# Print Cultures

# A Reader in Theory and Practice

Edited by

Caroline Davis

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INTRODUCTION

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**Editor's Acknowledgement**

# Introduction

*Print Cultures: A Reader in Theory and Practice* is the first anthology of critical writings to concentrate on book, publishing and digital cultures in the 20$^{th}$ and 21$^{st}$ century. These selected texts provide a comprehensive introduction to this rapidly developing and dynamic subject, and represent the main theoretical approaches and models as well as key historical and thematic analyses. This is a collection of essential reading for students and researchers wanting to know how the subject has developed, where it is now and its future directions.

Print culture studies can be defined as the study of the production, circulation and consumption of books and other communications media, in both printed and digital form. The focus of this field of study is three-fold. Firstly, it concerns print as an agent in cultural, social and political life; how the circulation of printed and digital texts affects society. Secondly, it involves the analysis of the material form of a publication, or in other words the significance of the physical form of the text. And thirdly, it uncovers the stories behind books and other publications, which lead to their creation, recognition and longevity. This field of study draws attention to people involved in the process of literary and cultural creation who are frequently assigned to the footnotes of history; not only the author, but also the publisher, literary agent, typographic designer, marketer and publicist, bookseller, and reader.

The terms 'print culture studies' and 'book history' have tended to be used interchangeably to describe this new and fast-developing academic field of study, but the term 'print culture', particularly in its plural form 'print cultures', encapsulates more accurately the multiple and competing cultures of contemporary and historical print and publishing discussed in this volume: the assortment of geographical and social contexts in which texts have been produced and circulated and the variety of different cultural institutions behind their production. These range from established publishing industries that are closely affiliated to, or controlled by, the state, to the alternative, often dissenting or subversive work of authors and publishers operating outside the mainstream. The studies in this anthology demonstrate the range of countries from which the study and theorisation of Anglophone print culture has emerged: the United Kingdom, the United States, the Caribbean, Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania and India. These studies also locate

connections and mutually influential exchanges in international print culture, whilst acknowledging that these exchanges are frequently asymmetrical and uneven.

The study of print and publishing has conventionally taken place within the discipline of analytical bibliography, and has involved the technical analysis and historical investigations of individual books and editions. In the 1950s, however, new methods and approaches were introduced by historians Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin in *L'Apparition de Livre* (1958), published in English as *The Coming of the Book* (1976), and later by Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979), to investigate the socio-materiality of texts: how literature and society have been influenced by the processes of textual production, distribution and consumption. These areas of scholarship have variously been termed the 'sociology of texts', 'book history', 'publishing studies' and 'print culture studies' (see Robert Darnton (1982), John Sutherland (1998), Finkelstein and McCleery (2006), and Simone Murray (2007). From the 1970s onwards, attention turned to contemporary institutions of literary and cultural production and has resulted in a number of sociological studies of the late twentieth century print culture (Coser, Kadushin and Powell, 1982; and Lane and Booth, 1980). The most influential of these is Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture (1971, 1993 and 1996) which provides a framework for disclosing the systems of power and privilege in literary relations and for giving prominence to the role of the different agents, including authors, literary agents, editors and publishers, in the process of literary creation.

Scholarship in print culture has subsequently developed within a number of academic disciplines, including publishing studies, literature, social history, politics, law, sociology, library studies, information studies, geography, anthropology, and art history, and this volume incorporates a number of methodological and theoretical approaches. The risk of such complexity is, as Robert Darnton famously stated, 'interdisciplinarity run riot' (p. X). In order to navigate a path through this potentially unwieldy subject, this volume maps out the main directions in which this field of research has developed and is continuing to develop, and identifies the main shifts in print and publishing history during the 20th and 21st centuries.

One of the most significant shifts in print culture relates to changing patterns of ownership in the publishing industry, as it developed from family-owned and independent 'gentlemanly' firms in the early 20th century to predominantly large multinational media conglomerates, with business interests spanning the globe, and with new players currently entering from the wings in the form of digital and publishing companies. These changes precipitated debates and discussions that date back to the 1930s, when anxieties were

expressed within the book trade and in the academy about the commercialisation of book, publishing and reading, the rise of an undiscerning mass reading public, the tendency of the book trade to produce corrupting books for herd-like readers and the need for publishers to act as guardians of literature (see the extracts in this volume by Q. D. Leavis, 1932, Geoffrey Faber, 1934 and Laura Gillies, 2007). As the publishing industry responded to new media and the developing marketplace for books in the mid-20th century, debates continued to centre on the publisher's role and responsibilities in negotiating the balance between culture and commerce (see chapters by Stanley Unwin, 1960; Janice Radway, 1997; and Clive Bloom, 2002). From the 1980s onwards, in the wake of the deregulation of markets in the UK and US, the publishing industry underwent fundamental changes in its patterns of ownership, when long-established family-owned imprints were taken over and absorbed within major multinational and multimedia corporations with headquarters in Europe and America (see chapters by Lewis Coser, 1975 and Andre Schiffrin, 2010). Several scholars have examined how authorship and reading have been affected by structural changes in the publishing industry, in particular by the rise of literary celebrity culture, the ways in which authors have to promote themselves and the implications of literary prizes (see chapters by Richard Todd, 1996; Juliet Gardiner, 2000; Joe Moran, 2000; and James English, 2010).

The changing power structures in print culture have also come under scrutiny throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, specifically the frameworks operating for the privileging and excluding of specific texts, authors, publishers and readers, and how these controls have been resisted or subverted. During wartime, the strong links between the political establishment and the publishing industry were particularly pronounced, and several of chapters in this volume the assess the ways in which British and American authors and publishers were co-opted by the state in the production of both censorship and propaganda during the first and second world wars, and the extent to which they and their readers were complicit with these arrangements (see chapters by Peter Buitenhuis, 1987; Joe Pearson, 1996; Jane Potter, 2007; Valerie Holman, 2008, and John Hench, 2011). Other scholarship has drawn attention to the multiple ways in which writers and publishers and readers have contested and subverted state censorship, for example in Alistair McCleery's discussion of the ways in which *Lady Chatterley's Lover* avoided and circumnavigated obscenity scholarship in the early twentieth century (Chapter 19 in this volume) and Archie Dick's discussion of the means by which censorship in the apartheid period was resisted by black readers in South Africa (Chapter 20 in this volume).

Feminist publishers and scholars have sought, as Claire Squires notes, 'to remove the gendered construction of the "gentleman publisher"' (2007, 46), in exposés of systems of patriarchy in authorship, print culture and publishing, for example in the chapters in this book by Virginia Woolf (1929) and Lynne Spender (1983). The work of feminist publishers in establishing their own publishing firms, publishing feminist texts and recovering forgotten women's literature is reviewed in the extracts in this volume by Simone Murray (2004) and by Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar and Rumsha Shahzad (2015) while Urvashi Butalia and Ritu Menon (1995) examine the particular challenges facing feminist publishers in the global south.

