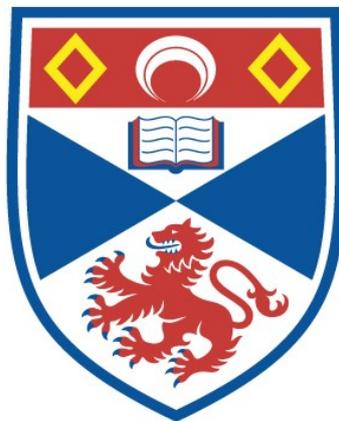


UNDERSTANDING THE PUBLISHING FIELD:  
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BOURDIEU

Elizabeth Anne Gullede

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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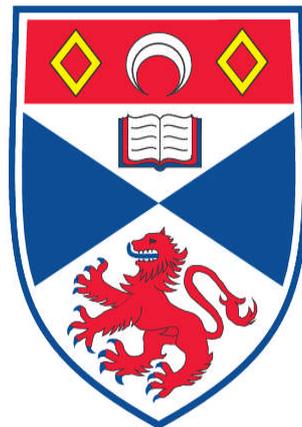
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2010

Understanding the Publishing Field:  
The Contributions of Bourdieu

By

Elizabeth Anne Gulledge

Submitted for the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Management  
at  
University of St Andrews

30 November 2010

## **DECLARATIONS**

### **1. Candidate's declarations:**

I, Elizabeth A. Gullidge, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 67,379 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 2006; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2006 and 2010.

Date 1.12.10 Signature of candidate

### **2. Supervisor's declaration:**

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## **Abstract**

In this dissertation I call into question the way the concept of 'field' is treated in neo institutional research by readdressing Pierre Bourdieu's elaboration of field. I discuss Bourdieu's framework which includes three concepts: field, capital and habitus. While Bourdieu's work has been widely incorporated into extant research, there have been few attempts to employ his concepts as a 'theoretical triad' for empirical analysis. I explore how Bourdieu's approach enriches understandings of field through an analysis of book publishing with primary reference to Scotland. I contribute to the current literature on fields by examining book publishing as a social space, structured by the distribution of capital and moderated by habitus, that operates within the confines of internally defined boundaries. The dissertation illustrates how Bourdieu's elaboration of field addresses issues of struggle, power and micro dynamics that are underexplored within the field perspective of neo institutional theory. I argue that Bourdieu's framework of field, capital and habitus is useful because it brings simultaneous attention to processes of stability in social interaction and to conflict and difference.

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## **Chapter One:**

### **Introduction**

#### **Overview**

This dissertation takes as its focus a critical examination of the concept of ‘field’ as found in neo institutional theory. Pierre Bourdieu’s elaboration of field is acknowledged as the conceptual basis of current understandings of (organizational) field within neo institutionalism (Powell, 2008; Lounsbury, 2008). However, the full extent of his theory of fields has not been incorporated into analysis (Swartz, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). I am interested to explore how Bourdieu’s approach contributes to current understanding of ‘field.’

In this dissertation I consider the development of ‘field’ within the largely Anglo-American research paradigm of neo institutional theory, in which the concept is most often referred and employed in research. Despite the recognized importance of ‘field,’ definitions remain vague and problematic (Scott, 2001). Neo institutional research continues to face the problem of conceptualizing field dynamics in a way that incorporates processes of homogeneity and heterogeneity (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008; Dacin, Goodstein & Scott, 2002) and links macro and micro levels of analysis (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). Conceptualizing and understanding field dynamics represents ‘one of the more intriguing and unresolved puzzles of institutional theory’ (Anand & Watson, 2004: 59). Research that includes empirical analysis of field construction, operation and maintenance remains an underdeveloped line of inquiry (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

The purpose of this dissertation is to unpack the concept of field through empirical research. I call into question the way the concept of ‘field’ is treated in neo institutional research by readdressing Bourdieu’s contribution to neo institutional theory. I consider Bourdieu’s

conceptual framework which includes three interrelated concepts: field, capital and habitus. Bourdieu's concepts are recognized as important and have been incorporated in research across several disciplines. However, the use of all three concepts is rarely deployed in research, particularly in organizational theory (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008; Vaughn, 2008). I explore how Bourdieu's approach enriches understandings of field through empirical analysis.

### **Book Publishing as an Empirical Research Site**

The empirical site for this examination is book publishing with primary reference to Scotland. Book publishing provides a particularly useful empirical area through which the construct of field may be considered. Book publishing is described as a world or 'microcosm' of authors, publishers, literary agents, distributors, and booksellers who share a common sense of purpose or belonging. A number of studies depict book publishing as a complex domain that includes a range of different individuals and organizations as well as social and cultural influences. In their analysis of the social organization of book publishing, Coser, Kadushin & Powell (1982) argue that book publishing is not adequately understood through the use of the terminology linked to 'industry' or in comparison to other 'industries.' Instead, they refer to 'publishing worlds,' a network of individuals and organizations including writers, literary agents, editors, book reviewers, distributors and booksellers, all who 'influence the making and selling of books' (Coser, et al., 1985: 4). They illustrate how a published book is the product of a chain of many individual decisions made by a range of different people interconnected within publishing. They examine publishing as a sphere of collective activity in which actions and interactions are collaborative.

In a more recent analysis of book publishing, Thompson (2005) argues that the generic understanding of book publishing as ‘an industry’ is limiting as well. He puts forth the concept of a ‘publishing chain’ to depict the collective activity of book publishing. The ‘publishing chain’ refers to a series of independent but interconnected individuals and organizations involved in the creation, production, distribution and selling of books; ‘a chain in which the publisher is one particular link, and where each link in the chain seeks to provide a specific range of functions or services which are valued by others’ (Thompson 2005: 16). These functions include creation and development of content, design of the book and jacket, printing, warehousing, sales and marketing, distribution and sales. This is complicated by the interplay between individuals and organizations at different points in the chain.

A number of recent changes in book publishing have drawn attention to competing understandings and valuations of books and how to go about creating, publishing and selling them (Schriffin, 2005). These changes include economic concentration through mergers and acquisition, the growth of large conglomerate book store chains and the end of price retail maintenance of books (in the UK). Some who work within the field describe developments as compromising the ‘cultural endeavor’ of book publishing (Epstein, 2001).

Both Thompson (2005) and Coser et. al., describe tensions between commerce and culture in their analyses of book publishing. Thompson’s (2005) documents a ‘clash of world views’ in a number of different cases in his study of academic publishing organisations. He writes (2005: 138),

book publishing – including academic publishing – has always been about both ideas and markets, culture and commerce, but the decline of the scholarly monographs over the last two to three decades has forced most academic publishing firms to grapple with the question of markets in ways that they were not accustomed to doing in the past, and this has the given rise to tension, anxiety and conflict at the very heart of the firm.

Similarly Coser et al. (1982) acknowledge tensions as tied to culture and commerce as enduring dimension of book publishing. They assert that book publishing is,

...perilously poised between the requirements and restraints of commerce and the responsibilities and obligations that it must bear as a prime guardian of the symbolic culture of the nation. Although the tensions between the claims of commerce and culture seem to us always to have been with book publishing, they have become more acute and salient in the last twenty years. (Coser et al., 1982: 7)

Coser et al. (1982) indicate that the tension between publishing as a cultural and commercial endeavor is moderated by the social dynamics of a collective group of actors, from authors to large corporations, who influence the production, sale and distribution of books. These accounts of book publishing as a complex and varied domain recommend book publishing as a useful entry point through which to empirically and theoretically investigate the concept of 'field.'

### **Research Aims, Questions, and Outline**

My research project is exploration in theory using Bourdieu<sup>1</sup>, with book publishing as the empirical research site. I ask, how does Bourdieu's understanding of field enrich understandings of 'field' within neo institutional theory? And what does such an analysis bring to the understanding of book publishing? My aim is to consider how Bourdieu's conceptual framework is useful in examining how those working in publishing construct their work and how they understand their role within publishing.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bourdieu has written widely on a range of subjects. He was primarily concerned to overcome what he saw as objectivist and subjectivist interpretations of social theory and his outline of a theory of practice was an attempt to overcome this. He was very concerned with illustrating the actions of class, particularly class based inequalities of access and appreciation of cultural reproduction. His oeuvre is how 'systems of domination persist and reproduce themselves without conscious recognition by a society's members' (DiMaggio, 1979: 1461). My concern is not to cover Bourdieu's work as a whole. I explore how it enriches a field approach but its full panoply not covered.

In the next chapter, Chapter Two, I review field definitions and their theoretical foundations. I identify limitations in how the concept of field is conceptualized and operationalized in neo institutional theory. I discuss the arguments that call for bringing Bourdieu back into analysis. In Chapter Three I identify and discuss Bourdieu's theoretical framework of field, capital and habitus. I also review Bourdieu's work on cultural and symbolic object useful for empirical analysis of book publishing. In Chapter Four I discuss how Bourdieu's approach entails a methodology for constructing the object of study. I consider Bourdieu's methods for relational analysis and discuss how his concepts may be understood as thinking tools. I show how I employed Bourdieu's methods in a description of the research process.

In Chapter Five, I consider the evolution of book publishing and describe the structural features of the field- its genesis, structure and operation. This provides necessary background information for subsequent analysis. In Chapter Six I analyze book publishing as a field and outline a number of the positions in publishing and explore how these positions maybe understood in terms cultural and economic capital and moderated by habitus. This chapter presents a synchronic view of the field through an analysis of positions, capital and habitus. In the following chapter, Chapter Seven, I take a diachronic view, showing how the concepts of field, capital and habitus work together to render an understanding of dynamics that constitute the field. I use Bourdieu's interrelated concepts to make sense of efforts to support 'Scottish publishing,' a theme that became apparent during the research process. These efforts exhibit attempts to construct boundaries around symbolic capital and reveal dynamics of power relations in book publishing. Finally, in the conclusion, Chapter Eight, I discuss how Bourdieu's approach helps incorporate both processes of homogeneity and heterogeneity in analysis. I illustrate how Bourdieu's approach brings simultaneous attention to processes

of stability in social interaction as well as to conflict and difference. I propose avenues for future research.

## **Chapter Two:**

### **The Field Perspective in Neo Institutional Theory**

In the last chapter I provided a brief introduction to motivations for this research and identified the concept of ‘field’ as useful for an analysis of book publishing. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the treatment of fields in the neo institutional literature. Following, I review developments in neo institutional theory with a focus on how ‘organizational field’ has been conceptualized and employed in empirical research. I identify the key tenets of the field perspective within neo institutional theory, points of consensus and disagreement and the main contributions of this approach. I discuss a number of limitations in the literature, specifically the treatment of micro dynamics, struggle and power. I then discuss the origins and influence of Bourdieu’s understanding of field and review arguments for bringing Bourdieu’s work back into neo institutional and organizational analysis.

#### **Neo Institutional Theory and Organisational Fields**

I focus on what has been referred to as neo institutional theory. The line of work that emerges from the seminal works of DiMaggio & Powell (1983), Meyer & Rowan (1977) and Zucker (1977) examines the influence of societal and cultural environments. I briefly discuss the conceptual foundations of neo institutionalism from which the most recent iterations of ‘field’ developed.

Neo-institutional theory emerged in reaction to rational choice and the neglect of social context. DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 2) assert that neo-institutional theory,

attempts to provide fresh answers to old questions about how social choices are shaped, mediated and channelled by institutional arrangements... and a turn to cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual

units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives.

Neo institutionalism breaks from the view of formal organization as the rational pursuit of goals to that which considers how organizations respond to institutions, understood as enduring rules, beliefs and conventions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Neo institutionalists share the view that individual and organizational actors interpret and follow institutions from wider societal frameworks (DiMaggio, 1988; Zucker, 1988).

Neo institutionalism is considered part of the 'cognitive revolution.' Scott (1994) suggests that neo institutionalism places more emphasis on the role of cognitive factors in contrast to earlier institutionalists whose emphasis was on normative elements. Institutionalization is considered a cognitive process in which routine, taken for granted, unreflexive rules become normative obligations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Institutions are understood as shared values, norms, cognitive frames, symbols, myths (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Institutionalization is a condition in which shared cognition determines meanings and possible behaviour (Zucker, 1977). Meyer & Rowan (1977: 10) associate institutions with 'cultural rules giving collective meaning and value to particular entities and activities, integrating them into the larger schemes.'

The underlying emphasis is that these broader rules and symbolic systems are 'ideas or values in the heads of organizational actors' (Scott, 2001: 79). As DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 27) assert,

Indeed, it is an emphasis on such standardized cultural forms as accounts, typifications, and cognitive models that leads neoinstitutionalists to find the environment at the level of industries, professions and nation-states rather than in the local communities that the old institutionalist studies, and to view institutionalization as the diffusion of standard rules and structure rather than the adaptive custom-fitting of particular organizations to specific situations.

The strength of the neo institutional perspective is the ability to integrate complexity through a consideration of the broader set of relations in which organizations are embedded. Critical to this endeavor is the concept of 'field' that emerged as a 'critical unit bridging the organizational and societal levels' (DiMaggio, 1986: 337).

The signature element of a field approach in new institutionalism has been the insight that organizations operate amidst both competitive and cooperative exchanges with other organizations. DiMaggio & Powell (1983:148) offer the definition most often referred to in studies. They define an 'organizational field' as

those organizations which, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resources, and product consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that produce similar services or products' organizations that constitute a recognized area of institutional life, which includes all organizations that produce a similar service or products.

The 'field' concept is useful because it broadens the scope and significance of the 'institutional environment' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and includes the wide range of actors, such as foundations, community groups, and professional associations. The concept of 'organizational field' is distinguished from other traditional concepts in organizational theory such as industry sectors or organizational sets by including a broader range of organizational actors. Scott (2001: 58) describes the concept of field as,

building on the more conventional concept of industry- a population of organizations operating in the same domain as indicated by the similarity of their service of products- but adds to this focal population those other and different organizations that critically influence their performance.

However, the conceptualization of 'field' extends beyond a list of organizational actors. The construct evolved from the aim to include in analysis social, political and cultural influences (Scott, 2001) with a particular emphasis on the cognitive. For example, extending DiMaggio & Powell's (1991) definition of fields as a totality of actors, Scott (1994) argues that fields

are a social construction and are a product of shared meaning systems. Drawing on previous research on cognitive communities (Porac & Thomas, 1994) and interpretative schemes (Ranson, Hinings & Greenwood, 1980), Scott's approach emphasizes fields as cognitive structures in which mutual belief systems define the boundaries.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Scott (1995), and Scott & Meyer (1994) acknowledge the 'field' as the central focus of analysis in neo institutional theory. However, original conceptualizations of the construct have given way to a line of research that has adopted, interpreted and expanded the 'field' concept in a number of different, often contradictory ways. Zucker (1987: 443) acknowledges both the influence and ambiguity associated with neo institutionalism in the following, 'the richness and profusion of contributions from an institutionalist perspective cannot be denied. This often comes with complexities, apparent contradictions and stunning differences between separate stands of neo institutional research.' Neo institutional analysis has been the subject of criticism for the vague and disparate use of the field concept and the wide range of methods that claim to be part of this approach.

While there is tremendous breadth in understandings of field within neo institutional theory, the common denominator is to understand the complex mechanisms by which institutional arrangements guide individual and organization action. Following I review and discuss research in terms of two broad aims to which the concept of field has been used; to understand homogeneity and heterogeneity among individuals and organizations. Discussion along these two themes reveals points of contention and consensuses in conceptualizations of field within the literature. The next section is not intended to be an exhaustive review of neo institutional theory but to consider specifically how the concept of field is understood and

employed, the assumptions and understandings that underpin field approaches and the strengths and weaknesses.

### *Understanding Homogeneity*

The focus of initial organizational field research was to understand the processes that guide the behaviour of field members in unconscious ways (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). Research sought to understand how taken-for-granted assumptions limit possible courses of action. Institutions and institutionalization are understood as processes of convergence in which shared understandings of appropriate and legitimate activities guide the direction of action. Institutions specify the ideas and behaviours that are considered acceptable in a situation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Scott, 1983; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Within the neo-institutional framework, institutional rules function as myths that are adopted as a means of maintaining legitimacy and ‘ceremonial conformity’ (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

For DiMaggio & Powell (1983) the ‘field’ develops and ‘aligns’ through an increase in interaction and mutual awareness among participants involved in a common enterprise through isomorphism. Isomorphism refers to the process by which organizations become similar to each other in form and practice. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) refer to three isomorphic process; coercive (formal or informal pressures by the government or other organizations), mimetic (uncertainly which leads to adoption of models and practices from other organizations) and normative (standard and cognitive frameworks that are controlled by other professions). A related elaboration on how institutions are understood as mechanisms of conformity and constraint is described by Scott (1994: 64),

institutions are symbolic and behavioural systems containing representational constitutive and normative rules together with regulatory mechanism that define a common meaning system and give rise to distinctive actors and action routines.

Scott (1995) offers three pillars of institutions (regulative, normative and cognitive) as a way of clarifying how institutions give rise to homogeneity. He asserts that the regulative or legal pillar guides organizational behaviour through coercive means. The normative pillar refers to rules and standards largely due to social obligation and professionalization. Organizational actors conform to rules developed through trade associations and universities. Here normative rules 'confer rights as well as responsibilities, privileges as well as duties, and licenses as well as mandates' (Scott, 1995: 39). The cognitive pillar refers to cultural frameworks that provide the lens through which meaning is developed and creates criteria for legitimacy. Organizations within fields are seen as guided by these pillars that provide stability and collective meaning.

Legitimacy occupies an important place in neo institutional explanations of homogeneity within fields. Suchman (1995: 574) defines legitimacy as a 'generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within a socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions.' Legitimacy is understood as a perception and as socially constructed. That is, 'legitimacy reflects a congruence between the behaviours of the legitimated entity and the shared belief of some social group (Suchmann, 1995: 574). Much of the research on organization fields proceeded from the premise that organizations sought survival through legitimacy in contrast to efficiency (Orru, Biggart & Hamilton, 1991).

The construct of organizational field and processes of institutionalization draw on Berger and Luckman's (1967) social construction of reality. Institutions serve as a resource for

individuals in their daily lives and represent a ‘reciprocal typification of habitualised action’ (Berger and Luckman, 1967: 54). Institutions are defined as a ‘social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property.’ Institutionalisation is the ‘process of such attainment’ (Jepperson, 1991: 145). The essence of an institution’s power is in the extent to which it is taken for granted. Institutionalisation, as Zucker (1991:85) suggests, can be viewed as both a process and a property, ‘it is the process by which individual actors transmit what is socially defined as real, and at the same time, at any point in the process the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less a taken for granted part of this social reality.’

Institutional accounts of fields tend to rely on Giddens’ (1986) theory of structuration to describe the process of gradual homogeneity, in which behaviour and interaction over times gives way to a social negotiated consensus that constitutes field reproduction (Greenwood, Sudday & Hinings, 2002). Structuration theory sees social practice as produced by structure and structure produced by routines and practices (Seo & Creed, 2002). The structuration of organizational fields is understood as prior to the institutional isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio, 1991). As DiMaggio and Powell (1991: 65) describes in the following,

The process of institutional definition, or ‘structuration,’ consists of four parts: an increase in the extent of interaction among organizations in the field; the emergence of sharply defined interorganizational structures of domination and patterns of coalition; an increase in the information load which organizations in a field must contend; and the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organization that they are involved in a common enterprise.

From this understanding of fields, rules become institutionalized through action over time and beliefs become legitimate and typical as reciprocated within a network of actors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Rules that structure social practices are both constraining and enabling (Giddens, 1984). This conceptual understanding of field structural processes led to research that focus on homogeneity of organizational forms and practices.

Understandings of fields assumed that institutions, once formed, would remain stable unless other interested actors mobilized to change them (DiMaggio, 1988). This research depicted fields as relatively stable, with 'institutions' treated as independent variable to explain patterns of diffusion across organizations and the consequences of adoption for organizational survival. The organizational field is conceived as predominately static and formed around industries, or networks (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002). Such studies formed one of the foundational points of neo institutional theory that, 'organizational fields provide a context in which individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture and output' (DiMaggio and Powell 1983:147).

Following, these tenets of the initial 'organizational field' approach (isomorphism, legitimacy, structuration), empirical research almost exclusively emphasized homogeneity in organizational fields by showing how practices spread (Lounsbury, 2007). As Wooten & Hoffman (2008: 8) describe 'fields were conceptualized as organized around a dominant model; effects modelled in the dichotomous terms of adoption or failure to adopt.' Throughout this stream of research, the overarching emphasis on similarity remained a constant. The imagery of processes of field level institutionalization and structuration depict fields as constraining and deterministic (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Fields are viewed as narrowing interests and choices (Ventresca & Washington, 1998). As Lounsbury (2007: 350) argues, 'while this research contributed a good deal to our understanding of institutional dynamics, there is now a somewhat anachronistic understanding of institutional analysis and fields as the study of institutionalization via isomorphism which remains pervasive and limits explanatory potential.'

This emphasis and understanding of homogeneity within fields is a subject of criticism (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Ventresca & Washington, 1998). The idea that homogenizing pressures exert similar influences throughout an organizational field has been questioned by many. A number of questions are raised in response such as: Where do rational myths come from? And What are the primary sources of legitimacy? (Powell, 2007). In developing more refined analysis of field dynamics research began to consider heterogeneity in fields.

### *Understanding Heterogeneity*

A line of research developed that began to consider complexities and variety of organizational responses instead of thinking of organizations in fields as subject to a common set of pressures and acting in a relatively homogeneous manner. For example, Dobbin's (1995) study of the railroads shows how actors think, meet, argue, make claims, conduct studies, tell stories, and generate discursive output in developing regulative policy. In a study of hospitals providing inpatient psychiatric care, Schlesinger (1998) finds that increases in institutional pressures from regulation or professionalization increase differences across public, for-profit, and private nonprofit providers. This research directs attention to differences between actors and attention. These studies are referenced to as early examples of efforts to conceptualize and understand the fragmented character of fields and heterogeneity in analysis.

Following a growing recognition that fields are populated by multiple and competing models instigated a reevaluation of how fields are understood and employed in research. The view that fields gave way to stability began to be recognized as misleading (Greenwood et al, 2002). Acknowledging heterogeneity moved analysis toward understanding fields as dynamic. This moved the construct beyond an 'over socialized depiction' of organizations as

recipients of field level homogeneity (Delbridge & Edwards, 2007). Proceeding from an interest in understanding heterogeneity scholars began to define the concept of ‘field’ as evolving and not static (Hoffman, 1999; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996).

Hoffman (1999: 4) argued that ‘the field should be thought of as the center of common channels of dialogue and discussion ... which brings together various field constituents with disparate purposes.’ In addition, he added that that fields should be seen as contested centres of debate, where competing interests negotiate the interpretation of what they each consider as key issues. He proposed that fields resemble ‘institutional war’ (Hoffman, 1999: 352). The process by which a field comes together takes place over four stages: an increase in the amount of interaction among organizations; the emergence of patterns of hierarchy and coalition; an increase in the information load; and the development of mutual awareness among participants that they are involved in a common enterprise (Hoffman, 1999). A number of studies document how fields revolve around a central ‘issue’ such as recycling (Hoffman, 1999) and HIV/AIDS treatment (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004). These understandings of field place emphasis on changing dynamics and conflict.

Other efforts to understand heterogeneity built on DiMaggio’s (1991) study of art museums. DiMaggio (1991) demonstrates the utility of a field approach. His historical analysis charts how two opposing understandings of role of the museum, as either ‘high art’ or art that is to be made accessible ‘for the masses’, influenced identity and functioning. DiMaggio’s analysis draws attention to the political factors involved in the struggle over the role of art museums, illustrating how ideas about art museums were constructed by the funding bodies. The Carnegie Corporation, for example, was able to influence the form and functioning of museums through the types of projects it funded. Similarly, the American Association of

Museums spread national norms later adopted by members within local museums. These philanthropic agencies and professional organizations influenced the emergence of the 'educational museum' (DiMaggio 1991). This study illustrated the importance of introducing conflict into analysis. As DiMaggio (1991: 262) argues, 'the focus on conformity provides a one sided version that emphasises taken for granted, nondirected, nonconflictual evolution at the expense of intentional, directive and conflict-laden processes.'

### Change

Tied to an interest in conflictual and dynamic processes in fields was attention to institutional change. Research began to address how changes in rules, normative systems, and cognitive beliefs reshape organizational fields. This marked a move from the focus on the dynamics of homogeneity and persistence to dynamics of change (Dacin et al. 2002). The concept of institutional logic has been important to research efforts to identify and explain institutional change (Edwards & Delbridge, 2007). Institutional logics are defined as belief systems that guide actions in a field (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott, 2001). Friedland & Alford (1991:39) define logics as 'symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defined and technically and materially constrained.' Thornton & Ocasio (1999) build on Friedland and Alford's depiction of logics that integrates structural, normative, and symbolic dimensions. They argue that logics link individual agency and cognition with socially constructed institutional practices. Institutional logics are 'the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality' (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 101).

Various definitions of institutional logics evolved through different empirical works, and despite differences, they all share a ‘meta-theory on how institutions, through their underlying actions, shape heterogeneity, stability and change in individuals and organisations’ (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 103). For example in Thornton’s (2002) analysis of the higher education book publishing industry, she argues that during the period under investigation, book publishing transitioned from a dominant ‘editorial logic’ to a ‘market logic.’ Under an ‘editorial logic,’ publishing had an identity as a profession, and its legitimacy was based on the intellectual reputation and networks of its owner-editor. In the 1970s, publishing transformed into market capitalism with a CEO form of leadership, guided by a ‘market logic’ publishing strategy which was based on market position, acquisition growth and increased profits. This research breaks away from the assumption that the evolution of fields involves a single, overriding model or myth. This approach allows an investigation of how fields shape organization-level processes and outcomes in different time periods.

These studies indicate that different higher-order institutional effects or institutional logics shift. This helps overcome the problem of viewing field as only structuring homogeneity (Powell 1991; Fligstein 2001). However, in this research the concept of field tends to be treated as only ‘a level’ of analysis which differs significantly for fields as metaphors of social space. Another line of research builds on the concept of institutional logics that change over time by considering in further detail how fields subject organizations to different, multiple logics.

### Conflict

The recognition that multiple institutional logics simultaneously exist marks an important line of demarcation within institutional theory. The concept of logic implies that there is variation in fields (Greenwood et al., 2008). Much of the work that incorporates an institutional logic

perspective examines processes of conflict. The literature on institutional conflict builds on Friedland and Alfred (1991) emphasis on the existence of several competing institutional logics in society at any given point of time. The focus of studies is on how actors rationalize conflicting views and how they choose possible responses. The underlying assumption in this work is that institutional conflict is implicit in most complex societies (Greenwood et al., 2008).

This work challenges the institutional emphasis on isomorphism and similarity through analysis conflict brought about by the coexistence of multiple logics. Reay & Hinings (2005) illustrate how an uneasy truce was achieved between an old dominant logic of medial professionalism and the new business-like healthcare logic in the study of the Alberta health care system. Thornton, Jones & Jury (2005) document unresolved tension between aesthetic and efficiency logics in architecture, accounting and book publishing. Kitchner (1999) found the emergence of a hybrid logic in UK healthcare. Lounsbury (2007) extends this approach in his study that found contending logics lead to variation in practices and behaviour of different sets of actors. He illustrates how the mutual fund industry in Boston tended to focus on conservative, long term investing while funds in New York concentrated more on active money management strategies. By focusing on how fields are comprised of multiple logics, these studies provide examples of how institutional analysis takes into account variation and dynamics of practice.

This attention to the emergence of competing mind sets and logics and how contention develops within a field was illustrated in several other studies. This is exemplified in Rao, Monin & Durand's (2003) analysis of French cuisine. They document the decline of the classic cuisine and the growth of a nouvelle cuisine. They illustrate how changes in cooking

and redefinitions of French cuisine are linked to broader social transformations and contention. In another example, Suddaby & Greenwood (2005) consider rhetoric at public commission hearings and chart discussions over the appropriateness of combining the accounting and legal professions. In their analysis they capture debate, conflict and contest between competing professional logics. A number of other studies, follow this line of inquiry by using in-depth, qualitative-historical to analyze debate, and contestation providing insight into heterogeneity within fields (Scott et al. 2000; Greenwood, Hinings, & Cooper 2007). An important focus in these studies is how individuals respond, make sense of and negotiate coexisting and contradictory logics.

Several other studies analyze how actors respond to multiple, contradictory institutional logics. In her case study of a Rape Crisis Center in Israel, Zilber (2002) develops a field level approach to investigate the co-evolutionary dynamics of logics, actors, practices and governance structures. Zilber (2002: 245) contends that institutional environments are characterized by various institutions that exhibit ‘diverse rationalities of shared practices.’ She found that meanings attributed to practices and structures were in dispute. The founding practices were based on feminist assumptions, but were maintained and reinterpreted from the alternative perspective of therapeutic professionalism. Her work demonstrates that organizations can experience a shift in underlying meaning systems without change in overt structure. The study highlights the role of internal dynamics in change, and recognizes the importance of individual interpretation and negotiation of institutional contradiction. Townley’s work also treats the struggle and conflict tied to different logics as the centrepiece of analysis. In the case study of changes in Alberta cultural organisations, Townley (2002) used Weber’s framework of rationality to illustrate the competing rationalities that exist in the context of institutional change between the cultural and economic. This strand of empirical research illustrates how the coexistence of contradictory logics brings about a

process of contestation and compromise. The works of both Townley (2002) and Zilber (2002) are different from other studies within neo institutional theory that employ the concept of 'logics,' in that they bring to the forefront individual interpretation, response, and negotiation of tensions and conflicting meanings. Unlike other studies, their use of the concept of logic does not 'obscure' or neglect the account of individuals and micro processes.

### Agency

Other studies consider how multiple logics open up space for agency (D'Aunno, et.al., 1991; Scott, 1991). This work looks into the way actors navigate multiple logics in a field. Here logics are seen as resources that can be drawn and selectively deployed. Fine (1996) observes how cooks selectively drew on logics of profession, art, business and labor to make sense of themselves as workers and guide their interaction with others. D'Aunno et al.'s (1991) study examines hybrid organizational treatment units. As a result of the diversification of mental health centers into drug abuse treatment a shift took place from an environment that represented relatively consistent demands to a fragmented environment that presented conflicting demands. They illustrate how these hybrid treatment units combined hiring practices from both environments, but adopt conflicting goals for client treatment and inconsistent treatment practices. They found that two logics, drug treatment and mental health treatment, did not merge, resulting in a hybrid organizational form in which the individual firm could adopt the logic deemed most relevant.

Work on institutional entrepreneurship also documents situations in which field level conflict and contradiction open up space for action (Seo & Creed, 2002; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Accounts of institutional entrepreneurship highlight the possibility for multiple orientations in fields (Delbridge & Edwards, 2007). This approach considers situations of institutional

conflict, in which institutional entrepreneurs are seen as shaping and creating new alternatives (Rao et al., 2005; DiMaggio, 1998). In Greenwood & Suddaby's (2006) study they illustrate how discursive resources are used to negotiate institutional contradiction. In another example Djelic & Quack (2003) show how institutional entrepreneurs emerge and forge transnational institutions for trade in their investigation of globalization and conflict in institutional forms. This body of literature emphasizes the space for agency that is created by conflicting logics.

### Power

Other approaches to fields emphasize the role of political processes involved in institutional contradiction. Fligstein (1996) shows how institutional conflict elicits a political process with variables such as social skills that contribute to an endgame. He (1999, 2001) introduces the concept of social skills, which he defines as creating, contesting and reproducing rules for interaction in favor of interests. Fligstein (1991, 1999, 2001) conceptualizes a field as involving rules embedded in power relations between groups, and cognitive structures which function as cultural frames. He argues that these elements set the possible courses for action. This understanding of organizational fields view organizations as in possession of social skills and resources necessary to influence the rules of interaction which is a reflection of their position in the social structure of the field. Similar to Fligstein's understanding of field as a dynamic entity, is Brint and Karabel's (1991) argument that fields are arenas of power. The difference and range of interests in the debate on issues constitutes a field's emergence and evolution. Both of these understandings of field views fields as political arenas.

The literature on institutional entrepreneurship has also re opened debates on the role of power (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). For example, Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (2000)

examine competing logics in an environment in which firms collaborate. They illustrate how power plays a role in the way firms resolve conflict and showed how actors who had leverage were able to influence the resolution of conflict between competing logics. Other studies indicate that power played a key role in the outcome of institutional conflicts such as Haverman and Rao (1997) study that builds on Fligstein's approach to fields. They show that in the event of conflict between sets of rules, those with the most support will be privileged. They illustrate how institutional views backed by powerful entities gain acceptance when multiple views are in contest. Djelic & Quack (2003) similarly found that when competing institutions and logics collide in the global arena, the logics backed by more powerful actors are adopted.

### **Limitations in Neo-Institutional Theory**

The preceding review of neo institutional theory in terms of the attention to heterogeneity and homogeneity in fields demonstrates the breadth of the neo institutional field perspective. Different conceptualization of field include understanding fields as a totality of relevant actors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) as constituted by shared meaning systems (Scott 2001) as centers of debate (Hoffman, 1999), as arenas of power and conflict (Brint & Karabel, 1991) and as spheres of disputed interests (Fligstein, 1991). The diversity of definitions of fields reveals important fault lines within new institutional research. As Wooten & Hoffman (2008: 4) argue, 'early work on organizational fields reflected an assumption that fields may be treated as 'entities' or systems in a way that has led to a preponderance of overly structural and contingent accounts.' In contrast efforts to understand change, conflict, agency and power largely through the institutional logics and institutional entrepreneurship literature, emphasize the notion of a field as a space in which actors negotiate and respond to conflicting norms and values. However, Edwards and Delbridge (2007:202) argue that, 'this literature

has tended to concentrate attention on one aspect of field level development and change to the detriment of a more holistic understanding of the inter-relationships between key dimensions.’ In the following I identify issues related to micro dynamics, struggle and power that have only been partially addressed in efforts to address perceived failings in the treatment of fields in earlier studies.

### *Micro dynamics*

There is a need to consider how field level processes impact micro level dynamics following the assumption that individuals and organizations are not necessarily trapped in an ‘iron cage’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Scott (1994: 60) argues that,

although the focus of institutional theory is on symbols and meanings and rules...it is essential that we do not lose sight of the human agents that are creating and applying these symbols, interpreting these meanings, and formulations, conforming to, disobeying, and modifying these rules.

While several studies, particularly those on competing logics and institutional entrepreneurship, accentuate the role of actors in actively maintaining, creating, interpreting and altering institutional rules and norms, the dominant approach has been to treat fields as systems that have objective features (Wedlin, 2006). A number of studies observe how institutional logics may coexist, compete. However this tends to render broad, generalist accounts of field dynamics. These studies also begin with pre-defined logics, rules and practices and impose them on a ‘field’ such that agents of the field are ‘analytically removed from the more active struggles over meaning and resources’ (Lounsbury, Ventresca & Hirsch 2003; 72).

Understandings of ‘field’ tend to take a ‘top down’ approach emphasizing the role of institutions as setting relevant field boundaries. The challenge for neo institutionalist research

is a lack of empirical work at the micro level of fields that attempt to investigate ‘the knowledgeable, creative and practical work of individual and collective actors aimed at creating, maintaining and transforming institutions’ (Wedlin, 2006: 219; Lawrence, 1999). As Powell and Colyvas (2008: 277) reiterate

Analysis conflates macro factors and reinforce stability and homogeneity while associating micro factors with entrepreneurship and agency. But individuals also play a powerful role in maintaining the social order...we need a richer understanding of how individuals locate themselves in social relations and interpret their context..the development of a micro level explanations will give more depth to accounts of macro level events and relationships.

Underpinning much work on fields is the view that fields consist of key structural variables: recognizable boundaries, institutional logics, governance structures and structuration processes.

One of the main critiques of employing fields as an analytic concept is that the boundaries of a field and which organisations or actors are included are determined a priori by emphasising only patterns of interaction and exchange (Czarniakwska & Sevon, 1996; Greenwood et al. 2008). The concept of ‘boundaries’ limits the field to a recognized set of organizations engaged in a similar function or in related endeavours that together shape field activity and definitions (Wedlin, 2006). Studies are pre-selective as to who should belong to the object of study. Neo-institutional scholars include organisations in a field if they ‘take each other into account’ or display ‘similar characteristics and relationships’ (Scott, 1994: 206). Following this definition, many studies draw arbitrary boundaries for analysis. The lines of demarcation that set the boundaries of a field are central to an understanding of how a field operates, how it is constituted and how it may be understood as changing (Suddaby et. al, 2007). At the core of what constitutes a field are questions of what belongs, who is in and who is out, what is centre and what is periphery, and most importantly, what is at stake? (Oakes et al., 1998;

Wedlin, 2006). Within institutional theory, the issue of boundaries in relation to the concept of institutional fields has not been fully explored (Dacin et. al., 2002).

To address this issue, Anand & Watson (2004: 78) encourage theorists to revisit the argument that ‘fields are cognitively constituted in the minds of field participants.’ Social processes must be understood as located in the behavior of individual and in their perception of themselves and others (Zucker, 1987). While Zucker (1987) argues that the notion that social structures exist only in the minds of people is acknowledged in neo institutional account, the ‘the cognitive, interactional micro foundations of institutions has been neglected by field research’ (Holm 1995: 417). As a result neo institutional theory has left a ‘black box’ understanding of the ‘process by which institutionalization and legitimacy’ occur (Zucker, 1977: 40).

There has been a call for reformulating neo institutional theory by re-introducing the social interpretive dimension to analysis, ‘in ways that do not posit actors and organizations in situations of passivity and subject to the environment that structures choice’ (Scott, 1994: 32; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). There is a need to move away from exclusively focusing on actors, their entries and exits from fields, and attending to the transformation of fields as reified entities (Delbridge & Edwards, 2007, Wedlin, 2006). Instead research should attend to relationships and interaction between exists actors with a focus on the micro process of their construction through an investigation of how agents understand the field (Anand & Peterson, 2008). In this way, we may better understand field dynamics and a field definition that are ‘real and consequential to its constituents’ (Anand & Watson, 2004: 78).

### *Struggle and Power*

There is also a need to look closer at the struggles and contestation inherent to fields. This is tied to problems with how to analytically consider the state of a field. Much of the literature in new institutional theory examines patterns of institutional change affecting a field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Powell, 1991). Change is often portrayed as precipitated by ‘external shocks’ (Fligstein, 1991) coming from macroeconomic conditions, disrupting an otherwise stable field. As Delbridge & Edwards (2007) argue, this approach assumes fields to be stable and change only exogenous. While some attention has been directed toward logics, agency, and institutional entrepreneurship studies of institutional change at field level are focused on situations where institutional change was wholesale and precipitated by ‘moves from one dominant institutional logic to another’ (Reay & Hinings, 2005; 351). This reflects an assumption that fields move in a linear fashion from stability to crisis. A number of empirical studies illustrate how fields are in a constant state of flux (Oakes et al., 1997) and evolving (Hoffman, 1999). Fields are seen in some cases as ongoing, constant and evolutionary (Greenwood et al., 2002). However, there have been few studies that consider the outcomes of internally driven contestation. There is a need to move beyond a treatment of fields as variables, but instead as an outcome of social relations (Delbridge & Edwards, 2004).

Despite the early contribution of Friedland & Alford (1991) who emphasised potentially contradictory inter-institutional systems, and the literature on conflicting institutional logics and institutional entrepreneurs, the processes of contestation and struggle has not been fully explored. As Delbridge & Edwards (2007: 200) write,

accounts of field-level processes have tended to understate the relational and often negotiated aspects of field reproduction. The interactional effects between field boundaries, institutional logics and power relations which inform the complexity of field-level processes present a new frontier in theoretical development.

There is a need for an approach that more fully examines issues of struggle. Ongoing struggles over meaning and frames, as tied to issues of power and control, are part of what defines and constitutes a field (Oakes et al., 1998; Wedlin, 2006). There is a need to 'place interests and power on the institutional agenda' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991: 217). While there have been various attempts to broaden the concept of fields to emphasise the conflicts and power relations between actors (Brint & Karabel, 1991; Hoffman, 1999; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), the micro dynamics of this are lost in the analysis.

