. In a grant proposal diversity is evaluated based on the composition of the team. It is possible that this policy stimulates thinking in 'names' and not content. It might result in a form of positive discrimination regarding cultural diverse artists. But what apparently what is not taken into account is what these people do. Whether these people end up being fully accepted in the field and if they have the opportunity to fully contribute to the cultural richness of the Netherlands is the question.

Table 1: Total Score By Artist, Content and their interaction, Multilevel
Regression, Main Model Results

| Predictor | Slope (B) | St. Error | t | p | 95 % Confidence Interval (B) | |
| | | | | | Lowerbound | Upperbound |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | | | | Dependent Variable: Total Score | |
| Intercept (mean) | 3.35 | 0.08 | 41.30 | <.001 | 3.19 | 3.51 |
| Minority artist | 0.31 | 0.11 | 2.85 | .005 | 0.97 | 0.53 |
| Minority content | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.43 | .67 | -0.05 | 0.26 |
| artist * content | -0.20 | 0.16 | -1.28 | .20 | -0.50 | 0.11 |
| Capable | 0.15 | 0.04 | 3.88 | <.001 | 0.07 | 0.23 |
| Non-Dutch | -0.22 | 0.18 | -1.20 | .23 | - 0.58 | 0.14 |
| Minority artist * Non-Dutch | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.81 | .42 | - 0.29 | 0.69 |
| Minority content * Non-Dutch | 0.49 | 0.24 | 2.08 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 1.05 |
| Minority artist * Minority content * Non-Dutch | -.034 | 0.34 | -0.10 | .92 | -.071 | 0.64 |

| | -2 Log Likelihood | Delta Chi-Square (df = 9) | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Regression Model (random intercept, fixed slopes) | 627.32 | 78.07 | p < .001 |
| Regression Null Model (fixed intercept only) | 705.39 | | |

*Note*: The intercept represents the estimated mean for the reference condition: *Majority artist / Majority content*

## 4.3 Valuation criteria – *All good*

From the section above the overall significance of the name has been the main finding. But respondents were asked do judge the artworks based on *several* criteria. One could expect to see differences between the different conditions in average valuations in the separate criteria. Here, again, significant results are yielded when it comes to minority artist name: Promising *p* .004, Interesting *p* .003, Authentic *p* .014, Good *p* .003. What is telling in this table is that under all different evaluation criteria minority artist with

majority content receives the highest valuation (except for interesting where minority artist in combination with minority content is evaluated highest). This suggests that a form of answering for desirability occurred. Especially since a term like authenticity in art history is specifically linked to artist and artwork originating in the same culture (Braden, 2015).

Table 2: Descriptives for Valuations
Dependent variable Total Score

| Condition | n | Total Score | | Promising | | Interesting | | Authentic | | Good | | Predictable (reversed) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Majority artist/Majority content | 84 | 3.32 | 0.81 | 3.23 | 0.87 | 3.46 | 0.95 | 3.42 | 1.00 | 3.15 | 0.94 | 3.36 | 1.00 |
| Majority artist/Minority content | 84 | 3.46 | 0.59 | 3.37 | 0.77 | 3.63 | 0.71 | 3.46 | 0.86 | 3.37 | 0.64 | 3.32 | 1.00 |
| Minority Artist/Majority content | 82 | 3.67 | 0.65 | 3.59 | 0.83 | 3.83 | 0.81 | 3.76 | 0.83 | 3.50 | 0.71 | 3.50 | 0.97 |
| Minority artist / Minority artwork | 86 | 3.62 | 0.65 | 3.55 | 0.75 | 3.88 | 0.74 | 3.59 | 0.89 | 3.45 | 0.76 | 3.42 | 0.96 |
| **Total** | **336** | **3.51** | **0.69** | **3.43** | **0.82** | **3.70** | **0.82** | **3.56** | **0.90** | **3.37** | **0.78** | **3.40** | **0.98** |

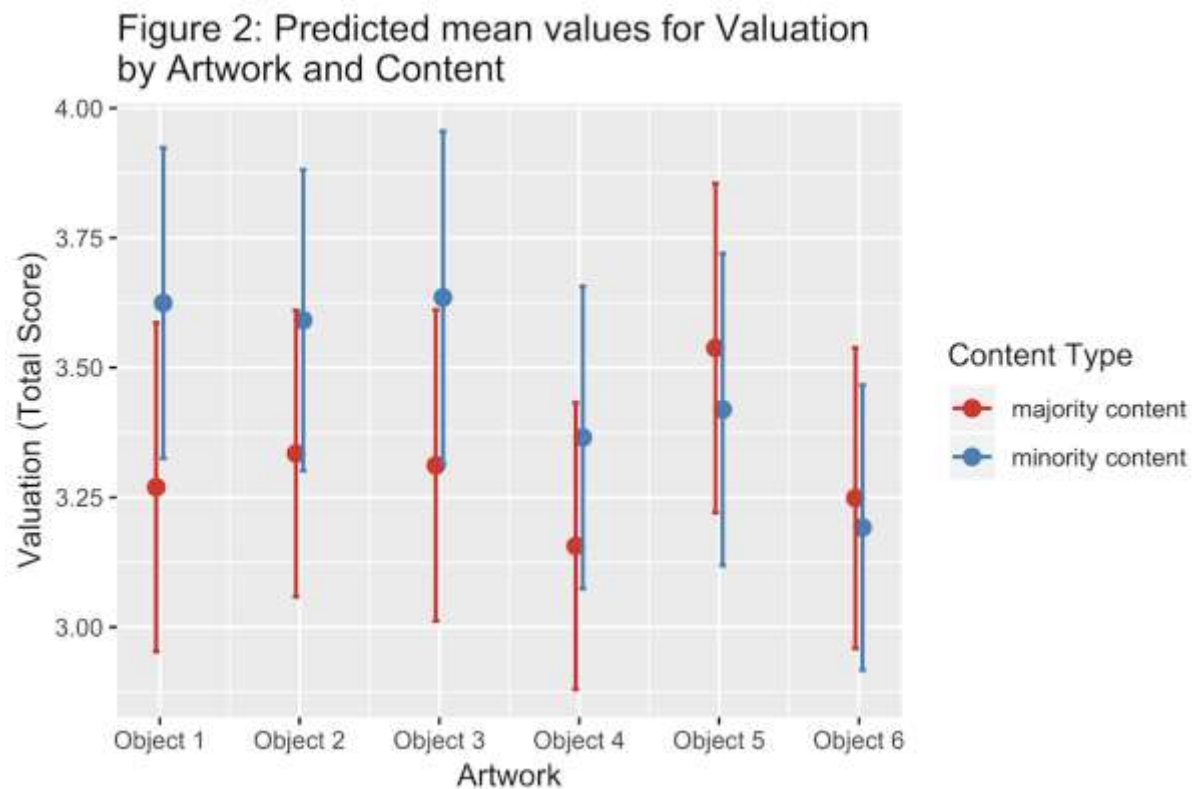## 4.4 Artworks Separate – Trends and tendencies?