Postcolonial scholars have turned their attention to the implications of inequalities in knowledge production on a global scale, analysing the cultural, political and economic impact of the transnational and local book trade, and the emergence and constitution of reading publics in colonial and postcolonial contexts. The publisher's role, not just as an intermediary, but as an agent and gatekeeper in the production of print culture, is explored in this research, and there is particular attention to how such control over the production and circulation of printed books have adversely shaped literary and cultural development in these countries. One line of scholarship is concerned with the historical legacies of imperialism on the book trade, and the European publishing industry's involvement in the exercise of colonial and neo-colonial expansion (see chapters by Henry Chakava, 1992; Graham Huggan, 2001 and Robert Fraser, 2008), while other scholars have examined how print culture and publishing has been employed as a tool of independence, resistance and subversion in colonial and postcolonial contexts (see chapters by James Currey, 2008, and Archie Dick, 2012). Further recent scholarship has focused on the implications of a globalised, conglomerated publishing industry for authors, literature and publishers in the global south (see chapters by Walter Bgoya, 2001; Pascale Casanova, 2004; Sarah Brouillette, 2007 and Suman Gupta, 2009).

The most significant transformation in book and print culture during the last century has resulted from the digital revolution. A number of scholars embrace what Jay David Bolter (2001) termed 'the late age of print', arguing that the internet and digital publishing tools have liberated mass communication from control by a small elite: George Landow (2006) celebrates the transformative potential of digital text, while Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar and Rumsha Shahzad (2015) maintain that digital text offers new possibilities for women writers to tackle gender inequalities in the publishing industry. Other critics draw attention to the threats of digital disruption: for example, Laura Dietz (2015) draws attention to the risk that

new digital publishing poses to authors' careers, and John Thompson (2010) points to the dangers associated with the possible disintermediation of the publisher from the publishing value chain. Michael Bhaskar (2013) argues that digital technology is ambivalent, simultaneously offering the potential for individualism as well as centralisation, for freedom and for surveillance. Furthermore, several chapters grapple with the way that geographical boundaries are challenged by digital communications technology and publishing, and the extent to which new networks, connections and exchanges are being established that either challenge or reinforce traditional binaries between West and East, North and South (Walter Bgoya, 2001; Sarah Brouillette, 2007; Pascale Casanova, 2004; Angus Phillips, 2014; and Suman Gupta, 2009). These texts explore the dichotomy in twenty-first century print and publishing culture, which on the one hand offers unique opportunities for individual expression and control, and for dissent and political opposition, as a result of digital technology and the internet, but on the other hand has become more centralised than ever before.

The book is organised into nine sections, each dealing with a specific concept or theme, and each consisting of an introduction and a selection of texts from leading theorists, historians and critics. The volume begins with an examination of publishing, authorship and readers in the literary marketplace, and then turns to censorship, propaganda and war, colonial and postcolonial print cultures, women and print culture, literary prize culture and globalisation and the book.

These readings in print culture shed light on the circuits of power operating in twentieth and twenty-first century print culture; they examine how the role of the author, the publisher and the reader have changed in response to socio-economic, political and ideological challenges, and explore the networks of textual exchanges underlying the publications of books and other texts. They offer important interventions in central, often paradoxical, issues in print culture studies: the ways in which the publishing industry, while corporate owned, also provides opportunities for individual and collective creativity; how print is employed as means of enforcement of dominant ideologies, but conversely as a means of resistance; and how print and digital text has been used both as a vehicle for societal and political control and for radical social change.


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# PART ONE

# Publishing: Theory and Practice

The publisher tends to be a hidden, somewhat overlooked figure in the process of literary and cultural production: while the author is more prominent and acclaimed, the publisher is often invisible. The key functions of the book publisher—acquisition and commissioning, editing, design and production, marketing and sales—are carried out behind the scenes and little attention is paid to the publisher's work in the shaping of the author's identity and public profile. This neglect is surprising, considering the historical and contemporary significance of publishing as a major culture-producing agency, and the fact that it is now a vast, global business.

As a subject of scholarship, the publishing industry has likewise failed to receive the same sustained research and theoretical attention of other creative cultural industries, for example journalism, television, film or museums. Several critics have commented on this academic lacuna: John Sutherland (1988, 576) pronounced that 'publishing history, though it flourishes with extraordinary juvenile vigour, lacks binding theoretical coherence' and Philip Altbach (1995, xxiii) described publishers as 'uninterested … in systematically understanding the nature of their industry'. More recently, Simone Murray (2007, 3) has written of the 'inherited lack of theoretical and methodological rigour amongst the vocational wing of publishing studies' while Michael Bhaskar's (2013, 4) verdict is that 'Publishing has been thoroughly explored, both historically and in the present, but not adequately theorised'. Yet, although publishing as an academic subject has been widely overlooked, there have been some exciting new interventions in this field of study. This section highlights some of the ground-breaking texts in the theory and practice of publishing, while many other influential works theorising publishing and the role of the publisher are reprinted elsewhere in this volume (see chapters by Lewis Coser, 1975; Graham Huggan, 2001; Pascale Casanova, 2004; Sarah Brouillette, 2007; and Claire Squires, 2007). Collectively, these studies demonstrate a new concern with drawing the publisher out from the shadows and into the forefront of our understanding about the institutions that shape textual and literary culture.

Studies of publishing have traditionally been carried out within the industry itself, and take the form of official publishers' house histories, memoirs and biographies of prominent publishers. These texts, both corporate and personal, are employed as branding and publicity devices for the companies: a means of imparting prestige to the publisher's imprint. A

famous example of the publishing memoir is reproduced in extract here: Stanley Unwin's *The Truth about a Publisher* (1960). Unwin had an illustrious career as a publisher, initially working for his uncle T. Fisher Unwin, and then founding the British publishing house George Allen and Unwin in 1914. As President of the Publisher's Association from1933, he championed British publishing interests abroad during and after the Second World War. But he is remembered most as the first publisher of J. R. R. Tolkien, having publishing *The Hobbit* in 1937 and *The Lord of the Rings* in1954–5. Describing the world of the 'gentleman' publisher, who works in small independent firms and deals personally with authors, literary agents, printers and booksellers, his memoir provides a behind-the-scenes view of author-publisher relations and is full of anecdotes about the tribulations of publishers in the book trade. Unwin presents a vision of the ideal publisher, who pursues literary and cultural value, in contrast to 'dull' profit-seeking publishers.

The second extract in this chapter is Pierre Bourdieu's article 'The Market for Symbolic Goods' (1985), originally published as 'Le Marché des Biens Symboliques' (1971), which was his first full exposition of the field of cultural production and the role of the publisher in the process of 'symbolic production', or the creation of literary prestige and cultural value. Bourdieu, like Unwin, positions the publisher at the interchange of culture and commerce, but his analysis is significantly more complex. He dissects the systems of value operating within cultural institutions and identifies 'the social conditions underlying the production of the work and those determining its functioning' (1985, 142). The article begins with an assessment of the historical development of the two complementary cultural markets: the 'field of large-scale cultural production', which is defined as mass or popular culture, based on financial profits, dependent on the broadest possible audience and less susceptible to formal experimentation, and the 'field of restricted production', the art and literature that is conducive to experimentation and innovation and marked by autonomy from the market and disavowal of economic capital. He describes the various authorities and institutions which compete for legitimacy to 'consecrate' literature and culture, including publishers, critics and academic institutions. Focusing in particular on the way in which cultural value is conferred in the field of restricted production, the extract concludes with an illustration of the role of the publisher in making a literary judgement about whether or not to publish a work. For Bourdieu the publisher is thus not so much a literary 'discoverer', confident in his or her 'flair' to make judgements about an author's work, but is instead a 'trader' in symbolic capital and economic capital, who operates alongside critics and educational institutions to assign recognition to certain authors. Bourdieu developed these ideas further in *The Field of*

*Cultural Production* (1993) and *The Rules of Art* (1996). His theoretical formulations have underpinned many subsequent studies of publishing and literary institutions, for examples see Peter McDonald (2002) and chapters in this volume by Casanova (2004), James English (2005) and John Thompson (2010).