The main criticism levied against neo institutional theory is a failure to consider power and politics in institutional accounts. DiMaggio & Powell (1991:30) state 'power and interests have been slighted topics in institutional analysis.' Several scholars believe that 'something has been lost in the shift from the old to the new institutionalism' (DiMaggio & Powell 1991:30). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) identify old institutionalism as representing issues of influence, coalitions, and competing values as central, along with power and informal structures. By contrast, the new institutionalism is more concerned with legitimacy, the embeddedness of organizations and the centrality of classification, routines, scripts and scheme at the expense of Selznick's (1949) focus on the exercise of power in institutional analysis.

A number of scholars reviewing neo institutional theory through the lens of critical theory argue that DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) research framework leads to research that overlook power because scholars focus on mimetic isomorphism, neglecting coercive and normative elements (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips, 2006). While there has been some attempt to consider the relationship between power and institutions this has not permeated field understandings in the institutional literature (Lawrence, 2008).

## **Bringing Bourdieu Back In**

There has been a call within the institutional literature to return to the European scholars who inspired early understandings of institutional theory, in order to show how institutional theory could overcome simplified notions of homogeneity and instead develop better explanations of heterogeneity and variation (Greenwood et al, 2008). It is acknowledged in the literature that DiMaggio & Powell (1983) built on Bourdieu's notion of field in developing their idea of 'organisational field' within neo institutional theory (Oakes et al., 1998, Lounsbury 2007, Wedlin 2006). However, Bourdieu's influence on the development of this idea is often overlooked. Emirbayer & Johnson (2008: 3) write, 'few scholars besides DiMaggio have acknowledged the original connection between Bourdieu's field concept and neo institutional theory.' A brief consideration of the origins of Bourdieu's conceptualizations of field helps draw attention to aspects of Bourdieu's approach that have been incorporated into understandings of 'field' and important dimensions that have neglected.

Bourdieu built on the original understanding of field as first articulated as a relationship space, with emphasis on the analysis of patterns of relationships. Lewin (1951) first used the term as a metaphor for a space of magnetic attraction in physics to illustrate how humans consolidate into coherent systems. He argued that individuals behaved differently depending on how they worked through the tension between perceptions of the self and environment. He emphasises the totality of an individual's situation as a socio-psychological field, or 'life space' that could be mapped in topological terms. Lewin's original use of 'field' highlights the main strength of the field concept for social analysis in that it emphasises 'the totality of a situation' as including both the subjective and objective.

Bourdieu's work combined Lewin's idea of field with Weber's (1915) 'spheres of value' to further develop 'field.' Here, 'value spheres' were not seen as existing transcendentally, but existed because of the social goals held by actors (Martin, 2003). The outcome of merging these different ideas within social theory was a field approach that emphasises the trajectory or positioning of the individual, and the field as 'an ensemble of relationships between actors antagonistically oriented to the same prizes or values' (Martin, 2003: 135).

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'field' underscores the importance of combining objective structural analysis with positional subjective analysis. In the following Martin (2003: 45) acknowledges the contribution of Bourdieu's field approach in social theory:

the tension between individual level and social level understandings – the former intuitively accessible to our 'first person' understandings in terms of motivations and constraints, the latter satisfying the scientific yearning for a wholly third person explanation – which has been one of the most productive tensions in sociological theory.

This is further reinforced by Friedland (2009: 887) who recognizes that 'Bourdieu built a theoretical apparatus conjoining structure and the individual.' While neo institutionalists build on Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory to understand the way rule systems and social order are constructed and sustained in the course of everyday interaction (Greenwood et al., 2008) there is a neglect of the relational nature of Bourdieu's understanding of field and the mechanisms he uses to connect the individual to the field, or micro to macro.

Originally, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991), drew on Bourdieu's emphasis on relational and cultural aspects of a field. DiMaggio (1991) referred to the two senses of Bourdieu's field; as both a way to signify common purpose and as an arena of conflict. For DiMaggio (1991), Bourdieu's understanding of fields is useful because it indicates that hierarchy and conflict are characteristic of fields.

However, as DiMaggio (1991) argue research that proceeds from his original work neglects this. Instead what can be seen are several parallels between Bourdieu's approach and neo institutional theory leading some to conclude a natural affinity between the two (Benson 1998, 2006). This is evident in the way Bourdieu speaks of fields and neo institutional theory refers to 'institutions' (Benson, 1998). Both Bourdieu's work and neo institutional scholars explicitly draw on Weber's depiction of modernity as a process of differentiation into spheres of action (i.e. economics, religion, cultural production). Institutional theory sees society as composed of competing institutional orders or value spheres that may be understood at an intermediate-level as 'institutions' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Friedland & Alford, 1991). Bourdieu (1998) refers to semi autonomous 'fields.'

Both fields in Bourdieu's sense and institutions in neo institution theory, once formed, are understood as governed by implicit 'taken for granted' rules. For Bourdieu (1998) fields have their own 'principles of action' and 'obey its own laws.' Similarly in institutional theory, institutions are 'the more or less, taken for granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings' (Greenwood et al 2008:5). For institutional theory, the emphasis is on homogeneity through processes of legitimisation. For Bourdieu (1998:4) the emphasis is on heterogeneity; fields as the ongoing production of difference. He writes, 'to exist socially is to mark one's different vis-à-vis others, a process which is enacted for the most part unconsciously without strategic action.' Bourdieu's emphasis on going production of difference and the understanding of fields as structured by a network of social relations are issues that have largely been neglected in the field approach in neo institutional theory. A number of scholars have acknowledged this and have suggested the need to revisit Bourdieu's approach (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008; Vaugh,

2008). The call for bringing back Bourdieu is often referenced in terms of incorporating ‘relational analysis’ into both neo institutional theory and organizational theory more broadly.

Bourdieu’s field approach offers a way to consider how individuals are embedded in a context. It is not the individuals themselves that are the focus of analysis but the relations between them. Bourdieu speaks of ‘agents’ because he sees the individual as social. The subjective experience of an individual is tied to a relational position in a field. The advantage of Bourdieu’s understanding of field is that it allows ‘relational’ thinking and analysis.

I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology etc.). Each field presupposes, and generates by its very functioning, the belief in the value of stakes it offers. (In Wacquant, 1989: 39)

Bourdieu was primarily concerned to overcome what he saw as objectivist and subjectivist interpretations of social theory and his outline of a theory of practice was an attempt to overcome this. He was very concerned with illustrating the actions of class, particularly class based inequalities of access and appreciation of cultural reproduction.

The conceptual space within which Bourdieu defines class is not that of relations of production, but that of social relations in general. Class divisions are defined not by differing relations to the means of production, but by differing conditions of existence, differing systems of dispositions produced by differential conditioning, and differing endowments of power or capital (Brubaker 2004: 46).

His oeuvre is how ‘systems of domination persist and reproduce themselves without conscious recognition by a society’s members’ (DiMaggio 1979: 1461). Dimensions of Bourdieu’s understanding of a field (1997) particularly his emphasis on social reproduction is acknowledged by a number of scholars. In arguing for a return to a relational approach in neo

institutional theory, Delbridge and Edwards (2004: 209) argue that, ‘in developing a clearer set of ideas and theoretical principles about the nature of social reproduction, a relational approach overcomes the problem of treating fields, for instance, as distinct ‘things.’’ Bourdieu’s conceptual approach does not limit focus to just populations or industries, he suggests that organizations are embedded in power struggles over resources (Swartz, 2008).

Bourdieu’s ideas draw attention to the need for a clearer appreciation of the connections between structure and agency. Bourdieu offers a dynamic consideration of the relationship between agency and structure. In Bourdieu’s (1997: 289) terms, ‘relations between terms or units as pre-eminently dynamic in nature, as unfolding, ongoing processes rather than as static ties among inert substances.’ Bourdieu’s related concepts of habitus and capital are key to understanding reproduction of inequality and power differentials between the dominant and the dominated (Swartz, 2008). Important to note here are important points of difference between Bourdieu’s understanding of reproduction (1989) and Giddens (1978) structuration theory. For Bourdieu (1989) it is power relationships that structure capital and it is the ongoing dispute over capital that sustains or transforms social structure. For Giddens (1978, 2003) power and social position are tied to practice as part of the dimensions of interaction as opposed to strategic competition as in Bourdieu’s understanding.

Another overlooked aspect of Bourdieu’s influence on DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983: 147) work is the ‘the influence of elite processes’ (1983: 147). Attention to the political processes have been lost in institutional work (Hinings & Greenwood, 2002; Lawrence, 2008). The strength of Bourdieu’s approach is that it allows for the re politicalisation of organization theory (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). Commentators have suggested the value of Bourdieu’s elaboration for addressing the problem of power in organizational analysis through inclusion

of Bourdieu's other concepts, habitus and capital, in addition to 'field' that elucidate the nature of relationships as dominant or dominated (Swartz 2005). While the importance of Bourdieu's work is recognized as useful there have been few attempts to apply his understanding of field in empirical research with a few notable exceptions (see Oakes et al. 1998, Battilana, 2006).

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter I have reviewed recent developments in institutional theory with particular emphasis on how organizational fields have been conceived in the literature and how homogeneity and heterogeneity in fields and have been incorporated into neo institutional accounts. The concept of field as first formulated by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) has evolved to include different and often contradictory iterations of 'field.'

While neo institutional theory has developed a line of research around understanding heterogeneity there remain several weaknesses and challenges. The key issues that emerge from a review of the treatment of 'field' in neo institutional theory concerns the need to reconcile shared beliefs and understandings with issues of power and difference in 'fields.' There is a need to explore issues of boundaries, micro dynamics, struggle and power through empirical work at the individual or micro level. While there is a growing body of work that looks at these issues they tend to focus on single features while marginalizing others in analysis.

The potential of a Bourdieusian understanding of field has been identified as useful by a number of scholars, particularly as a relational approach and with the aim of understanding power and conflict. I reviewed arguments that recognize Bourdieu's explanations of social

reproduction, power and fields as structured relations as beneficial to neo institutional and organization theory. While he is acknowledged by some as influential in neo institutional understandings of field this has largely been overlooked in the long term trajectory and development of the concept of field. His framework of field, capital and habitus has been recognized as useful. However, there have been few attempts to explore this in empirical research. In the next chapter I discuss Bourdieu's theoretical triad.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **Bourdieu's Theoretical Apparatus**

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and consider Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus which includes three concepts: field, capital and habitus. I discuss each concept in isolation however I highlight the ways in which these concepts are interrelated. Only when treated together do they render a dynamic view of the 'field.' I also consider Bourdieu's work on symbolic or cultural goods. I identify and discuss key dimensions of Bourdieu's schema that describes the creation of hierarchies of value in the production and consumption of symbolic objects such as books.

#### **A Theoretical Triad**

A number of scholars stress the importance of treating the concepts of field, habitus and capital as a 'theoretical triad.' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008; Dobbin, 2008). Bourdieu's three concepts are linked relationally and cannot be defined individually. As Swartz (2008: 5) notes,

There is a sizable body of good sociological research that has made but partial borrowings from Bourdieu by raising our critical awareness of important features of the social world. However, there is a systematic unity to Bourdieu's approach that is seldom grasped let alone employed.

There has been a tendency to extract concept from Bourdieu's theoretical framework to use in isolation. Emirbayer & Johnson (2008) argue that it takes all three concepts, habitus, field and capital to connect micro and macro levels of analysis and to realize Bourdieu's elaboration of 'field' to its fullest.

While a significant body of work attempts to translate and develop Bourdieu's key concepts and to show how a Bourdieusian perspective might reframe existing research, there are few

attempts to employ a Bourdiesian framework in empirical study. This runs contrary to Bourdieu's insistent on dialogue between theory and empirical research. Swart (2008: 46) argues,

As Bourdieu himself suggested, and his close follower Wacquant echoes, the desired objective is to enhance new empirical research—offer a generative usage of his concepts—rather than just engage in theoretical exegesis of Bourdieu's work.

In what follows I discuss Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus, emphasizing that this is not a theoretical framework to be imposed on an empirical study but instead a theoretical triad that operates as a set of thinking tools for empirical analysis.

### *Field*

Bourdieu's '*Champ*' or field conveys several meanings. It is a field of forces; a field of play or struggle, as in a battlefield; a field of knowledge; a discipline; and a space of action (Lemert, 1981: 650). It is both a social and a semantic space (Foster, 1986).

The field, cannot be reduced to a simple aggregate of isolated agents or to the sum of elements merely juxtaposed is, like a magnetic field, made up of a system of power lines. In other words, the constituting agents or systems of agents may be described as so many forces which, by their existence, opposition or combination, determine its specific structure at a given moment in time. (Bourdieu 1971:161 qted in Foster, 1986)

The field 'functions as a sort of common system of reference system' (Bourdieu, 1993: 173). It is also a 'meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy' (in Wacquant, 1989: 44). While agents share a consensus, they also take sides based on their 'position.' A field is as a multidimensional structured space on which agents compete for position,

A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time become a space in which the various agents struggle for the transformation ore preservation of the field (Bourdieu, 1996: 40).

Bourdieu emphasizes that fields are marked by an internal logic of competition among agents in the field. Agents struggle to change or sustain the overall structure of domination that holds each of them in place and determines the relative strength of that position. While agents may be understood as defined by their positions the field is also dynamic because there is a constant struggle over positions. The struggle for positions among agents within any given field may be understood in terms of capital and habitus.

### *Capital*

For Bourdieu, a position within the field is a role and each role is invested with a particular capital. Capital refers to the perceived resources in the field. Positions are characterised by the amount of capital needed to maintain or achieve positions. The degree and type of capital held by an agent influences the relative power the agent wields in a given field. The position-taking, on the other hand, is a manifestation of position that functions as a defence of a position. Agents' perceptions of available opportunities and constraints are shaped by their understanding of the locus of capitals in the field. The field is a 'field of strategic possibilities' (Bourdieu, 1993: 176). 'Difference, the differential, is the principle of the field's structure, and also of its changes; these occur through the struggles that arise regarding the stakes, which are themselves produced by disputes' (Bourdieu, 1993: 182).

The structure of the field depends on the kind, amount and distribution of capitals and the positions of agents within that field. In outlining his analysis, Bourdieu (1986: 242) argues that it is 'impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one introduces capital in all its forms and not solely on the one form recognized by economic theory.' His intention in this is to 'grasp capital and profit in all

their forms' in order to understand 'how different forms of capital (or power which amounts to the same thing) change into one another' (Bourdieu, 1986: 47).

Bourdieu identifies different capitals (assets, benefit or investment) that an individual uses to augment their position in a scientific, political, academic or artistic field. For Bourdieu (1986: 46), capital is,

present in three guises: economic, social and cultural. Economic capital, with which there is greatest familiarity, refers to monetary income, financial resources and assets and 'implies purchasing power in a direct, immediate and explicit sense (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007: 23).

Cultural capital exists in three forms. In an embodied state, it takes the form of long lasting 'dispositions' acquired through socialization of family and peers, or as 'work on oneself' ('self-improvement') in acquiring 'cultivated' habits and tastes of cultural appreciation and understanding. The objectified state of cultural capital are valued, cultural, material objects, 'educative...by their mere existence' (Bourdieu 1986: 56), as well as being appropriable and transmissible. In its institutionalized state, cultural capital is acquired education and knowledge in the form of qualifications (Bourdieu 1986: 47).

Bourdieu uses social capital to indicate the actual and potential resources linked to the possession of a network of relationships that may be mobilized through membership of social networks of actors and organizations (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, Townley, Beech & McKinlay, 2009). Its reference is to 'durable network[s] of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (Bourdieu 1986: 49), the existence of which provides its members with access to capital in whatever form. The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends 'on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilise and on the volume of capital (economic,

cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected' (Bourdieu 1986: 49).

For Bourdieu (1986: 46), cultural and social capital are forms of capital because both in their objectified and embodied forms, take time to accumulate and which, at their root have a universal equivalent of labour-time, capital as accumulated labour. They constitute 'capital' because they are the product of investment strategies, 'individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously' aimed at establishing forms of being, behaviour or knowledge (cultural capital), or 'reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term' (social capital) (Bourdieu 1986: 52). They have a potential capacity to produce profits, reproduce themselves in identical or expanded form, and a tendency to persist. In this way, social and cultural capital functions similarly to economic capital.

For Bourdieu, 'economic capital is at the root of all other forms of capital' and these other forms of capital constitute 'transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition' and which 'produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root...at the root of their effects' (Bourdieu 1986: 47). These forms of capital function similarly to economic capital, as a set of 'actually usable resources and powers' (Bourdieu quoted in Brubaker 2004: 51), but to say that 'every type of capital is reducible in the last analysis to economic capital, ignores the special efficacy of the other types of capital.'

Access to capital in all its forms is not equally distributed, reflecting historical patterns of accumulation. They differ in terms of their degrees of liquidity, convertibility and susceptibility to loss, with economic capital the most liquid and convertible form. As with economic capital, all capitals must be acquired, maintained lest they depreciate, and their stock enhanced. Their value lies in their potential for exchange (Townley et al. 2009).

What Bourdieu emphasizes is what he terms a structural homology, that is, interests and investments in different forms of capital are analogous to an economic logic, but are not reducible to this. Although access to one form of capital makes access to others easier, one form does not automatically entail another. Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. Both cultural capital and social capital are convertible into economic capital under certain conditions. Although one form of capital may be converted into others they remain distinct and separate forms. Drawing on an analogy between power and energy, forms of capital or power are mutually irreducible but potentially inter-convertible forms of power.

The different species of capital, economic, social and cultural have different relative values dependent on the nature of the field in which they are used. Economic, cultural and social capital have to operate through legitimated valuing systems (Grenfell & Hardy 2006: 24). Agents in the field are endowed with different amounts of capital with different capitals are effective 'in relation to a particular field' (Bourdieu, 1995: 73; Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006). Action within a particular field is dependent on the participants understanding of the social, economic and cultural parameters of that field (Grenfell & Hardy, 2006). To perform effectively in the field one must have accumulated the appropriate capital and mastered the ability to use this capital effectively (mastered the field's habitus). Fields, however, are in a constant process of change, and with this the configurations of capital within them.

The last form of capital is symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is field specific capital, a form of legitimacy or respect proffered according to terms valued within the field; prestige reflecting knowledge of, and recognition within, the field. All capital is potentially symbolic. Symbolic capital 'is the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate' (1987: 4). As with other forms of capital, symbolic capital is intimately linked to power: 'it is defined in and by a determinate relationship

between those who exercise power and those who undergo it' (Bourdieu 1979: 83). It is the credit, and authority, that accrues to individuals and institutions through their possession of capital, perceived and recognized by others as legitimate (Bourdieu 1989).

The form of symbolic power is 'the performative power of naming' (1987: 14), the power of consecration or to institute something. It is the power to 'make something exist in the objectified, public, formal state which only previously existed in an implicit state' (1987: 14). Symbolic capital is a credit; 'it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition' (Bourdieu, 1987:15). However, the power to consecrate is not unconditional. First, symbolic power has to be based on the possession of symbolic capital. Second, 'symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality...symbolic power is the power to make things with words. It is only if this is true, that is, adequate to things, that description makes things' (Bourdieu 1989: 22). As Bourdieu states 'in this sense, symbolic power is a power of consecration or revelation, the power to consecrate or to reveal things that are already there' (Bourdieu 1989: 23).

However, of this form of power, 'in the form of symbolic capital is not perceived as power, but as a source of legitimate demands on the services of others' (Brubaker 2004: 40). Through his analysis, Bourdieu demonstrates that 'goods traditionally excluded from economic analysis...can be appropriated and constituted as capital, i.e. as instruments of economic, social or symbolic power, more or less monopolized by individuals or groups' (Liénard, Servais & Bailey, 1979: 216). For Bourdieu, what is to be investigated empirically is how these different capitals operate in practice within a specific field.

### *Habitus*

The final concept in the triumvirate is habitus and is the most problematic. Habitus is one's enduring orientations to action, or the capacity for improvisation based on a situated knowledge of the structure. As Brubaker (2004: 26) notes, there are 'a dozen or so' definitions of habitus. Habitus has been described as 'vague' by Sulkunen (1982). Foster (1986: 105) notes that it is 'the social inscribed in the body,' a 'system of dispositions,' a feel for or sense of 'the social game,' 'the source of most practices,' and 'a tendency to generate regulated behaviours apart from any reference to rules.' It is 'the background of and resource for playing the social game' (Foster, 1986: 105). With different histories and in different social positions, some people are better equipped and better suited to 'playing the game.'

Bourdieu (1993) does not define the concept of habitus as much as characterise it as a means of 'inculcating' a 'certain way of looking at the world.' Habitus explains the ability of an agent to understand and negotiate the field. Bourdieu writes of habitus as being 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions.' It is 'conceived in three distinct sets of relations: to the conditions under which it was formed, to the immediate situation of action, and to the practices it produces' (Brubaker, 2004: 45). The field structures or 'conditions' the habitus, and all fields are enacted and reproduced through habitus (Wacquant, 1989: 44, Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986; Liénard, Servais & Bailey, 1979).

Bourdieu uses habitus to relate objective structure (of positions in the field) and individual activity, the link between structure and practice. It is for these reasons that he describes habitus as a means 'to escape from under the philosophy of the subject without doing away with the agent' (in Wacquant, 1989: 43). The habitus is both structured and structuring (in Wacquant, 1989: 42). The habitus is that which 'translates' the structured relations of the

field into perceptions, apperceptions and actions that enable the individual to function in the field.

Habitus is acknowledged in the literature as the conceptual bridge that helps overcome the structure/agency, micro/macro divide in institutional theory. Swartz (2008; 56) suggests, ‘the cognitive turn in that area only partially taps the dispositional character of Bourdieu’s concept... bringing habitus into organizational analysis helps link macro-level phenomena to micro-level processes.’ For DiMaggio and Powell (1991) Bourdieu’s notion of habitus advances understandings of institutional isomorphism. Bourdieu likens habitus to a process through which individual subjects within similar structures create

a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990, 53).

Subjects unconsciously take on habitus. As Lizardo (2004) argues agents utilize it a manner which reproduces the social structure which defines them. For, DiMaggio & Powell, habitus thus becomes a way of examining the ‘unreflective, routine, taken-for-granted nature of most human behavior and views interests and actors as themselves constituted by institutions’ (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991: 14).

The habitus is a means by which individuals encountering new situations can respond to them. It is this which informs ‘reasonable’ or ‘unreasonable’ conduct. It presupposes a minimum level of agreement about the basic principles of a field. According to Bourdieu, where practices are governed by a shared habitus, they are ‘immediately intelligible and foreseeable and hence taken for granted’ (in Brubaker, 2004: 27) as a fish takes to water (Bourdieu, 1990). It is a practical sense of the game which is gained through experience. In

her study of journalistic culture, Schultz (2007) speaks of a 'journalism habitus,' by which she means a mastering of a specific game in a specific field. The habitus may be of the individual, a group or class (Bourdieu, 1993; Sulkunen, 1982). My reference, for the current research, is to an individual's habitus as the individual engages with a field.

### **Bourdieu and Symbolic Goods**

Bourdieu conceives of social space as one differentiated into domains or relatively autonomous fields such as art. 'I would suggest that as societies become more differentiated...those relatively autonomous 'worlds' which I call fields develop within them' (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986: 119). Fields are social microcosms, 'separate and autonomous spaces' (Bourdieu, 1996: 181), although the relative autonomy of these fields varies.

The 'cultural field or artistic field' is one of the 'autonomous worlds' defined in opposition to other fields, a field dominated by an internal cultural legitimacy as opposed to legitimacy which derives from these other fields (economic, political and religious) (Bourdieu, 1968). Bourdieu's work on cultural fields provides insight useful for analysis of symbolic objects such as books. He (1987: 201) poses the seemingly simple question: 'what enables one to distinguish between works of art and simple, ordinary things?'

What makes a work of art a work of art and not a mundane thing or a simple utensil? What makes an artist an artist and not a craftsman or a Sunday painter? What makes a urinal or a wine rack that is exhibited in a museum a work of art? Is it the fact that they are signed by Duchamp...a recognized artist and not by a wine merchant or a plumber?...Who, in other words, created the "creator" as a recognized and known producer of fetishes? And what confers its magical or, if one prefers, its ontological effectiveness upon his name, a name whose very celebrity is the measure of his claim to exist as an artist and which like the signature of the fashion designer, increases the value of the object upon which it is affixed? That is, what constitutes the stakes in the quarrels of attribution and the authority of the expert? Where is one to locate the ultimate principle of the effect of labelling, or of naming...Where does the ultimate principle, which produces the sacred by introducing difference, division and separation, reside?

What in other words, gives an object symbolic effect and a value beyond the economic? For Bourdieu, the answer lies in the role of the institution: ‘the art object...is an artefact whose foundation can only be found in an artworld, that is, in a social universe that confers upon it the status of a candidate for aesthetic appreciation’ (Bourdieu, 1987: 201). An artistic institution, ‘the product of historical invention’ (Bourdieu, 1987: 202) signifies,

producers of art motivated by a pure artistic intention, which is itself inseparable from the emergence of an autonomous artistic field capable of formulating and imposing its own ends against external demands.

In reference to the production of art, Bourdieu (1993) argues that the romanticised notion of ‘autonomous art’ is problematic. Bourdieu (1993: 76) warns of accepting the idea of the ‘charismatic’ and ‘autonomous’ artist.

The charismatic ideology which is the ultimate basis of belief in the value of a work of art and which is therefore the basis of functioning of the field of production and circulation of cultural commodities, is undoubtedly the main obstacle to a rigorous science of the production of the value of cultural goods.

Central to the work of Bourdieu is the denial of art as having intrinsic value. Instead the aesthetic value of ‘art’ is understood as socially constructed (Bourdieu, 1993; Becker 1982).

Inherent to the emergence of the artistic field is the aesthete’s eye:

the work of art exists as such (namely as a symbolic object endowed with meaning and value) only if it is apprehended by spectators possessing the disposition and the aesthetic competence which are tacitly required, one could say that it is the aesthete’s eye which constitutes the work of art as a work of art. (Bourdieu, 1987: 203)

The latter is the product of a long exposure to artworks and a familiarization with the elaboration of an artistic language that accompanies the development of an autonomous artistic field. Bourdieu (1987: 205) goes on to say,

it becomes clear that the ‘subject’ of the production of the artwork—of its value but also of its meaning—is not the producer who actually creates the object in its materiality, but rather the entire set of agents engaged in the field. among these are the producers of works classified as artistic...critics of all persuasion...collectors, middlemen, curators etc., in short all who have ties with art, who live for art and, to varying degrees, from it, and who confront each other in struggles where the imposition of not only a world view but also of a vision of the artworld is at stake, and

who through these struggles, participate in the production of the value of the artist and the art.

He highlights the importance of an 'institution' or social universe that confers value and meaning. Bourdieu's (1993) model of the production of art is distinctive in that it offers a dynamic treatment of the art world as an institution. For Bourdieu art is itself 'an institution which is the product of historical invention and whose *raison d'être* can be reassessed only through an analysis which is itself properly historical' (Bourdieu, 1987: 202). He finds that a system of valuation around an art object evolves over time. Following Bourdieu's institutional approach, van Rees (1983: 402) notes in his analysis of literature that,

Texts owe their literary or aesthetic – in short value-laden – character to the fact that specific social groups and institutions subject them to a valorisation process; instrumental to this process are the conceptions of literature adopted by these groups and institutions. A conception of literature is a set of normative statements on the properties which texts ought to possess in order to be reckoned as literary and on the function to be assigned to literature.

Art works owe status, perceived value and ranking to the institution or system of individuals and organisations, both those involved in symbolic production, such as critics or literary reviewers, and those involved in material production, such as publishers, book chains, book clubs. Further, van Rees and Dorleijnb (2001: 331) assert that,

What is perceived as a product's quality is thereby shown to be connected with quality dimensions of material producers (prestige of publishing houses) of distributors (elite book shop v popular book shop) symbolic agents (authoritative critics and periodicals of standing which publish their reviews) rather than with allegedly intrinsic properties of the work under study.

In both the material and symbolic production and distribution of symbolic goods, different individuals and organisations share an understanding of the assignment of properties and quality to these works.

In Bourdieu's work on art production the concept of institution is used to include a range of factors involved in the production, transmission, and consumption of symbolic objects such as literature, or music. This includes institutions in a narrow sense (i.e., publishing houses) that are authorised to define the criteria for production and evaluation of symbolic goods and legitimize these goods as forms of art (Verdaasdon, 1983). He also refers to institution in a wider sense as a system in which agents participate dynamically, operationally, and functionally.

The significance of symbolic goods is identified by Bourdieu, 'cultural or symbolic goods differ from material goods in that one can 'consume' them only by apprehending their meaning...The work of art considered as a symbolic good...only exists as such for a person who has the means to appropriate it, or in other words, to decipher it'(Bourdieu, 1984: 7). In the case of symbolic goods 'It holds for all goods that have symbolic meaning or value over and above their use value...individuals can appropriate these goods, can apprehend their meaning, only if they already possess the necessary schemes of appreciation and understanding' (Brubaker, 2004: 41). An appreciation of creative products involves much more than the direct and immediate apprehension of the work. It depends on 'cultural competence', the ability 'to decode that which is encoded', '. . . situating the work of art in relation to the universe of artistic possibilities of which it is a part' (Bourdieu, 1993: 22). The ability to do so depends on one's cultural capital.

Appreciating the aesthetic is not a disinterested act. It is important 'to remember the social conditions which render possible aesthetic experience... the work of art is given only to those who have received the means to acquire the means to appropriate it' (Bourdieu 1984: 23). Often dismissed as 'superficial', preferences or tastes between art, music, fashion etc., are inextricably intertwined with material positions and class. 'Taste' becomes a mark of

distinction (Zukin & Maguire, 2004); consumption a process of representation, marking the individual in acts of communication, instantiating social relationships (Townley et al. 2009).

Aesthetic value resides not in objects but in (elite) networks that sanctify such attribution. This process is eminently social, although made to appear a game of truly objective qualities' (Foster 1986: 107). For DiMaggio (1979: 1471),

Bourdieu's work should direct sociologists of art and culture to inspect the relationship between social structure and symbolic production as mediated by creative fields. The field notion calls attention to the need to base any sociological interpretation of a text on the social relations of its production, distribution and appropriation.

To see a direct correspondence between cultural objects and their producers is to commit what Bourdieu calls a 'short circuit fallacy' 'by seeking to establish a direct link between very distant terms, we omit the crucial mediation provided by the relatively autonomous space of the field of cultural production' (Wacquant, 1989:34).

Bourdieu is resistant to 'reading off' cultural objects and their production from economic and social structures in which they appear. He states, 'it is in opposition to this sort of reductive 'short-circuit' that I have developed the theory of the field' (Bourdieu, 1993: 178). Important for him is what he terms 'the internal logic of cultural objects', and 'the groups which produce these objects (intellectuals, writers, poets, artists, etc.) and for whom the objects also fulfil functions' (Bourdieu, 1993: 179). The microcosms within which these objects have meaning are what Bourdieu labels fields, which have 'general laws of functioning' (Bourdieu 1993: 179).

For Bourdieu fields are relatively autonomous, i.e., they 'are structured by their own histories, internal logic, and patterns of recruitment and rewards as well as by external

demands' (DiMaggio 1979: 1468). Issues arise over the degree of relative autonomy and the limits to it. It is the intention of autonomy in the field of cultural production. What is at stake 'its ability to provide a commentary on its historical and social context' (Smith 2006: 107). As Smith notes (2006: 105) 'once a field has come to be defined by its own parameters of meaning it compels it to a certain level of recognition, even from those forces of external authority that might wish to dismiss it'. Claiming the art world as an autonomous field of cultural activity is the attempt to develop 'an upside down economic world' (Bourdieu, 1986). It is the attempt to deny the significance of the broader economic field.

Bourdieu (1986: 46) writes of economic theory,

by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented to the maximization of profit, i.e., economically self-interested, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic and therefore disinterested.

Practices designed to maximize monetary profit simultaneously produce 'the pure, perfect universe of the artist and the intellectual and activities of art-for-art's sake and pure theory' (Bourdieu 1986: 46). 'Interest,' in other words, produces 'disinterestedness.' For Bourdieu, such conceptualization denies the social conditions, intimately linked to the 'economic', that make the production and consumption of cultural goods possible. He thus proposes a 'general science of the economy of practices' that treats 'all practices, including those purporting to be disinterested and hence non-economic, as economic practices directed towards the maximizing of material or symbolic profit' (Bourdieu, 1993: 242). His economy of practices is the attempt to transcend the opposition between economic reductionism and cultural idealism (Liénard, Servais & Bailey, 1979: 215). Actions that appear as disinterested can be analyzed as 'economic' in that they are directed to maximizing a gain. His intention in this is to 'grasp capital and profit in all their forms' in order to understand 'how different

forms of capital (or power which amounts to the same thing) change into one another' (Bourdieu, 1986: 47).

Symbolic capital and economic capital are distinct though (under certain conditions and at certain rates) mutually convertible forms of power, obeying distinct logics of accumulation and exercise (Brubaker, 2004: 39). Within the creative industries, such as book publishing, the valorization of economic capital and cultural capital are inextricably intertwined. Symbolic or creative products encompass two forms of value: monetary and aesthetic. Two principles of legitimacy, centering on symbolic and economic capital, are the twin poles structuring a field. Symbolic capital is judged internally, influenced by the interests of participants in the field. Economic capital introduces a heteronomous principle, that is, its criteria are determined by those external to the field, liable to the contingencies of the market. To be 'successful', creative products must satisfy the first; to be economically viable they must balance these twin poles and encompass both (Townley et al. 2009). Within artistic fields, however, symbolic capital is closely allied to cultural capital. Symbolic cultural capital is thus the capacity to define and legitimize cultural and artistic values, standards and styles (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995). It determines 'what counts' or what 'is at stake' within a particular field.

An autonomous field of cultural activity is the attempt to develop 'an upside down economic world' (Bourdieu, 1993). As Bourdieu (1993:75) notes 'the disavowal [of the 'economy'] is neither a real negation of the 'economic' interest which always haunts the most 'disinterested' practices, not a simple 'dissimulation' of the mercenary aspects of the practice'. For Bourdieu (1993) the relationship between economic and symbolic capital is often an inverse relationship, whereby economic value does not necessarily imply cultural value, often the reverse, and cultural significance does not necessarily ensure economic return. However 'economic' and 'symbolic' capitals are not easily identifiable categories.

For example, symbolic capital highlights the important function of cultural intermediaries whose role it is to ‘translate’ the significance of cultural goods. The role of the critic in mediating artistic appreciation, for example, influences the assessment of cultural production (Hirsch, 1972). Given the importance of the gatekeeper in the creative industries it is also important to unpack processes of cultural mediation. For example, the way that buyers and agents act as intermediaries between production and consumption (Peterson, 1994; 2000). The pre-selection of goods for potential consumption is effected by and through the filtering of a number of ‘boundary spanners’ or cultural intermediaries (such as literary agents, or editors in book publishing), drawing on detailed, though rarely articulated, knowledge of a field (Hirsch, 1972).

The relationship between economic and symbolic capital is complex. Economic value does not necessarily imply cultural value, and cultural significance does not necessarily ensure economic return. For certain creative forms, ‘success’ in one form may be sufficient in itself (Townley et al., 2009). Economic success may also consciously work against symbolic success. The issue here is the intricate relationship between value and transactions. In a monetary economy, value is enhanced through circulation and transaction. In certain cultural forms, increased circulation and transaction might devalue symbolic value to the extent that monetary value of the object is also damaged. The relationship between the two is often highly contingent socio-economically, historically and geographically dependent on the specific empirical area that is being examined.

The relationship between economic and symbolic capital raises the issue of restricted and large scale fields of production. Each field has what Bourdieu refers to as autonomous and heteronomous poles, and dominant and dominated players. The one claims the maximum independence with regard to the demands of the market; the other submits to its direct dependence. The autonomous pole tries to preserve an ethic of ‘disinterested participation,’

favorable to those with field specific capital and the heteronymous pole, favorable to those who dominate the field. What results is akin to the opposition of two sub-fields: 'the subfield of restricted production, which is a market unto itself, and the sub-field of large-scale production' (Bourdieu, 1993: 183). These sub-fields position the agents in the field, structuring opposition between positions based on the degree of acceptance of market dominance.

For example, in Bourdieu's work on literary fields (1983) he includes in analysis all those involved in publishing: authors, publishers, critics, book sellers, prizes, 'a republic of letters' or institutions etc. In addition to this set of agents, he identifies rules that together form a social space, the literary field. He characterizes the social space as structured around a commercial pole, or field of large scale production and a cultural pole, field of restricted production. The field functions according to the rules or logics tied to these two poles. The first position the books as a commercial object while the other values the books as symbolic. The literary field becomes a space of competition for positions in which publishers, authors and other agents are in constant efforts to define a position, defend and distinguish it. In his empirical descriptions of publishing in France, he draws attention to the conflict and tension between agents in which agents compete over different definitions or valuations of the book.

## **Conclusions**

In my appropriation of Bourdieu's work for analysis, I employ field, habitus and capital as analytic tools. Analysing book publishing as a field means understanding book publishing as a semi-autonomous social space with its ongoing struggle to define publishing. A relational approach requires analysis to consider how book publishing is structured and considers how various agents are positioned within field, the field's relevant forms of capital and the taken-for-granted rules of the game and what dispositions they favour.

I also discussed aspects of Bourdieu's work on symbolic goods. I outlined several aspects of his approach that are useful for empirical analysis of book publishing. Important is the problematized notion of individual creativity and how conceptions of value evolve and reinforce difference. The notion of two logics or fields at work in the trade for symbolic goods, as well as the complex relationship between symbolic, cultural and economic capital enriches understandings of how meaning about symbolic objects, or books, are produced. Bourdieu's framework for the study of the symbolic realm provide provides several thinking tools in addition to field, capital and habitus useful for an analysis of book publishing. In the next chapter I consider how Bourdieu's concepts provide a methodological framework to empirically study fields.

## **Chapter Four:**

### **Methodology**

I have arrived at an identification of Bourdieu's work as being of use in an analysis of fields. I have also identified three concepts as being useful in such an analysis: fields, capital and habitus. The issue arises as to how to operationalize these concepts so that they may be of use in researching an empirical site.

To address this, I examine the relational epistemology of Bourdieu's approach. Bourdieu's framework bridges structure and agency (macro and micro), in a relational, constructivist-structuralist approach. This approach is more than a theory; it is a methodology using empirical and analytical tools (Sulkunen, 1982; Everett, 2002; Schultz 2007). It aims toward a critical mapping of social life. I develop and discuss Bourdieu's methods through a consideration of the theoretical concepts of field, habitus and capital as analytical tools to examine relational properties of a social phenomenon (Wacquant, 1989).

In the first part of this chapter I examine the assumptions, objectives and empirical techniques that underpin Bourdieu's methods. I consider the implications of this approach for empirical research. In the second section I present details of the research process as informed by a Bourdieusian methodology. I employ qualitative methods with a structured analytical strategy to examine positions of various agents, the dispositions of those agents and the relevant forms of capital within book publishing. I discuss how the concepts of field, habitus and capital may be understood and employed as analytic tools. I present the three phases of research; familiarisation with book publishing (secondary source analysis, key informant interviews, initial observations), exploration (interviews, observations and document analysis) and iterative analysis (coding using the concepts of field, habitus and capital).

## **Approaching the Research: Bourdieu's Methodology**

Bourdieu's method is rooted in a number of epistemological concerns and ontological assumptions. Bourdieu argues that there are two different, often irreconcilable, perspectives, neither of which fully takes into account the complexity of the social world (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu 2002). Bourdieu (1989) criticizes the tendency toward a dualism of opposites: the objectivist position versus the subjectivist position, and by extension, positivist versus interpretive accounts of a social phenomena. Bourdieu's (1989: 15) understanding of the social world emphasizes a consideration of the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism to avoid what he deems an 'artificial opposition' between structure and representations. Bourdieu takes neither individual entities nor structural orders as the subject of social analysis. The focus is on relational processes between them, 'what exists in the social world are relations-not interactions' (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992: 52). Bourdieu's methods emphasize the primacy of relations in research:

The first precept of method...is to resist by all means available our primary inclination to think of the social world in a substantialist manner...one must speak relationally... (although) it is easier to think in terms of realities that can be touched with the finger (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 228).