The figures below serve to illustrate trends. When looking at figures 2 and 3 two things avert a bit from the general findings: In the condition artist, figure 2, in object 2, contrary to earlier findings, the minority artist name is evaluated similar to the Dutch name. Object 2 has a Moroccan artist presented in the vignette. As this is currently one of the more visible culturally diverse subgroups of Dutch Society it might lead to wonder what is behind this difference. The Moroccan name is not valuated as something different. Is being valuated as a Dutch name. This can point in the direction that Moroccan names are seen as similar to Dutch names, or that there is a somewhat less positive inclination. But because only one artwork was presented under this condition, it is far from appropriate to draw conclusions based on this result. Further research would be needed

based on further explanations of the culturally origins of names in artists to see if there really are effects based on names.



Figure 1: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artist and Content
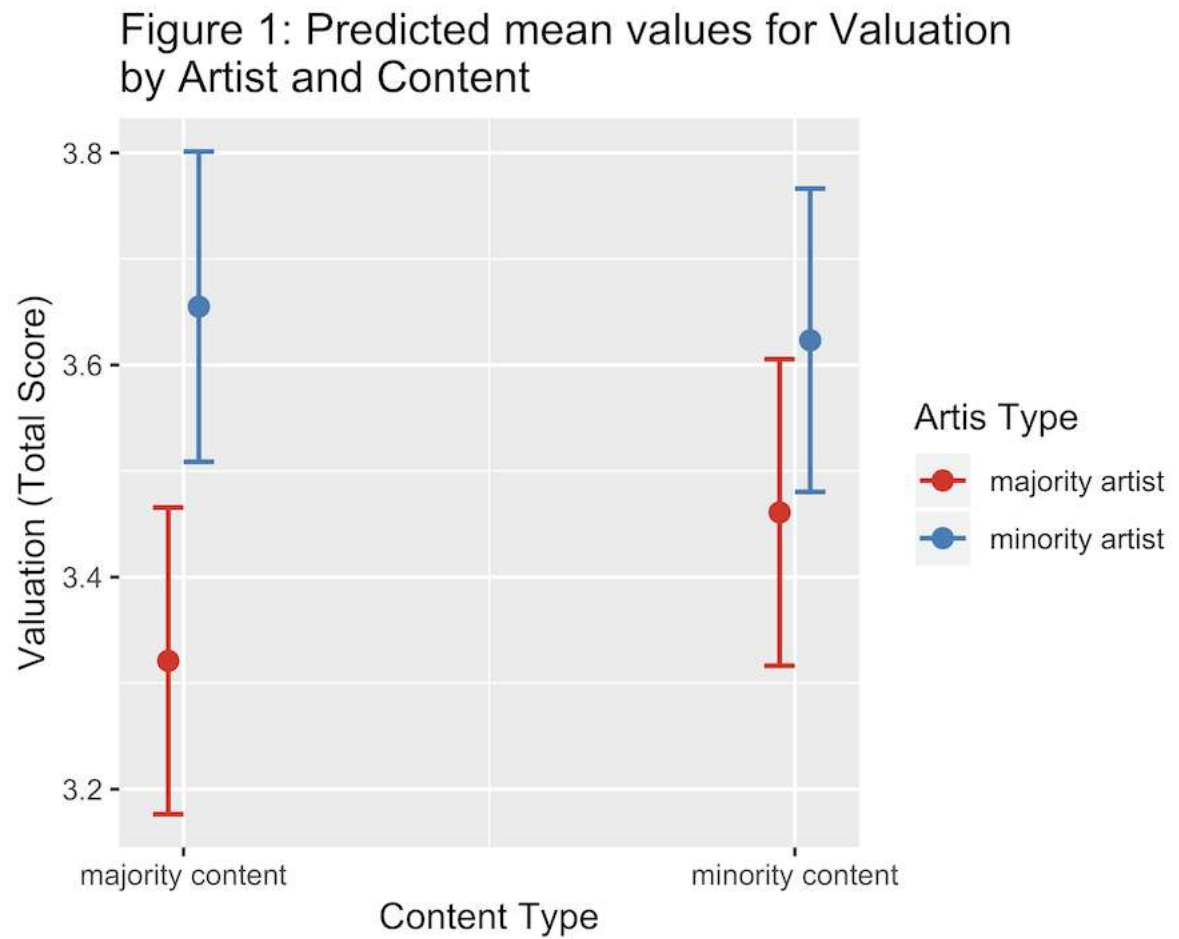
**4.4.1 Valuations per artwork, based on content, Figure 2**

## Figure 2: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artwork and Content

Valuation (Total Score) vs Artwork (Object 1 – Object 6)

Content Type:
- majority content (red)
- minority content (blue)

In figure 2 what stands out it the majority content preference for object 5 and 6. Both of these vignettes contains references to Dutch specific art content when presented in the majority condition: the Delftsblauw porcelain technique, and 'Hollandse luchten', part of what Dutch oil paintings are renowned for In the other vignettes the artworks in the majority condition were linked to Western art traditions but more general to the Western world. Again, there are only a limited amount of observations so this might be part of future research as well.