A further influential model for theorising the cultural interventions of the publisher is set out by Gérard Genette in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997), which stresses the importance of the material book as a site of communication. Genette suggests here that a book's paratexts constitute important interventions that intrinsically affect the meaning of the text to the reader, as 'liminal devices and conventions' that operate between author and reader, mediating between private and public spheres. 'Peritext' he defines as the authorial and publisher's interventions within the book, while 'Epitext' is the accompanying textual and non-textual material that surrounds a text. Genette hereby challenges the conventional approach in literary studies, in which the text is often studied in disembodied form, and urges attention instead to the physical form of the book.

A feminist theory of publishing and gatekeeping is proposed by Lynne Spender in *Intruders on the Rights of Men: Women's Unpublished Heritage* (1983). She maintains that print and power are closely interrelated and that women have been 'excluded from or edited out of the printed words that make up our cultural heritage. They have been relegated to what constitutes an *unpublished heritage* of women's words and truths'. Spender argues that the male-dominated publishing industry has functioned as a gatekeeper, ensuring that male print culture is preserved: 'our patriarchal society is purposefully arranged so that men fill the decision-making positions and become the keepers of the gates…. Gatekeeping thus provides men with a mechanism to promote their own needs and interests at the expense of all others'. Her main assertion is that 'Print, the conveyor of truth and creator of knowledge, does not reflect human experience and universal truth. It stands as a mirror for men and reflects the values of a male-supremacist society'.

John Thompson's *Merchants of Culture* (2010) is a sociological account of the development and infrastructure of the trade publishing sector in the United States and Britain, based on sales data and on extensive, albeit anonymised, interviews with publishers. He follows Bourdieu's framework and terminology for analysing the publishing industry, but he identifies further kinds of capital in operation: in addition to economic capital and symbolic capital, he lists human capital (staffing), social capital (networks) and intellectual capital (copyright). His introductory chapter, reproduced here, describes the publisher's role metaphorically as a 'value chain', in which each link represents one of the six main functions

of the publisher, and each of these functions contributing specific value. Yet, the links in the chain are fragile and vulnerable to change, which might cause them to be disintermediated. He raises the question, 'Given that the publishing chain is not rigid and that particular tasks or functions can be eclipsed by economic and technological change, what reason is there to believe that the role of the publisher itself might not be rendered redundant?'

The significant challenge that the digital environment presents to the cultural authority and function of the publisher is addressed by Michael Bhaskar in *The Content Machine: Towards a Theory of Publishing from the Printing Press to the Digital Network* (2013). This analyses the potential of digitisation and the internet to render redundant the gatekeeping, editing and distribution roles of the publisher. The internet, in Bhaskar's view, fundamentally alters the practices and function of the publisher, offering a medium for individualism and democracy, but conversely as a vehicle for the concentration of digital media ownership by a handful of conglomerates in the West. Examining the key features of the network, he draws attention to two apparently opposing forces: that of centralisation and fragmentation. On the one hand, the network enables technology giants to achieve unprecedented levels of power, influence and disruption, thus threatening and overturning existing models of communication and traditional agencies like publishers, but on the other hand, it permits unprecedented levels of fragmentation and openneess. These dual and competing effects of the network present new challenges to the publisher and create openings for new players: both the 'amateur' publisher and also new corporations.

These texts offer contrasting interpretations of the publisher's role during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and suggest various models and metaphors for explaining the functions of the publisher. Unwin's self-assurance about the cultural significance of the gentlemanly publisher, who balances commerce and culture, is succeeded by Spender's critique of the publisher as a patriarchal censor and gatekeeper. Bourdieu depicts the publisher as a key agent in the 'field of cultural production' and Genette portrays the publisher as the creator of the'threshold' of a text. More recently, Thompson regards publishing as a series of links in the 'value chain', and questions whether the publisher is due to be 'eclipsed, marginalised, transformed or taken over by others', while Bhaskar depicts the publisher as a node in a digital network, who faces an 'existential challenge' in the contemporary networked environment. The position of the publisher in literature, culture and society—once assured—is increasingly deemed contentious, problematic and unstable.

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# PART TWO
# Authorship

The nature and practice of authorship has been central to recent debates in literary studies. Contemporary cultural and literary criticism has disturbed the romantic idea of the author as the source of meaning of the text, while book historians pay close attention to the inter-dependence of the author, as a player within a complex network of value in the production, reception and circulation of a writer's work. Addressing the relationship between theories of authorship and its contemporary practice, the selected texts in this section focus on the rapidly changing status of authorship during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in response to ideological, technical and social changes, and evaluate the way that the author is constructed by and for commerce. They reflect on the business imperatives governing the practice of authorship: the impact of corporatisation and publishers' marketing strategies on an author's career; the pressures of literary celebrity; the asymmetrical power relations operating between authors, publishers and literary agents; and the transformative impact of digital media.

The early twentieth century saw rapid changes in the profession of authorship, as a result of transformations in commercial, technical and legal practices. Literary agents came to wield more power in the literary marketplace, and new opportunities opened up for selling subsidiary rights, for example through magazine serialization, hardback publication, book clubs, paperback sales, abridged or digest publication, movie rights television rights, translation rights and drama rights (West 1989, 145). Mary-Ann Gillies (2007) considers how the rise of the literary agent fundamentally changed the relationship between author and editor in the early twentieth century, as agents gave authors a much stronger bargaining position and their rights were defended in a new way. Not surprisingly, the transition incurred opposition and resistance in the publishing industry. With reference to A.P. Watt's role in defining the role of the literary agent at the end of the nineteenth century, and to the work of J. B. Pinker and Curtis Brown in the early twentieth century, Gillies charts the 'new power nexus' that emerged between authors, agents and publishers.

