

Market logic and Cultural Consecration in French, German and American Bestseller Lists, 1970-2007

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Abstract

This paper analyzes how cultural classification has changed in the period 1970-2007 in France, Germany and the United States for one particular case: fiction book bestseller lists. Drawing on recent studies in the material production (publishing field) and symbolic production (literary field) of literature, I examine the impact of market logic and cultural consecration on the content of bestseller lists by (a) mapping trends, (b) comparing countries and (c) conducting multivariate analyses. To do so, I offer a nested, multilevel approach which attends to producers, authors and product types. The results show that in all three countries authors who have properties which signal market logic become more dominant, while retrospectively consecrated authors less often make the lists. This trend is stronger for the US than for Germany and France. The differences between the latter two countries decline over time.

Key words

Cultural Classification; Cultural Consecration; Market Logic; Cross-National Comparison; Literary Field; Bestseller Lists

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1. Introduction

Whilst literature still ranks among the most prestigious cultural genres in Western societies, this status is not fixed as cultural classification practices are subject to temporal change and may differ across places (Bourdieu, 1993; DiMaggio, 1987). It has been argued that cultural classification systems – described as the norms and practices applied to interpret, classify and value cultural products in a particular society – have become less hierarchical and more diversified in the past decades (DiMaggio, 1991; Dorleijn and Van Rees, 2006). That is, status differences between ‘highbrow’ culture and ‘popular’ culture have decreased, and more divergent ways of discussing and classifying cultural (sub)genres have emerged (cf. Baumann, 2007; Schmutz et al., 2010; Janssen et al., 2011).

The growing impact of market forces appears to be one of the main drivers of these changes at the societal level (DiMaggio, 1991; Janssen et al., 2011). Yet at the level of cultural fields, in which institutional agents and organizations, such as publishers and cultural critics, engage on a daily basis in classifying culture, the relation between economic and aesthetic logics is more entangled (for the literary field, see Bourdieu, 1993; Verdaasdonk, 1983; Sapiro, 2010; Thompson, 2010). Most cultural and literary institutions have an interest in finding a sustainable market for particular products in which material value is added. At the same time they try to influence how other members of society perceive these products, through which symbolic value is added (Bourdieu, 1993). Institutions draw on such institutional logics – sets of “material practices and symbolic constructions” (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 248) – to guide decision-making, particularly in highly uncertain contexts like the cultural industries (e.g. Bielby and Bielby, 1994; Thornton, 2004; Dowd, 2011).

This paper aims to examine the changing, dialectic relationship between these two logics for one particular form of cultural classification in the literary field: fiction book bestseller lists. More than simply a reflection or indicator of what books audiences are buying

at a given moment, bestseller lists have institutional properties as they disclose market information for all agents in the field “[...] by which producers in competitive fields make sense of their actions and those of consumers, rivals, and suppliers that make up the field” (Anand and Peterson, 2000: 271; see also Miller, 2000). This not just concerns professionals working within the field, but also book readers who may consider the lists as concise manifestations of “what other readers like” when consulting them. The growing importance of bestsellers, and the lists which classify books as such, in itself is said to signal the increased impact of market forces in the literary field (Coser et al., 1982; Greco et al., 2007; Thompson, 2010). Yet, I argue that only an analysis which permits the relational structure of the field to emerge can signify how a particular cultural classification evolves over time. In isolation, bestseller lists’ content cannot be shown to indicate increasing commercialization. The context of the field is needed to assess what changes in the type of books that become bestsellers mean in terms of prevailing institutional logics.

For this purpose, I employ a two-step design in which I investigate how the content of the bestseller list can be charted in relation to other institutions in the field. First, I turn to institutions within material production (publishers) to examine whether the increase of market forces in the publishing sector can be observed in the lists. I analyze how products which are produced under a ‘market logic’ (Thornton, 2004) fare on the bestseller lists in comparison to those which are produced under less market-oriented publishing regimes. Second, I focus on institutions within symbolic production (cultural critics involved in awarding prizes and compiling encyclopedias) to examine whether the decreased status of ‘highbrow’ literature can be retrieved in the lists. I analyze how products which are attributed high symbolic value through acts of “cultural consecration” (Bourdieu, 1993; Allen and Lincoln, 2004) fare on the bestseller lists. By combining two strands of research – studies on material production and on symbolic production – I thus aim to gain more insight in changes in cultural classification.

