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Introduction

Introduction

Selling 376.775 copies, Dan Brown's Inferno was the bestselling book of 2013 in the Netherlands. Together with, amongst others, novels by Afghan-born American novelist Khaled Hosseini, a classic work of the late John Williams, British author Rosamund Lupton, the American E.L. James and Dutch author Tommy Wieringa, it appeared in the top 10 of best sold books in 2013 (CPNB, 2014). A trip to a nearby Dutch bookstore will tell you the same: books written by authors from all over the world are being sold in Dutch just as easily as books written by Dutch writers. Looking further down the list of bestselling books of 2013 one finds Swedish authors Jonas Jonasson and Karl Ove Knausgard, Danish Jussi Adler-Olson and more American authors, such as Donna Tartt, Karin Slaughter, David Baldacci and John Grisham. There is also an Italian author, Paolo Giordano—who had hit it big a few years earlier with The Solitude of Prime Numbers—and the Spanish Carlos Ruiz Zafón, one of the most successful contemporary Spanish authors. Of course, more Dutch authors appear as well; for instance, A.F.th. Van der Heijden, Herman Koch, Saskia Noort and Arthur Japin have done well in 2013.

While a bestseller list is not representative of all books that are translated into Dutch, it does give rise to a number of striking observations. For one, it shows that many of the biggest books of the year are translated. It also shows that writers from quite a few places are being translated, but probably not from all places. For instance, it is striking that there were no African writers on the bestseller list, and neither any from Asia. And, one could ask if Hosseini's book would have been translated into Dutch if he had stayed in Afghanistan where he was born? The best-seller list also suggests that American and British writers are very popular, maybe even more popular than Dutch authors. Browsing through the bookstore, one will find roughly the same pattern. Many books are translated from many places but some places are better represented than others. Sociologically, this begs the question: how do books travel across the globe?

To answer this question, in this dissertation I analyze how translation flows of fiction and poetry books in the Dutch literary field develop. To do so, I construct a dataset of all fiction and poetry books published in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009 to analyze translation flows within the context of the entire book production in fiction and poetry. In addition, I study the practices of New York literary scouts that work for Dutch (and other) publishers to help them select the most interesting manuscripts from the Anglo-American literary field. Furthermore, I analyze the practices of Dutch acquiring editors who are responsible for deciding which books to publish. As such, in combining large-scale quantitative data with

in-depth qualitative data, I attempt to examine the whole of the translation processes, not only the translation flows on an aggregate level, but also the micro-sociological and meso-sociological processes that underlie these translation flows.

Translations have a rich history in the book industry. Especially after the development of printing, a sizeable transnational book market emerged in which publishers and booksellers were actively engaged with publishing in other languages on foreign markets and translating books for their local market (e.g. Franssen, 1986; Gibbs, 1971; Behiels et al., 2014; see especially Casanova, 2004). Translations were crucial in the development of the novel in the Netherlands and made up the largest part of fiction publications throughout the 19th century (Oosterholt, 2012; Streng, 2011). Moreover, the language from which a book is translated is used as a genre and explicitly noted in the title of the book (Streng, 2014). In the 20th century, the development of the book industry increased in a rapid pace (e.g. Kuitert, 2008 for an overview) and translations increased as well. Heilbron (1995) shows that, after the Second World War, translations from English made up an increasingly large portion of books published.

The development of translation flows have been described as part of a process of cultural globalization, which is defined as 'the growing international diffusion, exchange, and intermingling of cultural goods and media products' (Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord, 2008: 720). It is especially since the end of the Second World War (Heilbron, 1995; Trumpbour, 2007)—in books and movies, and even later, in the 1980s, in fields such as television (Hesmondhalgh, 2007)—that cultural globalization increased and transnational cultural fields and transnational media conglomerates developed to an unprecedented scale (Kuipers, 2011). In the book industry as well, which already had a long history of transnational circulation, the extent to which publishers became part of transnational media conglomerates (e.g. Greco, 1989; 1999) and the scale on which books travelled around the world was unparalleled.

The development of the transnational circulation of cultural goods has, in sociology, predominantly been studied in terms of cultural imperialism. This term was used to describe the increasingly dominant position of American culture across the globe. An example of this was the American foreign policy that was developed after the Second World War, which focused on cultural goods (filling libraries, holding art exhibitions and so on, see Stephan, 2006) and on intellectual and academic exchange (e.g. Frankel, 1965). Moreover, it was used to describe the 'imperialistic' position of American media conglomerates in fields such as television, film and communication industries (e.g. Tracey, 1985; Tomlinson, 1991; Petras, 1993; Beck et al., 2003; see Hesmondhalgh, 2007 for an overview).

Some of these scholars fear that globalization will lead to, or actually consists of, a process of Americanisation (see also Ritzer and Stillman, 2003) in which American (popular) culture will come to replace local (and high-brow) cultures and through which a more homogeneous world culture will emerge. As such, the field of globalization studies was long dominated by research on power relations between nation-states.

The sociology of translations developed in close relation to this approach and was initially built on the world-systems theory of Wallerstein. The sociology of translations as developed by De Swaan (1993) and Heilbron (1995; 1999) aims to understand book translations in relation to economic, political and cultural power relations between nation-states. Heilbron shows that we can understand the relative size of translation flows that are exported from the position a nation has in the cultural world-system. Powerful nations in or around the core export a large number of translations to countries in the periphery, while they import very little. In countries located in the periphery of the field, the import is very high, especially when considered as a percentage of the total book production, while the export is very small. In other words, a country such as Greece or the Netherlands might translate more than 50% of its total fiction book production, but the export of Greek and Dutch books is very small. Heilbron shows that, after the Second World War, especially the translation of English books took flight and books translated from English had a larger share in some genres than books originally written in Dutch (Heilbron, 1995). As such, this perspective understands translations in the context of political, economic and cultural power relations between nations and shows how power relations shape translation flows. However, this approach falls short in an analysis of specific translation practices and markets. As Heilbron notes:

> '[T]here are questions to be raised about the significance of such an international system for the understanding of specific translation practices. There is obviously no simple and immediate transition from analysing a world-system to analysing a national publishing industry or particular translation strategies. The world-system is concerned with the most general set of condition, and for a more complete survey, it is necessary to link these conditions to the social dynamics of the publishing business and its different segments. (...) the social organisation of the market is thus a crucial dimension for assessing the role of translations, and the sociology of markets is very relevant (Swedberg, 1994). A more complete sociological analysis may therefore seek to connect the dynamics of the international translation system with the actual working of the book market and its various segments.'
>
> (Heilbron, 1999: 440-441)

While the world-systems approach has illuminated sociological research on translations, the approach suffers from drawbacks, as Heilbron notes. Most importantly, translations are not conceptualised on a micro-level but understood as part of translation flows on the macro-level of the nation-state or language group they originate out of. Indeed, literary texts are used in processes of nation-building (e.g. Rock, 2010). Moreover, they sometimes explicitly act as representations of, or having strong ties to, the nation-state, for instance in the Marshal Plan and when translations are funded by state agencies (e.g. Smith, 2004), but this is not the case for all translations. As Heilbron notes, translations are, at the same time, part of different (trans)national book markets and (trans)national literary fields (see also Heilbro and Sapiro, 2007). In this dissertation, I take up Heilbron's invitation to work towards a more complete sociological analysis of translations and understand translations as emerging from the specific transnational configuration in which they are produced.

As such, my dissertation takes a different approach to understand translations within the (trans)national literary field and (global) book market in which they are produced and sold. Understanding translations in this way requires a different analytical framework than traditional approaches to globalization. I follow the institutional approach that has been developed in the sociology of culture (e.g. Peterson and Anand, 2003). This approach is inspired by both field-theoretical understandings of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993) and neo-institutional research (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). In recent years, this approach has increasingly been utilised to analyze how cultural globalization takes place in practice (Bielby and Harrington, 2008; Kuipers, 2011; Forthcoming; Velthuis, 2013; Dowd and Janssen, 2011).

A critical difference from the above mentioned perspectives on globalization is that this approach focuses on *how* books, and other cultural goods, travel across the globe. These scholars analyze the transnational cultural fields in which this process takes place. They show that these fields have their own logics (e.g. Kuipers, 2012; Sapiro, 2010), conventions and gatherings such the art fair art basel for visual arts (Quemin, 2013), NAPTE conferences for television (Bielby and Harrington, 2004) or MIPCOM in Cannes for all audiovisual content (Kuipers, 2012), the Frankfurter Buchmesse for books (Moeran, 2010) and their own rules and regulations (for instance regarding copyright and trade agreements). Moreover, they show how actors and their daily practices constitute the very basis that makes translations, and the phenomenon of globalization itself, possible. As such, they develop a detailed account of the cultural intermediaries that work within (trans)national cultural fields, especially of their gatekeeping and brokering practices in which they forge new transnational connections but also guard the gates of national cultural fields (e.g. Kuipers, 2012; Heinich, 2012; Velthuis, 2013; Foster et al., 2011).

Inspired by this literature, I have developed a mixed-methods approach that combines large-scale quantitative data with in-depth interviews to answer the question on how books travel. I have, first, collected data on all fiction and poetry books published in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009 (more than 85.000 publications). This data can be used to describe the position of the Netherlands within the cultural world-system on the basis of translation flows into Dutch. This is useful as these translation flows are made up of countless individual editorial decisions to translate and publish this or that book. This type of data shows us in which directions, in aggregate, editors are looking and how this changed in the last three decades. However, with these data, the question of 'how' cannot be answered. To answer that question, I did in-depth interviews with New York literary scouts and Dutch acquiring editors. With this data, no aggregate view can be produced; rather, it is used to follow a book, or rather a manuscript, from the desk of a writer in New York, passing all kinds of intermediaries (such as agents and scouts), to the editor in the Netherlands who puts it onto the book market. In this process, the manuscript has been changed, edited, translated, classified and commodified and is turned into a—translated—book. Through analyzing the practices of scouts and editors, I come to understand in far more detail the complex evaluation and decision-making processes that are involved in making a book travel from one literary field to another and onto the book market than was until now possible in the sociology of translations.

This analysis of how books travel is developed in five articles that are presented as chapters in this dissertation. In chapters one and two, I engage with the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production, and re-introduce Bourdieu's notion of genre subfields (1996: 120-121). I argue that genres are powerful structuring mechanisms (see also DiMaggio, 1987) and that, as within literary fields, a lot of practices and institutions are organized within genres, such as author unions, libraries and reading groups. Genres itself structure literary fields relatively independently of the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production. In chapter 1, I analyzed to what extent genre subfields are useful concepts to understand translation flows. I argue that the static difference in translations between genres, most notably between poetry and romance, can be understood from the large-scale/small-scale opposition. Indeed, while in poetry linguistic origins are very diverse but there are relatively little translations, this is the opposite in romance novels where the share of translations is very large and the linguistic diversity is very low (see also Sapiro, 2010). However, when the development of translation flows over time is scrutinized, the relations between genres become more complex. First of all, the development of the share of translations in different genres

do not correlate with each other: there is no field-wide development in translation flows and also no uniformity in the large-scale/small-scale subfields. Especially among literary fiction and crime fiction, the developments are oppositional: in literary fiction, the share of translations and the share of English go up, while this is the other way around in crime fiction. This chapter then argues that genre subfields are important institutional structures within which we can understand translation flows, and their development, better.

In chapter two, I develop the analysis of translations within their genres further. I ask, using the genre and original language books in publishers' lists between 2000 and 2009, how the Dutch literary space is structured by hierarchies between genres and within genres. I designed this study based on Bourdieu's seminal article (Bourdieu, 1983) on the French literary field, in which he argues that literary fields are characterized not only by the field-wide opposition between the large-scale and small-scale pole, but that this opposition is also apparent in genres themselves. While, on a field-wide level, genres stand in hierarchical relations with each other, the opposition between autonomy and commerce is also reproduced within genres themselves. The internal differences between publishers in the same genre can be so large that publishers in similar poles in different genres are more similar to each other than to publishers from the other pole of the same genre. Using genre and original language, this chapter examines the Dutch literary space through 215 publishers' lists and finds that four subfields can be distinguished. On the one hand, there is an autonomous poetry subfield in which publishers are small and publish according to radically different logics than publishers on the other side of the field (see also Dubois, 2006). In this subfield, the internal hierarchies between languages are less important. Poetry publishers publish poetry from a range of source languages. They do, however, not often publish other genres on their publishers' list. On the other side of the field, the large-scale subfield, I find three subfields of publishers. The Anglo-American-commercial subfield, the local-commercial subfield and, in the middle of the field, the large generalist publishers who publish mainly literary fiction, combined with other genres. These different subfields show that the large-scale pole is not uniform. Within this part of the literary space, there is an opposition between publishers who are focused more on popular genres from Anglo-American literary fields and those publishers in the middle that publish far more literary fiction and poetry. This opposition, however, is not only one between genres but also, importantly, one that comes out within genres. In crime fiction, there is an opposition between translations from English on the one hand, and Dutch and Scandinavian crime fiction, which holds a far better position in the literary space, on the other. Within literary fiction, there

is a similar distinction between publishers' lists dominated by English literary fiction, and publishers who publish a variety of translations from more peripheral languages and literary fiction originally written in Dutch.

In the second part of this dissertation, I develop an understanding of the way books travel in practice. I start in New York, in chapter three, to discuss the practices of literary scouts. I describe how scouts evaluate manuscripts that come onto the American publishers market in which American editors select the manuscripts they want to publish. There, scouts who work for European publishing houses have three roles. First, they act as gatekeepers, filtering information for their clients on the newest, most interesting manuscripts. Second, they act as brokers, connecting their clients to manuscripts and people in the New York literary scene. Third, they act as co-producers engaged in the transformation of manuscripts into books through labeling, classifying and evaluating them. Scouts use three evaluation regimes—the aesthetic, institutional and relational—to evaluate manuscripts. It is especially the relational regime, that of following buzz, that is most noticeable in markets such as this one, where cultural objects are not yet finished and actors are in a hurry to beat the competition to buy the best manuscripts. Because there are very little judgment devices to go on, scouts and American and foreign editors have to rely on this relational evaluation regime. Moreover, I argue that, in this case, this regime also denotes a specific type of valuation process, which can be understood as a relational mode of valuation in which value emerges through the network that develops around a new manuscript rather than through institutionalized consecration mechanisms.

In chapter four, together with Giselinde Kuipers, I have developed an understanding of the daily practices of acquiring editors as reactions to difficulties that they encounter in deciding what to publish. There is an overabundance of available new manuscripts to possibly publish. It is impossible to, on beforehand, know or predict the nature, quality and marketability of new manuscripts. In addition, there is a great competition for the 'best' new manuscripts. Editors cope with these issues in different ways during the decision-making process. We showed that editors spread their decision-making power across a network of people that they trust. In that way, other actors, such as literary scouts or befriended editors and translators, act as filters in the abundance of manuscripts available. Moreover, we find that editors rely on a strategy we dubbed 'identity' in selecting a possible manuscript. They relate the manuscript to their publishers' list and assess whether it 'fits' their publishing house.

The publishers' list also serves another purpose in the practices of editors: as a representation of symbolic capital. Editors build publishers' lists that show some

form of coherence and shows others who they are. It is the publishers' list that embodies the publishing house's symbolic capital. At big international events such as the Frankfurter Buchmesse, editors walk around with their publishers' lists so they can exchange them with other editors to get a sense of what the other publishes and what their position in the field is.

In chapter five, together with Olav Velthuis, I shift from editors' decisions on which translation rights to buy, to the way manuscripts are materialized and commodified by bringing them onto the Dutch book market. In this chapter, we ask how editors decide on the height of the retail price of new fiction and poetry books. We show how editors go about the process of making a retail price using a profit and loss statement in which all characteristics of a book are assembled together and have to be made to match. We found that editors aim for a price that is seen as fair by consumers; they follow the moral ruling of the market that prices should be legitimate. This legitimization is found by coupling the material of the book with its price-tag. However, there is no straight-forward pricing based on production costs. Rather, editors price books *as if* material drives the price. They magnify material difference to create a market order based on material characteristics. Again, this chapter does not only engage with the effort of editors but also shows the logic of the market, adding to our understanding of the institutionalized network in which this process of materialization and commodification takes place. We show that value, here, is an assemblage or, quite literally, an equation of the number of pages, the type of binding, the print run and whether it is a reprint or not. Genre and whether a book is a translation are also part of the assemblage but cannot do much in this setting. What creates market order here is the idea that one pays for the material one buys. As such, when it comes to translations, the act of translating can hardly be made valuable in terms of the retail price, while it does figure heavily in the cost price. The chapters in this dissertation are based upon articles that have been or will be published elsewhere. Chapter one has been accepted for publication by *Translation Studies*. Chapter two is under review with *Cultural Sociology*. Chapter three is currently under review with *Poetics*. Chapter four has been published in *Poetics.* Chapter five has been published in *Socio-Economic Review.*

Chapter 1

Book translations and the autonomy of genre-subfields in the Dutch literary field, 1981-2009

Chapter 1
Book translations and the autonomy of genre-subfields in the Dutch literary field, 1981-2009[1]

In the book industry, globalization manifests itself most clearly in translations. Individual translation reflects not only a publisher's decision to look to a certain place beyond national boundaries but also, as translation rights have to be bought, the transnational networks in which publishers are involved. Examining the aggregate of all individual translations can make the general structure of translation flows visible. Previous research has used the *UNESCO Index Translationum*[2] to analyze the cultural world-system that is formed through translations (e.g. Heilbron, 1995; Ginsburgh et al., 2010). This cultural world-system consists of ties between countries or language-groups and is regarded as a single interdependent system (Heilbron 1999, 431-432).

From the 1980s onwards the cultural industries have experienced an increase in the transnational exchange of cultural goods, which has been understood as the most recent wave of globalization in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Publishers have increasingly become part of these cultural industries by mergers and take-overs by large media conglomerates (e.g. Greco, 1989; 1999). In cultural industries like the field of television there is a clear opening-up of local markets for foreign products since the 1980s (e.g. Kuipers, 2011) and also between the Second World War and the 1980s in Dutch publishing there has been an increasing importance of translations, especially from English (Heilbron, 1995). This begs the question how translations have developed since. Does the trend of increasing transnational exchange continue in the Dutch literary field?

Asking this question in this way, however, does not account for differences between genres. Within a cultural world-systems approach such differences between (the global markets for) different genres cannot be made visible (Heilbron, 1999: 441) but we know that there are large differences between, for instance schoolbooks and fiction novels in terms of translations and also similar differences between different genres of fiction writing (Heilbron, 1995). Scholars working from a field-theoretical background have started to unpack these differences through an analysis of transnational cultural fields (Sapiro, 2010; Casanova, 2004). They argue that transnational cultural fields are institutionalized spaces characterized by an opposition between large-scale and small-scale production (e.g. Kuipers, 2011;

1. This chapter has been accepted for publication at *Translation Studies* as: Franssen, Thomas. "Book translations and the autonomy of genre-subfields in the Dutch literary field, 1981-2009"
2. http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsstatlist.aspx (15-11-2013)

Sapiro, 2010). This opposition affects which cultural objects can move across the world and how this movement happens. Yet, in the research on the transnational literary field there has been an almost exclusive focus on small-scale production (e.g. Sapiro, 2010; Casanova, 2004), while large-scale production has been neglected (see also Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Moreover, recent research on the Dutch literary field implies that this single structuring mechanism might not account for all differences between genres (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). Inspired by this body of research, I aim to develop further our understanding of translation flows as outcomes of decisions made by publishers who operate not only within a transnational literary field but, more specifically, within relative autonomous genre-subfields within the transnational literary field.

Translation flows and genre-subfields

The global market for translations has been conceptualized as a cultural world-system (De Swaan, 2001; Heilbron, 1999) in which countries or language-groups are positioned in a core-periphery structure. Heilbron shows that international power balances in the cultural world-system explain the uneven translation flows between language-groups and the varying role that translations play in different national literary fields (Heilbron, 1999: 431).

The extent to which national literary fields are globalized, in terms of translations, differs but can be very extensive. For instance, within smaller literary fields often more than half of the fiction books published are transla-ted from a foreign language (Van Voorst, 1997; Heilbron, 1995; 2008). Especially since the Second World War, the share of translations in the Dutch literary field (Heilbron, 1995; 2008) and attention to foreign books in the press (Janssen et al. 2008) has continuously increased. In line with the general increase of transnational exchange in the cultural industries since the 1980s (Hesmondhalgh, 2007) and the growing transnational development and dissemination of cultural goods (e.g. Kuipers, 2011; Kuipers and De Kloet, 2009) it can be expected that the importance of translations has only grown further. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1:
The relative share of translations in Dutch book production increased between 1981 and 2009.

The dominance of the American, and to a lesser extent British, cultural industries grew rapidly in the 20th century and led to great concern about the dominance of American cultural goods in foreign cultural markets (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 74). In line with this broader dominance it is no surprise that translations from English are dominant in the Dutch literary field. The relative share of English translations grew especially rapidly after 1945; previous to this, French, German and English had held roughly similar shares (Heilbron, 1995; Heilbron and Sapiro, 2007; Streng, 2011).

Since the 1980s literary fields have been confronted by increasing rationalization (Sapiro, 2010), commercialization or popularization (Verboord, 2011; Collins, 2010) and conglomeratization (Schiffrin, 2001; Greco, 1999). These factors all lead to an increased commercial pressure on publishers to publish literary novels that also sell well (Thompson, 2010). This drives publishers to publish more of what already sells and be less experimental and more conservative in their choices (Bourdieu, 2008).

This development has pushed European publishers in the direction of the dominant literary field: the Anglo-American market. European publishers expect the 'buzz' in the Anglo-American market to influence the continental media, who indeed devote more and more time to Anglo-American cultural goods (Janssen et al., 2008). Moreover, a bestseller in the Anglo-American market often marks the beginning of a multimedia production in which Hollywood movie rights or other forms of adaptation act as a further driver of sales. This increasing focus on the Anglo-American market is also apparent in the institutional arrangements made to ensure the purchase of translation rights to the most promising manuscripts. From the 1980s onwards Dutch publishers hired literary scouts in New York and sometimes London. It can be expected that in the Dutch literary field as a whole, the relative position of English has only grown more dominant throughout the last decades. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2:
The linguistic dominance of English translations increased between 1981 and 2009.

In line with the increased commercialization of the Dutch literary field and the more dominant position of English, it is expected that translations increasingly tend to be concentrated. Concentration is here understood as the extent to which translations are spread equally across all translated languages. The increasingly dominant market share of English is likely to increase this measure of concentration as well. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3:
The concentration of translations increased between 1981 and 2009.

When less powerful countries and producers access global markets, and they do so increasingly, this often takes the form of a process of appropriation in which globally dominant aesthetics, norms and objects are appropriated by less powerful producers (Kraidy, 2002). The case of Latin-American telenovelas, based on American soap operas but themselves also successful in foreign markets (Biltereyst and Meers, 2000) shows the complexity of processes of transnational diffusion of cultural goods and questions to what extent the origin of an aesthetic form is ever 'truly' national. A different way in which less powerful countries get access to the global market is by occupying a niche market, by focusing on one particular type of cultural genre. Studies show that different countries have successfully countered the hegemony of American cultural goods in this way. For instance, French comedy in film is increasingly popular abroad (Barthel-Bou-chier, 2012) which is less so for French films in other genres. Similarly, Dutch children's books are increasingly successful in translation as they are renowned for discussing 'serious' topics in a novel and down-to-earth way (Whitmore, 2013).

In studies of cultural globalization diversity is measured by the number of languages or nations that are represented in a global market, however small their representation might be (e.g. Quemin, 2006; 2013). As such, increasing diversity can co-occur with an increasing dominance of one language when the 'new' languages all have very little shares (Heilbron, 1995). In the Dutch literary field, the increase of translations since the Second World War also meant an increase in the number of languages translated (Heilbron, 1995). Assuming this trend continues, as it also did in a field like visual art (Quemin, 2006) it can be expected that more languages are represented in translations now than in the 1980s. Therefore I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4:
The diversity of source languages increased between 1981 and 2009.

Genre differences

While the theory of the cultural world-system offers general analysis and explanation of translation flows, differences between genres cannot readily be explained. Indeed, Heilbron argues that the relationship between markets for different categories of books and the broader structure of the cultural world-system should

be studied further (Heilbron, 1999: 441). To account for these differences between cultural forms or genres in global cultural markets, scholars have focused on three explanations: aesthetic form, cultural policy and field dynamics.

Aesthetic form is crucial to understand differences in transnational flows. Cultural forms based on performance are more difficult to translate into a new context and will cost more money and effort to transport (Janssen et al., 2008). Recorded culture on the other hand, especially music, is easier, but still often requires translation for instance through subtitling or dubbing (Kuipers, Forthcoming). Within literary exchange, it can be expected that a format-based thriller, in which plot development is more important than the use of language, is easier to translate than a volume of poetry (Cohen, 2003). The greater difficulty of translating poetry is linked not only to its dependence on language but also to the putatively higher status of the genre, as the relation between the original text and the translation is more likely to become the subject of critical debate (e.g. Robinson, 2010).

Second, cultural policies affect transnational flows. Crane (2002; 2013) has argued that cultural policy, both in terms of monetary subsidies as well as trade regulation and national quotas, can form transnational markets, in her case of the film industry. In literature, national and European agencies often award grants and residencies to support the translation of books with high amounts of cultural capital or that fit particularly well with a given national identity (Sapiro, 2003; Smith, 2004; Popa, 2006).

Third, the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996) or between 'commerce' and 'art' influences how the global market for translations functions and what gets translated. Sapiro (2008; 2010) argues that within the large-scale subfield the laws of the market determine the patterns of transnational exchange. In this subfield publishers publish what sells and try to cater to the taste of the reader. Within the large-scale subfield globalization is directly tied to the transnationalization of capitalism, characterized in particular by the development of new markets by large transnational media conglomerates (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Greco, 1999). The strategy of the Harlequin publishing house is exemplary in this case, as it operates as a multinational in which editorial teams in different countries translate and localize stories originally written in English, but have very limited editorial freedom by comparison with other publishing houses (Wirtén, 1998).

By contrast, the small-scale subfield is ruled, both nationally and internationally, by an aesthetic logic. Books are, to a larger extent, published out of aesthetic concerns and embody a certain cultural value (Bourdieu, 1993). According to Sapiro, as economic value does not dominate publishers' decisions, there is an altogether

different conception of globalization at work (Sapiro, 2010: 428-436). Agents at the small-scale end of publishing often have idealistic motives and want to make the work of writers they value available in a new language area. As publishers in this subfield operate relatively autonomously from the market, there is room to experiment with the translation of books that might not sell well but have a lot of cultural value. This often ties in with national cultural policies as it is especially the works with the greatest amount of cultural capital that nations wish to export. Therefore the small-scale subfield has been characterized by a high involvement of states and state-agencies. Moreover, due to their greater artistic prestige, literary fiction and poetry have been embedded in academia for far longer than any other genre of writing. Literary books have been saved in libraries and private collections and the most important works are subject to an active process of canonization (e.g. Guillory, 2010). The institutionalization of literature in academia, education and national heritage ensures its place in history and protects it from 'attacks' by the market (Bourdieu, 1993).

This field-theoretical understanding of cultural production suggests a strong division between genres that are mainly translated as a result of market forces, such as crime fiction and romance novels and, on the other hand, genres such as literary fiction and poetry that are less often translated as a result of market forces but whose greater cultural capital tends to attract support and subsidies from state agencies. As Sapiro (2010) argues that economic value dominates publishers' decisions in the large-scale part of the field, she suggests that publishers tend to publish what sells, which in these genres mainly are books translated from English. Moreover, translations itself are argued to be a strategy of risk-avoidance (Bourdieu, 2008) as these books have already 'proved themselves' in their national literary field. Based on this earlier research it can be expected that, firstly, translations are more prominent in crime fiction and romance than in literary fiction and poetry. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 5:
In each year, the relative share of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction.

However, while there may be more translations in commercial genres, it is expected that in literary fiction and poetry the diversity of languages is higher because of the involvement of state agencies and the stronger institutionalization of the literary canon. In commercial genres, on the other hand, the concentration is expected to be higher as publishers cater to the existing taste of the reader and therefore publish what is already popular (Bourdieu, 1993). I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 6:
In each year, the diversity of translated languages is higher in poetry and literary fiction than in crime fiction and romance.

Hypothesis 7:
In each year, the concentration of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction.

Moreover, the field-theoretical understanding of cultural production suggests internal coherence within the small-scale and large-scale subfields. It can be assumed that translation flows in crime fiction and romance develop relatively similarly, as the market forces that influence their production do so in comparable ways. For poetry and literary fiction the same internal coherence is expected although Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1996: 113-123) argues that literary fiction might be more dispersed across the field than poetry is. Both for the small-scale and large-scale subfields this strand of research assumes that publishers are subject to the same structural forces (for instance, increasing commercial pressure) and as such develop their publishers' list in a similar way. In relation to translations they question therefore is whether this similarity is found or that publishers in different genres within these large-scale or small-scale subfields do react differently, resulting in differences between translation flows.

Data

The data used here is collected by the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague which has among its goals to collect all books published in The Netherlands. The database includes all fiction and poetry publications published between 1980 and 2009 that have an ISBN number. In total, 80.231 books are included. However, the number of books collected for 1980 seems anomalous; it is much smaller than other years, and shows a very different spread across languages. This year is therefore excluded from the analysis. In contrast to earlier studies of literary fields (e.g. Bourdieu, 2008), this analysis is able to take into account fiction and poetry in both commercial and literary genres, of all types and sizes of publishers and from all types of authors over an extended period of time. The Royal Library records a number of characteristics of new books, in this article (1) the original language of the book, (2) the year of publication and (3) the genre, are used.

The original language was available for most books. In 670 cases multiple languages were given; these books were excluded from the analyses in which language plays a role. The different genre-categories included in the Royal Library data contained more missing values. On the basis of an intensive coding procedure, 72.114 out of the 80.231 books could be coded in one or more genres. The four biggest categories (literature, crime fiction, romance and poetry) are analyzed separately in the second part of this article.

To classify the fiction books I used the two genre classification systems which have become institutionalized in the Dutch book world. The first is a system used by publishers themselves. This system, which was initially called NUGI (the Dutch acronym for Netherlands Uniform Genre Classification) and has been called NUR (Netherlands Uniform Classification) since 2002, is used by publishers to communicate with booksellers about the 'shelf' (or online category) they would like to see their book placed on. Publishers can allocate multiple genre codes within this system.[3] The other classification system, simply called 'genre' in the database of the Royal Library, is not determined by publishers but by an organization called *NDC Biblion*. This organization is a service and information provider to Dutch libraries including information on, and reviews of, new books.

To maximize the number of books that could be taken into account, I located all editions of each book in the dataset and duplicated the genre-codes of each edition. So if one edition of a book has the genre-code 'literary', all editions of that book get that genre-code. Finally all books published by Harlequin were given the code "romance" because of the homogeneity of their catalogue and in order to address the problem of a notable lack of coding of these books in the middle of the 1980s.

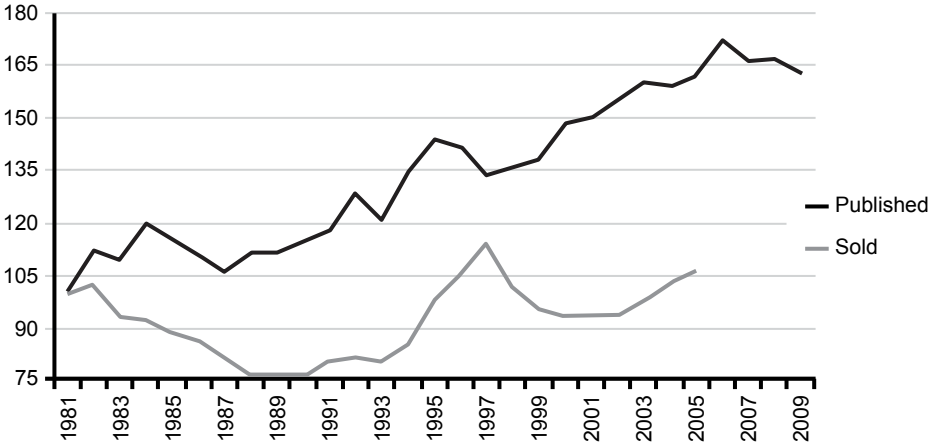
A portion of the books received more than one genre-code from the publisher or another agent and therefore appears in the data in more than one genre. This overlap is kept between all fiction genres. This means that some books are, for instance, both in the 'literary fiction' category and the 'crime fiction' category which might cause an overestimation of the relation between genres. However, publishers who decide to use multiple genre-codes do so to cross these boundaries. As such, dismissing this overlap would not be justified. Poetry is a separate category in the Royal Library database. In cases where a poetry book also received a genre-code (often they would also be called 'literature') this code was removed. This means than when I discuss literary fiction in this paper that does not include poetry books.

Before discussing the results, I briefly discuss the development of the Dutch literary field in terms of titles published and books sold. An important development in the Dutch literary field has been the growth in the number of titles published.

3. For more information on the classification system, see http://www.boek.nl/nur (15-11-2013)

In 1981, 2035 fiction and poetry books were recorded. This number rose to 3508 in 2006. After 2006 a slow decline is apparent, with 3307 books published in 2009. The extent of this rise stands in contrast to the number of books sold in the same period. In Figure 1.1, the numbers of books published and sold are presented as index figures, meaning that 1981 is taken as begin point and the rise or decline of published books and sales are presented as percentage of 1981. An index figure of 120 means that the number of books published is 20% higher than in 1981. These figures are collected by the Dutch Booksellers Association (NBV), and represent the sales of all 'general books', which includes non-fiction and children's literature as well as literature and poetry, but not romance novels sold in supermarkets. While therefore these figures represent a different corpus, the trends in the sale of general books gives insight in the development of the Dutch book market as a whole.

Figure 1.1: Number of books published, 1981-2009, and sold, 1981-2005



Number of books published and number of books sold are represented by an index (1981=100). E.g. 120 corresponds to a 20% rise.

As said above, the number of books published rises. There are momentary dips in production, from 1984 to 1988 and from 1995 to 1998, but these dips are compensated in the years after. There is a long dip in sales between 1981 and 1990, with the number of books sold declining each year. After 1990 the number of books sold rises slowly, though only in 1996 does it rise above the number of books sold in 1981. After 1997 book sales decline again, dipping below 100 only to rise above 100 in 2004 and 2005. After 2005, due to a new way of measuring sales, figures are no longer comparable to earlier data. However, assessing the trend from 2005 onwards after 2007 there is a steady decline in the number of books sold up until 2012.[4]

4. http://www.kvb.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/kerncijfers (16-10-2013)

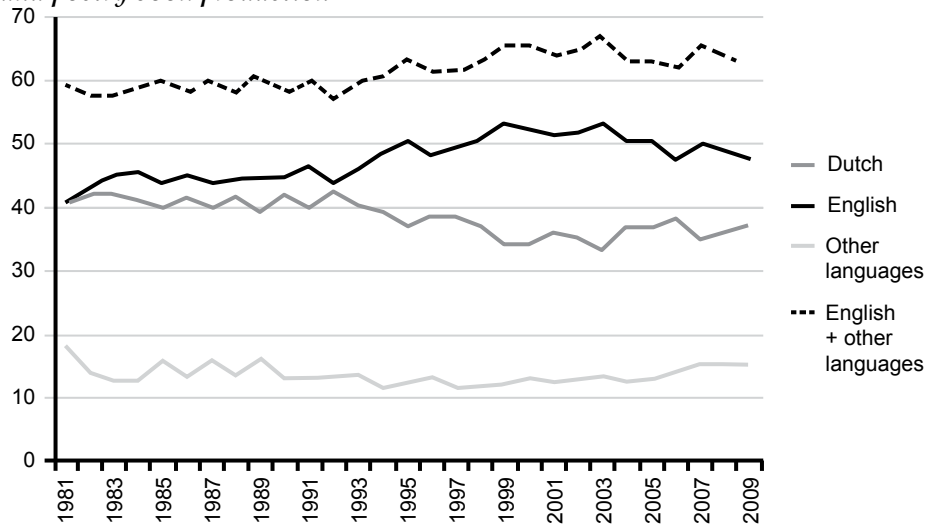
The rise in the number of books published, in a market that is either stable or declining, seems to point to so-called 'spaghetti-publishing'. This term is used in the book industry to refer to contemporary practices of publishing many books at the same time – a little like throwing a bowl of spaghetti against a wall to see what sticks. The assumption is that, since publishers do not know what will have a chance of becoming a bestseller, they simply publish all kinds of books and once a book seems to start selling (or gets a lot of media attention) they focus all their marketing and PR time and energy on that title in order to make it into a bestseller (see also Thompson, 2010 on big books).

Results

Translations

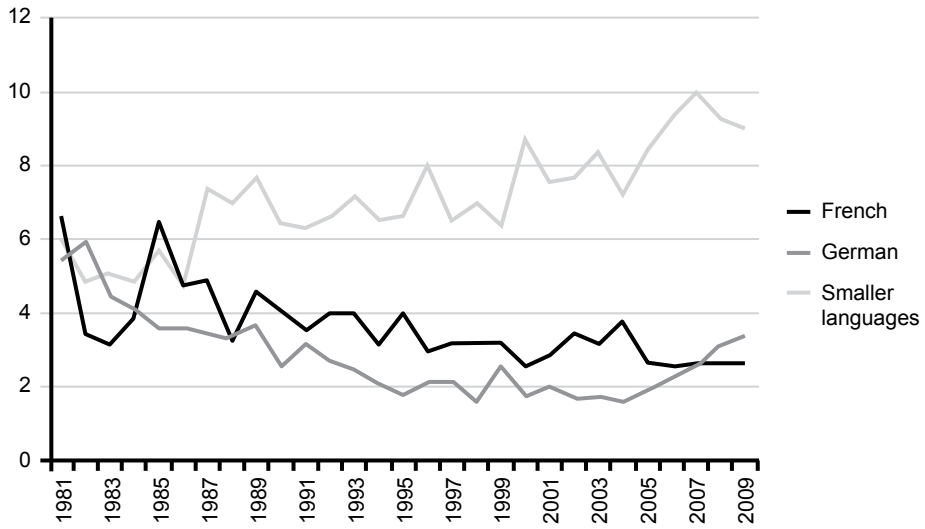
Figure 1.2 describes the development of the share of translations between 1981 and 2009 as a percentage of total fiction and poetry book production, in terms of number of published titles. The total book production is grouped into original Dutch publications; translations from English; and translations from other languages. The percentage of translations is already above 50% in 1981 and continues to grow very slowly throughout the 1980s. In the 1990s the percentage of translations continues to rise until 2003; at this point, only 33,17% of published books are written in Dutch. However after 2003 there is no continued increase of translations.