He is critical of theory as a *modus operandi* which practically guides and structures scientific practice (Wacquant, 1989: 50). 'The social world...is never a mere 'thing' even if it must be constructed as such in the objectivist phase of the research' (Wacquant, 1989: 43). It is, as he says, 'agents who have this reality as an object of knowledge' (In Wacquant, 1989: 44). The research process should thus be designed to 'construct the object of study' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 230) through an analysis of how agents construct the field. This entails a logic of research in which theory and methods are not treated separately. For Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), the key to empirical analysis is the 'field.' He writes, 'the concept of field is a

research tool, the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects' (Bourdieu, 2005: 30).

Bourdieu's elaboration of 'field' provides a tool kit or epistemology as opposed to a set of facts or characteristics about a field. The 'field' is not a theory that can be applied as a 'paint by numbers' formula to any given situation (Thompson, 2008: 75). Bourdieu denies that it is possible to define the field a priori. As has been indicated, for Bourdieu there is always an ongoing struggle over the limits of the field: who belongs and who does not.

The question of the limits of the field is always at stake in the field. Participants to a field, say, economic firms, high fashion designers, or novelists, constantly work to differentiate themselves from their closest rivals in order to reduce competition and to establish a monopoly over a particular sub-sector of the field. Thus the boundaries of the field can only be determined by an empirical investigation. Only rarely do they take the form of juridical frontiers, even though they are always marked by more or less institutionalised 'barriers to entry.' The limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease (In Wacquant, 1989: 39).

The issue of who belongs to the field and what constitutes its boundaries for Bourdieu is an empirical issue, not one pre-defined. As Wacquant (1989: 34) argues, 'this is a question that the most daring of positivists solve by what they call an 'operational definition.' The solution is arrived at arbitrarily by deciding who is included and who is not.'

Constructing anew the boundaries, contents, and character of the object of study involves reflexivity in the research process (Bourdieu, 1990). He argues that the researcher must unlearn the unwritten rules that only 'scientifically rigid preparation of questioning and observation may enter into the process of constructing the object of study' (Bourdieu, 1984: 509). Bourdieu's approach requires the researcher to confront the 'construction of the pre-constructed object' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 229) by challenging any preconceived or a priori understandings. This requires reflexivity in which the researcher acknowledges his/her

position in the intellectual field (Bourdieu, 1990) and awareness that one's own interpretations of the object of study may not be the same as a participant's subjective experience (Bourdieu, 1992).

### *Relational Analysis*

Relational analysis is a central to Bourdieu's methodological approach. This is often overlooked in research and one of the reasons why he is often misread (Vaughn, 2008). Bourdieu's (1977) relational method of social inquiry involves analysis of relations between positions in the social world. For Bourdieu, 'the relational and analogical mode of reasoning fostered by the concept of field enables us to grasp particularity within generality and generality within particularity' (In Wacquant, 1989: 36). Bourdieu's relational perspective analyses social phenomena as situated in a social and historical context. Relational methods allow for objective structures, situated activity and subjective experience to be revealed in analysis (Ozbilgin, 2005).

As an elaboration on the mode of reasoning, he identifies three steps that are important:

An analysis in terms of field involves three necessary and internally connected moments. Firstly, one must analyse the position of the field vis a vis the field of power.... Secondly, one must map out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority (capital) of which this field is the site. And thirdly, one must analyse the habitus of agents, the system of positions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic conditions. (In Wacquant, 1989: 40)

Bourdieu's methodology entails the use of field, habitus and capital as interconnected tools to examine relations between positions. Bourdieu says of his work that 'there is no doubt a theory in my work, or, better, a set of thinking tools visible through the results they yield' (in Wacquant, 1989: 50). He refers to relational analysis using field, capital and habitus as a hermeneutic circle in which analysis of each concept informs the analysis of the other concepts. 'There is an endless to and fro movement in the research process' (Bourdieu, 1992:

108). This process calls for an iterative approach at various stages of research. This involves simultaneous use of this three related concepts of field, capital and habitus throughout the research process (Vaughn, 2008).

Book publishing consists of several different types of agents: authors, literary agents, publishers, printers, distributors, retailers, wholesalers, and critics. Following Bourdieu's field as method approach, it is important to consider all of individual agents alongside and in relation to the perspectives of others, all the while developing and reforming an objective view of the space as a whole based on agents' perspectives. That is, understanding the perspectives of these agents requires the reconstruction of the space, or field, as a whole to represent how agents operate and their relations with and through each other. To understand book publishing as a field, is to engage in a multidimensional process. I discuss this process in the following.

### **The Research Process**

The research process moved through a series of phases. The aim of the first phase of research was to become familiar with book publishing. During this phase, I consulted secondary source documents on publishing, attended a local publisher's conference, identified and interviewed key informants, and developed a historical perspective on publishing. In the second phase, I conducted interviews, observations and document analysis to explore the field in greater depth. In the third/final phase, I completed an iterative analysis of material collected.

**Table 4.1 Phases of the Research Process**

<b>Phase #</b>	<b>Purpose of Phase</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Data Source</b>
<b>1</b>	Familiarisation	Qualitative documentary research of materials on book publishing	<i>Publishers Association Manual</i> , Generalist books on publishing industry; professional and career

		Informal interviews and observations  Qualitative documentary research of historical texts	guides  Transcribed interviews with key informants; field notes from local publishers' conference  Archival material (i.e. government proceedings on the Net Book Agreement; publishers' records); secondary source material (history books, magazines and newspapers)
<b>2</b>	Exploratory	Interviews  Observations  Document analysis	38 transcribed interviews  Field notes from book fairs, trade association meetings, networking events  Industry newsletters and journals, literary reviews, newspapers, press releases
<b>3</b>	Iterative Analysis	Analysis, coding and interpretation in terms of positions, capital and habitus	Material collected in Phase One and Phase Two

*Phase One: Familiarization*

My first concern in the context of research was to become familiar with the *who, what, where* and *how* of publishing. A concomitant charge was to become aware of my pre-conceived understandings pertaining to book publishing. In the first phase I consulted a collection of secondary source documents of and about publishing, included reports and overviews issued by The Publishers Association, Knowledge Industry Publications, and the Book Industry Study. I consulted the *BP Report on the Business of Book Publishing*, introductory books listed for publishing courses, professional and career guides (for publishers and for getting published), and general books on how the book publishing industry functions. I examined this material to develop an initial understanding of the contents and character of book publishing. The introductory material indicated that 'book publishing' referred to not just publishing organizations and the work of acquiring and selling books, but also to a vast network of

agents performing different roles. Based on the generalist materials on book publishing, I identified and listed a variety of roles and functions, each broadly defined in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2 Different Types of Agents**

<b>Role</b>	<b>General Description of Duties</b>
<b>Publisher</b>	Acquires symbolic content and the rights to use content; processes the content in various ways and makes available the financial capital necessary to turn it into stocks of books which can be distributed and sold
<b>Rights and Sales</b>	Buys and sells rights; gets books into bookstores; plans and maintains sales and marketing schedules/strategies
<b>Editorial</b> <i>Acquisitions</i>	Selects manuscripts to recommend for publication consideration, handles process of acquiring rights to publish manuscripts
<i>Commissioning</i>	Creates ideas for new books and develops them; contacts authors
<i>Development</i>	Corrects style and punctuation; develops clarity, pacing, plot and structure
<i>Managing</i>	Oversees scheduling and process of acquiring/commissioning and developing manuscripts
<b>Production</b>	Coordinates the physical production and manufacturing of each book, designing jacket cover, estimating paper quantities and production costs, negotiating with suppliers
<b>Author</b>	Writer of published book
<b>Literary Agent</b>	Represents authors, places manuscripts with publishers, collects payments, negotiates rights deals
<b>Bookseller</b> <b>Retail</b>	Sells books in a retail outlet <i>Chains:</i> Large companies that own many bookstores under the same name and carry 100,000 or more titles. Centralised buying to select books to stock and negotiate returns policy with publisher <i>Independent shops:</i> Those not owned by large companies; have own internal book buyers who decide what to stock and how much
<b>Internet</b>	Sells books on online <i>Retail book listing platforms:</i> Charges either monthly fees based on books listed or commissions on sales. These range in size from 100 dealers to 20,000, with a total dealer listings of from 100,000 to 70 million books, such as Amazon.com <i>Auction sites</i> such as eBay *Some booksellers maintain their own websites to sell books and ebooks
<b>Wholesaler / Distributor</b>	Warehouses, catalogues, markets, and sells books to bookstores, libraries, and other wholesalers; distributes books to bookstores on

	behalf of publishers to consolidate costs. (In some cases these roles are separated)
<b>Trade Associations</b>	Represents different types of agents (publishers, authors, booksellers) that monitor and protect areas of particular concern, such as distribution and book trade standards. Membership in each is broad, and there may be tensions in their perceived role reflecting the interests of their different membership
<b>Arts Councils</b>	Government or private, non-profit organisations; promotes publishing mainly by funding writers and publishers; sponsors literary prizes; organizes events and festivals
<b>Book Reviewers</b>	Analyses books based on content, style, and merit for magazines and newspapers

### Identifying Key Informants

I identified and contacted key informants in an effort to: develop a general understanding of the way book publishing operates; begin to identify some of the social and linguistic constructions; identify key events for observation; and further develop a line of enquiry for interviews. Further to this, I needed informants that would agree to meet throughout the research process so that I could seek clarification on definitions and issues that would arise along the way. Based on the initial familiarisation step and the interest in better understanding different roles, I began the process of identifying a key informant from each of the different types of agents.

My entrance into book publishing was initially made through contacts in Scotland as a result of proximity. Initial enquiry indicated that the majority of publishers, literary editors and authors based in Scotland were in some way connected to the Scottish Publishers Association (SPA), (the government-funded association with a general remit to promote publishing activity in Scotland). I consulted the SPA Directory that lists publishers, literary agents, published authors, distributors and freelance editors/designers in the area. I began with an interview of an SPA representative, who served as my first key informant and helped me identify agents with experience in publishing who might be willing to assist. She invited me

to an upcoming SPA conference. During the conference, I was able to informally meet a number of agents during the coffee and lunch breaks. Among those in attendance were publishers, sales and marketing managers, literary agents and distributors, whom I had already identified as potential informants based on their experience in publishing. The assistant to the SPA representative was helpful in introducing me to potential informants. She introduced me as a management student interested in understanding how publishing operates.

After meeting several knowledgeable individuals at the conference, I was able to further refine the list of potential informants to approach. I went down the list I had developed and emailed requests until I had one informant from each of the different types of agents. For the category of agents not represented at the conference, authors and retail, I contacted authors and managers/buyers for bookstores to whom I had been referred or whom I had read about during my initial research. I contacted them by email. One of the authors and a manager for one of the retail chains agreed to participate.

All the key informants were based in Scotland; however, all except one had worked in publishing outside of Scotland at some stage in their career. Each of the key informants had significant experience in publishing and most had served multiple roles in the field, having worked as both publisher and member of a trade association, or as an author and literary reviewer. I conducted interviews and stayed in touch with these informants throughout the research process.

**Table 4.3 Profile of Key Informants**

Type of Agent	Career Trajectory
<b>Publisher</b>	Owner/director of medium-sized publishing house in Scotland. In operation for 30 years with over 100 titles in print. Regularly attends trade fairs in London and Frankfurt, active in the buying and selling of rights with foreign publishers. Recently sold 50% ownership to conglomerate publisher. Also served on Scottish Publishers Association

	Board of Trustees since its inception.
<b>Rights Manager</b>	Rights manager for medium-sized publishing house in Scotland for 8 years, having worked previously in large publishing house in London for 15 years. Regularly attends professional events in London and negotiates rights deals for the Scottish publishing house with large conglomerates in US and UK as well as buying and selling of rights to and from smaller houses in Europe.
<b>Literary Agent</b>	Owner/director of a medium sized literary agency, based in Edinburgh. 70% of the authors represented are not Scottish, 80% of rights deals are made with publishers outside Scotland. Other roles include; director of literary prize competition, director of literary festival, arts council board member.
<b>Author</b>	Author with more than 15 published works. At beginning of writing career, received Scottish Arts Council funding and was published by three different small- to medium-sized Scottish publishers. Also represented by literary agent based in Scotland. Then moved to a London based agent and had the rest of works published by large publishing houses in London. Also worked as a literary critic and reviewer for newspaper in London.
<b>Book Retail</b>	Currently works as a buyer for one of the major book chains with a long career of working in bookshops as clerk and manager. Also worked for 3 years as a sales rep for a major publisher in London before returning to Scotland.
<b>Distributor</b>	Director of medium-sized distributor in Scotland for 10 years.
<b>Trade Association</b>	Senior position in Scottish Publishers Association, worked previously as an editor for two large conglomerates and a medium-sized independent publishing house in London.

### Key Informant Interviews and SPA Conference Observations

My first interviews with each of the key informants lasted for approximately two and a half to three hours. I subsequently met with each of the key informants for follow up interviews roughly two to three times during the research process. I developed a series of talking points based on my initial research on book publishing. The interviews included a discussion of the informant's career trajectory and experiences, details of their current and past roles, general descriptions and perspectives on processes in book publishing, and important events and news sources. Based on these interviews, I was able to further refine the list of different types of agents and their roles. In addition, I took notes at the SPA conference that included workshops on negotiating rights, marketing strategies, print on demand technology, panel discussions with an Amazon representative, and on the state of publishing in Scotland.

During this conference I was able to have informal discussions during coffee and lunch breaks. I asked participants about their opinions and understandings related to the proceedings of the conference. Those conversations helped me identify the professional news sources, journals, events and online databases that different agents regularly accessed. I used the field notes from this event and the key informant interviews to begin to understand how I might probe the issues of field, positions, capital and habitus in the next phase of research.

### Historical Analysis

It became clear in the interviews with key informants that although book publishing is international, in terms of rights sales and markets, 'book publishing' is very much shaped by national boundaries. Further to this, the term 'Scottish publishing' and the history of publishing in Scotland emerged as themes in interviews referred to in informants' descriptions of how publishing operates. Thus, an important initial aim of the research was to understand publishing in the United Kingdom as well as the specific history of publishing activity in Scotland. I consulted historical documents which included books, magazines, newspapers and archival material to get a sense of the historic evolution of the organization and structure of publishing in the UK. This involved a detailed analysis of a small sample of publicly available texts to develop a historical perspective (Silverman, 2005).

### The Importance of Rich Data

Bourdieu's approach does present a number of methodological challenges. A criticism of employing Bourdieu's method is that it leads to an account of field, capital and habitus, 'without providing any further explanation of how they relate to what individuals actually do or think about the point of what they are doing is.... (This is) wholly unsatisfactory' (Montefiore, 1983: 775). While Bourdieu's concepts are abstract, he emphasises the importance of rich data (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu argues that the usefulness of

concepts as ‘thinking tools lies in research in the practical problems and puzzles encountered’ (In Wacquant, 1989: 50). One must use rich data to ‘see’ and account for the ongoing construction of the field. Research into the ‘primary experience of the field’ (In Wacquant, 1989: 44) is an important element of the methodological approach.

In this study I focus on ‘insider’ accounts of individuals. Grenfell & Hardy (2007: 24), note that insiders’ accounts reflect

active...participant observers in the field. Every account contains within it the perceived...structures and their valuing bases in the field.... They represent both a position taking within the field and a personal construction of the relative positions of others within the same field.

Insiders’ accounts can be seen as personal expressions of a collective field (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007: 30). The task is not to produce an ‘account of accounts,’ but to illustrate what these accounts portray of the underlying capital, habitus and fields to which they refer. Accessing data with which to interrogate and understand insider accounts relies on empirical techniques of unstructured interviews (e.g. Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000), observation (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977), and document analysis (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984).

#### *Phase Two: Interviews, Observations and Document Analysis*

I drew on the literature on qualitative methods of interviews, observations and document analysis which is consistent with the aims of Bourdieu’s methodology. The basic assumption of qualitative research is that the investigator is allowed to glimpse the assumptions and categories that are otherwise hidden from view (Silverman, 2005). Qualitative enquiries are inherently multi-method to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Using a multi-method approach can reduce the risks that may stem from reliance on a single kind of data. It allows the researcher to compare the data collected through different methods which brings depth to inquiry (Flick, 1998).

## Interviews

I used an iterative approach to identify interviewees with the aim of interviewing at least two to three from each of the different types of agents. I drew on a variety of sources including referrals, names listed in trade press, newsletters and other published documents to identify agents to interview. The search began with observations at the SPA conference and also took place at the London and Frankfurt Book Fairs. I listened for the names of those people who were mentioned in context by a number of other people within the field. If I heard specific names mentioned multiple times, I made a note of the name. When I had an opportunity, I asked questions of the participants about the role of the repeatedly named person or organization in order to get a sense of their trajectory in the field. Responses to those questions helped me to generate a list of people to interview. The list included individuals with a broad spectrum of experience in relation to book publishing. For example, my list of authors includes an author that had one book of short stories published, an author new to publishing who has just been taken on by a literary agent, authors that had numerous works published, and a few writers who had affiliations with large publishing houses. In the case of publishers, as another example, the list includes small 'one-man press' publishers, a director of a medium-sized publishing house, and a sales and marketing director of a large conglomerate.

I also employed the snowball technique of identifying agents who are asked to suggest others within the field who should be included in research (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Each interview generated new names, which proved useful for getting a sense of what types of agents were seen as 'belonging' to the field and on what basis they were accorded inclusion. While my

entrance into book publishing was facilitated through contacts in Scotland initially, my research was not limited to agents based in Scotland.

Once identified, I approached agents either in person or by email to ask them to participate in an in-depth interview regarding their careers and experiences in book publishing. I sent those who expressed a willingness to participate a form of informed consent (see Appendix A) to be signed prior to the interview. I provided a brief background and overview of the research project (see Appendix B), and I ensured, should anyone choose to discontinue their participation at any point during the process, their interviews would be eliminated from the study. No informants chose to withdraw from the study. All committed to participate by signing the informed consent letter. In accordance with the University of St Andrews’ code of ethics for research with human subjects, I assured the agents of full confidentiality (see Appendix A).

In total, I interviewed 38 agents, each for approximately one and a half to three hours. I conducted most of the interviews face-to-face and in the informant’s work location whenever possible. When constrained by distance, I conducted some interviews by telephone. I recorded and transcribed all interviews. Throughout data collection and analysis I was careful to keep transcripts and notes secure. The list of the number and type of agents interviewed is included in Table 4.4, and the individual interviewee profiles are included in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.4 Different Types of Agents Interviewed**

<b>Type of Agent</b>	<b>Interviews</b>
<b>Publishing Houses</b>	
<b>Directors/Owner</b>	5
<b>Editors</b>	4
<b>Sales and Marketing</b>	4
<b>Literary Agents</b>	4

<b>Authors</b>	5
<b>Book Retail</b>	4
<b>Distributors</b>	3
<b>Book Reviewers</b>	2
<b>Trade Association</b>	3
<b>Arts Council</b>	2
<b>Freelance Editor/Design</b>	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>38</b>

**Table 4.5 Profiles of Agents Interviewed**

<b>Agent</b>	<b>Profile **Small publishers: 1-5 employees, 1-25 titles in print, Medium-sized publishers: 10-100 employees, 25-500 titles in print Large-sized publishers: &gt;100 employees, &gt;500 titles in print</b>
<b>Publisher A</b>	Owner, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Publisher B</b>	Director, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Publisher C</b>	Owner / Director, small one man press
<b>Publisher D</b>	Director, small independent publishing house
<b>Publisher E</b>	Director, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Editor A</b>	Commissioning editor, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Editor B</b>	Acquisitions editor, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Editor C</b>	Managing editor, medium-sized publishing house
<b>Editor D</b>	Assistant editor, large publishing house
<b>Rights Manager A</b>	Rights manager, medium-sized publisher, 50% owned by large publishing house
<b>Rights Manager B</b>	Rights manager, medium-sized publisher
<b>Rights Manager C</b>	Rights manager, medium-sized publisher
<b>Rights Manager D</b>	Assistant to rights manager, large publishing house
<b>Literary Agent A</b>	Owner of literary agency, 5 employees
<b>Literary Agent B</b>	Agent within large literary agency
<b>Literary Agent C</b>	Independent literary agent
<b>Literary Agent D</b>	Independent literary agent
<b>Author A</b>	2 books by small one-man press
<b>Author B</b>	4 books by independent medium-sized house, 2 by large publishing house
<b>Author C</b>	1 book by large publishing house
<b>Author D</b>	3 books by medium-sized house
<b>Author E</b>	3 books by medium-sized house, 1 by large publishing house
<b>Retailer A</b>	Buyer for retail chain
<b>Retailer B</b>	Manager, bookstore chain
<b>Retailer C</b>	Shop assistant, bookstore chain
<b>Retailer D</b>	Owner, independent bookstore
<b>Distributor A</b>	Senior position, 68 small- and medium-sized as clients
<b>Distributor B</b>	Senior position, 68 small- and medium-sized as clients
<b>Distributor C</b>	Assistant, distribution unit of large publisher
<b>Book Reviewers A</b>	Industry press

<b>Book Reviewers B</b>	National newspaper
<b>Trade Association A</b>	Senior role
<b>Trade Association B</b>	Assistant
<b>Trade Association C</b>	Assistant
<b>Arts Council A</b>	Board member
<b>Arts Council B</b>	Board member
<b>Freelance A</b>	Editor
<b>Freelance B</b>	Jacket designer

I conducted qualitative research interviews, an approach which emphasises depth, nuance and complexity of data (King, 2004). I followed guidelines for unstructured interviews which affords the researcher the flexibility to probe the particular and unique understandings in agents' accounts (King, 2004). For the unstructured interview, questions evolve during the interview process (Brewerston & Millward, 2001). I endeavoured not to lead agents into discussions or impose a predefined understanding following the aim of unstructured interviews to elicit rich descriptions of experiences (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Unstructured interviews involve a sense of the purpose of the interviews, but not necessarily a set of questions that are consistently phrased in a particular way or asked in a particular order (King, 2004).

The purpose of the interviews was to understand how agents constructed their 'sense of place in the field,' in what terms and in relation to what. I was interested in how agents perceived their role in publishing and how they understood this in relation to the other agents in the field. I used a 'naturalistic mode of enquiry' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to get a sense of how perspectives and accounts were different and in what ways they were similar within and between the different types of agents. During the interviews, I asked clarifying questions regarding some of the issues I had become aware of during the observations and in interviews with key informants.

### Field, Capital and Habitus as Analytic Tools

The concepts of field, capital and habitus are useful in both preparing for and in making sense of ‘rich data’ collected through interviews, observations and documents. I further explain this through a description of how I used each of these concepts as thinking tools.

#### Field

To better understand the data in relation to the concept of ‘field,’ I considered whether or not the agents held an understanding of publishing as being somehow different from other areas, i.e., of its having an ‘identity’ separate from other forms of production. I identify whether agents have some sense of publishing as being unique or different from other types of work or enterprise. I investigate and review material in terms how agents talk about themselves and their roles vis a vis the market, i.e., how much discretion they had in deciding what to publish or what to write, or how much influence they might use to guide a writer or an editor. I also noted how agents understood themselves in relation to a ‘literary canon,’ the role of imprints and of having a reputation accorded by others.

#### Capital

In order to understand the concept of capital, I noted how agents described what was important in publishing and what was valuable about aspects of their work. Recognising from the literature on publishing that the book is both a commercial and cultural commodity, I was keen to investigate the ambiguity that this presented. In reviewing the collected material, I became aware of the presence of capitals that Bourdieu identified, in particular cultural and economic. I tried to identify any references that might be indicative of this. In trying to identify capital, I paid special attention to instances in which individuals spoke of making money and how they made money from books. I was interested in how agents understood the market and what they did based on this understanding. Of particular interest to me were the

terms that they used when describing books as commodities. I also noted instances when they talked about prizes, awards or other forms of literary recognition. In order to understand this more fully, I was interested in what agents understood as resources of the field. I was able to access with greater depth the accounts of when, why and how they categorised or classified other agents or types of books.

### Habitus

For an understanding of habitus, I took note of instances when agents discussed how they learned about the various aspects of publishing. The responses appeared to draw on the position, or formal role they held (author, editor, book retail, etc.) and how they understood the significance of the position. Additionally, I was interested in how individuals talked about how they came to understand their roles. I noted how they described what they did. I was particularly interested in how they came into the field of publishing. I enquired about difficulties they first encountered in the process of becoming familiar with conventions and ‘how things worked.’ I asked what surprised or concerned them about what they had had to learn. It was through these lines of enquiry that I attempted to identify consistencies and trajectories as well as the disjuncture or discontinuities between what Bourdieu refers to as positions and dispositions.

### Observations

For the observations I took field notes at book fairs, conferences and networking events. Conferences and networking events such as book fairs are major field configuring events where participants actively discuss, contest, and negotiate the meaning of the field (Meyer, Gaba & Cowell, 2005). As Entwistle & Rocamora (2006: 736) note in their Bourdieusian analysis of London fashion week, trade fairs in some senses operate as an embodiment of the wide field of publishing, ‘bringing together the field participants into one spatially and

temporally bounded event.’ Trade fairs render wider field characteristics visible such as field boundaries, positions, position-taking, and habitus (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006).

In book publishing, there are three major events: the London Book Fair, the Frankfurt Book Fair, and the American Book Expo. I collected observations at the London Book Fair and the Frankfurt Book Fair as well as at four other types of conferences/networking events, which were geared specifically to different types of agents such as authors’ association events and publishers publicity group meetings. I employed observation techniques at book fairs and events. I followed a variant of participant observation which involves contact and yields fruitful insight, but is deemed less comprehensive (Waddington, 2004). Participant observation is considered an ethnographic tool, rather than an approach (Charmaz & Olsen, 1997). I took field notes and kept a daily log of activities. I found these records helpful in reflection and in clarifying the chronology of the work (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). With the permission of interviewees, I recorded formal presentations and question-and-answer sessions with a digital recorder, while also taking notes by hand.

**Table 4.6 Events**

<b>Event</b>	<b>Details and Purpose</b>	<b>Attendees</b>
<b>Frankfurt Book Fair</b>	A commercial event for international publishing rights, licensing fees, and other deals in book publishing; marketing venue for the launching of new books and industry announcements; opportunity for those in the publishing world to interact. Largest book fair in the world	Publishers, agents, booksellers, librarians, academics, illustrators, service providers, film producers, translators, printers, professional and trade associations, artists, authors, antiquarians, software and multimedia suppliers. Roughly 7,000 exhibitors, representing 113 countries
<b>London Book Fair</b>	Trade event for publishers to publicize their upcoming titles and to sell and purchase subsidiary and translation rights for books from other publishers and agents	Publishers, booksellers, literary agents, librarians, media and industry suppliers. Roughly 3,000 publishers, booksellers, literary agents, librarians, media and industry suppliers from over 100

		countries
<b>Society of Authors General Meeting</b>	Annual meeting organized by the Society of Authors, an organization founded to protect the rights and further the interests of authors. Series of seminars and panel discussions about rights, relationship with agents and ebooks	Writers, illustrators and translators who have had a full-length work published (not at the author's expense)
<b>Publishers Publicity Group Meeting</b>	Monthly networking meetings Held at a bar, with a panel discussion of trends in marketing and PR	Publishers, sales and marketing representatives
<b>Scottish Publishers Association Workshop</b>	Quarterly meeting for networking and seminars on relevant topics	Members of SPA

There are a number of practical and ethical implications in observational research. These pertain to the researcher's role and relationship with the agents being observed. Here I followed guidelines detailing the role of the researcher as 'peripheral member' (Adler & Adler, 1994). At the events, I participated by milling around, introducing myself and being explicit about my academic research, listening, interacting and lingering to strike up conversations during breaks. I was careful that my observations did not interfere with the normal proceedings and activities of agents. I also took every precaution to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of agents. I was constantly aware of my role as critical researcher and careful to keep an analytical space during times of observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Being viewed as a novice academic and not as an 'insider' (who might be competing for inside tips on rights or jobs) was extremely useful in developing a rapport with people. However, because I had a moderate amount of background knowledge on publishing, I was able to converse with them as an insider without being treated as one or regarded suspiciously.

### Book Fairs

Book fairs offered me rich opportunities for observation because they bring 'participants together in short-term, face-to-face interaction in a structured environment through which

they define and reassert economic, social, and symbolic values' (Moorean, 2005). At a book fair the main activities include acquiring and selling rights, setting business relationships (for example, meeting with a distributor or printer in India or finding a data conversion company), building image or reputation, assessing what others are doing (for example, what rights deals are happening, what advances are being paid), and networking. Most importantly, fairs offer the chance to meet face-to-face to establish and build relations.

The challenge for the researcher is to get close enough to observe this activity since much of it takes place in closed social circles and through 'gossip', which requires some degree of insider status. Here, key informants helped me gain access, helped me make sense of what was going on, and allowed me to sit in on meetings and 'hang out' with them during social hours. This conferred a degree of acceptance and legitimacy that helped me get close enough to book fair activity. At the same time, key informants introduced me as a graduate student learning about book publishing, which helped me not to be perceived as a threat or as gathering intelligence. In cases in which I was not with a key informant, I was still able to gather useful observations. In most cases, the receptions held at the book fair were relaxed events in which people mingled to share information and gossip, but also to show that they were inside members of the field (Moorean, 2005).

Other excellent observation opportunities included taking notes while visiting the participants' stands. At book fairs, the visibility and location of stands are tied to an organisation's 'status' (Moorean, 2005; Skov, 2006). I took notes on proximity and location in terms of how this might be tied to the relative positions of publishers and other agents. During the fair, some agents stayed at their stand, while others moved around to other stands. Some used proximity to arrange to meet for coffee and lunch. Areas set aside for this in the

meeting hall facilitate such interaction. The constant movement and mingling made it easier for me to approach people during breaks. I was able to have informal conversations about their experiences at the meeting. These conversations made it possible for me to gather a variety of opinions about what was going on.

In order to observe how rights deals are made, as well as to have experiences at business meetings, I sat at the rights table of a sale and marketing manager on several days of the Frankfurt Book Fair and with a publisher in London. This allowed me to witness over two dozen meetings over the course of several days at both book fairs. Each meeting was scheduled for half an hour and took place from 9 a.m. to at least 4 p.m. Nearly all of these were pre-arranged. The focus was on sales and rights and on meeting with other publishers, agents, and buyers from all over the world. The aim was to sell new titles being published that autumn and early the following spring. At the beginning of each meeting, I briefly introduced myself and assured the interviewee of anonymity. I asked if it was ok if I sat in. During these discussions, I sat at the rights table and observed how the presenter framed the rights list and other information. The discussion often included gossip about such matters as which editors had moved houses and which authors were working with which literary agents. At no time did I participate in the actual work or discussion. I maintained a peripheral role (Adler & Adler, 1994). Whenever I sat in on rights meetings, as when I was socialising at parties and receptions, I was mindful to keep the amount of distance that was necessary in order for me to have 'space' to think about and observe what was happening. I was mindful not let that distance influence ability to observe and interpret (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

The formal presentations and panel discussions provided the opportunity to observe how participants from one group of agents presented their views to other groups of agents (for example, independents to conglomerates; authors to agents; or retailers to publishers). Question-and-answer sessions also provided important information on issues that other participants considered important. Many of the conferences, seminars and workshops were run specifically for the different types of agents on topics relevant to them. At these events, participants asked questions of each other and there was often a session that included a panel discussion. An outcome of these events may be that participants reflect on issues that they had not previously considered. Especially when they did so spontaneously, the answers to queries posed by others within the field often revealed interesting and helpful perspectives. After events I would expand upon my notes and add details.

### Document Analysis

I identified data sources for document analysis through my observations and interactions with participants at the book fairs and networking events. Bourdieu (1984) draws on a number of different sources for document analysis including catalogues, theatre reviews, photographs, and advertisements.

**Table 4.7 Data Sources for Document Analysis**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>Publishers Weekly</i>	Weekly trade news magazine targeted at publishers, librarians, booksellers and literary agents. Subject areas include publishing, bookselling, marketing, merchandising and trade news, along with author interviews and regular columns on rights, people in publishing, and bestsellers.
<i>The Bookseller</i>	Weekly magazine that reports on the UK publishing, bookselling and library industry. It contains the latest news from the publishing and bookselling worlds, in-depth analysis and features, as well as bestseller information
<b>Newspaper Articles/ Literary Reviews</b>	Book reviews and articles on the book publishing industry
<i>Authors Guild Bulletin</i>	Quarterly reviews of the latest news in publishing, copyright, tax, legal and legislative updates and information for writers aiming to be published

<i>Scottish Publishers Association Reports</i>	Reports on the state of Scottish publishing
<b>Publishers' Press Releases</b>	Press releases regarding rights acquired to books
<b>Publishers' Catalogues</b>	Glossy brochures that list publishers
<i>Frankfurt and London Book Fair Directories</i>	Lists all the exhibitors at the fair, contact information, business descriptions, contact names, etc classified by product category
<b>Dailies from Book Fair</b>	Daily newspapers issued each day of the fair which include details of deals, company acquisitions, book title purchases, auctions, film tie-ins, foreign rights deals, industry awards, etc.

I accessed the trade press (*Publishers Weekly*, *Authors Guild Bulletin*, *Bookseller*, the 'dailies' and UK newspapers, SPA reports, etc.) to seek further context and insight into some of the issues, conflicts and trends that were referred to in the interviews and through observations. For example, the issue of 'returns' in bookselling is a point of great contention and source of discord between book retailers and publishers. I searched the trade press and UK newspapers to further capture how this debate unfolded and what it revealed of positions and relationships between positions. I also became aware of a controversy surrounding the SPA and government funding.

I found literary reviews, publishers' press releases and catalogues useful in that they enabled me to get a sense of how certain types of books are valued and how they are discussed. The literary reviews were particularly useful in understanding the criteria by which critics assessed books, as well as how 'Scottish writing' and 'Scottish books' are viewed in publishing, and what constitutes 'good publishing' or 'literary writing.' The press releases and catalogues provided insight into how publishers positioned themselves and what sorts of books are being selected and how they are promoted.

Taken together, these texts were useful in getting a sense of internal, assumed and traditional 'rules' and assumptions in publishing, categories and classifications, positioning and what

has currency in publishing. As I read each text, I highlighted and noted the phrases that expressed ideas related to habitus, capital or positions. I also used this analysis to add detail, derive descriptors, and enhance my own understanding of what I observed and what I heard in the interviews. As will be further discussed in Phase Three, the process was recursive. The notation and summarization of findings and the analysis took place concurrently and was highly integrated.

### *Phase Three: Iterative Analysis*

I worked iteratively through the collected material and reviewed transcribed interviews for common themes. Frequently, an interview or document would raise questions that would contradict my understanding of how publishing operates. This was an important part of the research process because it helped me to further probe certain issues and go back and forth between Bourdieu's work and the material. I also worked to follow Bourdieu's reflexive practice of research and to be aware of my position in the intellectual field. While this is not entirely possible, I was cognizant of this as an issue and attentive to the need to aim for it.

In terms of analysis, I reviewed the transcripts in order to investigate what each revealed about concepts of field, capital and habitus. Table 4.8 lists the categories that I identified in the empirical data. This represents the broader themes and the theoretical concepts that are used as 'thinking tools.' The table is useful for the purpose of depicting the first steps taken to analyse the data and complete the process of identifying themes and issues. There is significance to each of the concepts separately and as part of a larger picture. This presentation in a list offers a 'snapshot' of an understanding of the concepts at a particular point in time. However, the table does not accurately or exhaustively represent how the concepts work together as an analytic framework. This was not a linear process of coding as

in grounded theory in which each of the codes is clearly linked from first order to higher order code and to a meta-construct (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Bourdieu’s framework requires constant integration and overlap such that positions are understood in terms of capital and moderated by habitus. This approach serves to facilitate the process of constructing the object of study, the field. I refer to categories as first order issues I identified in the data. I grouped these empirical categories into different middle level themes and then grouped these themes to the concept of field, capital or habitus.

**Table 4.8 ‘Snapshot’ Depiction of Categories, Themes and Concepts**

<b>Empirical Categories</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Concept</b>
Importance of markets Importance of reputation Manuscript selection	Positions Structured positions Autonomous worlds Struggles	Fields
Classifications Categories Qualifications Profit Property Cultural goods Social networks Values National identity Scottish publishing	Commercial currency Cultural currency Social currency Symbolic power Stakes Conflict Tension	Capital
Feel for the game Mastery Adaptation Improvisation Sense of being ‘at home’ Common sense Role conflict	A system of dispositions Disposition	Habitus

The first empirical chapter presents the ‘snapshot’ or synchronic view of the book publishing industry through a discussion of fields, capital and habitus. The second empirical chapter takes a diachronic view, showing how positions, capital and habitus work together to reveal dynamics that constitute the field. I examine efforts to promote Scottish publishing and show how Bourdieu’s work is useful in making sense of this. I use Bourdieu’s interrelated concepts to make sense of efforts surrounding ‘Scottish publishing’ that became apparent during my

interviews and my research at trade fairs and networking events. These efforts reveal, or in Bourdieu's terms, refract, broader struggles in the book publishing industry.

The research process is presented as three distinct phases for the purposes of clarity. However, analysis took place during each phase of the research and is an untidy, messy process. This feature has been observed as characteristic of qualitative research (Silverman, 2005). I went back and forth between the interviews, observation and document analysis to search for important themes and issues to construct the object of study. I analyzed all the data with the goal of identifying how they understood their role, how agents made sense of interactions with others, what categories, classifications or hierarchies existed for them, what the criteria were for these, and with whom and how they identified themselves. As the research progressed and I became increasingly familiar with the field, I was able to analyse activities that agents described and elaborated in context (Silva, 2006). This was achieved through consideration of their relative position within the space of positions.

## **Conclusions**

The main challenge to Bourdieu's approach is that it is too broad and involves an unmanageable amount of data collection. To overcome this, Emirbayer & Johnson (2008) argue Bourdieu's method requires that the researcher take a more narrow focus (for them the case study) to identify invariant properties. Based on my efforts to understand and employ Bourdieu's triad as a methodology, I argue that Bourdieu's approach offers a methodology that takes the researcher from the general to the particular and back without the need for a case study or other approach to supplement.

Employing Bourdieu's framework entails a methodology for constructing the object of study. Through the process of constructing the object, and in using the concepts as thinking tools, the researcher begins to see themes and issues for agents in the field without a narrow issue, problem or 'research question' being imposed from the outset. At the same time it is possible to situate a focus on an issue within the context of a broader field, in this case, publishing activity in Scotland. This is a process that involves a number of stages. The 'familiarisation' process is an important part of the research because it introduces a sense of the boundaries and character of a field and challenges preconceived understandings. Subsequently, a narrower, or at least manageable, focus may be identified. The process assumes that one is constantly 'placing' the narrowed focus within the broader field.

I employ Bourdieu's concepts to first take a synchronic view in which concepts are considered in isolation. Following this I take a diachronic view through a focus on 'Scottish publishing.' It is in this way that one integrates the concepts and makes possible the process of examining how the triad of concepts unfolds. The resulting picture that is presented has the effect of putting the field in motion and/or refracting the broader field

## **Chapter Five:**

### **The Evolution of Book Publishing in the UK**

In this chapter I provide an analytic treatment of the historical evolution of book publishing in the UK with a focus on publishing activity in Scotland within this trajectory. Historical understanding of publishing in the UK and specifically within Scotland informs subsequent analysis of current field dynamics and respondents' views of their positions.

In addition to providing contextual background this chapter illustrates how book publishing as a field has been shaped by the conditions of its historical creation and evolution. As Bourdieu (1977) asserts, the nature of a field- its boundaries, dynamics and import- is realized through situated historical investigation of its workings. To develop a historical perspective, I examine the historical conditions in which book publishing came into being and evolved in the UK. I discuss periodic shifts: from inception as a 'book trade,' through the emergence of book publishing in the UK, to the current era of publishing in a global economy. I narrow discussion to the relative positioning of agents based in Scotland within the broader field of book publishing in the UK.