Cultural classifications do not just differ across time periods. Cross-national comparisons in the realm of cultural evaluation have often highlighted the particularities of specific national cultural fields (Lamont and Thévenot, 2000; Griswold, 1987). Especially the distinctions between the cultural practices of the French and American have been studied elaborately. Most of this previous work links France with the preference for “high” culture and its related criteria of “autonomous” art, and the US with the popular, more commercial arts and a stronger market-orientation (Clark, 1979; Lamont and Thévenot, 2000). However, suggestions that these differences may be diminishing over time (Lamont, 1992: 85) are still in need of empirical qualification. An important contribution of this article thus concerns the cross-national comparison of the United States and France. Germany is added as a second European country because of its different, more decentralized structure of the literary field combined with a relatively international cultural orientation (Janssen et al., 2008).

Finally, this paper sets out to tie this longitudinal and cross-national perspective to a nested approach – attending to producers, authors, and product types – which is captured in a multivariate design. That is, besides offering analyses of trends across countries, I conduct a series of multivariate (multilevel) analyses to examine how market and aesthetic logics combine to shape bestseller lists across time and place.

Material production and market logic

Cultural and – more specifically – literary production has often been theorized as a dual-structured production system consisting of two modes (Bourdieu, 1993; Sapiro, 2010; Craig and Dubois, 2010). Restricted or small-scale production pursues autonomy from the market and, if possible, the state, by creating niche markets in which cultural capital is more highly valued than economic capital (e.g. by publishing experimental or complex literature). In contrast, large-scale production seeks economies of scale which implies an emphasis on

products with the greatest appeal to general audiences regardless their artistic potential in the field (e.g. thrillers, romance novels, serialized fiction)(DiMaggio, 1987; Bourdieu, 1993). The organizational principles and institutional logics which dominate these production modes thus differ, albeit rather gradually than absolutely (Anheier et al., 1995; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Sapiro, 2010). Small publishers cannot afford complete autonomy from the market: they similarly strive to increase sales, they may use bestsellers to subsidize other works and they are sometimes taken over by larger companies (Coser et al., 1982; Thompson, 2010). Conversely, large publishers often diversify their production (targeting specific reader audiences by marketing strategies or through different imprints) (Hesmondhalgh, 2006), they may purchase smaller companies that serve as “talent pools” (Dowd, 2004), and also profit from the surplus value that symbolic production can bring (e.g. authors winning literary awards) (Street, 2005).

Within the conceptual dichotomy of book production thus lies a multidimensional structure in which properties at the company level (e.g. size of the company, degree to which the company is dependent on a larger conglomerate due to being owned or financially supported), the organizational level (e.g. number of editors, number of marketing personnel), the product level (e.g. focus on particular genres or audience groups), and the artist level (e.g. investments in and strategies for particular authors) may vary (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Thompson, 2010). Thornton (2004) suggests such variations can be understood in terms of either a prevailing “editorial logic” or a prevailing “market logic”. The former signifies publishing as a *profession*, emphasizing personal relationships and publisher’s prestige in the field, while in the latter publishing is viewed as a *business*, emphasizing competitive strategies and marketing-oriented practices.

In the past decades, the market logic has come to dominate the global publishing field at the expense of the editorial logic which affected decision-making within companies (Thornton, 2004; Sapiro, 2009). In his survey of the American and English publishing fields, Thompson

(2010) details this transition of the field by signaling three important developments in the past decades: the growth of the retail chains (cf. Miller, 2006), the rise of the literary agents, and the emergence of publishing corporations (“conglomerization”, cf. Greco et al., 2007). These trends have affected the logics in the field by creating a polarization between (again) large and small: amongst companies involved in production (Thompson, 2010: 146ff), but also amongst books and authors. Previously successful genres (e.g. thrillers) and series (e.g. Harry Potter) increasingly shape publishers’ subsequent publication and marketing decisions (Squires, 2007); successful authors become “brands” and their achieved “star power” then ensures prioritized positions within their company (ibid: 187ff; Coser et al., 1982: 30; Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 199ff). Since audiences recognize the names of such authors, publishers try to make an event of their new publications, invest heavily in their marketing and build media strategies around them.

To assess the extent to which the market logic has become more prominent on bestseller lists, I study three attributes of charting authors that represent “added material value” in line with the work discussed above. I examine how authors are represented in the lists (a) who are published by publishing companies varying in the extent to which they are positioned toward the small-scale or large-scale production pole, (b) who write in genres which are more or less targeted at large audiences and predominantly use serial formats or not, and (c) who have various degrees of star power. If the use of the market logic has increased within the book trade, as I expect, this would be indicated for the case of bestseller lists by an increase of authors on the list who have these properties and a positive influence of these properties on how long authors stay on the list.