Figure 3: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artwork and Artist
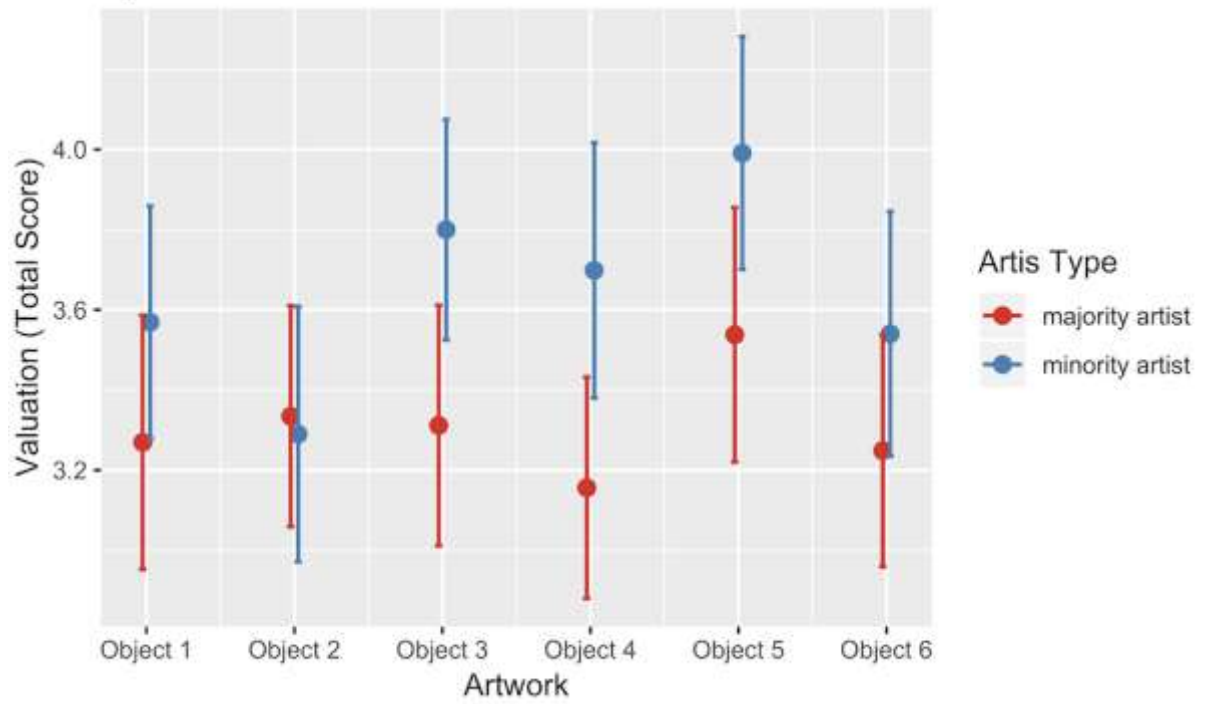
## 5. Conclusion

### 5.1 Summary of findings

The main finding of this research is the significance of name *regardless* of the content. When presented with a non-Western name for the artist the evaluation is significantly higher than the presented artists with a Dutch name. This might come across as deceivingly simple, but encompasses a lot. Primarily the surprising given that neither the current political attitude, focusing on cultural assimilation, nor the popular stance in the cultural field, tokenism, are reflected by it.

What it does show is that the moment the gatekeepers came across a non-Western artist name in a vignette this evoked a strong response. Stronger than the other manipulation in the vignette related to content. This notion is supported by the finding that not just the overall evaluation is higher for non-Dutch artists, but also within the four evaluative criteria presented in the experiment: *Promising, Interesting, Authentic and, Good,* Minority name yields a significant result.

This suggests that content was note even taken into consideration. Had this be the case, the obvious positive attitude towards the non-Western name, in all likelihood would have had to be supported by significant preference differences in the artworks presented as well. These findings point in the direction of desirability answering, or at least positive discrimination, where the name is used as a signifier, triggering the, automatic, response. The subset of gatekeepers that have a non-Dutch background responded different to the presented stimuli: in the analyses there was a significant result for minority content.

Working with art professionals from different disciplines the importance of perceived professionalism translated in a self evaluation measure 'capable' on the evaluation of the artworks proved to be significant. Meaning that the more capable a respondent considered him- of herself, the higher their evaluation of the artworks was.

When looking at the artworks on an individual level two things avert a bit from the general findings. First, that the artist with the Moroccan name receives the same evaluations as Dutch–named artists based on name, and the preference of majority content in artwork five and six, where the majority content description specifically points towards Dutch cultural heritage, as opposed to the general Western arts tradition.