There is a wide and diverse literature on book publishing. There is a large body of work on the history of publishing from the invention of the printing press through to the twentieth century (i.e. Eisenstein, 1979; Darnton, 1979; Chartier, 1993). For current accounts of book publishing, there are several reports that survey the book publishing industry, monitor market trends, and measure competitiveness. These reports are largely produced by trade press within the publishing industry or commissioned by governments (see for example Department of Trade and Industry in the UK, 2002). In addition to conventional industry analysis, is a body of work that studies the social organisation and structure of book publishing. I review these

different bodies of literature on book publishing to develop a sense the evolution of book publishing.

### **The Early Book Trade: Between the State and the Market**

Following the invention of moveable type and printing in 1455, all of the work involved in printed book production was accomplished through one role, the printer. Most printers worked on a system of patronage (Cosser et al., 1982). The role of the 'printer' included setting type, binding and selecting the books. In the UK, the monarchy developed a system of control in which the authorization to print was delivered in the name of the Crown (see Chartier, 2000; van Rees & Dorleijn, 2001). The spread of literacy, the growth of the book and the liberalization of printed matter challenged this system and the traditional role of the printer. The growing demand for books increased the need for larger sums of 'up-front' capital and to manage supply-side demands (Feather, 2005). The work of the 'printer' changed to include knowing and working markets. Further to this, the secularization movement and the difficulty in regulating what was written and printed loosened the control over book production (Feather, 2005).

The system of one man printers working within paternalist social arrangements changed. The book trade increasingly became a speculative process revolving around local and international markets, incorporating specializations and divisions of labor between production and selling (Eisenstein, 1979). The two main roles in the book trade included printers and booksellers and sometimes these two functions were combined in one role (Feather, 2005). There was also a change in the role of 'authors' following the demise of the patronage system. The 'author' was now able to live off the reward of publication. The expansion of the book market opened the way for a new population of writers making a living from their

writings. Following the subsequent weakening of the ecclesiastical and government monopoly, printers and booksellers in Western Europe's capital cities were in a position to capitalize on textual production (Rose, 1993).

The relationship between authors, printers and booksellers was arbitrated by nationalist legal structures. The recognition of the power of the printed word and of the need to exploit and to restrain it dictated government policies regulating the 'book trade.' The 'book trade' was largely regulated by the Stationer's Company, an instrument of the state. The Stationer's Company included most booksellers/printers in London and sought to maintain their claim to produce and market printed material. The 1662 Printing Act was the first official mechanism for government control of the press. The Act confined printing to London and in effect to The Stationer's Company. The Stationers Company developed their own internal system of regulating and registering copies of books. This gave stability to the book trade and instituted early notions of 'copyright.'

The Stationer's Company established the basic concept that a book – a 'copy' – was piece of property which could be owned and traded, and that the right to print and sell it was unique to the owner. The official control of the press and the regulation of rights in copies gave the book trade a stable context in which to work. (Feather, 2005: 49)

The Stationer's Company, or London booksellers, historically held an unprecedented national dominance in the production of books (McDougall, 1997). The Printing Act was subsequently repealed to allow printing in provincial areas. As a result, more bookselling business started outside of London (Finkelstein & McCleery, 2005). Although the Printing Act was replaced by the Copyright Act of 1710, the Act gave The Stationer's Company statutory protection of copyright (Mann, 2000).

*Challenging the Position of the London Booksellers*

The Stationers Company lost the monopoly on printing after the repeal of the Printing Act however they maintained a monopoly on supplying books to the rest of the UK:

The provincial trade became a significant outlet for the sale of the books produced by the London trade. The relationship was increasingly one of mutual dependence: the copy owning booksellers in London needed the provincial trade to sell their books, but the provincial booksellers had no other source of legitimate supply of a commodity which was in increasing demand. (Feather, 2005: 62)

Booksellers in Scotland and Ireland started re-printing what London booksellers considered 'illegal' copies of books. Both Scotland and Ireland were independent book trades with their own traditions, customs and practices (Feather, 2005). The Scottish book trade had developed independently of England, partly under patronage of the councils of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen and partly with the support of universities. After James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English throne, the Scottish book trade developed independently- as did much of Scottish public and commercial life (Bevan, 2002).

After the Acts of Union of 1707 (in which the parliaments of England and Scotland united), the Copyright Act of 1710 applied to Scotland. Booksellers in Scotland assumed the act meant what it said – that existing rights were confined to present owners for 21 years, and that thereafter, those copies would be public domain and anyone could print them. As Feather (2006: 63) states, 'to the Londoners these were illegal piracies, to Scots they were the fruit of legitimate competition.' The Stationers' Company fought to maintain existing practices and interpretations of copyright and authorship that protected their position.

The tension between Scottish booksellers and the Stationers' Company came to a head in the court case *Donaldson v Beckett*. The import of English-language books into England by Scottish traders was illegal. English law recognised copyright as a piece of property and as such, it had perpetual existence. However, the new argument from the Scots was that the monopoly of the London booksellers was not in the public interest. Scottish investors charged

that the English maintained the price of books at an artificially high level (Johns, 2005). Doubt was expressed about exactly what kind of property a copyright really was and whether it could be compared with a horse or a house. It was questioned whether the encouragement of learning, (which was ostensibly the basis of the 1710 Act), was best served by a commercial monopoly. Against the precedent of the previous thirty years, the Lords found for Donaldson (an Edinburgh bookseller) and against the act that would have made possible the existence of perpetual copyrights.

The verdict of *Donaldson v Beckett* was a turning point in the history of British publishing (Feather, 2005; Finkelstein & McCleery, 2005) in that it marked the end of the era of state protection of the London booksellers. As such, bookselling and printing ceased to exist as an exclusively London-based activity within the United Kingdom. This shift was also tied to changing conceptions of copyright and of 'authorship.' There was a growing affirmation that the author (as opposed to the printer/bookseller) was the original source of material (Rose, 1988). Authors began to lay claim and ownership of their work in a way that had not been previously exercised. Authors could assert that they had an intellectual and cultural, as well as financial, interest in their books. The concept of literary property and copyright was reconceptualised from its ties to private interests to one of reward for the author (Rose, 1988). The debate surrounding the Copyright Act of 1710 initiated a struggle among authors for recognition of their right to literary works. However, the principle of an author's claim to copyright was born out of issues between booksellers and printers over reprints, not from the aim of establishing authors' control of their material (Feather, 2005).

### **From Book Trade to Book Publishing**

The changes in copyright law laid the groundwork for the emergence of the role of publisher with the purpose of acquiring rights to produce books from authors (Feather, 2005). The

‘publisher’ emerged as distinct role from that of printer and bookseller alongside new ideas about the originality of art (Feather, 2005). ‘The ‘author’ came to be viewed as an exceptional, revered figure and ‘as creator of a unique property which he owns by virtue of his singular imaginative act’ (Brewer, 2006: 245). Bourdieu argues that artistic fields are ‘founded upon the belief in the quasi-magical powers attributed to the modern artist’ (Bourdieu 1987: 204). Bourdieu refers to the ‘miracle of transubstantiation’ as ‘the very source of the artwork’s existence’ (Bourdieu 1987: 204).

The field is gradually instituted...in which the agents (artists, critics, historians, curators etc.) and the techniques, categories and concepts (genre, mannerisms, periods, styles etc.) which are characteristic of this universe are invented

By the late eighteenth, there were no longer just a few London booksellers with whom one could deal, but a range of different publishers. Gradually, a hierarchy developed among the publishers. Publishers established their reputations and developed their expertise in different niche areas. Within the market, certain names came to be associated with books on particular subjects or with certain literary genres and with particular authors. Authors would seek out specific publishers because of their prestige or on the basis of their association with particular interests (Feather, 2005). Authors were, to some extent, operating in a seller’s market in which they could take their work from one publisher to another (Rose 1993).

Increasing value was ascribed to literary property (Rose, 1993). This created spaces for new intermediaries in the process that preceded the sale of books. Those spaces were filled by agents and editors who functioned to filter manuscripts and promote books in an evolutionary and gradual process. Within each level of function, specializations developed as markets grew. There emerged opportunities for wholesale. By the nineteenth century, book publishing included separate but interlocking elements that were nonexistent in the previous century (Finkelstein & McCleery, 2005). The social and cultural networks of book production included printers, publishers and publishing houses, booksellers, newspapers and magazine

producers, libraries, literary agents, independent writers and an unprecedented number of readers among the general public.

In the nineteenth century, the book market developed quickly with advances in industrial modes of production. This configuration gave birth to the view of the writer as an 'entrepreneur' (Rose, 1993). The development of the 'mercenary writer,' ready to sell his pen for any price, provoked a reaction on the part of many publishers. Contrary to the law of the market and to the sanction of the large public (measured according to the sales) which prevailed at the pole of large scale production, what may be understood as a pole of restricted production developed. In the second half of the nineteenth century, British publishing included an autonomous literary pole indicated by a growth in the number of literary magazines and reviews (Feather, 2005). Literary reviews are important to a field of restricted production because it creates a place for dialogue, separate from the economic and political constraints. This in Bourdieu's term may be understood as the process of becoming autonomous.

Bourdieu (1993) argues that the critical phase in the emergence of the field includes a conquest for autonomy. He describes a dualist structure in which the market is a necessary precondition for the establishment of the field, however this emergence involves a denial of the market itself. This is characterized by Bourdieu (1993: 165) in the following

The progression towards autonomy of the literary field is confirmed by the fact that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the hierarchy of genres (and of authors) according to the specific criteria of peer-judgments (judgments by fellow writers (*translator's note*)) is almost exactly the reverse of the hierarchy of commercial success.

This is noted in one historian's description, 'the liberal criterion of what made authorship legitimate was social. Financial independence, the equivalence of Virginia Woolf's £500 a year and a room of one's own produced good writing, the market place produced trash'

(Feather, 2005; 245). Within this system editors/publishers dissociate the success of esteem or reputation from public success. The division corresponds to what Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1999) has identified as two distinct kinds of strategy in the publishing world: the logic of short term profit, taking on quick sales and ephemeral success, and the logic of long-term investment, for the constitution of a stock of books likely to become classics. In publishing, the profits from successful products finance more risky enterprises. Most publishers and balance quick sales and long-term investment. However, in a book publishing field, as opposed to a 'trade for example' there is a dual economy. The balance between the short-term cycle and the long-term cycle is a result of the long-term process of constituting a stock, both at the economic level—in order to manage tense financial flows and to ensure the prestige.

#### *Literary Canon and Gentleman Publishers*

Hierarchies of literary endeavor emerged within British book publishing in the twentieth century (Guillory, 1998). The category of 'literature' with the organizing principle of 'canon selection' emerged and developed through the establishment of a series of literary prizes. The category of 'literature' organizes the literary curriculum in a such a way as to create the illusion of a fixed and exclusive 'canon' (Guillory, 1998). A number of literary prizes were established, these include The James Tait Black Memorial Prizes (established in 1918, awarded annually for one fiction and one biography) and the Hawthornden Prize (established in 1919 and awarded for 'the best work of imaginative literature published by a British author') (Todd, 1996: 56). Unlike the 'literary establishment' in France (Prix Goncourt) and in Italy (Premio Strega), the UK had no equivalent. As Todd describes, 'to win the Goncourt or the Strega was and is to be assured of massive sales. The total readership for a winning novel is of a size rarely if ever achieved in Britain' (1996: 56).

Publishing in the UK from early nineteenth century to late twentieth century is described as a system of gentlemanly publishers (Coser et al., 1982, Feather, 2005, Epstein, 2001), reflecting the ‘dispositions objectively required by the field’ (Bourdieu 1987: 204). The role of publisher developed into one in which legitimacy based on intellectual reputation, class, education and wealth (Feather, 2005). The position of editor was attributed a measure of prestige and status defined by social attributes and the esteem in which books were held by a ‘literate culture’ (Epstein, 2001). Editors were usually at the center of activities and interacted with a network of editors, and were valued as an important link at all stages of book production. In most the owners and directors of publishing houses considered themselves ‘editors’ (Feather, 2005). Editors and publishers worked to establish the name and imprint of the house, which, in many cases, was the family name of its founders and owners.

#### *Are Books Different? The Net Book Agreement*

Within book publishing, several professional associations developed to organize booksellers (Booksellers’ Association [BA]), publishers (Publishers’ Association [PA]) and authors (Society of Authors [SA]) between the 1890s and 1920s. This was generally consistent with what happened in the production and distribution of commodities at the turn of the century in the UK (Feather, 2005).

The tension between culture and commerce appears to be part of the way book publishing operates from the nineteenth century to ‘publishing’ as a profession that engages with other creative arts including photography design, film making and music composition. In Bourdieu’s terms, this description reflects the tension between two opposing forms of capital essential to all fields of cultural production. On one hand, publishing may be considered a commercial endeavor with the objective of acquiring economic capital. To ensure this

mandate, there is an inclination to impose processes that are both controllable and measurable. On the other hand, publishing is an art and thus may be seen as a creative venture.

This tension was made visible in the debate over pricing books in the UK. The Publishers' Association's first major act as a professional trade association was to draw up the Net Book Agreement (NBA) in 1900, which served as the framework within which British publishing operated until 1997 (Baverstock, 1993). The NBA set prices at which books could be sold to the public, and stipulated that publishers could impose Resale Price Maintenance (RPM) on their books: any bookseller who sold a book for less would no longer receive the book from the publisher. This was collectively enforced by the PA and the BA. Publishers could decide which books would be published 'net' and what the price for those books would be. Many viewed this as a cartel between publishers to set prices to fix resale prices of books (Feather, 2005). The NBA established a new consensual 'terms of trade' arrangement, referred to as the 'Magna Carta of book publishing' (Fettes, 1986: 278).

An outcome of the activities of the NBA was to support the continued existence of bookshops in most towns. Independent bookshops, most of them small and family-owned, were able to survive from the 1920s to the 1980s because their profit margins were protected by the provisions of the NBA. They were better able to survive in spite of price competition from the large retailers. As Feather (2005: 158) finds, 'the NBA provided a measure of stability and, to some extent, made it possible for smaller volume dealers to survive and ensured that book publishing continued to operate in familiar ways.'

In 1962 the Restrictive Trade Practices Court investigated the NBA. It was asserted that the NBA was functioning as a collective agreement or cartel between publishers and that its influence served to fix resale prices. However, at the end of the investigation the judgment was made that the NBA was functioning appropriately and in the public interest. The book trade offered what has since become a notorious and often repeated defense, that 'books are different' from other products and that publishing is a special case of activity:

Books are different ... may be accepted as true in two respects: for first, no two literary works are the same or alike in the way in which or the extent to which two oranges or two eggs may be said to be; and, secondly, the production and marketing of books involve problems that are different from those which arise in connection with other commodities. (In Alan & Curwen, 1991:349)

To arrive at its judgment, the court accepted the proposition that books have a value that is both educational and cultural in a way that other commodities do not. By extension, then, it was asserted that it is important that the bookselling trade be supported and essentially protected, even encouraged. As part of the defense it was suggested that if the NBA was abolished, the future of books would be compromised (Curtis, 1998). It was predicted that this would lead to cost discounting, lost profits, closing shops, decreased publication, diminished quality of books, and a general loss of public wellbeing. Cited in Mr. Justice Buckley's articulation of the judgment were three potential outcomes of a diminished NBA: fewer and less-well equipped stockholding bookshops; more expensive books; and fewer published titles (Alan & Curwen, 1991).

### **Concentration and Conglomeration**

Book publishing was largely run by family-based system of gentleman publishers, described as a simple cottage industry (Coser et al., 2982). It was undercapitalized and depended on slow moving back lists. Conditions gradually change as the mass-market intensified and

required more up-front capital than most publishers could produce in the later half of the twentieth century (Feather, 2005). As de Bellaigue (2004: 4) describes,

the corporate interests in the ‘communications industry’ attempted to buy out publishers and their backlists (considering them to be, by stock market standards, amateurishly underexploited and undervalued yet secure investments which offered ‘synergy’ with the other elements in the industry. The pressure from stock market and shareholders to maximize profits transformed book publishing - no longer ‘an occupation for gentlemen’ distanced from the realities of the marketplace.

‘Publishers’ became ‘chief executive officers.’ The marketing, accounting, and personnel ‘management’ functions rose in power vis-à-vis the editorial function. A steady flow of senior editors left established houses to join literary agencies, where they exercised their editorial talents by selling new as well as established authors to publishers (Long, 1992). Greco (1995: 234) describes this as ‘a new system with more interests concentrated under one roof, to produce a vertical structure...publishing houses came together through mergers and acquisitions to form large, trans-national conglomerates.’ However, one constant was the name or imprint of publishing houses that continued to be valued as a rare resource. The imprint indicated a publisher’s reputation and history. This explains the strategy of acquisition that the big groups deploy in the domain of publishing: external growth, buying existing houses, is much less costly and risky than internal growth, that is, creating new publishing enterprises (Thornton, 2002). According to Greco (1995: 8), ‘this exercise involved little more than the asset-stripping of imprints, authors, backlist and staff.’

**Table 5.1: Examples of vertical structure publishing in UK**

Publishing Group	Imprints Owned
BERTELSMANN: A transnational media corporation founded in 1835, based in Germany	Arrow Books, Bantam, Bantam Press, Barrie & Jenkins, Black Swan, Bodley Head, Business Books, Jonathan Cape, Century, Chatto & Windus, Corgi, C W Daniel, Doubleday, Ebury Press, Eden Project, Everyman's Library, Expert Books, David

	Fickling, Fodor's, Harvill Press, Harvill Secker, Heinemann, Hogarth Press, Hutchinson, Pimlico, Random House, Red Fox, Rider, Sinclair Stevenson, Time Out, Transworld, Vermilion, Vintage, Yellow Jersey
BLOOMSBURY : An independent publishing organization founded in 1986, based in London	Adlard Coles, Alphabooks, Ernest Benn, A&C Black, Bloomsbury, Bloomsbury Children's, Andrew Brodie, Peter Collin, EP Publishing, Christopher Helm, Herbert Press, Pica Press, Poyser, Thomas Reed, Whitaker's Almanack
PEARSON : A transnational media corporation founded in 1774, based in London	Addison-Wesley, Adobe Press, Allen Lane, Allyn & Bacon, Benjamin Cummings, Brady Games, Cisco Systems, Dorling Kindersley, FT Prentice Hall, Funfax, Hamish Hamilton, Michael Joseph, Ladybird, Longman, Markt & Technik, Momentum, New Riders, Peachpit Press, Pears, Pearson Education, Penguin, Prentice Hall, Puffin, Que Publishing, Reuters, Rough Guides, Sams Publishing, Scott Foresman, Viking, Warne, York Notes, Ziff Davis

*Source: Booksellers Association Reports Library February 2005*

Thornton (2005: 5) describes the system of 'gentlemanly publishing' which dominated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the late 1970s as changing to 'vertical publishing' or 'conglomerate publishing. Thornton characterises higher education publishing in the 1950s and 1960s as dominated by small houses for which publishing was a profession. As previously mentioned, she argues that there was a shift from an 'editorial' logic to a 'market' logic during this time. Economic success heavily influenced the decision-making process within the 'market logic.' The focus shifted to quick turnover to maximise sales with an

emphasis on marketing strategies. Issues such as effective distribution channels and the best ways to accelerate the return on profit served as the ultimate imperatives. Table 5.2 depicts Thornton's (2005) market and editorial logics

**Table 5.2 Two Ideal Types of Higher Education Publishing**

	Editorial Logic	Market Logic
Characteristics	Personal capitalism	Market capitalism
Organisational identity	Publishing as profession	Publishing as business
Legitimacy	Personal reputation Rank in hierarchy	Market position Rank in performance
Authority structures	Founder-editor Personal networks Private ownership	CEO Corporate parent firm Public ownership
Mission	Build prestige of house Increase sales	Build competitive position Increase profits
Focus of attention	Author-editor networks	Resource competition
Strategy	Organic growth Build personal imprints	Acquisition growth Build market channels
Logics of investments	Capital committed to firm	Capital committed market
Rules of succession	Family estate plans	Market for corporate control

Source: Thornton, P. & Ocasio, W. (1999): 842

Among Thornton's (2005) conclusions and contributions is an account of how publishing transformed from a culture of independent publishing houses organised around network structures to one currently exemplified by international corporate hierarchies.

#### *Collapse of the NBA and Rise of Book Chains*

The Net Book Agreement collapsed in 1995 due to the rise of large book chains. This opened up competition in the arena of pricing. Since the Net Book Agreement's disappearance, fewer bookshops charge the 'recommended retail price' suggested by publishers (Feather, 2006). Most book chains look to the supermarkets and internet stores for guidance on pricing. This is complicated by the Internet outlets, such as Amazon, that offer significant discounts and advantages.

The large book chains occupied an influential position in book publishing. Book chains had the power to limit pricing and they instituted the practice of 'returns' which meant they only

paid the publisher for books sold. The practice of returns means that while more copies of any given book may be getting into the stores, there has been a higher percentage than ever before returned (Schriffin, 2001). Higher return patterns cause publishers to fix reserve against returns at higher figures, meaning lower and slower royalties for authors (Schriffin, 2001).

The process of central buying and acquisition of books for distribution by the book chains were viewed as changing the way publishers operate. According to Epstein (2001: 48),

These decisions as to what books to stock are reached by the calculation of the lowest common denominator. The selection process annually becomes more and more 'bestseller - oriented.' Aided by computerized sales information, the buyers tend to order in significant quantity only books by authors with proven track records, pushing publishers further and further into 'front list (just published), bottom line, star – author, hit-book' thinking and putting increasing pressure on authors to truncate their apprenticeships as they attempt to write blockbusters.

The independent publishers have also charged that the large publishers are favored by the chains through unfair practices (Long, 1992). The argument is that the big publishers pay to have bestsellers prominently displayed and advertised within the stores while the smaller publishers do not have the means to compete.

### *Literary Canon and Commerce*

The changing policies of large book chains had an impact on book publishing practices but also on the function of literary prizes and reviews. Waterstone's started a book of the month which had the effect of doubling the market for chosen books (Whiteside, 2006). Booksellers began to enter the equation in a more prominent way as publishers' publicity departments and marketing personnel began to devote as much energy in trying to reach bookshops as they spent in reaching the media (Feather, 2005). This changed the way literary fiction was promoted (Brown, 2006). Publishers divide lists into 'lead and 'non-lead' titles. Only the 'lead' titles are 'seriously' promoted and allocated a substantial marketing and publicity

budget. The publisher also puts together a 'presenter,' a colored brochure usually four to twelve pages in length featuring pictures of jacket covers and biographies of authors and sales figure of previous titles, and other promotion material. This is used to send around to literary reviewers and agents. The practice of central buying is argued to have an impact on the way a 'literary canon' functions,

A successful lead enters the 'canon' by virtue of a multiplicity of cultural forces that are commercial as they are 'literary.' We may think of more conventionally literary forms of 'canon'- that dense mass of consensus and its surrounding, every changing, swirl of debate... My point here is that the canon is commercial as well as literary (what's in? what's everybody reading this season?) by no means implies that the two kinds are mutually exclusive, indeed both carry a sense of elitism that may not be to everyone's taste (Todd, 1996: 101)

This is seen in changes tied to the Booker Prize. This literary prize in the UK was modeled after the Prix Goncourt in 1968 (Todd ,1996). The monetary value of the Booker is significantly higher than that awarded to the Goncourt or Strega winners and it has a significant impact on fiction sales, unlike previous prizes in the UK (Todd 1996). The Booker Prize is administered by the Book Trust (an independent charity funded by Britain's Art Council to promote books and reading). Up until recently the Booker prize has been one in which the criteria was defined by a 'literary establishment' autonomous from commercial influences. However this has changed in the last two decades such that 'now the Booker shortlist acts as a consumers' guide' (Todd, 1996: 87). As Todd (1996: 90) argues,

Together with a further loose grouping of titles that have been touted by reviewers, promoted by bookstores as possible contentenders and publicized to a greater or lesser extent on the appearance of the actual shortlist and after the award of the prize, the entire constellation from a kind of commercial 'cannon.'

The promotion and reception of 'literary prizes' are now more consumer oriented (Todd, 1996). The argument is that this has compromised a 'British literary canon' as it now takes a publicity department and huge payments to booksellers to be included in book of the month

or to be shelved prominently in the store, to be considered for a literary prize and as a consequence for fiction to enter into a 'literary canon' (Todd, 1996).

### *Reconfiguration*

The reorientation of publishing toward 'bottom line' interests and increased profits under outside pressures marked a reconfiguration of activity and roles in publishing, both within publishing houses and their staff, and among authors, literary agents, book retailers, distributors and other agents across the field (Wright, 2005). A shift took place in which the influence of literary agents, professional managers and large retail chains increased. Publishers, who at one time gained credibility through their connections with writers, were increasingly influenced by the corporate world in which they were being assessed. Their criterion of evaluation was based on their ability to turn out profitable books (Coser et al., 1982). Equally, whereas a close association had existed between publishers, their authors, other writers and literary critics, the shift in orientation and the change in ownership led to a decline in contact between publishing businesses and writers and critics. These relationships were increasingly mediated by literary agents. This arrangement served to distance publishers from writers and their manuscripts. Publishers became more segregated from intellectual and cultural circles. With the increasing division of labor, the editorial role has become more specialized and many of the tasks that an editor assumes they hold given to other departments (Thornton, 2005). Many of the editor's tasks are outsourced, to make production leaner and cheaper, and the money is invested in promotional activities instead.

As one commentator describes

Whereas an editor or publisher could say twenty years ago, 'our authors write books, they don't talk about them,' no author in their right minds can stay off the publicity tour. He or she has to attend book signings, will have to make appearances at the ever larger literary festivals throughout the UK, will have to appear on radio and TV and will have to have a long portrait produced in the quality newspapers. Nowadays, British publishers invest enormous sums of money in marketing campaigns – and in paying very large advances to just a few writers. Because publishers rely so heavily

on famous writers and on bestsellers, the so-called midlists have lost their importance, as have editors and the close working relationship which used to exist between writers and editors. (Brown, 2006)

Literary agents played a role in shaping the idea of the book and the image of author to make them ready for public consumption. The agent has also replaced the editor as the steady influence, the fixed point in authors' professional lives. With the increase of subsidiary and international sales, agents play an increasingly bigger role. This is exhibited in contract negotiation, especially in setting advance royalty figures (Brown, 2006).

The reconfiguration does mean that economic and market pressures inform all activities. Activities in publishing are instead depicted as Bourdieu suggests, by two poles, on the one side are bestsellers and other commercial genres such as romances and nonfiction which are referred to as 'short sellers' that sell hundreds of thousands of copies. Around the other pole are 'up market' more literary works such as short stories and poetry or drama which less than a thousand at most in the first year of publication (Sapiro, 2003). The distinction between the poles leads to classifications in terms of 'up market' or 'commercial.' Furthermore, this distinction is also used to classify different roles in publishing, for example, at the pole of large scale circulation are international agents (literary agents, scouts, rights managers). In contrast at pole of small scale circulation or 'relatively autonomous fields' are writers, literary critics for that literary field (Sapiro, 2008). Along this division are different literary prizes and literary criticism. Prizes at the pole of large scale production ratifies the success of a book in the media and in sales while at the pole of restricted production, aesthetical judgement is most important (Sapiro, 2003).

### *The Publishing Chain*

While publishing may be understood as having experienced reconfiguration and while, activity within publishing may be understood in terms of small and large scale circulation,

publishing includes a range of agents or a 'chain' (See Appendix C). A brief overview of the roles and processes of the publishing chain is useful for subsequent discussion. The starting point of the 'publishing chain' is the acquisition of content. Publishers acquire content from authors. In some cases, authors work independently of publishers and submit work to publishers via a literary agent. In other cases editors in publishing house develop book projects; their task it to commission a work and find an author to write it. The authors serve as a main source of content, although intermediaries such as literary agents play a role. The literary agent scouts for and signs authors and negotiates terms with publishers on behalf of authors. Another intermediary is the book packagers that produce and develop content for book projects and then sell ideas to the publishers who go on to commission these ideas.

Once the content for a book is acquired the publishers work to develop it, which involves copy editing, text and jacket design, typesetting, proofreading, indexing, printing and binding. This may all be outsourced to specialised firms, freelance editors/designers, or done in-house. Publishers function as bankers in that they make the resources available to cover costs for advances to authors, the costs of acquisition, as well as development and production (Keh, 1998). Once the manuscript is ready, it is sent to a printer. The printer prepares the proofs and assembles them into book form. The publisher makes decisions related to setting prices, print runs, stock, and the sale of subsidiary rights (translations, reprints, serialisation, etc.). Initial prices and print runs are done in a 'formulaic fashion' in which a publisher categorizes a book, then uses a standardized formula for price and print run (Thompson, 2005: 18). This varies if the publisher decides that a book may do well or poorly based on various sources of information as well as 'gut instincts' (Powell, 1985).

Most publishers handle sales and marketing, although smaller publishers may use services of sales reps who work for other publishers or independent publicists to get the books in bookstores. Most publishers outsource warehousing and distribution; however, some large publishing companies handle this on their own, in some cases willing to take on smaller publishers and charge-a commission on sales. For the most part, publishers do not sell books directly to customers, but rather to intermediaries such as wholesalers and booksellers, including-small, independent bookshops as well as large retail chains. These intermediaries decide how many copies of books to stock, how to display them and whether to reorder further copies. The large chains are in a position to demand improved sales terms such as discounts from publishers. Most booksellers and wholesalers buy stock on a sale-or-return basis, which means that if books don't sell within a certain period, they can return unsold copies to the publisher. Given this the publishers must decide once the initial print run (usually in hardback) has run out whether to reprint or introduce a lower-priced paperback edition. Tied to this is the decision to take a book out of print, which occurs when the cost of warehousing may be too much to keep a slow-selling title in print (Thompson, 2005).

## **Publishing in Scotland**

### *The 'Golden Age' of Scottish Publishing*

Publishing in Scotland was characterized by slow development until the eighteenth century when the Jacobite Rebellion stimulated a revival of publishing that later provided a base for the Enlightenment. Although such Scottish writers as David Hume, Adam Smith and James Boswell took their books to London to be published, the establishment of both the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1768) and the *Statistical Account* along with the exploitation of loopholes in copyright protection, promoted publishing activity in Scotland to the point where, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Edinburgh challenged the position of London.

The nineteenth century marked a ‘golden century’ of Scottish publishing (see Table 5.3) (Napier, 1991). Scottish publishers were able to use the financial capital accumulated through reprints and educational publishing to invest in new authors. The capacity to generate original and exclusive affiliations with successful authors assured a place in the global market for publishers in Scotland. One of the leading Scottish publishers, Archibald Constable, broke publishing norms and took a risk in running huge print runs of Sir Walter Scott’s novel. That event has been referred to as the origin of the phenomenon of the ‘Scotch Novel.’

Scottish publishers capitalized on overseas markets. Nelson’s Publishers of Scotland were the earliest British publishing house to open a United States office (Finkelstein & McCleery, 2007). Chambers, another Scottish publisher led the British popular literary market, while Blackwood’s, a Glasgow based publishing house, published many of the leading writers of the day, including George Eliot, Joseph Conrad and E.M Forester. Murray’s published such important books as Darwin’s *Origin of the Species* and the *History of France* and *Mesopotamia*. By the 1880s the names of Chambers, Nelson, Collins, Blackie, Bartholomew and other leaders of international publishing were established.

**Table 5.3: Publisher Profiles: The ‘Golden Era’ of Scottish Publishing**

<b>Firm</b>	<b>Est.</b>	<b>Prominent Backlist Titles</b>	<b>Innovative Practices</b>
<b>Archibald Constable (A&amp;C Black)</b>	1774	Sir Walter Scott’s <i>Waverley</i> ; The Antiquary; Guy Mannering; Encyclopedia Britannica	<i>Waverley</i> marked the first publication in British publishing to break through to mass market; first time a book sold 1,000 copies per week as opposed to the industry norm of selling in small batches of 720 to 1000. A & C Black would later buy copyrights to Constable’s publications after his failure in 1824 crash
<b>Bartholomew &amp; Sons</b>		Frontispiece map for Robert Louis Stevenson’s <i>Treasure Island</i> (published in 1883) By the 1880s, all British geographical, medical and	Pioneers in cartography, devised new techniques for the production of contoured maps and first to work with novelists on creating literary map classics

		botanical works were produced by Bartholomew	
<b>Blackie &amp; Sons</b>	1809	Children's books by authors such as G.A. Henry and Bessie Marchant	Dominated overseas as well as local markets with educational readers
<b>William Blackwood &amp; Sons</b>	1816	Susan Ferriers' Marriage and The Inheritance; John Galt's Annals of the Parish; James Hogg's The Private Memoirs of a Justified Sinner	Promotion of authors through monthly literary journal (Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine), featuring prominent authors George Eliot, Anthony Trollope, Edward Bulwer-Lytton and R.D. Blackmore.
<b>Oliver &amp; Boyd</b>	1807	First Medical books to be sold abroad	Medical publishing and educational textbook publishing, particularly dominating overseas markets
<b>William &amp; Robert Chambers</b>	1819	Works of Author Conan Doyle; <i>Chambers's Encyclopaedia</i>	Pioneers in cheap, mass volume journal and book publishing. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, a 'penny weekly' reached a record circulation of 50,000.
<b>William Collins</b>	1819	Works by Henry James, Vita Sackville West, Rose Macaulay, Winifred Holtby and Roasmond Lehmann. Principle publisher of romance fiction with Mills and Boon	Leading religious works and educational publishing in Britain. Introduced illustrated Pocket Classics at 1shilling, Achieved monopoly on 'Bible printing'
<b>John Murray</b>	1768	Jane Austen, Arthur Conan Doyle, Lord Byron, Charles Lyell, Johann Wolfgang, von Goethe, Herman Melville	Influential publishing house in Britain
<b>Thomas Nelson &amp; Sons</b>	1835	Educational and textbooks across the UK	First to implemented new technology, special rotary press to become leading schoolbook publishers. First British publisher to open US office

During this time period Scotland was fixed at the centre of publishing activity internationally:

By the end of the nineteenth century, the story that the Scottish book trade told itself was one of ambition and achievement. The major firms typically memorialized themselves in trade histories full of brilliant careers and philanthropic gestures tied to the story of Scotland ... transformed itself from a small agricultural nation on the periphery of Europe to a major industrial force with international significance. In doing so, it had made a reputation in the world of books out of all proportion to its size and population (Finkelstein, 2007: 57).

The ‘golden era’ of ‘Scottish publishing’ included not only the growth of successful Scottish publishing houses but the emergence of Scottish writers, printers, literary agents and an increasingly literate reading public. Also, significant to this era was the development of a ‘Scottish Literary Canon’ which evolved through literary publications such as the *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929) and *Blackwood’s Magazine* (1817-1980) (McCleery, 200&). Sir Walter Scott, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Robert Louis Stevenson were among the notable writers of the period to which the ‘Scottish Canon’ referred (Garside, 2007). In addition, printers were also associated with the ‘golden era’ indicated reference to The ‘Edinburgh Scale’ which became the standard by which British printers estimated their costs for the combination of printing and publishing (McCleery, Finkelstein & Renton, 2009).

#### *Contemporary Scottish Publishing*

As a result of changes in the broader field of publishing, retail organization, and price restructuring, most Scottish publishers had been taken over, sold or ceased to exist by the 1980s. All the prominent independent Scottish family-run publishing houses were replaced by international conglomerates (see Table 5.4).

**Table 5.4: Takeovers/ Merger & Acquisitions: ‘Golden Era’ Scottish Publishing Houses**

<b>Firm</b>	<b>Merger and Acquisition / Takeover</b>
<b>William Blackwood &amp; Sons</b>	1980s merge with Edinburgh printers Pillans & Wilson
<b>Oliver &amp; Boyd</b>	1962 acquired by the Financial Times; publishing arm was sold to Longman Pearson; 1990 ceased operations in Edinburgh.
<b>Thomas Nelson &amp; Sons</b>	1962 taken over by the Thomson Organisation; merged with Stanley Thornes to become Nelson Thornes, subsidiary of the multinational Dutch information services firm Wolters Kluwer in 2002
<b>William &amp; Robert Chambers</b>	1956 merged with Harrap
<b>Blackie &amp; Sons</b>	1991, operations were broken up and incorporated into other companies – its children’s, academic and educational lists, for example, going to its former rival Nelson.

<b>William Collins</b>	1980 taken over by News International and merged with Harper & Row to become HarperCollins; headquartered in New York but with a warehouse, reference and cartographic base in Glasgow.
<b>Bartholomews</b>	1990 merged with HarperCollins

However, roughly around the same time of the merger and acquisitions, Scottish publishing and writing experienced a revival (McCleery, 2007). Coinciding with an increased nationalism and a devolved Scottish parliament, ‘Scottish writing’ began to be taken seriously by publishers in Scotland and England. Amid debates on devolution, there was a resurgence of interest in Scottish culture, and alongside it a revival in publishing companies based in Scotland, as opposed to Scottish firms based in London.

A number of independent houses were founded in the 1970s in the midst of the revival in Scottish cultural and political consciousness include Canongate, Mainstream, Akros Press, Polygon Press, John Donald and Tuckwell (Finkelstein, 2007). These new independent houses published fiction and nonfiction aimed at a general market, not confined to Scotland, ‘but with a distinctly Scottish flavour to the lists of author and subjects’ (*Scottish Publishers Association*, 2004). Polygon Press, for example, began as a student organization attached to Edinburgh University in the 1970s and played a significant role in nurturing new Scottish talent by publishing significant works by James Kelman, Janice Galloway, Liz Lochhead, Louise Walsh and Alexander McCall Smith.

The award of the Booker Prize to the Scottish author, James Kelman, raised a national question as to what constitutes ‘serious literary fiction’? This opened up a debate and raised awareness of ‘Scottish writing’ and on what basis it should or should not be included. As a literary reviewer describes ‘the Glaswegian urban socialism represented in Kelman’s *How Late it Was, How Late it Was*, sent shock waves through publishing when it won the Booker (in 1994). He emphasizes the voice of women as opposed to men, and uses ‘a Galswegian dialect that causes offense to middle class anglophile Scottishry and traditional

understandings of what is considered 'literary' and a contender for the Booker' (Bookseller, 1994 In Todd, 1996: 57). The choice of Kelman for the prize coincided with the appointment of new judge, Balyely, to the Booker selection committee who is described as being appointed to the panel was chosen to 'lower the brow' and judge favorably books of 'readability' (Todd, 1996). The following comment is from the appointed judge, Balyely, at the time the Booker was awarded to Kelman. He argues,

Highbrow critics sometimes object that although the Booker is the most prestigious in the world of the novel in the UK, all such prizes tend to commercialize art. I find this rubbish. On the contrary I think the fashion and pretension are the great enemies of all fine art today. In looking for good fiction I feel the Booker judges should make no distinction between different kinds of excellence in the genre. Personally I would be pleased to give the prize to a really good murder mystery or scientific fantasy or to a gripping tale about cooks or icons, astronauts or tennis players-whatever had real and rare talent in its own line and is not merely modish junk, seeking to show off. (In Todd, 1996: 57)

This quote is illustrative of the how positions and position taking take place around poles of restricted and large scale production. While not specifically referring to Kelman, Baylyely is making the case for inclusion of 'different kinds of excellence,' such as Scottish fiction. Important to note however, as Guillory (1993) asserts, the assumption is that the process of the inclusion or exclusion of texts is identical to the presentational or nonrepresentation of social groups. The sense that a 'Booker prize author' represents a dominant social group, is a socially defined category as defined by race, gender class or national status. This critique of the canon and literary prizes is viewed as reinforcing the exclusion of minority authors from the canon by expressing the same values which determine exclusionary judgments. However, following Bourdieu, Guillory argues 'literary works should be seen as the vector of ideological notion which are not inherent in the works themselves but in the context of their institutional presentation' (Guillory, 1993: ix).