Symbolic production and cultural consecration

Besides the material value that cultural products may generate by sales and other means of distribution, they are also attributed a certain symbolic value in society which represents their social status based upon artistically motivated criteria – indicating an aesthetic logic. Publishers generally hold fairly pragmatic views on whether books have sufficient artistic value to be published (by aiming at diversified audiences, using bestsellers to “subsidize” less successful titles, etc.)(Coser et al., 1982). The institutional agents who have the legitimacy to attribute symbolic value – media critics, literary scholars, etc. – have been held more stringent views over time. Traditionally, authors and works with few ties to profit making mechanisms have been favored by institutionally embedded cultural experts as well as dominant social fractions, and therefore become more prestigious than products seemingly aimed at commercial benefits (Bourdieu, 1993; Dorleijn and Van Rees, 2006).

The segregation of “popular” culture from “highbrow” culture by these cultural institutions is one of the pillars of the “highbrow” cultural classification system in which large hierarchical differences existed among cultural expressions (DiMaggio, 1987, 1991; Bourdieu, 1993). Institutional agents maintained such differences by disregarding the economic market as much as possible and developing classification practices which served their logic of *l’art pour l’art*. They could only hold this autonomous position, however, as the social elites legitimated their status as cultural experts, in an attempt to distinguish upper-class lifestyles from those of other classes (cf. DiMaggio, 1982; Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural consecration – the attribution of discrete expressions of admiration or appraisal for the artistic value of an author or product by institutionally legitimated cultural experts (Allen and Lincoln, 2004) – comprised a central mechanism in dealing with cultural products. During the largest part of the 20th century authors were noticed mainly if they received positive reviews in newspapers or magazines, won literary awards, were being studied in scholarly journals and were included in literary histories and

encyclopedias (Dorleijn and Van Rees, 2006). For many consecrating agents, sales figures rather inflicted than improved such reputations.

Previous studies of cultural classification and legitimation processes offer some indications why – in line with the decline of the highbrow system – cultural consecration practices may have lost status in the literary field. A first explanation may lie at the genre level. The legitimacy of a cultural genre is partly dependent on its “opportunity space”, the relative status or popularity compared to other genres in the broader cultural domain (DiMaggio, 1982; Baumann, 2007). It appears literature – or more generally print culture – has become less appealing to the general public because the increase of audiovisual entertainment (cf. Griswold, 2008). Since many cultural institutions feel an increasing pressure to identify and serve audiences (see Verboord and Van Rees, 2009, for literary education), this trend is likely to impact the legitimacy of its institutional agents and their practices negatively (see Janssen et al., 2011, for the declining newspaper attention to literary fiction).¹ Second, in the process of value attribution, consensus formation is crucial (Van Rees, 1987). Yet the expansion of cultural fields has introduced new organizations and agents which increased the multiformity of goals and opinions (Dorleijn and Van Rees, 2006 for the literary field). The outcomes of cultural consecration practices may therefore be more often subject to debates or controversy (cf. English, 2005, for literary awards; Berkers, 2009, for the literary canon). Third, the preferences of those who consecrate appear to be diverging from those who ought to “consume” the consecrated work as elitist taste preferences are becoming increasingly unfashionable (e.g. Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck and Knulst, 2005; Bennett et al., 2008). The notion of cultural expertise as an autonomous entity is less taken-for-granted (cf. Janssen et al., 2011) in a

¹ Note that Baumann (2007) argues how a declining appeal of film to the general public helped rather than hindered the legitimation of film as highbrow cultural genre. The centre of gravity of this transformation, however, occurred between the late 1950s and the late 1970s, a time period which artistic innovations flourished as educational levels were rising and baby boomers propagated the “counter culture”. Also book reading prospered in this period (cf. Knulst & Kraaykamp, 1998). In the past two decades, the relation between general appeal and legitimation may have changed, also for film.

social context in which class differences are decreasing (Breen and Jonsson, 2005), risen welfare favors conspicuous material consumption above cultural consumption (Van Eijck and Oosterhout, 2005), government support to the arts is becoming more instrumental (Gray, 2007) and the (mediated) possibilities to express oneself outside traditional media outlets are increasing (Verboord, 2010).

To test whether cultural consecration loses impact on the content of bestseller lists, I examine the representation of authors classified as “artistically worthy” through attribution of literary awards and having encyclopedia entries. If the legitimacy of symbolic producers like literary critics and professors is high, this would be indicated by a wide spread dissemination of their classifications in the literary field. However, I expect the impact of cultural consecration to decline: less consecrated authors on the list, and a negative influence on how long authors stay on the list.

3. Cross-national differences in cultural classification

Whilst modes of production have become more international at the industry level as a consequence of conglomeratization (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 2007), many cultural practices (e.g. cultural consecration and commercialization) still show marked differences between national contexts at the field level. These cross-national differences have been explained in terms of historical national repertoires and traditions, structural characteristics of society (e.g. degree of stratification, centralization) and organization of cultural production systems (e.g. presence of cultural industry, role of media)(Lamont, 1992; Lamont and Thévenot, 2000; Corse, 1995; Janssen et al., 2011). In line with this previous work, I now briefly discuss differences between the literary fields of France, Germany and the United States.