The excerpts by Juliet Gardiner (2000) and Joe Moran (2000) reflect on the practice of authorship in the literary marketplace in the late twentieth century, in relation to postmodern theories of authorship. Moran considers how the contemporary literary marketplace undermines the notion of authorship as an individualistic activity, and argues

that 'the creation of the author as a "personality" by a vast network of cultural and economic practices … cuts to the heart of the paradoxical nature of celebrity culture as a whole, which promotes individualism at the same time as it undermines it'. In his view, literary celebrity functions by reifying individuals and allowing them to be used by capitalist society as 'ideal social types, as focal points for the desires and longing of audiences'. Gardiner's essay also addresses the phenomenon of the 'author brand' in late 20th century publishing and bookselling. With reference to the lavish promotional campaign for Martin Amis's *The Information*, she examines the problematic role of the author 'in the circulation and reception of the meaning of the text', and investigates the paratextual strategies adopted by his publisher. She notes that book marketing and promotional tactics, which rely on the author brand to sell books, are in marked contrast with trends in literary theory that de-centre the author as the source of a text's meaning, most influentially in Foucault's 'What is an Author' and Barthes 'The Death of the Author', both first published in 1967. Identifying a general shift in the publishing industry from 'author production to author promotion' Gardiner considers that whereas once the industry operated with two distinct circuits of acclaim of 'high' and 'low' culture, increasingly works of literary fiction as well as popular fiction are expected to be fast sellers. To achieve this, the author has to have an instantly recognisable brand, which involves their involvement in an endless cycle of publicity, whilst also maintaining an illusion of being 'unbeholden to the fickle vagaries of the marketplace'.

The transformation of the role of the author by digital technology is discussed by George Landow in his chapter 'Reconfiguring the Author' from his seminal work *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology* (2006). He maintains that the malleable and alterable nature of digital text, both textually and typographically, has led to a convergence of the functions of the reader and writer and a reduction in the writer's autonomy and authority over the text. Readers, however, are more active and reflective about the choices they make in reading, and can assimilate and accumulate texts to become authors themselves. The concept of a stable literary canon is thereby challenged, because every experience of reading is individualised. Landow argues that hypertext epitomises the theories of postmodern critics in relation to the de-centred and unstable author, despite the fact that their theoretical speculations preceded the advent of digital text and the internet. He reflects on the new opportunities for authors to bypass publishers, and claims that the distinction between professional authors and amateurs is gradually becoming less relevant. Although the self-publishing model has conventionally been disparaged as vanity publishing, Landow draws attention to its advantages, claiming that the costs have fallen so low that it is

affordable to almost everyone; it is an effective form of author promotion; it offers the potential for high sales due to word-of-mouth advertising, and it also opens up opportunities for non-commercial publishing.

Laura Dietz (2015) reviews how the career of the author is being transformed in the digital age, and how authors achieve recognition when their work is published digitally. She poses a series of questions: what or who confers legitimacy to the author in the contemporary digital publishing environment? Does it depend on the reputation of the publisher's imprint, the terms of payment to the author, or the size of the advance? What is the importance of a digital presence for a writer's career, both in terms of e-book publishing and digital promotion? Although acknowledging that these questions cannot yet fully be answered while the industry is still in such a state of transition, Dietz suggests that contemporary writers are in a quandary, for while on the one hand digital disruption places their careers in jeopardy, on the other hand, authors who are resistant to change run the risk of being marginalised.

The role of the author has substantially changed since the early twentieth century, and these essays reflect on the fundamental alterations in authorship as a profession and in the power relations between the writer and publisher during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The introduction of the literary agent as an intermediary resulted in new divisions of responsibility between authors and publishers, while the corporatisation of the industry and changes in publishers' marketing practices have led to increased pressures on authors to engage in publicity activities, and to the creation of a culture of literary celebrity. No longer simply the creator of a literary text, the author is now heavily involved with, and invested in, the various stages of literary production, marketing and promotion.  Moreover, recent digital transformations have opened up new possibilities for authors, providing greater opportunities for autonomy, self-promotion and self-publishing whilst also increasing the demands made upon them, and undermining their opportunities for financial reward.

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# PART THREE
# Readership and the Literary Marketplace

The readings in this section address the processes and multiple spaces of reading, both public and private. They focus on the  literary marketplace in Britain and America in the twentieth century, and seek to define and categorise readership, and to analyse the institutional contexts in which literature is consumed. They explore the impact of changes in society that affected reading practices and patterns of book borrowing and ownership, and review the various ways in which publishers have attempted to reach new readers.

  The first two chapters in this section testify to widespread concerns in the early twentieth century about the impact of the 'mass market' on books and publishing, with respect to publishers' negotiation between culture and commerce, their approach to readers, and their provision of reading materials for them. Queenie Leavis's 1932 study of the contemporary British reading public states that while 'it's safe to say that everyone does read, book buying is a minority activity and the majority of the public are borrowers of books'. She depicts a reading public stratified by social class, and is particularly disparaging of the reading choices of the 'poorer classes' for whom 'the reading habit is now often a form of the drug habit'. The modern publishing industry in her view produces standardized products for maximum profit. Leavis's compartmentalisation of readership into different 'brows'— 'highbrow', 'middlebrow' and 'lowbrow'—has been widely criticised: it is deemed 'anachronistic' by Claire Squires (2007, 44), whilst John Sutherland (1981, 8) regards Leavis's study as: 'suffused with pessimism, or at best a depressed sense that whatever hope there is lies in the resistant power of 'an armed and conscious minority'. Nevertheless, this early example of what was later termed 'literary sociology' provides a pivotal analysis of the relationship between social class and readership in the interwar period.

  The second extract is from a speech first delivered in 1929 by Geoffrey Faber, founder of Faber & Faber, to the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland, in which he reflects on the state of bookselling and the book trade in Britain, and on the ongoing tension between commerce and culture in the trade. He raises concerns about the effects of mechanisation and standardization of the business on readers, and claims that the book trade has 'followed the line of least resistance and fed the people with mush'. Faber makes a case for books being exceptional cultural objects:

'books are the life-blood of civilized humanity. … Without books, there could

be no accumulation of knowledge, no free circulation of thought, no

communication between the ages, no hope of solving the problems with

which humanity is confronted, and no relief from their increasing pressure'.


The book trade is described as the 'midwife of literature': an agent that offers a vital, behind-the-scenes, service to the author in bringing their work into existence. Faber avoids the simple categorisation of literature favoured by Q. D. Leavis, arguing that readers like himself combine reading 'highbrow' with 'lowbrow' literature, but he expresses similar anxieties about the debasing impact of commerce on culture, and challenges bookshops to 'diminish the deplorable mass of mechanical rubbish which clogs bookshops and disfigures bookstalls all over the country'. He argues for a balance: for books which generate a profit whilst also 'leading the mulish British Public a step or two further than it thinks it wants to go' and managing 'to raise the standard of public taste'.

The rise of mass-produced fiction and the middle-brow in America in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century is the subject of Janice Radway's *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste and Middle-Class Desire* (1997), which employs an innovative range of research methodologies, including memoir, institutional history, ethnography and cultural theory. The Book-of-the-Month-Club encapsulated modes of mass literary production that were lamented by the likes of Faber (1934) and Leavis (1932), but Radway provides a sympathetic history of the way that the club's publisher, Harry Scherman, navigated the tensions between economic and cultural capital in this operation, and how he 'introduced into the literary field marketing strategies that had been widely used in other industries', in so doing provoking widespread criticism. Radway argues that the book club challenged 'the character and function of the literary field as a unique public space', by foregrounding 'the connections between culture and the market' and attempting 'to obliterate the distinction between those who were cultured and those who were not'. Its main impact, in her view, was to create a new literary space: the 'middlebrow', which was a 'permeable space between regions and forces otherwise kept conceptually distinct'.