‘Scottish publishing’ received further attention because of the successes by independents that had started up in the 1970s. Cannongate, one of the larger Scottish independents, won a Mann Booker Prize for Fiction for Yann Martell’s *Life of Pi*. Mainstream, achieved significant commercial success with the list of sports biographies aimed at wide market. Polygon, once independent (and wholly owned by Edinburgh University Press but now subsumed within Birlinn), published the Alexander McCall Smith’s series that have achieved international recognition.

By 2010, publishing in Scotland consisted of roughly 90 publishers, of which around 50 have less than 100 titles in print. This has remained largely constant over the period under review (1970s – 2010) (McCleery, Sinclair & Gunn, 2008). The overall picture is of a few large cross-media global conglomerates, such as Harper Collins, with Scottish publishing a small part of their output. The majority are small companies operating at niche or national level (see table 5.5). The majority of the independent publishers were established between 1961 and 1980. While there is a larger failure rate for publishers established in 1980s onwards, the number of active publishers has remained generally static over the last two decades. In 2009 the sales turnover (comprising book sales and sales of rights) of the Scottish book industry was valued at an estimated £200m (at publisher’s invoice terms). When HarperCollins is excluded from this total the figure is reduced to roughly £30m (Finkelstein, 2007). There is thus a great disparity in turnover between the larger publishers and the smaller, a gap that continues to widen.

**Table 5.5: Publishers Operating in Scotland 2005-2010**

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Est.</b>	<b>Titles in Print</b>	<b>Types of Books Published</b>
Scottish based subsidiaries of non-Scottish based parent companies			
Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd	1832	220	Reference Books

Elzevier Science			
HaperColins Publisher	1819	10,000	Fiction & Non Fiction
Hodder and Stoughton and Headline Scotland	2004	121	Fiction & Non Fiction
Penguin Scotland	2004	210	Fiction and Non fiction
Medium Independent Publishers			
Barrington Stoke Ltd	1997	270	Children's Books
Birlinn Ltd *incorporating Tuckwell John Donald/ Mercat/ House of Lochar/ Polygon	1992	800	Fiction & Non Fiction
Brown, Son & Ferguson, LTD	1850	500	Nautical & yachting
Canongate Books	1994	300	Fiction & Non Fiction
Geddes and Grosset	1987	550	Reference, Children's
Luath Press Ltd	1981	200	Fiction & Non fiction
Mainstream *50% owned by Random House	1978	300	Fiction & Non Fiction
Neil Wilson Publishing Ltd	1992	137	Whisky, food, travel
Saint Andrew Press	1954	188	Christian & Scottish
Small / One-man Publishers			
Atelier Books	1987	12	Art
Brown & Whittaker Publishing	1985	21	History & Walking
Capercaillie Books Limited	1990	NA	General
Chapman Publishing	1986	30	Fiction
Cualann Press	1999	20	Fiction & Non Fiction
Dionysia Press Ltd	1989	44	Fiction, Poetry
Dudu Msomba Publications	1993	15	General
Fidra Books Ltd	2005	NA	Children's Books
Fledgling Press Ltd	1993	11	Fiction, Poetry
Goblinshead	1994	33	Books on Scotland
GW Publishing	1999	15	Books on Scotland
Hallewell Publications	1995	40	Guide Books
New Iona Press	1990	6	History
Pocket Mountains Ltd	2002	16	Walking Guides
Sandstone Press Ltd	2002	NA	Education * non fiction
Two Ravens Press Ltd	2006	12	Literary fiction
Whittles Publishing	1986	80	Civil engineering

The domestic Scottish market is the most significant focus for Scottish publishers. Roughly 80% of publishers indicate that more than half their turnover came from sales in Scotland; 53% acknowledge that more than 75% of their sales are in the domestic market (Scottish Publishers Association, 2008). 'There is again a corollary between size and market perspective: the larger the company, the more likely it is to look outwards beyond Scotland for its markets' (McCleery et al., 2008).

Although there has been some recovery of publishing in Scotland, the changes in the wider field of publishing, the role of conglomeration and the rise of retail chains, has a great impact on this 'revival' in Scottish publishing. Chief among these is the demise of the independent Scottish booksellers in the wake of the collapse of the Net Book Agreement such as John Menzies. Established in 1833 during the heyday of Golden Era publishing, John Menzies bought a significant number of bookshops that were going under in the 1930s to stop the extinction of Scottish bookselling. James Thins, another long standing Scottish bookseller, grew to become the fifth largest book retailer the UK. The impact of the NBA seriously impacted on Scottish bookselling. John Menzies was bought by WH Smith in 1998. John Smith and Son ended 251 years as an independent bookselling firm when bought by Coutts Information Services in 2001. James Thin went into voluntary administration in January 2002, selling its academic side to Blackwell's and the general side to Ottakars (Finkelstein, 2007).

## **Conclusions**

This chapter provides a historical account of book publishing in the UK. The genesis of the field in the nineteenth century UK, may be understood as the product of strategies of differentiation from other fields and attempts for autonomy; its structure the outcome of the construction of institutions of 'literary' book publishing. Once institutions are in place, the field of book publishing becomes a field of positional forces with its own history and history of relationships. Within this trajectory of publishing in the UK is the struggle of Scottish publishers, writers and booksellers to position themselves in the field vis-à-vis London.

## **Chapter Six:**

### **The Field Of Book Publishing**

In this chapter, I examine how agents understand book publishing and their role within it. I show how book publishing, as a field, is a distinct entity in which agents share a belief in the value of the stakes. At the same time I illustrate how the ‘stakes’ or capital creates difference and conflict. I elucidate how a ‘publishing’ habitus serves as mechanism through which agents come to understand the value of the stakes and how to compete for them.

#### **Fields**

A ‘field,’ as Entwistle and Rocamora (2006: 735) note, ‘is an abstraction.’ It is in Bourdieu’s (1989: 16) terms ‘an ensemble of invisible relations...which constitute a space of positions external to each other and defined by proximity to, neighborhood with, or distance from each other, and also by their relative position, above or below or yet in between, in the middle.’ A field is relational in that positions are defined in relation to one another. Positions are also ‘objective’ in the sense of being ‘determined’ according to the structure of the field at a particular point in time. Positions are determined through ‘difference.’ That is, positions and position takings within a particular social arena are the attempt by agents or players to differentiate themselves from other players or agents in the field.

Although a field is an abstraction, ‘reality presents itself as strongly structured’ (Bourdieu, 1987:11), in that those within the field present it as though the entity of the field of publishing ‘exists.’ I begin by illustrating how agents understand themselves to be part of a distinct field of publishing. In this way, book publishing may be understood as a shared social space. I then consider how the concept of ‘field’ has purchase in the way agents understand and represent publishing in order to explore the properties of the field.

### *Book publishing as a 'field'*

Following, I outline some of the understandings agents have of publishing as a discrete field and how they understood their positions within it. Quotes chosen are not 'representative' in any quantitative sense but are illustrative of agents' perceptions.

As a 'space of possibilities', the field 'functions as a sort of common system of reference which ensures that even when they do not consciously refer to one another...[agents]...are objectively situated in relation to one another in so far as they refer to the same system of...coordinates or...landmarks' (Bourdieu, 1993: 173). There is an implicit understanding of the 'field' in the way that people operate; in the sense that there was an unspoken understanding that book publishing constitutes a distinct area. Although populated by lots of different people all pursuing different objectives, as one publisher noted 'just about anyone with an interest in books can set up shop' (Publisher D), there is a sense of a common understanding binding everyone together. The common point is that they all 'like books.'

There isn't a whole lot of money in publishing anyway. The writers are badly paid. The booksellers badly paid. And they are all doing it because they see their work as something different. Including the people that work in the bookshops that like to write reviews and stick them up... and its great. It's just as well that they do because they aren't doing it for the money. (Publisher B)

A corollary to the notion that there a sort of common understanding among those within the field is the difficulty of explaining the field to outsiders. One publisher describes meetings with his accountant to illustrate the difficulty of sharing understandings with outsiders, 'Outsiders do not understand what is going on. They can never quite get their head around the sort of madness and illogicalities in the way we work' (Publisher A).

Other agents indicate the sense that they operate in a world that those outside cannot understand. This was exemplified in the following comment by a literary agent who conveys frustration in trying to explain how connections and contracts are arranged in publishing.

‘well, houses may differ slightly in advances or royalties, and a house may try to attract an author by the prestige of its list. But, I really couldn’t explain all this to an MBA’ (Literary Agent C). The way things work within a field are inconceivable to outsiders.

There is often awareness, or at least a suspicion, by those within a field that outsiders ‘just don’t get it’ (Literary Agent A).

We, as literary agents, are misunderstood as making a ton of more money than we do. It takes a long time for an agency to start making money off of royalties. I went to the bank and the guy said, ‘I wish you could show me something.’ I guess he wanted me to plunk a widget down on his desk and I responded, ‘Well, we are trying to make sustainable careers for writers.’ Because they are in a commercial world, they don’t understand that in literature it’s the people who are passionate that help books reach the market. Because they haven’t worked in publishing they just don’t understand that. (Literary Agent D)

Although a marketplace for some agents, ‘industry events’ such as book festivals and book fairs serve to reinforce the distinctiveness of book publishing. These events are used as a medium of judging those who are really of the field. ‘True book people love Frankfurt because we feel a sense of belonging, a sense of kinship, when you find others that are just as excited as you are about an interesting title or an innovative project’ (Editor C). For others book fairs and festivals, without an economic purpose, lose role and function as revealed in one editor’s account of a budget discussion with a new managing director who had an MBA and no previous work experience in book publishing, ‘I don’t think he (managing director) really understands why we spend so much on the stand at Frankfurt, in fact in his questioning he likened the book fair to a family reunion’ (Editor B).

Insight into how publishing is a discrete area of activity is further advanced by information derived from moments of dissonance that are recounted by insiders. Part of the understanding of publishing as a discrete area of activity is the sense of confusion brought about when what

is taken to be a common understanding is affronted, as reflected in the following comment by a publisher:

I went to Edinburgh Book Festival and I sat with the two editors from Publishing House X. We had both published the same author, but they just ignored me. It seems everyone has to keep relations on a business level and I just felt there was something terribly wrong with that. Are we not all partners in the endeavor of book publishing? (Publisher D)

Another element of publishing as discrete is the sense that 'books are different' and that the processes involved in publishing such as sales and production, are different as result of the distinctiveness of the book as cultural object. This is illustrated in the following,

When I describe my job to people who don't know publishing, it is really tough. I say, 'I work for a publisher and I sell foreign rights.' And they say, 'What does that mean?' And I say, 'Well, a book of ours gets published in Germany not by magic. We have to find the German publisher for it. If we don't publish it we have to find someone to do it for us; to do the translation; to publicize it over there; to know their market and to know their audience'. It doesn't matter how I explain it, it sounds like I work in sales and I always think of sales as sleazy. I do books and that's different. You know, books are nice. Before I came to [X] I was in real estate and I hated it. I was having to sell these horrible flats. Now, no matter how I describe my work, it sounds like I work in sales. I guess I do, but it is nice sales and it's selling things that are important and what people want to buy. I mean, I'm not cold calling. It's people who are interested in our books coming to us. And, people find it difficult to understand that a lot of the books are not produced in Germany or Spain. It's a US or a UK publisher that produces them and then they are bought in. People don't understand that process. I mean if you live in Germany you see that you get Harry Potter over there. (Rights Manager A)

The nature of the product, the book as cultural product, also brings with it for some a moral relationship and responsibility to the author:

We are publishing a book that is very much like *Train Spotting*. It's about a guy who didn't have a great childhood and he wrote this huge manuscript about it. He originally wrote it to apologize to his wife and explain why he was the way he was...why he was a tough guy and treated her poorly. It was huge and written by hand. We signed it up and were really excited to be publishing it. I remember thinking, 'We have taken this guy's life, this guy's huge document and we slashed it down to a small book that will look the part, have the right jacket and be put on supermarket shelves.' It's times like that that you think that's quite tough. You know this is somebody's life; who has written this for a reason. It's just that we have taken so much content out and changed it to fit the market and make it sell lots of copies. Whereas he didn't write it to make money but now he's going to make money,

because we changed it around to get it in supermarkets. It is quite difficult to come to terms with but it's just the way the industry works. (Rights Manager C)

From the sense of publishing as being different comes the view that there is not and cannot be 'one' model of 'doing business.'

It is an incredibly complicated business, more so than any other. Everyone in the business is running their organizations differently. They all have different markets and their idea of what they are doing is different. They might be deluded about what they are doing, I mean I might be completely deluded...it may be that I've misunderstood what's happening here completely. (Publisher E)

One differentiating factor that was attributed to publishing is an 'inherent unknowability' (Caves, 2002). One publisher described the factor as follows: 'The problem of course is that we are just left in the dark when it comes to making these decisions on books. Some of our best selling writers, who we have to pay huge advances for a book, may put out a book that just fails to capture mass public interest' (Publisher A).

Common in publisher's descriptions of their work was a reference to publishing as a 'free for all,' with no hard and fast rules about publishing or about how to go about doing it. There was even the suggestion from a number of the publishers that they were not entirely sure if they understood what publishing was really about. They noted doing certain things in certain ways because this is 'just how I see it' (Publisher B). In most interviews, the conclusion is, 'it is an amazing business to be in; it beats widget making or whatever' (Publisher D). However, this is not recognized by all, as one rights manager explained, 'a book is a product with a price, just like fish fingers.' While there is a sense of publishing as discrete and different, it is difficult to refer to book publishing *tout court*. As the comment equating books to fish fingers and book fairs to family reunions suggests, there are significant differences within publishing. This may be understood in terms of different positions in field.

## Capital

‘Positions’ are to some extent, dependent on the amount of field specific resources, or capital, that they possess. ‘The crux of any individual’s position (and his or her subsequent choices about position taking) within a particular field is the quantity and form of capital (social, economic, and cultural) accrued by that individual’ (Grenfell & Hardy, 2003:23). Capital is the specific cultural and social assets that are invested with value within the field (Naidoo, 2004).

Following is a description of how agents or players appear to understand the capital that structures the field. Again, quotes chosen are not ‘representative’ in any quantitative sense but rather are indicative of the different capitals at stake in the field and how they are understood by those working in the field.

### *The Book as Economic Capital*

The book functions as economic capital. This is reflected in the following comment by a rights manager of an independent publisher who describes why she acquired the rights to a book.

This most recent book ticked all my boxes. With foreign rights I knew there would be interest. It’s a moving story, so there’s a publicity tick. And also it is from an author based in the UK so there was another publicity tick. And it’s not too ‘foreign focused’ for the supermarkets and bookshops that tend to be quite insular. You asked about homegrown stories. I feel that in the last few years that is how we’ve turned. We used to buy lots from Australia, and some from the US, and Australian stories worked well here. And well, now we are guilty of what we used to criticize American publishers for, saying ‘Well, they are really great stories. But, sorry, it has to be American.’ Now we do the same thing. We have to make it work financially. I knew it wasn’t going to be a book that we could sell through supermarkets, so we couldn’t do 30,000 copies. And if you are not going to do 30,000 copies, you are not going to give a massive advance. So we started off with assuming a mid list sort of title but one that we would make money back on. I just want to know that with buying it, we can get money back, without having to rely on a UK sales team. So with [X], we paid 2000 dollars for it and immediately, two days later sold it for 25,000 Euros to a Dutch publisher. So immediately we made money on the book without even printing the

book. And then we sold it to Italy for 15,000 and Poland for 5,000. So immediately [we're] making money on it. The author's making money. As soon as we have paid out advance they get the money. (Rights Manager B)

The above quote illustrates how a book generates economic capital for a publisher. Economic capital 'implies purchasing power in a direct, immediate and explicit sense' (Grenfell & Hardy, 2003: 23). In discussing book lists, many were described in terms of other books that either were well known for 'succeeding' or 'sinking' in terms of sales.

I always stay in touch with the wholesalers. I will go to them with two or three ideas and ask, 'Do you think you can sell this?' I listen carefully and encourage him to be honest. I cultivate relationships with those I can trust. Then I go with what he thinks is a sure thing. (Publisher E)

As a specification of economic capital, different types of books are evaluated based on sales value. 'Poetry has the shelf life of yogurt and first novels are a close second,' one publisher describes. As Bourdieu (1993: 183) notes, 'poetry, the exemplary incarnation of 'pure' art, does not sell.'

Publishers frequently said that they made decisions based on 'gut' instinct of the market. 'I choose based on my instincts of what will sell, or I'll make a phone call to check sales figures of a comparable book.' For this reason, some publishers likened themselves to gamblers.

But, of course, it's always a gamble because you never know for sure how something will do. But we try our damndest to sort that out ahead of time. So we know how certain kinds of book did for us last year, or three years ago, and so if something comes along that we figure will reach those same sort of people and might be as successful or more successful as what we did before, then we'll go for it. For instance, you are aware that the big thing in publishing this year is this cook book, well between now and next Christmas we might do something the similar. (Publisher A)

Some publishers come up with annual strategies in which every book gets a graph which would record how much money they can expect to make on it, in the long term based on how similar books have done.

So if we produce 30 or 40 books a year, we draw a graph. Maybe 2 would only stay in print for one year, 20 might stay in print for 5 years and 18 might stay in for 15 to 20 years which is fantastic in terms of building that cumulative list. (Publisher A)

Every book has its graph and we recorded whether sales or up and down or just up. Based on this we have a fair idea of what we'll do in 2008, we have a rough idea that we will do one crime fiction, and three other novels and five books of poetry. Each year it does vary some but it a lot like any other industry for which you'd be out doing focus groups and market research. The exact same sort of thing happens in publishing. (Publisher B)

One independent publisher described how his company had managed to be so successful. He attributed it to having information about the market and using it wisely.

We had our own sales force which was unusual for medium sized publishers and we had our own reps that were very, very loyal to us. We called them our key account managers and they handled the accounts in their designated regions and for a while they were our knights. So one of them handled Waterstones and the other would go handle the supermarkets. We survived because we never gave a discount and definitely did not give an extra discount if we knew the books were going to sell. A book by a Rangers footballer, for instance, was a sure thing for us. And we were brutal with the retailers and we did a great job standing our ground. We were one of the few companies that remained independent for twenty five years and never had a year of non profitability. We had always been about going for the bestseller list and we would never print books until we had orders for them. (Publisher E)

In these examples the book functions as economic capital as is revealed in publishers descriptions of strategies and approaches.

### *The Book as Cultural Capital*

Books are treated as objects that have symbolic value. In the case of book retail, for example, the work is constructed as different because it is selling something important. As one book store manager describes,

people build special rooms for them and collect them and rely on them as symbols of a variety of qualities that may be ascribed to the individuals who possess them. They are produced in publishing houses not factories or plants. As they can be representations of the sacred or of the profane; as works of art or sentiment; records of human achievement and ideology and as entertainment and more, books have value beyond the price of the paper and printing. (Book Retail B)

Within book publishing cultural capital acts as an important resource. This is illustrated in the way an imprint signifies status; most notably through the names of the published books on the list and the prizes those books have won. As one publisher explained:

We now have over four books on our list that have taken prizes; one Booker, which of course puts you in a whole different league. So our imprint is associated with that kind of publishing. And it certainly helps when we are bidding on a book because authors want to be attached to our imprint because of how we are known.(Publisher A)

Publishers suggest that imprints are also useful in providing buyers a way to make a choice on books. One interviewee said ‘people will see a Canongate book and think, Wow! They published *Life of Pi* so they will have interesting stuff’ (Publisher B).

Imprints serve as an artifact presumed to denote success. They also serve as a mechanism for assembling and representing/presenting associative elements- specifically the list of notable books offered by a particular publisher. There is judgment at work in the classifying process that attends to the convention of imprints in publishing. The imprint is a way of being known; a reputation. He describes, ‘You have to build up a list and then work to have your imprint known. You have to work very hard to get a reputation’ (Rights Manager B). Another echoes that explanation and adds: ‘I think there are certain big names and imprints in publishing that people know and trust and think the books will be good if they see that name on it.’ (Rights Manager C). Similarly a literary agent suggests,

I will be successful if I can give a book my stamp of approval and it be respected; If an agent is top tier of and has long standing relationships their books are looked at quickly not delegated to a first time intern (Literary Agent C)

Attending fairs and conventions serves a similar purpose to gather information. One of the major purposes of the trade fairs is to see who is represented, find out who is doing what and to enhance visibility by being seen. It is a way of finding out what is going on and indicating

one's position in the field. The importance is physical presence of being seen in the field (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006).

### *Capital as Weapon and Stakes*

As Bourdieu (1991: 72) writes, 'the field is overwhelmingly defined by its distributive possibilities between groups of people differentially positioned within it, the stances and strategies those positions afford, and the conditions of access to those positions.' The concept of capital is useful in the endeavor to further make sense of different individual-level stances as connected to a system of durable positions.

Two different positions toward books (as cultural resource or economic commodity) represent twin poles within the field of book publishing. With the field structured by these twin poles, agents within it are obliged to position themselves according to the capital they perceive they possess. This compels them to try to recognize what their capital is and through this, try to enhance their position. While the field is a forum in which there is competition for economic capital, it also accommodates competition for cultural capital.

The different forms of capitals are identifiable in action. They are often revealed through a look at contrasting ways in which people 'play the game.' Capital can be understood as 'energy' that drives the development of the field. It is both a stake and entails a strategy or a 'weapon' in how to play the game to accumulate a particular form of capital. A consideration of success (or lack of it) in relation to playing the game is informative of capitals at work and one's position in the field. This is revealed in the comment by one agent:

When I mentioned this whole 'misery memoir genre' to the independents they were just disgusted by it and by that kind of routine in publishing. Of course that's exactly why they are doing what they are doing. They are small independent publishers, publishing stuff they are passionate about. And they are not selling huge numbers. What matters to them are their own little discussions between them. It's a completely different game if you are trying to get into supermarkets and sell a lot. (Rights Manager B)

In this we see different specifications of capital. When the book is treated as a cultural capital, internally determined rules of evaluation and measures of success are what matters. The book as economic capital, involves figuring out how to sell the book like any other commodity in a supermarket.

Books are described and their value defined in ways that correspond to the rules of the game and how winning is realized. One interviewee recognized this in this anecdote that she shared:

I sat next to a buyer from Tesco at a dinner and she kept talking about ‘products,’ brand names’ and ‘premium versions,’ when all I think she was really talking about was different kinds of books. (Publisher B)

Capital is not substantive. Instead it is mobilized through day-to-day activity, as a relational resource, as illustrated in the following account by a director of a publishers association.

On the day of my first job I received two phone calls. The first from a book publisher who complained about a poetry promotion we were running. Our association, he said, was hopelessly, and terminally un-commercial; wasteful of public money; ignorant of the market place and of no use to anyone who wanted to make a profit on books. And that reality was a strange reality to us. I did, in the end, manage to explain that actually I had run my own bookselling business and that I liked his books. Then I received a call from a poetry publisher exactly one hour later who said we were hopeless philistines who knew nothing about literature, writers, and all we cared about was crass commercialism. (Trade Assoc. A)

The medium for relations in the field is capital. Each of the two publishers who phoned understood the role of the publishers association differently and this influenced how they interpreted the position. Here interpretation contingent on the capital at stake for them. That is, ‘capital is the profits that are at stake in the field’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 97) played out relationally in the field. Another example is offered by an author who explained her association with first one agent then another and recounts what motivated the move.

My last agent rarely communicated with me and when he did he said, ‘You need to do what you did with ‘book x’ about every three years’... I left that agent and my current

agent is quite literary, quite high brow. At that House, they have authors that win lots of prizes and things. When we first met I asked one, ‘What is your relationship like with your authors?’ And he said, ‘I trust the author and believe in what the author is doing.’ When he said that, I was sold. And now he’s just waiting to see what I am going to do. He made me feel better by saying that he liked my voice and what I was saying. (Author B)

Struggles take place over forms of capital distinctive to a particular field. This is revealed in debates over the value of imprints in publishing. From the position of the retail trade, imprints are of little value to book retailers. According to one retailer, ‘For the most part book buyers don’t pay any attention to the imprint or who the publisher is. ...Publishers are just talking to themselves’ (Book Retail C).

During a panel discussion at a book fair on the topic of imprints, a buyer from one of a bookstore chains commented on a recent decision by a big conglomerate publisher to eliminate twenty six of their different imprints. The buyer commented ‘imprints add zero value to our business. Thank you for eliminating the clutter.’ The publisher defended the choice to eliminate the imprints in the following

Well, someone may argue that authors and agents do care. Well, maybe. Of the three groups, this is the one that I’ve found has the most knowledge of and affection for imprints. For those who care, imprints are sometimes like fraternities or sororities. They feel emotionally connected to the imprint. But even here, I have found that nearly every author and agent is willing to set the imprint aside when they understand that the imprint is really competing for the single most elusive and expensive commodity on the planet today—consumer attention. Every dollar spent to promote an imprint is a dollar not spent to promote what consumers really care about: authors and topics. Publishers have to get to the point where they are willing to acknowledge that it’s not about them. It’s about the consumer.

He concluded by saying that the decision to eliminate imprints remains problematic because:

The truth is that most of us in the industry are so caught up in the matrix that we have difficulty thinking clearly about imprints and their value. It’s like asking a fish to think of a world without water.

Capital in action is the enactment of the principle of the field. 'It is the realization in specific forms of power' (Moore, 2008, 105). According to this definition, capital is not accurately framed as a material object but only as a realized or appreciated entity available only in the context of the actual 'game' where it is pursued. 'It is relationships that valorize capital and not some intrinsic or essentialist feature of the items themselves' (Moore, 2008, 108). The two forms of capital are not necessarily antithetical, however. The valorization of economic capital and cultural capital are inextricably intertwined.

### **Positions vis-à-vis Economic and Cultural Capital**

The following examines differentiating positions in publishing. The relations in publishing function within the context of tensions between economic and cultural capital. I examine the stances of the main players, or agents that constitute the field of publishing as tied to the positions they adopt vis-à-vis different forms of capital.

#### *Publisher*

Each publishing house has different positions and strategies for position taking.

We are all infatuated with books that we can publish. Canongate (medium sized independent publisher) chooses whatever they choose, Penguin and Bloomsbury (large publishing houses) chooses whatever they choose and Two Ravens (small independent publisher) chooses whatever they choose. It is the publishing decision that is the fundamental thing here. We've all got to decide how to measure things. It's the sort of unwritten part of publishing. I try to figure out if I can sell enough to make it worth publishing. (Publisher E)

There is an awareness of publishing as an economic activity. Publishers' relationship with the market is distinguished by one editor as being either 'publish to sell' or 'sell to publish.'

There are two kinds of publishers. There is one kind that decides something is worth putting out there so they publish it and try to find a market for it. Then there are those that know there is a market for something and they just zero in on producing that, without attention to much else. (Publisher C)

From the 'publish to sell' position, the starting point is to identify the market and then to define the type of writing to be published. Here, the publishing decision is a relative position

vis-à-vis the economic. This is illustrated in one publisher's description of their strategy of 'following in the footsteps' of the commercial successes of other publishers. 'Once it is clear there is a market for it, people try to do the same thing, I guess we are always up for doing what I see other publishers are able to sell, especially if we think it will work for us.'

In the 'sell to publish' perspective, the starting point is with the manuscript with the secondary task being to figure out a way to sell it. Many publishers of this orientation place emphasis on their duties and obligations as a 'patron of learning and arts.' This is revealed in some publishers' reference to 'bringing books out,' not as selling them. Within this position, publishing is about 'getting the books out there' and experimenting with ways to do this given economic constraints. As one publisher describes,

No one had any commercial aims or expectations. We had just 1,000 print run which is not much. Nobody went into this expecting to make commercial profit and certainly not a long term imprint... it was very much seen as an experiment into how to broaden the market for niche books. we were all about ideas, more so than about selling something. It was geared toward trying out an experiment to see if it worked. Which I suppose it did work on its own terms, but for it to survive we would have needed a lot of subsidies and people would have had to give up and work full time. I don't think anybody would have been able to continue. (Publisher D)

Publishers of this orientation publish books that they know will lose money or just break even.

I have put out several books that I know will not sell in large numbers. I just cannot predict with any accuracy which books will become the standard reading of the next decade, let alone those that will become the classics of the next half century, and so I understand that in some way I am a gambler of sorts, betting on books that will last. (Publisher A)

Here, the focus is on putting out books that will contribute to a literary cannon. The publishing decision is a position vis-à-vis the cultural. A few publishers see themselves as continuing the literary tradition of those that started the houses, and see publishing as a moral enterprise rather than as just a trade. Positions are emphasized through opposition, 'we are very different from those other grubby profit requiring types' (Publisher C). During an

informal discussion at the Frankfurt book fair one publisher, who owned a small press, defined himself as ‘the complete opposite of those venturesome gamblers, relentless merchandisers, and conservative back list builders,’ pointing to the stands of the big publishing conglomerates. However, this orientation does not mean that economic imperatives are ignored entirely, instead the ‘emphasis’ is on publishing books considered ‘worthwhile’ as illustrated in the following,

But actually one never deliberately publishes a book which you know will lose money, simply you can be careful about the number you will print... I think the way you look at it would be that you would publish something you think is worthwhile, but you don’t think you will make any money. There is a slight difference of emphasis here. But honestly we do- I think all good publishers do- publish books that are worthwhile even though they may be noncommercial; but not too many of them. (Publisher B)

In devising a front and back list many publishers put out books that they know that will make money. This strategy serves to free up money to put toward more financially ‘risky’ ventures.

Although there is a strong association between large publishing houses and ‘commercially oriented lists,’ the two are not necessarily coterminous. For example, the following describes a comment from a publisher of a small scale publishing house.

When I started, the idea was to build up the business in small regional sections and to figure out what books they would definitely buy in those areas. All I wanted to do was to just wave it in front of them and then they would buy it. I wanted to make the books as cheap as possible and put them in baskets by the tills and hope people pick them up and buy them like chewing gum. (Publisher D)

Here the publisher decides on manuscripts by what will sell in a market he has defined. From this perspective the object of publishing is to make the sale of books like any other commodity. From this position, the book cannot be seen solely in cultural terms. For example, one publisher stressed in an interview that although it was good to have a sense of cultural responsibility, this is of little use if it causes one to go out of business.

Obviously we see ourselves not just in the business of making money, but that we do have some cultural responsibilities. I wouldn't want to play them down. But too often the danger in publishing has been that people put that before making money. And then they wonder why they go broke in five years. (Publisher A)

Some publishers acknowledged the need to balance potentially conflicting demands of culture and commerce.

Publishing is a business like any other; unless it is run on commercial lines you are going to go bust. I really think you have to make books pay. I am not sure that commercial considerations are that far from the literary ones. (Publisher E)

Publishers recognize two different 'poles,' the cultural and the economic. There is not a denial of either but an understanding of positions in terms of both. That is, there is shared understanding that both the cultural and economic imperatives exist. Differentiation among publishers takes place in terms of these poles. Publishers identify varying degrees of 'commercial' publishing as positions within the space of possibilities within publishing, as well as different stances in terms of the cultural.

### *Rights Managers*

The rights manager is a role that is focused largely on the buying and selling of rights, however the process of selling rights, requires that rights managers have a sense of how different imprints are valued and reputations in book publishing to do this. This position also commands authority because of the understanding of the value of books in terms of the market.

The classification between culturally oriented and commercially oriented positions was a recurring issue that was raised throughout interviews with rights managers.

We went to the Book Expo in America with a group of other publishers. There were 14 of us on that trip and 3 of us worked in rights. We were the three there that were really there to make money. We wanted to show our books to publishers and show off our rights lists. The others were independent publishers and editors and you could tell were complete opposites. We were the ones that were there to make money and they

were the ones that decided to go to discuss literature. We do love books as much as they do but, we were also there meeting with people from magazines and various literature magazines and the *New Yorker* and they were really there to talk about the literature they found interesting. They came to New York just for that and we were there trying to get meetings with editors. (Rights Manager A)

However, this does not suggest that publishers may be clearly classified as either commercial or cultural. Publishers do not necessarily publish books solely for the market, but with other publishers, literary agents and authors in mind. This is exemplified in the way ‘imprints’ function in publishing for rights managers. The imprint may have more significance to and among publishers than it does for the purchaser, according to one rights manager.

Imprints and lists are an inside, industry thing. Our name, our imprint, counts for something within the industry. In terms of rights, for example a publisher will say to us at book fairs that there is no real reason for us to meet with you. This is because we are not known to have the kind of books that they publish or want to buy rights to. It’s difficult to pinpoint because if you look at our list we do have a wide range of books. We have got ‘man books’ and then we have the pink Mrs. Mills book. It’s difficult to understand because our list is diverse but then there must be something behind that, that makes us recognizable as Publishing House X. Well I guess X (the director) would say that we are quite cutting edge, a little risky and our imprint is supposed to convey that. I think it’s all really a trade thing. (Rights Manager A)

Imprints function as a way for publishers to designate themselves and differential themselves from others. It also conveys how publishers position themselves vis a vis the cultural pole. This informs decisions on what books to take on in order to build a list that denotes an imprint.

Even if a book comes in that sounds fantastic it has got to fit in with our list. Because people will say why in the hell is [X] publishing that? Our name is synonymous with a certain kind of book. For example sports books, we are good at publishing those. It is really difficult to branch out in a different direction. I am assuming X (director) would turn down books that sound amazing because it has to fit in as a [X] (Name of the imprint) book. (Rights Manager B)

Another rights manager describes the significance of their imprint:

I have great affection for it. Our house was established in the late eighteenth century on a backstreet in Edinburgh. We used the name of that street as our imprint, so it tapped right into our heritage in publishing. It also had a really cool logo that connected with authors in all kinds of metaphorical ways. (Rights Manager C)

However, rights managers also speak about the position of power that rights and sales managers occupy as tied to the book as economic power. This is derived from knowledge of the markets and the types of books that are selling. ‘the sales force is the most important voice in the company because at the end of the day we want to make money’ (Rights Manager C).

I think the editorial side does an incredible job. They are not appreciated at all. They work really long hours, they don’t get any perks. I get to travel abroad and I just joined the publishing house. This year I went to NY, London and Turin. I felt really guilty because we get those perks and I don’t know how the editorial side is measured or rewarded. It’s tough for them to prove themselves. People just expect the books to turn out well. Editors are under a huge amount of pressure. We take for granted how much time it takes to produce a good book. I mean, my friends have no idea what publishers do. They say ‘well, do you make books?’, and I say, ‘well, no, we are not printers’. When a book comes to a publisher you can’t sell it. It is in no shape to be sold. You could not sell the stuff as it is when it comes in. They come in horrendously and the editors do an amazing job, not just with grammar and typos, but every little bit must be checked. They get a certain amount of time for each book and as long as they meet that deadline they move on. With editorial it is only noticed when mistakes are made, otherwise the work is largely taken for granted. (Rights Manager A)

The role of rights manager is one that involves understanding how cultural capital functions in publishing combined with an awareness of the significance of the position of rights manager as tied to economic capital. Here once begins to see how positions take place in terms of both economic and cultural capital the understandings of the role of rights manager indicates how economic capital may be understood as dominant in book publishing.

### *Editors*

As already discussed, historically the role of editor holds the primary responsibility for deciding the publishing list and selecting manuscripts. The ‘position’ of editor is one that has traditionally been defined in terms of cultural capital. The changes and reconfiguration of the field have created conflict for those in this position as this position more often functions in terms of the commercial. The editor, is expected to serve an array of functions, and is directly or indirectly tied to the commercial enterprise of publishing.

The role of the editor is difficult to categorize as a 'role' within publishing since editors do so many different things in publishing currently. Very broadly the editorial function entails identifying, assessing and facilitate/coordinating production of a book. It is difficult to find consistencies in how editors describe their role even between editors specializing in the same genres, or among those who work for the size of publishing house. Among editors interviewed, several noted that they had been surprised about the nature of the job even after they had taken it on. One editor describes, 'I found that it entailed work very different from what I expected' (Editor B). Another editor comments,

The position (editor) is never what you think it will be. In my second editorial job I was in effect the imprint's policewoman, making sure that manuscripts and jacket copy successfully moved through production. I was expecting to work on acquiring projects and working with writers but that was not the case. (Editor C)

The ambiguity that pervades the editor role is related to its lack of readily identifiable authority and defined skills. Often trained informally on the job, the editor goes through no formal training. Of the editors interviewed, most were English majors and a lot, aspiring writers. Formal skills are not necessarily identified nor acknowledged, often identified as individualized and not transferrable: 'Editors don't have skills; they have flair' (Publisher C).

Editors understand their work in different ways. Some see it as improving work that has already been created; to shape up an already selected or commissioned work. Other editors describe a more creative and innovative type of work that they do. Some see themselves as formatting and shaping storylines for supermarkets and others the process of editing in terms of certain literary standards. One editor describes a sense of the changing nature of her role in the following 'I now do work that traditionally was of the domain of the author, I'm essentially a co author on a lot of the books that come through' (Editor A). This editor describes the role as being actively involved in the creation and development of manuscripts.

Some editors see their role as an expert, representative of a literary world. These editors draw on norms and tastes outside the publishing house in which they work, defining their work and practices in relation to the cultural worth of the manuscript. Functioning as a gatekeeper, they admit some books while turning away others, but deny that this is a personal choice:

I would say that editors reject the idea that we exercise choice in an active sense. Our task is a straightforward one of deciding whether a prospective book measures up to standards already established by a literary culture. (Editor C)

The comments here indicate a sense of what Bourdieu (1986: 242) refers to as ‘an ethic of disinterested participation.’ The editor quoted above has conceptualized the job of ‘editors’ as ‘representatives’ of and for a literary and cultural standard which they are obliged to maintain. Editors of this orientation construct their work as intended for, and on behalf of, a relatively defined and elite group. Given a choice between being responsible for a ‘literary masterpiece’ or a ‘major best seller’, the choice is for the former, both on their own account and on that of the house that employs them. Only a few would say that they would accept for publication a book whose merits were purely commercial. Editors have traditionally worked in either places or ways that served to separate them from the rest of the publishing house. One editor pointed out that his work in a publishing house did not involve his own participation in some of its critical activities.

There were mergers and acquisitions and the retailers, but we (editors) never really considered all that as a way to do publishing. Most of us don’t have to get involved in that. (Editor D)

Although insistence on publishing a book for reasons of cultural judgment may be profitable, profits are not necessarily immediate, nor may they accrue to the house responsible for publication. For the editor, this may translate into a dilemma summed up this way: ‘if I guess right for posterity, then I have usually guessed wrong for the balance sheet’ (Editor B). A few editors describe their work as being academic, even scholarly and tend to talk about their

schooling and studies that prepared them for their work. While previously this might have been reflective of status, editors increasingly see the extension of task differentiation within publishing houses as eroding their autonomy and their status. Some editors felt that the larger companies, with their emphasis on marketing, allow their sales departments too much influence in the publishing decisions. Many also expressed that they dislike the separation of departments. It appears that the departmentalization has an effect on the flexibility they value. It means that formal channels for communication are used instead of quicker informal ones.

These dilemmas lead to conflict in understanding the function and role of editors. One literary agent describes her perception of the tension within the editorial role

It's odd because I have always been told by editors to look for something new or fresh or something authentic that speaks to you. However, they will often say this would be harder to place so they won't take it. They take things based on whether they believe they can sell it or otherwise they wouldn't want to buy it, of course. (Literary Agent A)

This is reinforced by one's editors comment, 'it is my never ending task to figure out what sort of role they are asking me to fill' (Editor A).

The only type of 'editing' that was described with some precision was the work done by commissioning editors. One commissioning editor describes,

I define a market need, find a writer to fill it, and shape the text against set criteria. There is a lot of collaboration during the writing process itself, so that I am sure that what is being written fits with what is needed, and the author is sure that what is being written is what is wanted. (Editor A)

This is not a perspective that meets the approval of all editors in that it interferes too strongly in the authors' autonomy and the potential creative authenticity of the text. For some this approach oversteps the boundary of an editorial role and is too closely identified with and influenced by the operation of the market: 'They are not really editors, I don't know why they are put in our department, they should be in sales or rights or something' (Editor D).