In France, classification practices in the literary field traditionally place strong emphasis on literary valorization as a structuring principle within various forms of production. For

instance, far more than in the United States, publishers and editors draw boundaries between literary works and commercial works when discussing the process of book publishing (Weber, 2000). Also, cultural classification by means of canonization and winning literary awards has a prominent position in French society. The presence of the literary canon has been relatively strong, in academia (Duell, 2000) as well as in other parts of society (Clark, 1979; Brasey, 1987). And the awarding of literary prizes like the Prix Goncourt and the Prix Renaudot receives huge media attention and boosts sales figures of the winning books considerably (Clark, 1979; Sapiro, 2003). This relatively strong cultural hierarchy in the French literary field is often associated with its long tradition of aestheticism and intellectualism which thrived in a social context with a relatively elitist educational system and low social mobility (cf. Lamont, 1992; Janssen et al., 2011). Of course, the importance of French literature in the international literary world (Sassoon, 2006) had an amplifying effect, particularly when Paris became a center point of the “world republic of letters” in which many authors, critics and intellectuals from all around the world came to work (Casanova, 2004). Through such institutional clustering, Paris’ centrality has probably positively affected the importance of cultural consecration in the French literary field.

Germany shares with France a significant literary history (Sassoon, 2006) and a strong focus on highbrow culture in publishing, education, and media (e.g. Bevers, 2005; Berkers, 2009). Again, this cultural hierarchy seems related to a high level of social and educational stratification (cf. Allmendinger, 1989). In Germany, however, the literary field does not have a geographical center: publishing houses are spread all over the country and symbolic value attributions such as subsidies and literary prizes are generally tied to regions and cities (Anheier and Gerhards, 1991). Compared to France, cultural consecration therefore seems less visible in the public domain. For instance, not until the introduction of the Deutscher Buchpreis in 2005,

could one literary award compare to the media attention and the sales impact of the French Prix Goncourt and the British Booker Prize (cf. Schütte, 2008).

In comparison to the European countries, the American literary field incorporates a less hierarchical way of classifying literature, in which cultural consecration rather has a niche position and the market logic is overtly endorsed (Weber, 2000; Sapiro, 2010). This can partly be explained by traditions of entrepreneurship, populism and utilitarianism which downplay the importance of cultural distinction (Lamont, 1992); partly by the high degree of social mobility in American society which has benefitted cultural diversity and eclecticism (Dimaggio, 1987). Among material producers, the logic of economic legitimacy is increasingly used next to that of aesthetic legitimacy (cf. Scardaville, 2009): much more than in European countries it is common to refer to popular genres such as thrillers and romance novels – traditionally exponents of lower class tastes – when informing customers in media, libraries and book stores. Similarly, cultural consecration in academia has opened up considerably to minority authors, thereby weakening the traditional hierarchies of the canon (Duell, 2000; Berkers, 2009).

Globalization processes appear to cause converging patterns, however. In all three countries, small publishers have increasingly become part of larger publishing groups and/or media conglomerates and concentration levels have risen (Greco et al., 2007; Rouet, 2007; Wittmann, 1999: 423).² Consequently, the market logic – dominant among publishers operating closer to the large-scale pole of production – has become more influential as indicated by the growth of retail chains, more efficient analyses of market data and book ordering systems, stronger focus of marketing, focus on “blockbusters” and “star authors”, etc. (for France see Benhamou, 2002; Sapiro, 2003; Rouet, 2007; for Germany see Wittmann, 1999; for the US see Coser et al., 1982; Thompson, 2010).

² “Concentration” refers here to the degree to which cultural production is controlled by a limited number of companies or conglomerates, impacting the structure of the field and the way products are produced (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 2007).

Meanwhile, the legitimacy of cultural consecration practices seems to be declining in all three countries. A comparison of French, German and American elite newspapers shows that attention to literary fiction has dropped in the past decades (although not to the advantage of popular fiction) (Janssen, et al., 2008). In the United States, many newspapers have recently stopped publishing a separate book section altogether or have thinned them out (Thompson, 2010: 243ff). In Germany and France literary criticism is thought to be losing impact in recent years (Sapiro, 2003; Nickel, 2005). As noted before, the canon produced by academic critics seems to be weakening, as universities try to deal with both the inflow of student populations with more differentiated social backgrounds and the growing pressures from both within and outside academia to legitimate alternative classifications (Duell, 2000; Verboord and Van Rees, 2009; Berkers, 2009). Only literary awards appear to have kept their status, albeit the public attention here has shifted from the traditional awards embedded in academia and government (e.g. Grand Prix du Roman, Georg-Büchner Preis, National Book Award,) to more commercially sponsored awards (e.g. Booker Prize, Deutsche Buchpreis) which can be more readily turned into 'media events' (Street, 2005; English, 2005).