Allen Lane's Penguin Books enterprise shared many features with the American Book-of-the-Month Club. He was a leading figure in the commercialisation of British publishing and was considered by many contemporaries to have a degenerative effect on the book trade. Clive Bloom, in this extract from Bestsellers*: Popular Fiction Since 1900* (2002), assesses the impact of the paperback revolution in Britain, and the controversy it aroused.

Bloom charts how, notwithstanding criticism, the trend for paperbacks spread in the UK and America and created a new readership for books.

These studies of readership shed light on the shifts that occurred in reading and the literary marketplace in the first half of the twentieth century in response to commercial and technological changes. They reveal a persistent anxiety on the part of scholars and publishers regarding the negative impact of these changes on the reading public: from concerns about the impact of 'big business' on 'mulish' readers to disquiet about the debasing impact of the paperback and the bestseller. Yet, as the next chapter demonstrates, fears about the corruptive effects of texts have particularly focused particularly on publications deemed obscene or offensive.

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# PART FOUR
# Censorship and Print Culture

The publication of transgressive materials has been regulated over the centuries by both explicit and implicit forms of censorship. This has taken on many different guises, and the texts in this section examine the complex relationship between publishers and censorship, with particular attention to its specific manifestations: market-censorship, obscenity censorship, political and religious censorship. These studies shed light on the how prohibitions and constraints are imposed upon publishers and readers and how such sanctions have been accepted, contested and resisted.

Sue Curry Jansen in *Censorship: The Knot that binds Power and Knowledge* (1991) regards censorship as omnipresent and universal rather than restricted to specific institutional acts of prohibition and repression. Drawing on Michel Foucault's theories of censorship (1976, 1977), she argues that the exercise of governmental power and authority is decentralised and takes place through discourse. While critics have conventionally focused on 'regulative censorship', or overt forms of communication control, Jansen argues that attention should instead be focused on 'constitutive censorship': the fundamental taboos and social conventions that operate at the most basic level of discourse. Claiming that the operations of the censor are hidden in contemporary society, she describes the way in which 'market censorship' operates in contemporary America, and how the conglomerated publishing industry uses market research to carry out pre-publication censorship of any publications that might fail to guarantee high profit margins.

Market censorship is also the subject of Lewis Coser's seminal analysis of the American publishing industry (1975), in which he defines publishers as 'modern gatekeepers of ideas', with the power to 'make decisions as to what is let "in" and what is kept "out".' Coser analyses the extent to which commercial constraints influence the editorial decision-making process. Writing at a time before the advent of rapid conglomeration and centralisation, he characterises the publishing industry as a cottage or craft industry, highly autonomous and reliant not on the state but almost wholly on the vagaries of the marketplace. In this context, the publishing decision is complex, involving commercial considerations, concern with the amplification of the publisher's image and prestige, and also an enduring sense that the publisher is engaged in a 'high cultural mission'. Coser argues that publishers, 'pushed and pulled by contradictory expectations' of commerce and culture, 'find it hard to

develop a clear-cut sense of professional identity'. He also observes that 'gatekeeping' describes not only the publishing decision in itself, but also the extent to which books and publications are promoted and marketed; this factor determines to a great extent which will see the light of day, and which ones will sink without a trace.

How obscenity legislation was imposed, subverted, challenged and overturned over the course of the twentieth century, and in diverse geographical context, is explored by Alistair McCleery in his assessment of 'The Trials and Travels of *Lady Chatterley's Lover'* (2013). He draws attention to the close link between profit and pornography, and the delicate balancing act that D. H. Lawrence and his publishers faced in reconciling pecuniary and literary motivations in their publishing decisions, for example with respect to the 1928 Florence edition and 1930 Paris edition of the novel, as well as the Penguin edition of 1960, which was a resounding commercial success. The trial and acquittal of this notorious edition under the new Obscene Publications Act marked a major landmark case in British cultural history: the episode is widely thought to signify a major societal shift from Victorian conservatism to modern liberalisation. However, McCleery problematises this simple interpretation, comparing the London-based trial of the book with its subsequent trials in Scotland, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa and China, and discerning a pattern of wide scale liberalism in the metropolitan centres and conservatism in the provincial peripheries.

Archie Dick's chapter 'Combating Censorship and Making Space for Books', from *The Hidden History of South Africa's Reading Cultures* (2012) focuses on the intense interest of South Africa's apartheid government and security police in the control of books, and also draws attention to the dysfunction of these censorship forces; the numerous and ingenious ways in which political activists and prisoners managed to subvert control of their reading. He examines how religious books, and in particular the Bible, were read and employed by prisoners during solitary confinement, for 'personal, profane, and political purposes', and also to the ways that regulations surrounding reading in prison libraries and individual cells were widely undermined. Ultimately, Dick concludes that books provided an important example of how political prisoners ultimately 'resisted and defeated apartheid censorship'.

These studies of books and censorship illuminate the complex relationship between the author, the legislature, the publisher and the reader. They challenge simplistic models and theorisations, with examples of censorship that was both generative and restrictive, examples of publishers that colluded with the state and also those that challenged or defied censorship

legislation, and instances of readers who followed authorised practices and those who successfully adopted resistant and subversive reading strategies.

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# PART FIVE

# Books, Propaganda and War

How the state controls print culture in times of war, and how complicit the publishing industry has been in enforcing censorship and supporting government propaganda in wartime, are the key questions examined in this section. With particular reference to British and American publishing from 1914–1918 and 1939–1945, the selected texts question the author's, publisher's and reader's role in wartime and the constraints place on the circulation of ideas and information, in the face of the often conflicting imperatives of 'country, conscience and commerce' (Potter, 2007).

The role of British writers in writing government propaganda during the First World War is reviewed by Peter Buitenhuis in *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914–1918* (1987). This extract describes how prominent British authors were enlisted by Charles Masterman into writing government propaganda at the outset of the first world war. Wellington House was the initial site of the British government's propaganda agency, established by Masterman to counter German propaganda overseas, especially in neutral nations such as the USA. Enlisted writers included H. G. Wells, Arthur Conan Doyle, John Buchan and Ford Madox Ford. Buitenhuis explains how covert propaganda efforts were rapidly organised, with the 'complete support of the British writing establishment'. Elsewhere in the book, Buitenhuis assesses the arrangements made between commercial publishers and Wellington House, whereby publishers—including Hodder and Stoughton, Methuen, Blackwood and Sons, John Murray, T. Fisher Unwin, Darling and Son, Macmillan and Thomas Nelson and Sons—were paid five Guineas and five shillings to publish government wartime propaganda covertly, using their own imprint.

Jane Potter provides further insights into this covert relationship between commercial publishers and the state during World War I, in her chapter 'For Country, Conscience and Commerce: Publishers and Publishing, 1914–18' (2007). She depicts a publishing industry struggling for survival on account of paper shortages, rising production costs, and loss of staff to the armed forces. While certain firms only just managed to keep going during this period, others adapted more nimbly to the new conditions and managed to keep their businesses afloat by satisfying the public's taste for war-related titles. Potter also addresses the conundrum of why publishers took part in the Wellington House propaganda exercise, in particular those like William Heinemann and Stanley Unwin, who were ostensibly pacifists.