It is the tensions over the ‘bottom line’ that complicates efforts to describe what it is that editors are supposed to do. No descriptions of the role of editors left out economic concerns entirely. The following illustrates this

All of us have commercial concerns, even the editorial side. We have to do a profit and loss on each book before it is signed up. The production side is mostly focused on that. They look at print runs and how much we have to make back on a title to make it work. The owner is very aware of the market as are all the commissioning editors. There are serious commercial interests but then in saying that, they might go for a book that would not fit our list but sounds amazing. But this is uncommon because we do have a certain type of book that we publish. (Editor B)

The editors I talked to in the larger organizations found their positions difficult, expressing awareness that their sphere of influence is being eroded as decisions about manuscripts are increasingly made by others. ‘We used to have the era of editors, now we have the era of sales staff’ (Publisher A).

The lack of status is reflected for example, in a disagreement an editor had with the director of the house over the rejection of a manuscript. She said, ‘He has this way of making me like a paid employee and not an editor’ (Freelance A). Currently, many editors do not necessarily have direct relationships with authors. Many found that their work had been reduced to just work as text editors.

New editors used to become fully fledged editors by being given the responsibility for building and maintaining their own list of authors. I can’t imagine that happening now. We often times don’t even meet any authors. (Editor)

The position of editor appears to have even more sources of tension in relation to role expectations in a tight financial market

It’s terribly difficult in a world where there are no fixed standards to establish its worth- editing that is. It is made even more difficult when also trying to sell it to an undefined and thus unpredictable market. (Editor C)

The editorial role that is viewed as increasingly restrictive, ‘Now it’s just us and the manuscripts and an occasional committee meeting with the rights people.’ (Editor B)

Editors perceived themselves as subject to shifting uncertainty and contradictory expectations about the roles they perform. Many editors expressed how often they experience role conflict. In their reflections they often linked those feelings to the tension between cultural and commercial capital that characterize their work.

### *Literary Agents*

Literary agents are keenly aware of how publishers position themselves and of the need to represent books that will sell. A number of agents emphasize the books they ‘take on’ as opposed to describing their role in terms of the authors they represent.

I go with commercial books that the supermarkets will take; the ones that will do 65,000 copies mostly through Asda, WH Smiths and Tesco. I group these types of books together. Right now crime novels are the big thing. Our agency is known for being strong on crime and on memoirs. Everyone wants to read a true story now. We do take some literary fiction, largely because there are some nice ones that just come to us. It’s nice to have those, should I sense that a publisher has a hole in their list for that. (Literary Agent B)

For this literary agent, books are categorized as ‘commercial’ or ‘literary.’ Another editor describes ‘literary’ books as ones that ‘just come in.’ There is a sense that ‘literary’ books are organic and do not require as much work because they can be matched, ‘largely as is’ to a certain type of publisher. In contrast ‘commercial’ books require ‘formatting’ for the supermarkets or as one literary agent describes ‘you have to go looking for it.’ (Literary Agent A). Here, little emphasis is placed on the manuscript itself and on working with the author to develop the writing. The books that the supermarkets take have to be ‘formatted’ so that they fit a certain set of criteria. It is imperative that they be stylized in order for them to be readily and easily identified as fitting into a particular genre with a proven sales record—one that lends itself to impulse buying.

In the UK the misery memoirs really sell, but when I go to American publishers, they call them ‘inspiring memoirs’. But really they are all the same. It’s all about books that tell a story about adversity. But the important thing to know is that this type of book is the big thing in the supermarkets. You also have to know the format that the supermarket books take on. It has to be something people will grab while buying

their groceries. Most will have a white cover with a child or strong image on front because buyers need to quickly see what they are getting. (Literary Agent B)

Literary agents have a sense of how different genres are positioned in the field in terms of market value and how this translates to markets in different countries.

Literary agents described their role in terms of axioms in publishing such as: ‘Whatever the nature of the project, get as much up front money as possible.’ (Literary Agent D). Another describes the literary agent as ‘measured by the degree to which he or she is in control of all aspects of the publication negotiation’ which is the ‘the heart of agenting’ (Publisher C). Success for literary agents was described as achieving ‘favorable clauses in contract negotiation’ (Literary Agent B). The ability to generate more money for the author through contract negotiations, indicates an agent’s experience and status in the book trade.

Unlike authors, literary agents are in a position to know (and share with other agents) the contractual arrangements publishers make on similar pieces of writing or on authors of similar status. To negotiate rights clauses, agents have to gauge the book’s marketing potential and have a sense of how this will be realized later by publishers. In the case of trade books and especially popular fiction both publishers and literary agents guess what kind of subsidiary income a book will generate. This is cited as the main source of conflict in negotiations between literary agents and publishers.

When it comes to contract negotiations and bidding on books it’s just a matter of wheeling and dealing and guessing. It shows how the book business is as speculative as investing on the commodities exchange over the fluctuations in the price of bananas. (Literary Agent B)

However, while literary agents are very aware of positions vis-à-vis the market, this does not suggest that books are seen only in terms of saleable commodity. One literary agent described the types of work she ‘takes on’ in the following

It's not that I will take on a project I don't love. I won't take a nonfiction project just because it will sell. You have to love it, or at least like it, to take it on. If it doesn't do anything for me I tend not to go for it because in the end part of what I'm doing is selling and promoting my excitement about a project. (Literary Agent D)

As one agent describes, 'It's very difficult to place literary fiction because publishers are weary of taking that kind of risk ...they are very difficult to sell right now. But the good news is that there is always an editor out there who loves books and who is desperate to fall in love with a book of fiction' (Literary Agent A).

While there is an awareness of cultural positions in publishing, literary agents are market oriented. There is a shared understanding that the role of the 'literary agent' is to gauge the commercial or economic value of a book, however, the role also involves knowing how to place authors with publishers. Here the role of the literary agents is to understand how publishers are positioned in the field to be able to match authors.

### *Authors*

Authors are acutely conscious of their relative position within the field. Authors have a keen awareness of the position they fill relative to other positions within the field.

I think it is foolish to talk of the writer-editor relationship as if it existed in some kind of sacred dissociation from economics. Book publishing is entrepreneurial capitalism. Neither writers nor editors have the power or the freedom to effectively determine the nature of their relationship. (Author B)

Another authors describes communication with a publisher in the following,

I tried to do a sequel to a book I had already published with Publishing House X. I sent them a manuscript and they got back to me and said 'change this' and then 'change that.' After I did all that they came back and said they didn't want it all. Now all they want are crime novels and nothing else. (Author E)

Authors are understood in a number of ways. Authorship is recognized as a 'calling' or as a vocation to which the author feels summoned. One author described writing as, 'a walk of life to follow in spite of practical considerations' (Author A). The role of authorship is also recognized as an occupation 'without protection through professionalization or unionization

that could, to some extent, insulate them from the forces of the free enterprise economy' (Trade Assoc. A). A representative from a publishers' association observes, 'authors have to walk the line between art and commerce' (Trade Assoc. A). As one author observes, 'we are all far too aware of what the publishing industry is expecting of us and what readers like. The trick is to continue to write in an authentic way knowing that' (Author A)

Authors' comments indicate an awareness of and sensitivity to the categorizations and names ascribed to them. The process of 'naming' functions as a means of 'positioning' oneself or others within the field. The names have valuations attached to them. An example of this seen in the case of an author who recognized her own position to be somewhat precarious. The terms used to identify her and her work served as 'code.' She revealed those terms by which she had been referred with some disdain. They served to box her into a doubly marginal position with that of 'woman's fiction' and 'short stories,' neither of which are big commercially. Having been described by those references she felt she was not valued by her publisher.

They didn't know anything about women's fiction and, while I detest being categorized in that way, nevertheless that is what I was, and they sort of begrudgingly agreed to publish my second set of short stories. They were really not keen on making money on my sort of writing and they didn't really care about me as a writer, which was quite a shock. (Author E)

Awareness of positioning however can become so strong that it informs a self-reported identity.

Now to get your foot in the door you have to become a 'genre writer' and you don't need just one genre, you have to have a sub genre. So I had to decide whether I was 'humorous women's fiction' or 'serious women's fiction.' This is all just so an editor or agent can figure out where to slot you in on a list and decide on a marketing budget. (Author B)

While authors might experience affront when books treated as 'commodities,' there is however an awareness of the importance of the 'positioning' of publishers and what

influences this. One author spoke about experiences with a small independent publisher, and expressed concern that the publisher was not market 'savvy' enough. 'I just feel like small to medium publishers have no idea what to do with their fiction list. I felt like an experiment for them; that's how I saw it' (Author B).

Although the roles of both literary agent and publisher generally isolate the author from the process by which writing is made into literary merchandise, this does not mean that authors don't have a sense of where they stand vis-à-vis the market. 'We have become low status, underpaid laborers in publishing' (Author C). Another author conveyed, 'I just feel that there is that complete lack of empathy or understanding of what it takes to produce what everyone else is making their money off of' (Author A).

They see us (writers) as a necessary nuisance. Yes, intellectually they say 'we need authors to create things', but they need authors to create things so they can exploit things, that is. They might as well be selling baked beans or cartons of Spam; well, actually, cans of Spam with nicely designed labels on them. (Author A)

Positions change as authors become more established in the field. This idea appears in one literary agent's reflection of how an author goes about choosing an agent.

I often get asked this by new writers when they ask me who to approach about their manuscript. And I say, just think about whose work yours is like, or the nearest equivalent, and go to the bookshop and find their book, particularly their first book. See where they thank their editors and agents and then send it to those agents, but only those people mentioned in their first book...because after a writer is published everything changes. With a sales record behind them, they are in a different position, and that usually means working with different agents and publishers. That is not to say...that agents and publishers will want something just the same. But it is likely that they will like that kind of writing and will be receptive to it. (Literary Agent C)

Literary agents convey to authors 'the space of possibilities' within publishing. That 'placing' a book is a matter of understanding what sorts of books publishers decide to publish. There is recognition that with this space, positions change dramatically in circumstances in which an author experiences economic success. A publisher describes this in the following,

The bestselling authors like JK Rowling are in a very odd position. It's a weird thing with writers. They have produced something purely out of their own mind and no one else can do it. If, by luck, they find there is a market for it, it is incredibly powerful, very quickly. That is not the case with publishers. Publishers have to work a long time for their imprint to be known, and to some extent this is true for booksellers and literary agents. Always this shuffling between the two: the publishers and the booksellers. But the writers are completely different. They are really different. It always strikes me how writers can completely change like water to ice. You know, suddenly they become completely different animals with success. Suddenly publishers are phoning you instead of you having to grovel to agents. Suddenly people are queuing up and bidding. They are having a battle, a war, to see who can pay the most to buy your book...very strange sensation. You have been sitting in a room alone writing a book and then you are this big thing in the industry. (Publisher B)

Authors are motivated by cultural interests but are aware of movement within the field and how this relates to positions of power. There is a sense of that commercial success changes how one relates to others in the field and fundamentally changes how the game is played.

### *Retail*

There is some evidence that a perception that the retail sale of books is somehow different from other types of 'retail.' This observation comes from accounts of relationships between workers and customers in bookshops. There appears to be something appealing about being in close proximity to and somehow responsible for symbolically important things. This is consistent with Wright's findings. As he writes, 'books are a valuable good, produced by a particular type of person and the bookshop becomes a particular kind of space peopled by a similar type of person and fulfilling a broader, nobler function than simply the exchange of commodities' (Wright, 2005: 45).

In terms of perceptions of those working in the book store chains they see their work as different from other types of retail because they offers customers access to all the new titles available because all books can be ordered from the publishers. Its emphasis is on wide availability and the idea that whatever a customer wants, a bookstore can order which is an unusual retail. One anecdote shared at a book fair recounted reactions of horror within the

book retail trade when a memo was sent within a major chain saying that individualized ordering was not to be the standard practice. Even those that work within the big retail chains see the position of selling books as one of cultural importance not subject to practices prevalent in other types of 'selling.'

The dominant position of large book retail chains is one that is recognized within the field. One publisher laments, 'All of those involved in the bookselling see (the book) as the petrol in the car, while we see it as the wine in the bottle' (Publisher B). A rights manager describes,

More recently it got to the point where our reps were getting blocked by the big book chains that were super buying centrally. It was very difficult to get appointments for the seller for WH Smith or Waterstones. They were trying to squeeze us out and told us we could get in touch with them by post. Suddenly we couldn't get in where we used to. And it became a real problem. So for the first time we had to consider options we would have never considered. So here is an example of our marketing budget. It is showing you the costs. As I said, when we had our own rep force we didn't spend any money at all. We wouldn't move on the discount price. Now we are marketing toward shops because it can eat up books' budget just in trying to get it on the shelves. For example, this is just one title and we spent £40,000 to promote it, and it did become a bestseller, so it was worth it. The key accounts managers are at liberty to come to some sort of deal with Waterstones and pay for 3 for 2 promotions which costs £1,100. To get a window for 1 month it's £3,000. We used to refuse to pay for that. Now they [Waterstones] consider it a privilege to pay to get in 3 for 2. They come up to us and say, 'Oh you are so lucky to be chosen.' (Rights Manager A)

The rise of large bookseller chains is also matched by the dominance of the supermarkets. Not only is the role of the retail trade dominant in the choice of books they chose to sell, booksellers increasingly alter the content of books.

We are in discussion with supermarket buyers all the whole time. I never miss a dinner organized by the trade association with them. More and more of my time is taken up with jacketing and re-jacketing and now, to changes to the manuscript itself based on the supermarkets. Whenever I start working with a new author I dread the moment when they finally realize the extent to which the conversations I am having with the buyer is shaping not just how the book is promoted but the actual book itself. (Literary Agent B)

There is the suggestion that the nature of relational positions of power in the field changes.

(There is) always this shuffling between the two- the publishers and the booksellers. Publishers don't have any leverage over booksellers anymore. Now the booksellers have a great deal of leverage over publishers. (Publisher B)

There is a sense that the position of 'sales' and 'retail' occupies a dominant position. One publisher described his first experience of going to the book retailers to get his book stocked.

I headed for Waterstones in High Kensington to pin a member of staff to the wall and I emerged with an order. Next, it was Foyle's in Charing Cross Road where I was shown down to the labyrinth basement to join a queue of trade reps as they awaited their weekly audience with the owner of the bookstore. I noticed how the reps were spoken to or commanded and rarely uttered a word besides 'Thank you.' When it was my turn he shouted 'who are you?' And I said my name and what I had. He then shouted 'Where is your business card?' I did not have one. He looked at the sample of my book, as though it was booby trapped and smeared with feces. This was not going well. He turned over some pages and eventually gave a cursory glance at the index. Turning to his aid he yelled out 'Department H, six copies, same for department M. Next.' (Publisher E)

While this first section illustrates how the field may be understood as distinct social space in which agents positions themselves in terms of cultural and economic capital, this still leaves an incomplete picture of dynamics in publishing. Although Bourdieu writes that positions are structural there is the possibility for varying perspectives and dispositions. A consideration of habitus is useful in understanding how the structural relates to the subjective in book publishing.

### **Habitus**

Understanding economic and cultural capital, how they function in publishing, what powers they possess and what values they carry is a means of learning the rules of the game or, 'habitus.' This acquired disposition happens in and through relations in the field, such that capital is constituted or realized in a relational way. To perform effectively in the field, one must have accumulated the appropriate capital and mastered the field's habitus (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006). The field serves to structure or 'condition' the habitus (Wacquant, 1989: 44). The habitus, in other words, may be understood to be that which 'translates' the

structured relations of the field into perceptions, appreciations and actions that enable the individual to function in the field.

Habitus is the schemes of perception, thought and action that guide individuals in their encounters in the field. The habitus of the field engenders a ‘disposition’ that allows individuals to think or act in certain ways. It presupposes a minimum level of agreement about basic principles. With different histories and in different social positions, some people are better equipped and better suited to ‘playing the game.’ It is a ‘practical sense of things’, ‘a feel for the game’, ‘practical mastery of the logic...which is gained through experience of the game’ (Wacquant, 1989: 42). Long experience in the field enables the individual to function ‘through common sense.’ ‘When habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself ‘as fish in water,’ it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world around it for granted’ (Wacquant, 1989: 43).

### *A Publishing Habitus*

Each field is formed by a collective habitus generally shared by individuals within the field. Fields have their own internal rules which structure the ‘game,’ ‘the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world’ but which are ‘essentially the product of the internalization of the structures of that world’ (Bourdieu, 1989: 18).

Learning the rules of the game or a publishing habitus takes place in the process of engaging with the field. In the case of authors, an initial foray into engaging with the field is acquiring a literary agent:

At first I felt a great deal of pressure when a literary agent who first agreed to take me on. I looked around at what other authors are creating and felt uneasy about whether my stuff is as good. I don’t really talk to my agent about these issues because I don’t want to lose his respect by saying ‘I’m lost and don’t know what I’m doing.’ But then you develop this critical faculty, like an overdeveloped tennis arm, and a little voice that says, ‘this will work’ or ‘that is not very good.’ Now that I have had a few short stories published I know the odds about one’s first novel and

how easy it is to become mid list because you are not successful with the first novel. It can be quite frightening. (Author E)

An important element of the experience of authors is their gradual awareness of the role of the market and their increasing understanding of publishing as a business.

There are times when I think ‘why don’t I write a book about lots of sex because people will buy it?’ I am not entirely against stiletto heels and red lingerie, so is it illogical of me to want to write something that could be both literary and thrilling? So you end up asking yourself all these questions and in the end it’s a battle....and in the end, you think, what is the story you wish had been written and that you want to read? And then you think well now I’m going to have to write the fucking thing. If I don’t write it I’ll go mad. This is the story I want to tell so I must go on with it. (Author B)

Authors become aware that among the skills they must develop is making sense of the ‘rules of the game.’ They need to understand how they fit into the space of positions and how to maneuver within them. Through relations with literary agents and publishers, authors learn to understand how they are valued and on what terms. The follow account derived from an interview is illustrative:

I had heard one of the editors at the house was very ‘professional’ so I thought that meant she was interested in the work itself and developing it. I guess I didn’t understand what ‘professional’ meant in publishing. Because I don’t think she even read anything of mine, she just said ‘OK. ‘Female’, ‘short story’. OK, we’ll do that on the side. Get an Arts Council subsidy for it and it won’t cost anything. Yes, yes we’ll get it subsidized. It will be fine.’ So I went into the project feeling bruised and was more bruised by the end of contracts (Author A)

In this example, the author’s work was quickly labeled. Based on those labels the publisher gauged the amount of money to invest in its marketing and promotion. This is a process of ‘coming to terms’ with the way publishing works as authors come to understand how economic capital operates in their relationship with a publisher. Authors learn how to read and interpret what is being said by editors, rights managers and literary agents, according to one interviewee.

When they say my stories are not selling what they mean is ‘we have already put out two collections by someone no one has heard of, and they are short stories and we are not going to put any money into publicizing them.’ (Author B)

Learning the rules of the game also involves understanding positions of power. According to one author this may involve securing a literary agent.

An author can have a voice only through an agent who is playing the London game. You need someone saying, 'You have no right to expect that my author should behave this way unless you can pay them adequately.' And, 'What is your marketing budget before you even talk to her about a book?' If I had then the agent I have now, it would have been a very different conversation and that's what I most regret that I wasn't able to ask those questions and I didn't have the contacts. (Author B)

In many cases, authors learn to respond to the importance of positioning in the market.

Now writers have turned into creatures that write for a market. You see this a lot in children's book now that everyone has realized there is a enormous market for children's books. I met an author the other day who told me she is writing for 9 to 11 year old boys. I just don't get that sort of thinking. I mean how do you know you are writing for something so specific? But a lot of writers are writing for specific markets now and they have a very clear idea of sales. But then there are those writing literary fiction and they are all just dreaming of being the next Pulman. (Publisher C)

For some authors, acquiring habitus involves realizing how 'authenticity' becomes a source of capital. According to a publisher, who observed how authors respond to the demands of the market,

Now I see writers of crime novels saying things like 'Yeah, I was there at the autopsy, to do real research' and things like that. It's terrible, that writers have to actually look at entrails to try to get books sold. (Publisher A)

Habitus is learned through experience. This is seen in the case of literary agents for which there are no formal education credentials or licensing requirements, despite their work being highly technical when it comes to negotiating contracts on manuscripts.

It was a real leap in the dark because there is no training for one to become an agent. There is no recognized route. Some people work as assistants in large agencies and then take on their own lists. Whereas, some people are editors first. That is, of course, what is happening with the large scale conglomerates. They get sick of marketing and want to get back to more editorial work. And, some then decide to become literary agents. Although so many of them become so disappointed because they don't end up doing editorial work. They end up working out contracts and focusing on what is selling where, and on who will want to buy the rights to this or that. (Literary Agent B)

It is for these reasons that some editors have left publishing houses to become literary agents. The motivation to change positions may be because they think it offers a way that they may be able to get back to more 'literary' work. Actually, it is the agent who generally offers an evaluation of authors' writing, guides their careers and generates income. As one editor turned literary agent describes, 'This just can't be avoided. I resigned myself to all this from the beginning. It's about selling. I knew that. It's just that it's the selling of something that matters to me' (Literary Agent D).

Literary agents describe the most difficult part of learning how to work as an agent is acquiring an understanding of how to place books with publishers.

At first I went about the work just matching up publishing to projects I had serendipitously. It did not take long after a few trade fairs and several disastrous moments with publishers for me to learn how it worked. I learned never to send a manuscript blind or unexpected; to make sure to get down to London to talk up the manuscripts that are coming up; and to talk first to publishers face to face, then email. Don't send out dozens of manuscripts, all to different publishers blind. Instead send five or six to publishers simultaneously. Publishers expect perfect manuscripts now. At the beginning, I didn't realize that as a literary agent I am supposed to push the author into getting finalized. (Literary Agent C)

Only in the process of representing writers did literary agents describe how they understand how to work with publishers. Again, however, success seems contingent on a process of learning the unspoken rules of being an agent. As one literary agent describes, 'as an agent I have to think about, if the work is very literary and small, which editor would love this? What publisher will publish this book?' (Literary Agent B). One literary agent described the importance of knowledge that is both extensive and includes the subtleties and nuances of 'insider's knowledge.'

To work as an agent you have to learn from the inside all the quirks of publishing, such as how decisions are made, what's realistic to expect in a given situation, and how best to cultivate publishing personnel, from the editor to the publicist to the cover designer. This includes learning how to 'place authors' by comparing them to other successful authors as part of how to sell a book to an editor. But trying to do that can also be detrimental if it's not done right. Learning how to go about

comparing a client's book successfully is tricky. It's learning to speak a language. (Literary Agent C)

Another literary agent further elaborates on how to play the game.

Once it's (a book) ready to go out, we play what I jokingly refer to as a 'parlor game' to figure out exactly how to position their book to editors. Deciding which successful authors you want to compare yourself to is at the heart of the game. Publishers really depend on these 'comps' (comparisons) to get a book across to the reps and the bookstores. There's an art to it. The comparison must be apt. For example, when if I am trying to tell an editor about a book, I'll position it by comparing it to *Trainspotting* but that is will be shelved next to Dan Brown. It's a very entertaining form of name-dropping. The reason I call it a parlor game is that authors-especially first-time authors-usually have to get over their reluctance to compare themselves to well known writers. But that's how the game is played. (Literary Agent B)

Literary agents learn the importance of spending a lot of time to elicit 'gossip' or 'cultural intelligence' about publishers. They value information that allows them to have a sense of editors' tastes and find out what material they need and the process of realizing how social capital operates.

I do a lot of publishers' lunches and try to get in a lot of just talking to everyone, even other authors I don't represent. I ask about their editors and who's working with whom. (Literary Agent A)

Information about benchmarks and comparisons with other books are acknowledged as helpful to agents. They report how important the daily news updates are to them. This information is available all day every day of the week. Specifically cited were the subscription trade presses that include best seller lists, rights deals and other information for industry insiders. 'I read the trade press every day, reading the updates that come through the *Bookseller* twice a day, just to see what is happening on rights' (Literary Agent A). It requires a certain amount of insider knowledge is essential if one is to interpret the significance of, understand and use the information they provide.

In the case of publishers, it was important to realize that they can't compete in all aspects of the business. This involves coming to terms with what kind of market they are in:

The business I was trying to do was finding and cultivating new authors is not something I should try to do. It is probably best left to big companies like Mainstream and Canongate. If they find someone they can really make something of it, because they have the money to do it. (Publisher B)

An author describes learning the rules of the game such that they could work as a scout,

As a writer, you get put in a position where you are really working as a scout. Writers now have to get group together and get to know each other. That is the only way to writers will learn how things work. So writers are very much aware of what everyone else is working on and you begin to get a sense from others' experiences which publishers and agents like what. So you might as well act as a scout to generate some income based on what you know about manuscripts that are in the works. I naturally fell into working as a scout and a writer once I learned that the job of scout exists and that publishers pay them to look around. (Author A)

For some, it means taking skills they have learned in one role and applying them in a different context:

I became a literary agent because I thought there was a real opportunity here to work closely with writers. I just began to see that writers need readers to make the work they were doing have any value at all. I could see that they needed to be making money from royalties and advances. I felt like I wanted to work with writers, trying to achieve more commercial success for them.' (Literary agent B)

However, most literary agents put an emphasis on commercial orientation and 'selling' as opposed to 'career development of writers' or 'manuscript development.' There is element of learning how to reconcile the two- to both nurture one's interest in working on developing a manuscript and how learning how to make it sell. Here habitus as going to terms with the rules of the game.

I have sort of taken it on as a labor of love, or a great service. I understand the way proposals have to be packaged. Proposal submission (as opposed to manuscript submission), to book publishers is an increasing practice. Approaching publishers with a proposal submission that may be just a two page outline of the book is increasingly the way that initial contact takes place. The proposal includes notes that suggest the potential for the proposed book's market value. This strategy encourages a book publisher to base acceptance on something less than a finished product. The points that must be covered in the proposal submission direct very little attention to the substance of the writing. Instead there is significant emphasis on market value and potential sales. Proposals cover competing titles, likely markets, and time scales, and why the author is specially qualified to write the book. Once I realized this is how books got through to publishers, then it was just a matter of figuring out how to take the books I really believed in and fill out a form about them in a way that got them a foot in. (Literary Agent B)

What is also apparent is the disjuncture between positions that players are obliged to adopt and their individual dispositions. In some cases, dispositions, ‘adapted to the social conditions under which they were formed, may be ‘out of phase with the social conditions under which they must function’ (Brubaker, 2004: 44). As discussed this disjuncture is particularly apparent in the case of editors. An editor alludes to the ambiguity associated with the editorial role in the account of internal conflict experienced,

Some people measure a book by whether it wins awards. If you have a book that wins some kind of literary award then you do get noticed by a certain set. Some people measure books by the bestseller lists and annual profits. I think both are valid. I think ultimately ...and I have to remind myself of this, I’m not a writer, I’m an editor in a publishing house and publishers are here to sell books. So at the end of the day if I have a manuscript that I wouldn’t submit to a literary contest but it generated profit for the house, then I have a job. And at the end of the day, that’s what has to matter. (Editor B)

The editor reveals a personal struggle with having to balance a manuscript’s market worth while also looking for manuscripts that receive peer acknowledgment. This is not without regard for the ‘literary set’ but instead beholden to a commercial world – and from this position the two appear not to be synonymous. While inclination is to publish manuscripts that will achieve recognition, there is a conscious effort to go with manuscripts that will ultimately achieve the publishing house’s economic objectives. The editorial role involves a balance between a perceived role in relation to a ‘literary canon’ outside the publishing house along with role to be productive economically in a way recognized within the publishing house.

What is apparent is the disjuncture between positions and dispositions. The principles of differentiation - like economic and cultural capital, produce clear cut differences between agents situated at extreme ends of the distributions, they are evidently less effective in the intermediate zones of the space in question’ (Bourdieu, 1987:12). The concept of a shared

‘publishing’ habitus helps better understand how agents in different positions come to understand the field as a system of strategic possibilities.

### *Habitus as Learning the Rules of the Game*

The material presented thus far shows how agents in the field constantly reconstruct their understanding of capital as it is played out in the market, their evaluation of their own capital, and their relation to it vis-à-vis relations with other agents in the field. Bourdieu writes that each agent, ‘being situated, cannot but locate himself, distinguish himself, and this irrespective of any attempt to gain distinction. By entering the game he tacitly accepts the constraints and the possibilities inherent in the game’ (Bourdieu, 1993: 182). I offer evidence from interviews to explain how habitus may be identified in publishing. Those interview also reveal some examples of how capital may be identified in that context.

Through this re conceptualization, habitus may be understood as generative of field dynamics. That is, the field is not just a static structure in which agents are engaged only in interest-derived strategies to accumulate different kinds of capital. Instead habitus allows one to analyze agents as ‘subject to developmental, cognitive and emotive constraints and affected by the very real physical and institutional configurations of the field’ (Lizardo, 2004: 376). These accounts from the field, illuminate some of the obscurity that pervades the descriptions and definitions of habitus. There is both complexity and subtlety in the concept but it proves to have a measure of flexibility in terms of its application in a variety of fields. That application of the term does not come without some confusion and contradiction.

### **Conclusions**

The first part of this chapter outlined a number of the positions in publishing and explored how these positions maybe understood in terms cultural and economic capital. The

opposition between money and culture is reproduced in book publishing and is reflected in the tensions between the symbolically valid and the economically viable. Agents classify or align themselves in relation to different agents in their field. As they do so they illustrate a type of differential position taking. This takes place in terms of economic and cultural capital. As previously discussed, publishing resides within artistic and economic fields, reproducing divisions between economic and cultural poles. The poles of commerce and culture are represented most explicitly by two distinct personnel roles – that of the rights manager and the editor.

However, as the empirical material demonstrates, there are a number of perspectives that relate to the publishing process: views on the ‘inherent unknowability’ of publishing, on the selection of manuscripts, on how the book may be understood to be an artifact, relationships with authors, views on marketing, the role of book fairs, and views on imprints. In this we see how agents’ interpretations of their positions oscillate between the poles of culture and commerce. This is important in the consideration of how positions relate to formal positions.

Understandings of the different capitals have significant implications for how agents make sense of their role. This helps explain how various agents carried out certain activities assigned to them and some tasks they took on themselves. In many cases there are different ascriptions of meanings to the same activities and roles. This is seen in the number of stances taken in relation to the publishing process, for example, in a publishing house’s strategic thinking. Through such a process they provide a strong marketing perspective and at the same time emphasize that books are ‘literary’ or ‘cultural.’

The empirical material presented here gives an indication of the range of possibilities about how these roles may be understood and carried out. There is an ambiguity in positions and

how agents see they see their roles (as editor, agent, author, etc) in relation to those poles. Although positions are structured practically in relation to their formal roles, (as editor, publisher etc.) there is flexibility in these positions. That is, there are positions which they are obliged to take to fulfill their roles as ‘literary agents’, ‘editors’ etc. but those obligations do not entirely define the roles.

Further to this, there is a keen awareness of positions of power. Those positions of power are negotiated by and among agents, particularly in relation to pursuit of capital. Agents compete, unconsciously or consciously, to vest meaning in the forms of capital which they possess. Individual abilities among agents in the field allow them to distinguish themselves from each other. As they compete they aim to secure both advantage and position in the field.

The empirical material presented indicates that fields are not solely constituted by a system of structurally fixed and inert positions, but instead by dynamic position-taking as illustrated by the varying stances and issues in the field. The concept of capital elucidates the interplay between individuals and structured positions. The representations of agents ‘vary with their positions (and with the interest associated with it)’ (Bourdieu, 1989: 19). However, habitus operates as a generative structure that creates a shared understanding of the way of doing things in publishing. A publishing habitus refers to learning what the stakes are, how they are a valued and how to go about acquiring or maximizing capital. The next chapter considers in further detail the struggle over capital.

## **Chapter Seven:**

### **What Is At Stake?: The Struggle over ‘Scottish Publishing’**

In this chapter I take a diachronic view of book publishing. I investigate attempts to constitute a distinct entity of ‘Scottish publishing.’ This diachronic analysis illuminates debates concerning publishing in Scotland as a struggle over what is at stake. This chapter illustrates the significance of, and conflict over, symbolic capital that infuses publishing in Scotland.

#### **Fields as a Struggle over Stakes**

Although, for Bourdieu, a field is structured and the habitus reflects having a feel for the game, this is not determined. As Bourdieu (1993: 176) notes, a field is not only a field of structured positions, it is also a dynamic ‘field of strategic possibilities.’ There is always an element of uncertainty. Either individually or collectively agents or institutions implement strategies in order to improve or defend their positions vis-à-vis others in the field. Strategies are informed by ‘particular forms of capital’ which ‘have efficacy in the pursuit of that which is at stake in the game’ (Friedland, 2009: 898). It is this that ‘provides a base for symbolic struggles over the power to produce and to impose the legitimate vision of the world’ (Wacquant, 1989:40).

The field may be understood as ‘struggles aimed at preserving or transforming the configuration of forces’ (Wacquant, 1989:40). There are attempts to try and ‘transform categories of perception and appreciation of the social world, the cognitive and evaluative structures through which it is constructed. The categories of perception, the schemata of classification, that is essentially the words, the names which construct social reality’ (Bourdieu, 1989: 20). I illustrate how book publishing may be understood as a field of

struggle over stakes, through analysis of efforts to construct ‘Scottish publishing’ as a category of perception.

### **The Symbolic Significance of Scottish Publishing**

As outlined in Chapter Five, publishing in Scotland was historically a leading industry in the nineteenth century. The history of ‘Scottish publishing’ is relevant for how it informs contemporary views of publishing with a symbolic significance apparent in the contrast between an influential and important past and the state of contemporary publishing in Scotland. For one publisher, the ‘golden era’ continues to be a source of inspiration,

John Murray was based in London but is considered a Scottish publisher. In the National Library Archive there is a central register of John Murray’s which lists all of the books published and, when all the listed books were sold, he drew a line under them. In effect it’s a publication record. Murray published Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*. If you look at this entry and go 10 books forward and 10 books back from this, you see that he has a list of publications that include the *History of France*, and *Mesopotamia*. Seven out of the 20 books published are amongst the great classics. Contrast this with the situation now and the way that Scots see themselves. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Scotland was the world centre of publishing. At the end of the 20th century, this has all gone. We are supposed to be at the cutting edge of the knowledge based economy. (Publisher A)

The previous status of publishing in Scotland is indicative of a different of doing publishing.

‘The late 19th century publishing was a proto-capitalist world. This was done on a different ethical basis. It was based on value and not price.’ (Publisher A) The history that is associated with ‘Scottish publishing’ serves as a source of pride and heralded as the ideal way publishing should operate.

For another publisher, the change in publishing is likened to a decline in Scottish manufacturing. Its significance is tied to Scotland’s economic standing in the contemporary world. Publishing is an industry in which there was Scottish supremacy, as with steel, coal and shipbuilding in the twentieth century. The decline of ‘Scottish publishing’ is indicative of a national standing.

There has been long collapse of Scottish publishing. But what happened to publishing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century? It went into decline. The 1890s-1900s was an Indian summer for Scottish publishing. It held its position but the market grew much faster therefore Scottish publishing got picked off. It has parallels with the Bristol slave trade where the profit margin dropped on slaves. The newer ports therefore did other things because the profit margin dropped on slaves, but in Bristol there was so much invested and they were still making money. Bristol collapsed when the slave trade was stopped. It had not diversified. The same thing happened to Scottish publishing. They couldn't reinvest because the profit margins were too small. The dynastic element did not help either. (Publisher A)

Thus, within certain purviews, Scottish publishing becomes linked, inter alia, with economic prowess, international standing and national identity; its status indicative of the vibrancy of intellectual ideas and the ability of Scotland to promote itself abroad. It is also crucially a vehicle for Scottish culture to be preserved and promoted. 'Scottish publishing' takes on a symbolic value beyond the cultural significance of the book.

For some, Scottish publishing is seen as an important element of a Scottish identity and an integral element of national identity and culture. As one publisher claims, 'Scottish publishing relates to an independent Scottish identity and a cultural identity' (Publisher A).

When asked about the significance of Scottish publishing, the publisher's response was:

To the critical question of why is it important to have Scottish publishing? Because it encourages an 'imagined community.' This is a Benedict Anderson phrase. It is something that feeds into networking and social connectivity. It brings richness to communities. Scottish publishing creates a sense of identity and difference. (Publisher A)

Changes in publishing in the contemporary scene are viewed as threats to Scottish culture and identity. As previously outlined, changes within the broader field of publishing, in retail trade organization, and price restructuring had the result that by the 1980s Scottish publishers had been taken over, sold or ceased to exist. All prominent independent Scottish family-run publishing houses were eventually replaced by international conglomerates. One interviewee commented on that.

The 1970s was the nadir of publishing in Scotland. It was in dire straits. There was this period of rapid change around the time when we lost, Blackies, Chambers and Nelson. All the big Scottish family publishing businesses were all taken over or lost (Publisher B)

The decline in publishing in Edinburgh, according to another publisher, is indicated by the fact that now 'there is just Hodder and Stoughton' the only major publishing house currently active in Scotland with status that is equivalent to the 'great, long running' Scottish houses (Publisher B). The structure of publishing and the national identity of Scotland are all closely inter-related.

It is this appeal of Scottish identity and nationhood that informs the descriptions of new agents acting as institutional entrepreneurs in the effort to reconstruct publishing in Scotland in the 1980s. As a rights manager describes the founding of a subsequently successful publishing house,

They started with £1,000 borrowed from the bank on the pretense of a 'home improvement' loan and used it to underwrite their first title. They worked out of their student flat. They were complete mavericks when they started with no training. They used to just crash through the doors of the literary editors in London. At the age of 25, hairy from the 1970s, walking up a Fleet Street of bowler hats. I love them for that. Sometimes X (director of Scottish publishing house), is seen as a 'l'enfant terrible' from Scottish publishing, but he comes from establishment. The two of them came from nothing, no financial background or social connections. They were the 'les enfants terribles' from Scottish publishing and frankly terrifying. They shocked everyone because they were not from establishment. (Rights Manager B)

As one of these publishers recounts, 'we started up in the middle of the cultural optimism of the 1970s, when everything seemed possible and Scottish culture possessed a self-confidence and self assurance' (Publisher B). The new Scottish publishers launched an attack on the culture of publishing as the occupation of the privately educated wealthy. As another publisher recounts,

Well by far the most efficient method of getting into publishing was to inherit a publishing house, marry into one or even better know someone who is in the business. Thirty years ago none of the above applied to those publishers who started up Scottish Publishing.' (Publisher B)

There is a subtle sense of longing for, or at least nostalgia about, the early days of publishing in Scotland. That history, as recounted in a number of conversations, is invested with an aura of hard work and genuine dedication, authenticity and honor – all perceived to be somehow now faded if not gone by the end of the 1970's.

From a 'low position' in the 1980s, there was recovery (Publisher A). Publishing in Scotland experienced what is referred to as a 'revival.' There was a resurgence of interest in Scottish culture and alongside it a revival in publishing following debates over devolution. Companies established bases in Scotland; their home country; as opposed to Scottish firms based in London. Cannongate and Mainstream Publishing are companies offered as examples.

I am really astonished how successful and lively the Scottish book publishing is on the international scene. It is a small country. But independents like Canongate do very well internationally. *Life of Pi* is beautifully done and they got a big prize. (Publisher B)

The significance of publishing in Scotland is tied to achievements in writing. Along with developments in publishing in Scotland, a number of Scottish writers were recognized nationally and internationally. One author describes a period of what he calls a 'Scottish literary renaissance' which he attributes to 'the blossoming of new Scottish publishing houses' (Author B). In a number of the interviews, the topic of Scottish publishing integrated comments about the Scottish writing.

You saw a period of good writing in the 1980s, 1990s...writing of some quality. This new writing energized and was energized by all the new Scottish publishing houses that were emerging. (Publisher C)

Scottish writers such as Alasdair Gray, James Kelman, Irvine Welsh, Duncan McLean and Ian Rankin are referenced as having introduced 'new stylistic tendencies and subject matter' (Publisher A). This writing was identified as distinct and different.