In sum, based upon the particular arrangements and traditions within the literary fields as well as broader social contexts of the studied countries, France, Germany and the United States are likely to show significant differences in how the market logic and cultural consecration impact bestseller list content. More concretely, I expect the impact of the market logic to be the strongest in the United States (most authors carrying signs of the market logic; positive influence on how long authors stay in the list) and the weakest in France, with Germany taking a position in the middle. For consecrated authors I expect differences to be the other way around: more authors on the French list (followed by the German list), and a positive influence of cultural consecration on authors' stay on the French list (yet not on the American

list). Still, due to transformations in the various literary fields, these differences are expected to decline over time.

5. Method

5.1 Data

The data consist of fiction bestseller lists as published in three publicly available periodicals between 1970 and 2007: *L'Express* for France (“romans”), *Der Spiegel* for Germany (“belletristic”) and *The New York Times* for the United States (“hardcover fiction”). These selected lists all chart new published fiction titles (contrary to reissued books in pocket editions, and, in the US, paperback editions). Bestseller lists are considered to reflect the popularity of authors, but do not necessarily reflect accurate sales figures (Miller, 2000). However, being published in the media and explicitly communicated as the best sold books of the moment contributes to their economic legitimacy in the book trade. In other words, because the bestseller list is a perceptible expression of what is ‘popular’ at a given time point, it “becomes a type of mechanical but objective certifier” (Caves, 2000: 152). Indeed, when authors are profiled as successful, generally appearances on bestseller lists serve as argumentation. By selecting bestseller lists in public periodicals instead of those in book trade periodicals (such as *Livres Hebdo* or *Publishers Weekly*), I choose periodicals of which the lists will also be noticed by the general fiction book audience. Readership of book trade journals is usually confined to book trade insiders. *L'Express*, *Der Spiegel* and the *New York Times* host the longest running bestseller lists in their respective countries; lists which are also considered highly authoritative. Furthermore, the three media outlets are all perceived as “quality press”, targeting high-educated audiences who have traditionally been the main cultural consumers in the ‘highbrow’ cultural classification system.

All weekly editions of the three above mentioned bestseller lists between week 1 in 1970 and week 52 in 2007 are collected and entered in a database (for more details see Appendix A). No adjustments for differences in the size of lists are made, since complete bestseller lists (a) best describe authors' exposure to the reading public within the literary field, and (b) provide the maximum pool of data to establish patterns in reading selections. Then, the data are aggregated to the author level to permit addition of the author characteristics. In all analyses the units of analysis are authors, not titles. Finally, I aggregate the authors' data into seven five-year periods (1970-74 to 2000-04) and one three-year period (2005-07) to better account for the fact that author reputations often do not rest upon the success of single titles but on that of oeuvres (Van Rees, 1987). Also, particularly in the earlier decades many authors did not release new titles on a yearly basis which would bias the results considerably.

5.2 Measurements

Bestseller list content

The content of bestseller lists is examined in terms of (a) the number of authors and titles in a list and (b) the number of weeks authors spent in a list (per 5-year period, all titles combined). The latter variable is transformed in the multivariate analyses by taking the natural log, since its distribution is skewed. For the sake of interpretation, the variable is rescaled between 0 and 10 by setting the lowest value at 0, dividing the scores by the maximum value and multiply with 10.

Market logic

The representation of the market logic on the bestseller lists is examined through the properties of authors regarding three aspects: (a) the degree to which their publisher is positioned more

towards the pole of large-scale production, (b) the degree to which the books they write are more market-oriented, and (c) the degree of star power they have.

The positioning of the publisher is measured by two indicators: the publisher's level of dependence and the publisher's adeptness at generating commercial success for its authors: more of each signals a stronger presence of the market logic. Dependence refers to the structural position of a publishing house in the book publishing field: (i) independent (if they are not owned by another company), (ii) part of a publishing group (defined as one publishing house controlling other publishers and imprints – e.g. Gallimard in France) and (iii) part of a media conglomerate (defined as one company controlling several publishing groups, publishing houses or other businesses that also consist of several companies themselves – e.g. Bertelsmann). The latter position is considered the most dependent position of the three. For all publishers, their status is retrieved for every five-year period in the data set using Internet sources, trade journals and academic literature. The second trait, the commercial success rate of publishers, is estimated by taking the number of different authors found on the bestseller lists for the particular five-year period. This variable was rescaled between 0 and 1 by setting the lowest value at 0 and then dividing the scores by the maximum value.