## 5.2 The Research Question in relation to theory

*"To what extent do the valuation of gatekeepers differ in evaluation of minority artists and artworks both combined and separately of one another?"*

The valuation of gatekeepers significantly differ when evaluating minority artists, but not in evaluating artistic content. Also the evaluations of the combinations are not significant. The main finding is that the culturally distinct name of the artist influences the evaluation of the art world professionals which was not expected when looking at theory on hiring discrimination (Garcia, Abascal 2016), however it was to be expected looking at (funding) policy.

As mentioned the literature framework regarding the decision making process of gatekeepers and the majority/minority division in society at large informs the research question. In relation to the subject of this thesis quantitative research is scarce (Berkers et al. 2018). This means that the literature served as a guiding thread in establishing the research question and hypotheses but due to lack of quantitative research this thesis was more explorative than deepening of existing empirical data on the topic. Besides a limited amount of quantitative research on this subject, a gap was found on theory of art funding procedures.

The overarching vision on diversity by cultural organizations is translated by gatekeepers: these gatekeepers operate from individual traits and characteristics (DiMaggio & Hirsch, 1976). The process from vision to reality is a large part of the gatekeepers' responsibilities as they make the decisions on behalf of the cultural organizations when it comes to artwork selections and programming. But the gatekeepers also have to take into account external factors like policy and funding protocols. This means that the way they deal with selection of minority artists can be based on their own professional experiential knowledge but also be informed by the vision of the organization they work for, or obligations in the arts field.

Even though there is more to discover on the subject of gatekeepers and the cultural field, this research has contributed by adding new data and knowledge to the sociological field. It expands the limited amount of quantitative data regarding this subject but it is also a very relevant topic in the current cultural field. Furthermore this research confirms the observation by Berkers et al. of cultural institutions and gatekeepers to be, in all likelihood, answering for desirability, which should be taken into account by future research on this topic.

## 5.3 Limitations and future research

Just like the results in the survey research by Berkers et al. there seems to be a form of answering for desirability. This research proposed another route, a vignette experiment, to avoid this from happening, but in all likelihood again did also collect answers based on desired answering. As it was unclear what gatekeepers take into account precisely (Acord, 2015) in their decision making: the artist, the artwork, or a combination, this thesis aimed at gaining more insight in this process and in this case was specifically aimed at looking at the influence of a minority or majority status of the artwork and the artist in the valuation process.

The positive focus on names alone might be linked to positive discrimination but it leaves unclear if the positive valuation of the name is based on professionals that feel pressured by the cultural field to act that way or an intrinsic positive disposition. It might even be the case that he disposition itself might be primed with the premise that answering for desirability from the perspective of positive discrimination is perceived as a personal inclination.

For future results gaining a deeper understanding of decision processes and practices of categorization would enhance the empirical body of knowledge on gatekeeping practices.

With the lack of empirical data regarding diversity in the cultural field itself, looking outside the cultural field for approaches seems useful. A field that has built a reputation for insight in decision making is the cognitive sociology of which the concept of Dual Processing Frameworks (DPF) is part. As the findings suggest that the decision making by gatekeepers was seemingly influenced by judging based on reflexes, working with a Dual Processing Models (DPM), might provide a useful tool as a subsequent step in research on the matter (Lizardo, Mowry, Sepulvado, Stoltz, Taylor, Van Ness & Wood, 2016).

An approach to work with the matter of gatekeeping again might be by linking it to the notion of cognitive dissonance in arts. The response to dissonance in arts itself is described in the work by Van Venrooij and Schmutz, who in their research shows that elements in art that do not completely fit within their perceived category are penalized by their audiences (2018). Similar findings are presented by Hsu (2006), who in her research finds that movies where genre categories are combined are not as successful as movies with one genre only. Films that are a combination have a harder time securing an audience. Both researches centralize the role of the audience, but as mentioned before

this directly reflects on the gatekeeping practice as well, by being held accountable for the choices and the programming (Acord, 2015). So regardless of whether or not gatekeepers share the unease generated by artistic dissonance, they are also pressured to take it into account on behalf of audience members.

A useful example in operationalizing this concept is by Moore (2017) who combines an qualitative study uncovering associations from the angle of semantics with an experiment measuring response latency. A combination of getting more insight in the definitions gatekeepers have of the 'categories' they judge, linked with presenting them with combination dissonances and measure response latency might assist in gaining more insight in decision making practices without political correctness to by a steering factor.

To conclude, there remains an unexplored richness and relevance in the topic of decision making by gatekeepers in the cultural field that deserves attention.

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**Appendix A –Survey**

The survey below is added up to the point where the participants start the actual experiment. For full description of the vignettes (in Dutch), see Appendix B.

## Survey

Namens de RRKC  willen wij je hierbij alvast hartelijk bedanken voor het deelnemen aan deze enquête. In totaal duurt het invullen **niet meer dan 10 minuten**.

In deze enquête wordt je mening gevraagd **over het werk van jonge makers en afstudeerders van kunstopleidingen in Rotterdam**. We kunnen hieruit veel leren over hoe naar het werk van deze makers gekeken wordt. Verder stellen we nog een paar korte, algemene vragen over je werk en ervaring en achtergrond.

Wij zijn geïnteresseerd in **je persoonlijke mening**. Er zijn dus **geen juiste of foute antwoorden**. Wanneer je wordt gevraagd een evaluatie te geven, is het belangrijk dat je **je eerste idee** volgt. Je mag de vragenlijst dus best snel invullen.

Deze vragenlijst graag **in één keer invullen**. Tussentijds opslaan kan helaas niet. En voor het slagen van het onderzoek is het belangrijk dat je de vragenlijst helemaal invult (gedeeltelijke deelnames zullen worden verwijderd).