A lot of the Scottish writers like Kelman and Welsh were pushing forward a representation of working class Scottish life, introducing new stylistic devices marked by the inclusion of dialects and accents; writing that the distinguished London publishers wouldn't dare touch. (Publisher B)

Alasdair Gray's *Lanark* published in 1981 by Canongate, was referred to by one publisher as 'the book that spurred the renaissance in Scottish literature.' In 1994, James Kelman won the Man Booker prize, an event that was noted by one agent as a seminal moment.

This was a shock in the publishing world over this because it was really out of the norm that a 'Scottish book' would receive an award. I mean everyone knows that the judging process for the Booker has always been very London centered. Up until Kelman no one would have ever dreamed that such a prestigious award would be bestowed on 'Scottish writing.' I just loved it when Kelman argued for indigenous culture against the 'imperial or colonial authority in his acceptance speech. (Literary Agent B)

There is a sense in the interviews that in the wake of the success of *Lanark* and following the Booker Prize win for Kelman, 'Scottish writing' as a 'category of writing' was recognized as having reached a new status in publishing. As one publisher describes, 'London publishing media started treating Scottish writing, literary culture and nationalism as fashionable, cutting edge and counter cultural' (Rights Manager A). The 'renaissance' in 'Scottish writing' fed into historic tensions between Scotland and England. One interviewee suggested that publishing in Scotland had been relatively 'off the radar' for London.

The London based people didn't have any idea what was going on up here in publishing. Publishing generally is very 'naval gazing' and very London-centric. When I was in London I was London-centric too. I didn't know publishing was going on outside of London. Even when the publishing house I am now with rang me up I wasn't really aware of them. (Publisher B)

References to 'Scottish writing' as well as the debates surrounding devolution led to interest from publishing houses and literary agents based in London. One publisher describes

I think it was after devolution that English publishers started taking an interest in us and started appearing up here. It seemed that Scotland was quite sexy all of a sudden. Curtis Brown set up a literary agency up here and Colin Getty started a PR company up here. (Publisher B)

In 2004, Hodder Headline and Penguin launched editorial arms in Scotland. One publisher commented, 'there's been a lot of interest in what's coming out of Scotland. This means that for once, London publishers are realizing that everything doesn't happen in London' (Rights manager B).

The rise of retail chains, in the broad field of publishing, had an impact on publishing activity in Scotland, particularly in retail. According to one publisher who was interviewed, the 1990s 'saw the collapse of the independent book trade, independent retail, bookshops, publishers and libraries because of the impact of the Net Book Agreement' (Publisher C). The growth of large outlets for books affected consumer demands and the structure of publishing. By one account, 'in the 1980s bookshops were 'ten a penny.' And even the book chains were run in a decentralized and flexible manner. Now all that has changed' (Book Retail B).

The impact of the Net Book Agreement seriously impacted Scottish bookselling as was noted in the previous chapter on history. Two Scottish booksellers in particular, John Menzies and James Thin, are referred to in a number of the interviews in relation to that period. Menzies was established in the 1833 in the heyday of what has been called the 'golden era' of publishing. It collapsed after the Net Book Agreement. John Menzies is referred to representing 'an ethos in Scottish bookselling' based on his practice of buying a significant number of bookshops that were going under in the 1930s (Publisher A). His aim, according to one interviewee, was to stop the extinction of Scottish bookselling during that time.

The Menzies policy was to acquire any bookshop they became aware of that was failing in Scotland. They wanted to carry it on in the best tradition of bookselling. They believed in it. John was known for saying, 'there are too few good bookshops in the country for even one to pass out of existence. (Publisher B)

James Thin, another long standing Scottish bookseller, grew to become the fifth largest book retailer the UK. The owner in the late twentieth century, Ainslie Thin, is remembered for his active role in selling ‘Scottish books.’

The revival in Scottish publishing was a very ‘fragile revival’ and the main reason for this, in my opinion, is losing Menzies and Thin. The simple truth remains that Scottish publishers cannot get into the super markets and the big retail chains. For a time, Ainslie Thin made sure huge amounts of Scottish books were getting attention and shelf space. There’s no place for that sort of thing now. (Publisher D)

The decline of the independent retail book trade has implications not just for publishing in Scotland but has broader implications relating to national and cultural identity. Strong feelings were expressed in the following.

The decline of the independent book trade from the Net Book Agreement up until now has devastated the Scottish book trade, which was, and still is a key element in national identity. WH Smith doesn’t stock Scottish books because they have a central purchasing agency. It’s a process of cultural ethnic cleansing. (Publisher A)

For this publisher, the decline of independents and the rise of centralized book purchasing by the remaining retail trade had cultural implications far broader than their immediate impact on publishing. Again, the contemporary history of publishing in Scotland denotes themes evident in an earlier era; its association with a Scottish identity and its being an integral element of national identity and culture.

### **Boundary work: ‘Scottish publishing’ as Symbolic Capital**

Within the context of changes that are taking place within the wider field of publishing, ‘Scottish publishing’ is constructed as a vehicle in which Scottish culture may be preserved and promoted

I still think in terms of what is good for Scottish publishing. I still can’t enter a bookshop without checking that there is a fair display of Scottish books. I worked with Scottish publishers for over seventeen years. The very largest of them have more or less disappeared into corporate publishing. A few have melted into oblivion and some surviving independents now have annual turnovers well into the millions...But where are the brave, new grass roots publishers who are Scotland’s future? (Publisher A)

What is at stake in discussions of publishing is ‘its ability to provide a commentary...on its historical and social context’ (Smith, 2005: 107). It is an analysis that is supported by several observes of publishing in Scotland

When Scottish publishing loses its identity by transfer of its operations to the wider markets of London, or when it is in a debilitated state, then the unit of Scottish literary culture becomes obscured as individual writers enter lists in which they are submerged and homogenized or in which they are the token Scots, panders to alien perceptions of Scotland and its people (McCleery 1988: 91).

What is at stake in the field of ‘Scottish Publishing’ is intimately tied to a national identity. According to McCleery, ‘Scotland is almost uniquely situated, in terms of its devolved government, its priorities in education, social inclusion, culture and economic development, to create such collaborative structures to sustain publishing in Scotland through the early decades of the twenty-first century’ (1988:91).

It is this appeal to Scottish identity and nationhood that underlines efforts to support and protect ‘Scottish publishing.’ Here ‘Scottish publishing’ while commonly referred to, does not refer to anything specific and it is not easily or readily defined by those who use the term. It is better understood as a form of symbolic capital. It is what is at stake for many.

The emphasis here is not on non-Scottish ownership in itself but on what the effect is of that non Scottish ownership. Ultimately the concern is not with the vulnerability of publishing in small nations, national regions, per se but with the effects of that upon the small nation’s sense of itself, upon its cultural identity...Economies of scale will nearly always enable larger publishers, with the cooperation of larger booksellers, to supplant the smaller. Government, directly or through its agencies, must then take up the responsibility for maintaining the open marketplace by preventing the development of cartels, both those that seek to dominate the entire cycle and those that operate across media; and ensuring freedom of expression for writers and a concomitant freedom of choice for readers. There is a nexus here of economic, social and cultural responsibility throughout (McCleery lecture, 2009)

All of this ties into Scotland as a nation and the role of publishing in this. ‘The issue, the question, is how do you protect a distinct identity of a small country in an age of rampant

globalization?’ (Publisher B). These are the issues that are at stake in the struggle over ‘Scottish Publishing.’

Bourdieu does not explicitly refer to boundary work. However, it is a concept which is apposite to his work. The idea of boundaries and boundary work is linked to the idea of fields as sites of struggle. Bourdieu asserts that the object of competing in a field is to control the categories of evaluation that determine the legitimacy of work within that field. This struggle creates flexible and constantly changing boundaries (Wedlin, 2006), with actors continually engaged in ‘boundary work’ in the endeavour to ‘determine insiders and outsiders, the criteria that define actors in the field, and who has the authority to judge and set field boundaries’ (Wedlin, 2006: 14; Gieryn, 1999).

Gieryn’s (1999) concept of ‘boundary work’ points to the attempts of agents to claim authority and jurisdiction over a contested field. In the case of the literary and artistic field, the high degree of relative autonomy means that the boundaries of the field are highly contested. ‘Boundaries’ are critical in the analysis of how agents construct groups as similar and different and how it shapes broader classification dynamics in the field. That is, the concept draws attention to how individuals think of themselves as equivalent and similar to, or compatible with, others (Lamont, 2001). Within the literature on boundary work there is an empirical focus on social and collective identity which may revolve around class, ethnic racial and gender/sexual inequality, professions, science and knowledge; and communities, national identities, and spatial boundaries (Lamont, 2001).

Lamont (2001: 34) refers to symbolic and spatial boundaries and suggests there is overlap and difference. She argues ‘for understanding the role of symbolic resources (e.g.,

conceptual distinctions, interpretive strategies, cultural traditions) in creating, maintaining, contesting, or even dissolving institutionalized social differences.’

Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality. Examining them allows us to capture the dynamic dimensions of social relations, as groups compete in the production, diffusion, and institutionalisation of alternative systems and principles of classifications. Symbolic boundaries also separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership. They are an essential medium through which people acquire status and monopolise resources. Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities. They are also revealed in stable behavioral patterns of association, as manifested in connubiality and commensality (Lamont, 2001: 36).

Lamont (2001: 37) goes on to argue that ‘only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining character.’ Lamont’s work on symbolic boundaries enriches Bourdieu’s elaboration of forms of capital. Symbolic capital is highly valued as a source of power and is obtained by converting economic, social or cultural capital through practices of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993). Bourdieu (1991: 105) defines symbolic power as control over ‘the perception which social agents have of the social world,’ while Lamont refers to symbolic boundary work as a bid for a form of symbolic power, the power to define the ‘criteria which are used to evaluate status’ (1994: 5). In the following, I consider boundary work that takes place around ‘Scottish publishing’ as a form of symbolic capital.

‘Scottish publishing’ is a term that carries a great deal of symbolic significance for a wide variety of audiences. It is a leitmotif that is used by some publishers to position understandings of their purpose and position in the market. It informs authors’ understandings of how they position themselves in the field. It is also a term that informed the creation of an institutional body, the Scottish Publishers Association, the grant awarding policies of the Scottish Arts Council, and prompted the setting up of an independent book

distributing arm, Booksource, all in the attempt to promote ‘Scottish publishing.’ Following is a description of these processes, the attempt to build up institutions and policies to support ‘Scottish publishing.’

### **Institutional support**

The symbolic significance of publishing and writing in Scotland receives institutional support. For Bourdieu (1987: 14), ‘the symbolic struggle between agents is for the most part carried out through the mediation of professionals of representation, acting as spokespersons for the groups at whose service they place their specific competence.’ He writes elsewhere, ‘the performative power of designation, of naming, brings into existence in an instituted, constituted forms (i.e. as a corporate body...) what existed up until then only as a...collection of varied persons, a purely additive series of merely juxtaposed individuals’ (Bourdieu 1989: 23). Support for ‘Scottish publishing’ came from two closely connected bodies - the Scottish Publishers Association and the Scottish Arts Council.

#### *The Scottish Publishers Association*

The Scottish Publishers Association, established in 1973 and renamed Publishing Scotland in 2007, was launched by a group of publishers to form a separate association from the nationwide Publishers Association based in London (est. 1869). A group of ten to twelve Scottish publishing firms, most of whom included the newly established publishers of the 1970s. This group came together in an attempt to ‘raise the profile of publishing activity in Scotland’ (Publisher B). The newly founded SPA convinced the large family owned Scottish publishing houses (i.e. Chambers, Bartholomew, Collins, Blackie and Blackwood) that were still running, to join the new association. A former SPA director describes the association in its starting stages.

The early days of the SPA were very exciting. Mark Twain once said that all you need to be happy in life is ignorance and self-confidence. This most certainly applied to us. We completely ignored the full implication of the vagaries of publishing or maybe we were just naive. I think if we had known what a precarious world publishing truly is we would have turned to horse racing which, by comparison seems like a solid, stable business (Publisher B)

Their remit would later develop into a mission to help Scottish publishers, ‘adapt to new conditions in order for the country’s literary culture to develop’ (SPA Handbook 2008). This is described by one publisher as reflecting the realization that the SPA needed to play a role in ‘protecting Scottish publishing’ in the midst of changes (Publisher A). A publisher recounts the changes in publishing that took place in the early day of SPA’s founding.

We watched while control and influence began to slowly drain out of Scotland. Collins and Chambers were sold off to conglomerates. Then we lost Bartholomew and Harper Collins. Not long after Blackie disappeared. Without Scottish publishing’s heavy hitters we feared we would get lost in it all too. (Publisher C)

By 2008, SPA cited eighty publishers as members. Of that number, less than twenty had been members during the first five years of the organization’s founding in 1973 (SPA Handbook 2008). Membership in SPA is identified. ‘SPA is an association of publishers based in Scotland producing books about Scotland’ (SPA Handbook 2008: 2). The majority of full publishing members, around 60 percent, are private shareholders, individuals or small traders. About three-quarters of the membership is based in Scotland’s Central Belt. Two thirds of that total is based in Edinburgh. Not all Scottish publishers are members. Approximately 70% of publishers in Scotland are a member of the SPA (SPA Handbook 2008:4).

The SPA’s current remit includes a charge to nurture the growth of independent presses in Scotland. There is also the responsibility to support those publishing houses that achieved some level of success in the broader area of publishing. Furthermore, the SPA is expected to protect and develop Scottish writing (SPA Handbook 2008).

The significance of the SPA's role has been characterized by observers.

Over the past 15 years the SPA has grown in strength and reputation. As an interface between the industry and other bodies, state and commercial, it has been an effective lobbyist and driver for change. Given the fragmented and often small-scale nature of the industry in Scotland and the real opportunities and threats that exist, the importance of such a proactive industry body, and the role it plays in ensuring a partnership approach to sector issues and challenges, should not be underestimated (McCleery, et al. 2008:5)

The SPA describes itself as a defender of 'Scottish publishing.' It carries out its mission to represent Scottish publishers chiefly through such means as facilitating shared marketing, online retailing and promotion activities. They help develop niche markets (SPA Handbook 2008). This is done through representation at trade fairs both within the United Kingdom and abroad, training, and such promotions as media campaigns.

#### *The Scottish Arts Council*

The SPA is dependent on funding from the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). In 1967 the SAC devolved from the Arts Council of Great Britain. The Council uses its budget to promote all areas of the arts in Scotland, including publishing. The SAC asserts in its literature that 'for a small country, publishers have a vital role in providing a written record of ourselves, both for our own needs, understanding, and enjoyment, and for the world' (Scottish Arts Council Report, 2004: 4).

Described as 'pivotal in rehabilitating and maintaining Scottish publishing' (SAC rep 1), the SAC shares SPA's remit to protect publishing activity. SAC's stated objective is to promote Scottish literary culture. It provides a significant amount of subsidies to writers and publishers and sees as its role preserving Scottish identity. The SAC attributes the success of Canongate, Polygon and Birlinn to support from SAC funding schemes (SAC report 2004). The Council representatives note that its efforts align with the interests of the country, presumed to include accounting for the diversity of those interests.

We see Scottish publishing as pivotal in encouraging a diverse approach to the condition of Scotland and of Scottishness. Scottish Publishing has broadened and deepened the debate about cultural and political identity in Scotland by providing a focus and distribution network for contemporary writing that defined, reflected, rebutted and amended those identities. (Trade Assoc. C)

In addition to supporting the SPA, the SAC also provides direct grants to publishers. These grants are designed to help defray the high costs of titles. Publishers submit manuscripts to SAC and then an SAC committee decides which manuscripts to support based on literary, artistic or cultural merit (Arts Council B). Grants for individual title subsidies can range from £500 up to £2,000 and are seen as ‘enabling new writing and critical works to appear that might not otherwise because they do not have mass appeal and are not a clear money maker for publishers’ (SAC rep 2). In addition to subsidizing fiction, SAC supports the publication of poetry and short stories. The grants provide ‘a seed for writers whose work can be shaped and nurtured by experienced and sympathetic editors that might not otherwise get that worst of attention in the great publishing industry’ (Arts Council B).

The grant scheme of the SAC has faced criticism because there is no further effort by publishers to help defray production costs or get the book to the public, once the subsidy has been provided by the Scottish Arts Council. In response, SAC has created a new scheme to offer grants for marketing projects and for commissioning titles. The new opportunity, Programme Publishing Funds, was established in 2007. It offers funding for broader program within a publishing house and encourages publishers toward ‘a culture of forward planning and are given more substantial funds to create a stable business environment’ (SAC, 2004:26). Publishers submit plans for production for a specific time period. While this means there are fewer publishers receiving funding, the SAC argues that this initiative focuses the money on better supporting a smaller number of publishers.

*BookSource: The establishment of an independent distribution system*

As a result of changes in the broader field of publishing in the 1990s, two of the long established Scottish-owned bookselling companies, John Smith & Son of Glasgow and James Thin of Edinburgh, were put into receivership. One publisher describes this in the following

In the 1990s things fell apart. Independents collapsed. It all changed in the trade – retail, bookshops. Everything related to publishing felt it. Libraries, even. That was the impact of what happened with the Net book Agreement. (Publisher A)

As a result of changes related to the supply chain and the prevalence of a system of central buying in the broader field of publishing, it became increasingly difficult for Scottish publishers to get their titles into bookshops. As most Scottish retail outlets are controlled outside of Scotland, the major bookselling outlets are geographically separated from the Scottish market and do not hold a remit to promote books from Scotland. Previous practice enabled bookstore managers to place separate orders and meet with sales reps that small publishers employed and sell their own lists. Changes in bookselling made the employment of sales reps almost obsolete. In 1992, 20% of Scottish publishing houses employed their own sales force (22% used freelance salespeople; 18% employed both). By 2002, the number of sales reps was drastically reduced (Finkelstein, 2007). Small publishers and niche markets struggled. Most of them only put out a few titles a year. Many of those titles were aimed to appeal to a Scottish audience.

The system of central buying means less time is spent seeing publisher's sales reps. The process of selecting titles changed significantly. The role of the distributor became more important as the role of (and numbers of) sales representatives were reduced. In the past discounts had been negotiated by the retailer with individual publishers. In the new

environment, retailers routinely demand discounts for volume and expect generally favorable policies for returns.

The role of distributors includes expectations that they store books, handle invoicing, do the 'picking' (finding and physically getting out of storage in the warehouse), packing and dispatching, and that they handle the delivery of the books. Over time these have become increasingly difficult tasks. Distributors became an important third party vested with the role of handling returns and comply with pressures to accommodate the expectations of the large retail chains on delivery. Distributors also handle credit control and debt collection. They are charged with the responsibility to generate trading performance reports for the publishers (Feathers, 2006). For its part in the process, distributors generally charge about 10–15% of the invoiced value of a book.

The distributor became an increasingly important role for small to medium sized publishers. In response, the SPA set up Booksource in 1995 as an independent distributor. This was done to avert a distribution crisis for SPA members. It was viewed as a rescue operation. When the company that was handling distribution for a number of Scottish publishing houses went under the rescue became an imperative. The SPA's founding of a nonprofit distribution/wholesaler is considered a way to help eliminate economic pressures for Scottish publishers. This is illustrated in the following

The thinking behind Booksource is that a lot of the publishers were too small to go to any UK distribution, but too big to do it from the kitchen table. So there was no service for Scottish publishers. So it was idealistic. The idea was not to make money. I mean the SPA was the major shareholder but was to be cooperative with publishers as shareholders (Distributor B)

As of 2010, Booksource distributes books for over forty small and medium-sized publishers (SPA Handbook 2010). Setting up Booksource reflects SPA's efforts to strengthen the position of 'Scottish publishing.'

## **Symbolic power, Symbolic capital and Boundary work**

The efforts of the SPA and SAC can be understood as a form of ‘boundary work’ (Wedlin, 2006). ‘Boundary work’ is an attempt to control the symbolic capital of the field, to ‘determine insiders and outsiders, the criteria that define actors in the field, and who has the authority to judge and set field boundaries’ (Wedlin, 2006: 14; Gieryn, 1999). Boundaries define who belongs to a field and what is at stake, a struggle that creates flexible and constantly changing boundaries (Wedlin, 2006) in which agents in continuous interaction with a social context, examine their existing activities and identities, naming and categorizing themselves in relation to one another (Bourdieu, 1984). Symbolic power is the ability to name or legitimize that which is at stake in the field. This struggle is a contest for authority over the field itself. What is at stake are the principles that define the field and that establish its boundaries (Wedlin, 2006).

Symbolic power, ‘whose form par excellence is the power to make groups and to consecrate or institute them...consists in the power to make something exist in the objectified, public, formal state which only previously existed in an implicit state’ (Bourdieu, 1987: 14). As has been seen, publishing in Scotland was associated with a source of pride in a previously successful period of publishing history, in Scottish writing, and was taken to be indicative of cultural vibrancy, especially pertinent in a period which saw the rise of Scottish nationalism, support for devolution and ultimately the establishment of a devolved Scottish parliament. For many, publishing is intimately linked to a national identity, with changes in publishing seen as threats to this.

Bourdieu (1987: 13) notes, ‘the struggle to impose representations...which create the very things to be represented, which make them exist publicly, officially.’ Through the formation of the SPA and the funding policies of SAC, ‘Scottish publishing’ became something of an

entity, with both organizations' identity then becoming linked to this. 'In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense, or more precisely, for the monopoly over legitimate naming, agents put into action the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles' (Bourdieu, 1989: 21). As established organizations having the symbolic capital of being able to represent arts and culture in Scotland, SAC had the capital to be able to introduce and support activities for Scottish publishing. As a body supported by SAC, SPA also had credibility in being the voice for 'Scottish publishing.'

Although symbolic systems are 'instruments for constructing reality' (Bourdieu, 1979: 77), and symbolic power, as 'the power over words' (Bourdieu, 1987: 14), is the power to construct reality (Bourdieu, 1979: 79) both are subordinated to 'practical functions' (Bourdieu, 1979: 81). He writes:

What is at stake in symbolic struggles is the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world and of its divisions, that is to say, symbolic power as worldmaking power,...the power to impose and to inculcate principles of construction of reality, and principally to preserve or transform established principles of union and separation, of association and dissociation already at work in the social world (1987: 13-4).

Symbolic power rests on two conditions. First, 'as any form of performative discourse, symbolic power has to be based on the possession of symbolic capital...symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition.' Usually this is the outcome of a long process of institutionalization. Second, 'symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality...symbolic power is the power to make things with words. It is only if this is true, that is, adequate to things, that description makes things' (Bourdieu, 1989: 22). On both counts the ability to establish 'Scottish publishing' is problematic.

*Publishing in Scotland vs. Scottish Publishing: A question of definitions*

The actions of SPA and SAC appear to be an attempt to construct ‘Scottish publishing’ as a distinct form of capital. This ‘quasi magical power’, viz., ‘the power to constitute the given stating it, to show forth and gain credence, to confirm or transform the world view, and through it, action on the world, and hence the world itself is only exerted insofar as it is recognized (i.e. insofar as its arbitrariness is misrecognized)’ (Bourdieu, 1979: 82-3). Symbolic capital ‘is the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate’ (Bourdieu, 1987: 4). It is precisely the issue of drawing boundaries as to what is included and who is excluded within ‘Scottish publishing’ that makes the discussion so complex. The SPA and SAC have been only partially successful in their attempts to protect and promote what has been identified as the boundaries of the field and its symbolic capital, Scottish publishing, because of two issues: the difficulties of establishing boundaries and the intrusion of the large scale field of publishing.

Although ‘Scottish publishing’ is of important symbolic value, there is ambiguity as to what constitutes ‘Scottish publishing.’ There is no consensus when one attempts to define the term. What is Scottish publishing? Is it books from Scotland or about Scotland? What are the parameters of Scottish publishing? Attempts to draw boundaries around ‘Scottish publishing’ as capital are problematic. ‘Scottish publishing’ confronts the issues of publication location, authors’ place of birth, content and subject matter. This is seen in the following description from an interview

Edinburgh University Press is Scottish but publishes few Scottish books. From this, it would appear that Scottish books are therefore different from the publishing house, or the place of publication. But what of, for example, *News from Tartary*? Does a good book that happened to be published here constitute a Scottish book or Scottish publishing? (Publisher A)

That there is a desire to claim ‘Scottish publishing’ as a subfield is reflected in the attempt to capitalize on the recent success of Scottish writers:

Scotland has taken off on a world scale in recent years. It is a huge industry—one of our biggest export markets. People like Iain Banks, JK Rowling and Irvine Welsh sell all over the world. I don’t know how many countries that Iain sells in, but it must be a fair number, since his books are translated into 15 languages. (Trade Assoc. C)

The issue of symbolic capital and its reference is confronted by literary prizes. Literary prizes in Scotland have been set up with the specific agenda to promote Scotland and its writers. The Saltire Society Scottish Literary Awards has a broad definition that supports ‘any book by an author or authors of Scottish descent or living in Scotland, or for any book with deals with the life of a Scot or with a Scottish question, event or situation’ (Saltire website).

The Saltire Society’s eligibility criteria are broad encompassing national identity, residency and subject matter. As such the awards simultaneously promote Scottish writing and interrogate the notion of Scottish writing: what does it mean to be a Scottish writer? These literary awards attempt both to promote Scotland as a theme, and also those who live within, or who have come from within its borders. (Saltire website)

The Scottish Arts Council Book Awards and the now defunct Stakis Scottish writers of the Year Award have similar aims. On the announcement of the inaugural shortlist for the Scottish Arts Council Awards in 2002, the head of the Arts council argues for the importance of ‘Scottish writing’ and its relationship to national identity.

Literary prizes, play, an important part in developing a sense of national literature and national identity, be it by their authors background or connections, or by the subject matter of the writing. Scottish literature is promoted as a category, though as the slightly torturous eligibility requirements of some of these awards show, definitions such a category is complex process. A survey of Scottish literary awards and the Scottish winners illuminate the development of national identity via literature and literary institutions, and the construction of concepts of literary value. (SAC Report 2004: 8)

However, while there may be greater clarity on Scottish writing, the issue of the boundaries of Scottish publishing is complex, as one interviewee notes:

One of the problems of the book trade is to make valid statistical judgments of what's going on. No-one has arrived at a classification of the Scottish book, versus, rather than good books that happen to be Scottish. Every book has a dual identity. They are a 'history book' and a 'Scottish book'. For example, Rankin and McCall Smith are shelved and integrated into main fiction. The categorization of books is a nightmare. (Publisher A)

Belief in the validity of 'Scottish publishing' as a viable referent rests somewhat naively in the value of statistical information, 'We need statistical information but this is difficult to get because the information is not gathered' (Publisher B). Again the inherent problem of classification is not addressed and as the following illustrates some of the claims made for a product to reflect Scottish publishing and/or writing can be fairly tenuous:

For me, I ask, is it well written and do they have some sort of Scottish connection. We got a book shortlisted for Costa but the author was in England and her only connection to Scotland is that her first school was in Dunhead in the very north of Scotland. The story came to us through a local Edinburgh connection. So yeah, there's no limit in that sense. There just has to be some sort of Scottish connection. (Publisher A)

One dilemma discussed in interviews was whether SAC should we also be trying to help UK publishers who are publishing books by Scottish writers. Questions like this require SAC to constantly reevaluate their remit.

Although classifications are resources that can be brought into play to pursue interests (Friedland, 2009: 889), as Grenfell & Hardy (2003: 24) note, 'because all capital is symbolic, its action within a particular field is dependent on the participants understanding of the social, economic and cultural parameters of that field.' The classification of 'Scottish publishing' is not necessarily one that gains support among observers of the field.

There are two types of publishers now in Scotland roughly corresponding to the publishing '*in* Scotland' and publishing '*for* Scotland' categories. Most of the '*in*' category publishes little that is aimed specifically at a Scottish market and, for some of those publishers, less than 55% of their turnover comes from that market. The five largest publisher average between them 10% of this total sales in the Scottish market. ..For the '*for*' category, the Scottish market is crucial: it can account for between 70% and 99% of total sales. While a relatively small number of titles are produced by each for publisher, the types and genres of those titles are diverse. There is one key

exception to this notion of diversity. While fiction, including children's literature, in a UK context generally makes up about 50% of publishers' output; in Scotland, for the 'for' category the figure is much smaller, with popular non-fiction and academic/cultural output dominating. Books that explain Scotland to Scots (and others). This reflects to a great extent the cultural nationalist mission of the 'for' publishers. In addition, while fiction has a higher public profile—authors can become minor or major celebrities—it is difficult market to break into, subject to intense competition. Non-fiction is better suited to niche or small publishing as markets are easier to identify and target. And it is this area to which we can add new fiction and poetry by reason of their small revenues, for which we need to seek more discriminating mechanisms to offer support. (McCleery Lecture, 2009)

Equally, 'symbolic capital is the credit that accrues to individuals and institutions through their possession of capital as recognized and bestowed by others' (Bourdieu, 1989). The bodies making claims to symbolic capital have to be perceived and recognized as legitimate. While the SPAs claims to be a significant and representative body of the publishing industry in Scotland, the way SPA presents itself and its role and place in Scotland is disputed by many. 'The SPA claims a turnover of many millions, but it has Harper Collins as a member' (publisher). Another questions how SPA presents itself and Scottish publishing in relation to statistics in SPA material and website

I am surprised that the SPA website says that 40% of publishing revenue comes from Scotland. That must be because Scottish publishers don't have that good of distribution outside Scotland. I wonder who distributes [Y publishing house] outside of Scotland for example. You might ask and they would say they are 100 percent in Scotland. (Publisher A)

In reference to SPA's efforts to set up a online website, Books from Scotland, there is further questioning of the statistics and values presented.

While this may indicate the continuing belief by Scottish publishers that a collective selling site offers significant added value for them, 68% of them sell through their own websites as well. There is no indication as to the actual value of these sales. (Distributor B)

Further challenges to the role and efforts of SPA came in April 2007, when the organization widened its remit to include writers (SPA Handbook 2008). In doing so it lays claim to internationally successful authors such as crime writer Ian Rankin and (children's) fiction

writer JK Rowling (who first received a grant from the Scottish Arts Council to begin). To many this was confusing a publishers' trade association role traditionally directed toward the support of publishers:

That doesn't make sense they are letting in writers. There is this age-old antagonism between writers and publishers in publishing. Each group having to get together an association to defend against each other. (Publisher B)

In 2007, the SPA had changed its name to keep its funding. The funding council (the Scottish Arts Council) from which it gained the bulk of its financial support did not want to continue to fund a 'trade association' when writers were viewed as needing support. The SPA had seen its role as the publishing of quality Scottish works in an effort to support Scottish intellectual life.

Its change of name was to seem less like a trade association and present themselves as more directly supporting 'Scottish publishing.'

Publishing Scotland' is there to make the case for what publishers do—create books that have a lasting impact on our culture. Books which educate, entertain and inform, make a contribution to the economy, and create jobs. High quality content does not create itself. Someone has to invest in acquisition, development, packaging, promotion and distribution. In 2008/9, we aimed for a higher profile for our members...by boosting their presence at the London Book Fair with a much enlarged stand; by organising a special Showcase at the Scottish Parliament at which the Culture Minister spoke; by introducing a new marketing bulletin with news from the industry; and by joining with, and working through, a number of bodies such as the BA, the CBI, and Skillset. We've had a presence at the First Minister's National Economic Forum, had meeting with government ministers, and kept a close eye on the proposed changes in the arts funding landscape. (Trade Assoc. A)

This conflict of understandings, between 'trade association' and supporting Scottish publishing, informed both its founding and subsequent functioning

### *The impact of the large scale field of publishing*

Action aimed at transforming the social world is all the more likely to succeed when it is founded in reality (Bourdieu 1987:15). 'In this sense, symbolic power is a power of

consecration or revelation, the power to consecrate or to reveal things that are already there' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23).

The struggle to make the vision of the world universally known and recognized the balance of power dependent on the symbolic capital accumulated by those who aim at imposing the various visions in contention, and the extent to which these visions themselves are grounded in reality. (Bourdieu 1987:15).

Symbolic systems may be appropriated and accompanied by specialists competing for the monopoly of competence in question (Bourdieu 1979), but this must be incorporated into the specific field. Publishing is not a relatively autonomous field of cultural production. Although the book has symbolic significance it also has economic significance.

Bourdieu's distinction between the fields of small-scale or restricted and large-scale production helps illustrate some of the contentions in 'Scottish publishing.' The sub-field of small-scale production consists of production for other producers and has a high degree of autonomy. Value judgments around within the sub-field small scale production are made solely on aesthetic grounds unaffected by economic influences from the broader social space. In contrast, the sub-field of large-scale production is directed towards an unrestricted market of undifferentiated consumers. Success is measured in popularity and economic terms and is low in autonomy. Here, the forces of the economic markets are obeyed. Fields of restricted production invert the priorities and values of the economic field and follow rules contrary to those of the larger field, honoring art that is produced for art's sake, over work produced for economic gain.

The process that results in works is the product of the struggle between agents who, as a function of their position in the field, linked to their specific capital, are interested either in conservation...or in subversion...The orientation of change depends on the system of possibilities which history offers, and which determines what is possible or impossible to do at a given moment in time and in a given field...This orientation also depends on interests (often entirely disinterested) which orient the agents—as a function of their position at the dominant pole or at the dominated pole of the field—toward the more open, innovative possibilities, or toward the possibilities which are newest among those that have already been socially

constituted, or even toward those that must be created wholesale. (Bourdieu, 1993: 181)

Not only did SPA/SAC face the difficulties of definition, their actions and interventions are also exacerbated in the face of broader changes in the field of publishing.

Difference, the differential, is the principle of the field's structure, and also of its changes; these occur through the struggles that arise regarding the stakes, which are themselves produced by disputes. However complete the autonomy of the field may be, the outcome of these struggles is never completely independent of external factors. Thus the relations of force between the 'conservatives' and the 'innovators'...closely depend on the state of external struggles and the reinforcement that one or other group can get from outside. (Bourdieu, 1993: 182)

The failure to sufficiently recognize the commercial, as opposed to the cultural aspect of publishing was recognized by some:

It's a strange thing literature.... I can see that even more clearly from where I am sitting now, is that we were, we were trying to make sensible interventions into the world of publishing and writing and readership and the SAC was in a huge sea of trying to figure how to do this (Trade Assoc. B)

There are difficulties in trying to establish 'Scottish publishing' as a discrete field within publishing as a field of large scale production. Scottish publishing is thought by some to be very inward looking and closed.

Because people are so bound up with what is going on here and have always lived here, they are unable to see us as other people see us. (Publisher A)

Not many in the industry up here have worked outside of Scotland, 10 of us maybe. Not many. (Publisher B)

Although 'Scottish publishing' has symbolic value, there is an ambiguous response to it by the different actors in the field. Tensions are reflected in the historical relationship between London and Scotland.

Publishing in Scotland is run largely by people who have never worked in London. Within our (publishing) house there is a strata who have worked in London. And this is true for Canongate as well. Canongate has an office in London. ...You can see when we go down once a month to Random House that they think we are quite quaint. I want them to see us as cutting edge, funky, fiery independent publishers. It's an uphill battle and it is important to me that not just [X publishing house] but Scottish Publishing in general is seen to be on the map. (Publisher C)

Here we see how many of the ‘in Scotland’ publishers find they are sidelined in the London scene because they are pigeonholed as ‘Scottish.’ For others, the problem is much more structural.

This is indicative of a persistent structural flaw within the Scottish publishing industry: that its focus is on the creation of product and its entry into the supply chain with insufficient account being taken of its marketing and sales. The large number of small publishers is chiefly responsible for the perpetuation of this imbalance of focus—too much on the book and too little on the reader. (Distributor C)

In this analysis, the SPA/SAC through their policies and actions are thought to be guilty of perpetuating a structural problem of publishing in Scotland.

Medium to large sized publishers in Scotland are less likely to position themselves as publishers that specialize in Scottish books, because they are part of a larger conglomerate or because they are aiming a wider market that have international authors and subjects. The smaller, one man presses are willing to position themselves as niche publishers putting out Scottish writing or Scottish interest books, as they have neither the ambition nor the scale of operation of the former, and they tend to be less engaged with the wider field of publishing but enjoy more of an area interest in Scotland. This goes for the writers, literary agents and intermediaries involved in publishing in Scotland.

Even though it is not difficult for us to detect certain homology between the Bourdieuan dichotomy of large versus small scale publishing and the ‘in’ and ‘for’ publishing houses, the differences between the two types of publishers do not fall neatly along the lines delineated by Bourdieu. The medium-large sized publishers, many of which were the institutional entrepreneurs of the 1970s in Scottish Publishing, are plugged into both the Scottish publishing activity as well as the international publishing system. Being affiliated with “Scottish publishing” is used to help avoid contamination of being considered too

commercial. They draw on the symbolic capital of ‘Scottish publishing’ to position themselves in the wider field.

We want to be associated with Scotland because it gives us a difference and I like to think it gives us a kind of freshness. And Scottish writers have a fabulous reputation. Well Scotland on the whole has a great literary reputation. And on the back of Ian Rankin and the crime genre along with JK Rowling and Alexander McCall Smith, Scotland is seen as having a great literary tradition, but also able to have commercial appeal now. I think being in Scotland works in our favor. (Publisher C)

These publishers operating in the field of large scale production, many who started out tied to the national mission of developing Scottish literary culture, try to bring in the principles of large scale production into the subfield of Scottish publishing and found it didn’t work. Efforts to start up branches of ‘marketing’ associations or develop better PR for Scottish publishing is met with disdain by SPA and a number of the ‘for Scotland’ publishers. An example is seen in the efforts of one of the Scottish publishing that now produce very few books of Scottish interest but have kept their offices in Edinburgh.

One of the things I have been trying to bang on about since I got to Scotland was that we should make more noise about what we are doing up here. There are many more things going on up here. If what we are doing here happened in London it would be in the *Bookseller*. There was this particular thing when I moved up, the Scottish Book Marketing Group... All the different publishing companies belonged to the SBMG including some booksellers, and it was a fantastic instance of team work. Everyone had a common interest- the booksellers wanted to promote Scottish books. The publishers wanted to promote Scottish books. But it just wouldn’t work. It was a fantastic idea that we’d all get together and decide which books to promote and incorporate all the publishers in Scotland. We would split up and each person on the committee took an area and went and talked to people in those areas about the selected books. So for example I went to talk to a shop in Western Isles, a shop in Isla. And I talked up promotions, and it wasn’t just [X publisher], I was talking up Scottish publishing as a whole. And eventually it just collapsed because the SPA and the other supporting bodies didn’t see the point in trying to get people to buy these books. They think money should be put into writing more Scottish books. (Publisher D)

A major criticism of the SAC is its failure to recognize the role of the market.

Another problem is that SAC attempts to try and force or grow excellence and brilliance. It attempts to second guess the market, rather than building a platform of competence from which to grow. They need to get to a situation of more publishers who are publishers at a higher level. But this has to be bottom up not top down. The

focus is not one of forcing supply. It's a sense of increasing demand. And also important is operating in a joined up way in line with overall strategic objectives. (Distributor C)

This was revealed in the case of a substantial grant given to a small publishing house in Glasgow to create a new fiction imprint, 11:9 (imprint named after date Scotland officially devolved) to launch the writing of 12 Scottish authors. The books were not well received by many in Scotland or the wider field of publishing, with little commercial success.

It must be acknowledged that the example of 11:9 provokes a criticism that is more generally voiced about state support for publishing: that it creates 'lazy' publishers who persist in producing a larger number of titles than the market warrants (Book Retail B)

This is consistent with broader conflicts in the understandings within publishing brought about through the meeting of the logic of small and large scale production. Book sales demonstrate what Chris Anderson (2006) calls 'the long tail.' Most sales at any given point are generated by the top 100 titles leaving about 110,000 remaining titles that sell very few copies. Some object to this situation, based on the presumption that, as one publisher describes, 'publishers should only produce what most people want because the low-selling titles will all eventually be pulped rather than sorted and distributed' (Publisher C). Others object defending the increase in number of titles.