Figure 1.2: Dutch, English and, all other languages as percentage of total fiction and poetry book production



Translations are not equally divided across all source languages, because publishers select books from literary fields that are deemed interesting or commercially important. Moreover, publishers often follow each other and copy successful strategies of competitors. As Figure 1.2 shows, most books in the Dutch literary field are translated from English. While in 1981 the number of books translated from English and those written in Dutch are almost equal (828 and 825), translations from English grow at a faster rate than books written in Dutch, which is why the relative share of Dutch books declines. Especially between 1993 and 2003, the relative share of English rises while the relative share of Dutch books declines. In 2003 there are 2727 books translated from English and only 1981 written in Dutch (not shown in the figure). After 2003 the difference becomes smaller; in 2009 there is 'only' a difference of 341 books. As such, hypothesis 2, the linguistic dominance of English translations increased, can be confirmed.

Figure 1.3: German, French and all smaller languages as a percentage of total fiction and poetry book production



Compared to the more than 2000 books that are translated from English and written in Dutch each year, the other languages are represented at a far lower level. More than 50 books (but most years less than 100) are translated annually from French and German. Figure 1.3 shows that, relatively speaking, both French and German lose ground, and while German picks up after 2004, French seems to lose ground more permanently. These findings corroborate those of previous studies (Janssen et al., 2008; Heilbron, 2008). Spanish and Swedish only sporadically come above 50 books (relative to the number of Swedish speakers this is exceptionally high,

cf. Ginsburgh et al., 2011). Russian and Italian hover at around 20 to 40 books per year while Portuguese, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew only sometimes come above 10 books. Norwegian and Danish have only recently risen to more than 10 books a year.

The overall rise of translations in the 29-year period analyzed here is relatively small. This is remarkable because it suggest there is a limit to the rising dominance of translations in the Dutch literary field. At the high point in 2003 66,3% of books were translated, which is a rise of roughly 8% compared to the first years of the 1980s. The decline to 62,8% in 2009 takes the proportion of translations back to 1995 levels. While there is indeed a rise of the relative share of translations and Hypothesis 1 can thus be confirmed, this rise is less great and less constant than expected based on the wave of globalization in the cultural industries from the 1980s onwards (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Moreover, the decline after 2003 does not seem to be a flash in the pan. After 2003, translations from English do not grow as fast as previously and in some years even decline in absolute numbers. While translations from smaller languages do rise, this is not enough to keep the relative share of translations at the same level.

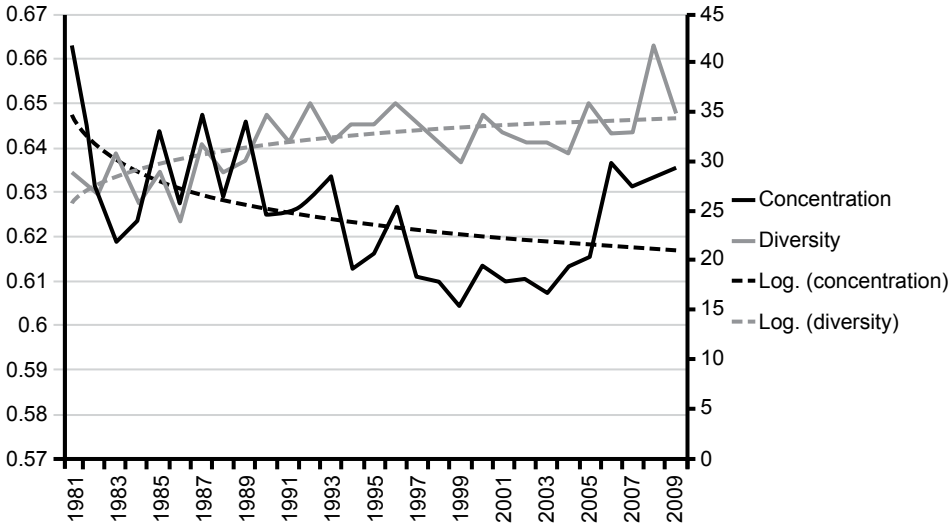
These results show that the largest increase in the proportion of translations, and hence in the internationalization of publishers' strategies, has taken place before 1981 as Heilbron (1995) showed, and doesn't rise at the same pace from the 1980s onwards. Moreover, while the transnational exchange of cultural goods is assumed to have increased considerably since that time (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), publishers' strategies show only slightly more internationalization, and after 2003 even become more inward-looking. Instead of looking for more and more books to translate, on the aggregate level, publishers pick relatively more Dutch books to publish, hence the decline in the relative share of translations after 2003. This also suggests the persistence of local ties in cultural production (Velthuis, 2013). As Velthuis showed for gallery holders, the institutional framework in which cultural producers work in which success is highly uncertain means that they rather work with people they know and trust, and importantly, are close by. This is useful for promotional purposes and gives them a chance to keep an eye on artists. For publishers, whose capability of predicting which books will hit it off is similarly low (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013), this could be one of the reasons that translations are not increasing. Working with local authors might be more productive.

Furthermore, as Quemin (2006; 2013) also noted, there is a strong continuity in the hierarchy of languages. Regarding the absolute number of translations there are only 18 languages that, in one or more years, are translated more than 10 times. Only 7 languages make up, at any point, more than 1% of the total book production, and only three (English, German and French) do so in each constitutive year.

Again this shows the persistence of (global) publishing networks. Publishers work with foreign authors, editors and publishers for longer periods of time and often say that they want to 'publish an author, not a single book'. As such, they develop relationships that, on the field-level, create this relatively stable hierarchy.

However, as Figure 1.3 shows, the share of the smallest languages does rise quite continuously from the 1980s onward. In Figure 1.4 the number of languages that are translated in each year is plotted. The number of languages out of which one or more books are translated also rises from, on average, 28.5 in the 1980s to 33.2 in the 2000s (with a peak of 40 languages in 2008). As such, Hypothesis 4, the diversity of source languages increased, can be confirmed and this shows that publishers, in limited ways, do innovate and look for new literary traditions to translate.

Figure 1.4: Development of concentration (Gibbs-Martin index) and diversity (number of source languages)



At the same time the concentration of translations rises, as measured with the Gibbs-Martin index. The Gibbs-Martin index calculates the extent to which cases are spread equally across entities, in this case books across foreign languages. The closer the score comes to 1 the more equal the spread is. I used this measurement to analyze the extent to which translations are concentrated in source languages (following Janssen et al., 2008). A declining Gibbs-Martin index shows that the spread of translations across languages is becoming more unequal and that concentration is increasing. This is due to the increasing dominance of English in the 1980s and 1990s: indeed, when the position of English declines in the 2000s, the Gibbs-Martin index rises indicating a more equal spread across languages. However, because

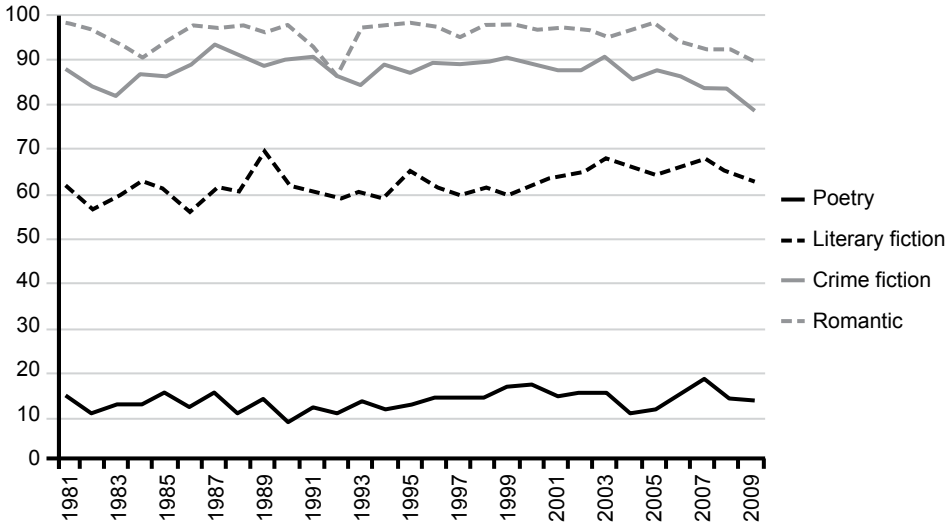
of the strong trend in the 1980s and 1990s, for the whole period, Hypothesis 3, the concentration of translations increased, can be confirmed.

This analysis shows that the increasing possibilities for transnational exchange in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007) does not simply lead to more and more translations in the Dutch literary field. There is an increase in cultural diversity, meaning that some publishers venture to lesser-explored literary traditions. On the other hand I also find an increase in concentration and an increasingly dominant position of English, which suggests that publishers tend to copy each other's successful strategies. As Heilbron (1995) and Quemin (2013) suggest, the dominance of English (or more generally Anglo-American culture) does not necessarily go against greater overall cultural diversity, as is evident from the rise in the number of source languages. The sheer volume of translations out of English which increases, however, causes the concentration to increase. Moreover, there is a great stability in the hierarchy of foreign languages. This analysis so far shows that in terms of translation flows into the Dutch literary field, there is some evidence that shows that more and more languages are represented and as such the process of globalization of which the translation flows are part, leads to greater inclusion of diversity. However, at the same time we must acknowledge that the extent to which this diversity really has an impact is very limited. The hierarchy of languages is very stable and the dominance of English is very great. As such, this analysis also provides evidence for an understanding of globalization as a process of Americanization (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Ritzer and Stillman, 2003). But, as Sapiro suggested (2010) it is very well possible that increasing diversity is something that occurs on the small-scale side of the literary field, while increasing Americanization (or Anglo-Americanization) is something that only occurs on the large-scale side of the field. This leads to the question for the next section of whether different genres develop in similar ways. In the next section, I compare the development of translations in literary fiction, poetry, crime fiction and romance.

Differences between genres

The differences in the relative share of translations between the four main genres are remarkably large. Translations constitute slightly more than 10% of published poetry. The figure rises to between 60% and 70% for literary fiction, while translations account for between 80% and 100% of crime fiction and romance (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5: Relative share of translations in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance



The shifts that take place – a decline in the relative share of translations in crime fiction and romance and a rise in literary fiction – do so gradually and slowly. Literary fiction shows a small rise in percentages but in terms of actual publications the development is more impressive. For instance, in 1992 224 books are translated out of 1490 literary fiction books. In 2008 there are 890 books translated out of 2188 literary fiction books. As such, publishers in literary fiction have to a much greater extent developed their international networks, while at the same time also publishing more books originally written in Dutch. The slow and gradual change in these relative shares are not unusual as publishers build a catalogue around specific authors, genres and languages. Moreover, in this dataset not only first editions are included but also paperbacks and other reprints out of the backlist. As successful books are often reprinted in various forms this creates continuity in the catalogues of publishers over the years. The differences between genres confirm Hypothesis 5, in each year the relative share of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction. As such, the share of translations matches the division between the small-scale and large-scale subfield and consequently, in reverse order, the hierarchy of the genres.

Figure 1.6: Diversity in translation (Number of source languages) in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance

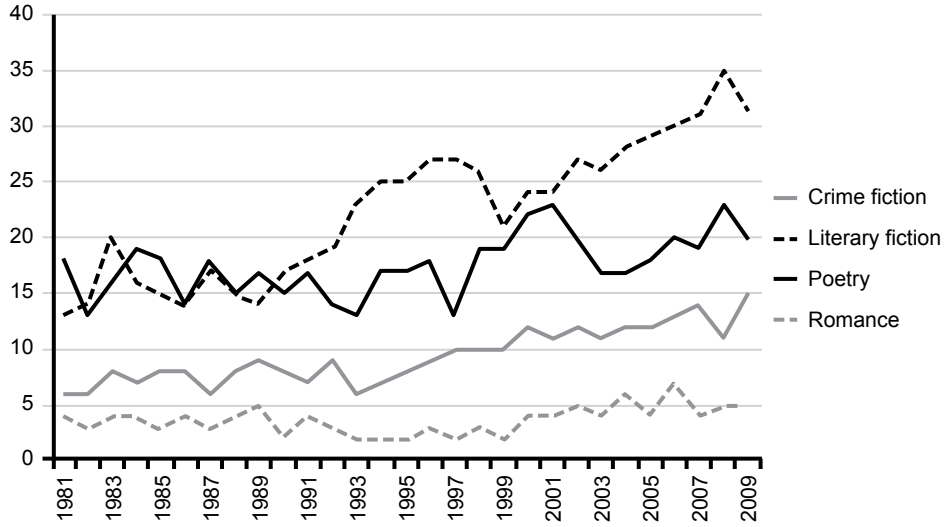
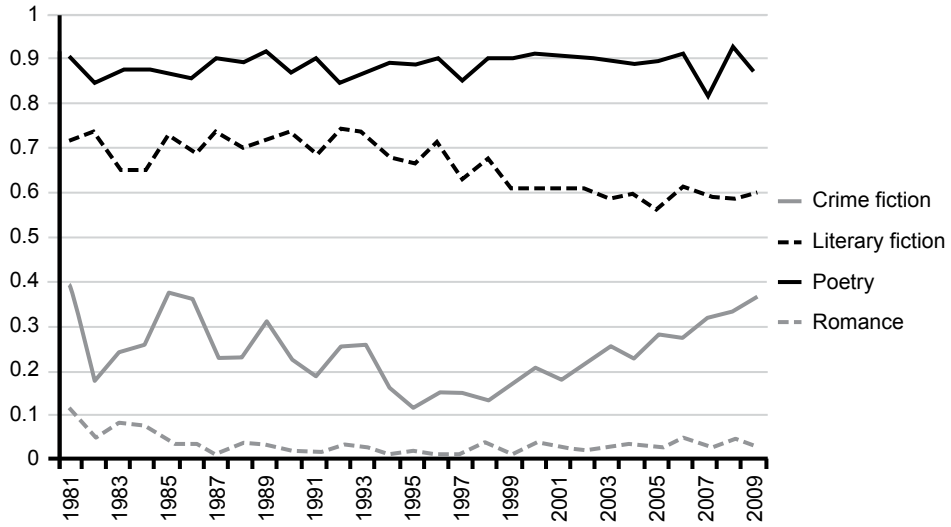


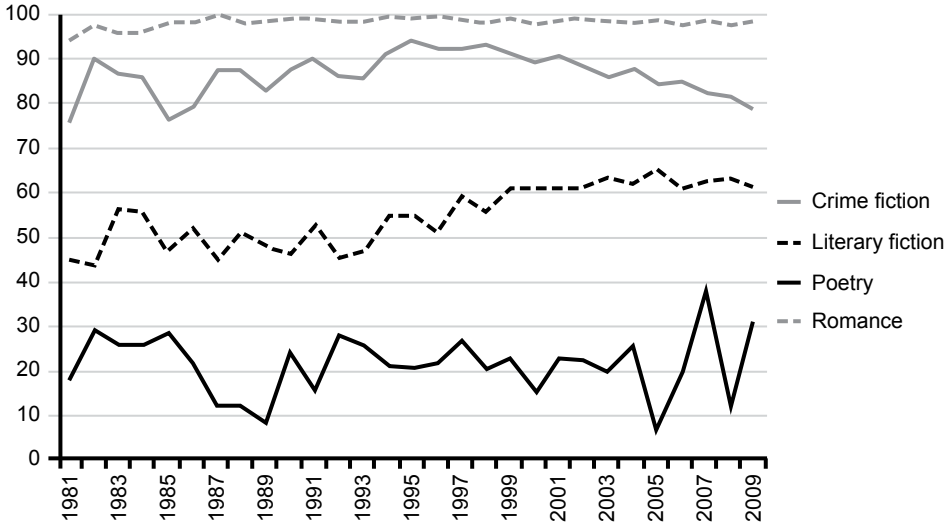
Figure 1.7: Concentration of translations (Gibbs-Martin index) in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance



It is expected that genres also differ according to the diversity of source languages, concentration of translations and the relative share of English. Figure 1.6 shows the number of source languages in each genre in each year. In literary fiction and poetry the number of languages represented in translation is far higher than in crime fiction and romance. These differences between genres are also visible in the concentration of translations. Comparing the Gibbs-Martin index scores of

each genre (figure 1.7), in each year the concentration is very low in poetry and so is the case, but to a lesser extent, for literary fiction. Crime fiction and romance have far higher levels of concentration. Related to the level of concentration is the dominance of English. In romance and crime fiction the share of translations from English is the highest while in literary fiction and especially poetry this is a lot lower (figure 1.8). These results confirm hypothesis 6, diversity is higher in poetry and literary fiction than in crime fiction and romance, and hypothesis 7, concentration is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction. More in general these confirm a field-theoretical understanding of the structure of the transnational literary field (Bourdieu, 2008; Sapiro, 2010). Indeed, this analysis shows that there is an opposition between the small-scale and large-scale pole of production. However, within these poles there are clear differences and the development of translations in genres over time shows contrasting trajectories.

Figure 1.8: The share of English as percentage of translations in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance



Relations between genre trajectories

As Figures 1.5 to 1.8 show, the genres not only differ greatly from each other, they also develop differently between 1981 and 2009, sometimes in contrasting directions. To test the relation between these trajectories I analyzed their correlation using a Spearman's rho, a standard measure for the extent to which two rows of numbers correlate with each other. The results show that for (1) the relative share of translations, (2) the relative share of English translations and (3) the development

of the level of concentration, only the trajectories of crime fiction and romance novels are significantly correlated with each other[5], while the others are not.

This indicates for one that translations develop through dynamics within genres, and therefore develop in different ways. As such when we speak about a general development, for instance a general rise in the relative share in English, this neglects important differences between genres and portrays literary fields as more coherent than they are. The general rise in the relative share of English, as I reported above is, on the level of genre, not a general rise at all, but a rise of the relative share of English in literary fiction.

Most interesting is the almost opposite development of crime fiction and literary fiction. Where in crime fiction publishers started to move away from translations from English in the 2000s, in literary fiction the opposite happened. For literary fiction these results confirm the increasing commercial pressure and related shift to the Anglo-American field (e.g. Schiffrin, 2001; Thompson, 2010). This might indicate the creation of a crossover space in between the two genres and, consequently, between the two poles of production. The emergence of the new genre 'literary thriller', which from 2002 onwards is also used as a genre-category in the main genre-categorization used by publishers, the NUR, also suggests that this crossover space is growing in importance. Reflecting on translations only, it seems that, indeed, literary fiction and crime fiction become increasingly similar.

Within the large-scale pole of production, in crime fiction there is a move away from uniformity in the 2000s which does not happen in romance. Publishers of crime fiction appear to demonstrate the same innovative practices as publishers of literary fiction do (Sapiro, 2010). These publishers not only publish what readers already like but also move towards new territory.

On the small-scale side of the field there is a very different dynamic at work in poetry relative to literary fiction: translations are relatively rare and publishers are much more locally focused. The poetry economy (Dubois, 2006) becomes more different from literary fiction as the latter becomes more and more international and more and more focused on Anglo-American books. This indicates that there is not a general field-wide process of commercialization in publishing, or within small-scale production for that matter, but that this process is restricted to a particular genre-subfield, that of literary fiction.

These findings confirm earlier qualitative research on the Dutch literary field that found publishers being predominantly in competition within their genre-subfield while still acknowledging the broader opposition between large-scale and

5. These correlations between crime fiction and romance are .475 (.009)/ .490 (.007)/ .483 (.008).

small-scale production (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). It appears that, in practice, publishers' strategies are influenced by the particular dynamics of the genre which, at times, steers them in opposite directions. There is, however, one development that does take place on a field-wide level, which is an increase of diversity in source languages represented in translation.

Diversity

The increase in diversity of source languages is a broad field-wide development. The trajectories of diversity are significantly related to each other for all combinations of genres except for poetry and romance. In Table 1.1 the Spearman's rho scores are presented. These results suggest that from the 1980s onwards Dutch publishers in all genres have increasingly looked to different national literatures for their translations and have diversified their transnational networks.

Table 1.1: Correlations between the development of diversity in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance

Diversity		**Crime fiction**	**Literary fiction**	**Poetry**	**Romance**
Crime fiction	Spearman's rho	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)				
Literary fiction	Spearman's rho	**,771*****	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000			
Poetry	Spearman's rho	**,563*****	**,460****	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,012		
Romance	Spearman's rho	**,531*****	,262	**,466****	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,003	,170	,011	

Table 1.1: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, (2-tailed)

This development of diversity can always be linked to a relatively small number of publishers who take an innovative approach. Indeed in every language and genre a few publishers publish a large share of the books. For instance, based on this dataset, De Geus publishes 53,05% of the Swedish literary novels translated into Dutch and 44,12% of literary translations from Arabic. Meulenhoff publishes 21,62% of literary novels translated from Hebrew. Wereldbibliotheek publishes 65,22% of literary novels translated from Finnish. As Sapiro (2010) argued, this diversity is of interest to publishers for moral and aesthetic reasons; I would add that it is of interest also for commercial reasons. In a subfield where publishers flock ever more

to the Anglo-American market, other languages are less competitive and offer the possibility of developing a niche identity. This is also visible in crime fiction where similar innovative publishing strategies are found. Signatuur publishes 34,41% of Norwegian crime fiction, and De Geus 45,97% of Swedish crime fiction. Even with a larger language such as German there is still considerable concentration, as De Boekerij publishes 26,42% of crime fiction translated into Dutch from German.

Conclusion

This research set out to understand the development of translations in the Dutch literary field between 1981 and 2009. Translations are brought into the Dutch literary field by publishers who are active in the global market for translation rights. It was expected that, as globalization intensified from the 1980s onwards in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Kuipers, 2011) the relative share of translations would also grow. But the analysis shows that there is only a minor rise in the relative share of translations and, after 2003, even a decline. This decline is due to fewer books being translated from English. This suggests that increasing globalization does not bring about a boundless rise of translations. Indeed, local production remains important in the Dutch literary field.

In the second part of this article, I analyzed the development of translations in the four main genres of the Dutch literary field; poetry, literary fiction, crime fiction and romance novels. Comparing the share of translations, diversity, concen-tration and position of English shows that there is a big difference between literary fiction and poetry on the one hand, and crime fiction and romance novels on the other. Analyzing the dynamic development of the genres uncovers that their trajectories are only slightly related. Only in the case of diversity is there a field-wide development: in all genres more and more languages are represented. This is not the case in the relative share of translations, the concentration and the dominance of English.

This analysis has several implications for further research. First, globalization does not lead to an unlimited quantity of translations. This analysis shows that the main rise of translations happened before 1980. After 1980, the rise is limited and the relative share of translations even drops after 2003. Globalization provides a gateway neither to cultural imperialism nor to unbounded cultural diversity. As Heilbron (1995) and Quemin (2006; 2013) also argue, there is indeed a clear hierarchy in the cultural world-system and the position of languages does not change much over time. English is very dominant and as such can be argued to have a hegemonic position. However, at the same time, there is an increasing number of source languages that is presented in translation and this is the case in

all genres. As such within the broader framework of a hierarchical world-system, diversity is possible and growing further.

Second, I argue that translation flows must be understood on the level of genres. The central structuring logic of cultural fields (e.g. Sapiro, 2010; Bourdieu, 2008), the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production, is visible in differences in translation flows between genres. This opposition does not explain the development of translations within the small-scale pole. Moreover, the shift in literary fiction and crime fiction away from the two poles raises the question of how to understand this new space in between the large-scale and small-scale poles of production. Also, the innovative practices of crime fiction publishers demonstrate that innovation through increasing diversity, as is common with literary publishers (Sapiro, 2010) is also a viable practice in more commercial enterprises. As such, the relation between aesthetics and commerce is complex not only on the autonomous side of the field, as Craig and Dubois (2010) showed for poetry, but also on the commercial side of the field (e.g. Kuipers, 2011). A question for further research is how (aesthetic) autonomy is given shape in different genres and how the literary subfield, which for so long has been pressured by market forces, might benefit from alternative forms of autonomy that are developed at the large-scale pole of the literary field.

Chapter 2

Genre, language and logics of cultural production: An analysis of publishers' lists and the Dutch literary space, 2000-2009

Chapter 2
Genre, language and logics of cultural production: An analysis of publishers' lists and the Dutch literary space, 2000-2009[6]

Western literary fields have, in recent decades, met with increasing commercialization, (transnational) conglomeratization and popularization, which influenced the publishing practices of editors and publishers. It has been argued that the editorial logic became rationalized (Shiffrin, 2001; Thornton, 2004; Childress, 2012), which introduced an 'American model' into European publishing (Bourdieu, 2008; Sapiro, 2010). Publishing houses became part of large transnational media conglomerates and books are increasingly marketed as consumer goods through all kinds of media outlets (Squires, 2007; Thompson, 2010), which created a 'popular literary culture' and an increasing intertwining of literary fiction and the cultural industries (through, for instance, movie adaptations of bestselling literary fiction) (Collins, 2010).

It has been argued that, through these developments, literary publishing houses have increasingly sought to publish popular fiction such as crime novels or romance, and the small-scale pole of literary production has been increasingly marginalized. The evidence that supports this is mainly qualitative research into the institutional structure and editorial practices of contemporary literary fields (see Childress, 2012; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013; Sapiro, 2010). An analysis of what publishing houses actually publish—their publishing lists'—is lacking. Bourdieu (2008) comes close as he analyzes the contemporary French literary field but the genres of books published is not taken into account in his quantitative analysis. A study of publishers' lists is, however, important for a number of reasons.

First, through such an analysis, it will be possible to identify the structure of what I call the 'literary space', that is the space of the position-takings, in this case genre-language combinations on publishers' lists of Dutch publishing houses. Through such an analysis of the literary space, we can assess to what extent the large-scale logic is dominating literary production and what type of publishers inhabit the pole of small-scale production. It is especially the position of literary fiction in this literary space that is of interest. While literary fiction traditionally had an intermediary position between the small-scale and large-scale pole (Bourdieu, 1993), it has been argued that the subfield of literary fiction has increasingly become part of the cultural industries (Collins, 2010; Sapiro, 2010) and as such is the genre influenced most by commercialization.

6. This chapter is submitted to *Cultural Sociology* as: Franssen, Thomas. "Genre, language and logics of cultural production: An analysis of publishers' lists and the Dutch literary space, 2000-2009".

Second, while a process of commercialization and popularization has diminished the position of literary fiction, popular fiction is rising in status (Janssen, 1999). An analysis of the contemporary literary space can show the extent to which popular genres are combined with 'higher' genres such as literary fiction or poetry in publishers' lists, which would indicate an increasing status of these genres.

Third, an analysis of publishers' lists that accounts for both the genre and the original language of books can not only offer an understanding of hierarchies between genres but also, through taking language into account, of hierarchies within genres. The sociology of translation has taught us that different languages hold different amounts of symbolic capital (Casanova, 2004; Heilbron, 2008). An analysis of publishers' lists can be used to analyze whether different languages within their genres hold different positions in the literary space as well. So, for instance, are Scandinavian crime fiction novels positioned differently than English crime fiction novels?

These questions are answered through an analysis of 215 publishers' lists of Dutch publishers between 2000 and 2009. These lists are analyzed by taking into account both the genre and language of the books that are published, but these are not treated as individual characteristics. Rather, I analyze how different languages are combined within each genre and, subsequently, how these different language clusters are combined on publishers' lists. In this way, both hierarchies within genres (through language) and between genres can be taken into account. This analysis of the literary space offers a cultural variant to the analysis of fields, that has in recent years moved increasingly towards organizational analysis neglecting to take position-takings into account, in line with Bourdieu's seminal work (1983) on the French literary field.

The structure of literary fields

Bourdieu's studies of the French literary field (1993; 1996) opened up the production of literature for sociological analysis. He claims that producers of culture are positioned in relation to each other, in a field depending on the type and amount of capital they have. Between the position of a producer and his or her position-taking—the cultural objects he or she produces—exists a close homology because there is a reciprocal relationship between the capital of the object and that of the producer. Thus, the producer consecrates objects and vice versa.

The structure of the French literary field is determined by two oppositions according to which publishing houses, writers, editors but also books and genres differ from each other. First, there is an opposition between the pole of restricted

or small-scale production and the pole of large-scale production. According to Bourdieu's seminal article (1983), the economic logic is reversed at the small-scale side of the field. Producers do not search for economic capital, it is the *l'art pour l'art* principle that structures this part of the field. Authors do not produce for a known audience as their audience does not exist yet. In their strife to be new, they need to create an audience before they can sell anything. Only after symbolic capital is earned can it slowly be transformed into economic capital. On the other hand, on the large-scale side, editorial policies are based on the existing taste of consumers: producers make what consumers want.

The second dimension is that of consecrated, old and large publishers against the newcomers. This dimension divides the haves from the have-nots. The publishers, whose authors already won prizes, are respected and read in schools and universities. They stand out from those publishers who are still looking for recognition for their work. This division then is as much about power as it is about aesthetics. Those in power adhere to the dominant aesthetic logic, that is the one that made them powerful in the first place, whereas those without power have their own, innovative yet powerless, aesthetic logic. For Bourdieu, the only real possibility of innovation comes from the fringes of the field on the artistic side. In this artistic outpost, new writers and publishers try to change the field through the production of new aesthetic laws and new ways of doing things.

This opposition between large-scale and restricted or small-scale production, which indicates the opposition between two ways of producing cultural objects, and between art and commerce, has both been used and criticized extensively in research on cultural production in the last decades. The tension between an aesthetic logic and a commercial logic is present in all cultural fields, for instance fashion (Mears, 2010), art (Velthuis, 2005), television (Kuipers, 2012), film (Baumann, 2007b) and contemporary literary fields (Sapiro, 2010; Craig and Dubois, 2010). This analytical frame offered a fruitful context for the study of literary fields and especially its developments since the 1980s. A range of scholars have shown that commercial criteria are growing more important in editorial policies (Thornton, 2004; Childress, 2012; Sapiro, 2010) and media conglomerates are playing a greater role in the publishing industry, demanding from publishers higher yearly profits (Schiffrin, 2001; Thompson, 2010), which threatens the autonomy of editorial decision-making (Bourdieu, 2008). Moreover, editorial decisions are increasingly influenced by star power of authors and aimed at hitting the bestseller list (e.g. Squires, 2007; Collins, 2010; Verboord, 2011; Thompson, 2010). These developments indicate an increasing importance of the large-scale or commercial logic.

At the same time, the rigid opposition between large-scale and small scale production is criticized as it does not do justice to the complexity of both the large-scale (Hesmondhalgh, 2006) and small-scale (Dubois, 2006; Craig and Dubois, 2010; Dubois and François, 2013) production processes. Moreover, it assumes a certain stability in the habitus and practices of both artists and intermediaries that are more complex and ambiguous in practice (Lahire, 2003; Kuipers, 2012). But, how to incorporate this critique in a structural analysis of the contemporary literary space?

One of the ways to do so is to increase the ambiguity and complexity in describing and analyzing publishers' lists. Not every publisher of literary fiction holds the same position in the field and not each publishers' list within a publishing house or conglomerate is assembled in the same way by editors and publishers. To address this ambiguity, I add the dimension of genre subfields to the large-scale versus small-scale opposition. Genre is an important structuring division in concrete practices of agents in the book industry. Genres play an important role in the consumption and production of fiction books. Bookstores and online retailers often organize their stock by genre and book clubs are often restricted to specific genres. Critics, too, work in specific genres and literary prizes are usually genre-based. The significance of genres is possibly even greater on the production side. Editors classify their job in relation to the genres they have acquired, and publishers often describe themselves in terms of the genres they publish. Similarly, writer's organizations are genre-based. In the Netherlands, there is an organization for literary writers (with genre-based divisions into, amongst others, poetry and prose), an organization for crime fiction writers and a smaller one for romance writers. Genres are, both as cognitive categories and organizational principles (DiMaggio, 1987: 441), omnipresent within contemporary literary production.

Hierarchies between and within genres

Scholars have focused on the institutional level of the production of culture, as is evident from the literature cited above, but the space of position-takings, that is of genres, as analyzed by Bourdieu (1983: 329) has not received such attention. Rather, scholars have resorted to the general opposition between small-scale and large-scale production, arguing that the large-scale logic has increasingly become dominant. However, Bourdieu argues that the division of genres across the field do not perfectly overlap with the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production. There is a general tendency of genres to 'belong' to the small-scale (poetry) or large-scale (popular fiction) subfields but literary fiction, for instance, is located in between these poles.

Moreover, Bourdieu argues that, within genres themselves, the opposition between small-scale and large-scale is also apparent. As such, he brings out the relations within genres that have been increasingly important in studies of cultural consumption (Holt, 1997; Glévarec and Pinet, 2012; Van den Haak, 2014). Bourdieu argues that, in each genre, an autonomous core is developed. And that:

> in effect, each of the two opposed sectors of each subfield (for example, the director's theatre) tends to become closer to the similar sector of the other genres (..) the opposition between genres loses its structuring efficacy in favour of the opposition between the two poles present in each subfield.
> (Bourdieu, 1996: 120-121)

So, in effect, each genre subfield is internally structured according to an opposition between more autonomous and more commercial production, and these genre subfields are, in turn, located within the larger opposition between large-scale and small-scale logics.

In the last three decades, the position of individual genres in this literary space has shifted. Scholars have argued that a popularization of literature took place through which literary fiction became more and more part of popular culture and the cultural industries (Collins, 2010; Squires, 2007). At the same time, the status of popular genres such as crime fiction is rising. Janssen (1999) shows that popular genres have increasingly gained attention in newspaper reviews. Moreover, research on the way books are reviewed shows that crime fiction increasingly is reviewed in a similar fashion as literary fiction (Op de Beek, 2013). On a more general level, both the legitimacy of aesthetic hierarchy and the status of 'high' art has decreased (Van Eijck, 2000), which leads to a shift towards hierarchies within genres (see Coulangeon, 2013 for an overview).

One of the internal hierarchies in genres is that of the original language of books; a Dutch crime novel might have a different standing than an English crime novel. In the sociology of translations (Heilbron, 1999), it has been shown that different languages have different amounts of symbolic capital (e.g. Casanova, 2004; Heilbron, 2008; Streng, 2012). While these studies have mainly focused on literary fiction, the amount of symbolic capital of a language can also be restricted to, and differ across, genres. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is for instance the case with Scandinavian crime fiction, which has a much better standing than English crime fiction (e.g. Appel, 2014).

To explore the literary space of the contemporary Dutch literary field, I analyze the publishing lists' of contemporary Dutch fiction and poetry publishers and ask

two questions. First, is there an opposition between large-scale and small-scale production that we can deduce from publishers' lists? Second, to what extent are publishers of the same genres spread out across the literary space, indicating internal hierarchies between languages within genres?

Analyzing publishers' lists: Data and methods

In this study, I analyze the literary space of the contemporary Dutch literary field through publishers' lists. I draw on a dataset of all Dutch fiction and poetry books published between 2000 and 2009 as collected by the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague (see Franssen and Velthuis, 2014 for details). The dataset contains almost all books published in the Netherlands (e.g. Voorbij and Douma, 1996), including those of very small publishers. I have selected all publishers and imprints that published at least 10 books between 2000 and 2009 (in any genre). I have refrained from combining imprints with publishers' lists of the publishing houses they belong to. The resulting 215 publishers' lists serve as cases in the analysis. The dataset does not contain print runs or average print runs, something that would be very helpful in analyzing the large-scale versus small-scale dichotomy. The number of titles published by a publishing house however, does offer an indication of its size and manpower, and it can be assumed that, in general, books with very large print runs are published by relatively large publishing houses that have the (financial) capacity to offer large sums of money to literary agents (e.g. Thompson, 2010; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). Therefore, in the last part of the paper, I analyze the position of publishers and imprints that published 200 or more books between 2000 and 2009 to assess the position of these larger publishers in the literary space.

The books are coded with one or more genre-codes that are given to them either by the publishers themselves (a NUR code to help booksellers know where to put the book in the shop) or by *NBC/Biblion*, an organization that reviews books for libraries. For this analysis, I have combined different specific codes into broader genres (see appendix for full coding procedure). For instance, thriller, detective and horror became part of 'crime fiction'. In this way, I brought the variety of genre-codes back to 5 genres: literary fiction, crime fiction, romance, poetry and regional / family novels; 88,7% of books published between 2000 and 2009 could, in this way, be coded with one or more of these five genres. In table 2.1, I give an overview of these 5 genres with the total number of books, number of languages in each genre and the percentage of Dutch, English and other languages. In table 2.2, the number of books per language in total is given. Because some books are coded with more than one genre-code, the total number of books differs between the two tables.

Table 2.1: Overview of number of books and source languages for each genre

Genre	Number of books	Number of languages	Percentage Dutch	Percentage English	Percentage other languages
Literary fiction	10528	42	33,52	41,42	25,06
Crime fiction	6775	24	13,34	73,61	13,05
Romance	5496	12	4,91	93,47	1,62
Poetry	3413	38	82,48	3,47	14,05
Regional/ Family novels	1637	18	56,81	39,16	4,03

Table 2.2: Total number of books for each language

Language	Number of books	Percentage
English	13053	52,76
Dutch	7968	32,21
French	730	2,95
German	559	2,26
Swedish	393	1,59
Spanish	364	1,47
Italian	332	1,34
Norwegian	178	0,73
Russian	150	0,61
Portuguese	103	0,43
All other languages	909	3,67

Table 2.1 shows that literary fiction is by far the biggest genre in the Dutch literary field, followed by romance, crime fiction and poetry, whereas regional/family novels is a smaller genre. The differences between languages as presented in table 2.2 are striking. English is this dominant especially because of crime fiction and poetry being dominated by translations from English. French and German, while traditionally very important languages, now lead a larger group of languages that include other big languages such as Spanish, Italian and Russian, but also smaller languages such as Swedish and Norwegian.

The aim of this analysis, which covers such a wide range of publishers, is to uncover some of the structural patterns in publishers' lists, asking how, in general, languages are combined in each genre. And, second, asking how, in general, different clusters of languages from different genres are positioned in relation to each other in the literary space. To make such an analysis of 215 publishers' lists possible, I have first, for each genre independently, created genre-language variables (e.g. crime-Dutch, crime-English etc). The number of genre-language variables is large

(134) and it is not possible to analyze the structure of the literary space using all these variables in, for instance, a correspondence analysis.

Therefore, I used cluster analysis to reduce the number of variables empirically, resisting combining them on intuitive grounds (by, for instance, combining all Scandinavian languages upfront). For each individual genre, I performed a ward's cluster analysis, based on Pearson equations, to analyze the extent to which languages are combined in the publishers' lists.[7] For this analysis, I only used genre-language variables that contained more than 10 books, or more than 20 books in the case of literary fiction.[8] As such, the cluster analysis provides groups of genre-language combinations that, for each genre, are combined most often in publishers' lists. In table 2.3, all clusters are given with the languages that they contain and the amount of books in each language. As such, while Poetry 2 included Dutch, Arabic and Portuguese, Dutch is clearly the determining language in this cluster, with the other two playing a minor role.

The cluster-analysis offers some interesting initial observations regarding the publishers' lists of contemporary Dutch publishers. In all genres except crime, French, German and English cluster together. These languages have held the most prominent place in the Dutch literary field since the 19th century (e.g. Streng, 2011; Heilbron, 1995), but while in the 19th century their shares were almost equal, in the 20th century, and especially after 1945, the share of English increased rapidly. Despite the big difference in shares now, these three 'classic' languages cluster together. Scandinavian languages also cluster together, albeit not perfectly, in literary fiction and crime fiction. Moreover, smaller but important languages such as Italian, Spanish and Russian cluster together, indicating that some publishers focus on combining non-central (e.g. not English, French or German) languages in their publishers' lists (see also Franssen and Kuipers, 2013).