According to Potter, such collusion with the state was not simply a matter of opportunism or profiteering, as contended by Buitenhuis, but was ultimately more a matter of conscience and a sense of public duty, instilled in particular by their own personal experiences of wartime loss.

The relationship between the British publishing industry and the state during the Second World War is addressed by Valerie Holman in *Print for Victory: Book Publishing in England 1939–1945* (2008). This book documents the book trade's response to wartime regulations, restrictions and censorship laws, and this extract focuses on the means by which the book trade was supported by the Ministry of Information, on account of the 'cultural and symbolic value' of the book, and because it was regarded as 'an effective means of boosting morale and discreetly spreading propaganda'. Adopting similar practices to those of Wellington House in the First World War, there is evidence of the government using independent firms to translate and publish their own titles covertly, and then financially supporting them by purchasing thousands of copies of the published works.

During the Second World War, Penguin Books received particular support from the government and fared better than many of its competitors in terms of its paper rationing allowance. The company became closely associated with the war effort, partly as a result of the Penguin Specials series, which was established in 1937 to explain and clarify political developments in Europe for the British reader. Penguin then established the Armed forces Book Club in 1942, with the aim to supply books to men and women serving abroad. Joe Pearson (1996) explains how Penguin Books was granted a near monopoly of paperback publishing for British troops, in association with the Workers' Educational Association. As paper rationing was tightened after 1941, however, the focus shifted to the recycling of paperbacks, and book donation schemes through the Red Cross. These factors served to place Penguin Books at the forefront of the British war effort, as well as at the leading edge of British publishing.

John Hench's chapter, 'The American Publisher's Series Goes to War, 1942–1946' (2011) reviews the creation, publication and reading of American propaganda in the form of book series that were designed both for the American forces and to counter German propaganda in 'overrun and aggressor nations'. Hench evaluates the significance of a number of publishers' series: the Armed Series Editions that were produced in their millions and distributed to US forces across the globe; the Fighting Forces Series that were published for US military personnel; the Overseas Editions and Transatlantic Editions that were published for European and Asian citizens after the defeat of the Axis power, and the Bücherreihe Neue

Welt series for German prisoners of war based in the US. Although government sponsored publications, they were issued by non-government entities to disguise the origins of the books. Hench assesses the remaining traces of evidence of the ways that these books were read, and how wartime reading communities developed around these book series. Although difficult to ascertain the 'propaganda benefits' deriving from these series, he maintains that these books indisputably helped 'develop a new generation of book readers and buyers' as well as 'fuelling the post-war paperback boom'.

These historical studies demonstrate the close controls over print culture imposed by the state in times of war, through propaganda publishing initiatives, through legislation and through indirect methods like paper restrictions. There is repeated evidence that authors and publishers worked closely with the state in the enforcement of censorship and the production of wartime propaganda. The effectiveness of this printed propaganda in educating and influencing readers is, however, less certain.


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# PART SIX

# Colonial and Postcolonial Print Culture

The role of the book industry in establishing and perpetuating global inequalities in knowledge production and exchange has been an important focus of recent research in print culture studies. New attention has been paid to the publishing industry as an institution that is economically, politically and culturally implicated in either maintaining, or resisting, colonial and neo-colonial ideologies. This research has involved analysing international publishing practices regarding the languages of publication, methods of book commissioning and acquisition, trade agreements and territorial copyright arrangements as well as more subtle systems for conferring international literary prestige. The texts in this section assess, from a range of ideological and political perspectives, the implications of these transnational publishing arrangements.

Pascale Casanova's theorisation of world literary systems, in *The World Republic of Letters* (2004) considers the long-term legacies of colonialism on the global publishing industry and the way in which international literary value systems are constructed. She defines a nation's position in the international cultural hierarchy according to its levels of cultural autonomy, and argues that cultural capital continues to be concentrated in the metropolitan literary centres of Paris, London and New York. She examines how many former colonial powers are defined as autonomous literary spaces, 'most endowed in literary resources' which also exercise linguistic dominance (2004, 111). Nations subjected to or emerging from colonisation are described as dominated spaces, characterised by dependence on other literary capitals and weak publishing networks (2004, 109).

In a case study that exemplifies these assymetrical literary power relations, Robert Fraser (2008) analyses the response of British publishers to the opportunities presented by the British Empire in the Caribbean , during the period 1926–1960. Focusing on the Edinburgh based family-run firm, Thomas Nelson & Sons, he examines the history of their *West Indian Readers*. Nelson published school books for the domestic and imperial market from the late 19th century, and in the early twentieth century began opening local branches across the British Dominions, and it was from Nelson's newly established Toronto branch that their business to the Caribbean was established. He charts the development of the *West Indian Readers*, a 'small and unpretentious' series that was widely criticised by the intellectual elite of the day, but was highly profitable. Despite such commercially successful initiatives, the

house of Nelson ultimately fell, due to a failure to adapt to the 'larger macro-level', in terms of management and policy making. Despite this, Fraser argues that the long-term impact of this series was broadly positive; influencing the 'unconscious mind' of a generation of school readers, including V. S. Naipul, and thus helping 'yield up a literature'.

A more critical portrayal of colonial and postcolonial publishing initiatives by British publishers is offered by Kenyan publisher Henry Chakava (1992). He explains the reasons for British publishing dominance in the last stages of British colonial rule, reflecting on the privileged relationship that British commercial publishers enjoyed in this period. In Chakava's view, the decision to invite Longman and Oxford University Press to carry out educational publishing 'unleashed a multinational ogre that was to dominate the post independence publishing scene for many years'. He charts how, after independence in 1960, 'a host of other British publishers' then established sales agencies and branches in Kenya, alongside the state publisher and a handful of local commercial publishers, and analyses the struggles of these local publishers to get established, in the face of foreign competition, a lack of state support, and economic and political uncertainty. The 'multinational stranglehold' over the educational publishing industry was only broken in 1977, with the wider economic and political crisis in East Africa, which led to the withdrawal of many foreign publishers, but also to the demise of both state and independent indigenous publishers in Kenya.

The contentious nature of post-colonial publishing is illustrated in two competing analyses of Heinemann Educational's African Writers Series by Graham Huggan and James Currey. This was the largest and most successful of the African literature lists established by British educational publishers in the period of decolonisation in Africa, as part of their highly profitable educational publishing programmes. Others included Oxford University Press's Three Crowns Series, Longman's Drumbeat Series and Macmillan's Pacesetters Series (Davis 2013; 2015). Huggan's influential *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins (*2001) includes a critique of the African Writers' Series, in which he examines how cultural power was exercised by British publishers along neo-colonial lines: how Heinemann actively sought to market African literature by representing it as 'other', using the 'perceptual framework of the African exotic' and homogenising African literature as a single entity, in an attempt to make it more readily accessible to the Western reader.