With regards to the books authors write, it is determined in which genre authors write and whether the author predominantly writes in a serial format. Three genres are distinguished (reflecting an increasing market logic): (i) literary fiction, (ii) mainstream fiction (chick lit, historical sagas, potboilers, war novels, etc.) and (iii) genre fiction (aka 'popular fiction', e.g. thrillers, romance novels, science fiction). I established the genre classification of the author in the field by inspecting reference works, websites, lists of literary (and other) prize winners, book covers on following genre conventions, etcetera. I take the genre that according to these sources best fits the majority of books in the author's oeuvre (without exception, this remains constant across periods for all authors in the sample) (see for details Appendix B).

The use of a serial format is coded by retrieving for each author whether this was observable for less than half of their oeuvre (value 0), or half of their oeuvre or more (value 1). Three aspects of serial writing are regarded: (a) titles have a reoccurring protagonist (e.g. Raymond Chandler's private detective Philip Marlowe), (b) titles are part of an overarching storyline (e.g. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*-novels) or (c) titles are a tie-in to an already existing film or television series (e.g. titles published in the *Star Wars*-series).

The author's star power is measured by taking the lag of the number of weeks on a bestseller list – in other words, it is the number of weeks the author spent in a list in the *previous* time period (e.g. number of listed weeks in 1970-74 would indicate the star power one has in 1975-79). This variable is logged, and rescaled between 0 and 1 by setting the lowest value at 0 and then dividing the scores by the maximum value.

Cultural consecration

Cultural consecration is measured by (a) the number of entrances in three international literary encyclopedias in the period of charting and (b) the number of literary awards won. Literary encyclopedias are reference works generally compiled by literary scholars which contain authors about whose artistic value these scholars have reached considerable consensus (cf. Verboord & Van Rees, 2009). I use one American, one French and one German encyclopedia for two periods (if not available in a certain period, English or Dutch encyclopedias are used as substitute) (see Appendix C). Reliability analyses show that the measures are consistent per period (Cronbach's alphas of 0.84, 0.89, 0.77 and 0.86). This variable is transformed into a dummy variable in which 1 represents having entries in at least two encyclopedias.

I determine the number of literary awards that an author has won in (a) the period in which s/he was on the bestseller list and (b) the five years before this period. Winning literary awards contributes to the author's cultural consecration (cf. English, 2005; Street, 2005). I

distinguish between national and international literary awards, and consider the most prestigious awards according to reference works and internet sources. Awards have been weighted by the prestige in the field (see Appendix D). For each author four variables are thus available: contemporary win of national literary awards, previous win of national awards, contemporary win of international awards and previous win of international awards (all variables are continuous and rescaled between 0 and 1 by setting the lowest value at 0 and then dividing the scores by the maximum value).

6. Trends in market logic and cultural consecration

6.1 Trends in market logic

Table 1 first presents an overview of the bestseller list data in terms of the number of charted titles and authors between 1970 and 2007. Clearly, the number of titles on all three bestseller lists has grown very strongly over time. Nevertheless, the three countries differ in the extent to which they have grown: whilst in France and Germany the number of unique titles has more than doubled between the early 1970s and the early 2000s (110% and 155%, respectively), in the US it more than tripled (growth of 322%). Competition among titles has thus increased which is also reflected in the number of unique authors that make the lists. This number has similarly risen in all countries (even when controlling for the number of available positions).

French bestseller lists contain most different bestseller list authors (N=2010) suggesting that the turnover in France is faster than in Germany and the US. Yet the pace at which new authors enter the American bestseller lists has over the decades fastened more than that in French lists. In the late 2000s, the American bestseller lists outnumber the French in this respect (289 versus 282 unique authors).

Table 1 about here

While competition is intensified, the number of ‘hits’ is becoming more unequally distributed. The mean number of listed titles per author increases in all three countries. This implies that the increase in the number of titles in the lists does not flow back proportionally to the charted authors. This trend is stronger in the US than in Europe. Already in the early 1970s, authors on the American lists have on average more entries than in French and German lists (1.48 versus 1.32 and 1.34), but over time this difference only grows larger (1.84 versus 1.45 and 1.54). This increase in the mean number of titles suggests “star power” is gaining impact. Examples of authors are James Patterson in the US (29 hits since 2000), Christian Jacq in France (15 hits since 2000) and, of course, J.K. Rowling with her continuous Harry Potter-successes.