Uiteraard is deze enquête **volstrekt anoniem**. Op geen enkele manier kan je identiteit achterhaald worden of gekoppeld worden aan je antwoorden. Je antwoorden worden uitsluitend door gekwalificeerde wetenschappers behandeld en zullen niet worden gedeeld met derden. Je kunt dus zonder enig risico je eerlijke mening geven.

Er zijn voor zover wij weten **geen risico's** verbonden aan het invullen van deze vragenlijst. Je deelname is uiteraard vrijwillig. Je mag op elk moment beslissen af te zien van het invullen van de enquête. Je antwoorden zullen dan verwijderd worden.

Deze enquête is een samenwerking tussen de Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur en de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam en wordt uitgevoerd door Michaël Berghman, Pauwke Berkers en Nadia van Vuuren, met de steun van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek en de Gemeente Rotterdam. Dit onderzoeksproject is goedgekeurd door de ESHCC Ethics Review Committee.

In geval van problemen of vragen omtrent dit onderzoek kan je contact opnemen met de Data Protection Officer van de Erasmus Universiteit, Marlon Domingus, MA (fg@eur.nl).

**Indien je akkoord gaat met de voorgaande voorwaarden, kan je dit aangeven door op de onderstaande knop te drukken.**

Eerst enkele vragen over je ervaring (zowel persoonlijk als professioneel). Uiteraard zijn je antwoorden anoniem.

Met welke artistieke discipline(s) ben je het meest vertrouwd? Het gaat hierbij zowel over je professionele als niet-professionele ervaring.

Gelieve minstens één optie aan te duiden.

- ☐ beeldende kunst
- ☐ dans
- ☐ literatuur/poëzie
- ☐ theater
- ☐ film
- ☐ muziek
- ☐ grafisch design
- ☐ mode
- ☐ industrieel design/architectuur
- ☐ anders, namelijk

Hoe lang ben je al werkzaam in de culturele sector?

- ○ minder dan een jaar
- ○ 1-3 jaar
- ○ 4-5 jaar
- ○ 6-10 jaar
- ○ 11-20 jaar
- ○ meer dan 20 jaar

|  | niet | zelden | af en toe | regelmatig | vaak |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Selectie van artistiek werk | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Educatie | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Publiekscommunicatie en -werving | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Promotie | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Programmering | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Zakelijke leiding | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Personeelsbeleid en HR | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Project management (bijvoorbeeld | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

| | niet | zelden | af en toe | regelmatig | vaak |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dagelijkse leiding bij een productie of tentoonstelling) | | | | | |
| Artistieke leiding | o○ | ○o | ○o | ○o | ○o |
| Eigen artistieke inbreng | o○ | ○o | ○o | ○o | ○o |
| Opzetten en onderhouden van samenwerkingen met externe personen en organisaties | o○ | ○o | ○o | ○o | ○o |
| Werving van fondsen en subsidies | o○ | ○o | ○o | ○o | ○o |

Op de volgende pagina's krijg je beelden te zien uit het werk van een jonge maker of afstudeerder van een Rotterdamse kunstopleiding.

Je krijgt eerst het beeld te zien, met daaronder wat uitleg. Neem de tijd om dit grondig te bekijken.

Op de daaropvolgende pagina's willen we graag dat je aan de hand van enkele criteria het werk evalueert. Om een evaluatie te geven, krijg je per werk een reeks woorden te zien. Per woord kan je aangeven in hoeverre het wat jou betreft past bij het getoonde werk.

Het zou kunnen dat je in sommige gevallen het gevoel hebt dat je meer informatie nodig hebt om een onderbouwde mening te vormen, maar zoals gezegd is het belangrijk dat je voor de evaluaties je eerste indruk volgt. Je mag dus snel antwoorden.

Voor de evaluatie hoef je **alleen de cijfers bovenaan je toetsenbord en de spatiebalk** te gebruiken. Vanaf hier kan je dus **de muis niet meer gebruiken** om te antwoorden.

Door een toets in te drukken, ga je vanzelf door naar de volgende pagina.

Dit kan je nu even oefenen. Hou je vingers bij de cijfertoetsen en je duim bij de spatiebalk.

Volg de instructies op het scherm.

[set of numbers to practice response]

Nu krijg je een reeks beelden te zien. Wanneer je deze goed hebt bekeken en de toelichting eronder hebt gelezen, kun je op de spatiebalk drukken om verder te gaan.

Daarna krijg je een aantal woorden te zien. Per woord mag je aangeven in hoeverre je het bij het werk vindt passen. Het gaat over de volgende woorden:

**veelbelovend**
**authentiek**

**voorspelbaar**
**interessant**
**goed**

In sommige gevallen zal je vinden dat een bepaald woord het werk erg goed beschrijft, in andere gevallen misschien helemaal niet en soms ligt het er ergens tussenin. **Nogmaals, er zijn geen juiste of foute antwoorden. Alleen je persoonlijke eerste indruk telt.**
Denk eraan om enkel je toetsenbord te gebruiken.
druk "**1**" voor "helemaal niet"
druk "**2**" voor "eerder niet"
druk "**3**" voor "neutraal"
druk "**4**" voor "best wel"
druk "**5**" voor "helemaal wel"

Nadat je een keuze hebt gemaakt door een cijfertoets in te drukken, ga je vanzelf door naar het volgende woord.



**Voorbeeld 1**

Yamila Ben-Ayad is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Hoewel dit werk een industriële uitstraling heeft, verwijst het juist naar de zachtheid van de bescherming die een moeder haar kind geeft. Ze ziet het werk als een moderne interpretatie op de '*Piëta*'.

*Als je het werk goed hebt bekeken en de informatie gelezen, mag je op de spatiebalk drukken om naar de volgende pagina te gaan.*



**Voorbeeld 1**

In welke mate past dit woord bij het werk?