To assess the importance of each cluster, I calculated the relative prevalence of each cluster in all 215 publishers' list and the mean of this relative prevalence for each cluster (see table 2.3). For instance, on average nearly 30% of publishers' lists are made up of books from the second poetry cluster. This is higher than the second literary fiction cluster (which contains more books) because many of the publishers' lists in which poetry is dominant are very small, making the percentage very high (in contrast with large literary fiction or crime fiction publishers).

7. The cut-off point was selected by using the Calinski/Harabasz index and the Duda/Hart Je(2)/Je(1) index (see Milligan and Cooper, 1985 for an overview of stopping rules in cluster analysis).

8. This choice was made because of the great amount of publications in literary fiction as well as the fact that, in the first clustering, Dutch and English came together in one super cluster. This is not the case when fewer languages were used.

Table 2.3: Ward's cluster analysis

Cluster	Languages in cluster	Mean percentage of publishers' lists	Number of books in cluster
Regional/Family novels 1*	German (18), English (641), French (11)	.0176	670
Regional /Family novels 2*	Dutch (930)	.0434	930
Romance 1*	German (48), English (5137), French (18)	.0423	5203
Romance 2*	Dutch (270)	.0133	270
Poetry 1	African (10), Multiple languages (51), Frisian (17), Translated from Dutch (14)	.0158	92
Poetry 2*	Dutch (2815), Arabic (21), Portuguese (15)	.2967	2851
Poetry 3	Persian (12)	.0038	12
Poetry 4*	German (47), Diverse (41), English (118), Italian (28), French (38), Spanish (23), Polish (18), Russian (33)	.0274	346
Poetry 5	Greek (29), Latin (35)	.0041	64
Literary fiction 1*	African (34), Hebrew (60), Italian (252), Spanish (291)	.0207	637
Literary fiction 2*	German (377), English (4361), French (606)	.1363	5344
Literary fiction 3*	Dutch (3529)	.1303	3529
Literary fiction 4	Czech (25)	.0023	25
Literary fiction 5	Arabic (29), Diverse (32), Russian (97), Turkish (35), Japanese (40)	.0067	233
Literary fiction 6	Danish (68), Norwegian (123), Hungarian (65), Polish (23), Portuguese (87), Swedish (213)	.0087	579
Crime fiction 1	German (164), Danish (30)	.0043	194
Crime fiction 2*	Norwegian (74), Swedish (231), Icelandic (21)	.0071	326
Crime fiction 3*	English (4920)	.1007	4920
Crime fiction 4*	Dutch (785)	.0348	785
Crime fiction 5	Italian (87), Spanish (51), French (126), Russian (25)	.0090	289

Clusters marked with an * are included in the Principle component analysis discussed below.

The second step in the analysis is to analyze the relationship between these clusters in the 215 publishers' lists. Through such an analysis, the aim is to understand which clusters are combined most often and which ones are not combined at all. So, if 20% of a publishers' list consists of books from the third crime fiction cluster (which only contains English), which other clusters will also be present in the publishers' list? The patterns in the publishers' lists (i.e. which clusters are combined most often) can be analyzed relationally by means of a Principal Component Analysis (see Franssen and Kuipers, 2013 for a similar approach). PCA is widely used in social sciences to "reduce the dimensionality of a data set ... while retaining as much as possible of the variation present in the data set" (Jolliffe, 2002, p. ix), by creating principal components—which are uncorrelated variables that, taken together, contain as much of the variance of the original variables as possible (Jolliffe, 2002). These components can be thought of as underlying determinants. For instance, as I show below, the clusters containing English in crime fiction, regional/family novels and literary fiction are grouped together in the first component of the analysis; the underlying force that brings these clusters together is their linguistic similarity.

In the PCA, I used at least 2 clusters for each genre. I included both clusters in romance and regional/family novels and the two biggest poetry clusters. For literary fiction and crime fiction, I included the biggest three clusters (in terms of mean percentage of publishers' lists). This means that the analysis includes all romance and regional clusters, 3 out of five crime clusters, 3 out of 6 literary clusters and 2 out of 5 poetry clusters. In total, 12 clusters were used as described in table 2.4. The eigenvalue of each component shows the importance of that factor in covering variance. Conform conventions, I focus on components with an eigenvalue above 1 in the analysis; there are 5 of these components. The eigenvalues, as well as the variable-scores for each component, are presented in table 4; variable-scores above 0,2 and below -0,2 are highlighted.

The first component separates all poetry publishers from all language clusters containing English in the other four genres, the language clusters containing Dutch are in between this opposition. The second component separates all language clusters containing Dutch from all other language clusters and all poetry clusters. The third component separates literary fiction and crime fiction from regional and romance novels. The fourth and fifth component divide different groups of publishers in the center of the field. The fourth component divides literary fiction from crime fiction. The fifth separates Scandinavian Crime fiction and peripheral literary fiction from all others.

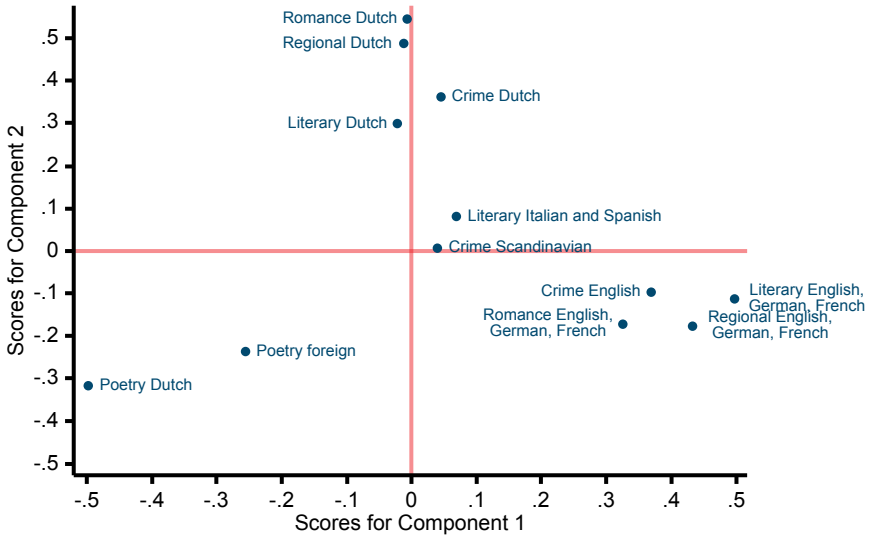
Table 2.4: Principal Component Analysis of publishers' lists

	Eigenvalue	Explained variance
Component 1	2,3252	0,1938
Component 2	1,6450	0,3308
Component 3	1,3850	0,4463
Component 4	1,1119	0,5389
Component 5	1,0479	0,6262

	Comp 1	Comp 2	Comp 3	Comp 4	Comp 5
Romance novels 1 (English, German, French)	0,3255	-0,1728	0,2012	-0,1818	-0,0933
Romance 2 (Dutch)	-0,0059	0,5445	0,365	0,0394	0,0179
Poetry 2 (Dutch, Arabic, Portuguese)	-0,4982	-0,3166	0,1649	-0,0316	-0,0592
Poetry 4 (German, English, Italian, French, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Diverse)	-0,2553	-0,2367	0,0681	0,1703	0,0097
Regional 1 (English, German, French)	0,4333	-0,177	0,2165	0,2588	-0,1086
Regional 2 (Dutch)	-0,0117	0,4868	0,4922	0,1363	0,0643
Literary fiction 1 (African, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish)	0,069	0,0815	-0,3326	0,4778	0,4416
Literary 2 (English, German, French)	0,4978	-0,1135	-0,045	0,3475	-0,0251
Literary 3 (Dutch)	-0,0215	0,2994	-0,5356	0,1249	-0,3648
Crime 2 (Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic)	0,0401	0,006	-0,0765	-0,2396	0,7979
Crime 3 (English)	0,3688	-0,0972	-0,0014	-0,5435	-0,0081
Crime 3 (Dutch)	0,0457	0,3612	-0,3163	-0,3638	-0,0777

The first two components, which account for 33% of all variance (19% and 12%), can be used to graphically depict the structure of the Dutch literary field. This structure turns out to be triangle-shaped (see figure 2.1), and consists of four subfields: the lower left subfield of autonomous-poetry publishers, the lower right subfield of Anglo-American-commercial publishers, the middle upper subfield of local-commercial publishers and the middle subfield of mostly large, generalist publishing houses that publish predominantly literary fiction combined with poetry and crime fiction.

Figure 2.1: Genre-language clusters in the Dutch literary space



The first component, which accounts for 19% of all variation between publishers, separates publishers of all poetry language clusters from all other clusters. This axis can be understood as the classical Bourdieusian dimension of small-scale versus large-scale production. In the left lower corner of the literary field (figure 2.1), we find the autonomous-poetry subfield. Here, publishers are small, often members of the organization for Private Presses in the Netherlands, which has its own distribution network and annual book fairs. These publishers publish poetry almost exclusively. 58 publishers in this part of the field have a publishers' list that consists of poetry books for 70 percent or more. Take, for instance, a publishing house such as De Klaproos. All their editions are 'set' by hand in lead and have very limited print runs. They combine text with lithography and, on their website, they give an overview of the types of machines they have, signaling the importance of the printing process. In the autonomous-poetry subfield, there are no publishers that published more than 200 books in 10 years; most of them have published less than 25. They have no staff and make hardly any profit. Interestingly, the internal differences between poetry-language clusters are of little importance in the poetry subfield. In the first three components of the PCA, which are the three strongest structuring components, both poetry language clusters are very close together, indicating that there is little difference between poetry publishers in the poetry subfield. This means that, rather than differentiated on the dimension of language, poetry publishers are first and foremost differentiated from other publishers along the dimension of genre. As such, the chance that a poetry publisher who publishes German poetry will also publish German romance novels is very slim.

On the other end of the first component, the far right corner of figure 2.1, we find a very different group of publishers. Here, we find publishers that are far larger and do not focus on one genre in particular. They often combine romance novels, commercial literary fiction, regional novels and crime fiction. To take two examples of publishers located on the right, we find, for instance, Cargo. Cargo is a young imprint of a prominent literary house (De Bezige Bij) that primarily publishes crime fiction, mainly translated from English. Moreover, their crime fiction is often marketed as including a 'literary component' and they publish upmarket literary fiction, again mainly translated from English. In this same cluster, we find Voorhoeve, a very old publisher (1876) but now an imprint of the main Christian publisher (Kok). Voorhoeve publishes mainly (American) Christian fiction from authors such as Lynn Austin, Karen Kingsbury and Teri Blackstock. Its publishers' list contains commercial literary fiction, which is often classified with romance or regional fiction genre classifications too. However, this does not include all books in these genres, because each genre-language cluster in crime fiction, literary fiction, romance and regional novels that includes Dutch is separated from this subfield. In this Anglo-American-commercial subfield, contrary to the poetry subfield, publishers are differentiated from others not by genre but by language. Relatively speaking, the chance that these publishers publish both a crime novel and a romance novel is relatively high, while the chance that they publish both an English romance novel and a Dutch romance novel is far lower. This shows that, while in the poetry subfield the publishers' lists (and as such the publishers' national and international networks) are organized within the genre, in this subfield, it is rather a specific transnational Anglo-American literary field that bounds these publishers together (see also Franssen and Kuipers, 2013).

The second component of the PCA, accounting for 12% of all variation, can be understood as a dimension that separates publishers focused on books written originally in Dutch from publishers that publish more internationally. However, this is not the case for publishers of Dutch poetry, who are not affected by this dimension. Effectively, this dimension creates a third subfield of publishers. These publishers publish commercial fiction, similar to the Anglo-American-commercial subfield. However, their books are predominantly written in Dutch. This local-commercial subfield is smaller and far more local than the Anglo-American-commercial subfield. Moreover, there are hardly any crime fiction publishers; instead, publishers are focused on the mixture between literary fiction, romance and regional/family novels. For instance, publishers such as Zomer & Keuning and Westfriesland publish Dutch authors of this type of fiction, such as Henny Thijssing-Boer, Leni Saris and Gerda van Wageningen.

The three subfields I have discussed do not hold all publishers in the contemporary Dutch literary field. In figure 2.2, I have plotted all publishers using their scores on component one and component two.

Figure 2.2: Position of publishers in the Dutch literary space

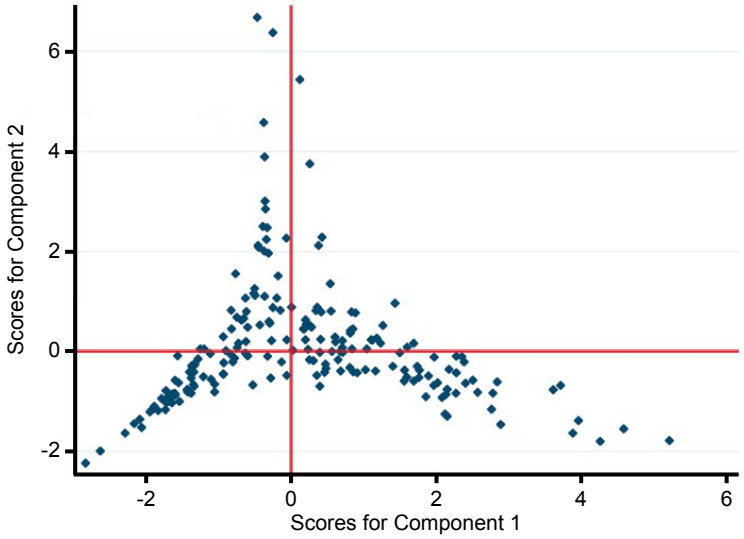


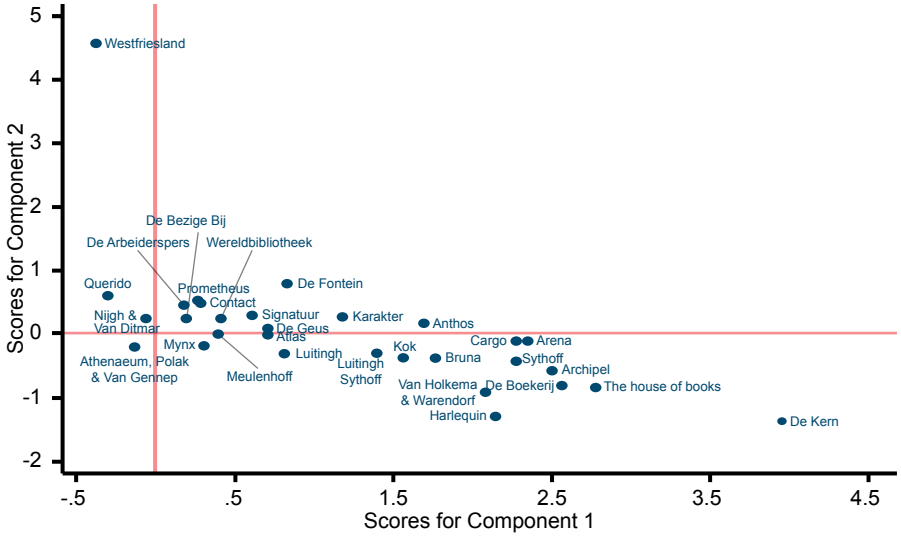
Figure 2.2 shows how the subfields are intertwined with each other. Publishers on the lower left side can be considered part of the autonomous-poetry subfield. Publishers on the lower right side are part of the Anglo-American commercial subfield. Lastly, the publishers in the upper middle are part of the local-commercial subfield, the smallest of these three subfields. In the middle there is a sizeable group of publishers that do not belong to one either of these three subfields. These are catalogues that are dominated by literary fiction and, as I will show below, a large part of the major publishers is located in this fourth subfield.

The major publishers of the Contemporary Dutch literary field

To analyze how the different subfields relate to each other in terms of power relations, I have analyzed separately the position of the major publishing houses in the contemporary Dutch literary field. I selected all publishers that published 200 or more books between 2000 and 2009. These 34 publishers or imprints make up both the commercial and symbolic dominant powers in the field (see also Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). For instance, the bestsellers in fiction are predominantly published by these publishers and the majority of literary awards are won by their authors. In figure 2.3, I plotted the position of these publishers, again using the scores of component one and component two of the PCA.

However, as these publishers are predominantly located in the middle and lower-right side of the literary space, I present a smaller part of the field to show in more detail the positioning of publishing lists' in the literary space.

Figure 2.3: Publishing lists' of the largest publishers in the literary space



Note: I have left all pocket publishers/imprints that only publish pocket editions of bestsellers, which are predominantly owned by one of the other central publishers, out of the figure to focus on the publishers that publish first editions (but of course also publish new editions of older books).

Within the larger structure of the literary space, the center that now becomes visible is located in the middle and lower right corner of the field. None of these publishers belongs to the autonomous-poetry subfield (Athenaeum, Polak and Van Gennep and Querido come closest) and only one belongs to the local-commercial subfield (Westfriesland). There are, however, 14 publishers that belong to the Anglo-American-commercial subfield (located right of +1 on the X-axis and below +1 on the Y-axis).

In the lower right corner, we find publishers of 'commercial women's fiction' that is mainly translated from English, which can have a more regional/family focus (De Kern), be more romance based (Harlequin) or more commercial literary fiction (The House of Books, Archipel, Arena). Next to this group, and intimately related to it, are publishers of English crime fiction such as Cargo, Bruna, Luitingh and Luitingh-Sijthoff. These groups of publishers are part of the Anglo-American-commercial subfield.

In the middle of the field, we find publishers with the largest amounts of symbolic capital[9], such as De Arbeiderspers, De Bezige Bij, Meulenhoff and Querido.

9. This measure of symbolic capital is based on the number of literary awards won by authors published by these publishers, see Franssen and Kuipers, 2013 for details.

They publish Dutch literary fiction combined with foreign literary fiction. Moreover, all these publishers have a list of which at least 10% consists of poetry books. This means that, in absolute numbers, some of them publish a large number of poetry books. Next to this, they also publish literary fiction from smaller languages.

What is more, we find here two publishers that publish Scandinavian crime fiction: De Geus and Signatuur. Scandinavian crime fiction is a special kind of crime fiction, which evidently holds a better position than English crime fiction. The books are often sold as 'literary thrillers', a term coined by Anthos, which specializes in Dutch crime, as do Karakter and De Fontein. The intertwining of literary and crime fiction becomes even more evident when we acknowledge the relations between publishers in the core of the field. Archipel started as an imprint of De Arbeiderspers; Cargo is an imprint of De Bezige Bij; and Arena, De Boekerij, Mynx and Meulenhoff are part of the same publishing conglomerate. The same goes for Signatuur and Bruna.

These largest 34 publishers together published 1054 poetry books (30,9% of the total), 7248 literary fiction books (68,9% of the total) and 5388 crime fiction books (79,5% of the total). As such, while a sizeable amount of poetry is published by the largest publishers, the amount and percentage of literary fiction and crime fiction published by them is a lot higher. Among the biggest publishers, there is a division of more literary-focused—towards the left—and more crime-focused—towards the Anglo-American-commercial subfield—publishers in the field, but this division is gradual and publishers on the literary side of the core also publish crime fiction. Especially if we take into account the position of 'literary crime', which goes particularly for Scandinavian crime novels and some Dutch crime novels, it becomes clear that there is no autonomous literary fiction subfield. Literary fiction is, rather, part of the large-scale subfield, in which it is combined with crime fiction, and to a lesser extent with poetry, romance and regional/family novels, in a subfield of predominantly large and generalist publishing houses.

So, I argue, the literary space presented here shows, on the one hand, an autonomous-poetry subfield in which publishers are small and publish according to radically different logics than publishers on the other side of the field (see also Dubois, 2006). On this other side of the field, the large-scale subfield, we find threesubfields of publishers. The Anglo-American-commercial subfield, the local-commercial subfield and, in the middle of the field, the large generalist publishers who publish mainly literary fiction, combined with other genres. These different subfields already show that the large-scale pole is not uniform. Within this part of the literary space, there is an opposition between publishers who are focused more on popular genres from Anglo-American literary fields and those publishers

in the middle that publish far more literary fiction and poetry. This opposition, however, is not only one between genres but also, importantly, one that comes out within genres. In crime fiction, there is an opposition between translations from English and Dutch and Scandinavian crime fiction, which holds a far better position in the literary space. Within literary fiction, there is a similar distinction between publishers' lists dominated by English literary fiction and publishers who publish a variety of translations from more peripheral languages and literary fiction originally written in Dutch. So, as Bourdieu's analysis of the French literary field (1983) suggested, literary spaces are characterized by double oppositions between the aesthetic and the commercial logic. One opposition between the two poles, and another set of oppositions within genres themselves.

Conclusion

In this article, I analyzed the structure of the Dutch literary space through an analysis of 215 publishers' lists of Dutch fiction and poetry publishers. Examining the ways in which publishers combine different genre/language combinations on their lists offers a novel way to understand the structure of literary spaces. Literary production has been argued to have changed considerably under influence of processes of commercialization (Verboord, 2011), popularization (Collins, 2010) and rationalization (Thornton, 2004), as the book industry increasingly became part of the cultural industries since the 1980s (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Earlier research has mainly seen analyses of the organizational field and the practices of actors, which until now neglected the publishers' lists of publishing houses.

This neglect is critical as it simplified ideas about what publishing houses actually publish on the different poles of contemporary literary fields. Too often, publishing is brought back to the opposition between small-scale and large-scale production, which only applies to extremes in the field. In the literature, there was little to no empirical research on the actual publication practices of publishing houses. Indeed, while the field analysis of Bourdieu (2008), which comes closest to a full structural analysis of a contemporary literary field, takes into account all kinds of organizational features and, also, some characteristics of books published (e.g. amount of translations and Nobel prize winners), it does not analyze the details of publishers' lists in terms of genre, while he does offer a research strategy and a theoretical rationale to do so (Bourdieu, 1983).

In this article, I have argued that an analysis of publishers' list in terms of genre-language combinations is useful. In this way, the opposition between the small-scale and large-scale pole can be nuanced through the inclusion of genre subfields, which

positions do not align with this somewhat crude distinction. Moreover, including language in this analysis makes it possible to study the hierarchy within genres themselves, showing the complexity of the contemporary literary space.

In the analysis, I identified four subfields. The autonomous-poetry subfield is made up of small publishers that predominantly publish poetry. In the poetry genre, there is little internal struggle: the two poetry-language clusters are positioned relatively close together on all components of the PCA, showing that the internal differences within poetry are less important structuring mechanisms than their opposition to other genres. The local-commercial subfield and the Anglo-American-commercial subfield, on the other hand, are made up of books from different genres that are similar in terms of language. The local-commercial subfield is a small subfield of publishers who publish romance novels, regional/family novels and some crime novels predominantly originally written in Dutch. The Anglo-American-commercial subfield, on the other hand, consists of publishers who publish the same genres, albeit more crime fiction, but from different languages, mostly translated from English. This shows, in contrast with poetry, that popular fiction genres are internally much more divided in terms of language, but that the popular genres are combined much more easily in terms of genre on the publishers' lists.

These three subfields do not hold all publishers in the Dutch literary field. In between them we can find a fourth subfield in which mostly large, generalist publishers of literary fiction, accompanied by other genres, are located. The analysis shows that the biggest publishers, in terms of number of books published between 2000 and 2009, are located in this part of the field but are reaching out into the Anglo-American-commercial subfield. In the center of the field, there is a division between publishers that have a list dominated by literary fiction and those with a list dominated by crime fiction, but this division is gradual and imperfect. Publishers that are more inclined to publish literary fiction often also carry some crime fiction. Especially those crime books that are marketed as 'literary crime', often from Scandinavian languages, are very popular in this part of the field. This shows that there is no autonomous literary fiction subfield; rather, literary fiction is combined with popular fiction and, as such, part of the large-scale pole of the field. Crime fiction, on the other hand, shows to have risen in the ranks of genres and some types of crime fiction have a position in the center of the field similar to some forms of literary fiction.

Earlier work on contemporary literary fields (e.g. Verboord, 2011; Sapiro, 2010) suggests that the large-scale logic has become increasingly important. However, the question has to be raised to what extent this development is a new one. Research on 19th and 20th century Dutch publishing already showed that publishers were

very aware of the economic potential of their books (Streng, 2011; Kuitert, 2008). My analysis of the literary space shows that, besides small poetry publishers, all other publishers—in terms of their publishers' lists—are part of the large-scale pole of literary production. Literary fiction in particular has a position that is less autonomous than expected. But, it cannot be said whether this position is more large-scale than it was in the 1970s or 1980s. To assess the extent to which this is a recent development, historical research on publishers' lists is needed.

Chapter 3

The relational mode of valuation: Value, taste and relations in the practices of New York literary scouts

Chapter 3
The relational mode of valuation: Value, taste and relations in the practices of New York literary scouts[10]

Scout:

It was just before the Frankfurt book fair, the literary agent that sold it, they are known for their more sophisticated crime fiction. It started when the agent sent a letter, just an email, just before Frankfurt saying 'look here is the 35 pages', you need to know an Italian publisher just preempted – that was someone they sell books to all the time so that in itself wasn't much – and Knopf also preempted. I was like, 'hmm that is interesting, I am going to look at it now'. I just looked at the excerpt they had on the website. It was good and it was also short enough for people to read and digest it before and after Frankfurt and participate in auctions. It sold for a lot of money.

Interviewer:

Also to your clients?

Scout:

No my clients lost, two of my clients lost it in auction. My Germans made a mistake because they read the original 35 pages and immediately made an offer, a small offer. Thinking 'now I have bought my place in the auction, now I have time to sit down and give everyone a chance to read it and we will decide how much to offer'. But the agent accepted a preempt for about 25 times that size, saying they had four preempts and took the highest one rather than go to auction. (…) And it happened within 24 hours. (Scout 1)

Just 35 pages of this 'sophisticated crime fiction' were available; as the scout later told me, the 22 year-old author had written it while attending college. An Italian publisher and the American publisher Knopf had preempted the rights, meaning they had offered such a large advance that the literary agent was persuaded not to auction them. The scout was drawn to the manuscript by these preempts. She tipped off her clients but they struck out, and it all happened very fast. The press coverage of the deal stated that 'everyone was buzzing about' the book and that in Germany it was a 'high six-figure' two-book deal, meaning that the rights had been bought for this manuscript as well as for a yet unwritten second book.

10. This chapter has been submitted to *Poetics* as: Franssen, Thomas. "The relational mode of valuation: value, taste and relations in the practices of New York literary scouts"

In Italy and the US the figures were about the same. There thus seemed to be widespread agreement in the global book market, among these actors at least, about the value of this incomplete manuscript written by a little known author. This process, in which the literary agent releases a manuscript until the rights are sold, I understand as a process of valuation. This article inquires: how do these valuation processes work?

I analyze the valuation process of book manuscripts through the practices of one of the crucial intermediaries in the global book market: that of literary scouts. Literary scouts work for publishing houses outside the US (mainly European ones) and occasionally for American movie or television companies. Some scouts have less than five clients; others more than 15. They collect information on new manuscripts that are, in our case, placed on the American market by literary agents. This is not the consumer market, but the market for American publishing houses that buy the publication rights of manuscripts, as Knopf did in the example above. But the clients of literary scouts are interested in another set of rights: translation rights. Literary scouts are, as one of them stated, 'the eyes and ears' of their clients in New York. They know exactly what is going on and what is interesting to their clients. And crucially, they can obtain manuscripts before European publishers can do so themselves.

Literary scouts are intermediaries who act as gatekeepers by filtering information and as cultural brokers by match-making manuscripts and people. They are co-producers in the valuation process of new manuscripts on the American and global book markets, brokering information between actors such as foreign and American editors and creating new relationships between them. Their role as co-producers is especially important because manuscripts are not yet books. During and following the valuation process I analyze here, manuscripts slowly but surely become books as they are completed by their authors, edited, in the case of a foreign sale translated and edited again, acquire material characteristics and a price tag (Franssen and Velthuis 2014).

The current analysis adds to existing research on intermediaries in cultural production which has, to date, largely focused on individual evaluation practices (e.g. Bielby and Bielby 1994; Franssen and Kuipers 2013; but see Mauws 2000). While meso-level valuation processes have been analyzed on consumer markets where sales figures, reviews, awards and other institutionalized consecration mechanisms are widely used (Bourdieu 1993; Verboord 2010; Janssen 1997), such information is unavailable in this producer market, complicating decision-making for all actors involved. Actors thus rely to a greater extent on the interest of others in a new manuscript, what they call 'buzz'. I argue that this process can be understood as a relational mode of valuation in which value emerges through the network that

develops around a new manuscript. I contrast this to the institutional mode of valuation, as described by institutional and field-theoretical accounts of cultural production. To do so, I build upon the pragmatic theory of valuation recently developed in cultural sociology (e.g. Helgesson and Muniesa 2013; Hennion 2007).

Evaluation practices of intermediaries and processes of valuation in cultural fields

Evaluation in (transnational) cultural fields

The evaluation practices of intermediaries have been studied widely in cultural sociology. A first strand of research, approaching the evaluation of cultural objects from an 'uncertainty perspective', has shown that cultural objects are notoriously difficult to evaluate as their quality is difficult to assess, that there are no standardized tests to do so, and that future success is unpredictable (e.g. Aspers and Beckert 2011: 5). Intermediaries deal with this uncertainty in different ways, for instance by collecting and following information that can be regarded as quality clues (such as sales figures or reviews) (Bielby and Bielby 1994), by copying the strategies or decisions of other cultural intermediaries (Janssen 1997; Alhkvist and Faulkner 2002), by outsourcing part of their decision-making to a wider network of trusted sources (Foster et al. 2011), or by relying on their own experience and gut feeling (Mears 2014).

A second strand of research, often combined with the first, addresses evaluation in a slightly different way by asking how evaluation criteria relate to the positions of intermediaries in the structure and hierarchy of the cultural field in question (Bourdieu 1993). For instance, Friedman (2014) examines the criteria comedy scouts use to evaluate comedians and how through these practices they reproduce the structure of the comedy field. Similarly, Franssen and Kuipers (2013) find that Dutch editors, by focusing on whether a book 'fits' the list of the publishing house, reproduce the position of the publishing house in the literary field. These Bourdieusian analyses (see also Sapiro 2010) posit that there is a homology between the position of actors in the field and their evaluation practices. Recent case studies, however, have shown that evaluation practices are more complex and layered than previously assumed (e.g. Kuipers 2012; Craig and Dubois 2010). The understanding of evaluation practices in both strands of research rests, I argue, on a shared understanding of how the value of cultural objects emerges in (organizational) fields.

Value and valuation in (transnational) cultural fields

Within current research in cultural sociology, valuation is most commonly approached through an institutional understanding of value that builds on Bourdieu's work on field theory (Bourdieu 1993), Petersons' production of culture (Peterson and Anand 2004) or neo-institutional work on organizational fields (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell 1991). While these theories differ, they share a relational understanding of the meso-level structure of cultural fields, where the value of a cultural object is determined by the field's dominant (aesthetic) logics (valuation becoming possible once the information deficit is solved) (Dobbin 2008; Franssen and Kuipers 2013).

The value of a cultural object is seen as the outcome of a process of consecration where value mirrors the object's position in the field (e.g. Bourdieu 1993: 215-237). Given Bourdieu's more general theory of how the production of value (and belief in that value) becomes possible, the theory is deeply relational. Bourdieu argues that the value of a work or '[w]hat "makes reputations" is (…) the field of production [as a whole], understood as the system of objective relations between these agents or institutions and as the site of the struggles for the monopoly of the power to consecrate, in which the value of works of art and belief in that value are continuously generated' (Bourdieu 1993: 78).

In this view, the value of a work of art is generated through consecration via institutionalized mechanisms such as reviews in media outlets (Glynn and Lounsbury 2005; Janssen 1997), bestseller lists (Verboord 2011) and by the reputation of publishers (Bourdieu 1993), which can all be considered judgment devices (Karpik 2010) that produce and reproduce a certain market order. Besides these institutional mechanisms, the habitus itself is a powerful consecration mechanism as actors reproduce the structure of the field through their repertoires of taste (Mears 2014; Friedman 2014; Kuipers 2012). As value is generated first and foremost through institutionalized mechanisms, and mediated by the habitus, we can call this an institutional mode of valuation that will generally reproduce the structure of thefield. For DiMaggio and Powell (1983), the mechanisms through which the dominance of a logic is established differs from Bourdieu's theory but the outcome is the same: the value of a cultural object emerges through the institutionalized actors or mechanisms that follow the dominant logic of the field.

In the worldview (in the case of neo-institutionalism) or the habitus (in the case of field theory), the structure of the field is embodied at the micro-level (Dobbin 2008); based on the positions of actors in the field, the act of evaluating a cultural object becomes almost automatic (see also Leschziner and Green 2013; Mears 2014). These individual acts of consecration reproduce the structure of the field and the

position of taste repertoires, actors and works of art within them (Bourdieu 1993: 108). Although this theory can capture how value comes into being in highly institutionalized markets where actors can access a plethora of judgment devices to make sense of the objects on offer, it cannot capture the complexity of evaluation practices in more unstable markets, not least because evaluation practices cannot be reduced to an application of meso-level mechanisms. As different logics operate within increasingly international cultural markets (Kuipers 2012) and hierarchies between cultural goods are less stable than ever before, it is incumbent that we come to understand how value in such markets comes into being.

Pragmatic intervention

The pragmatic approach to value and evaluation (Muniesa 2011; Hunter and Stark 2015; Helgesson and Muniesa 2013), developed especially in response to Bourdieu's work, has grown more important in recent years (e.g. Prior 2011). This body of work critiques Bourdieu and other institutional theorists for reducing evaluating practices to field positions and argues instead for a situational and material approach to value and evaluation (Hennion and Grenier 2000). For research on intermediaries in global markets, this approach intervenes in three ways.

First, Hennion (1989) in his analysis of music producers as intermediaries argues that cultural production should be understood as a performative process. Intermediaries are not brokers between existing entities but co-producers of both objects and their publics. This fits with Friedman's discussion of comedy scouts as taste-makers who actively produce comedians and their publics. The performative aspect of engagement with cultural objects has been further elaborated by Hennion (2001, 2007) for music amateurs, by Acord (2010) and Griswold et al. (2013) for the visual arts, and by DeNora (2000) for music.

Second, evaluation regimes combine in different ways depending on the evaluative moment. In a study of the evaluation of cultural heritage sites, Heinich (2011) shows how government officials draw on a variety of valuation regimes through which cultural heritage comes into being. Hennion (2007) shows that music lovers engage and are determined in different ways by different valuation regimes at different times and places. These works show that intermediaries – depending on who they work for and what kinds of objects they engage with – can exercise considerable agency in the face of dominant logics and putatively automatic processes. Kuipers (2012) for instance shows how the buyers of television programs can use different evaluative regimes, including those that do not fit their personal tastes, depending on who they are buying the programs for.

Third, this approach analyzes how objects travel from one place to another (Law and Mol 2001), for instance from the studio to the public (Hennion 1989). These movements are conceptualized by tracing the networks that constitute research objects. According to Latour, objects cannot move from A to B by the force of A alone; B needs to be enrolled in the network and move it as well (Latour 1993: 16). Latour thus traces associations between all agents enrolled in the network that 'make a difference' (see also Law and Mol 2008). Adopting this approach to the field of culture, Hennion in his analysis of music producers shows how the network that constitutes a pop song slowly but surely widens as it moves from the studio to the consumer market. At the same time, different aspects of the network are black-boxed. For instance, while at first sound effects can be added or removed, once the network of the song moves out of the studio, the song itself is kept relatively stable. Strandvad (2012) likewise uses the extension of networks through attachment to analyze the life of a film project.

Following cues from pragmatic sociological research to add to our understanding of valuation in cultural fields, this article aims to understand how new manuscripts accrue value in the global book market. I argue that there is a relational mode of valuation through which manuscripts become valuable that differs from the institutional mode of valuation as described by field theory and neo-institutionalism. The practices of scouts are a good case to do so as scouts do not buy publication or translation rights or make decisions themselves, but play intermediary roles for other actors including their clients, American literary agents and editors. The practices of literary scouts reveal how evaluations, actors and manuscripts work together to make manuscripts economically valuable.

Data

The current research is based on ten interviews at scouting agencies with a total of 13 scouts (some interviews involved more than one scout) and one interview at a publishing house with one ex-scout. While the sample size is small, so is the population (there were only 16 scouting agencies in New York in 2014)[11] and the data has rich depth. New York is the center of the American literary field and thus home to the greatest number of literary scouts. While additional data were gleaned from (online) industry periodicals, these data are also scarce as scouts rarely accept interviews.

11. In 2014, the same source, Publishing Trends, reports that there are only 14 scouts left. Three had left the business (among them one of my contacts) while one scout had started recently. (http://www.publishingtrends.com/2014/01/whos-scouting-literary-scouts-contact-sheet-2014/)

The population is difficult to access. Six scouting agencies did not want to talk to me at all. One scout explained on the phone that he would have to call all of his contacts both in the US and abroad before he could say anything about them. While this could have been an excuse, it fits the secretive nature of the profession. Scouts did not feel comfortable discussing specific cases or the names of people they liked or disliked. Such secrecy is crucial as scouts want to maintain friendly relations with everyone in the literary field while advising their clients on specific manuscripts. If their advice becomes known, relations can turn sour very quickly.

In the end, scouts from ten agencies and one ex-scout all generously made time for me. In interviews ranging from 20 to 90 minutes, we typically discussed how scouts go about their day-to-day work and the challenges inherent to their profession. Four scouts also sent me old weekly reports or their reading reports of individual manuscripts, about which I could ask questions to understand how they report to clients. All interviews except one were taped and transcribed. All data were inductively coded in Atlas.ti. In this article I have refrained from providing identifying detail to protect the anonymity of my informants.

The daily practices of literary scouts

In 2011 there were 16 scouting agencies in New York (Publishers Trade 2011), ranging from one-person operations to firms with around 10 to 15 employees. The larger agencies have their offices in rented suites on the main streets of Manhattan, evenly distributed across the West and East Sides. Two smaller, younger agencies are based in Brooklyn. Two one-man scouting agencies work out of their homes in Manhattan, while one scout lives and works outside of New York, traveling to the city only occasionally.

Scouts are hired by clients outside the US: mainly publishers but also literary agencies (in Japan) and production studios like Warner Bros in the US. Europe is the largest market for scouts. What a scout costs depends on the client's 'territory' – its size and prestige. Monthly costs range from $500 to a few thousand dollars for a small territory like The Netherlands, to $1500 to five-figures per month for a large territory like Germany. Fees are paid monthly but contracts usually run for longer periods.