All I am desiring here is increased consumer choice, the costs of which are increasingly mitigated by print-on-demand, online selling and perhaps eventually by Google! The alternative, to make available to consumers only the top 100 titles at any point, identified in advance through celebrity authorship or success elsewhere, would be to limit them to a diet of Katie Price and Nial Ferguson, Michael Palin and James Patterson—not necessarily bad in itself but relatively bland and lacking local ingredients. The interest of authors—in being published and read—and of readers—in having a wider choice—this is what underpins the support by SAC for publishers in Scotland. (Publisher D)

For others, this neglect of the market reflects its focus 'SAC is a quango-centric mentality'; its 'an excess of patronage not creativity' (Publisher A). Much debate and disagreement exists regarding subsidies with criticism of the publishers in Scotland that rely on SAC subsidies:

They are all really tiny and all so passionate about what they publish. But I know they are all just scraping along on the arts council subsidies. (Literary Agent D)

It's hard to talk about innovative and entrepreneurial publishing here because of all these subsidies. It's like banging your head against a brick wall with what happens in Scottish publishing. Why aren't they going out there and commissioning really interesting books with really interesting writers? They just get lazy and send in anything for a subsidy that does not have a clearly defined market. (Literary Agent B)

I don't understand how this industry can survive. Too many publishers in Scotland think, 'I have a fantastic idea, it's a book and it's a book about blaaah'. But I always ask them, 'well is anyone going to buy it?'....and they say 'well no' or 'I don't know.' And I just want to yell, 'well then don't write it!' The Scottish Arts Council encourages this way of thinking when they start doling out the cash. I ask, 'what is the point? How do you know that there is demand for this book?' The obvious problem for me is that if a publisher needs financial assistance because there isn't demand for the book, then don't publish it...you know, I will never get there. Now I think its my crusade to spread this message. (Distributor B)

Setting up the distributor, BookSource, also revealed the difficulties of this endeavor. The symbolic capital of 'Scottish' is ambiguous:

We started out as Scottish Booksource, then we purposely took out 'Scottish' and now we are known as just 'Booksource' because we felt we wanted to be more international, to attract people from outside Scotland. And well I think it's a better name. The company is still listed as Scottish Booksource because of our ties to SPA but we market ourselves as just 'Booksource.' We want to distance ourselves from the SPA. And well there's a certain type of publisher we want to attract. Most of the top ten publishers based on turnover are not based in Scotland. They are south of the border. That's where our target market is now. We have exhausted the Scotland market. In 2001 we lost Canongate. He left because we were too backstreet, too parochial for them. We were up in Scotland, and they were known as an international publisher and they felt like they had to leave us. (Distributor B)

Criticisms are made that there is insufficient business acumen even to support a field of restricted production.

I now get pissed off when people talk about marketing in a promotional sense. Marketing to these publishing people is sending small bottles of whiskey out to publishers and saying 'come have a drink on us.' I get very pissed off with that because of this. The point is, where do publishers see the customer in all this? Scottish publishing needs an appreciation of the customer and that's what marketing would do for them, and not just sending out bottles of whisky and thinking that is proper marketing. (Distributor B)

I ask the publishers 'Why give a pound off a book? Why? Don't just do that. Think about why are you giving a pound off a book?, I'm not saying don't do it. I just want to know why you are doing it?, Is there a reason? Well, I'll tell you that your

promotion with a pound off the book is going to be limited' Publishers should have a high element of marketing. It's a product, you know. (Distributor B)

From this perspective Scottish publishing meets the problems of small scale, Scottish focus, arts subsidy and lack of business awareness.

Publishing should ask, 'what is it that the market wants? And can we provide it?' as opposed to, 'I've got a great idea for a book. Let's write it. Let's publish it' 'Do we have customers for this?...well no we don't'. Then we look around and we have far too many books stacking up in the warehouse. The SAC subsidizes tons of book that just sit in here, taking up space, taking up government funding by taking up space in the warehouse. What is the point in the end point of these books? Just to gather dust in the warehouse? But that is just publishing in Scotland. We just need a big old shed to hold all these stupid books that get published with subsidies. No one seems to care what happens once they are published. The whole industry up here is so ridiculous we send out all these books to retailers and they are just sent back as soon as they are sent out as a return. I am not interested in production of useless books, the creation of non commercial product. It's non commercial for a reason. Nobody wants it. If nobody wants it why sink a whole load of money into it? Publish on the internet now. Most of the people in publishing up here don't know anything about the physical process. But getting books to market is so important to the industry. And in the end we don't get any support at all here in distribution (Distributor A)

This raises questions about the future of Scottish publishing. The most recent SAC report (2004) claimed that it was woefully under-capitalized compared with its counterparts in Wales, Ireland, Canada and France, and that to compete with London-based rivals it needed much more investment.

## **Conclusions**

In understanding how activity in Scotland is situated in the broader field, I identify 'Scottish Publishing' as a form of capital, around which boundarywork takes place. I examine closely how agents in Scottish publishing consider 'Scottish publishing,' whether they themselves as similar to different to this idea, how 'Scottish publishing' is different from London or a broader field and how they go about rebutting, defending themselves in terms of 'Scottish Publishing' and when they do so. As Bourdieu writes, 'one of the major stakes in these

artistic struggles, always and everywhere, is the question of the legitimate belonging to a field, which is the question of the limits of the world of art' (Bourdieu 1987: 206).

This chapter demonstrates the attempt through various institutional mechanisms to preserve the symbolic capital of 'Scottish publishing' as a quasi sub field of small scale production. Bourdieu defines symbolic power as control over 'the perception which social agents have of the social world.' Such attempts, through the creation and support of the SPA and the role of the SAC, however, come up against the 'realities' of publishing as a field of large scale production. This approach allows focus on how these 'boundaries' are constructed and negotiated by those working in the field. In this chapter I show how these efforts effectively involved reflect the attempt to develop an autonomous field of cultural activity, Scottish Publishing as 'an upside down economic world.

I suggest that positions and position taking in book publishing are constituted and reconstituted by boundary work as linked to capital. In the case of publishing activity in Scotland boundary work are 'distinction' practices aimed at accumulating symbolic capital within the broader field of publishing. I show how 'Scottish Publishing' as symbolic capital is used as a resources in the struggle for identity and recognition and position within the broader book publishing field; it also serves as tools to (re)negotiate the social order or draw boundaries around a field of restricted production.

## **Chapter Eight: Conclusions**

This dissertation provides an empirically based exploration of Bourdieu's framework. There have been few previous attempts to integrate the concepts of field, habitus and capital together in analysis or to explore how Bourdieu's framework might be realized in empirical research. It bears emphasizing that this project does not try to deal with all of Bourdieu's works. Instead, I apply his triad of concepts: field, capital and habitus to illustrate their usefulness as a way of understanding book publishing. My research can best be viewed as the starting point of a larger program of research that employs a Bourdieusian approach to 'fields.' Very little empirical work exists in the form of detailed accounts of habitus, field and capital. This research may be seen as an initial attempt to move in this direction.

Following, I discuss how Bourdieu's framework enriches understandings of 'field' in neo institutional theory and what Bourdieu's framework brings to an understanding of book publishing. I conclude the chapter with a review of challenges to Bourdieu's approach, limitations of the current research and how these might be overcome in future studies.

### **Field: Consensus and Contest**

Bourdieu's approach helps the researcher investigate how fields may be understood as constituted by cognitive consensus as well as contest and contradiction. Book publishing, as a field, is a distinct entity in which agents share a belief, a consensus of sorts, in the value of the stakes. At the same time the 'stakes' or capital creates difference and conflict, or contest among agents.

This is realized through Bourdieu's field as method approach. In this research I employ Bourdieu's framework as a methodology. This involves using the field as a research tool to

construct the object of study. In contrast to research in which researchers' impose 'arbitrary' field boundaries around sets of actors, Bourdieu's methods allows an exploration of what constitutes a field through an investigation of agents' perspectives and understandings. Such a treatment displaces reified notions in neo institutional theory that view fields as aggregate constructs. Instead the 'field' is to be understood in terms and through agents' accounts. The field is thus a meaningful construct for those involved without the researcher attributing an independent, existence of a field.

While in terms of research, it is inevitable to focus on a selected set of agents, the focus of investigation, however, is who and what constitutes a field from the perspectives of agents. In the research process, the familiarization process is important to this end. It requires the researcher to dispel pre existing understandings and to gather enough information about an empirical area to be able to uncover how agents see themselves as part of 'field.' In following this methodological approach, 'Scottish publishing' emerged as a theme and as a form of capital through attempts to understand how the parameters of publishing are constructed and in what relation to what through 'insider accounts.' I conducted detailed qualitative analysis to understand how agents construct the field. However, the 'field' is more than a shared cognitive community. Following Bourdieu, the researcher must place agents understandings in relation to others and understand 'insider accounts' as tied to positions. Bourdieu's understanding of field includes several meanings. In addition to functioning as a common reference point, the field is also a space of structured positions.

Bourdieu's (1993) approach takes into account dimensions that structure social interaction and conflict within a field by seeing these relations as 'structured' positions in which agents struggle over resources and stakes. Because positions reflect relations of power within a field

they are described as ‘positions of possibility’ (Bourdieu 1993; Oakes et al. 1998). Agents hold differing ‘points of view’ about the field depending on their position and their access to resources in the field (Bourdieu 1985). The empirical material highlighted different points of view on manuscript selection, the importance of reputation, trade fairs, and the market for example. The different positions illustrates how understanding and responses within a field are not simply a linear process, but rather a complex and recursive activity in which agents are constantly assessing where they fit and in relation to what and how to maximize the capital they have. This made be understood as learning the rules of the game, habitus. I further develop how capital and habitus contribute to our understanding of fields as involving consensus and contest in the following.

### **Capital: Weapon and Stake**

Bourdieu’s notion of capital enables the researcher to understand conflict and struggle in terms of both what it at stake and how to play the game. Capital functions as a source and means of struggle. The ongoing struggle for position, fostered by the accumulation of capital, is the source of conflict in the field. Bourdieu’s conceptualization of the field as a field of struggles over capital yields insight into how the field provides a structure of objective relations of force between positions but also undergirds the strategies whereby agents attempt to safeguard or improve their position, and to protect the meaning system that favors their position. As in the case of Scottish Publishing, attempts to construct a field around ‘Scottish Publishing’ were attempts to privilege the meaning of Scottish publishing. However, the strategies and ability to go about this depend on their position in the field, that is, the distribution of specific capital (Wacquant, 1989: 40). Capital allows insight into what enables and restricts such efforts.

Capital may also be understood as affording the possibility of acting outside the prescribed boundaries of inert positions. This is seen in the case of Scottish publishers who acted as institutional entrepreneurs in 1970s and positioned themselves in terms of symbolic capital of Scottish nationalism. The concept of boundary work also shows how agents may be understood as acting in resistance. A noted weakness of Bourdieu's writings is his emphasis on reproduction of power inequities without consideration of transformation. Boundary work allows one to explore the potential for transformation of capital arrangements and instances of resistance.

As part of this process, agents compete to control the categories of evaluation that determine the legitimacy of work within a field, with actors engaged in 'boundary work' in the endeavor to 'determine insiders and outsiders, the criteria that define actors in the field, and who has the authority to judge and set field boundaries' (Wedlin 2006: 14; Gieryn 1999). The attempts by agents in the field of publishing to protect 'Scottish publishing' is an example of the form of boundary work and the importance of symbolic capital. It is a term that draws upon an eminent and illustrious history and is used by some publishers to position their understandings of purpose and position in the market.

As already discussed, Bourdieu (1991: 105) defines symbolic power as control over 'the perception which social agents have of the social world.' In continuous interaction with a social context, actors examine their existing activities and identities, naming and categorising themselves in relation to one another (Bourdieu, 1984). Through these processes agents recognise whether they 'fit' or do not fit in a field. This struggle is a contest for authority over the field itself. For Bourdieu, without this struggle there is no field. What is at stake are the principles that define the identity of the field and that establish its boundaries (Wedlin,

2006). It is precisely the issue of drawing boundaries as to what is included and who is excluded in the field that makes the discussion so complex. It also implies that the boundaries of the field broaden as far as struggles extend and that this can only be demarcated through empirical investigation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Although 'Scottish publishing' is of important symbolic value, the ambiguity of what constitutes 'Scottish publishing', and thus exactly what form the symbolic capital of the field takes, has not really been addressed. One problem is the term of reference. What is Scottish publishing and what are its parameters? Does it refer to books from Scotland, about Scotland, any book published by a publisher based in Scotland, any book published by a publisher based in England but having Scottish content? Scottish publishing' continually confronts the issues of publication location, authors' place of birth, content and subject matter. The issue of reference is easier for 'Scottish writing' as being 'any book by an author or authors of Scottish descent or living in Scotland, or for any book with deals with the life of a Scot or with a Scottish question, event or situation' (The Saltire Society Scottish Literary Awards). Scottish publishing, however, is a different question, the attempts of the Scottish Publishers Association and awards by the Scottish Arts Council to support Scottish publishing notwithstanding.

There is not only an issue of reference. While smaller, 'one man presses' being less engaged with the wider field of publishing, are willing to position themselves as niche publishers of Scottish writing or Scottish interest books, medium to large sized publishers in Scotland are less likely to position themselves as publishers specializing in Scottish books, either because they are part of a larger conglomerate or because they are aiming a wider market that has international authors and subjects. Focusing solely on Scottish product results in them being

side-lined in London, pigeonholed as ‘Scottish’ and therefore limited, a ‘curiosity’ or vanity publisher of the old guard. Although being affiliated with ‘Scottish publishing’ is used to help avoid ‘contamination’ of being considered too commercial, ie, there is some symbolic capital with this association in the field, there is strong resistance to this being the sole focus of a publishing press. For many within the field, ‘Scottish publishing’ is seen as a focus on the creation of product with insufficient account being taken of its marketing and sales, ie, the symbolic capital of Scottish publishing in itself is insufficient to guarantee economic success. Symbolic capital is not sufficient to challenge or counterweigh economic capital, nor is the weight of its symbolic capital sufficient to translate into adequate economic capital for it to be sustained as an autonomous field in its own right. The broader political issue of the role of indigenous publishing that reflects elements of national and cultural identity is still significant.

### **Habitus: Learning the Rules of the Game**

Bourdieu is concerned with power, which largely accounts for the central role that habitus plays in his framework. While Bourdieu argues that the ideals and practices of individual agents play an important role in the structure of the field, a more important assertion is that habitus dictates where one is positioned within the field because certain dispositions are favored. In other words, there is the assumption that issues such as understanding the right lingo, or a style of networking or carrying oneself in a particular fashion are important and determine the degree to which one can fully participate in the field. This represented the ‘fish in water’ element that Bourdieu identifies as being an indication of habitus.

Habitus may also be understood in terms of the empirical material on publishing activity in Scotland. Understanding how agents in Scotland positioned themselves in the broader field involved a consideration of whether those in publishing in Scotland share the same practices,

values and dispositions and to what degree they differ from those in London? And what do these differences mean in the field of book publishing and how do they determine how agents may succeed within the field? Throughout the process research and particularly in the historical analysis of the evolution of publishing, it was evident that there is a publishing habitus that favours certain dispositions. A significant number of Scottish publishers for example, have never worked in living in London and they reflect the histories and cultural traditions of Scotland. Because of there is less of an embodied feel for the game or publishing habitus.

A primary objective of this dissertation has been to take a critical look at the very structure of the field as well as the naturalized, taken for granted positions of various agents within the field. The relational aspect of field analysis requires the researcher to place 'Scottish publishing' in relation to publishing in the UK. The dynamics involved in the efforts to construct a field around 'Scottish Publishing' are inextricably linked to dynamics at play in the larger social space. The debates surrounding 'Scottish Publishing' are largely mediated by broader issues. The structure of the field of book publishing is shaped by values that are prevalent in the larger culture. The dynamics involved in the attempt to construct a subfield of restricted production around Scottish Publishing are tied to the broader social issues related to the relationship between Scotland and the UK. Historical analysis indicates that book publishing in the UK has traditionally been dominated by London based professionals born into privileged backgrounds and that a publishing habitus favours this disposition. Although there is some evidence that economic pressure has challenged this hierarchy.

From this orientation, understandings of 'Scottish Publishing' may be indicative of how social space is imagined by those who dominate the field. As Bourdieu suggest, the

representation of space is not arbitrary. Somebody categorizes, imagines and institutionalizes space and this is based on power relations and where one lies in the social space. In the case of book publishing while the marketplace for books is pluralistic, the social world as imagined by those in working in book publishing assumes a much different reality. In the world of book publishing, Scottish publishing and writing is relegated to the world of the niche. This may also be seen in issues surrounding canon formation and efforts to create a Scottish canon, or for Scottish fiction to be included in the Booker Prize. These issues are understood as a problem in the constitution and distribution of cultural capital, or more specifically a problem of access to the means of literary production and consumption (Guillory, 1993, xi). Habitus serves as a useful analytical tool to illuminate understanding of these dynamics within the field of book publishing. It also aides understanding of how issues that are seemingly internal and specific to publishing are connected to broader issues outside of book publishing.

### **The Contributions of a Field Approach**

I argue that the concept of field provides a framework for a rich understanding of book publishing and creative sectors more broadly. Bourdieu's concept of field indicates that there are a number of positions to be aware in order to understand the dynamics of what is happening. In doing so, this allows for an appreciation of a range of different actors to be considered than would normally be included by the more usual terms of 'industry' and 'industry set' and the mapping of relations of interaction and exchange. It requires the ability to see the whole board in play and consider the ways in which a range of potential actors are situated in and informed by, the capital, habitus and positions of the field.

In the case of publishing in Scotland, the term ‘industry’ does not take into account the symbolic capital traded on in the historical legacy of Scottish publishing. Nor do the initiatives introduced necessarily help agents active in Scotland position and operate in broader field of publishing. The significance for those involved, however, is to preserve something much greater than ‘Scottish publishing.’ It is far more important than the ‘industry’ itself, rather it directly relates to the ability to protect and support a Scottish literary heritage, culture and identity. In the case of publishing in Scotland it relates to national identity issue, and class issues. The field is a useful concept for creative sectors because it allows the researcher to make sense of the ‘categories’ used to appreciate a work of art as defined within a historical context. For example, how ‘Scottish publishing’ and ‘Scottish writing’ is constructed and infused with meaning and used as symbolic capital. Further to this are the social dispositions of habitus that make these categories possible. The publishing habitus has traditionally been one that favours gentlemanly publishers and one that many Scottish publishers were not in position to play as well.

Bourdieu’s framework also allows for an appreciation of the meaning of cultural goods, and the contests that surround this. The significance of the meanings of the capital over which agents compete, and the way in which they position themselves in relation to dominating positions in the field, shapes how they understand and control organizational purposes and functioning. The contestation and conflict between agents, their struggles over positions and the negotiation of capital, focuses attention on how agents located in different structures of power compete for influence to claim what constitutes legitimate creative production. The ability to claim what constitutes legitimate creative production is what is at stake in the ‘creative industries.’ Furthermore, this approach allows one not to be concerned with establishing the parameters of the creative sector. Instead, the focus is on accessing how these

'boundaries' are constructed by those working in the field. The field perspective helps provide a more composite map of what's happening in book publishing.

While in many studies on creative industries and as in Bourdieu's (1993) rendering of the field of cultural production, the space for business and the space for art are considered separate. They are treated as mutually exclusive and awarded different status. They are associated with different logics (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006; Reay & Hinings, 2008). In contrast, the empirical material here suggests that the division is not clear. Instead a picture emerges of two poles, creating tension, around and through which position-taking takes place.

Publishing may be understood in terms of struggle over economic and cultural capital. For example, 'artists endeavour to impose the recognition of their values, i.e. their value, by inverting the law of the market in which what one has or what one earns completely defines what one is worth and what one is' (Bourdieu, 1986: 57). It represents what Bourdieu refers to as an 'upside down economic world' (Bourdieu, 1993: 40), where appeals to 'art for art's sake' are part of the legitimating process. However, outside of gauging a book's marketing potential, for example, literary agents realize the importance of learning other aspects of their roles and how cultural capital works. The field is a competition for economic capital and cultural legitimacy.

And finally, the field is useful in incorporating a range of agents from small independents to conglomerates in creative sectors. For example, publishing in a global economy does not mean that the national level is no longer relevant, all the more so as the twin identity of publishing, straddling the cultural and commercial indicates. The field approach allows one to

situate Scottish publishers and other agents within the broad field of publishing, by considering the positioning around the two poles. How these positions and position takings themselves depends on forms of capital, that are tied to the cultural, political and economic valences, informed by the specific socio historical development of publishing in different regions for example.

### **Bourdieu and Neo Institutional Theory**

Bourdieu's approach advances DiMaggio & Powell's (1991: 27) goal for neoinstitutional theory to 'be a sounder multidimensional theory, rather than a one-sidedly cognitive one.' While the field may be understood in terms of cognitive constructions of agents, these understandings are also tied to relational positions. In this way, this research also responds to the call in neo institutional research to connect micro to macro, as Powell & Colyvas (2008: 197) describe,

the view that these micro-macro lines of analysis could also profit from a micro motor. Such a motor would involve theories that attention to enactment, interpretation, translation and meaning. Institutions are sustained, altered and extinguished as they are enacted by individuals in concrete social situations...the development of the micro level explanation will give more depth to accounts of macro level events and relationships.

Bourdieu's triad of concepts when applied as theoretical apparatus connects the micro level to the macro. I develop this further in the discussions of the concepts of field, capital and habitus.

By facilitating analysis in terms of positions in a social space, Bourdieu's approach helps avoid treating 'the field concept as a container for a group of organisations and a move toward the field as a relational social space' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008; 321). Bourdieu's notion of fields does not imply 'fixity' (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). His understanding of fields captures fields as constituted by constant struggles and as ever evolving. Bourdieu's understanding of the way capital functions in fields provides a way to

analyze struggle and power in fields. Fields are structures of power with differential command over 'the profits that are at stake in the field' (Bourdieu & Wackquant, 1992: 97 In Friedland, 2009: 902). They are organized as 'struggles over the relative powers of capitals, which are, in reality struggles over power' (Friedland, 2009: 903). Bourdieu's (1993: 44) use of capital is closely linked to his critical interest in power relations, and he argues that the struggles within the field of cultural production are never entirely independent of the struggle between the dominated and the dominant.

Fields are 'zones in which particular forms of capital have efficacy in the pursuit of that which is at stake in the game.... Capital only exists in relation to particular fields whose profits they command. The limits of the field are defined by the limits of efficacy of particular forms of capital' (Friedland, 2009: 898). Fields are places of struggle over symbolic capital as agents occupy positions that are endowed with different resources, and are dynamic, because change in one position shifts the possibilities of position-takings of all the others actor within the field. Bourdieu's (1985) definition of field struggles refers to,

competing hierarchies of classification, in which power structures are defined by struggles over criteria of legitimacy, knowledge of the social world and, more precisely, the categories that make it possible are the stakes, par excellence of political struggle, the inextricably theoretical and practical struggle for the power to conserve or transform the social world by conserving or transforming the categories through which it is perceived... the work of categorisation, i.e., of making explicit and of classification, is performed at every moment of ordinary existence, in the struggles in which agents clash over the meaning of the social world and their positions within it. (1985: 729)

For Bourdieu, fields are more than just a totality of actors, interactions, or shared cognitive communities, instead the parameters of the field are constituted by struggle. Bourdieu's conceptualization of a 'field' expands the scope of analysis by focusing attention on ways in which actors are embedded in power relations, i.e., are embedded in a struggle for legitimacy

or power. This is manifest in a struggle over ‘what’s at stake’ in the field, the meaning of what is shared in common, for example, the understanding of what constitutes ‘good art’ in the field of arts (Bourdieu 1993b, Oakes, Townley and Cooper 1998, Wedlin 2006).

Bourdieu’s approach allows the researcher to consider how an agent’s actions are constrained by external forces, as well as how agents resist these forces through the accumulation and negotiation of capital. As seen in the case of Scottish publishing, the meaning of what is at stake in struggles in the field is significant. Bourdieu is often criticized for being overly deterministic (Battani, 1999; Benson, 1998). However, understanding the field as a struggle over meanings opens up agency for agents. Capital allows for the possibility of agency, for agents to construct themselves as different. For example, efforts to construct a field of restricted production around Scottish Publishing as symbolic capital reflect attempts at resistance and positioning. In another example, those working in book retail used cultural capital to construct book sales as different from other sales. Bourdieu’s approach allows insight into the macro features of the field that structure relations through the distribution of capital at the same time analysis of how agents operate in terms of capital and struggle over it affords insight into micro dynamics.

Discussions of a publishing habitus also illustrate how habitus serves as the conceptual bridge in institutional theory to link micro and macro levels. Habitus is a system of practices and strategies that agents access unconsciously which continually reproduces that which defines them. In this research, a publishing habitus was realized as agents became to learn the rules of the game, the norms and values that different agents in the field internalize through involvement in book publishing. That is, the ‘practical sense of things’, ‘a feel for the game’ is the ‘practical mastery of the logic...which is gained through experience of the game.’ They

often referred to how they felt about the way book publishing operates. I took the latter as an indication of how ‘comfortable’ they felt in what they were doing and as reflective of a publishing habitus. Writers came to understand positions vis a vis London and the importance of having a literary agent to play the ‘London’ game. Literary agents came to realizing one had to learn how to ‘play the parlor game’ and learn how to talk about books to sell them. Habitus involves becoming aware of the possibility of positions and realizing one’s capacity (on incapacity) to navigate the field as a result. Here we see how habitus works as a stabilizing element in fields and connects macro to micro level field dynamics.

### **Bourdieu and Materiality**

Bourdieu’s approach offers insight into the sociology of cultural production and consumption. Consideration of Bourdieu’s position vis-à-vis cultural studies and French sociology are useful in the endeavor to discuss his contributions as well as address criticisms of his approach. While Bourdieu actively resisted semiological approaches he devotes significant attention to the forms and materiality of cultural products. Bourdieu (1993) argues that the material production of cultural objects is only one side of their production. Bourdieu pays close attention to symbolic production or the production of the value or belief in the value of the work. Through his study of symbolic production Bourdieu aims to ensure ‘the ontologic promotion and the transsubstantiation’ of the product of material creation (Bourdieu, 1975: 28). He argues that an understanding of the meaning of cultural production can be deduced through analysis of discourses, which ‘are among the social conditions of production of the work of art *qua* object of belief ’ (Bourdieu, 1993: 35). Bourdieu’s field theory may be understood as a study of the specific forms of belief as to what constitutes cultural works and their value.

Bourdieu's work is criticized for a failure to address the materiality of material culture and reflect on the significance of materiality (Racomora, 2006). It is argued that Bourdieu's focus on the symbolic dimension comes at the expense of consideration of the materiality of objects involved in processes of consumption. As a result, Bourdieu's approach is seen as producing a mechanistic account of material culture with a fixation on status differentiation. Two 'post Bourdieu' lines of research in French Sociology emerged to address this criticism; Michel Calon and Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory and Boltanski and Thevenot's study of frames of action sought to overcome weaknesses identified in Bourdieu's approach through research aimed at understanding socially constructed ways of classifying the world as well as competing principles of justification.

Actor-network theory is a method of analysis that views everything in the social world as continuously generated through relations in which they are located (Latour, 2005). This approach proceeds from the assumption that nothing has form outside of these relations. The aim of this approach is to understand the webs of relations and associated practices. Following Bourdieu's assertion that quality attributes are not intrinsic characteristics of the product, the emphasis of actor-network theory is on how these quality attributes are constructed through coordination and relations between agents. This may be understood as advancing Bourdieu's work by providing a method of analysis to investigate how agents define and negotiate quality and definition of a cultural product.

In *Justification: The Economies of Worth*, Boltanski and Thevenot (2006), argue that modern societies include multiple orders. They identify six 'economies of worth,' or 'orders of worth' which refers to different principles of evaluation. The orders include the civic, market, inspired, fame, industrial, and domestic and are understood as coexisting in the same social

space. This approach pays attention to the dimensions of social interaction and the way in which agents justify their actions to others. Here agents appeal to different principles causing conflict in social interaction. Through the emphasis on understanding how agents justify behaviors in a social space in which contradictory logics exist this approach bears similarity to research on institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Boltanski & Thevenot (2006) investigate the plurality of logics and how agents negotiate potentially contradictory justification logics to reach agreement.

Both Actor Network Theory and Boltanski & Thevenot's work advances Bourdieu's field theory by providing a way to further investigate cultural production as a *modus operandi* and not solely as an end product. Both approaches reintroduce lines of questioning into the networks of interdependencies and how agents negotiate different social worlds in the analysis of culture. Overall these two 'post Bourdieu' lines of inquiry advance his aim to question the social existence and production of cultural products.

### **Limitations of Bourdieu's Approach**

Bourdieu's field theory is criticized for failure to address the problem of endless field reproduction (Swartz, 1997). The field is viewed as endlessly reproducing itself and as being objectivist and mechanistic, reducing cultural products to expressions of relations of force and understood only in terms of the structure of the field. This criticism stems from a misunderstanding of Bourdieu's work as opposed to a limitation. A close reading of Bourdieu's concept of capital yields insight into how fields operate as arenas for power and agency.

Capital allows insight into the affinities, oppositions and hierarchies and how they play a part in competition over symbolic resources (capital) and role positions. Capital reveals how agents use it to define and negotiate power in a field. This can be seen in some of the conflicts that accrue to the balance between symbolic and economic capital. The opposition between money and culture is reproduced in the publishing industry and is reflected in the tensions between the symbolically valid and the economically viable. Contemporary book publishing may be understood as a global industry, brought about by the international buying and selling of rights, conglomeration and the search for bigger markets and an analysis based on translating capitals can help analyze changes at this level. The focus on global scale does not mean that the national level is no longer relevant, all the more so as the twin identity of publishing, straddling the cultural and commercial, indicates. As one vehicle of cultural production, publishing plays an important role in transmitting cultural identity. As Coser et al. (1985: 7) suggests of the dual nature of book publishing: ‘is...perilously poised between the requirements and restraints of commerce and the responsibilities and obligations that it must bear as a prime guardian of the symbolic culture of the nation.’

An indigenous publishing industry potentially plays an important role in protecting and promoting a cultural and national identity in the choice of works it chooses to publish and distribute. Given some of the pressures imposed by the wide economic field, this role may be more constrained. For nationally based publishers, publications which focus on issues of cultural and national identity provide an important source of symbolic capital, a source of ‘distinction’ within the broader field of publishing that may be used as a resource in the struggle for identity and position within broader book publishing field. In this example, capital affords insight into how Scottish publishers may be understood as acting in resistance and how Bourdieu’s framework allows insight into agency within structuring fields

While the concept of capital helps address criticisms of Bourdieu's work, the use of the concept when employed alongside habitus and field is not without difficulty and limitations. This research reveals a number of challenges that arise in attempts to employ Bourdieu's theoretical triad. While I have discussed how the concepts of field, capital and habitus are useful in analysis, they are also extremely challenging because they are overlapping and interlocking. I have attempted to overcome this by taking a synchronic and a diachronic view of the field in an effort to realize the potential of what each of the concepts brings in isolation and together, in static and dynamic analysis. This is challenging and creates problems in terms of clarity of discussion.

During the analysis, I became aware that 'capital' is not readily and commonly understood. It is not often or immediately obvious how people understand or identify it. Individuals appear to have to engage in a process of trying to articulate what capital is in order to communicate its meaning to them. How this proceeds may be a function of what capital they have; how they are able to promote or 'realize' it. The discussion of capital engages with this element much more as a theme than is apparent in the theoretical work of Bourdieu. This indicates a need to further understand how capital is realized, and as an extension valorised and translated. There is also a need to further consider the relationship between logics and capital. Bourdieu (1993) argues that logics may be understood as a specification of capital. Bourdieu's concept of capital helps overcome some of the problems tied to the use of logics as a concept and is critical to his conceptualization of fields as the ongoing reproduction of inequality. However, there is conceptual confusion here that needs further consideration.

Bourdieu (1983) suggests that logics are produced in semi-autonomous fields. In highly differentiated societies, the social cosmos is made up of a number of such relatively

autonomous social microcosms, i.e., spaces of objective relations which are the site of a logic and of a necessity that is specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields. For instance, the artistic field, or the religious field or the economic field all follow specific logics: while the artistic field has constituted itself by refusing or reversing the law of material profit. (Bourdieu, 1983 In Wacquant, 1989: 39) Agents are driven by the field to compete for cultural legitimacy and the logic of the field is equivalent to this competition. Thus for example, ‘as the economic field becomes established...[it institutes]...the necessity that characterizes it, that of business, of economic calculation, of the maximizing of material profit, ‘business is business’ or ‘one can’t let feelings interfere with business’ (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986: 119).

A ‘logic’ is integral to structured positions within a field, as Friedland (2009: 898) notes in his description of Bourdieu’s approach, ‘the logic of the field is overwhelmingly defined by its distributive possibilities between groups of people differentially positioned within it, the stances and strategies those positions afford, and the conditions of access to those positions and the capitals they command.’ Thus, for example, those in a dominant position in a field are able to influence the logic through which it operates.

Bourdieu’s understanding of ‘logics’ is distinct from ‘institutional logics’ as understood within neo-institutional theory. Power is a medium in institutional logics, whereas in Bourdieu’s work it is an end and a determinant of practice (Friedland, 2009: 888). As Friedland describes, ‘institutional logics join subjects, practices and objects into bundled sets which have an inner referentiality, a performative order, in which an unobservable substance is enacted in practice’ (2009: 888). In contrast, Bourdieu characterises agents or players as being driven by competition for consecration and the field as a struggle for cultural

legitimacy (1993). For Bourdieu, logics are ‘overwhelmingly the pursuit, performance and reproduction of power’ (In Friedland, 2009: 903). Whereas in institutional theory logics are understood in terms of ‘transcendent substances.’ However, this understanding of ‘logics’ runs contrary to the cultural idealism that Bourdieu criticises and which stimulated his analyses of cultural fields. There is a need for clarity on these points of difference and perhaps further exploration as to how capital might supplant the use of logics in institutional theory.

There are also a number of methodological considerations and challenges. As Emirbayer & Johnson (2008) suggest, history remains an important part of analysis. However they argue that this is an enormous and difficult task. They offer no solution to this problem but assert this can be done. I drew on Bourdieu’s work on cultural and artistic fields as a framework and as a guideline for historical analysis. I also constantly returned to historical analysis throughout the research process. For example, in the interviews the significance of ‘Scottish publishing’ and its history required that I go back and revisit historical research and analysis throughout the process. This became an important part of constructing the object of study. It is important that historical analysis, which is often undertaken at the outset of a project, not inform or impose parameters on the object of study as research progresses. I found the historical analysis both challenging and important to a Bourdieusian analysis. However, further consideration as to how to go about constructing a history is needed.

I have not addressed the issues of changing technology in book publishing. Those issues are significant but outside the scope of the present study. The book publishing industry is undergoing a process of change brought about by new digitalization and technology. Throughout the research project, there was a great deal of concern expressed as to how this will play out and what this means for publishers. There was concern that e books and the

capacity for self publishing might bring about the end of the publisher or the end of physical books. An area of interest for further research would be to investigate technological changes using Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. From a Bourdieusian point of view, technology would not be seen as exogenous or outside the field, but investigated in terms of positions and interests.

Finally, Bourdieu's (1977) approach requires that the researcher break from ordinary consciousness to achieve a 'truer' understanding of the social world. The aim is to overcome 'the scholastic bias,' to avoid the projection of one's own relation to the social world onto those being observed. This study is limited by the challenge of accomplishing complete reflexive analysis. I acknowledge that this project, analysis and conclusion is a product of my own position and attempts at position taking in an academic field.

## APPENDIX A

### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this research project and that you understand what the project entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do.

Have you read the Participant Information Sheet YES / NO

Have you had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study? YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to your questions? YES / NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without having to give a reason for withdrawing?

YES / NO

Do you agree to take part in this study?

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX B**

### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

The current research is undertaken for a doctoral thesis at the University of St Andrews, School of Management. The purpose of the research is to examine the book publishing industry. The empirical research seeks to analyze how individuals understand their role in book publishing.

The interview will be recorded, transcribed and analyzed by the lead researchers. The research records will be kept confidential and secure. Any information given in the interview will be made anonymous so that an individual's identity cannot be recognized.

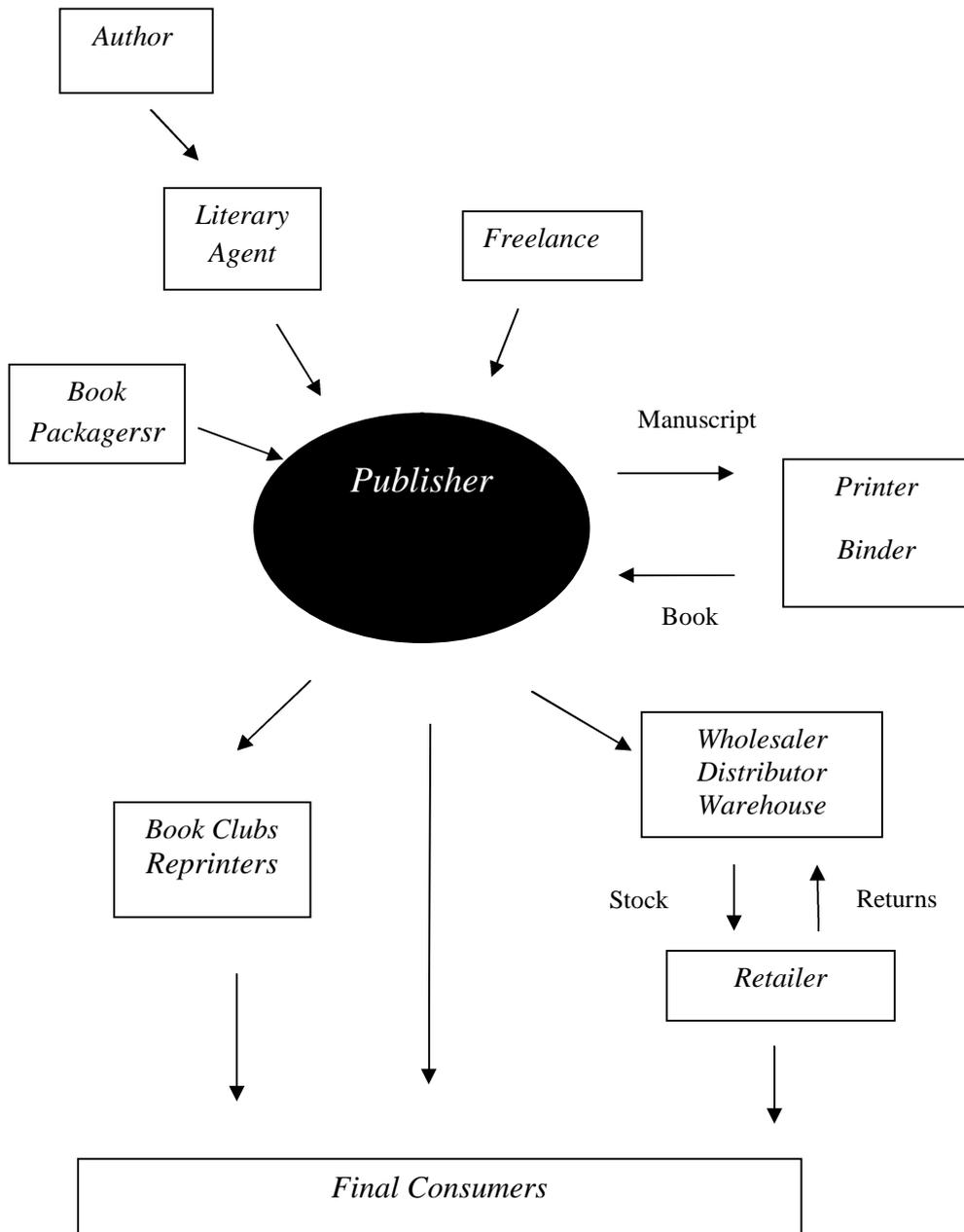
Should you wish, you will be given the opportunity to view and discuss the analysis and presentation of the data. The data will only be used in relation to academic publications.

You are free to withdraw at any time.

Do you have any questions?

## APPENDIX C

### The Publishing Chain



Source: Adapted from Keh 1998:108

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