The extract from James Currey's *African Writes Back* (2008) reflects on his experiences as editor of the African Writers' Series which he defends as a vital forum for African authors to 'write back' to the European canon. Currey concedes that Heinemann Educational benefited from Britain's cultural dominance at the time, in particular by taking

advantage of the pre-eminence of the English language in Sub-Saharan Africa, and of the prestige attached to London as a publishing centre. Currey explains that the main market for the series was the schoolbook market in Africa, not the Western consumer market, as assumed by Huggan, and he also counters Huggan's assumption that all editorial decisions were made in London, and instead emphasises the involvement of African authors—most prominently Chinua Achebe—as editorial advisors to the series. Thus, in writing his own version of events, Currey aims to present a corrective to some of Huggan's theorietical speculations.

These historical and theoretical readings draw attention to the multiple ways in which the publishing industry has been, and continues to be, structured along colonial or neo-colonial lines. This is evident in Fraser, Huggan and Currey's case studies of individual publishing companies operating in colonial and postcolonial contexts, in Chakava's survey of publishing in Kenya during the period of decolonisation, and in Casanova's discussion of the balance of power and prestige in the current global media environment. Each of these studies sheds light on the intricate and complex ways in which colonial knowledge systems were created and have been maintained, long after the demise of colonial rule itself.

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# PART SEVEN
# Women and Print Culture

The readings in this section reflect on women's historical exclusion from print culture and on their responses to these exclusions and inequalities. They include studies of the methods employed by women during the 'second wave' of feminism in the late twentieth century to gain control of printing and publishing and to give women writers more prominence, and also of the ways in which digital technology enables women writers to circumvent gender inequalities in the contemporary publishing industry.

Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, based on two lectures given at Cambridge in 1928, reflects on reasons for the lack of a female literary heritage. She considers the absence of women from history books and the gaps in our historical knowledge about women's lives prior to the 18th century, and tells the tragic story of a hypothetical sister of Shakespeare, as gifted as her brother but without education, money or independence, concluding that, 'It would have been impossible, completely and entirely, for any women to have written the plays of Shakespeare in the age of Shakespeare'. The tract reflects on the way that women authors in the 19th century exhibited signs of 'inner strife' through seeking anonymity and adopting male pseudonyms, and concludes that the female author continues to be hampered by the myth of female mental inferiority, by a lack of financial independence and by a lack of physical space to write without interruption. Woolf's argument that certain material conditions, namely 'money and a room of her own', are essential for the creation of fiction has been criticised for its political evasion and 'strategic retreat' (Showalter: 1977, 284) and for its capitalistic aspirations for private property (Solomon: 1989, 334), but it remains a foundational text of feminist criticism and influential feminist critique of print culture.

The development of feminist publishing in the 'global south' is surveyed by Urvashi Butalia and Ritu Menon in this extract from *Making a Difference: Feminist Publishing in the South* (1995). In the context of significant obstacles affecting the publishing industry across regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, they chart how feminist activists engaged with printing and publishing. Several of these ventures arose from women's groups and women's studies programmes, but some were more commercial enterprises, and feminist publications ranged from more ephemeral pamphlets and magazines to fiction, self-help and academic women's studies books. This was a considerable struggle, and those companies that survived relied either on either donor funding or a flexible approach towards publishing across a range

of genres and markets. The authors describe their own work in establishing the publishing firm Kali, with the aim to 'reverse the flow of … information, which has traditionally been from North to South, West to East'.

One of the most prominent and enduring of the feminist publishing imprints is Virago Press. Simone Murray (2004) examines Virago's complex history and mission, and reflects on the tensions resulting from a publisher's competing objectives to unite politics and profit: to serve ideological objectives whilst also reaching a wide readership. Virago was established in 1973 in London as a publisher of non-fiction and fiction by women writers, in both original and reprinted form. Murray explores the implications of the firm's complex history of ownership, from its origins as an independent publisher, its mixed experiences of corporate partnerships, and finally its establishment as an imprint within a media conglomerate. She considers the difficulty the company faced in maintaining its identity in the mid-1990s, in the face of a lack of financial independence and the prevailing sense that gender politics was 'embarrassingly passé'. The resulting ideological contradictions were manifested, in Murray's view, in the paratext of Virago's books, which she describes as an attempt 'to clothe generally oppositional texts in the guise of the mainstream'. Her key argument is that 'Feminist presses must locate for themselves a position on the continuum between an idealized independence, on one hand, and total integration into a conglomerate structure on the other'.

The final extract by Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar and Rumsha Shahzad (2015) questions whether, in the twenty-first century, online self-publishing offers a viable alternative for women writers, in view of the persistent and pronounced gender bias in the traditional publishing industry. Their survey of female authors reveals that many are turning to self-publishing as an alternative to mainstream publishing, and that although this presents certain challenges and uncertain financial rewards, one of the main advantages of the digital environment is its possibility for author collectives and communities.

These readings analyse the success of feminist interventions in tackling gender-discrimination and in providing new forms of political and social expression for women, from the early 20th century to the present day. They also shed light on the ways in which both printed and online publishing have contributed to the formation of women's writing communities, and to new, gendered senses of affiliation and belonging.


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# PART EIGHT
# Literary Prize Culture

Literary prizes play an increasingly important role in the approbation and commodification of books and in the public performance of authorship. The most prominent literary awards—for example the Nobel Prize in Literature, the Prix Goncourt, the Pulitzer Prize and the Man Booker Prize—are now major celebrity events, but there has also been a proliferation of book awards throughout the world, sub-categorised by language, by geographical region, by form (including for novels, drama, short stories and poetry) and by genre (including historical fiction, science fiction, horror fiction, crime fiction, comedy, satire, romance and biography). There are also awards for specific categories, for example: women's writing, children's literature, literary translations, first books and unpublished works. Literary prizes attract wide scale criticism regarding the political, regional and linguistic bias of specific awards, and more generally for their role in the commercialisation of literature and use as marketing ploys by corporate capitalism. Individual prizes have also been subject to controversy, regarding the judging criteria, the constitution of the judging panels, the judges' decisions and the recipient's response.

The impact of the burgeoning literary prize culture on authorship in Britain in the late 20th century is assessed by Richard Todd (1996). Explaining the main transitions of authorship as a profession, he focuses on the financial impact of literary prizes on an author's career, and the potential of literary awards to provide authors with an instant global profile. He compares the economic significance of British literary prizes with the French Prix Goncourt and the Italian Premo Strega, or the Nobel Prize, and observes that for the first time since the early twentieth century, literary prizes now offer the transformative potential to writers to actually make a living from writing fiction.

In the second excerpt, Tom Maschler (2003) offers a first-hand account of the origins of the Booker Prize, explaining his own role in its inception. From the outset, his goal was to create a promotional as well as a competitive climate for literature, and to model the Booker on the Prix Goncourt, hoping to emulate its success in stimulating sales of prize-winning books each year. Maschler tells the story of how he managed to persuade Booker—the sponsors—to fund the prize and how he managed to achieve his goal of creating a widely-publicised and eventually televised literary event.