Scouts operate within the New York literary scene and mainly work with American editors and publishers, rights persons at publishing houses and literary agencies, literary agents, and sometimes with writers and critics. They have two main tasks. The first is to act as 'information filters' and 'the eyes and ears of their clients on the ground in New York'. They need to know exactly what is going on and, more importantly, what will

be going on next month in terms of manuscripts entering onto the American market. They report on interesting manuscripts to their clients throughout the week via email. Scouts function as gatekeepers, narrowing flows of information to their clients, and as cultural brokers forging new relations between their clients and American actors. Media publications about scouts often highlight their roles as the most informed persons in the field. An author in *Publishers' Weekly* writes about a translation rights offer he received from a Russian publisher, unknown to both him and his agent, facilitated by:

> [I]nternational literary scouts, the James Bonds of the publishing industry, covert intermediaries who manage to obtain manuscripts, by means foul or fair, and then send them off around the world secretively.
>
> (Picker 2014)

Scouts represent their clients socially to ensure that American editors and agents remember them as viable business partners. Scouts set their clients' agendas when they visit New York and the book fairs, acting as cultural brokers (Foster et al. 2011). Visiting New York allows foreign editors to see what is happening there, to get new ideas and meet American editors and literary agents, thereby strengthening their networks and increasing their symbolic capital (Kuipers 2011). For the book fairs, the scheduling is similar but also includes meetings with actors from outside the US.

Competition in the global market for translations and problems of daily scouting practices

The intensity of the competition for obtaining a manuscript's translation rights depends on the language and the genre as well as timing. In markets for peripheral languages and in genres such as poetry that are generally not very lucrative, an editor looking to buy translation rights can wait until a book is published and reviews and sales figures are known (Whitmore 2013). There will be little competition, and the longer one waits, the more information there will be to assess the book's commercial potential and literary quality. But typically, these books are not expected to sell well and are not the books scouts are looking for. In the dominant Anglo-American market and in the commercial genres (notably crime fiction and upmarket literary fiction), the competition is more fierce. As one scout explains:

> We are looking for the cream of the crop, we are not looking for everything. So many people have scouts who are looking for the cream of the crop, that is why the competition has gotten really intense.
>
> (Scout 1)

The competition to sign the 'cream of the crop' means that scouts and foreign editors cannot wait for reviews or sales figures; ideally, editors want to buy the translation rights when the rights to a manuscript are sold to an American publisher. This makes scouting a nerve-racking job: my informants related stories of colleagues burning out after working as scouts for five to eight years. An ex-scout explains the high stakes:

> It could be one book that makes your year. And if you miss that one book, if you didn't even see it or know about it and your biggest competitor got that from their scout… and got a preempt in early and it makes their year. I mean that's not a good situation to be in. That's one of the nervous parts of being a scout. You don't know when that book is going to come. You don'tknow what is happening tomorrow. Maybe tomorrow we come back and Andrew Wylie has a manuscript out. Who knows, that could be.
>
> (Ex-scout)

The rush on promising manuscripts means that they are often not finished, not edited, and not yet sold to an American publisher. There are no sales figures, literary awards or reviews to go on; the manuscript is still in the process of becoming a book, of being classified, ordered and ranked (see Karpik 2010; Bourdieu 1993; Janssen 1997; English 2002). Manuscripts that literary agents have high expectations of are typically first circulated among a small group of American publishers; literary agents generally want to know what happens to a manuscript in the US before venturing abroad. Scouts cannot easily obtain such manuscripts, but when one does get out among foreign editors, it will likely sell quickly.

Evaluating manuscripts

Manuscripts are evaluated through different evaluation regimes by literary scouts, literary agents and editors. My informants explained that, as paid agents, scouts must identify manuscripts that are potentially profitable, and that editors do not need scouts for books that are not commercially viable. In the case of poetry for instance, there is hardly any competition and editors can wait for reviews and literary prizes before buying the translation rights. But this does not mean that manuscripts are solely evaluated for their commercial potential. Direct commercial evaluations were in fact rare, with commercial viability understood as the (desired) outcome of an evaluation that usually combined different evaluation regimes.

Aesthetic evaluation regimes

Evaluating the aesthetic quality of a manuscript is done in two ways. The first is to compare a new manuscript to a larger body of texts, such as a genre, to assess whether it is interesting in light of its conventions and history. The second is to judge a manuscript based on the effect it has, or is perceived it could have, on the reader – what we can call the aesthetic experience. I first discuss the different bodies of texts that manuscripts are compared to.

Manuscripts are often evaluated in light of their particular genre. Scouts read or skim from 50 to 100 manuscripts a week and thus get a good sense of what is good and bad and, importantly, innovative or old, within a genre. Scouts are expected to have read the classics in each genre to which different actors in the literary field keep referring (e.g. Bielby and Bielby 1994; Franssen and Kuipers 2013). Within each genre, they are continuously looking for something 'new', 'innovative', 'fresh' and 'original'. A scout explains how she evaluates a 'noirish' thriller:

> You have to decide if it is a good version of what it is trying to be. If it is a noirish thriller: 'is it a good noirish thriller?' Is it bringing anything new to the noirish thriller table or is it just like every other one of these you have ever read? (…) Is it doing a good job of being the book it wants to be?
>
> (Scout 2)

Manuscripts can also be evaluated in light of trends. Trends are smaller than genres and can be situated within them or bridge genres (for instance, vampire books often bridge crime and romance). As one scout explains about trends around book fairs:

Scout:

We see weird trends you know around each of the book fairs. Like one year it is angels, one year it is zombies, this year, randomly, it was 'electronically corresponding with the dead'.

Interviewer:

I heard something about mermaids?

Scout:

Mermaids on the young adult side are huge.

Interviewer:

Why mermaids?

Scout:

There is not a lot of logic to it. Circus books are very 2004. That was the year of the circus. Sometimes it is just a matter of knowing how something is going to be marketed and whether something can be marketed in the right sort of way. *The Night Circus* is a flawed book, it was going to hit the bestseller list regardless of who bought it. Because it was just something that was really easy to market. Sometimes there is just that sort of zeitgeist.

(Scout 3)

According to this scout, the emergence of trends is 'random' but relates to a certain 'Zeitgeist'. Like the emergence of a new 'look' in fashion, it is hard to point to its origins or to reasons for its appeal (Mears 2011). Interestingly, *The Night Circus* was evaluated very positively from a trend regime but, according to the scout, was flawed when evaluated in other ways – showing that what is considered important in an evaluation, and thus through which evaluation regime a manuscript is evaluated, differs from manuscript to manuscript.

Manuscripts can also be evaluated against the background of national culture. In this regime, scouts evaluate books in relation to the cultures of their clients' literary fields. When local cultures are discussed, scouts use stereotypes about readers from specific markets. For instance, Brazilians like romantic stories, Dutch and Italians like more cynical or dark stories, and South Koreans like positive business books. The evaluation regime is often negative, positing that a book is unable to travel abroad because it is too 'American', meaning that the themes or story only make sense in an American cultural context. A specific type of humor is often a clue, as are themes such as the Civil War or 'the South'. A scout explained why a book wouldn't travel due to its cultural specificity:

It takes place in an office, it is a workplace sort of novel, nothing inherently bad about that. But it is about a Chinese American woman who is in her early thirties. It is the year she is up for partner at the fancy corporate law firm where she works and it is about race relations in American corporate life. And I was reading it like, 'it is well written but why would anyone care?' I can see why American people would care, but why would Dutch people at all care about race relations in American corporate life?

(Scout 2)

Manuscripts can also be evaluated by the aesthetic experiences they produce. Here a manuscript's quality is determined not by comparing it to other texts but

through the effect it has on the reader. If scouts are affected by a manuscript, they talk about it in terms of having a 'click', a 'feeling' or 'a little like falling in love' (see also Mears 2014). As two scouts explain:

> If all of a sudden I read 80 pages and completely forgot where I was sitting and what my name is then I know. (...) If you feel like wow, this really has power.
> (Scout 4)

> That initial feeling of something clicking is a little bit like falling in love because it is sort of hard to articulate. (...) It just like clicks. I can't really explain why. (...) It happens like a couple of times a year and that seems like a pretty amazing thing.
> (Scout 5)

Scouts read with their clients' taste repertoires in mind. Evaluations of aesthetic experience are not necessarily personal but can also be effects that a manuscript is assumed or imagined to have on other readers (e.g. Kuipers 2011). As the ex-scout explains:

> Because as a scout you are working on behalf of your clients. So you may dislike this completely but in reality you see something that is really good in it, and you just don't connect with the work. That there is something good in it and there is something that will make this big throughout the world, than it's still good even though you personally don't necessarily connect with the material.
> (Ex-scout)

Institutional evaluation regimes

Manuscripts are not only evaluated aesthetically; literary scouts also rely on institutional evaluation regimes to assess their importance. If big literary agencies send out a manuscript to important American editors, scouts will want to see and report on that manuscript; editors will want to know about such manuscripts too (Franssen and Kuipers 2013). As two scouts reflect:

> When there is a big book coming out of one of the larger agencies, everyone is going to be paying attention to that simply because of who the agent is and because of who they submitted to here in the US.
> (Scout 3)

> We look very much from which kind of agency it is coming if our clients have a lot of books from these agents or we know we like the taste of that particular agent we say, 'we better read that first'.
> (Scout 4)

The institutional evaluation regime powerfully affects the practices of literary scouts and illustrates Bourdieu's field theoretical understanding of value. Unrelated to the textual qualities of a manuscript, it is important for scouts to report on it because of the position of the literary agent or publisher (Bourdieu 1993). Since few institutional clues are available, scouts rely on the position of the literary agent in the field and the position of the American publisher if the manuscript has already been sold. Scouts also assess the quality of the author through earlier publications in magazines, newspapers or on blogs. In these cases, they are not concerned with what the author has already published, but in the field position of the outlet.

Relational evaluation regime

A third evaluation regime is the relational regime, evident when scouts claim that if different people mention the same manuscript, they have to check it out. This is what they call 'buzz', one of the primary reasons scouts will look into a manuscript. As two scouts explain:

> **Interviewer:**
> So how do you decide what to read?
> **Scout:**
> Buzz really. If everyone is talking about something you got to read it. To find out what the big deal is.
> (Scout 2)
> When buzz is in town. Clearly if three people in one day mention it to me, to Maria, to our colleague Isabel. We feel there is some vibe in the air about a certain book.
> (Scout 4)

In this evaluation regime, buzz is seen as a signal of aesthetic quality, of a trend, or of more general 'interest'. Scouts report to their clients that a lot of people are talking about a given book, and do so even when they don't like the manuscript themselves as they feel they would be bad scouts if they did not report on books generating buzz. This regime relates to earlier findings in research on intermediaries which shows that

actors rely on their personal networks and most trusted sources (e.g. Powell 1978; Kawashima 1999; Foster et al. 2011). But buzz does not solely arise out of the personal networks of intermediaries; hearing from personal contacts that others, whom one might know personally or only by name, are talking about a manuscript is equally important. Buzz therefore becomes an evaluation regime in its own right, apparent in the example in the introduction where the news source wrote that 'everyone was buzzing' about a manuscript. In such a case, it no longer matters who these people are.

Buzz emerges because actors in this market are constantly in contact with one another and talking about new manuscripts. Below I argue that buzz constitutes a particular mode of valuation and can be understood as a judgment device that produces value and market order. I first discuss the ways in which evaluation regimes are intertwined in practice.

Intertwined evaluation regimes

Different evaluation regimes are combined by scouts in different ways for each manuscript. In this section I discuss extracts from reports sent by scouts to their clients, which reveal the role of scouts in actively co-producing manuscripts. Consider the following:

> I found this book an immensely enjoyable read, one that manages to perfectly straddle the line between literary (in its themes) and commercial (in its warm, relatable voice and its affecting portrait of a loving wife watching her marriage slip away from her) (…) I loved the atmospheres she evokes in the novel, which made me want to run off to a Paris café and savour a café crème, or escape to the Riviera sun, but what affected me most was the poignancy of Karl's world teetering on the brink as everything starts lining up for Fred. (...) I feel this will attract the same commercial readership a novel like Nancy Horan's LOVING FRANK (which did quite well in the US) did.
>
> (Scout 6, caps in original)

As the scout explains, she loved the book. It made a real impression on her, a feeling she wishes to convey to the editor. She places the manuscript within the genre by pointing to the perfect match between literary and commercial, which is a genre in itself (up-market literary fiction). She moreover relates it to an earlier work and its sales figures in the US, suggesting that this book will do well too. In the report (not quoted here), she mentions the US publisher and agent. Similar combinations can be found in other reports, each emphasizing a different element.

Consider these two excerpts from a single scout:

> There are three bidders in the running for [title]. (…) The appeal seems to lie mostly in the migration of YA and genre tropes to upmarket adult fiction. The agent compares it to A Clockwork Orange, but to us it's much more like an inverse Children of Men. (…) Despite good writing, the book misses the mark. The plot and character development simply take too much of a back seat to the ideas that concern the author.
> (Scout 2 reading report)

> This is a really enjoyable horror novel with some legitimate scares, a sort of ROSEMARY'S BABY (…) There's also a nice balance here between the legitimately scary and the slightly tongue in cheek (…) [Authors name] who Publishers Weekly has called "the contemporary American master of the love story." [Authors name] is the author of ten novels, including [title], which has sold over two million copies to date, and the National Book Award finalist [title]. He has written for Rolling Stone, the New York Times, The New Yorker, GQ, and Harper's.
> (Scout 2 reading report, caps in original)

In both excerpts, the book is evaluated within a genre and compared to its classics. The scout ventures her own aesthetic experiences of the manuscript: 'the book misses the mark' and 'really enjoyable horror novel with some legitimate scares'. In the first case the report only mentions the name of the author (not quoted here) without further elaboration; apparently there is nothing meaningful to mention about the author. In the second passage, the author's details are brought to the fore. Interestingly, the description of the author was not written by the scout but most probably copied from the literary agent his or her description of the book, as the same description can be found on the website of the book's American publisher.

In these reports we see that scouts are not only gatekeepers and brokers, but also co-producers actively engaged in how a manuscript should be read: '[t]he agent compares it to A Clockwork Orange, but to us it's much more like an inverse Children of Men.' Pointing to the 'nice balance here between the legitimately scary and the slightly tongue in cheek' and mention of the classic *Rosemary's Baby* gives the editor a frame of reference for evaluating the manuscript. In this way, editors are steered towards engaging with the manuscript in certain ways, perhaps by sending it to colleague A rather than B for a second opinion, or in their thinking about the editing, translation, title or front cover. Especially if the American rights

have not been sold and American editors are involved in the talks, stating that a book's plot and character development are slow may incline them to edit the book more drastically.

Consider the case of Chad Harbach's book *The Art of Fielding*. The ex-scout explains that baseball books don't travel well to Europe, but that this was far more than a book about baseball; it was a literary work. This, at least, was how the book ended up travelling around the world:

Interviewer:

If you would still be scouting, wouldn't you be sort of thinking 'oefh' baseball?

Ex-scout:

Everyone thought that. It was their first thought, 'it is a baseball novel'. People would read it as a baseball novel but try to claim that there is actually a lot more to it. Baseball is just on the outside. And that is true to an extent, there is a lot of baseball in there and he writes about baseball incredibly well. But I think, and I know for a fact, that every scout mentioned this and had concerns. (…) It is a baseball novel. I think how people were able to get beyond was, one: looking solemnly at the book Netherland and thinking 'okay cricket wasn't popular but that was a book that crossed the boundaries and worked because it was about so much else as well.' And there is this gay love story in the Art of Fielding, there is this story of friendship throughout. There are a lot of elements in this book. Was it a guarantee that this was going to travel to Europe? No, No. But it was such a big deal here and it was about the making of a new literary voice. People were saying, 'it is just the best literary novel that we have read in the last six months to a year', that got people to read it.

(Ex-scout)

In this ex-scout's story we see the same elements as in the scouting reports. The book is compared to another book, *Netherland*, which despite being about cricket did well in Europe. There is talk of the different ways in which the *Art of Fielding* could be enacted – within the genre of the sports novel as a manuscript about baseball, or as a literary novel in which the style and voice are more important than the theme. Enacting it as a baseball novel might do well in the US, but would make it harder for the manuscript to form a network in Europe. As the work of a new literary voice, however, it would be much easier for the book to travel abroad.

Indeed, it ended up being published as a literary debut in the Netherlands by De Bezige Bij, an important literary house. The website of the Dutch publisher states: "The *Art of Fielding* is an intelligent, warm novel about ambition, family, friendship and love and is a dreamed entrance of a big writer."[12]

By combining and aligning different evaluation regimes – also bound by the affordances offered by the manuscript itself – editors and scouts develop the different ways in which a manuscript can be enacted and how it can be explained and legitimized to publishers, commercial directors and, in the end, sold to consumers (e.g. Childress 2012; Franssen and Kuipers 2013).

The relational mode of valuation: following buzz and extending networks

Literary scouts and other actors do not evaluate manuscripts in isolation. Through the stories of my scout informants, I have traced how the valuation of new manuscripts works as a relational process. This relational mode of valuation differs from the institutional mode of valuation as analyzed by Bourdieu (1993) and others because institutionalized judgment devices such as reviews and rankings do not exist at this early stage in a manuscript's life. Because actors cannot use such judgment devices, talk itself, in the form of buzz, becomes a judgment device. How does this work in practice?

A new manuscript is usually submitted to a select number of editors (this can be field-wide or just a few) by a literary agent. Scouts are sometimes alerted of manuscripts directly from a literary agent or editor; at other times they learn of promising manuscripts from their contacts. At other times the flow of information travels the other way, with scouts informing editors over emails, lunches and telephone calls about the manuscripts they have read or heard about. Editors and scouts thus use each other as sources for knowing about buzz, while their conversations create buzz as well. As two scouts explain:

> We'll be calling around and I would say to one of my editor contacts that I have 'oh are you reading such and so? Because I think that would be something that would be of interest to you.' And maybe they are not on the first submission list for that agent so they can call the agent and say 'hey could you please send it over to me for consideration'.
>
> (Scout 3)

12. My translation of the Dutch original: *De kunst van het veldspel* is een intelligente, warme roman over ambitie, familie, vriendschap en liefde en is de gedroomde entree van een grootschrijver. http://www.debezigebij.nl/web/Zojuist-verschenen/Boek/9789023467564_De-kunst-van-het-veldspel.htm (accessed 30-7-2014).

> We had a book last week that I literally got at 9 o'clock in the morning in my inbox and I had a good feeling about it (…) I immediately got hooked and then I mentioned it to an editor at lunch and she hadn't heard about it and by Thursday evening it was sold here by a very big preempt. (Scout 4)

Following buzz is a strategy of risk-avoidance and as such can be understood in terms of isomorphism. Editors will assume there is 'something' to the buzzy manuscript that makes it worth buzzing about. Buzzy books are important 'status-wise'. If editors land buzzy books, they show that they have the economic capital to pay large advances as well as the symbolic capital to be deemed 'worthy' of publishing hot manuscripts. Similarly, scouts who introduce buzzy books to their clients, leading to sales, show that they have influence, that they can make manuscripts. Industry buzz can also lead to consumer market buzz, especially when the auction price is so high that it becomes a news event; *Publishers Weekly*, the most important industry magazine, often reports on record breaking or 'hot' deals. Thompson (2010) shows that for manuscripts with buzz that command high auction prices, publishers will invest significant resources to make them bestsellers in order to recoup their advances. Buzz thus creates a certain market order: the more buzz, the higher the auction price. A scout explains that buzz can raise auction prices beyond what he thinks is warranted:

> We try to act as the thing outside of the machine (…) outside of the hype, outside of the buzz (…) We say [about these hyped manuscripts], 'This is fine, but this is a book that should sell for a hundred thousand dollars here in the US not the five hundred thousand that it ended up going for. (Scout 3)

This scout interestingly characterizes the mechanism of buzz or hype as a machine – a machine that drives up the price and produces economic value, one which makes a manuscript that is not (yet) valuable worth $500,000. Another scout summarizes the same process of how 'it' builds:

> People read and love and they talk about it. You know. Let's say we read a book and we become strong advocates of it. Another scout reads the book and they become strong advocates of it, all of a sudden you got foreign publishers, at least two. Then you have an editor in France who wants to buy the rights and they know that somebody else, an editor friend of theirs from Italy said, 'hey are you by any chance reading this book?', that is how it builds. Because these people do talk to one another because there is a big international community.
>
> (Scout 1)

Scouts are central intermediaries in extending the networks of manuscripts. If they believe in a manuscript's potential, they will translate its potential to their clients and try to enroll them in the network. A scout explains this process for two cases:

> There was a trilogy on submission in Frankfurt called [title]. Our Italians preempted it before the fair. We had our client dinner on Tuesday evening and I think, [publisher] had already tried to preempt before then, we had been in contact with them and they said 'yes, we are looking at this'. We had already been in touch with our Germans before then, but you ended up seeing offers from our Germans, our Dutch, our Croatians and our Spaniards. There is a sharing of minds happening in cases like that.
>
> (…)
>
> There was a really literary book by an author who is [nationality]. Our [same nationality] client had, and this is super confidential, but our client had acquired the book beforehand. We had sent it to them from the US and said 'I can see this being something of interest to you'. Not so much for anybody else because at the time it was a [certain type of book] (…)
>
> [The scout goes on to explain that the book was later reworked as a more mainstream up-market book which would be interesting for all his clients, and goes on:]
>
> And our client was of course well tapped into what exactly was going on with the book and was informing us the entire time and four of our clients ended up acquiring the book at the fair.
>
> (Scout 3)

As these examples show, actors follow each other in enrolling into the network of a new manuscript. But they do not do so silently. In the process of extending the network, the manuscript itself is enacted in certain ways as well, with scouts and editors together defining its strengths and weaknesses, its genre, the older books it can legitimately be compared to, and its future public and market. All actors who enroll in this process can agree, add to or attack these enactments, thereby turning the manuscript into a book, or often, different books. All actors who enroll in a manuscript's network thus co-produce the book.

Conclusion: The relational mode of valuation and the institutional mode of valuation

This article set out to understand how new manuscripts are evaluated in the global book market and how their value comes into being. I examined the practices of literary scouts, a crucial yet under-researched group of intermediaries in the New York literary scene. Scouts who work for European publishing houses act as gatekeepers, filtering information for their clients, as brokers, connecting their clients to manuscripts and people, and as co-producers engaged in the transformation of manuscripts into books.

I have argued that scouts use three evaluation regimes – the aesthetic, institutional and relational – to evaluate manuscripts. The influence of the relational regime, that of following buzz, is most noticeable in markets such as this one where objects are not yet finished, classified, ordered and ranked through a plethora of judgment devices and where actors are in a hurry to beat the competition to buy the best manuscripts.

From a field-theoretical and neo-institutional perspective, we recognize a number of elements in the relational mode of valuation. Powerful players have an advantage in generating buzz; manuscripts with buzz are status symbols; following books with buzz can be seen as an isomorphic strategy of risk avoidance. But the process through which manuscripts become valuable does not readily fit in an institutional or field-theoretical framework. I have thus drawn on pragmatic sociology (Hennion 1989; Heuts and Mol 2013) to develop an understanding of valuation and co-production in this particular market.

The analysis has shown that manuscripts are valued and classified through the extension of their networks. In this process of enrolment in which more and more actors are brought into relation with the manuscript, the manuscript is transformed into one or more books. Within these networks, actors discuss the different ways of evaluating the manuscript; in this way the manuscript itself and its value co-emerge. But what makes a manuscript valuable at an auction or in a preempt, I want to

stress, is the number and kind of people who are interested in it. I therefore argue that this particular relational mode of valuation is different from the institutional mode of valuation as described by Bourdieu, because it is impossible for actors to follow a dominant logic. First, because coming from different national literary fields, the logics in which they operate differ. Second, because the manuscript is often unfinished, there are different ways in which it could be finished and thus different ways in which it could be published. Third, there are no judgment devices or institutional mechanisms that are dominant enough to back a particular logic. Whether a manuscript is valuable, and in what particular way it could become a valuable book on the consumer market, is thus determined in a relational process of valuation. This mode of valuation does not follow institutionalized judgment devices such as rankings, awards or reviews, as these are unavailable. It is not the logic of the field, but the mass and kind of network that determines the value of a manuscript.

Chapter 4

Coping with uncertainty, abundance and strife: Decision-making processes of Dutch acquisition editors in the global market for translations

Chapter 4
Coping with uncertainty, abundance and strife: Decision-making processes of Dutch acquisition editors in the global market for translations[13]

Publishing is a risky and uncertain business. Those primarily charged with selecting books and authors to publish (i.e., acquisition editors) confront an excess of new titles and authors that are available; an uncertainty about the nature, quality and marketability of these books; a ferocious competition for the "best" new titles; and the reality that only a small fraction of published books prove to be successful. These are the classic problems of cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Peterson and Anand, 2004).

The uncertainty inherent in publishing has grown in past decades because of increasing globalization. Translations make up a growing share of all published books, especially in smaller language areas (Heilbron, 2008). As a result, editors are increasingly concerned with the acquisition of translation rights—the right to publish a book in a particular language area. Thus, they have to make their selection not only from all unpublished manuscripts in their own language, they also have to consider the entirety of global book production when selecting. This global production has been growing steadily every year.[14] This means there is more diversity in books available—making it even harder to establish beforehand their quality and potential audience appeal as a translation in a given nation's "literary field." Meanwhile, national literary fields have become more competitive due to the increasing commercialization of the publishing business (Schiffrin, 2001; Verboord, 2011). Simultaneously, competition in the "transnational" literary field has increased as editors from smaller countries—upon entering this field—have been swept along in the fast pace and strong competition that is characteristic of global centers of book production (e.g., New York, Paris), wherein promising books are often sold before they are written (Thompson, 2010).

This article analyzes the decision-making processes of editors operating in the transnational literary field. Drawing on a quantitative analysis of the structure of the Dutch literary field and interviews with editors working in the Netherlands—a small but highly internationalized literary field—we investigate how editors decide

13. This chapter has been published as: Franssen, T., & Kuipers, G. 2013. Coping with uncertainty, abundance and strife: Decision-making processes of Dutch acquisition editors in the global market for translations. *Poetics 41*, 48-74.

14. Figures from the US (Bowker, 2011) and the UK (Nielsen Book, 2010)—as well as our Dutch data—show a continuous rise in book publications. Most likely, book production is also rising in the developing economies of Asia and Latin America.

which books to buy in the global market for translations. After locating these editors and their respective publishers in the Dutch literary field, we ask the following questions: How do they find interesting new books? What criteria do they use to judge a book? How is this acquisition process organized? How do they cope with the uncertainties that are inherent to the field?

Using a "production of culture" approach that combines insights from Bourdieusian field theory with neo-institutional theory in sociology, this article traces all stages of the decision-making process—from the moment editors first hear about a manuscript to the final verdict in the publishers' editorial meeting and the actual acquisition of a given book for translation. For all these stages, we analyze the practices by which editors attempt to cope with the problems of abundance, uncertainty and competition. In different stages, they may well cope with these problems in different ways. Furthermore, we argue that the acquisition of translation rights is best understood as a decision-making *process*—one not involving a single "gatekeeper" but rather a "gatekeeping network" in which power is distributed across a range of actors. The multiple actors involved in this process operate in different locations on the globe. They all mark, sort, classify and modify information about new books, and then they pass it on to the next actor in line. Acquisition editors are central nodes in this network. However, editors are never solely responsible for publishing decisions, and they routinely rely on information received from others.

Decision-making and cultural production in the transnational field

Acquisition editors, like other gatekeepers in the cultural industries, occupy a "boundary spanning" position (Hirsch, 1972). They mediate between producers, such as their own publishing firms, and consumers in the "outside world." Moreover, within their respective firms, they bridge the boundary between creative and managerial branches (Negus, 2002). However, editors buying translations rights also straddle a different boundary—that between the national and transnational literary fields. Their work, therefore, is embedded within their publishing house, the national literary field, and a transnational network of publishers, scouts, agents and translators.

The notion of gatekeeping in cultural fields derives from the production of culture approach—which has applied insights from economic and organizational sociology to the production of such cultural products as books, films, and music (Coser, 1975; Hirsch, 1972; Peterson and Anand 2004). To explain gatekeeping as process, we draw on insights from two theoretical perspectives that are com-monly employed in production of culture studies—neo-institutional theory and Bourdieusian field theory.

While these theoretical perspectives originated on two different continents, they share many important assumptions, especially their epistemological aversion to determinism and their focus on a relational approach (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). The perspectives grew closer when neo-institutionalists became more interested in heterogeneity and power in cultural fields (DiMaggio, 1991; Dobbin, 2008; Schneiberg and Clemens, 2006). In both perspectives, actors and their practices are seen as embedded in and constrained by the (organizational) *field*—a particular domain of social life (e.g., book publishing). The logic(s) of the field—and the specific positions that actors have within it—constrains and guides their thoughts and practices. Neo-institutionalists see actors' *worldview* as the mediator between field and practice, while in field theory the mediating mechanism between field structure and actors' actions is the *habitus*, a disposition of sorts (Dobbin, 2008).

What these perspectives also have in common is that cultural production can be studied through the lens of organizational practices in the cultural field. Organizations in cultural fields—as well as in other types of fields—are held together by conventions, routines and procedures (Dobbin and Dowd, 2000; Leblebici et al., 1991). Organizational practices emerge in response to specific challenges. In turn, these practices—such as the networked structure of the gatekeeping process under scrutiny here—shape various organizational outcomes, such as the number and types of book published.

In many production of culture studies, especially those employing a neo-institutional perspective, uncertainty emerges as the central problem (cf. Bielby and Bielby, 1994; Godart and Mears, 2009; Peterson, 1997). The value or quality of cultural products (e.g., books) is hard to gauge or foretell, because the objects have to be "produced" or created in a collective process that unfolds well before the final audience encounters such products (Becker, 1984). Hence, specialized professionals—gatekeepers—are needed to help establish a cultural product's worth and potential (cf. Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Janssen, 1997). Individual and organizational practices in a cultural field, then, are primarily understood as responses to this value-uncertainty.

Demystifying elusive notions like quality, taste or expertise, sociologists of culture look for legitimation processes in which judgments of taste, quality and expertise are stabilized and validated (Baumann, 2007a; Johnson, Dowd and Ridgeway, 2006). Such processes are inherently social. As Bielby and Bielby (1994) argue in their analysis of television production, decision-making in cultural production is predominantly rhetorical: convincing others of the value of a television show actually produces this value itself (cf. Thompson, 2010 on "big books").

An important strategy for reducing uncertainty, neo-institutionalists argue, is the imitation of organizational practices and routines. Actors in the same organizational

field look to others for confirmation and inspiration. Successful strategies are often copied, leading to increasing "institutional isomorphism" within given cultural fields (Ahlkvist and Faulkner, 2002; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

In Bourdieusian field theory, competition—both over publics and over legitimacy—emerges as the central problem of cultural production. Rather than adaptation and uncertainty, conflict becomes the central structuring mechanism of cultural fields. Bourdieusian fields often revolve around the polarity of culture and economy, art and commerce. Decision-making in cultural production can be guided by the "highbrow" cultural logic (e.g., art for art's sake) of the "field of restricted production" or the "popular" commercial logic (e.g., the financial bottom-line) of the "field of large-scale cultural production" (Bourdieu, 1996, 2008; Sapiro, 2010).

Organizations, people and products each occupy a position in this cultural field, one determined by the amount and nature—symbolic (cultural) and/or economic—of their respective capital. Each position comes with aesthetic dispositions embodied in the habitus. The most criticized element in Bourdieu's theory is the assumption that all actors are locked in a "classification struggle," striving to dominate the field (Becker and Pessin, 2006). For field theorists, mimicry reflects "upward aspiration"—attempts to get ahead in the field. Informed by the habitus and cultural capital, aesthetic decisions are expected to occur rather spontaneously, informed by the "magic of the field" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 134) that erases uncertainties.

The utility of combining both neo-institutional and field theories becomes apparent in light of a challenge listed above—the overabundance of new manuscripts available from the 1980s onward. This challenge is clearly vexing our informants, because it intensifies both uncertainty and competition. With more and more diverse offerings, value becomes ever harder to establish—heightening the uncertainty that neo-institutionalists emphasize. Meanwhile, within the emerging global literary field (Casanova, 2004), competition becomes ever fiercer. For instance, Heilbron and Sapiro (2007) argue that the global translation system is shaped by increasing global competition—the very competitive struggle emphasized by field theorists. This leads to the growing power of, mostly, American (popular) fiction and the pushing of Anglo-American fare into national markets, as well as to the increasing dominance of the commercial logic in national literary fields.

Like many production of culture studies, our analysis of the editorial decision-making process combines insights from neo-institutional and field theories (cf. Godart and Mears, 2009; Kremp, 2010; Peterson and Anand, 2004). Some aspects of the gatekeeping process may be better understood through neo-institutional insights—such as the development of routines and institutional innovations to control uncertainty—while others are better understood in terms of Bourdieusian

power dynamics. As we unravel the entire gatekeeping process, we show that the practices of cultural professionals are guided by different logics in different stages of the decision-making process.

Case, data and methods

This article analyzes the acquisition process of translation rights for adult fiction in the Dutch literary field. Our analysis is based on quantitative data regarding Dutch adult fiction and poetry production in 2007 and on interviews with 24 Dutch editors.

The Dutch literary field is a useful case by which to study national and transnational literary fields. First, it is highly internationalized: nearly 30% of all books published in the Netherlands are translations. In fiction, translations even surpass original Dutch books (Heilbron, 2008). By contrast, in the UK and the US, only 4% of books are translations; in Germany and France, the share of translations is between 14% and 18% (Heilbron and Sapiro, 2007). Second, because of its small size, our study covers virtually the entire Dutch literary field. Our dataset and interviewees encompass nearly all fictional books, except those aimed at children and at specialized readership (see below). By focusing on the remaining broad category of "adult fiction," we capture both "popular" and "high" culture. Finally, the Netherlands provides a useful case because it has extensive and reliable data on annual book production—registering all publications in the Netherlands.[15] These data are much superior to the *UNESCO Index Translationum*, a source which is notoriously unreliable (Poupaud et al., 2009) and which lacks data on total book production. Indeed, our data allow us to map the structure of the Dutch literary field and to gauge the importance of translation from different languages.

The Dutch literary field: data and analysis

To get at the structure of this field—and thereby the positioning of publishing firms and acquisition editors within it—we used data from the *Nederlandse Biblio-grafie Online*[16] of the Dutch Royal Library to construct a dataset of fiction books published in 2007 in the Netherlands. From this catalogue, we selected all books in the following categories assigned by the Royal Library: "novels and novella—originally Dutch," "novels and novella—translated," "poetry—originally Dutch," and "poetry—translated."

15. A 1993 study finds that 96,6% of books with ISBN-registration are in this database. The remaining 3,4% are argued to be mostly publications of private parties, NGOs or governmental organizations (Voorbij and Douma, 1996).
16. http://www.kb.nl/nederlandsebibliografie

From this first selection, we then removed all books published by organizations or individuals that did not present themselves as a publisher/publishing company—for instance, self-published novels or books published by a company to celebrate its anniversary. For the analysis presented in this article, we also removed books by publishers of religious fiction and publishers of romance novels, as they have their own channels of acquisition and distribution separate from the general book market. In the Netherlands, romance novels are sold through the same channels as magazines, whereas Christian fiction for the most part has its own distribution system of Christian bookstores (and churches).

Our dataset has books published by 208 publishers that released one or more books in 2007. Of the 2574 books in this dataset, 58,35% are published by houses that are part of larger, mostly national, conglomerates. In our quantitative analysis we use the 27 most prominent publishers (table 4.1). Together, they published 74%, of the total amount of adult fiction in the Netherlands in 2007.

The Royal Library records various characteristics of each book in its database. For the present analysis, we used three of these variables: Dutch publisher, source language and genre. The Dutch publishers variable is recorded correctly, as publishers are normally the ones sending the book to the Royal Library. There is a major incentive to do so: all new titles are published in *Boekblad*, a Dutch industry magazine comparable to *Publishers' Weekly*. The second variable, source language, is also very reliable in terms of its reporting.

However, the genre variable proved to be more problematic. The Royal Library uses two genre classifications. The NUR (Dutch Uniform Genre-division) code is assigned by publishers to give booksellers an idea of where to place the book in the shop. The second category—simply called "genre"—is assigned by an organization called *NBD Biblion* and is intended for libraries. However, not all books are coded in either of these systems. Of the 1903 books used in the present analysis, 1548 have one or more NUR-codes, and 1378 have one or more NBD-codes. Moreover, there is a strong bias as to which books get a NUR and/or NBD-code. We have solved this problem by combining the two codes. This resulted in 1788 books with at least one code, which only leaves 115 missing values. This results in a simple genre classification in our dataset: poetry, thriller, and other.

All books with a NUR-code or NBD-code of "poetry" are classified as poetry in our dataset. Poetry then becomes a proxy for "high culture," as it is generally combined with high literary work in a publisher's catalogue. The second category is "thriller." For this category, we have combined the NUR code "thriller" and "literary thriller" with the NBD-codes of "thriller," "detective," "horror," and "espionage." This category generally denotes publishers with popular genres.

Sadly, we could not make additional categories for different types of fiction—such as literature, women's fiction, historical novels or "chick lit"—as there only is a general NUR-code for literary works, which is used for all types of novels (hence our final category of "other").

With the data in hand, we then analyzed the structure of the literary field using principal component analysis (PCA) in Stata version 12. This method is widely used in social sciences to "reduce the dimensionality of a data set…while retaining as much as possible of the variation present in the data set" (Joliffe, 2002, p. ix). This is done by creating principal components—which are uncorrelated variables that, taken together, contain as much of the variance of the original variables as possible (Joliffe, 2002).

In the analysis, we included source language (Dutch/English/other) and the genre codes described above, as well as measures for economic and symbolic capital (as accumulated between 2003 and 2007). To measure economic capital, we first used yearly Top 100 lists made by the CPNB[17], calculating for each publisher the percentage of titles on this list in each year. From the same Top 100, we used sales figures—given specifically for the Top 3 and given ranges (e.g., between 20,000 and 25,000) for the lower positions. We took the lowest number given and, again, calculated each publisher's share in the total sales for each year. These two items together form our scale for economic capital, with a Cronbach's α of .94.

To measure symbolic capital, we counted the literary prizes—both nationally and internationally—that a given publisher received between 2003 and 2007[18]. We calculated each publisher's share of the total number of prizes. This scale is based on 22 items, with a Cronbach's α of .76.

The gatekeeping process: data and analysis

To get at the gatekeeping process qualitatively, we approached 28 acquisition editors, selecting those at all the major Dutch publishing houses with a moderate or strong focus on translations. Twenty-four consented to an interview. We sometimes conducted multiple interviews at (different imprints of) one company. Interviews ranged in time from half an hour to one and a half hours, with a typical interview

17. web.cpnb.nl/cpnb/campagne.vm?c=51

18. We selected the following prizes given for specific book titles (no oeuvre awards): Academica Debutantenprijs, AKO literatuurprijs, Anton Wachterprijs, Augustprijs, C. Buddinghprijs, Costa Book Awards, De Gouden Uil, De Diamanten kogel, De Gouden Strop, Ida Gerhardt Poëzieprijs, IMPAC Dublin Literary Award, Grand Prix du roman de l'académie Française, Nordic Council Literature Prize, Man Booker Prize, NBCCA Fiction, NBCCA Poetry, NS Publieksprijs, PEN/Faulkner Award, Premio Strega, Le prix Goncourt, Pulitzer Prize for fiction, Pulitzer Prize for poetry, and the VSB Poëzieprijs.

being one hour. The interviews were then transcribed and analyzed using ATLAS.ti software and a theoretically informed coding scheme addressing such concepts as uncertainty, imitation, and competition. Respondents typically had a university-level humanities degree and were relatively young and female (19 female and 5 male editors, most between 27 and 40). This age and gender bias suggests that acquisitions editorship is a beginner's job or a less prestigious one. In the interviews, we discussed personal characteristics of the editors (e.g., education), the publishing house at which they work, the selection process, the books and their public. We specifically discussed debut authors, because the acquisition of debuts is a risky investment that requires thorough justification—whereas the rights for books by established authors are often bought without editors reading the book. All quotes have been anonymized at our informants' request.