The characteristics of the publishers of the listed authors are shown in Figure 1. Whilst in all three countries significant³ trends towards publishers becoming more dependent – thus increasing owned by other companies – are seen, the details differ considerably. In the 1970s, German bestseller lists contain considerably more authors from independent publishing houses (57% to 43%) than the French (12% to 10%) and American lists (17% to 6%). However, French independent publishers manage to hold ground more effectively (11%) than their American counterparts which almost completely disappear from the lists. Meanwhile most of the German independents have by that time been acquired by publishing groups and conglomerates, making the French and German distributions look quite similar. The degree to which authors belong to successful publishers differs strongly across countries, but is relatively difficult to compare because of the differences in turnover (see also Table 3). Most of the French and American (from the 1980s onwards) publishers manage to chart ten or more

³ Results of significance tests for differences across time: for Germany, $\text{Chi}^2=45.9$, $p=.000$; for France, $\text{Chi}^2=127.6$, $p=.000$; for US, $\text{Chi}^2=611.5$, $p=.000$.

different authors in each five-year period. In Germany, authors generally belong to publishers which have only a limited number of bestseller successes.

Figure 1 to 2 about here

Figure 2 shows trends in the listings of authors who write genre fiction and use the serial format. Genre fiction seems to have become a more prominent genre since the 1970s, albeit the trend is not significant in Germany.⁴ Consistent with the expectations, the US leads the European countries: from the 1990s onwards more than half of all listed authors write genre fiction. In France, this percentage grows to almost 25% in the 2000s, while Germany continues to hold a position in the middle – about one third comprises genre fiction. The serial format is also applied most often in the US (a rise from 8% to 52%), followed by Germany (from 9% to 37%) and France (from 5% to 17%). The figures also show the increasing importance of star power. In the early 1970s 6%, 8% and 11% of all listed authors had three or more bestsellers in France, Germany and the US, in the early 2000s these percentages had grown to 18%, 17% and 32%. (Note that there is a decline in 2005-2007 because this only concerns a three-year window.)⁵

Overall, bestseller lists thus increasingly contain authors who have properties signaling a market logic, thereby confirming the findings on the US publishing field by Thornton (2004) and Thompson (2010) while extending them to France and Germany. Despite this general pattern, however, some clear cross-national differences can be observed in line with the expected market orientation of the US (cf. Lamont, 1992; Janssen et al., 2011). The increase in the number of authors in the US writing genre fiction and applying the serial format, exceeds

⁴ Differences across time are all significant, except for genre in Germany ($\text{Chi}^2=4.9$, $p=.672$).

⁵ Differences across time are all significant, except for star power in Germany ($\text{Chi}^2=6.5$, $p=.482$).

that in France and Germany which leads to diverging rather than converging patterns in the representation of the market logic.

Figure 3 and 4 about here

6.2 Trends in cultural consecration

Figure 3 presents the percentages of authors on bestseller lists who have been retrospectively consecrated via entries in encyclopedias and previously winning literary awards. In all three countries, the share of authors consecrated through encyclopedia entries has significantly decreased.⁶ The strongest decline is found in the US (21 percent points), followed by Germany (14 percent points) and France (9 percent points). And while the German bestseller lists contain relatively the most of these authors throughout the studied time frame, French bestseller lists contain more in absolute figures (e.g. in 20005-2007 it is 25 versus 33).

The other indicators of retrospective cultural consecration – winning national and international literary awards in previous time periods – do not decline in their percentage of the population. In France and Germany the share of previous international award winners actually grows a little bit. Of course, one should realize that the numbers are very small throughout the whole time frame: in Germany this rise concerns 3 to 13 authors; in France 0 to 13 authors.

Also the presence of authors who won contemporary literary awards does not decline significantly in the three countries, with the exception of national award winners in France (where peaks over 15% are found in the 1970s and 1980s), and – at the border of significance –

⁶ Differences across time for encyclopedia entries are significant in all three countries, though in Germany only at .05 level ($\text{Chi}^2=15.2$, $p=.034$). Previous win of national literary awards does not differ significantly across time in France ($\text{Chi}^2=10.3$, $p=.170$), in Germany ($\text{Chi}^2=4.0$, $p=.778$), nor in the US ($\text{Chi}^2=6.8$, $p=.449$). Differences across time for previous win of international literary awards are slightly significant in France ($\text{Chi}^2=15.8$, $p=.027$), but not in Germany ($\text{Chi}^2=13.6$, $p=.058$) and the US ($\text{Chi}^2=9.0$, $p=.250$).

in the US (where the highest per cent is found in the late 1970s and early 1980s)(see Figure 4).⁷ Interestingly, winners of contemporary international awards, again, appear to gain in presence in the European countries in the 1990s and early 2000s, albeit not enough to reach significance. The prominence of international awards differs between countries, however. While in Germany international award winners have higher shares than national award winners, in France national awards have been the focus point for almost the whole four decades.