**GOED**

| Druk "toets 1" voor | Druk "toets 2" voor | Druk "toets 3" voor | Druk "toets 4" voor | Druk "toets 5" voor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| helemaal niet | niet | neutraal | wel | helemaal wel |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

**Voorbeeld 1**



In welke mate past dit woord bij het werk?

**INTERESSANT**

| Druk "toets 1" voor | Druk "toets 2" voor | Druk "toets 3" voor | Druk "toets 4" voor | Druk "toets 5" voor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| helemaal niet | niet | neutraal | wel | helemaal wel |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Nog één oefening met een ander werk.

Je mag op de spatiebalk drukken om door te gaan naar de volgende pagina

**Voorbeeld 2**



Sophia Bernson studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In deze illustratie verbeeldt ze de onbestemdheid. In zekere zin zweven mensen maar wat rond, maar daarbij gaan ze in interactie en 'zweven' ze dus zelden alleen.

*Nadat je dit goed hebt bekeken, druk op de spatiebalk om naar de volgende pagina te gaan.*

**Voorbeeld 2**



In welke mate past dit woord bij het werk?

**VOORSPELBAAR**

| Druk "toets 1" voor | Druk "toets 2" voor | Druk "toets 3" voor | Druk "toets 4" voor | Druk "toets 5" voor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| helemaal niet | niet | neutraal | wel | helemaal wel |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Voorbeeld 2



Gelet op je eigen ervaring, hoe gekwalificeerd voel je je om dit werk te evalueren?

| Druk "toets 1" voor | Druk "toets 2" voor | Druk "toets 3" voor | Druk "toets 4" voor | Druk "toets 5" voor |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| helemaal niet | niet | neutraal | wel | helemaal wel |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Dit waren de voorbeelden.
Nu start de eigenlijke evaluatie.
Het gaat dus om je eerste indruk en er zijn géén juiste of foute antwoorden. Probeer zo snel mogelijk te antwoorden.

Wanneer je klaar bent om te starten, druk op de spatiebalk.
Succes!

## Appendix B Stimuli and full descriptions

Treatments

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork      C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork

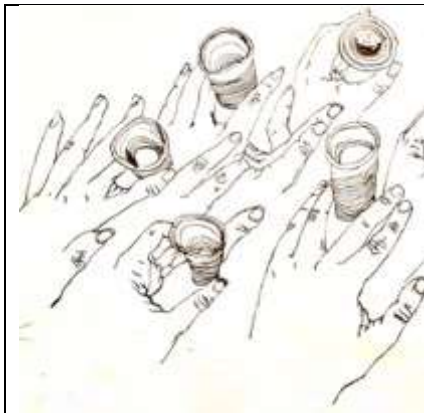B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork      D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork



**1- Versie 1 A**

Britt van den Bergh studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Voor haar werk gebruikt ze haar eigen keramiektechniek, waarbij het glazuur direct in poedervorm wordt aangebracht.

**1- Versie 2 D**

Li Jing Wang studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Voor haar werk gebruikt ze haar eigen keramiektechniek, waarbij het glazuur direct in poedervorm wordt aangebracht.

**1 - Versie 3 B**

Britt van den Bergh studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Voor haar werk gebruikt ze een porseleintechniek uit Jingdezhen in West China, waarbij het glazuur direct in poedervorm wordt aangebracht.

**1 - Versie 4 C**

Li Jing Wang studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Voor haar werk gebruikt ze een porseleintechniek uit Jingdezhen in West China, waarbij het glazuur direct in poedervorm wordt aangebracht.

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork          C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork

B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork          D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork



**2 - Versie 1 D**

Aisha El Baz studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In dit werk speelt ze met referenties naar Klassiek realisme. Ze maakte  voor deze lijntekening gebruik van inktpigmenten die ze van haar grootmoeder kreeg.

**2 - Versie 2 A**

Anne van Ophem studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie.  In dit werk speelt ze met referenties naar Klassiek realisme. Ze maakte voor deze lijntekening gebruik van inktpigmenten die ze van haar grootmoeder kreeg.

**2 - Versie 3 C**

Aisha El Baz studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In dit werk verwijst ze naar de levendigheid van de Souks die ze bezocht als kind. Ze maakte  voor deze lijntekening gebruik van inktpigmenten die ze van haar grootmoeder kreeg.

**2 - Versie 4 B**

Anne van Ophem studeert aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In dit werk verwijst ze naar de levendigheid van de Souks die ze bezocht als kind. Ze maakte  voor deze lijntekening gebruik van inktpigmenten die ze van haar grootmoeder kreeg.

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork    C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork
B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork    D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork



3 – Versie 1 B

Milou Waegemaker is opgeleid als danser aan Codarts. Voor de hip hop choreografie 'Jump' maakt ze gebruik van bewegingen uit de Nmane, een ceremoniële dans die wordt uitgevoerd op speciale toetredingen, zoals bruiloften.

3 – Versie 2 C

Esi Botchwey is opgeleid als danser aan Codarts. Voor de hip hop choreografie 'Jump' maakt ze gebruik van bewegingen uit de Nmane, een ceremoniële dans die wordt uitgevoerd op speciale toetredingen, zoals bruiloften.

3 – Versie 3 A

Milou Waegemaker  is opgeleid als danser aan Codarts.  Voor de hip hop choreografie 'Jump' combineert ze klassiek ballet, waar gewichtloosheid centraal staat, met krachtige bewegingen uit de urban dance.