The Dutch literary field: structure and translations

Before analyzing the editorial decision-making process, we briefly analyze the field in which contemporary Dutch editors make their decisions. We selected the most prominent Dutch publishing companies—on the basis of their accumulation of economic (e.g., bestseller lists) or symbolic (e.g., prizes) capital in the period from 2003 till 2007. This led to an analysis with 27 publishing houses. Table 4.1 lists those houses and details a range of information—such as their respective amounts of symbolic and economic capital.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of publishers in the Dutch literary field

Publisher	English	Dutch	Other	Thrillers	Poetry	Total	Economic	Symbolic	Year	Company	Scout	Cluster	Interviewed
Ambo|Anthos	57.14	20.54	22.32	32.14	2.68	112	15.41	1.33	1970	NDC/VBK	Yes	2	Yes
Amstel	32.00	39.00	29.00	7.00	5.00	100	1.68	2.67	1887	NDC/VBK	Yes	1 and 3	Yes
Bruna	65.81	5.98	28.21	76.92	0.00	117	8.42	1.33	1868	PCM	Yes	2	Yes
Contact	33.33	60.00	6.67	2.22	11.11	45	2.45	2.67	1933	NDC/VBK	Yes	1	Yes
Cossee	11.11	61.11	27.78	5.56	11.11	18	0.78	5.33	2001	Independent	No	1	No
De Arbeiderspers	25.49	46.08	28.43	10.78	13.73	102	6.08	14.67	1929	WPG	Yes	1	Yes
De Bezige By	44.75	39.23	16.02	24.31	6.63	181	16.19	14.67	1944	WPG	Yes	1 and 2	Yes
De Boekery	90.31	3.57	6.12	22.45	0.00	196	2.81	0.00	1945	PCM	Yes	2	Yes
De Fontein	82.14	10.71	7.14	58.93	0.00	56	3.97	0.00	1946	NDC/VBK	Yes	2	Yes
De Geus	17.97	17.19	64.84	28.13	5.47	128	3.61	12.00	1983	Independent	No	3	Yes
De Harmonie	66.67	33.33	0.00	16.67	16.67	6	6.70	0.00	1972	Independent	No	1 and 2	Yes
De Rode Kamer	0.00	0.00	100.00	83.33	0.00	5	0.00	2.67	2005	Independent	No	3	No
Dutch Media	16.67	50.00	33.33	16.67	0.00	6	0.00	1.33	2005	Independent	No	1 and 3	No

Table 4.1: Characteristics of publishers in the Dutch literary field (continued)

Publisher	English	Dutch	Other	Thrillers	Poetry	Total	Economic	Symbolic	Year	Company	Scout	Cluster	Interviewed
FMB	61.90	33.33	4.76	19.05	4.76	21	0.87	1.33	2005	FMG	Yes	1 and 2	Yes
Karakter	34.38	31.25	34.38	93.75	0.00	32	1.14	1.33	2001	Independent	No	2 and 3	No
Luitingh Sythoff	90.53	4.53	4.94	54.73	0.41	243	11.46	4.00	1851	NDC/VBK	Yes	2	Yes
Meulenhoff	26.73	22.77	50.50	0.99	9.90	101	1.93	1.33	1895	PCM	Yes	1 and 3	Yes
Muntinga	44.90	34.69	20.41	14.29	10.20	49	0.23	0.00	1983	Independent	Yes	1 and 2	Yes
NieuwAmsterdam	19.44	77.78	2.78	2.78	22.22	36	0.31	2.67	2005	Independent	Yes	1	Yes
Nijgh & Van Ditmar	8.33	83.33	8.33	0.00	29.17	24	2.43	5.33	1870	WPG	No	1	No
Podium	21.43	60.71	17.86	0.00	21.43	28	5.15	4.00	1997	Independent	No	1	No
Prometheus|Bert Bakker	20.97	62.90	16.13	16.13	11.29	62	1.69	6.67	1989	Independent	Yes	1	Yes
Querido	15.19	58.23	26.58	7.59	16.46	79	1.67	12.00	1915	WPG	Yes	1	Yes
The House of Books	81.94	12.50	5.56	37.50	2.78	72	1.98	0.00	1999	Bertelsman	Yes	2	Yes
Unieboek	93.33	4.44	2.22	37.78	0.00	45	1.29	0.00	1878	PCM	Yes	2	Yes
Van Oorschot	10.53	63.16	26.32	0.00	31.58	19	0.00	1.33	1945	Independent	No	1	No
Wereldbibliotheek	10.00	20.00	70.00	0.00	10.00	20	1.78	1.33	1905	Independent	No	3	No
Total						1903							
Total for the field						2574							

To understand the structure of the Dutch literary field, including the role of translations, we did a principal component analysis that involves measures for symbolic and economic capital, prominence of genres (thriller, poetry, other) and source language. Table 4.2 shows the results of the PCA of these variables (with publishing houses as units of analysis). Three components describe the structure of the literary field, with a total explained variance of 86%. The first component distinguishes publishers who mainly publish in Dutch from those publishing mainly translations from English and distinguishes thriller-dominated publishers from publishers strong in poetry. The second component differentiates publishers of Dutch and English books (of any genre) from publishers in other languages. The third component represents total capital volume—indicating considerable overlap between symbolic and economic capital. Indeed, 19 publishers have high volumes of both economic and symbolic capital. This suggests that, in the highest strata of the literary field, symbolic and economic capital reinforce each other. Bourdieu (2008) reported similar findings for publishers in the late-twentieth century French literary field, as did Anheier, Gerhards and Romo (1995) in their analysis of the literary field of Cologne, Germany.

Table 4.2: Principal Component Analysis

	Eigenvalue	**Explained variance**		
Component 1	3.07071	0.4387		
Component 2	1.61924	0.67		
Component 3	1.3166	0.8581		
Variable	**Comp1**	**Comp2**	**Comp3**	**Unexplained**
Economic capital	-0.1922	-0.2621	0.687	0.154
Symbolic capital	0.2198	0.114	0.7185	0.151
English	-0.4443	-0.4648	-0.0488	0.04075
Dutch	0.5203	-0.178	-0.0096	0.1171
Other	0.0105	0.7607	0.0705	0.0561
Thrillers	-0.4435	0.2471	0.0539	0.2934
Poetry	0.4998	-0.1755	-0.0388	0.1811

On the basis of this analysis, we distinguish three groups of publishers—characterized by specific profiles of source language, genre and capital. The Prestigious-Local Cluster consists of publishers with more symbolic than economic capital and that publish Dutch (literary) fiction along with some highly prestigious foreign authors (Nabokov, Mann). The Anglo-American-Genre Cluster specializes in "genre" fiction (e.g., thrillers, sci-fi, chick lit) translated from English.

These publishers have, on average, more economic than symbolic capital. The Dutch books they publish are usually in the popular genres. Finally, in the Exotic-Languages Cluster, we find publishers of translations from languages other than Dutch and English: This cluster contains publishers with literary and thriller-based lists, as well as combinations of those. As Table 4.1 shows, 18 publishers fit into one group, but some publishers combine strategies. Oftentimes, publishers have different imprints for different clusters. *De Bezige Bij*, the Netherlands' most important publisher—scoring highest on economic and symbolic capital—publishes Dutch and prestigious international literary authors under its own name, while its less prestigious genre fiction is "locked away" in an imprint called *Cargo*. Separately, *Cargo* and the main catalogue fall neatly into Anglo-American-Genre and Prestigious-Local Clusters, respectively.[19]

Hence, in the Dutch literary field, the highbrow-lowbrow division intersects with a division between locally and transnationally oriented publishers. The third cluster presents an interesting and additional division within the field—the "standard" languages of Dutch and English versus all others. In his last publication on the French literary field, Bourdieu (2008) reported that the publication of translations from "peripheral" languages was a relatively new strategy—one typical of newcomers in more autonomous or avant-garde corners of the literary field, and who were often also physically located in more "peripheral" areas. However, in the Dutch field, publication of translations has been more established and, therefore, has developed further. It is used by both literary and commercial houses, some of which are relatively old and have published out of "peripheral" languages for a long time (De Glas, 2012). This difference between the two national fields is most likely related to the small size and traditionally international orientation of the Dutch field (see Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord, 2008).

Editors and the acquisition process: decision-making in context

Editors are the main gatekeepers in the acquisition process and the only ones involved in all stages of the decision-making. Their boundary-spanning function—between managerial and creative branches in their publishing house, and between the house and transnational field—gives them a great deal of autonomy (Greco, 2005).

In this section, we analyze all stages of the acquisition of book translation rights based on editors' accounts of this process, and the strategies and resources they use in each stage. We find that this process is structured similarly for different

19. For additional information on the clusters (e.g., the situation of imprints), see the Appendix.

types of publishing houses. Hence, irrespective of field position, editors encounter the same problems in each stage of the decision-making process—although they may differ in the types and extent of resources at their disposal and the gravity of each problem for their specific situation. Thus, we explain how editors decide, and how their decisions are shaped by their position—in the company, and in the Dutch and transnational literary fields.

Selection in a world of plenty

The first problem editors face is an oversupply of manuscripts. There is no time to read even a fraction of all the manuscripts available on the global market. Editors try to control the amount of information by decentralizing decision-making. That is, they rely on others in this first stage of information gathering. There are three types of people to which editors outsource their work—agents, friends within the industry (e.g., foreign editors, translators, literary critics), and scouts.

Literary agents represent authors or publishers and, in the process, help editors navigate the abundance of possibilities. Editors contact agents to get manuscripts they have heard about from scouts or friends in the industry, and they place their bids for translation rights with the agent. Literary agents also actively promote books to foreign publishers. In the Anglo-American market, for instance, publishing deals are rarely made without a literary agent acting as a middleman (Childress, 2011).

Friends in the field also play crucial roles in editorial outsourcing. Coser et al. (1982) reported the importance of informal networks in their classic analysis of the American publishing field. However, we find that, for our informants, friends *outside* the Dutch literary field are especially important—such as editors working in other national fields.

> At a certain moment, you see you have bought a couple of books and you have the same taste as another editor [in another country]. And for me, that's almost more important than the scout—well, the scout is very important too, but I really focus on books that others acquire, [those] I know well and I know to have the same taste. (Anglo-American-Genre Cluster)[20]

20. We present anonymous quotes with the cluster(s) in which the editor's publishing house is located.

> If you have been around for a while, you see a couple of people whose taste is a little like yours. Where you think: When they buy something, there is a reasonable chance that I will like it too.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

Editors working at foreign companies pass on manuscripts they have received, thus giving some Dutch editors a head start in securing translation rights. Also, translators in foreign literary fields inform Dutch editors about the publication of a promising new book; this is especially important for languages that editors cannot read or languages for which they have no scouts. Editors in the Exotic-Languages Cluster rely almost exclusively on such informal connections.

For Dutch editors buying translation rights, literary scouts—located in the centers of the global literary field—are an important, if not the main, source for new manuscripts and information. Scouts are particularly important for publishers orientated towards the high-powered Anglo-American literary field. All publishers in the Anglo-American-Genre Cluster—except for 2 of the small mixed-strategy ones—have scouts in New York, but only 5 out of 9 in the Local-Prestigious Cluster do (see Table 4.1). Publishing houses in the Exotic-Languages Cluster rarely have scouts in New York, but they sometimes have scouts in Paris or Barcelona.

Scouts send daily or weekly reports listing all rights that are "on the market," with comments on books of interest for a publishing house. The scouts' main task is to be informed about the literary field that they cover, mostly through maintaining a network of editors and agents. Their comments can range from a single exclamation point to a lengthy discussion. One editor notes:

> And this scout, he's in New York, and the only thing he does all day is talking on the phone to the editors there and having lunch with editors and keeping up with the latest all over the place. He's an octopus sort of person [laughs], and we have a really good one, and he knows everything. He doesn't just know everything, he also knows exactly what we are looking for. He really understands our house, and he makes a really big pre-selection, which is very pleasant.
> (Prestigious-Local)

Scouts work for publishers in different countries. As they are expensive, Dutch houses often "share" a scout within their conglomerate, as well as outside of the parent company. This works well for publishers in different clusters, like *Prometheus* and *Unieboek* who shared a scout in New York. However, *De Boekerij* and *Bruna*,

both in the Anglo-American-Genre Cluster shared a scout in London, which can cause tension given their similar position in the field.

Dutch editors use their networks of agents, friends and scouts to deal with the problem of abundance. First, relying on their networks calls attention to the most important manuscripts (although too much reading still remains). Second, international connections help them "beat" their Dutch competitors. Most importantly, editors use their international connections to sift and classify books for them. They rely on the expertise and taste of these people when thinking about which books "fit" their catalogue and, hence, which books to buy.

> Some people who have known the house for a long time, I sense that in the way they send me information. They don't just send me everything they have. They only send me the books they know will have a chance. So I know if this particular person emails me, then I have to look at it immediately.
> (Exotic-Languages)

As this quote illustrates, editorial concerns about quality not only involve "what is good," but also, more specifically, "what is good *for us*." Thus, having a network of people who know each others' tastes—and who share a trust—is crucial for editors when coping simultaneously with uncertainty, abundance and competition (see Foster et al., 2011; Kawashima, 1999; Powell, 1978).

The networks of Dutch editors are not static and unchanging. The increasing professionalization of networks—particularly in dealing with the Anglo-American literary field—not only affects the decision-making process of Dutch editors, but also the Dutch literary field. Dutch editors started hiring scouts because, without them, it was almost impossible to keep up with Anglo-American book production. Nowadays, a scout is essential for publishers focusing on English translations, as the Anglo-American market is bigger and faster than ever:

> That [market] is different because just the bulk of what everyone is doing is English-language, so everyone is on top of it. So you don't have time to wait till something has proven itself. There is also more coming out, so you have less of an overview.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

While in other fields, one can wait and see whether something hits the bestseller list, in the Anglo-American field, one is always in a hurry.

This increasing reliance on scouts has resulted in a self-reinforcing process of dependence on translations from English. A scout in London or New York leads to more information on Anglo-American manuscripts, leaving less time to look into other markets. Moreover, the considerable expense of maintaining a scout must be legitimized by acquiring Anglo-American books. That, in turn, increases contact with Anglo-American agents and editors, resulting in even more usable information and a further specialization. Indeed, the percentage of English books published in the Netherlands is rising steadily (Heilbron, 2008).

The organizational innovation of hiring scouts—intended to tackle uncertainty, abundance and competition in the Dutch literary field—has directly affected literary output, leading to an increasing orientation towards the global centers, especially New York. Moreover, editors' increasing focus on the Anglo-American market has sparked competition between Dutch publishers. These findings, then, underline the impact of innovative institutional practices on organizational outcomes (see Coser, Kadushin and Powell, 1982; Dobbin and Dowd, 2000). Moreover, they highlight how reorientation in national fields towards the global centers—while reflecting the power structure of the cultural world system (Heilbron and Sapiro, 2007; cf. Janssen et al., 2008)—is mediated by meso-level arrangements among the fields' organizations.

Positioning a manuscript

The editors now have a manageable amount of information that is sorted, classified and annotated by people in their respective networks. They can then assess the quality and importance of this information—gauging so on the basis of their trust in the competence of particular agents, friends and scouts. Following that, the time has come for editors to decide which manuscripts to read. Although the problem of abundance is partly solved, uncertainty remains about both the quality of manuscripts and their chance of success in the Dutch market. Now that the least attractive books are filtered out, competition may become even more intense for the books that remain. Yet, at this stage, it is still not feasible to read every manuscript of interest, even the first ten pages. So another filter is needed.

In this stage, editors try to make sense of the manuscript by positioning it in the literary field. They do this on the basis of their *own* knowledge of the transnational field. They look at the book's genre, author and storyline, as well as the agent or publisher selling the rights. All these pieces of information help them evaluate a given manuscript. This is also why information from their networks is crucial: it gives additional clues for understanding the nature of the book. The better editors can assess these things, the less likely they are to miss an important manuscript.

This process of deciding what to read also requires a thorough understanding of the history and the structure of the multiple fields in which the editors are active—the Dutch literary field, the field in which the book was originally published, and other national fields. Indeed, editors use information on interest from other language areas to situate the translation rights of a book:

> [W]hen it says who the foreign publisher is. What other publishers are interested and which books have appeared there already. That gives you an impression straight away. (Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Language Mixture)

> A way to gauge this is to how many countries it has been sold already and to what publishers in these countries. For us, *BlanValet* [a publisher] in Germany is important; we are often on the same page with them. (Anglo-American-Genre)

> I notice I am getting more critical. Especially when I just started, I didn't know all these foreign publishers at the time, I would hear it was sold to all those countries, and I would think, "Oh, that's interesting," bells start ringing in my head. And then my colleague would say, "Yes, but look at the publishers it has been sold to." (Prestigious-Local)

It takes some time to learn to use such contextual information effectively and without mistakes. Moreover, this is learned by doing—by reading a lot, by studying the positions of publishing houses, by talking with colleagues, and by visiting international book fairs to create one's own network. As a young editor told us:

> Yes, that is clearly something I need to build up because, of course, I haven't been in the business very long. And these connections you really make at these fairs. In Frankfurt and in London. And these are the contacts you really have to maintain and expand. But I am still very much at the beginner's stage. But after those fairs, because of the meetings you've had, people always send you a lot of materials. And if all goes well, after a while, you become part of this system, and they send you stuff throughout the year. (Anglo-American-Genre)

As this quote illustrates, this learning process involves *both* cultural and social capital. This combination of accumulating specialized and validated knowledge (cultural capital) and creating a network of helpful connections (social capital) eventually gives acquisition editors the expertise to place successfully a manuscript —which, in turn, may help them "beat" the local competition and, very importantly, may prevent them from wasting time on unimportant manuscripts that do not fit their catalogues.

The work of expertise

When editors have decided which manuscripts might be interesting, they then start reading. At this stage, they have rejected or ignored completely most of the potential books on the market—so the problem of excess supply is now under control. Only at this stage of the process, then, do textual characteristics of the books finally come into play. Consequently, this is the moment that editors have to decide about (aesthetic) quality—the most uncertain and contested aspect of cultural production. Unsurprisingly, this is the stage that editors find hardest to explain.

We asked editors about what criteria they use to judge manuscripts and how they decide which manuscripts to buy for their publishing house. In general, Dutch editors are confident about their expertise to buy the "right" books, but they are reluctant to specify their evaluative criteria. Explicit criteria, they assert, come into play in the *next* stage of the decision-making process, when others have to be convinced about a book. In this stage of reading, however, the most important thing is that editors themselves feel a "connection" with a book. This connection can either be a matter of personal taste—which they find more relevant for literature (high culture) than for genre fiction (popular culture)—or it can be a conviction that "other people" will like a book, which is a more distant connection than is personal taste. In both cases, the connection is described in intuitive and emotional terms: a "click" often mentioned as the result of *Fingerspitzengefühl*. This German word, widely used in Dutch, denotes feeling in, or with, the tips of one's fingers. The best English translation is "gut feeling"—which points to a similar intuitive assessment, but is located in quite a different body part.

> Yes, you have to have a click with it. But what specific element causes that? ...That could be anything.
> (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

That is really that *Fingerspitzengefühl* that he [an older co-worker] has, and I hope to get that too. (Prestigious-Local)

I pick up a book and then I think, "Yes, I connect with this emotionally," and then I start reading…Those are the books you end up buying. (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

Editors thus "feel" that a book is good, that it fits them, and that is should be published by their house. What they describe here is what Bourdieu (1990, p. 66) called the "feel for the game."

This feel for the game is learned by doing, rather like getting to know the structure of literary fields described above. In judging a book, editors primarily draw on embodied reading experiences. All editors reported having had long histories of intensive childhood reading. Moreover, most of them (80%) have earned a literature degree, which trained them in exactly these skills. They have been further socialized by their peers at the publishing house into the rules of specific genres by reading and discussing books. Through these accumulated reading experiences, they have acquired knowledge and develop their literary taste. Moreover, editors read constantly (mostly bad manuscripts) as part of their work. Even during their holidays, editors continue reading for personal enjoyment, often books from other publishers. All these reading experiences are internalized and employed in the decision-making process.

Interviewer:

How do you know whether something, in its genre, is a good book?

Editor:

Well you never know for sure. It's a matter of having read a lot. Developing your frame of reference, having read that genre. In essence, it's not much different from a soccer scout standing at the soccer field. Why? Because he has seen tens of thousands of little boys play soccer. (Anglo-American-Genre)

This description supports the Bourdieusian understanding of taste as embodied and as learned by doing and training. In this way, the logics of the field (e.g., those of art and commerce) are gradually inscribed in actors' practices regarding new manuscripts.

Despite their reluctance to specify criteria of evaluation, our interviewees draw on distinct aesthetic repertoires to assess a book's quality. These aesthetic repertoires reproduce the highbrow-lowbrow division in the field, but with some interesting modifications. Two opposing repertoires on which they draw correspond to genres: literary fiction versus popular genre fiction. The literary aesthetic is exemplified by this editor who acquires literary books at an Anglo-American-Genre house:

> You are looking for a sensation of being moved without collapsing into sentimentality. And that you call "quality" and "authentic" and "original" and "craftsmanship."

Editors from Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Clusters commonly refer to this literary aesthetic—which revolves around style, tone of voice and language, as well as originality and well-controlled emotionality (i.e., the traditional literary aesthetic). Aesthetic norms for genre fiction, in contrast, resemble popular aesthetic repertoires similar to those used in cultural fields like television (Bielby, 2011) and pop music (Van Venrooij and Schmutz, 2010). This repertoire revolves around emotional engagement and identification. Tension and plot need to be good, and characters need to evolve. Chick lit needs to be romantic, thrillers need to be thrilling.

Beside these two aesthetics repertoires, we find another set of opposing repertoires: conservation versus innovation (Bayma, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984). In the conservation repertoire, an object is judged on the basis of an ideal version (Paulsen and Staggs, 2005). This repertoire leads editors to search for superior examples of what is already there and to strike a good balance between innovation and recognition:

> You do want to book to be unique in this sense, otherwise there is no use in publishing it if it is a copy of another book. But you do have to be able to place it alongside something for people—otherwise they will not know what to refer to.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> It must be surprising, then again it must also be recognizable.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

The repertoire of conservation represents a specific logic attuned to financial matters, —in the Bourdieusian sense—yet at the same time, it is a business strategy of risk avoidance. The conservation repertoire, then, is also a response to uncertainty that is typical of cultural production (Bielby and Bielby, 1994; Godart and Mears, 2009).

In contrast, the repertoire of innovation is central to the traditional artistic ethos—looking for what is original and groundbreaking. It also appears to drive publishers in the Exotic-Languages Cluster, who look for interesting new authors from "unexplored" or "exotic" countries. However, the repertoire of innovation implies heightened risk: looking for what is truly new means accepting the possibility of failure. As there is no "ideal type" available, editors drawing on this repertoire find it hard to explain how they make decisions. Hence, editors are most likely to give intuitive and emotional descriptions of the selection process.

Through these combined and opposing aesthetic repertoires, Dutch editors reproduce a division between art and entertainment, between literary and genre fiction—even when they work for a house that publishes both. Editors buying both literature and genre fiction find it easier to judge genre fiction because of its more standardized form.

> I think it also has to do with genre because I think that for thrillers, for example, it is much easier to establish criteria than for literature. Because for thrillers you can say, "It must be psychological because these are the thrillers that work well." Do the characters develop? Because in the old mainstream thrillers characters used to be very flat. So, that is really important. Does the plot have enough suspense, is the twist believable? You know, in a thriller you just have much more rules to hold on to than in a regular literary novel… So I can just say, "Well, I don't find the plot convincing, so I am putting it away. I don't feel the characters are coming to life, so I'm putting it away."
>
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

The standardization of genre fiction makes quality assessment easier: the editor has something to "hold on to." Although editorial evaluation of both literature and genre fiction is based on embodied taste and knowledge of the field—editors describe this process for literature in more personal and emotional terms:

> Thrillers you judge rationally. But literary work, that corresponds with your taste. With thrillers, much less so.
>
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

This division between literary and genre fiction corresponds to the way editors talk about their own taste, and signals a longer and deeper relationship with literary fiction than with genre fiction in their personal histories. They all express a personal preference for literature, although some have broader tastes that include some

forms of genre fiction. Editors buying genre fiction do not see themselves as the prime audience for their acquisitions. This explains why they look for a different type of "connection" with the book.

> You don't have to love everything you publish, I think. You can very well judge a book's merits when it's not your personal taste. I am indeed not very fond of Chick Lit, but when I read I am perfectly capable of distinguishing a good one from a bad one…So especially with literary books, my personal taste matters. If I think a literary book is no good, I probably will not buy it.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> No, the good thing about [the publisher] is that sometimes it does not match my taste at all, because we have a lot of genre books. Those are more easily judged from a distance, so to say. So you don't have to think just "I find this such a beautiful book" without being able to pinpoint exactly why, except that it's beautifully written. Or what you could do with it on the market. But when I am really looking out for a book for [publisher], I ask: Does it fit in the catalogue, and where, and what should it look like, and who is the target group? And I prefer not to have all that other stuff, that I can deal with it in a more businesslike manner.
> (Prestigious-Local)

This distinction between thinking and feeling—distanced, rule-based judgment versus more engaged personal taste—mirrors the opposition between art and commerce central to field theoretical understandings of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993). However, like other research on the dynamics of literary field in Cologne, Germany (Anheier et al., 1995) and on poetry in France and Canada (Craig and Dubois, 2010), we find that the interplay of artistic and commercial logics is more fluid and less clear-cut. While editors contrast literary and popular genres—innovation and conservation—they always draw on their own reading experiences, so as to look for general feeling of "fit" between a book and their publisher's catalogue and, thus, the book's position in the field. This experience of fit determines their judgment of quality, and it can be based on different kinds of criteria that draw on various aesthetic repertoires—which can be literary or popular, more "personal" but also commercial and strategic.

The insistence on emotional judgment does not necessarily stand in the way of the obvious commercial interests that editors also have and that drives their search for bestsellers. Despite talk of quality, "feel" and personal taste, while reading a

manuscript, all editors keep in mind the book's commercial potential—even those in the Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Clusters. All editors make a so-called "calculation" as to whether the cost of the rights, translation, and production of a book all "work" regarding a predicted number of copies sold at a certain price. Of course this calculation is easily manipulated by predicting higher sales, but it goes to show that the commercial is always present.
Editors talk about this in terms of finding a balance between quality and commercial potential:

> As much profit as possible with the best possible books.
> (Prestigious-Local)

> So that I find it good is not enough, but it is a necessary condition. That is has commercial potential is not enough, but is a necessary condition.
> (Prestigious-Local)

Editors at publishers orientated towards literature often have a strict literary (personal) taste. But even they have to consider (relative) commercial potential:

> Some books I publish. If I had a publishing house of my own I would publish them too. But a large part is just below that line. And that's just because you think, "There must be an audience for this, so there must be a fair chance to sell over a thousand." And when you think, "I find this marvelous, but it's just not going to work"—then I won't do it.
> (Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Mixture)

> I have learnt to set aside my own taste, otherwise I'll only buy very small hard-to-sell books.
> (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

This engagement with commerciality, however, is never absolute. As editors stress, selling books is not like "selling vacuum cleaners" (Exotic-Languages Cluster) or working in a "potato peeler factory" (Prestigious-Local Cluster). In fact, most editors sometimes buy books that they expect will *not* "break even" (i.e., not earn more than it costs). Only 4 interviewees—all from the Anglo-American-Genre Cluster—say they would never do that. Yet, 3 of these 4 also concede that they would consider publishing a second or even third novel if they "believe" in the author whose first novel did not break even. Clearly, *direct* expectation of profit is

not necessary for buying a book. For editors in the Anglo-American-Genre Cluster, "image" is an important reason to buy potentially unprofitable books. Doing so sends a statement, both to the national and international fields, that their publishing house matters. Also, "building an author" is important for these editors and their houses: a profit in the long run is a reason to publish a debut novel that is not "completely there yet."

Editors in the Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Clusters report similar considerations of image building and long-term investment. For those publishers, certain authors are "the face of the publishing house." Again, this is a matter of national and international image and prestige—as well as of "building a catalogue." However, these editors also presented more idealistic reasons for their choices; for instance, they thought that some books should be available in the Dutch language.

This stage of the gatekeeping process differs from earlier stages. On the one hand, the main problem for editor is uncertainty, while abundance and competition fade into the background. Abundance has by and large been solved by the filtering occurring in previous stages; however, competition's fade in this stage is momentary, as it become important again when the bidding must be done (see Section 5.5). On the other hand, this stage of decision-making (and this stage alone) is an individualistic one for editors, rather than distributed or shared. This probably explains their strong reliance on emotional and intuitive terms in this stage. Their evaluations and choices are not simply a performance of status enhancement—be it one that is cynically strategic or one resulting from the "magic of the field." Instead, their evaluative choices result from personal taste and *Fingerspitzengefühl*—the expertise built up from their lifelong experiences as readers and over the course of their professional careers. That said, this expertise is strongly shaped by their position in the field: All editors are trying to buy not simply what is good, but what is good *for their houses*—that fitting the niche and profile of their respective publishers.

The legitimation of editorial choices

The next stage of the acquisition process is the editorial board meeting. There, the editors, the publisher, and sometimes the commercial director meet to discuss what they have read during the past week. Editors present the book(s) they want to buy and attempt to convince others of its worth. In this stage, an editor's "click" with a book has to be framed into a convincing story and thus legitimated. If editors cannot "explain" a book, they cannot expect the sales staff to be able to do so—which means that the book will not get into the bookstores and fail hopelessly in the marketplace.

> Because you have to convince the company and everyone in there that it makes sense to publish something. When it is like, "I love it but I cannot convince anyone we should do it"—then you must not do it. Because if you cannot convince sales, marketing, the publisher that it makes sense to publish—well, these are the people who will have to do it, in practice.
>
> (Prestigious-Local)

Thornton (2004) describes the existence of these meetings as a shift from an editorial logic emphasizing aesthetic matters to a market logic with less editorial autonomy. While the board meeting is indeed a necessary obstacle to pass before a given book is bought, our findings suggest these meetings are mostly a matter of creating belief and enthusiasm among co-workers (cf. Thompson, 2010).

Editors use various rhetorical strategies to construct a story for the editorial meeting that legitimates their decision to publish a book. Such rhetoric is not limited to publishing. As Bielby and Bielby (1994) showed, genre, reputation and imitation are important rhetorical strategies in the cultural industries. Mauws (2000) added innovation as a fourth strategy. All these rhetorical strategies serve primarily to convince important people of a product's quality and its chances to become a success—people in charge of the business and the creative end. Hence, the main function at this stage of the process is (again) the reduction of uncertainty, this time within the publishing house.

Editors often have particular, even personal, reasons for selecting a book. In the editorial meeting, they have to rationalize and legitimate these reasons to convince the board. In contrast with the findings of Bielby and Bielby (1994) for television, we find that genre is rather unimportant, because publishing houses typically have an established interest in some genres. Reputation, imitation and innovation, however, are important arguments editors use to persuade the board. As one of the editors told us about the "trick" of imitation:

> Yes, that's always the way to go, you can use it to goad them into buying a book. When you say, "This is very much like Murakami"… You always try to find something to sell it and that's a very good trick indeed. Bring up authors who sell well, like: "It's very much like this." "We can present this as a kind of …" "For the readers of…"
>
> (Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Mixture)

Besides the four rhetorical strategies described above, we find a fifth one that is extremely important in the work of editors. This is the "fit" of the book with the publishers' catalogue of present and past authors and books:

> Because I think she [an author] will, yes she fits with the house. So she belongs here I think. (Prestigious-Local)

> Well, it fits with [the publisher]. (Anglo-American-Genre)

> It is just good, it fits with [the publisher] and I expect more from it in the long run. (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

> I really read like, "Does it fit in the catalogue?" — and if so, on which spot? (Anglo-American-Genre)

> It has to fit in your catalogue, no matter what. (Anglo-American-Genre)

> I try to take into account the way our catalogue looks, with everything we already did. And then I try to read from that point of view. (Anglo-American-Genre)

This fit with the publishing house's catalogue is central to editors' attempts to "sell" their books to the board. As a rhetorical strategy, it could be dubbed "identity": it appeals to the need for a company to present a coherent image both within the company and in the Dutch and transnational literary fields. This "identity" logic appears typical of a field divided in smaller niches, rather than a field where everyone competes with everyone in general fashion.

Interestingly, our interviewees speak of this process to convince the board as a matter of rhetoric, in which the "tricks" of reputation, imitation, and innovation are very important. Editors regard the story they have to tell in the editorial meeting as not a fair representation of the book's qualities. An editor explains:

> You never get much further than, "I liked it and it's well written," and then you start telling the story and you try to convey what's so nice about the story. But it's true—what you find really good about it... there, people just have to trust your experience or something like that.
> (Prestigious-Local and Exotic-Languages Mixture)

This gap between the "real" evaluation and the rationalized story editors need to tell reflects both the editors' autonomy from the managerial level, as they are the only ones who read (the entire) book, and the limits of this autonomy, as the entire board decides about the acquisition of translation rights. Hence, at this stage as well, decision-making remains distributed over many people.

Competing with national rivals

Finally, when the decision is made to try and buy the rights to a book, the publisher calls the rights holder to make an offer. The rights holder is often a literary agency, sometimes a publisher. When several Dutch publishers are interested in the same book, an auction is organized: publishers place bids with the rights holder until one publisher is left. Publishers can avoid going into an auction by "pre-empting" the book: they offer the rights holder a certain amount of money to "take the book off the table."

In this stage of the acquisition process, competition comes to the fore as the main challenge. Publishers enter into what can become a ferocious bidding war. However, the competition is not only about economic capital. Of course, one needs money to get the books that are expected to become bestsellers. Publishing houses that deal in "big books" need to have a certain size and economic strength, but they also need symbolic capital to convince the rights holder. For instance, when several houses are left offering more or less the same amount of money, rights holders can ask publishers to write letters explaining why they each are the best publisher for this book. Here, symbolic capital, as visible in the publishers' respective catalogues, becomes important:

> At such a moment, so you bid the same amount for instance. At that point status comes into play. Then they often choose the one who—either the publisher knows these people, or it just has the best backlist, where the house just has very well known authors. That very much comes into play then.

> For instance we once lost a bid for the new [name], we were bidding against *Querido* [a publisher], but of course the author chose *Querido* because, yes that is, they have so much status, they have won so many prizes, that is....So then this status, it really counts. You also take that into account with books, also internationally for instance. Like: this is something that is very well known internationally and really has status…it's also a great thing to have in your catalogue because people recognize it. And because of that you can get better books. And so you build up your status also internationally.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> It also makes the rest of your catalogue look good. When they see abroad, they publish Nabokov, Joyce, and Bellow—then authors will also say more quickly, "I want to go there too."
> (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

Especially for English-language books, competition may be intense. These quotes are in line with Bourdieusian notions of competition (Bourdieu, 1993). Moreover, they underscore recent studies stating that globalization intensifies competition both in the national field, and in the global field, especially for English-language books (Sapiro, 2010).

However, we also find that such competition in the national field is predominantly niche-based. Editors and publishers often find they have to have genre-specific capital in addition to what we could call "mainstream literary symbolic capital":

> **Interviewer:**
> Is literary status important for your fantasy and thriller imprints too? Do you need fantasy status or literary status?
> **Editor:**
> In Fantasy, it's just about Fantasy status, but with other books that also comes into play, it's also the full picture, your image.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

Hence, competition within the national field looks different, and may be more ferocious, for different types of publishers. Large publishers in the Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Clusters need to have economic as well as symbolic

capital to beat their competitors, especially when competing for literary or popular fiction. However, for more specific genres such as thrillers and fantasy, the smaller niche-based publishers or imprints of larger houses encounter only niche-based competition.

The Dutch literary field, then, is built up around different subfields with publishinghouses that are really only in competition with each other. Among these we find more "mainstream" niches like American or English literature for the Prestigious-Local Cluster or English-language crime or women's fiction for the Anglo-American-Genre Cluster, alongside smaller niches like poetry, science-fiction, and all translations from languages other than English. The publishers in these niches are looking for relatively similar books, and they get by and large the same information from scouts, agents and friends. Ultimately, they end up competing for the same books. Thus, in contrast with classical Bourdieusian interpretations of the literary field, hierarchies of symbolic capital within the field at large do exist, but do not lead to much struggle or competition on a day-to-day basis. In daily editorial practice, the Dutch literary field emerges rather as a segmented field composed of many niches, with editors "fighting" within their respective subfields. As we argue below, we believe that this increasing segmentation of the field is propelled by growing globalization of the literary world.

The publishers' catalogue: isomorphism and symbolic capital in the transnational field

As shown above, the coherence of their respective catalogues is crucial to editors and publishing houses. In the board meetings, the "fit" with the catalogue is an important argument because a coherent catalogue safeguards the company's identity and image, and in auctions and biddings, it can be a determining factor for right holders' decisions. The publisher's catalogue—including the so-called backlist (older books still in print)—plays a central role in all phases of the acquisition process as an "objective" representation of taste and position. A coherent catalogue is necessary to create trust in the taste of an editor and to work in the field—especially given the isomorphism and symbolic capital at play in the transnational field.

Isomorphism and adaptation in the transnational field

The push towards transnational isomorphism is set in motion in the earliest stages of the acquisition process. In these first stages, acquiring editors look to colleagues in foreign companies—colleagues they believe to have the same taste in books as theirs.