The role of the literary prizes in the process of recognising and conferring value on literature is explored by Claire Squires in *Marketing Literature: the Making of Contemporary Writing in Britain* (2007). In this extract, she discusses in particular the role of prizes in contributing to genre classification and definition, as a site of the 'interaction between genre and the marketplace'. She maintains that a study of various literary prize entry requirements reveals a hierarchy of literary value, with prizes for specific genres and categories of literature (for example, the best crime writing or the best Scottish novel) occupying a lower place in the hierarchy than those, like the Booker Prize, which awards prizes to 'the best novel'. She also considers what literary awards like the Whitbread Awards (now named the Costa Book Awards) reveal about late twentieth century and early twenty-first century reading practices, arguing that 'the structure of the awards is such that the very notion of genre boundaries is contested, both supporting and undermining genre divisions in the promotion of books and reading'. For Squires, literary prizes contribute to the processes of literary categorisation and canonisation, which are integral aspects both of literary marketing and also the process of creating cultural meaning.

James English (2005) decodes the unspoken rules and practices underlying literary prizes, with referenc e to Bourdieu's field theory. In this extract from *The Economy of Prestige Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Values*, English identifies a new form of capital in circulation in the major literary prizes: the currency of scandal. Examining various forms that this currency takes, and the way in which it operates in all the major prizes, he draws attention to typical examples of scandals: when 'great artists' are overlooked in favour of lesser-known authors; when prizes are awarded to controversial authors; and when judges are deemed inept, unqualified or corrupt. He maintains that their function is not simply to promote the authors and the prize but also to keep afloat the concept of the author as a 'special category of person, and hence in Art as a special domain of existence'.

These four readings chart the historical development of literary prize culture, and account for the exponential growth of book awards over the course of a century. Interpreting the rules and strategies in operation in literary prize culture, they make important contributions to ongoing debates about the dual role played by prizes as cultural and commercial agents in the literary field, and about the significance of literary prizes in contributing to authors' and publishers' profitability and global prestige.

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# PART NINE

# Globalisation and the Book

A series of rapid takeovers, mergers and acquisitions in the publishing industry from the late twentieth century led to the development of a handful of media conglomerates operating internationally and resulted in a book publishing industry closely intertwined with affiliated media such as film, TV, radio, newspapers, periodicals and computer gaming. The development of digital communications systems and the adoption of the English language as the world's main commercial language are further factors contributing to the conglomeration and globalisation of publishing businesses. These major structural changes in the publishing industry have, of course, stimulted much controversy and debate.

The changes wrought to the media and publishing industries through the recent rounds of consolidation and neo-liberal deregulation are the subject of André Schiffrin's *Words and Money* (2010). Former editor-in-chief of Pantheon Books in New York, he was dismissed in 1990 following a take-over by Random House, and became a particularly vocal critic of publishing conglomerates. He reflects in this chapter on the incorporation of publishing within 'modern capitalist society, which allowed for no exceptions and which was ravenous in its demands', and argues that this has led to pressure on each book title to generate much greater profits along with the awarding of extortionate salaries to directors of publishing companies. The result, he maintains, is a profit-driven corporate book industry in which publishers have become 'investors, bankers of a kind', in contrasts with a bygone age, when: 'Publishing was seen as a profession, not just as a business'. He pessimistically states that this is leading to the homogenisation and standardisation of publishing output, due to the imperative for titles to sell in huge numbers across diverse markets. Meanwhile, authors struggle to find a publisher and to make a living from writing, and independent publishers face increasing difficulties in staying afloat and competing with corporate publishers, with their advantages of economies of scale.

The current concentration of the international publishing industry in the hands of a small number of companies based in the West is a further subject of concern. Anthony Smith's *Books to Bytes: Knowledge and Information in the Postmodern Era* (1993, 18) describes the ambivalence of the Internet, on the one hand as a medium for individualism and democracy, but on the other hand as a vehicle for cultural imperialism. He writers of 'a growing phenomenon of global cultural domination, produced not by powerful armies, but by

powerful international companies' (1993, 18). Walter Bgoya's 2001 article in this section provides a still-resonant critique of globalisation and particularly the worldwide ascendency of the English language. He describes globalisation as closely affiliated to colonialism: a 'continuation of the same strategy of world domination', and describes how 'powerful forces that recognise no boundaries or sanctity of any values–material and spiritual—if they happen to be in the way of profit are driving it.' Bgoya traces how European languages are widely, and willingly, adopted across Africa as the national languages and languages of instruction because 'foreign languages are synonymous with knowledge and privilege', with the result that many African languages are threatened with annihilation, because of the aggressive marketing of European and American media and publications. Bgoya's proposes not an entrenched resistance to the use of English and other European languages, but instead that Africans should embrace multilingualism, whilst emphasing first and foremost the 'principal language of one's being and one's culture'.

Angus Phillips's discussion of 'The Global Book' from *Turning the Page* (2014) also focuses on the problem of linguistic homogenization as a result of globalisation and digital transformations. His investigation centres on the 'translation gap' existing between translations from and to English. On the one hand, his evidence suggests that digital developments open up possibilities for greater diversification, for example through machine translation and the possibilities of global distribution of e-books across linguistic borders, but his main argument confirms that of Bgoya's, that 'the dominance of English, especially in commercial fiction' is leading to a lack of linguistic diversity in international book markets.

Suman Gupta's *Globalization and Literature* (2009) ponders the implications of globalisation in the literary publishing industry. His case study of the English-language publishing industry in India complicates the conventional view that multinational publishing leads directly to homogenisation and a lack of linguistic and creative diversity. Instead he argues that in India there is evidence of an increase of literary publishing in Indian languages by international publishing conglomerates and independent publishing firms, and to a greater localisation of book circulation. Gupta draws conclusions about the effects of the global literary marketplace on literary institutions: the way that media corporations manufacture reader communities and celebrity authors, and how they attempt to commodify and monetise intellectual and artistic creativity through copyright legislation.

Sarah Brouillette's *Postcolonial Writers in the Global Literary Marketplace* (2007) addresses the relationship between the postcolonial author and the globalised marketplace in which the writer's work is published, promoted, disseminated and received. She presents a

perceptive analysis of the literary publishing industry, in which 'conglomerates control the rules of the game, having access to those aspects of publishing and marketing that require significant capital', and the effect of this on the market-dependent author. Although this has led to a distinct blockbuster phenomenon, niche fragmentation and market expansion have in her view resulted in greater diversification of literary publishing, which have led to the proliferation of specific genres, including that of postcolonial literature. She notes that although this 'global market expansion' has occurred within transnational publishing, the centre of production has been restricted to a few cities in Europe and America—in particular New York, and to a lesser extent, London. The corporatised publishing industry seeks to make 'claims to inclusivity and universality that justify its particular form of dominance', by attempting to address the lack of diversity in its workforce and its publishing output. One response is to seek to incorporate postcolonial writing for global distribution. Brouillette notes that this literature has certain characteristics, namely a tendency towards 'sophisticated', generally anti-realist and politically liberal novels, written in European languages and particularly in English; she notes that the genre has been widely disparaged by critics as 'a feature of capitalist accumulation in the culture industries'.

These debates about conglomeration and globalisation represented in this section indicate some of the dichotomies and contractions in the current international publishing environment. On the one hand, structural changes in the publishing industry have led to greater linguistic homogenisation and to significant disparities in international knowledge production and access, but on the other hand, global publishing corporations recognise the necessity for greater literary and cultural diversification, while digital and online technology offer unprecedented democratisation for writers and readers.

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