3 – Versie 4 D

Esi Botchwey is opgeleid als danser aan Codarts. Voor de hip hop choreografie 'Jump' combineert ze klassiek ballet, waar gewichtloosheid centraal staat, met krachtige bewegingen uit de urban dance.

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork      C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork

B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork      D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork



**4 - Versie 1 D**

Fatima Çelik is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In het werk 'Companion' (een samenstelling van 'cum' en 'pane') verwijst het breekbrood naar het delen van brood in de westerse traditie.

**4 - Versie 2 A**

Sophie De Jong is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In het werk 'Companion' (een samenstelling van 'cum' en 'pane') verwijst het breekbrood naar het delen van brood in de westerse traditie.

**4 - Versie 3 C**

Fatima Çelik is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In het werk 'Companion' (een samenstelling van 'cum' en 'pane') verwijst het breekbrood naar het samenkomen voor de maaltijd na zonsondergang tijdens de Ramadan.

**4 - Versie 4 B**

Sophie De Jong is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In het werk 'Companion' (een samenstelling van 'cum' en 'pane') verwijst het breekbrood naar het samenkomen voor de maaltijd na zonsondergang tijdens de Ramadan.

A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork   C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork

B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork   D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork



5 – Versie 1 A

Anouk Overmeer is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Dit street art piece is geïnspireerd op de Delfts blauw-techniek. Ze legt hiermee de link tussen de traditionele Hollandse tegeltjes en haar eigen murals.

5 – Versie 2 D

Akuna Nkrumah is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Dit street art piece is geïnspireerd op de Delfts blauw-techniek. Ze legt hiermee de link tussen de traditionele Hollandse tegeltjes en haar eigen murals.

5 – Versie 3 B

Anouk Overmeer is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Dit street art piece is geïnspireerd op de Ghanese textielprint, waarbij kleuren en vormen een symbolische betekenis hebben.

5 - Versie 4 C

Akuna Nkrumah is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. Dit street art piece is geïnspireerd op de Ghanese textielprint, waarbij kleuren en vormen een symbolische betekenis hebben.

| A: Majority Artist / Majority Artwork | C: Minority Artist / Minority Artwork |
|---|---|
| B: Majority Artist / Minority Artwork | D: Minority Artist / Majority Artwork |



**6 - Versie 1 C**

Suki Yamamoto is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In deze fotoreeks over Rotterdam maakt ze gebruik van een Riso-printer – een hedendaagse verwijzing naar de Japanse Ukiyo-e houtprints die ook gebruikt werden voor het vastleggen van omgevingsgezichten.

**6 - Versie 2 A**

Janne Oost is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In deze fotoreeks over Rotterdam maakt ze gebruik van een Riso-printer voor een hedendaagse interpretatie van de kenmerkende Hollandse luchten uit de Gouden Eeuw.

**6 - Versie 3 C**

Suki Yamamoto is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie.  In deze fotoreeks over Rotterdam maakt ze gebruik van een Riso-printer voor een hedendaagse interpretatie van de kenmerkende Hollandse luchten uit de Gouden Eeuw.

**6 - Versie 4 B**

Janne Oost is een studente aan de Willem de Kooning Academie. In deze fotoreeks over Rotterdam maakt ze gebruik van een Riso-printer – een hedendaagse verwijzing naar de Japanse Ukiyo-e houtprints die ook gebruikt werden voor het vastleggen van omgevingsgezichten.

## Appendix C

Table 1: Total Score By Artist, Content and their interaction, Multilevel
Regression, Main Model Results

| Predictor | Slope (B) | St. Error | t | p | Lowerbound | Upperbound |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 95 % Confidence Interval (B) | |
| Intercept (mean) | 3.35 | 0.08 | 41.30 | <.001 | 3.19 | 3.51 |
| Minority artist | 0.31 | 0.11 | 2.85 | .005 | 0.97 | 0.53 |
| Minority content | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.43 | .67 | -0.05 | 0.26 |
| artist * content | -0.20 | 0.16 | -1.28 | .20 | -0.50 | 0.11 |
| Capable | 0.15 | 0.04 | 3.88 | <.001 | 0.07 | 0.23 |
| Non-Dutch | -0.22 | 0.18 | -1.20 | .23 | - 0.58 | 0.14 |
| Minority artist * Non-Dutch | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.81 | .42 | - 0.29 | 0.69 |
| Minority content * Non-Dutch | 0.49 | 0.24 | 2.08 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 1.05 |
| Minority artist * Minority content * Non-Dutch | -.034 | 0.34 | -0.10 | .92 | -.071 | 0.64 |

| | -2 Log Likelihood | Delta Chi-Square (df = 9) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regression Model (random intercept, fixed slopes) | 627.32 | 78.07 | p < .001 |
| Regression Null Model (fixed intercept only) | 705.39 | | |

*Note*: The intercept represents the estimated mean for the reference condition: *Majority artist / Majority content*

Table 2: Descriptives for Valuations
Dependent variable Total Score

| Condition | n | Total Score | | Promising | | Interesting | | Authentic | | Good | | Predictable (reversed) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* |
| Majority artist/Majority content | 84 | 3.32 | 0.81 | 3.23 | 0.87 | 3.46 | 0.95 | 3.42 | 1.00 | 3.15 | 0.94 | 3.36 | 1.00 |
| Majority artist/Minority content | 84 | 3.46 | 0.59 | 3.37 | 0.77 | 3.63 | 0.71 | 3.46 | 0.86 | 3.37 | 0.64 | 3.32 | 1.00 |
| Minority Artist/Majority content | 82 | 3.67 | 0.65 | 3.59 | 0.83 | 3.83 | 0.81 | 3.76 | 0.83 | 3.50 | 0.71 | 3.50 | 0.97 |
| Minority artist / Minority artwork | 86 | 3.62 | 0.65 | 3.55 | 0.75 | 3.88 | 0.74 | 3.59 | 0.89 | 3.45 | 0.76 | 3.42 | 0.96 |
| **Total** | **336** | **3.51** | **0.69** | **3.43** | **0.82** | **3.70** | **0.82** | **3.56** | **0.90** | **3.37** | **0.78** | **3.40** | **0.98** |