> At a certain moment, you see you have bought a couple of books and you have the same taste as another editor. And for me, that's more important than the scout—well, the scout is very important too, but I really focus on books that other editors acquire I know well and I know to have the same tastes.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> If you have been around for a while, you see a couple of people whose taste is a little like yours. Where you think, "When they buy something, there is a reasonable chance that I like it too."
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

An important site for forging connections and relationships, with foreign editors is the Frankfurt Book Fair. As one editor told us:

> When I am in Frankfurt, I always pass by *Heinen* [a publisher] to take a look. Because they do a lot of titles we do too, and some titles are presented really differently. Sometimes that's because that market is different, but sometimes I go like, "Hey, we could do it like this too!" Certainly the titles that could do better than they do. Then of course, you start looking for solutions.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

In fact, the Frankfurt Book Fair actively fosters international networks through their fellowship program.[21] An interviewee participated in this program had this to say:

> I was fellow at Frankfurt, Frankfurt fellowship. This is where young editors and publishers and literary agents from all around the world are selected. Sixteen each year. And with these fellows I am exchanging titles etcetera…Of course you see these fellows again at every fair and during Frankfurt there are special—dinners and stuff. So then you see fellows of all years but also of your own year. You know. So it's vertical and horizontal. So that is really expanding your international network, in fact. And those fellows, now I email with them saying "Hey that could be an interesting author." This is how I look at things, how I am in touch with other editors and publishers at international publishing houses. Like, "Hey, what do you think of this? Have you read this already yes or no?" That is something, it takes quite a while to build this up.
> (Mixture Cluster 1 and 2)

21. See http://www.buchmesse.de/en/academy/exchange/fellowshipprogramm/

As discussed above, editors look to colleagues in the transnational field to help cope with the abundance of manuscripts and to gauge their potential. The resulting networks that span national fields are actively fostered by institutions like book fairs and are actively sought after by acquisition editors. Resulting from the problem of uncertainty in global publishing, it leads to increasing isomorphism, creating growing homologies between national fields.

This transnational isomorphism matters in later stages of the acquisition process, as well. In the stage before the auction, the book is presented in the editorial meeting. In this meeting the editor must show that the book fits the publisher's catalogue. An important way to do this is to position the book transnationally by pointing to publishers in other countries with similar catalogues. If the "right" publishers in the US and other European countries have it, the publisher and other editors more quickly believe in the book's worth, and see that it fits in their catalogue. Thus, they feel the book *belongs* with them.

> Who else have it? Well, so you look: which publishers are doing it, and do they fit with what we are doing.
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> What we often do is to look which publishers publish the book in foreign territories, and which American publisher it is…foreign publishers that publish the genre that we look for as well, then you have the same frame of reference.
> (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

Hence, the boards of Dutch publishers look abroad for inspiration and confirmation. This process is not just about looking "up" to international centers or prestigious publishers. Rather, they are looking at similar publishers in different countries—houses that employ similar strategies, or specialize in similar genres—in order to find something that "matches" their catalogue. This leads to increasing similarity in the structure of national literary fields: publishers in different countries increasingly try to fill the same "niche," and thus come to resemble specific publishers in other countries.

Earlier research on globalization of literature assumes that with the exchange of books, the "rules of the game" are exported from dominant transnational players to actors in the national fields (Casanova, 2004; Sapiro, 2010). However, we show a different mechanism here, leading to a more far-reaching form of isomorphism. Not only are conventions and cultural products moving from one literary field to another, the structure of the field itself—including entire catalogues and taste-repertoires—is becoming increasingly similar between nations. For each of the

Dutch publishers included in this study, we can point to a "twin" in other European countries, with a similar catalogue and backlist. The networks that spur that similarity may bypass the "centers" in New York or London, focusing directly on Spain or Sweden. National fields show similarities, then, not only because of similar dominant logics, such as those stressing commercial success. There are also specific positions (i.e., specific houses with their catalogues) that are similar because the editors actively exchange information with each other and because each publisher looks to other national fields for information, inspiration, and confirmation.

Symbolic capital in the transnational field

Publisher catalogues involve more than isomorphism, they also provide symbolic capital in national and transnational fields. The catalogue is used as a "presentation of self" in the publishing world. When editors meet with (foreign) colleagues, both parties try to assess and classify each other. However, as we have shown above, editors find it difficult to make their criteria explicit. The solution to this problem is the catalogue. During book fairs, like the Frankfurt Book Fair, editors carry around lists of the books they publish and swap these when they meet each other. Then they talk about the lists, which gives them an understanding of each other's taste:

> In Frankfurt, for instance, we always have lunch with *Mizolli*, that's a big Italian publishing house. And he does the translated book for their house mainly…and then we just go over a number of titles, like: "We read this." "And this is what we have read."
>
> (Anglo-American-Genre)

> For instance, I met with this Scandinavian editor, and we just put our lists of acquisitions side by side, and then you see a lot of similarities. "What did you buy?" "What are you interested in?" That is the type of conversation we have.
>
> (Prestigious-Local and Anglo-American-Genre Mixture)

"Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier"(Bourdieu, 1984: 6). Publishers' catalogues, as reflections of the taste of the house and its editors, reflect their position in the field. This exchange of catalogues and potential new interests simultaneously functions as an opening for conversation, a way to position oneself and others, and as a status marker.

The catalogue allows foreign colleagues to understand a publishing house's taste and signature, so they can send the "right" manuscripts. Moreover, the catalogue,

including the backlist, signal a publisher's prestige. Having specific books that are successful—symbolically or economically—show that "you know good books" and that you have been successful. This is especially important to literary agents and authors who want to sell to a company that is "good" and "a good match." Signaling one's prestige and niche in the Dutch field to the outside world again becomes important in the final stage of the acquisition process: the auction.

Finally, a coherent catalogue is important for sales agents to understand the identity of the publishing house and explain this to bookstores. Editors believe that readers have no clue of the publishers' existence. Dutch publishers do not sell their books to consumers directly and hardly do marketing research. Hence, consumers are not central in acquisition decisions, other than as a vague idea about the group of "people who read" or "people like me."

Publishers' real customers are not readers, but retailers. It is they who need to be convinced of the book's potential and a good catalogue gets your books into bookstores. With each new book season, sales agents get about half an hour to convince the booksellers of the six major chains (who control most of the market) to buy their new books. The publishers' catalogue, and its image and status, is used to convince the bookseller of your good taste in a certain genre. Publishers try to establish a name for themselves in, for instance, psychological thrillers so that the bookseller looking for psychological thrillers believes in their taste and reputation. A catalogue is, therefore, not a random assembly of titles but needs to be a coherent, logical whole that can be explained to other actors in the field. Amidst the isomorphism of national and transnational fields, distinction remains crucial when competing for a place in the bookstore.

Conclusion

In this article, we have mapped the field of the Dutch literary field and then have shown how editors in that field organize decision-making to tackle the challenges of literary production in an era of overabundance and increasing globalization. While identifying three broad types of publishing houses, we found similarity in terms of the challenge confronting editors at all three types, as well as similar strategies for coping. Dutch acquisition editors are confronted with three main problems: an excess of new titles; uncertainty over the nature and quality of new titles; and strong competition. They cope with these challenges through decentralized networks; trust in their (increasingly transnational) networks and their own expertise; and the accumulation of symbolic capital, in particular through their publishers' respective catalogues. The focus on these catalogues, however, along with the constant reliance

on information from others, leads to increasing isomorphism between national fields.

Our analysis can be placed in the "production of culture" research tradition. Following the entire decision-making process in the acquisition of translations, we looked at literary production as a social and organizational process, embedded in wider national and transnational fields. Insights from neo-institutional sociology inspired us to look at institutional strategies and organizational practices, like the networked nature of the gatekeeping process, and the role of organizational innovations like the literary scout. It particularly drew our attention to editors' strategies for coping with the uncertainty inherent in all stages of editorial decision-making. Bourdieusian field theory, on the other hand, directed our gaze towards the status dynamics of the field and the central importance of editors' and publishing houses' cultural and symbolic capital in the acquisition of translation rights. In particular the catalogue—simultaneously a material representation of taste and field position, and a means of communication—showed the usefulness of field theory for an understanding of editorial decision-making. We found this to be a fruitful combination: neo-institutionalism reminded us that the field of cultural production is not all about power, struggle, and status; while field theory kept us aware that literary acquisition is more than a quest for solutions to the practical problems that come with cultural production.

However, our analysis also adds something to these perspectives. First, we argue that the problem of abundance that so vexes literary editors cannot be reduced to a growth of uncertainty or an increase in competition. Abundance, as a consequence of increasing globalization, implies a qualitative change in the working of the literary field: more and more diverse manuscripts. The presence of a third "exotic" cluster of publishers in the Dutch literary field alongside the traditional popular and literary publishers attests to this development. In the wake of increasing diversity, the Dutch literary field has become more layered, adding a geographical-linguistic dimension to the classic highbrow-lowbrow or artistic-popular pole.

Second, we analyzed acquisition of translation rights as a gatekeeping *process*: occurring in several phases, and in interaction with different actors. This approach highlighted the variety of challenges editors encounter and the diverse strategies they employ to deal with these challenges. Thus, we could observe how editors' practices and priorities shift according to situation, place, book, genre, and niche. Following the decision-making process, we found that uncertainty is an important concern at one point, abundance or competition at other points. Likewise, evaluation criteria varied, with the same editors using traditional literary and popular aesthetic criteria side by side. The Dutch literary field emerges as layered and multi-dimensional in nature, and not organized by one, clear logic. Thus, this study underlines other

recent studies suggesting that cultural fields are less and less organized along the clear-cut divisions of art and money, highbrow and lowbrow (cf. Bielby, 2011; Craig and Dubois, 2010). Coping with this complexity is the next challenge for the production of culture approach in general and field theory specifically.

This analysis has several implications for further research. We argue that gatekeeping is a process with multiple stages, rather than a single decision-making moment. Gatekeepers do not "stand at the door" like a bouncer at a nightclub. Rather, acquiring editors are the centers of "gatekeeping networks." In the global cultural marketplace, such gatekeeping networks provide crucial information and orientation. We believe that further study of gatekeeping networks enables us to understand better the production of literature and cultural goods. Moreover, we expect such "gatekeeping networks" to become increasingly central to cultural production in this globalized age (Kuipers, 2011). Studying such networks will allow us to investigate a traditional production of culture question: how particular (new) organizational forms and arrangements affect what gets published or disseminated.

Also, we show that isomorphism between national literary fields is not only created in top-down relations between dominant and dominated actors, either within or between national fields. Publishers in different countries that view each other as similarly positioned actively exchange information, manuscripts and taste repertoires on a cooperative basis. Hence, while literary fields *within* countries may be characterized by strife and competition, in particular within the same niche, *between* countries cooperation seems more common. As a result, institutional isomorphism is not only created in individual fields in a vertical manner, but also horizontally between fields. Rather than causing either homogenization or heterogenization (Crane, 2002), cultural globalization may lead to both: increased diversity within national fields, yet growing convergence between actors in, and structures of, national field. These mechanisms need to be researched more thoroughly if we are to understand the ways in which globalization manifests itself in cultural industries.

Chapter 5

Making materiality matter: A sociological analysis of prices on the Dutch fiction book market, 1980-2009

Chapter 5
Making materiality matter: A sociological analysis of prices on the Dutch fiction book market, 1980-2009[22]

In sociological and economic theories of cultural industries alike, a basic distinction is made between, on the one hand, markets for mass-produced goods such as books, CDs, DVDs, or movie tickets and, on the other hand, markets for unique goods such as visual art. In the first type of market, success manifests itself in higher sales. Prices, instead, are *uniform* across the market and *rigid*. Uniform pricing means that products are generally priced the same, in spite of differences in quantity (such as the length of a movie or CD, or the number of pages of a book) and (perceived) differences in quality: in most movie theaters, all tickets cost the same; when Pocket Books introduced its new book format in the 1930s, all titles invariably cost 25 cents and that practice has been adopted by pocket book publishers ever since; and, until recently, all songs on iTunes were priced at 99 cent. Price rigidity means that the price for each product does not change over time. In other words, (expected) fluctuations in demand for a good are not translated into price changes while changes in production costs do not result in price adjustments. For instance, when a new popular movie is released, ticket prices are the same as they are just before the movie is taken out of circulation, in spite of peak demand in the beginning and weak demand in the end.

The second type of market, by contrast, is characterized by price *differences* (on art markets, for instance, both within the oeuvre of one single artist and across different artists, works of art may have wildly different prices) and price *flexibility*: fluctuations in market demand may mean that an identical work is priced differently at different stages in its biography. In other words, changes in demand are translated into changes in price rather than sales. The latter would not be possible since these goods are unique and supply is therefore assumed to be fixed (Heilbrun and Gray, 1993).

The type of research conducted on cultural industries reflects this dichotomy: scholars of markets for, for instance, books, theater, or music have typically not been interested in prices and have instead studied (determinants of) sales and revenues (e.g., Baumol and Bowen, 1966; Bourdieu, 1993; Vany and Walls, 1997; Verboord, 2011), while scholars of art markets have left sales aside and have instead focused on prices (e.g., Frey and Pommerehne, 1989; Beckert and Rössel, 2004; Velthuis, 2005).

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In practice, however, the difference between these two types of markets for cultural goods is a matter of degree: pricing practices in many cultural industries cannot be classified as either uniform/rigid or differentiated/flexible, but are hybrid instead. For instance, movie theaters may ask a supplement for a longer movie or a 3D projection. A CD may be more expensive if its packaging is particularly luxurious; for classical music CDs, some labels such as *Deutsche Gramophon*, who have a reputation for high-quality recordings, tend to charge higher prices than labels who publish recordings by lesser known orchestras or conductors. In the concert business, some rock bands experiment with so-called dynamic pricing or even auctioning tickets to their concerts. iTunes now charges different prices for music based on its expected popularity.

The book industry we study in this article is particularly hybrid. In this market, success generally translates into higher sales instead of higher prices. And, because of the fixed book price agreement that prevails in many European countries, booksellers are not allowed to engage in price competition as they are forced to sell at the price determined by the publisher. However, book prices are not uniform as a visit to a random bookstore or browsing through books offered by internet stores learns. While a lowbrow romance novel published by Harlequin will only cost a couple of dollars, a meticulously designed hardcover edition of a Russian 19th century classical novel may cost tenfold or twentyfold, and a limited edition of a highbrow poetry book might even be in a price range usually associated with visual art. In this article, we seek to understand these price differences.

Methodologically, our study relies on a unique dataset of over 80 thousand fiction and poetry books published in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009 and explorative qualitative data (thirteen interviews with editors and a head of production at key Dutch publishing houses). This explorative investigation enabled us to develop a set of hypotheses regarding the relationship between price and potential determinants, which were subsequently tested with the quantitative dataset.

In the first section, we briefly review the recent burgeoning sociological literature on pricing goods in general and cultural goods in particular and discuss our contribution to this literature. In the second section, we develop hypotheses regarding determinants of book prices on the basis of the interviews we conducted. The interviews suggest that pricing structures on the book market are shaped by conventions (Becker, 1984). In the third section, we describe the data that we use to test these hypotheses. In doing so, we provide a unique historical overview and contemporary snapshot of the market for fiction books in the Netherlands. In the fourth section, we test the hypotheses and afterwards discuss the results.

Book pricing in theory

Theoretically, we build on an emerging sociological literature on price formation (see Beckert, 2011; Wherry, 2008, for overviews) that shows, to put it in the words of Jens Beckert, that prices do not result mechanically from the interaction of the impersonal forces of supply and demand but instead 'from the embeddedness of market transactions in institutions, social networks and culturally anchored frames of meaning' (Beckert, 2011, p. 1). While we cannot do justice to the various perspectives within this literature, including cultural sociological perspectives (see, e.g., Zelizer, 1985 [1994], on pricing children or Zelizer, 1979, on life insurance; Fourcade, 2011, on valuing nature; Anteby, 2010, on calculating the worth of cadavers), science and technology studies (see, e.g., Stark and Beunza, 2004, on the impact of trading rooms on discovering possibilities for arbitrage), network and social structural approaches (Podolny, 1993, on price signals; Uzzi and Lancaster, 2004, on the impact of embeddedness on lawyer's fees; Baker, 1984, on the impact of network structures on the volatility of stock prices), we identify three strands that we build on in order to explain book prices.

A first strand of studies focuses on the intricate interrelations between quality and price, in particular for goods, that Lucien Karpik has called 'singularities': unique goods whose value cannot be easily commensurated. In markets for singularities, quality competition prevails over price competition (Karpik, 2010, p. 14). But, since quality is uncertain, highly subjective, socially constructed, and costly to determine, consumers face a cognitive deficit. In order to solve this deficit, consumers rely on judgment devices such as brands, certifications, ranking, or experts opinions. Price differences on markets for singularities, Karpik argues, cannot be understood in terms of supply and demand (*ibid*., p. 209). Instead, prices are based on quality rankings that are produced in markets for singularities, resulting in a 'relation of concordance' between relative prices and relative qualities (*ibid*., p. 217). This concordance can be found, for instance, on art markets, where experts such as critics and curators send out signals about the quality to consumers that structure demand for art and increase its price level (e.g., Beckert and Rössel, 2013; Velthuis, 2003; Bonus and Ronte, 1997). Likewise, on wine markets, prices are found to vary with formal and informal classifications of the *terroir* where the wine is produced (Rössel and Beckert, 2013; Chauvin, 2013).

On some markets for singularities, price may in itself be a judgment device. This holds in particular for markets for Veblen goods, in which the price signals a higher quality and a higher price may increase rather than decrease demand (cf. Leibenstein, 1950; Veblen, 1899 [1994]), but also for labor markets, where quality is

highly uncertain (Spence, 1974; Stiglitz, 1987). This signaling function, in turn, may influence the way prices are set. For instance, art dealers tend to price identically sized works of art made by the same artist uniformly. Otherwise, price differences can be interpreted by consumers as signals of quality differences (Rengers and Velthuis, 2002).

Fiction and poetry books belong to this category of singular goods: its quality, or its literary value, is uncertain and socially constructed. Readers use, among others, best-seller lists and reviews by literary critics as judgment devices. But, as Karpik acknowledges, there are reasons to believe that the effect of quality on prices is 'neutralized', i.e. cancelled out, on book markets (Karpik, 2010, p. 218). First of all, quality rankings are vague, instable, and contradictory, which means that they may not serve as judgment devices for readers or, for that matter, as price setting devices for publishers. Secondly, evaluations of relative quality do not result in price differences but in different sales volumes between books. Instead, Karpik suggests, prices are tied to 'the reality that creates the singularity', by which he means 'categories of books, collections or the thickness of the volume' (*ibid*., p. 219).

However, empirical studies demonstrating either the neutralization of quality or the importance of non-quality determinants in markets where quality rankings are incoherent, invisible, or instable, do not exist. The first contribution of this article is to show systematically what determines prices in book markets. Confirming Karpik's expectations, material factors turn out to be key in explaining price differences (cf. Rengers and Velthuis, 2002). In one respect, however, quality does matter for pricing books. While it is impossible for publishers to determine the relative quality of each book published, we find that there is one rudimentary way in which publishers judge the quality of a book when setting prices: they rely on genre as a judgment device. The higher the status of the genre, the higher publishers set its price. As a result, similar to other markets for singularities, we find some evidence for a concordance between quality and price.

A second set of studies that we build on focuses on everyday pricing strategies and the formulas, routines, conventions, and devices that assist in setting prices (Çalışkan and Callon, 2010). These devices and techniques serve to reduce decision making costs and make prices predictable and understandable to buyers. As a result, they contribute to making markets and stabilizing market order (cf. Velthuis, 2005). For instance, Mackenzie and Millo have shown how the Black and Scholes formula assisted traders to price options in a scientific way, contributed to the legitimation of the option trade and enabled its further growth from the 1970s onwards (MacKenzie and Millo, 2003); Velthuis has argued how dealers in contemporary art use a pricing script, which he defines as a 'set of pricing rules, which functions as a cognitive

manual for art dealers and facilitate consecutive pricing decisions at different moments within an artist's career' (Velthuis, 2005); Trompette traces historically changing politics of value in the French funeral industry, which have resulted in different rules for setting prices (Trompette, 2013); and, in order to understand pricing decisions on the global cotton market, Çalışkan introduces the notion of prosthetic prices to show how traders use a variety of prices circulating within the market, which they use as inputs to calculate prices in the transactions they are themselves engaged in (Çalışkan , 2010).

The main price setting device that is used in the book market is the profit & loss statement (P&L), which provides an account of revenues and costs for the publication of single books. Being computed for several scenarios of book sales, the P&L assists publishers in coming to grip with the unpredictable artistic and commercial success of the book. Our contribution to the literature on price setting is to show that the P&L is not just an account of revenues and costs or a formula for 'translating' properties of books into prices. Instead, we find that the P&L prompts publishers to adjust the book's very properties. Determining the – material and immaterial – properties of a good and determining its price are, in other words, not separate, consecutive processes, but take place jointly: books and their prices are produced simultaneously. When computing the price, a publisher may, for instance, decide to change the book's size, type of paper, or number of pages.

This relates to a third strand of pricing literature in sociology that we build on, which concerns normative aspects of prices. This strand highlights that consumers do not see prices as neutral outcomes of supply and demand but actively judge the fairness of prices against different social standards or orders of worth (Wherry, 2008). Prices, these studies show, must be seen as legitimate by consumers in order for markets to stabilize (Bolton *et al.*, 2003; Haws and Bearden, 2006). In general, demand-induced price changes are likely to be judged as unfair. For instance, if artificial or sudden shifts in demand are immediately translated into higher prices, such as a price hike for snow shovels after a snow storm, this is perceived as unfair (Frey, 1986; Kahneman *et al.*, 1986). Likewise, differentiating prices on the basis of fluctuating demand for a product, such as high prices for a movie theater in the first weeks after the release, is considered illegitimate (see, e.g., Orbach and Einav, 2007).

In this article, we show that publishers use the P&L to tinker with book prices in order to render them comprehensible for consumers. They explicitly take the consumer's point of view in mind when setting prices and aim for prices that will be interpreted as fair. Since consumers cannot judge the quality of books directly, publishers assume that their main criteria for assessing the fairness of price are material criteria or visible properties of books. Our contribution to this literature is

to show that cost factors need to be rendered material and visible before they can be translated legitimately into higher prices. In order to recoup translation costs, for instance, a publisher may make the book look voluminous or give it a hardcover. Material aspects of a work should, in short, not be seen as fixed properties, but as fluid. They can be used strategically to make the price of a book seem legitimate.

Determinants of prices

The qualitative data we draw on were collected for a broader study on editorial decision-making. In total, 24 editors (28 were approached) were interviewed from publishing houses and imprints with a small or larger focus on translations. Amongst the editors were 19 of the 27 biggest publishers in fiction and poetry of 2007 (see Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). The majority of our respondents were female (19) and held a university degree in literature.

In 13 interviews, production and price-setting was discussed as part of their daily tasks. In each interview, when time permitted, a list of recently published books by the publishing house was used to ask about the reasoning between different prices. Some editors said they were not involved and did not really know (or cared, for that matter). It were especially the editors from the more commercial publishing houses that said to be involved in price-setting. Later, an interview with the head of production of a major literary publishing group was added in which the whole production and price-setting process was discussed in depth.

Our interviews revealed that the main device that editors and their colleagues use in order to calculate prices is the P&L, which is computed using spreadsheet software such as Excel. Before developing a specific hypothesis on the basis of the editors' discussion of the main building blocks of the P&L, we explain how this price setting device works in general.

P&L's are highly standardized and widely used in the book publishing industry (Greco *et al*., 2006). They provide an account of all the book's fixed costs (e.g., jacket/cover design, translation costs, copyediting), variable costs (e.g., printing costs, author's royalties), and expected revenues (e.g., book sales). Several (usually three) different scenarios are developed on the basis of different estimates of what the print run will be. After putting all costs in the P&L, the spreadsheet computes the cost price, the break-even point, and the expected profit for different print runs. The higher the print run, the lower the cost price of the book, since the fixed costs, such as translation or marketing costs, will be divided over more books.

The estimates of the print run are based on sales of previous books by the same author or on early interest in the book expressed by book sellers. With these scenarios,

the editors seek to make the unpredictability of a book's success manageable. While a significant share of the books will turn out to have much lower sales than even the worst scenario, and will therefore be loss leading, these losses are compensated by the (unexpected) bestseller on which the publisher makes a windfall profit.

While the P&L seems to be a straightforward decision making tool, in reality it is not. If a loss results from the P&L calculations, this does not mean that that the editor or publisher immediately loses interest. Usually, they will start tinkering with almost all variables, including the retail price, size, binding, number of pages, type of paper, and print run in order to make the P&L look better. This tinkering process enables editors to create the narrative they need to legitimate the selection of books that they would like to see published (Childress, 2012). Moreover, tinkering with the P&L is necessary to make sure that the resulting price is not extraordinary but accords with market conventions (cf. Velthuis, 2005, on conventional prices for contemporary art). As one editor/publisher of a major commercial house explained:

> I think that [the books we publish] should not be made more expensive than 20 euro. That surely is a psychological barrier. I think (…) that otherwise books get too expensive. I hardly ever buy a book that costs more than 19,95 euro.

For these reasons, the cost prices that result from the P&L are never applied directly. Instead of simply multiplying the cost price a number of times, editors look for a figuration of price, size, pages, and binding that seem justified. Cost prices, as well as the conventional price points that editors refer to, are therefore equivalent to what Çalışkan calls prosthetic prices (Çalışkan, 2010). These prosthetic prices are converted into an actual book price in a process of price realization. In order to do so, the publisher makes use of concrete, conventional price points. They claim, for instance, that they either price a book at 16,95 euro or 19,95, but never in between (statistical evidence for these conventional prices is presented in the next section). As a young editor of a literary and commercial fiction house explained her thinking:

> Which people do we think should buy it? What do they want to pay? Those are things you think about. And then it will be 15 or 17,95 or just 21 [euro].

In this way, the relation between the cost price and retail price is relatively fluid. While editors often have a benchmark, for instance to gain at least a 20 percent profit, there are all kinds of reasons to deviate from the cost prices as calculated through the P&L. A book might be published in a series with a predetermined fixed price such as the '15 euro editions', independent of pages or print cost. Also, they

may want to introduce a new author or boost the career of a midcareer author and, in order to do so, prefer to keep the price as low as possible. The P&L calculation of cost prices serves, in other words, as a guideline for the actual retail price of a book. It cannot be equated with it. In the remainder of this section, we discuss the main elements that constitute the cost and retail price.

Pages, size, cover

One of the determinants that editors invariably mentioned when questioned about pricing is the number of pages. The more pages it has, the higher a book's price will be, editors argue rather unsurprisingly. Likewise, they left no doubt that a hardcover edition of a fiction book will be priced higher than a softcover. Referring to the P&L, they argued that the higher price was necessary in order to recoup higher printing costs. At the same time, however, the editors acknowledged that those printing costs amount for only a small percentage of the total costs. One of our respondents detailed that the printing costs of a novel which they were about to publish with a print run of 3000, was only 1,64 euro per book and using a hardcover binding would only cost 50 cents more. Printing 1000 copies extra of the book would add only 850 euro to the costs, or 85 cents per book. Previous studies of the American book market likewise reveal that (variable) costs related to printing books only account for a small part of their retail price (Hjorth-Andersen, 2000): a hardback costs around or just 3 dollars to print and a paperback between 1,5 and 2 dollars (see, e.g., Clerides, 2002; Greco et al., 2006, p. 122-124).

However, editors argued that a big book can be priced higher since they *expect* a big book to be priced higher. As one of the editors put it: 'When they see a thick hardback, people think automatically that it is an expensive book.' Another editor, holding a thin memoir in his hand, argued likewise: 'You should not ask too much for this (…). You really cannot end up very high with it.' We therefore expect the following relationship between a book's price and its material characteristics:

Hypothesis 1:
the more pages a book has, the higher the price

Hypothesis 2:
the larger the book, the higher the price

Hypothesis 3:
hardcovers are priced higher than softcovers

Genre

Regarding genre we encountered strong differences in opinion between editors. Some of them argued that literary novels are conventionally priced higher than middlebrow or lowbrow genres such as crime fiction and romance novels. An experienced editor at a crime fiction imprint, who worked at a literary house before, said crime fiction is usually priced at 16,95 euro. Asked why they could not be priced higher he responded: '19,95 is actually a literary price', and continued to justify the higher price by a higher artistic worth (cf. Aspers and Beckert 2011). In other words, genre classifications seem to be used as a judgment device when publishers set prices. Other editors justified the higher price by referring to purchasing power ('the readers [of literary fiction] are usually somewhat richer, so you can ask more for it'). Again, others claimed that setting the price too low could send out a negative signal about the quality to the audience, saying that you cannot put a book by, for instance, the acclaimed American novelist Dave Eggers into the shop for 15 euro because customers could think there is something wrong with it, resulting in lower sales (cf. Velthuis, 2005).

However, we also interviewed editors who denied altogether that the book's genre had an impact on its price. They claimed that only material characteristics mattered. A third category took an intermediate position, arguing that genre does have an impact on price, but in an indirect way: highbrow genres are more likely to be published in expensive formats or were thicker, which allows publishers to price them higher. An editor at a commercial imprint, for instance, stated about literary novels that '[p]rice is less of an issue for those kind of books. And their format tends to be nicer; they have a more expensive look'. Likewise, an editor of an imprint specialized in fantasy compared that genre with crime fiction in the following way: '[F]antasy readers apparently spend more money on [thick books with a hardcover]. Because they really are collectors. They want to have beautiful books on their shelves. (…) But crime fiction books are (…) something that you take with you more easily, for instance in the train.'[23] We therefore test the following two rival hypotheses regarding the relation between genre and price:

Hypothesis 4a:
the higher the book's genre in the status hierarchy, the higher the price

23. In Germany, Schmidt-Stölting *et al* (2011) found, likewise, that publishing a book in hardcover has a positive impact on sales of books in the genre of, for instance, biography, but not on sales of books in other genres. They conclude: 'Thrillers are less likely to serve as symbols for consumers and are, therefore, more likely to be bought in paperback than novels.' (Schmidt-Stölting *et al*. 2011: p. 40).

Hypothesis 4b:
genres have no direct impact on price but are translated indirectly into price differences through material properties of books

The claim that non-material characteristics of a book such as its genre can only be translated into price differences through material properties was also encountered when we questioned editors about translation costs. All argued that translation costs are quite high but the responses to the question if and how these costs could be recouped differed. One literary editor explained the dilemma: '[to translate very thick books] takes long and costs a lot. […] but then you always try to have a price which… well, the book needs to be sold. If tomorrow we ask you 35 euro for a pocket, you are not going to buy it.'

Some argued therefore that translation costs should not be recouped at all, especially for literary genres. As one of them put it: 'We don't want to make translated books more expensive, because it is already difficult to put literary books on the market, so if you were also to give them a higher price, they would have a hard time getting sold.' Expecting that consumers judge the price of a book based on its visible material characteristics, they argued, however, that those costs could be recouped by adjusting the book's format. For instance, the layout will be redesigned so that, compared to the original, fewer words fit on a page. The book will end up having more pages and can therefore be legitimately priced higher. We formulate the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5a:
Translation costs are not translated directly into higher prices.

Hypothesis 5b:
Translation costs are translated into higher prices indirectly through adjustment of the book's size, number of pages, or binding.

The Dutch fiction book market, 1980-2009

We test these hypotheses by means of a database that contains information regarding retail prices and potential determinants for fiction and poetry books published in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009. This data is collected by the Dutch Royal Library (*KB*) in The Hague, which has among its goals the aim to collect all books published in the Netherlands. The database includes all editions of fiction books that

are distributed through traditional and online bookstores and have an ISBN-code, but also books that are (only) sold in supermarkets or books that are self-published and distributed by the author him/herself. In total, the dataset comprises 64.032 unique book titles and 80.231 unique editions of these titles (often book titles have been published in different editions, e.g., in a different binding, by a different publisher, or in a new translation). Using the database, we are able to analyze the book industry in its full breadth, which is a novelty in sociological studies of literary fields (e.g., Bourdieu, 2008). In contrast with earlier studies, we are able to take into account fiction books in all possible genres, published by all types of publishers, from the large, prestigious literary publishers, to the independent small presses and the self-publishing houses where author and publisher often coincide.

Characteristics of the data

The KB registers different characteristics of new books such as the author, publisher, and title. Characteristics that we use in this article are the following: (1) the height of the book (in centimeters); (2) the number of pages a book consists of[24]; (3) a dummy variable indicating whether the book has a restricted print run[25]; (4) a dummy variable indicating whether the book is a hardcover edition; (5) a dummy variable indicating if the book is a translation from a book originally published in a foreign language; (6) the price in euros, adjusted for inflation and, in case of books published before 2002, converted from Dutch guilders to euros; (7) a dummy indicating whether earlier editions exist of (part of) the book; (8) an eight-fold genre-classification: poetry, literary fiction, crime fiction, science fiction/fantasy, romance, literary/crime fiction, literary/romance, and other (this category comprises smaller and more ambiguous genres such as 'regional novel', 'family novel', 'religious books', and 'war'; for the coding procedure used, see appendix).

The five main genre categories were chosen for the following two reasons: first, they have a clear position in the status hierarchy (see Purhonen *et al*. 2010; Van Rees *et al*. 1999; Zavisca 2005; Torche 2007). These categories cover the broadest range in the status hierarchy from highbrow (poetry and literary fiction), via middle brow (science fiction and crime fiction) to lowbrow (romance). Second, these genres provided a balance between parsimony, on the one hand, and breadth, on the other: 58284 books could be coded in at least one of these 5 genre-categories even with a

24. For books consisting of multiple volumes but sold as one item, the pages of different values were added. Books of multiple volumes where no pages where given were considered missing.

25. A book was regarded as being a restricted print run if either the print run was explicitly given in the description of the book or the occasion for publication (often a celebration of birth or memorial of death).

very restrictive coding-scheme. This is 87,6 percent of all books that received some genre-code from either the *KB,* the publisher, or *NDC Biblion* and 72,6 percent of all books in the dataset (see appendix for the procedure we used). However, this coding scheme caused some overlap between genres. 54113 books had one of the five main genre-codes but 4171 books were hybrid: they were categorized in two or more genres. Two types of hybrid books were retrieved very frequently, namely books which had both the 'literary fiction' and the 'crime fiction' genre and books that were categorized as both 'literary fiction' and 'romance'. We added these two hybrid genres to our genre-classification as independent genres. As a result, we ended up with seven genres. The other hybrid books were added to the category 'other'.

Conventional prices

The average price of a book published between 1980 and 2009 on the Dutch market is just over 16 euro (see table 5.1). However, the variation is huge: while many books, especially romance novels, cost just a couple of euros, literary fiction or poetry published in exclusively designed formats, sometimes accompanied by a print in a limited edition, may have prices usually associated with fine arts. Indeed, 306 books in the dataset are priced above 100 euro. The most expensive book costs 2042 euro (4500 guilders), which is a set of poems accompanied by a video and a small bronze sculpture, published in an edition of 25 on the occasion of the Dutch art fair Kunstrai in 2000.

Demonstrating the conventional nature of book pricing that emerged from the interview data in section 2, a small number of price points accounts for a very large percentage of all books published. For instance, since the introduction of the euro, close to a quarter of all new science fiction books have been priced at 19,95 euro, while the five most popular prices account for 52,3 percent of all new books in that genre.[26] For all genres, we find that we only need 18 different guilder-prices or 17 different euro-prices in order to catch more than 50 percent of all books published. This attests to the importance of conventions in setting price: books are indeed priced relatively uniform despite material and cultural differences.

Akin to price, there are a small number of different book sizes which are conventionally used in the book market[27]. For paperbacks, the smallest size is 18 cm (which is called the mass-market paperback), followed by books with a height of

26. These prices are: 19,95 / 22,50 / 18,95 / 24,95 and 17,95.

27. In the industry, format A, B and C exist, which are supposed to be 110x178mm (mass-market), 130x198mm (called trade paperback in the US) and 135x216mm (called trade paperback in the UK). Our data shows that, in practice, these size-groups are somewhat broader.

20/21 cm and 22/23 cm. Books published in these three sizes together make up 82 percent of all books in the dataset. Size is related to the choice between hardcover and paperback bindings. Hardcover books, which comprise 17,4 percent of all books published, are generally quite big: 77,8 percent of all hardcover books is published in a size of either 21, 22, or 23 cm. Hardcover books are generally also thicker, averaging 292 pages against 238 pages for a paperback (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Price and size of books

	All books	Paperbacks	Hardback
Mean price (in euro)	16,35 (32,07)	14,15 (25,06)	23,43 (23,04)
Mean height (in cm)	20,44 (3,70)	20,01 (2,18)	21,71 (2,09)
Mean pages	236,18 (158,33)	238,19 (140,92)	292,06 (203,06)

Notes: Standard deviations in brackets

The number of editions of books published in the Netherlands increased gradually during the period that is covered by our dataset, from 2035 books in 1981 to 3307 in 2009 – an overall increase of 64 percent. More than one quarter of all fiction published in the Netherlands is a reprint (often in a different binding and size, sometimes at a different publishing house) of an already existing book. No less than 61,9 percent of all works published is a translation of a book originally published in a foreign language. 5 percent of all books are published in a special, limited edition.

Regarding genre, science fiction/fantasy and romance are encountered the least and poetry, crime fiction, and especially literary fiction most frequently. The two hybrid genres are the smallest but still contain more than a thousand books each (see table 5.2). The unexpectedly high number of poetry books may result from the fact that entry barriers for writing and publishing poetry are lower. As a result, many of these are published by mom & pop publishers on the fringes of the book industry.

Table 5.2: Distribution of books across genres

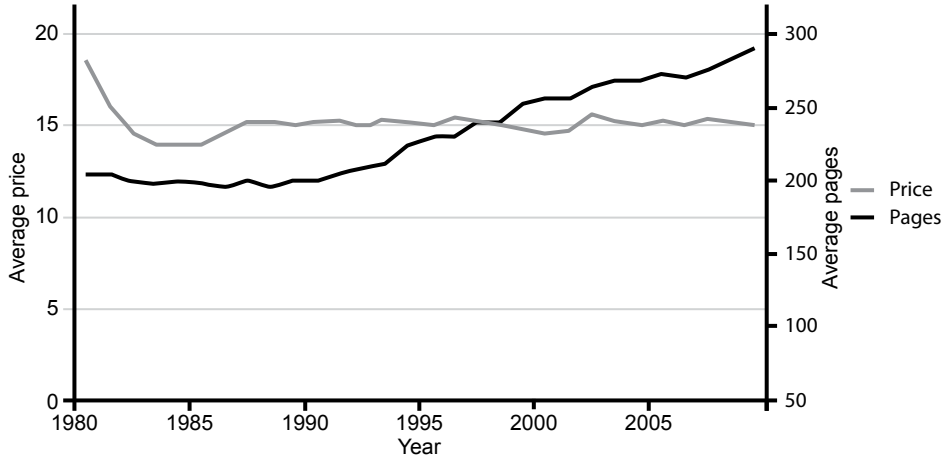
Genre	Cases	Percentage
Poetry	12769	19.19
Literary fiction	22740	34.18
Crime fiction	11013	16.55
Science fiction/fantasy	1978	2.97
Romance	5613	8.43
Literary fiction and crime fiction	1933	2.91
Literary fiction and romance	1231	1.85
Other	9258	13.92

The books were written by approximately 20000 unique authors and were published by around 1500 different publishers or imprints belonging to publishers. The most prolific author (Agatha Christie) accounted for 392 books. The distribution of books across publishers is highly skewed: the first 20 largest publishers or imprints account for 40.234 books (more than 50 percent of all books published). The 100 biggest publishers or imprints account for 79 percent of all books published, leaving only 21 percent of all books published by 1400 smaller imprints or publishing houses. The largest publisher in terms of number of book titles is Harlequin, which accounted for 9853 cases, almost invariably in the romance genre.

Changes over time

Our data show that, over time, the inflation-corrected price of books remains constant (see figure 5.1).[28] Simultaneously books have become thicker, with the average for 2009 almost a 100 pages more than the average in the early 1980s. Likewise, the percentage of hardcover books rises slowly from around 14 percent at the end of the 1980s to around 18 percent in the last years of the 2000s. In other words, the price per page and the price-premium for a hardcover seem to have dropped.

Figure 5.1: Average price and number of pages



Prices have been adjusted for inflation and pre-2002 guilder prices converted into euro.

28. In the graph the 306 books in the dataset which are priced above 100 euro are excluded because these books (one may call them collectables, since they are produced in very small editions and are usually accompanied by art work) are not distributed evenly over the years and therefore bias the mean price per year. The price spike in the early 1980s results partially from the high consumer price index (CPI) in these years, which inflates prices when correcting for inflation.

One reason may be that, on the supply side, the costs of printing books have decreased due to globalization and technological progress. Another reason may be a downward pressure on the audience's willingness to pay: given the increased competition over leisure time and the decreased amount of time spent on reading books, audiences may have, in spite of rising incomes, been willing to pay less for a book (Knulst *et al*., 1996; Broek *et al*., 2009).

Results

Since our units of analysis (books) are nested in two higher levels of analysis (authors and publishers), we tested the hypotheses developed in section 2 by means of a cross-classified multilevel model (table 5.3). This model accounts for the fact that books are not only nested in authors but also in publishers, akin to students who are not only classified by the class and school they attend but also by the neighborhood they grow up in (Leckie, 2013). [29] We fit the cross-classified model using Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods as implemented in the MLwiN multilevel modelling package (Rasbash et al., 2009).

In all models, the dependent variable is the natural logarithm of the retail price (adjusted for inflation and converted into euros). Model 1 is an empty model. It shows that two-thirds of the variance in book prices occurs on the level of publishers, 27 percent on the level of books, and only 6 percent on the level of authors. In other words, book prices differ mostly across the publishers who market them and hardly across the authors who write them.

Model 2 contains all control variables as well as a dummy variable for translated books. The model shows that books that are reprints of titles published before are priced lower, but we expect this effect to disappear once we also control for size and binding: reprints are usually published in smaller, less expensive formats. Unsurprisingly, given their scarcity (and presumably their higher production costs), books that are printed in a limited edition are more expensive. Translated books are in general more expensive, which is unsurprising given the higher costs involved. The control model explains no more than 6,7 percent of the total variance.

29. The dataset contains different editions of the same title, which could be considered as another level. However, as for every book a new P&L sheet is made and costs may vary between editions (depending on the way copyrights are arranged, for example) we consider the various editions of a book (if any) as independent cases. To check this assumption we ran the model (not reported here) including an extra third cross-classification of book title. The variance associated with this level was only 0,2 percent of the total variance.

Table 5.3: Cross-classified regression model of book price

	1	2	3	4
Year of publication		.002*** (2.44e-04)	.002*** (2.41e-04)	-.005*** (1.82e-04)
Translation		.153*** (.006)	.142*** (.006)	.049*** (.004)
Limited edition		.304** (.020)	.319** (.020)	.254** (.016)
Published before		-.290*** (.004)	-.293*** (.004)	-.225*** (.003)
Poetry			-.033*** (.009)	.033*** (.007)
Literary fiction			.067*** (.007)	.078*** (.005)
Romance			-.064** (.011)	-.085*** (.009)
Science fiction			.076** (.014)	-.044** (.011)
Other genres			.061*** (.007)	.013** (.006)
Literary fiction/ crime fiction			.056*** (.010)	.038*** (.008)
Literary fiction/ romance			.026** (.013)	.049** (.010)
Size (in cm)				.150*** (.003)
Size squared				-.001*** (7.14e-05)
Binding (1=hardcover)				.181*** (.004)
Number of pages (effect per 100 pages)				.001*** (9.29e-06)
cons	2.700 (.016)	2.620 (.020)	2.613 (.019)	-.087 (.041)
Residual Variance				
Publisher	.284	.269	.263	.180
Author	.028	.028	.026	.014
Book	.117	.104	.104	.065
Total	0,429	0,401	0,393	0,259
Bayesian DIC	48021.70	41079.21	40787.67	12125.51
Explained variance				
Publisher	0	5.3%	7.4%	36.6%
Author	0	2.1%	7.8%	49.1%
Book	0	11.1%	11.1%	44.5%
Total	0	6.7%	8.4%	39.6%
Observations	60435	60435	60435	60435

Notes: Dependent variable is natural logarithm of retail book price corrected for inflation. Standard deviations in brackets, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05 (one-sided Bayesian P-value)

In model 3, the genre classification of fiction books is added (the baseline value is the genre-dummy 'crime fiction'). The status hierarchy matches the market order, albeit imperfectly: of the highbrow genres, 'literary fiction' has a positive effect on price. Poetry books are, however, cheaper on average. The lowbrow genre of

romance is, as expected, on the bottom of the market order, but this order is, contrary to what we would have expected, dominated by the middlebrow genre of science fiction, which has the strongest positive effect on price. The hybrid genres do confirm our expectations: books that are not only classified as crime fiction but also as literary fiction, have a higher price; likewise, the negative effect of the romance genre is moderated if the book is also classified as 'literary fiction'. Genre is, however, not a strong predictor of price, since adding the dummies decreases the variance with only 2 percent.

In model 4, the full model, material properties of books are added as determinants of price: size, number of pages, and the type of binding. Since we expect that the size of a book has a curvilinear relationship with price, size is entered squared as well: one may assume that below a certain threshold size, price no longer decreases with size. After all, even for small books, a minimum price needs to be charged. Conversely, above a certain threshold, size can no longer be increased, which means that prices will start to rise steeply.

This model explains 39,6 percent of all variance. The material characteristics of a book turn out to be powerful predictors of price. In particular, we find that if the book size increases with 1 cm, the price increases with 16 percent (($e^{.150-.001}$-1)*100); likewise, for every 100 pages extra, publishers charge 9 percent (($e^{100 * .0009}$-1)*100) more; and a hardcover turns out to boost the price with 20 percent (($e^{.181}$-1)*100). Hypothesis 1, 2, and 3 are thus confirmed: thick, big hardcover books are more expensive than thin, small softcovers.

While this finding may in itself not be too surprising, a striking result of model 4 is that the status hierarchy now overlaps almost perfectly with the market order based on price: literary fiction has the highest price after controlling for all other characteristics. Poetry, together with the two hybrid genres (literary fiction/crime fiction and literary fiction/romance), follow on a short distance. The 'other' category is closest to the reference category 'crime fiction', followed by the middlebrow genre science fiction. The lowbrow genre romance is the cheapest. In short, hypothesis 4a is confirmed. The effect of genre is, nevertheless, small in terms of explained variance.

However, there is another, indirect way through which high status genres are priced higher: through differences in material properties. As we showed above, a hardcover book is 20 percent more expensive, but not all genres are as likely to be published in hardcover format. While publishers decide to publish around 20% of the high brow genres (poetry and literary books) as a hardcover, this is only 7% for crime fiction and 11% for romance novels. Similarly, in terms of size, romance books are smaller than all other books: on average 18,48 cm, which is 1,5 cm less than the other genres. This implies that each romance novel is, just because of

its size, 24% percent cheaper than other genres. Similarly, the price premium for limited editions matters most for poetry books as 10 percent of all books in this genre are published as limited editions, compared to only 0,2% for all other genres. In short, the status of a genre is not only directly but also indirectly translated into price. The indirect effect of status is ambiguous, however: the middle brow genre of science fiction is even more likely to be published in expensive formats than the high brow genres. Likewise, poetry books may be more likely to be published in limited editions (inflating their price), they are also much thinner than the other genres (depressing their price). Hypothesis 4b can thus only partially be confirmed.

We find the same mechanism when the translation effect is considered. In the full model, this is still significant, albeit a small effect: a translated book is only 5 percent ($(e^{.0488}-1)*100$) more expensive, or only 80 eurocents on an average book price of 16 euro. It is therefore safe to say that hypothesis 5a can be confirmed: publishers hardly recoup translation costs directly by raising the price. Note moreover that, compared to model 3, the effect has become weaker. Apparently, in model 3, the stronger positive effect of translation was caused by unmeasured material properties: translated books are generally published in a format that allows publishers to price it higher. In other words, passing on (invisible) translation costs to consumers takes place by legitimating it through (visible) material changes. Although we cannot exclude that fiction works that are translated from a foreign language into Dutch have a higher word-count, and therefore require more pages, our results suggests that translation costs are being recouped by publishing the book in a thicker format, which justifies the higher price for consumers. Hypothesis 5b can therefore be confirmed as well.

Discussion and conclusion

When consumers on the emerging market for eBooks observed that prices turned out to be only a fraction lower than those for traditional paperbacks, or, in case of new releases, even on the same level as prices for hardbacks, they responded indignantly.[30] The analysis that we presented in this article allows us to understand why. The moral economy of the book market is grounded in materiality: when it comes to prices, what is fair is intricately related to what is visible in terms of material properties of books. Within this moral economy, it simply does not make sense that the immaterial eBooks, which, within the consumer's understanding

30. See, e.g., http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/booksblog/2011/aug/04/price-publishing-ebooks ; http://reviews.cnet.com/8301-18438_7-20051201-82.html ; http://www.digitalbookworld.com/2012/consumers-upset-and-confused-over-e-book-pricing/

of the market, should be much cheaper to produce, are priced almost identical to traditional books. The response of publishers to the consumers' concerns has been to inform them about the real cost structure and to explain that the physical production costs (e.g. paper and binding) constitute only a small part of the price. However, the main contribution of this paper has been to show that, in daily pricing decisions, publishers invoke the same material, moral economy as consumers: the thicker and the bigger the book, the higher they price it, while a paperback is priced lower than a hardback. This fictional cost structure is apparently so important to them, that they let the format of the book be co-determined by the price they wish to charge. For instance, translated books are published in more expensive formats, which allows publishers to price them higher and thereby recoup translation costs. In short, it would be wrong to conclude that material costs (i.e. printing costs) drive prices of fiction books. Instead, books are priced *as if* material costs drive prices: consumers are willing to pay a higher price for thick, hardcover books, which allows publishers to price them accordingly.

Another key finding is that the status hierarchy that ranks genres from lowbrow to highbrow is reproduced in the price structure of the market: on average, buyers pay less per page, for example, for a romance novel than of a work of literary fiction. This is an important finding as previous studies of cultural industries have frequently assumed that market forces are in contrast with status hierarchies (e.g., Verboord, 2011; Sapiro, 2010). Here, instead, we show that the market reproduces them. Our interpretation of this finding, based on the interviews with publishers, is that they seek to translate quality differences into price differences, and use genre as a judgment device to do so.

While we draw on new literature on valuation and pricing on markets for so-called singularities, and most importantly on Karpik's (2010) seminal contribution, our analysis also suggests a warning to this literature: we find that once they have decided to publish a work of fiction, publishers make no attempts to assess its quality on a case by case basis in order to determine the price. They only assess quality categorically by looking at genre. In other words, the concordance of priceand quality, according to Karpik one of the characteristics of markets for singularities, is mostly absent in the book market. He claims that this may happen on markets where rankings are not visible, instable, or contradictory. Our expla-nation is different: relying on materiality instead of quality when pricing goods, allows producers to create market order and to make their prices seem fair to consumers.

One drawback of our study is that the qualitative data on which our understanding of price-setting conventions is based were collected in the late 2000s. We cannot exclude, in other words, that different pricing practices prevailed earlier

in the time span that our quantitative data considers. Also, it may be the case that the status and reputation of authors and publishers have an impact on book prices as well. However, our data do not allow to make any claims about that since they do not measure status and reputation.

Another drawback is that our data do not allow us to investigate if and to what extent sales have an impact on price setting. On the one hand, on the basis of the publisher's main pricing device, the profit and loss statement, one would imagine that books which are expected to sell well are priced lower since fixed production costs can be recouped by more copies sold. On the other hand, we expect that books written by a best-seller author will be priced higher in order to make an extra profit from strong demand. However, in the moral, material economy of the book market which we have identified, this would require that these (potential) bestsellers are published in more expensive formats which make their higher price look legitimate.

Future research should moreover bear out to what extent our findings for the Dutch book market can be generalized. As the publishing industry is highly internationalized, we expect to find similar decision making processes in other countries. Indeed, the role of the P&L as a price setting device has been found in studies of the American book market (Greco *et al*., 2006). In countries where there is no fixed price regulation for books, such as the US, price-setting might be more competitive. In markets where genre-hierarchies are stronger, such as France (Janssen *et al*., 2008), genre-differences can be expected to be greater and its effects stronger. But, given the strong hostile response among consumers that eBook pricing has ignited in a wide variety of countries, we expect that our main finding - the justification and understanding of book prices in terms of material properties - is not confined to the Netherlands.

Conclusion

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I studied the development of translation flows of fiction and poetry books into the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009. This study was inspired by the rising prominence of translations from English in the Netherlands after the Second World War (Heilbron, 1995) and the overall increasing importance of Anglo-American culture in Western Europe (e.g. Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008). As such, I set out to study how translation flows in fiction and poetry developed in the last two decades of the 20th century and the first of the new millennium. My research question was twofold. First of all, I asked *quantitatively* from which foreign languages fiction and poetry books are translated into Dutch and how these translation flows developed between 1980 and 2009. Secondly, I asked *qualitatively* how translations come about in practice and how the transnational market for transnational rights is organized. In other words, I sought to understand *how* the process of cultural globalization, defined in the introduction of this thesis as 'the growing international diffusion, exchange, and intermingling of cultural goods and media products' (Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008: 720), is made possible in practice in the literary field.

In this conclusion, I will elaborate on my main findings regarding both research questions and outline my main contributions to the literature in cultural sociology and globalization studies that these research questions are embedded in. Moreover, I outline the major limitations of my dissertation and I will suggest avenues for further research that can be developed out of this dissertation.

Research question 1: how did translation flows into the Dutch literary field develop between 1980 and 2009?

In order to answer the first research question, I developed a novel dataset, based on the collection of the Dutch Royal Library (KB), that contained all editions of fiction and poetry books published in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009. This includes books published by the widest range of publishers, from the biggest mainstream publishers to books published by self-publishing houses and the smallest private presses. In total, the database holds 80.231 editions of 64.032 unique titles and includes data on the author, publisher, original language of the book, genre, height, size, number of pages, type of binding, whether the book is a restricted print run and the retail price. This dataset is more advanced than earlier data used in the sociology of translation such as the *UNESCO Index Translationum* (Poupaud

et al., 2009). Its primary advantages are that it contains both translations and books written and published in Dutch, which enables me to study translations within the context of the entire fiction and poetry book production (Heilbron, 1995) and it includes much more detailed information on the books. The genre-classification is far more fine-grained than the one used in the UNESCO data, in which all fiction books are included in the category 'literature' (Ginsburgh et al., 2011).

On the basis of this dataset, I found that translations from English were indeed dominant in the Dutch fiction and poetry book production between 1980 and 2009. But, the position of English shifted during the three decades under study. While the dominance of English rose during the 1980s and peaked in the 1990s, when the share of English was greater than 50 percent of all fiction and poetry books published, the relative share of English decreased after 2003 (see also Achterberg et al., 2011). Chapter one shows that, throughout the 30 years analyzed in this dissertation, there was a rise of diversification of book translations in terms of the number of languages represented in translation from on average 28,5 in the 1980s to 33,2 in the 2000s (with a peak of 40 different languages in 2008). However, these 'other' languages were represented in such small numbers that they did little to weaken the dominant position of English. Besides, the decline of English was relatively small after 2003 and, on an aggregate level, the dominance of English over all other languages including books originally written in Dutch was abundantly clear.

As such, my dissertation seems to provide evidence for the cultural world-systems thesis, which has been used in previous studies of translation flows (Heilbron, 1995; 1999; Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007). This theory argues that translation flows are:

> "embedded within the power relations among national states and their languages. These power relations are of three types – political, economic and cultural – the latter split into two aspects: the power relations between linguistic communities as assessed by the number of primary and secondary speakers (de Swaan 1993, 2001), and the symbolic capital accumulated by different countries within the relevant field of cultural production (Casanova, 1999)."
>
> (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007: 95)

My data shows that the cultural world-system, which structures translations flows, does not only reflect the political and economic power relations among nation-states but is influenced by the cultural dimension as well (see also Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007; Sapiro, 2010). More precisely, translation flows are shaped by the fact that translations are produced within a field of cultural production and are exchanged within an international market for 'symbolic goods' (Bourdieu, 1993).

It is striking that the dominance of English that I found was already established before the 1980 cut-off point that I used in my dataset. In contrast to other cultural industries in which the most recent wave of globalization occurred in the 1980s or even later (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), in the Dutch literary field, the main rise of translations has occurred before that time. Moreover, the hierarchy of foreign languages in translation remains remarkably stable between 1980 and 2009. This stability of the hierarchy offers a new puzzle for future research. The rise of, for instance, China in economic and political terms has not influenced translation flows into Dutch of Chinese books. On the other hand, Scandinavian books have been increasingly translated. This puzzle consists of two new angles for future research.

First, I have not been able to collect data to operationalize the cultural world-systems theory. The example of China, however, does ask for such an analysis to answer the question to what extent changes in economic and political power (still) influence translation flows. And, why, in the case of China, this has not happened. Has the cultural world-system become increasingly autonomous from economic and political power relations?

Second, the case of the Scandinavian languages offers a reverse example. While the global economic and political position of Sweden, Norway and Denmark does not seem to have changed, the rise of translations from these languages from, on average, 10,6 books (0,42%) between 1990 and 1994 to, on average, 83 books (2,56%) between 2005 and 2009 is very large. This example again suggests that the cultural world-system has become increasingly autonomous from political and economic power relations. If this is the case, this raises the question how to understand this new development in the cultural world-system.

Apart from demonstrating the dominance of English in overall translation flows, and the stability of this situation, my main contribution to this literature is the development of a more fine-grained approach to translation flows. This approach is enabled by my dataset, which contains a genre classification for the books that are translated. While this genre classification is much more fine-grained than the UNESCO dataset, it does have a number of shortcomings. Three different genre classifications are included in the dataset and these classification systems change over time. Moreover, books are often coded in one classification system but not in the others. A substantial amount of books (8117) could not be given a genre-code at all. Combining these different genre classifications led to relatively broad genre-categories. Especially the 'literary fiction' category is very wide and includes both commercial fiction and 'Literature'. These would, ideally, have to be separated into different categories. However, it does enable a more fine-grained analysis and taking genre into account showed to be very important for two reasons.

First of all, because taking all genres together to understand translation flows on an aggregate level, as is frequently done in previous studies of the subject (e.g. Ginsburgh et al., 2011), hides the differences between genres. The large quantitative dataset I have collected enabled a more detailed analysis of translation flows in different genres.

My data shows that there are big differences in the importance of translations within each genre. While, in poetry, translations constitute on average 13,9% of all books published, translations account on average for 94,4% of books published in romance. Moreover, the position of different languages in different genres varies. While, on the aggregate level, English is dominant and the share of English declines after 2003, this is not the case in every genre. In poetry, for instance, the position of English is much more modest: on average 3,1% of all published poetry books are translated from English. Among romance novels, on the contrary, translations from English on average account for 92,3% of all published books in this genre. Moreover, the development of English is different in different genres. For instance, in literary fiction, the share of English rose during the 1990s and 2000s, while, in crime fiction, its share declined from the middle of the 1990s onwards.

Secondly, my analysis suggests that these differences in the importance of languages in different genres also have a symbolic dimension. I find that, within genres, different publishers publish different languages and these publishers are differently positioned in the Dutch literary field. The case of Scandinavian literary thrillers is informative in this respect. The publishers of Scandinavian literary thrillers have a much better position in the Dutch literary field than publishers of crime fiction books from other languages. This suggests that, within each genre, the relations between languages are relatively independent from other genres and from the literary field as a whole. This is an important finding for the cultural world-system perspective as it points to a level of analysis, the genre subfield, that has received very little attention in prior research. However, as my analysis suggests, it does play a role in the shaping of translation flows.

There are a number of questions for future research regarding translation flows that emerge out of the analysis presented in this dissertation.

An important future research project entails the collection and analysis of data on economic, political and cultural power relations between nation-states in relation to the development of translation flows over time to test the cultural world-systems theory. This would also entail detailed data on book production in other countries to test this theory for multiple cases. Drawing on the collection of the national library, as I have done in this dissertation, might be the best way to proceed for other cases as well.

A different future research project would be to analyze the development of translation flows historically, in particular since my research suggests that the big rise in translations occurred before 1980. Heilbron (1995) has made important contributions in this respect regarding translation flows after the Second World War. Moreover, Streng has recently published her findings on fiction book production in the 19th century (see Streng 2011; 2012; 2014). Combining the different sources available could make it possible to analyze the development of translation flows in fiction book production between 1800 and 2009. Such a long timeframe would, in the case of the Netherlands, give an opportunity to analyze the dynamic between flows out of English, German and French, which started out roughly equal in terms of the percentage of translations in the beginning of the 19th century (Streng, 2011) but whose positions have shifted to a great extent as my analysis shows.

Lastly, as suggested above, the relative stability of translation flows, with the exception of Scandinavian languages, questions to what extent shifts in economic and political power relations between nations influence existing translation flows and what other factors are at play. In the case of China, it might be the lack of relations in the transnational infrastructure in publishing that prevented an increase in translation flows from Chinese into the Netherlands. An alternative explanation could be in terms of taste patterns, which makes translation flows out of some world regions more likely to emerge than out of others. The rise of Scandinavian languages also points in the direction of an explanation within the literary domain. Anecdotal evidence (e.g. Appel, 2014) suggests that, after Swedish literary thrillers became popular, other publishers copied this strategy and also started to publish Scandinavian authors. However, this raises the question of why this happened here and not, for instance, in Japan, which has had considerable international success with Haruki Murakami, but which did not see such a bandwagon effect. A comparative qualitative study of, for instance, these three cases, could develop the cultural world-systems theory to advance its understanding of the dynamics that take place within the 'world republic of letters' (Casanova, 2004) and in the transnational market for translations.

Research question 2: how do translation flows come about?

My second research question regards the ways in which translation flows come about. I analyzed how the market for translation rights is organized, and how scouts and editors shape this process, from the desk of the writer to, at the very end, the Dutch book market, in chapters three, four and five. It was in 1912, when the

Netherlands signed the Berne convention, that international copyrights laws in which the rights of foreign authors were established became formalized (Dongelmans, 2004; see also Van der Weel, 2000). Although transnational communication already existed before, as a result of this convention this communication became a necessary element of translation processes. It is this exchange of translation rights, and the process beforehand of picking which translation rights to buy, that is the core of the transnational dynamic that I observed in my research.

The question of how translation flows come about cannot be answered within a macro-sociological framework and cultural world-systems theory. Instead, I switched from the macro-level of flows between nations to the institutional level of the transnational cultural field (Kuipers, 2011; Dowd & Janssen, 2011; see also Heilbron, 1999). I built on recent literature on these fields that studies how 'the growing international diffusion, exchange, and intermingling of cultural goods and media products' (Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008: 720) is made possible in practice. This literature is critical of the idea of global flows as fluid, which, according to Bielby and Harrington, implies an 'uncontested journey from contexts of local production to new cultural contexts of consumption' (Biebly & Harrington, 2008: 172). Analyzing how the transnational diffusion of cultural objects happens in practice indeed shows all the effort that cultural intermediaries have to put in this process to make it happen.

What these scholars offer is a predominantly meso-level analysis of cultural globalization as the emergence of a transnational cultural field (Kuipers, 2011: 541). Kuipers argues that:

> 'cultural globalization implies the opening up of national fields to international markets and standards. In these emerging transnational fields, cultural valorization and esthetic standards are the result of power struggles not only within national cultural fields but increasingly between actors and institutions in different countries.'
>
> (Kuipers, 2011: 542-543)

This depiction of a transnational cultural field draws heavily on Bourdieu's field theory (1993, see also Sapiro, 2010) but also on neo-institutional theories of organizational fields (see Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). It is especially the later understanding of fields that has been important to the development of the concept of transnational cultural fields (e.g. Biebly & Harrington, 2008; Franssen & Kuipers, 2013; Velthuis, 2013).

Building on this literature, I followed the translation flow from the moment that a book or even a book proposal is considered for translation by a literary scout working for a Dutch publisher, to the moment a translated book is priced in order to be sold to consumers. I have conducted interviews with 24 Dutch Acquiring editors and one head of production of a major literary publishing group. In addition, I interviewed 13 literary scouts at 10 of the 16 literary scouting agencies in New York and one ex-scout who now works at a major American publishing house. While this approach offered very detailed and rich data on the practices of these two crucial actors in the exchange of translation rights, I was not able to include literary (sub)agents (see Childress, 2012) or translators (see Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007) as well. These agents and translators also play an important role in translation flows. Moreover, while interviews with editors and scouts were broad in scope, I have especially focused on the fast-paced, commercial part of the transnational market for translations. A broader focus that includes transnational networks that extend into more peripheral literary fields or among less commercially interesting genres would have been an enrichment, and a comparison with the fast-paced part of the market I observed is certainly an interesting and relevant angle for future research.

Uncertainty, abundance and competition in transnational cultural fields

My analysis shows that the transnational market for translations and the practices of cultural intermediaries within it are structured by the way they manage, or cope with, three problems: first of all, overabundance of available manuscripts and books that will be or have been published worldwide and that are, in theory, candidates for translation. Secondly, uncertainty regarding the quality of these manuscripts and their potential artistic and commercial success. Thirdly, an intense competition among Dutch publishers for the translation rights to the best, most interesting manuscripts.

It is uncertainty that is at the core of the dynamics of the transnational market for translations. This uncertainty comes up in a variety of ways. First, editors, but also scouts, do not have connections that span the entire globe. As such, much of what is happening goes unnoticed to all. Even within the Anglo-American literary field where editors and scouts operate, there is always the possibility that one just does not notice a certain writer or manuscript. Moreover, there is uncertainty in the nature, quality and potential success of all the manuscripts that are within reach. There is no easy and swift way to judge a manuscript. Even if one judges a manuscript positively, the chance that it will fail in the consumer market in terms of sales is very big (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Uncertainty is heightened by

overabundance and competition. Increasing globalization augmented the amount of manuscripts as well as their diversity. Increasing competition, especially within the Anglo-American market, created a need for faster decision-making, putting pressure on this already difficult process.

In my dissertation, I have unpacked the ways in which editors and scouts evaluate manuscripts and make decisions in the transnational market for translations. I showed that they use a range of different strategies to cope with the problems highlighted above. I studied the decision making processes regarding what to look at and advise on, which translation rights to buy and how to put acquired manuscripts onto the Dutch book market.

First, both editors and scouts rely on others to cope with overabundance and uncertainty. In the case of editors, these others are, for instance, the scouts who are hired to act as a filter for the Anglo-American literary field. Moreover, editors rely on (foreign) friends, such as editors, translators or critics, who give them tips and other valuable information. In this way, editors decentralize their gatekeeping power to a range of other actors. As a result, gatekeeping becomes a process rather than a single decision-making moment. Scouts, in the same way, rely on others to receive information about new manuscripts that might be interesting for their clients. They rely on friends in the business, whom they speak to very often, sometimes on a daily basis. They follow the 'buzz' of the town: that is, they follow the manuscripts that most people in the New York literary scene are talking about. Using this information, they assess what their clients should focus on.

Second, editors follow publishing decisions of foreign publishers that have a similar publishers' list and position in their literary field. Knowing that a certain editor of such a publishing house is interested in a manuscript or already bought the rights can be vital information to the Dutch editor of a similar publishing house. This suggests a process of what we have called 'horizontal isomorphism'; publishing houses in similar positions in different literary fields grow more similar by copying each other's publishers' list.

Third, both scouts and editors use their own experience and tacit knowledge to evaluate manuscripts. Editors try to gauge whether a manuscript fits with their publishers' list. Scouts, on the other hand, try to read from the perspective of their clients and try to understand, based on detailed knowledge of their clients' taste, whether something might be 'right' for them. Both scouts and editors rely on a long trajectory of experience in reading of books and manuscripts, often starting in their childhood, throughout their education as well as their professional lives, that has sensitized them to this task (see also Franssen, 2012).

Fourth, manuscripts are assessed by editors and scouts within the aesthetic dimensions of their genre by comparing it to classics, bestsellers and current trends in that particular genre. Genre-classifications such as 'up-market women's fiction' are used and understood by all actors involved and again help to gauge whether a manuscript might be worth reading. Both editors and scouts constantly refer to certain classics and bestsellers to compare a new manuscript to and make sense of its possible future position in the field.

Fifth, there is a plethora of other judgment devices (Karpik, 2010) that editors and scouts rely on. Knowing who the American agent and publisher are, reviews and sales figures out of other literary fields and from earlier books all help to position a manuscript and its author in the field and, as such, to gauge whether the manuscript 'belongs' with the publishing house in question.

Sixth, when translation rights are bought and a book is put onto the market, deciding what the retail price should be involves a particular evaluation process that builds on pricing conventions in which certain book characteristics can be transformed into a higher price while others cannot. Chapter five shows that genre here acts as a judgment device through which cultural hierarchies translate into economic hierarchies. Moreover, editors have to create a material object with a price that is seen as fair and just by consumers. As such, they enter into a moral evaluation process as well.

This dissertation does not only add an analysis of these strategies but, in addition, shows that the use of these different strategies, and whether they are even available, depends on the particular part of the transnational market for translations that an editor or scout is active in and the timing of the evaluative moment in question.

When translation rights are sold before a book is published, one cannot rely on sales figures or reviews, which is often the case with commercial genres in the Anglo-American field but less so in more peripheral literary fields or less commercial genres such as poetry. Moreover, as scouts have a different and prior role in the translation process compared to editors, they have to rely on other strategies.As such, the transnational configurations in which evaluation practices take place can differ substantially.

The quantitative differences in translation flows in different genres as outlined in chapter one and two are related to these differences in transnational configurations. A large generalist publisher might have a literary scout in New York and meets regularly with (sub)agents to discuss the newest manuscripts on offer from the Anglo-American literary field. This publisher will focus on the Anglo-American literary field for his or her translations, if only because the costs involved in hiring a scout are quite substantial. A small poetry publisher interested in translating,

on the other hand, will have an entirely different set of connections, practices and judgment devices. Such a publisher might focus more on literary awards and have a network of translators and critics who can point to interesting poetry, which is usually already long published in its original language. As such, the publishers' list of a poetry publisher often contains a more diverse set of languages than a mainstream publisher.

Contributions to sociological research on transnational cultural fields

By unpacking evaluation and decision-making practices of editors and scouts and transnational configurations in the transnational market for translations, my dissertation contributes to the growing literature on transnational cultural fields in four ways. First of all, current studies tend to see transnational fields as structured similar to national fields of cultural production, which can be analyzed from a Bourdieusian perspective. For instance, in an impressive study of the word republic of letters, Casanova uses Bourdieusian concepts, especially capital and field, to understand the position of languages and literatures according to their literary capital (Casanova, 2004: IX). Similarly, Sapiro (2008) argues that the international book market is structured "like the national markets, around the opposition between large-scale and small-scale circulation" (Sapiro, 2008: 160). Kuipers (2011) mixed Bourdieusian field theory with the neo-institutional perspective and argues that globalization can be understood as the emergence of a transnational television field (see also Bielby & Herrington, 2008). Buchholz (2008; see also Adams, 2007) uses the field perspective to study the transnational field of contemporary art and argues:

> "The global field of art can be defined as a competitive arena that revolves primarily around acquiring international artistic legitimacy or obtaining the monopoly for determining the criteria of international artistic legitimacy itself."
> (Buchholz, 2008: 218)[31]

However, little attention is given to how field dynamics change when actors move from the national to the transnational level. The abovementioned scholars find similarities between transnational cultural fields and the structure and dynamics of national cultural fields. My dissertation suggests, by contrast, that transnational fields may function differently than national cultural fields.

31. Quoted from an English translation provided by the original author.

In the literary field, the main reason for this difference is that manuscripts can be turned into multiple books in other languages. A new American manuscript will become many different books. On a transnational level, a publisher from Germany and one from Italy are not in competition with each other when they buy translation rights to the same manuscripts. The vast majority of publishers are only active in one country or set of countries in which the same language is dominant. They aim to buy translation rights for Dutch, Swedish or German, but are not in conflict with publishers outside their national field. The competition for symbolic capital takes place, as I showed in chapter four, on the national level between Dutch publishing houses, but not on the transnational level. This sets the literary field at least to some extent apart from cultural fields such as the visual arts (Velthuis, 2013; Buchholz, 2008) or the movie and television industries (Crane, 2014; Kuipers, 2011), where both symbolic and economic competition between the key distributors takes place transnationally.

My second contribution is to reframe the perspective on transnational cultural fields by arguing that social interactions in transnational fields do not, or not exclusively, revolve around struggle for domination, but instead around dealing with the radical uncertainty regarding the economic and literary qualities of the manuscripts that can potentially be translated. This is especially the case since, compared to the national field in which actors are positioned, their knowledge of all other literary fields and their transnational network are much weaker. Combined with the overabundance of possible manuscripts to publish and the reliance on people that are geographically much further away (see also Velthuis, 2013), the uncertainty that intermediaries have to deal with comes to the forefront of their daily practices.

A third contribution to the growing literature on transnational fields is to show that the involvement of actors with this field may differ considerably. On the one hand, I find that scouts are permanently involved with this field since their primary activity is to search for books and manuscripts that can be translated. Other actors, however, such as Dutch publishing houses, are primarily involved in their own national field. Their activities in the transnational field may be restricted to the acquisition of the translation rights of a few books a year. While some have very close relations with particular publishing houses or literary agents for extended periods of time, many other, especially smaller publishers, venture onto the transnational market for translation rights just a few times a year. These ventures are, moreover, frequently mediated by a Dutch subagent. Even when a scout is involved, who will send manuscripts to their clients almost daily, the number of times an actual sale will happen is much smaller. So, rather than a field in the Bourdieusian sense of the word, in which all actors are constantly engaged in the

field much like a magnetic force field (Bourdieu, 1969:89), editors that work in a predominantly national context have 'transnational moments' in which they venture out into the transnational arena.

A fourth contribution is to show that to understand the complex process of evaluation and decision making, different, albeit related, theoretical perspectives are necessary. At different moments in the translation processes, different problems arise, which also depend on the type of literary field and the timing of the exchange. To cover these differences, I have drawn on field-theoretical and neo-institutional theory as well as on insights from economic sociology and pragmatic sociology to understand the entire process of translation, from the desk of the writer to the Dutch book market. While the field-perspective proved useful to understand moments of struggle and competition, neo-institutional theory provided answers on how cultural intermediaries manage uncertainty. Economic sociology was necessary to understand the way retail prices are set while pragmatism offered insights into the situational and material aspects of evaluation practices.

Avenues for further research

This dissertation showed that the characteristics of books and their need for linguistic translation mediates the way books travel across the globe. Publishers are most often bound to a particular language and national market and do not, very easily, cross into other markets. This draws attention to the role the cultural object itself plays in the ways in which global diffusion takes place. While my dissertation covers a large part of the translation trajectory, in future research, it is important to follow the cultural object in a more systematic way.

It would be illuminating to follow one manuscript in a more detailed manner, from an American writer to his or her agent, literary scout, Dutch editor, translator and bookseller, to analyze in more detail the different stages of transformation in which a manuscript becomes a book. In addition, anecdotal evidence in my fieldwork among scouts suggests that manuscripts can be turned into very different books in different literary fields. One manuscript can simultaneously be translated and put into the market as a work of 'Literature' while it is marketed as a commercial yet intelligent 'beach read' in another market. To understand these types of differences created in the process of global diffusion (Kuipers, Forthcoming), it would be informative to comparatively follow the processes of transformation that one manuscript goes through in different countries at the same time.

A second angle for future research is the development of a taxonomy of transnational cultural fields. My research suggests that the transnational literary field

does not function in the same way as national literary fields, as outlined above, and that there are differences between the transnational literary field and other transnational cultural fields. In the emerging literature on transnational cultural fields, these differences have not been systematically analyzed. Based on my dissertation, such a taxonomy would have to consider, among others, the extent to which a transnational cultural field is structured similar to or different from national cultural fields; the continuity and depth of involvement of cultural intermediaries in these transnational cultural fields; the extent to which interactions in these fields are structured by a struggle for symbolic capital, or, alternatively, to dealing with problems related to uncertainty and abundance; the strategies and types of judgment devices used to cope with uncertainty.

Making macro-processes comprehensible

The aim of this dissertation was to unpack the transnational configurations through which manuscripts travel across the world. These configurations consist of all kinds of human actors, law, regulations and aesthetic conventions, small and large events from a visit of an editor to New York up to the Frankfurter Buchmesse. Moreover, countless lunch meetings, telephone conversations and emails are necessary to coordinate and make translations happen, and this all has to be repeated over and over again, day in day out, to reproduce the relations between writers, agents, scouts, editors and publishers that ended up producing remarkable stable translation flows from all over the world into the Netherlands over a period of 30 years.

In short, this dissertation suggests that, in order to understand abstract complex processes such as globalization, we have to unpack the daily transnational practices that constitute them. It is precisely this task that sociological research can offer to society in general: making abstract macro-processes comprehensible, especially regarding issues of a global scale, such as global flows of cultural goods, people and problems, so that their origin and workings can be understood. This is possible by focusing on the transnational configurations and daily practices that underlie these abstract and elusive processes that seem to be beyond our reach. Doing so offers both an analysis of the interconnectedness of everyday practices on the micro-level with macro-global processes, as well as insights into the ways we can influence them.

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Appendix

Appendix

In chapters 1, 2 and 5 a genre-classification is used that was modified for the specificity of each research question. In the data of the Royal Library in The Hague different genre classification systems are presented that differ in the way they are assigned differs and in their level of abstraction, which also differs within these classification systems themselves (for instance one contains a code that was used for books with a 'homoerotic theme' while there is also a code for 'literary novel'). These different genre classification systems were combined to form general genres while retaining as much of its specificity as possible. This has been done first for chapter 5. Below is presented the appendix that is published as part of chapter 5 in *Socio-Economic Review* in which the procedure is explained. Afterwards, I present the modifications made for chapter 1 and 2.

Genre-classifications (published as appendix to chapter 5)

The genre-classifications were constructed in two ways. First, a general differentiation between poetry books and novels was made on the basis of a classification by the KB itself and by applying search strings to the title of the book (e.g., 'poetry', 'poem', 'dichtbundel'). Second, to classify the novels, we used the two genre-classification systems that have become institutionalized in the Dutch book world: first, there is a genre classification system used by publishers themselves. This system, which was initially called NUGI (the Dutch acronym for Netherlands Uniform Genre Classification) and has been called NUR (Netherlands Uniform Classification) since 2002, is used by publishers to communicate with booksellers about the 'shelve' (or online category) they would like to see their book placed on. This system thus has a performative function, aiming to influence the understanding of what type a new book is. Publishers can allocate multiple genre codes within this system.[32]

Second, the other classification system, simply called 'genre' in the database of the KB, is not determined by publishers but by an organization called *NDC Biblion*. This organization is a service and information provider to Dutch libraries, including information on, and reviews of, new books. They classify books themselves in a genre-classification system that fits the needs of libraries.