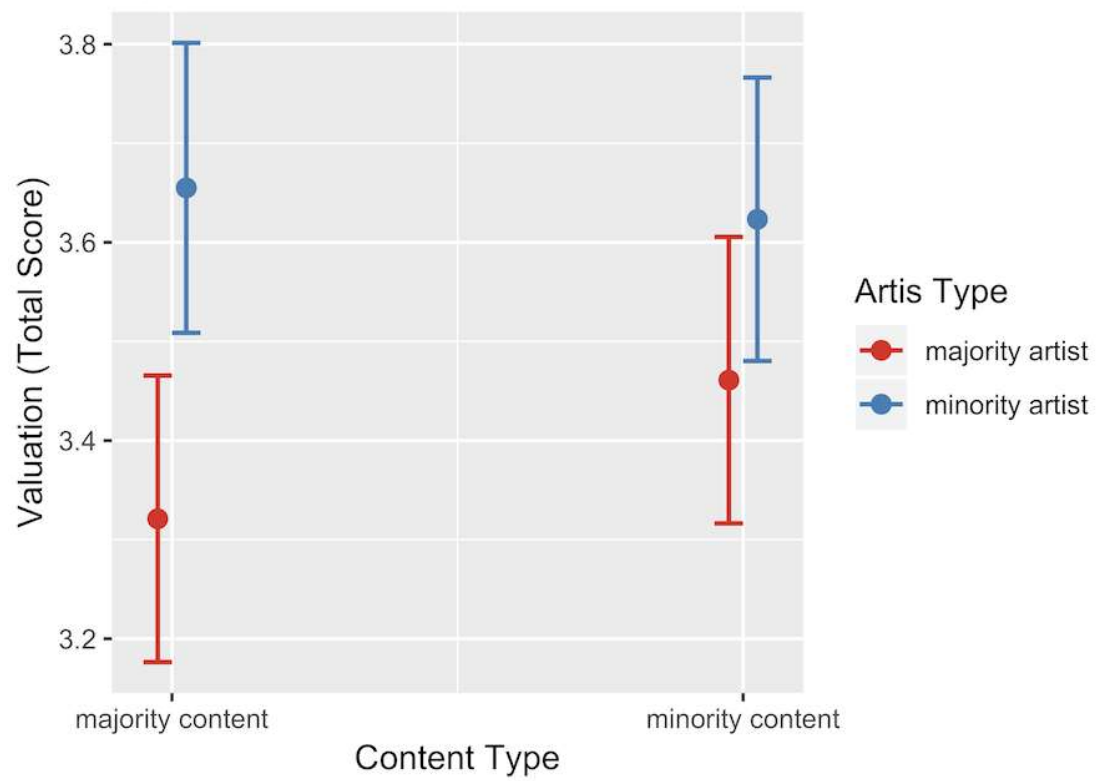Figure 1: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artist and Content

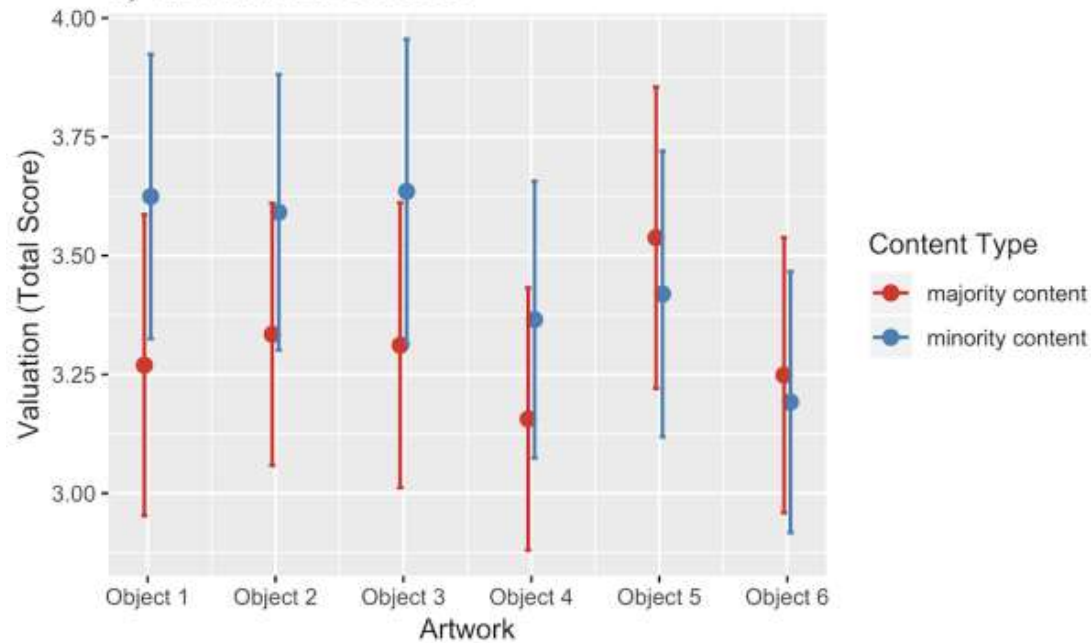Figure 2: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artwork and Content

Figure 3: Predicted mean values for Valuation by Artwork and Artist