Of the 80.231 books in the dataset, 66.535 received at least one genre-classification from the KB, the publisher, or *NDC Biblion*. We re-classified these codes into five main categories (poetry, literary fiction, crime fiction, science fiction/fantasy, romance) and

32. For more information on the classification system, see http://www.boek.nl/nur

the remaining category 'other' comprises smaller and more ambiguous genres such as 'regional novel', 'family novel', 'religious books', and 'war'. Crime fiction was made up of the *NDC Biblion* codes 'Thriller', 'Detective', 'Horror', and 'espionage', and *NUR* codes for 'Detective', 'thriller', 'scary- and ghost-stories, horror', and 'espionage', and *NUGI* codes for 'thriller, adventure, espionage – notable characteristic: complex plotline', 'Detective – central plot: a detective who tries to solve a case', 'Scary and ghost stories, also horror'. Notably, we did not include the different codes for war stories as we felt that would bring fuzziness in the variable (think, for example, of *Slaughterhouse V* by Kurt Vonnegut or *Journey to the end of the night* by Céline).

Science fiction/fantasy is made up of the *NDC Biblion* codes 'Science fiction' and 'fantasy', the *NUR* codes for 'Science fiction' and 'fantasy', and the *NUGI* code 'Science fiction, also fantasy'.

Romance is made up of the *NDC Biblion* codes 'Romantic stories', 'Doctors-, nurses-, hospital novel', 'erotic stories', the *NUR* codes 'Romance', and the *NUGI* code 'ladies- and popular novel'. We did not include different codes for historical novels in this genre-category although a lot of those fit in here very well. However, while the *NUR* code for historical novel is specifically used for 'popular' (as opposed to 'literary') books, the others are not. This would bring in fuzziness, such as with crime fiction (think for example of *In the name of the rose* by Umberto Eco).

Literature is the broadest category in our genre-classification. Books are often given a 'literary novel' code and publishers seem to use this type of code for any type of 'novel', both of a more literary and a more popular kind. For example, this category holds all Nobel prize winners but also Evans's *The horse whisperer*. It is based on the *NDC Biblion* codes 'Psychological novel', 'Social novel', 'political novel', 'experimental novel', 'novel about race', 'novel about homosexuality', 'fiction', 'feminist stories', the *NUR* codes 'literary fiction', 'literary novel, novelle', 'translated literary novel, novella', 'short story collection', 'translated short story collection', 'theater- and movie-scripts, also scenario's', 'ancient antiquity', 'pocket literary fiction', 'literary non-fiction', 'literary non-fiction biography', 'Literary non-fiction correspondence', 'literary non-fiction columns', and the *NUGI* codes 'Dutch literary novels, stories, novellas', 'translated literary novels, stories, novellas', 'theater- and movie-scripts, also scenario's', 'literary essays', and 'literary journals, biographies, correspondences between literary authors.'

Modifications for chapter 1 and 2

In chapter 1 4 genre-classifications are used based on the procedure presented above (scifi is not included in this chapter). However, to increase the coverage of

this classification, two steps were taken. To maximize the number of books that could be taken into account, I located all editions of each book in the dataset and duplicated the genre-codes of each edition. So if one edition of a book has the genre-code 'literary', all editions of that book get that genre-code. Finally all books published by Harlequin were given the code "romance" because of the homogeneity of their catalogue and in order to address the problem of a notable lack of coding of these books in the middle of the 1980s. As such, 72.114 out of the 80.231 books could be coded in one or more genres (coding all Harlequin books accounted for the biggest rise, the duplication only created 1184 more genre-codings).

In chapter 2 only data from books published between 2000 and 2009 is analyzed. In this chapter again the same genre-classification is used as in chapter 5 and chapter 1, however here 'regional/family novel' is included as an extra genre. This genre is constructed by combining *NDC Biblion codes* 'streek- & boerenroman' and 'familieroman', the *NUGI code* 'streek- & familieromans' and *NUR code* 'streek- & familieroman'.

Appendix originally published with chapter 4

We list the publishing houses in Table 4.1 of the article, and the article's Table 4.2 shows the opposition along three components: English and thrillers vs. Dutch and poetry; exotic languages vs. Dutch and English; and overall capital amount. Here, in Figures 1 and 2, we have plotted publishing houses on these three dimensions, which gives the following image of the Dutch literary field in 2007.

Figure 1: Publishing houses plotted on scores for component 1 and 2.

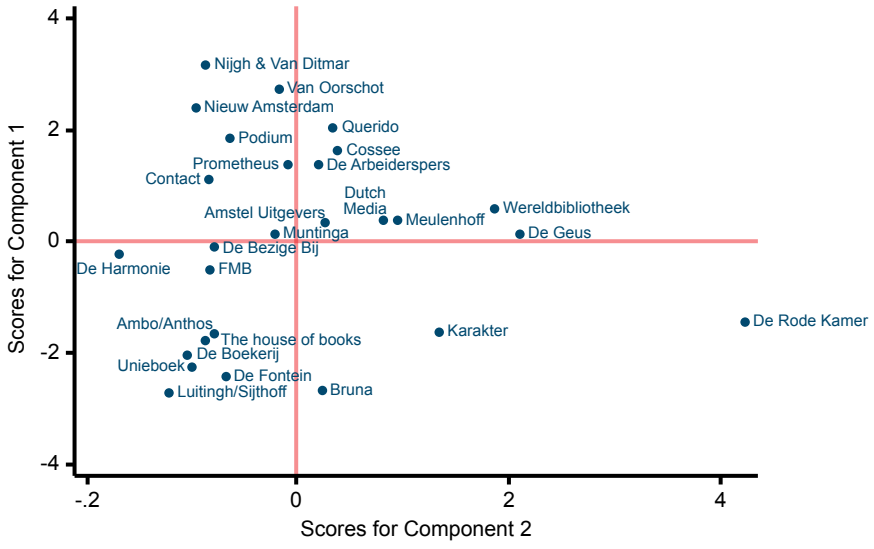
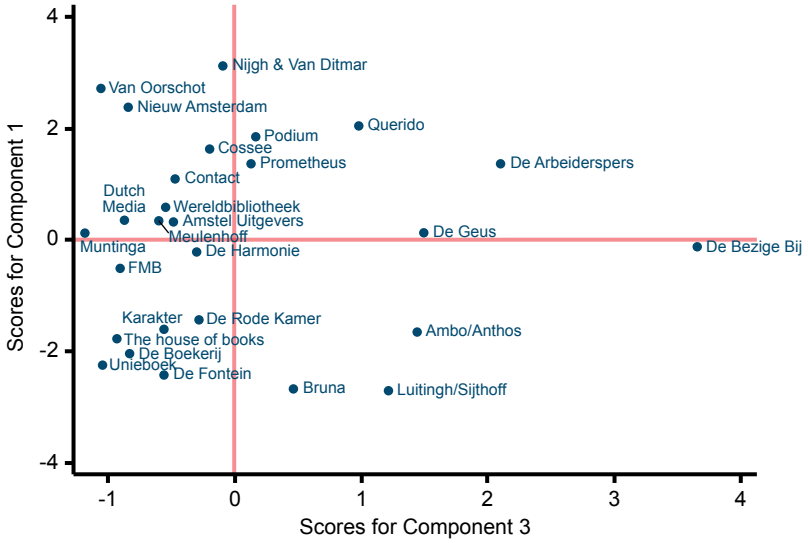


Figure 2: Publishing houses plotted on scores for component 1 and 3



Publishing houses often have different imprints for different types of books, which means that especially larger publishers have a very general profile at the aggregate level. Because of this "layered" structure of publishing houses, publishers tend toward the mean on the first two components. We have replicated our analysis by "dissecting" the publishing houses into smaller parts, namely imprints, and analyzing them independently. However, the overall structure of the field, as presented in this analysis, remains the same. The first component still opposes English and thrillers to Dutch and poetry; the second component is still determined by exotic vs. mainstream languages; and the third still by overall capital. The total explained variance diminishes slightly to 82,7%. In this new analysis, different imprints of the same company fall into different categories. *De Bezige Bij* (Prestigious-Local Cluster) is separated from its imprint *Cargo* (Anglo-American-Genre Cluster); *Bruna* (Anglo-American-Genre Cluster) from *Signatuur* (Exotic-Languages Cluster); *Querido* (Prestigious-Local Cluster) from *Q* (Exotic-Languages Cluster); and *De Arbeiderspers* (Prestigious-Local Cluster) from *Archipel* (Anglo-American-Genre Cluster). Hence, imprints are homogeneous "brands" within the heterogeneous and generalist nature of some, especially large, publishing houses.

English summary

English Summary

In this dissertation I studied the development of translation flows of fiction and poetry books into the Netherlands between 1980 and 2009. This study was inspired by the rising prominence of translations from English in the Netherlands after the Second World War (Heilbron, 1995) and the overall increasing importance of Anglo-American culture in Western Europe (e.g. Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008). As such I set out to study how translation flows in fiction and poetry developed in the last three decades. Not only did I ask quantitatively to what extent the share of translations from English increased further between 1980 and 2009, I also set out to qualitatively study how translations come about in practice.

I found that indeed translations from English are dominant in Dutch fiction and poetry book production between 1980 and 2009. But this position shifts during the three decades under study. While the dominance of English rises during the 1980s and peeks in the 1990s when the share of English is greater than 50 percent of all fiction and poetry books published, after 2003 the relative share of English decreases (see also Achterberg et al., 2011). This indicates a diversification of book translations but also an increasing importance of books written in Dutch that became less important in the 1990s but increased its share in the 2000s. However, the decline of English is relatively small and, on an aggregate level the dominance of English over all other languages including books originally written in Dutch is abundantly clear.

My dissertation shows that analyzing translation flows on the national-level can offer insights in the translation flows into Dutch and its relation with the production of books written in Dutch originally. However, this national-level also hides more than it reveals. Taking all genres together to understand translation flows on an aggregate level hides the differences between genres. Indeed while on the national level English is dominant, this is not the case in every genre. In poetry for instance, the position of English is much more modest, on average 3,1% of poetry books are translations from English. On the contrary among romance novels, English on average accounts for 92,3% of all books. Moreover, the development of English is different in different genres. For instance, in literary fiction the share of English is rising during the 1990s and 2000s while in crime fiction on the other hand, its share is declining from the middle of the 1990s onwards.

I have taken English here as an example to show that translation flows are not uniform. They are dynamic and differ between different parts of the literary field; between different types of books. This is the case because translation flows are the result of configurations of literary fields, for example romance novels are published by publishing multinationals that are active in a great number of countries at the

same time. These configurations structure the individual publishing decisions made by editors and publishers that are located in different parts of the literary field. Making such decisions does not entail the same thing for a small poetry publisher than it does for a large generalist publisher of crime and literary fiction. Some editors look to the Anglo-American parts of the literary world rather than the Arabic literary traditions or invest in relations with German publishers and agents rather than with French publishers and agents. Publishers focused on crime fiction for instance tended to view the Anglo-American literary field with much interest but have increasingly focused on Scandinavian countries in the last couple of years.

As such, in this dissertation translations and translation flows are understood as the outcome of a process in which all kinds of agents such as editors, publishers, agents and scouts are involved. These agents have specific positions in (trans) national literary fields and (trans)national book markets which inform their practices. The aim of this dissertation was to unpack these processes and the translation flows that emerge from them, to come to a sociologically informed understanding of the way in which translations come about in practice. The analysis contributes to two literatures; that of the study of cultural globalization, and that of the study of practices of cultural intermediaries in transnational fields and markets.

Cultural globalization

It was expected that, as globalization intensified from the 1980s onwards in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2007; Kuipers 2011) the relative share of translations would also grow. The analysis of translation flows between 1980 and 2009 shows that there is only a minor rise in the relative share of translations and, after 2003, even a decline. However, already in the 1980s the share of translations is very high. This implies that the rise of the importance of translations primarily took place before the 1980s, after the 1970s the rise is limited. The increase of transnational exchange in the cultural industries thus did not have a great impact on publishing, bearing in mind that translations were already very important at the start of the 1980s. However, it is clear that cultural globalization does not lead to an unlimited quantity of translations and that it cannot be equated with either cultural imperialism nor unbounded cultural diversity but that the way globalization comes about in publishing is more complex.

As Heilbron (1995) and Quemin (2006, 2013) also argue, there is a clear structure in the cultural world-system and the position of nations and languages in this cultural world-system does not change much over time. English is very dominant and as such can be argued to have a hegemonic position, German and French

follow on a large distance and are closer in their position to Spanish, Swedish and Italian than to English. As such cultural globalization increased the concentration of transnational literary production in the Anglo-American field. However, at the same time, there is an increasing number of source languages that is presented in translation and this is the case in all genres. Within the broader framework of an unequally structured cultural world-system diversity is possible and growing but only small numbers. As such, cultural globalization is a process that creates increasing concentration and increasing diversity at the same time. Moreover, there are big differences between different genres.

Comparing translation flows in literary fiction, poetry, crime fiction and romance novels shows that there are big differences between literary fiction and poetry on the one hand, and crime fiction and romance novels on the other. Crime fiction and romance novels are more dominated by translations from English than literary fiction and poetry. The dominance of English is so great because Dutch publishers are able to produce a lot of similar titles in these genres. A publisher like Harlequin publishes almost exclusively translations from English and does so in such great numbers that these books almost singlehandedly fill the whole romance genre. Moreover, there are far less books written in Dutch in these genres. Apparently, Dutch authors have a preference for other genres, although in crime fiction there is a clear upwards trend in books written originally in Dutch.

Analysing the development of translations in four genres (literary fiction, crime fiction, romance novels and poetry) over time uncovers that their trajectories are only slightly related. Only in the case of diversity is there a field-wide development; in all genres more and more languages are represented in translation. This is not the case in the level of linguistic concentration or in the development of the share of English. Especially crime fiction and literary fiction show oppositional trends. In crime fiction the share of English decreases while this is opposite in literary fiction. As such, cultural globalization as an umbrella-concept captures very different processes in these genres that are only marginally related to each other. This raises doubt to what extent the concept of cultural globalization is useful to understand the development of translation flows into the Dutch literary field. This analysis suggests that using the term might bring together very different processes that, in practice, are not related to each other that much.

The analysis of the Dutch literary space in chapter two showed that genres are not unified subfields themselves, or at least not always. Based on an analysis of publishers' lists I show which languages are often combined with each other in each genre and subsequently which language-genre groups are combined most often with each other in publishers' lists. The analysis shows that poetry is a very clear

genre-subfield in which publishers publish poetry books from a variety of languages but hardly any books outside of the genre (see also Dubois, 2006; 2013). This is not the case for the other genres. Rather, among publishers who mainly publish fiction, there are subfields that consists of multiple genres but mainly from one language, English or Dutch, or from a large range of languages but with a far smaller share of Dutch or English books. As such, cultural globalization is not unified even on the level of the genre. It might be better understood as a process in which specific circuits are developed by publishers themselves which might or might not cross genre boundaries and might or might not cross linguistic boundaries.

What we learn from this analysis of translation flows and subfields is that international exchange can develop in different ways and can develop into different types of circuits that all add to the aggregate process of what we call cultural globalization. The extent to which we can assess this cultural globalization on a macro-level in the cultural sphere is rather limited and often hides the complexity of what is happening in practice.

Networks and practices in transnational fields and markets

To understand how translation flows develop as they do, I analyzed the networks through which books travel which are embedded in the translational literary field and the global market for translations. I found that translations are organized in decentralized transnational networks in which editors, publishers, agents, scouts and sometimes other actors (such as translators or critics) are actively engaged with selecting the best, most fitting manuscripts or published books for Dutch publishers lists and, consequently, for the Dutch book market.

This transnational exchange is formalized in trade agreements and international laws that define the way in which translation rights can be sold. As such, a transnational literary space has emerged (Casanova, 2004) in which actors from various national literary fields come together. This field is embedded in national literary fields but also surpasses it. In this transnational literary field, there are moments when everyone meets, on the book fairs of London, New York and especially Frankfurt. There are evaluation regimes and aesthetic repertoires that all actors more or less share, for instance, everyone know what 'upmarket fiction' means and how to translate this genre-code to their national literary field. Moreover, there are specific professions that mainly act on the transnational level and regulate the exchange of translation rights, most notably acquiring editors, literary agents and literary scouts. In three chapters I studied the practices of these transnational actors through an analysis of the practices of literary scouts in New York and Dutch acquiring editors.

One way of analyzing the practices of scouts and editors is to understand them as attempts to handle or cope with the classic problems of the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Like in other fields of cultural production, the transnational literary field is characterized by overabundance, uncertainty and strife. There is an overabundance of available new manuscripts to possibly publish. It is impossible to, beforehand, know or predict the nature, quality and marketability of new manuscripts. Lastly, there is a great competition for the 'best' new manuscripts. Moreover, everyone is aware that in the consumer market roughly twenty percent of books will break-even or make a profit, the pressure to pick the 'right' manuscripts therefore is high. These uncertainties and unpredictabilities are reinforced by the global scale of the transnational literary field in which editors and literary scouts increasingly operate. One never knows where the next bestseller will be coming from.

Literary scouts work for, mainly European, publishing houses and collect (information on) new manuscripts for their clients. The scouting task precedes and engages with the decision-making process of editors, the problems of editors are therefore also the problems of scouts. For scouts the main problems are those of uncertainty and speed. The problem of uncertainty is even magnified as they see manuscripts often even earlier than editors when they are often only partially finished and not yet bought by an American publishing house, and not seen by any reviewers of consumers. As such it is very hard to 'know' which manuscripts are good. Speed is a problem especially for scouts because most European editors of the main publishing houses employ scouts and are looking for roughly the same type of manuscripts. As such, scouts are enmeshed in a fierce competition amongst themselves to be the first scout to obtain an interesting new manuscript. A race that is crucial for their status within the transnational literary field and as such for their professional success.

The solution that scouts find to handle these problems is to rely on what is called buzz, that is, the 'talk of the town'. Following who is talking about what gives scouts a sense of which manuscripts are 'growing' and which ones are failing. Information that they then can pass on to their clients in Europe and which determines which manuscript they actively pursue and which ones they neglect.

Dutch acquisition editors cope with the problems of excess, uncertainty and competition in different ways. Their main solutions are collecting information through decentralized networks, trust in their (increasingly transnational) networks and their own expertise, and the accumulation of symbolic capital, in particular through their publishers' respective catalogues. Editors spread their decision-making power across a network of people that they trust. In that way other actors such as literary scouts or befriended editors and translators act as filters in the

abundance of manuscripts available. Through these channels a select number of manuscripts comes to editors. These manuscripts are evaluated by combining aesthetic and commercial criteria and following their own expertise that is build up through years and years of experience in reading manuscripts. Chapter four shows that editors have a range of strategies (bielby & Bielby, 1994; Mauws, 2000) they use to identify the best manuscripts, most importantly the 'fit' of a manuscript with their publishing house and publishers' list. To be taken serious by foreign editors and rights holders, but also to make sense of the position they themselves hold in the literary field, editors build a publishers' list that shows some form of coherence. It is the publishers' list that embodies the publish house their symbolic capital.

After the translation rights are bought Dutch editors have to bring the book onto the market. In chapter five, together with Olav Velthuis, I analyzed this processes focussing on the way market order is created through pricing strategies. We show that editors price books as if material characteristics drive the production costs. As such, the translation costs cannot be recouped in the prize as these are 'invisible'. Rather editors make translated books thicker or, for instance, give them a hardcover to be able to give them a higher price.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Nederlandse samenvatting

In deze dissertatie heb ik de ontwikkeling van vertaalstromen tussen 1980 en 2009 van fictie- en poëzieboeken naar het Nederlands bestudeerd. Deze studie werd geïnspireerd door de steeds verder toenemende prominentie van vertalingen uit het Engels na de Tweede Wereldoorlog (Heilbron, 1995) en de meer algemene toename van het belang van de Anglo-Amerikaanse cultuur in West-Europa (Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008). Daarom onderzoekt deze dissertatie hoe vertaalstromen in fictie en poëzie zich hebben ontwikkeld in de afgelopen dertig jaar. Deze studie is niet alleen kwantitatief van aard. Naast de vraag hoe vertaalstromen zich ontwikkeld hebben, met specifieke interesse in de positie van het Engels, onderzoekt deze dissertatie ook, kwalitatief, hoe vertalingen tot stand komen.

De resultaten laten zien dat vertalingen uit het Engels zoals verwacht dominant zijn in de Nederlandse boekenproductie in fictie en poëzie tussen 1980 en 2009. Echter, de positie van het Engels verandert langzaam gedurende de bestudeerde periode. Waar de dominantie van het Engels steeds groter wordt tijdens de jaren tachtig en piekt in de jaren negentig, is er na 2003 een langzame afname van de relatieve hoeveelheid Engelse vertalingen (zie ook Achterberg et al., 2011). Deze nieuwe ontwikkeling zou zowel op een ontwikkeling naar een meer divers aanbod in de boekproductie kunnen wijzen als op een groter belang van boeken die geschreven worden in het Nederlands. De ontwikkeling sinds 2003, waarbij het Engels een relatief minder sterke positie lijkt te krijgen, is echter maar zeer minimaal en op een mesoniveau is de dominantie van het Engels over alle andere talen, inclusief origineel Nederlandse boeken, nog steeds overduidelijk.

Deze dissertatie laat zien dat het analyseren van vertaalstromen op een mesoniveau, dat van de gehele boekenproductie in fictie en poëzie, alleen zeer algemene inzichten verschaft in de relaties tussen talen en daardoor soms meer verbergt dan het laat zien. Hiermee doel ik vooral op de verschillen in vertaalstromen tussen verschillende genres. Op een mesoniveau zijn de verschillen tussen de genres niet zichtbaar en is het Engels simpelweg dominant, waarbij na 2003 een lichte daling te zien is. Dit is echter niet het geval in elk genre. In poezie bijvoorbeeld is de positie van het Engels veel minder sterk, gemiddeld is slecht 3,1% van het totaal aantal gepubliceerde poezie titels vertaalt uit het Engels, dit in tegenstelling tot bijvoorbeeld romantische fictie. In de romantische fictie is gemiddeld 92,3% van de boeken vertaalt uit het Engels. Ook de ontwikkeling van vertaalstromen over de tijd laat heel andere patronen zien in verschillende genres. In literaire fictie wordt de positie van het Engels steeds sterker gedurende de jaren negentig en jaren nul, binnen de categorie spannende fictie echter zien we vanaf het midden van de jaren negentig een omgekeerde trend.

Ik heb hier Engels als voorbeeld genomen om te laten zien dat vertaalstromen niet eenduidig zijn. Er is een dynamiek waarneembaar in het literaire veld. In verschillende delen van het literaire veld, bij verschillende types boeken, is de positie van talen anders. Dit is het geval omdat vertaalstromen voortkomen uit individuele beslissingen van uitgevers en redacteuren die gepositioneerd zijn op verschillende plekken in het literaire veld. Het maken van zo'n beslissing betekent niet hetzelfde voor een kleine poëzie-uitgeverij als het betekent voor een grote algemene uitgever van literaire en spannende fictie. Sommige redacteuren en uitgevers kijken meer naar het Anglo-Amerikaanse deel van de mondiale boekenindustrie terwijl ze de Arabische of Chinese tradities en uitgevers links laten liggen. Anderen investeren juist in hun relaties met Duitse uitgevers en literair agenten en richten zich daarnaast op de Franse literaire traditie. Uitgevers van spannende boeken bijvoorbeeld hebben de neiging zich meer op het Anglo-Amerikaanse literaire veld te richten, maar hun aandacht lijkt zich de laatste jaren ook steeds meer op Europa te vestigen, in het bijzonder op de Scandinavische literaire velden.

In deze dissertatie worden vertalingen en vertaalstromen begrepen als de uitkomsten van een proces waarin allerlei actoren, zoals redacteuren, uitgevers, literair agenten, scouts en vertalers betrokken zijn. Deze actoren hebben specifieke posities in (trans)nationale literaire velden en (trans)nationale boekenmarkten vanwaaruit we hun positie kunnen begrijpen. Het doel van dit onderzoek was dan ook om dit proces en de vertaalstromen die daaruit voortkomen te ontvouwen en zo tot een sociologisch geïnformeerd begrip te komen van de manier waarop vertalingen tot stand komen in de praktijk. Deze analyse voegt hiermee nieuwe inzichten toe aan twee kennisdomeinen: de studie van culturele globalisering en de studie van praktijken van culturele intermediairs in transnationale culturele velden en markten.

Culturele globalisering

Het was de verwachting dat, als gevolg van een steeds intensievere transnationale uitwisseling in de culturele industrie sinds de jaren tachtig (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Kuipers, 2011), het gedeelte van de Nederlandse boekenproductie dat via vertaling tot stand komt ook zou groeien. De analyse van vertaalstromen tussen 1980 en 2009 laat echter zien dat er slechts een relatief kleine stijging is in het relatieve aandeel van vertalingen in de totale boekenproductie in fictie en poëzie. Na 2003 is er zelfs een daling van dit aandeel. Hierbij moet echter rekening gehouden worden met het feit dat al in de jaren tachtig het aandeel van vertalingen heel groot is. Dit laat zien dat de grote stijging in het aandeel vertalingen plaats moet hebben gevonden vóór de jaren tachtig (zie ook Heilbron, 1995). De verdere intensivering van de

culturele globalisering in de culturele industrie sinds de jaren tachtig heeft weinig extra gevolg gehad op de boekenindustrie. Dit laat echter wel duidelijk zien dat culturele globalisering niet tot een ongebreidelde groei van het aandeel vertalingen leidt. De analyse toont verder dat er ook geen sprake is van een steeds maar verder oprukkend cultureel imperialisme of tot een onbegrensde groei van de culturele diversiteit. De effecten van de culturele globalisering op de boekproductie is complexer.

Zoals Heilbron (1995) en Quemin (2006; 2013) al voorspelden zijn de vertaalstromen naar het Nederlands een duidelijke afspeigeling van het culturele wereldsysteem, dat ook maar weinig verandert. Het aandeel van het Engels is erg groot en deze positie is (hyper-)centraal te noemen. Het Frans en Duits volgen op grote afstand en dit blijft zo gedurende de gehele periode. Op hetzelfde moment is er toch ook een stijging waar te nemen van het aantal talen dat vertaald wordt en dat is het geval in alle genres. Binnen dat culturele wereldsysteem waarbinnen het Engels zo dominant is, is culturele diversiteit dus wel mogelijk en groeit deze ook. Echter, dit gebeurt in erg kleine aantallen. Daarmee is culturele globalisering dus een proces dat leidt tot zowel centralisatie en concentratie van de transnationale culturele productie in het Anglo-Amerikaanse literaire veld, maar ook een proces dat leidt tot een grotere diversiteit op ditzelfde transnationale niveau, doordat uit steeds meer talen naar het Nederlands toe vertaald wordt. Ook laat deze dissertatie zien dat er grote verschillen zijn tussen verschillende genres.

Als men de vertaalstromen in literaire fictie, poëzie, spannende fictie en romantische fictie met elkaar vergelijkt is het duidelijk dat er twee 'polen' zijn in het Nederlandse literaire veld. Aan de ene kant is er de literaire fictie en de poëzie, en aan de andere kant is er de spannende fictie en de romantische fictie. Binnen de spannende fictie en romantische fictie zijn vertalingen uit het Engels vele malen belangrijker dan in literaire fictie en poëzie. Deze positie van het Engels is zo sterk doordat Nederlandse uitgevers in staat zijn veel van hetzelfde type boeken in deze genres op de markt te brengen. Een uitgeverij zoals Harlequin geeft heel veel boeken uit die allemaal uit hetzelfde genre komen, de romantische fictie (zie ook Wirtén, 1998). Er worden in deze genres ook veel minder boeken uitgegeven (en waarschijnlijk ook geschreven) die oorspronkelijk in het Nederlands geschreven zijn. Blijkbaar hebben Nederlandse (aspirant) schrijvers (of uitgevers) een voorkeur voor andere genres, al is er wel een stijging te zien in het aantal Nederlandse auteurs in de spannende fictie.

Een analyse van vertaalstromen in deze vier genres door de tijd heen laat zien dat hun trajecten maar deels met elkaar in verband staan. Alleen de toenemende diversiteit is een proces dat zich over het gehele veld uitstrekt; in alle genres wordt er uit steeds meer talen vertaald. Maar dit is een uitzondering: bij andere processen,

bijvoorbeeld de ontwikkeling van vertalingen uit het Engels, spelen verschillen op het niveau van genres. Culturele globalisering vangt, als parapluconcept, dus heel verschillende processen van zowel concentratie als diversificatie, die zich op verschillende manieren afspelen binnen verschillende genres. Het is daarmee de vraag in hoeverre het begrip gebruikt kan worden om vertaalstromen naar het Nederlandse literaire veld te begrijpen.

De analyse van het Nederlandse literaire veld in hoofdstuk twee laat zien dat genres zelf niet altijd homogene subvelden zijn. Op basis van fondslijsten van Nederlandse uitgeverijen wordt geanalyseerd welke talen binnen ieder genre het vaakst met elkaar gecombineerd worden. Vervolgens wordt geanalyseerd hoe deze clusters van talen binnen ieder genre met elkaar gecombineerd worden. De analyse toont dat poëzie een heel duidelijk eigen subveld heeft in het Nederlandse literaire veld. Poëzie-uitgeverijen publiceren vooral poëzie, uit verschillende talen, en zullen niet snel een boek uit een heel ander genre publiceren (zie ook Dubois, 2006; 2013). Uitgevers van andere genres geven diverser uit.

Uitgeverijen die vooral fictie publiceren hebben fondslijsten die nu juist verschillende genres in zich combineren. Echter, de hoeveelheid talen die ze uitgeven varieert. Een groep uitgevers geeft voornamelijk boeken uit die zijn vertaald uit het Engels, in de populaire genres (spannende fictie en romantische fictie) gecombineerd met populaire literaire romans. Een andere groep uitgeverijen geeft dezelfde genres uit maar juist voornamelijk boeken geschreven in het Nederlands. Tot slot is er een groep uitgeverijen die minder exclusief gericht zijn op Engels dan wel Nederlands, maar die uit veel andere talen vertalen. Deze uitgeverijen geven vooral literaire fictie uit, gecombineerd met óf poëzie óf juist spannende fictie (die dan vaak niet uit het Engels is vertaald).

Wat dit hoofdstuk beargumenteerd is dat culturele globalisering begrepen kan worden als een proces dat leidt tot het ontstaan van hele specifieke transnationale netwerken die ontwikkeld worden door uitgevers en andere actoren en die wel of niet genre-grenzen overstijgen en die wel of niet taalgrenzen overstijgen. Daarmee leren we van deze analyse dat de ontwikkeling van vertaalstromen en vertaalnetwerken op verschillende manieren kan gebeuren en dat er daardoor verschillende subvelden ontstaan. Al deze netwerken en vertaalstromen dragen bij aan wat wij dan als culturele globalisering betitelen. Echter, door al die ontwikkelingen onder dezelfde noemer te scharen raakt de complexiteit van transnationale relaties uit zicht en wordt veronderstelt dat culturele globalisering een eenduidig proces zou zijn.

Netwerken en praktijken in transnationale velden en markten

Om inzicht te verkrijgen in de manier waarop vertaalstromen zich ontwikkelen gaat het tweede deel van deze dissertatie in op de transnationale netwerken die ontstaan zijn om het verkrijgen van vertalingen en vooral vertaalrechten te organiseren. Een analyse van de praktijken van Amerikaanse literaire scouts en Nederlandse redacteuren laat zien dat vertalingen worden georganiseerd, of ontstaan, in een gedecentraliseerd netwerk van redacteuren, uitgevers, literair agenten, scouts en soms andere actoren (zoals vertalers of critici), waarin iedereen actief is om de beste, meest passende manuscripten of gepubliceerde boeken voor de fondslijst van Nederlandse uitgeverijen, en dus ook voor de Nederlandse boekenmarkt, te selecteren.

Dit soort transnationale processen zijn geformaliseerd in handelsovereenkomsten en wetgeving die bepalen hoe vertaalrechten verhandeld kunnen worden. Op deze manier is een transnationaal literair veld ontstaan (zie ook Casanova, 2004) waarin actoren uit verschillende nationale literaire velden samenkomen. Dit transnationale literaire veld is ingebed in die nationale literaire velden maar ontstijgt het ook. In zo'n transnationaal veld zijn verschillende momenten waarop iedereen bij elkaar komt, op de boekenbeurzen van New York, Londen en vooral Frankfurt. Er zijn ook evaluatieregimes die breed gedeeld worden en esthetische repertoires die actoren van elkaar herkennen en waarin ze zich kunnen vinden. Iedereen weet bijvoorbeeld wat er bedoeld wordt als iets 'upmarket fiction' is, en hoe ze dat figuurlijk moeten terugvertalen naar hun thuismarkt. Er zijn ook specifieke beroepen die zich op dit transnationale niveau begeven en die de uitwisseling van vertaalrechten reguleren. Dit zijn vooral acquirerend redacteuren, literair agenten en literaire scouts. In de hoofdstukken drie, vier en vijf van deze dissertatie worden de vertaalnetwerken geanalyseerd, met speciale aandacht voor de dagelijkse praktijken van twee groepen actoren: de literaire scouts in New York en de Nederlandse acquirerend redacteuren.

Een manier waarop de dagelijkse praktijken van scouts en redacteuren begrepen kunnen worden is door ze te zien als pogingen om te gaan met de klassieke problemen van de culturele industrie (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Net als in andere velden van culturele productie wordt het transnationale literaire veld gekarakteriseerd door overvloed, onzekerheid en competitie. Er is een overvloed aan beschikbare nieuwe manuscripten die gepubliceerd zouden kunnen worden. Het is echter onmogelijk om van te voren te weten of te voorspellen wat de kwaliteit en commerciële potentie van deze nieuwe manuscripten is. Ook is er een grote competitie voor de 'beste' nieuwe manuscripten. Ook weet iedereen dat op de boekenmarkt maar twintig procent van de boeken kostendekkend zal blijken. De druk om de 'goede' manuscripten te kiezen is dus hoog. Deze onzekerheden en

onvoorspelbaarheden worden nog eens versterkt door de mondiale schaal waarop dit proces zich afspeelt. Men weet daardoor nog minder goed van welke kant de volgende bestseller zal komen.

Literaire scouts werken voor voornamelijk Europese uitgeverijen en verzamelen (informatie over) nieuwe manuscripten voor hun cliënten. De taak van de scout vindt plaats voorafgaand aan het selectieproces door de redacteur en de problemen van de redacteur zijn daarmee ook de problemen van de scout. Het probleem van onzekerheid is zelfs nog groter omdat manuscripten in dit stadium vaak nog niet eens klaar zijn. Ook zijn ze nog niet aangekocht door Amerikaanse uitgeverijen en natuurlijk nog niet gelezen door critici of het publiek. Daardoor is het nog moeilijker om te 'weten' welke manuscripten 'goed' zijn. Daarnaast is er voor de scouts het probleem van de snelheid van de markt, doordat de meeste belangrijke Europese uitgeverijen scouts in dienst hebben die allemaal naar grofweg dezelfde manuscripten op zoek zijn. Zodoende is er een stevige competitie tussen scouts onderling om de eerste te zijn die dat ene 'goede' manuscript in handen krijgt.

De oplossing die scouts voor dit probleem hebben gevonden is het vertrouwen op 'buzz', oftewel het 'gesprek van het moment'. Scouts volgen secuur wie er over welke manuscripten praten en krijgen zo een gevoel voor welke manuscripten aan het 'groeien' zijn en welke falen. Deze informatie spelen ze door aan hun cliënten in Europa, die dan bepalen of ze een manuscript zullen lezen of toch voor een ander manuscript kiezen.

Nederlandse acquirerend redacteuren hebben verschillende manieren om met de problemen van overdaad, onzekerheid en competitie om te gaan. De belangrijkste oplossing voor hen is het verzamelen van informatie via hun gedecentraliseerde netwerken, het vertrouwen op deze (steeds transnationalere) netwerken en op hun eigen expertise, en tot slot het accumuleren van symbolisch kapitaal in hun fondslijsten. Redacteuren verspreiden hun beslissingsmacht dus over een netwerk van actoren die ze vertrouwen. Op deze manier gebruiken ze scouts of bevriende buitenlandse redacteuren als filters in de zee van manuscripten die beschikbaar zijn. Via deze kanalen komt een select aantal manuscripten binnen waar ze vooral aandacht aan zullen besteden. Deze manuscripten worden vervolgens geëvalueerd met een combinatie van esthetische en commerciële criteria. Redacteuren volgen hierin hun eigen expertise die ze opbouwen door jarenlang heel veel slechte en goede manuscripten te lezen (zie ook Franssen, 2012). Hoofdstuk vier, geschreven met Giselinde Kuipers, laat zien dat redacteuren een reeks aan strategieën (Bielby & Bielby, 1994; Mauws, 2000) hebben om manuscripten te selecteren. Een van die strategieën is die van de 'identiteit': redacteuren vergelijken het manuscript met de boeken die ze al uitgeven en proberen zo aan te voelen of het 'past' binnen hun uitgeverij en hun fondslijst.

Deze fondslijst speelt ook een andere, cruciale rol in de dagelijkse praktijken van redacteuren. Ze gebruiken hun fondslijst om te laten zien wie ze zijn en wat hun positie is in het literaire veld. Redacteuren proberen een bepaalde coherentie op te bouwen in hun fondslijst en bouwen hiermee ook symbolisch kapitaal op. Je fondslijst laat zien wat je waard bent. Het belang van deze fondslijsten is ook duidelijk in de manier waarop Nederlandse redacteuren relaties aangaan met buitenlandse redacteuren en agenten. Op grote internationale beurzen zoals de Frankfurter Buchmesse lopen redacteuren rond met lijsten van manuscripten die ze (recent) gekocht hebben. Wanneer ze buitenlandse collega's ontmoeten kunnen ze aan de hand van elkaars lijst zien voor wat voor type uitgeverij de ander werkt en krijgen ze meteen een gevoel voor de smaak van de ander, iets wat vaak moeilijk in woorden uit te drukken is.

Nadat de vertaalrechten gekocht zijn is het tijd voor een redacteur om een boek op de markt te brengen. Hoofdstuk vijf, geschreven met Olav Velthuis, analyseert prijsstrategieën van redacteuren en de manieren waarop een bepaalde orde tot stand komt op de Nederlandse boekenmarkt. We laten zien dat redacteuren boeken prijzen alsof de materiële kenmerken van het boek (het aantal pagina's, het omslag) de productiekosten van boeken drijven, terwijl dit in werkelijkheid maar een klein deel van de kosten betreft. Echter, de redactiekosten of vertaalkosten kunnen niet doorberekend worden in de prijs omdat de consument deze niet kan 'zien', ze zijn onzichtbaar. Wat redacteuren daarom doen is die kosten via een omweg terugverdienen. Vertaalde boeken zijn gemiddeld genomen dikker en hebben vaker een harde kaft, waardoor het mogelijk is ze een hogere prijs te geven.