Together, these results suggest that particularly retrospective cultural consecration has become less relevant within bestseller lists, particularly in the US. As such, it confirms the gradual withdrawal of the aesthetic logic from the public domain that was found in previous audience studies (e.g. Peterson and Kern, 1996) as well as institutional analyses (e.g. DiMaggio, 1991; Janssen et al., 2011). Again, however, the findings also point out some subtle yet important differences among indicators and countries. Although the charting of literary award winners was and remained a much more marginal form of consecration than inclusion in encyclopedias, this applies less to France where awards continue to be a stepping stone to bestseller list success (cf. Sapiro, 2003).

7. Results multivariate analyses

Next, I examine which influence market logic and cultural consecration have on the number of weeks that authors stay on the bestseller list by conducting multivariate analyses. The data are observations of authors at several time points; even though they are not career data in which I have observations on all characteristics for each author at every time point. The data do bring together numerous pieces of information: information on publishers, authors and products types – all of which can vary across time and place. To take the nested structure of the data into account, I therefore use multilevel analysis (MLwiN 2.22) in which time points are modeled as

⁷ Corresponding Chi² tests for differences across time are: Chi²=28.7, p=.000 in France, and Chi²=13.9, p=.054 in the US.

repeated measurements (level 1) nested within individual authors (level 2). I apply multilevel models in which random coefficients for period are estimated, thereby allowing variances to differ across periods and covariances between different periods to be a function of period (Snijders and Bosker, 1999).

Period is modeled as a continuous variable. The maximally possible number of time points per author is eight, although most authors only chart in a limited number of periods (recall I aggregate per 5-year period). This, in addition to the different population sizes per country, complicated the finding of converging yet comparable models. In my report I focus on the comparing of coefficients rather than finding the optimal model.

Table 2 about here

Table 2 presents the results of the analyses. Model 1 contains all variables indicating market logic. With the exception of publisher's success rate in Germany, none of the variables at the publisher-level has a significant effect on weeks on the bestseller list. Unreported additional analyses show some significant results for publishers' traits which lose their significance when the manifestations of the market logic at the product and author level are modeled. Except for France, authors of publishing groups and media conglomerates tend to have higher chart runs than those of independent authors, but this effect disappears when controlling for publisher's success. The latter variable is significant in all three countries until star power enters the model. Returning to model 1, I observe that in the US all market logic indicators at the product and author level have strong positive effects on authors' stay in the list. In the European countries star power is similarly effective: the difference between authors with the lowest and highest star power is 18.7 percent points in France, 22.3 per cent point in Germany and 19.4 per cent points in the US. Yet the serial format and genre have a different effect across countries. France is the

only country in which writing mainstream fiction and genre fiction does not increase one's stay on the bestseller list. In Germany, the serial format is unrelated to weeks in the list. In the US both variables positively influence the number of weeks in the list: writing serialized fiction leads to an increase of 4.3 per cent points; writing genre and mainstream fiction to increases of 7.5 and 6.5 per cent points (compared to literature).

Model 2 contains only the indicators of cultural consecration. As can be observed by the deviances, the fit is not as good as for model 1. For the American lists the model in fact did not yield a significant improvement on the base model, yet I report it for the sake of comparison. The effects of cultural consecration show larger differentiation across countries than those of the market logic indicators. Whereas four out of five indicators of cultural consecration prove beneficial for authors on French bestseller lists, in Germany only winning contemporary literary awards increases one's stay on the list, and in the US the only significant effect is a negative one: having encyclopedia entries leads to less weeks on the bestseller list.

In Model 3 all explanatory variables are included. While the effects of market logic indicators remain fairly unchanged, the cultural consecration indicators show some significant changes. In France, more retrospective consecration honors (encyclopedias, earlier awards) no longer benefit authors' stay on the list. These effects disappear in the presence of star power: in the French literary field relatively many consecrated authors also build up a large commercial status as cultural consecration plays a relative important role in the field. In addition, winning contemporary awards appears to be an important way for authors to improve their commercial position if they lack this star power (the difference between authors winning no awards and those winning the most is 24.8 per cent points). In Germany and the US similar positive effects for winning contemporary awards are found when I control for market logic variables. Still, in both countries the impact of winning awards is weaker than in France (15.6 per cent points and 17.4 per cent points) and in Germany it is more important to win international awards than

national awards. This seems to be in line with the limited relevance of consecration in the American literary field, and the fragmented structure of consecration in the German field, respectively.

To what extent do these effects change over time? Analyses introducing cross-level interactions with period did not yield significant results. Running separate (random intercept) models for the periods 1970-1984, 1985-1999 and 2000-2007 give some indications, however. For some variables, the effect declines: the serial format in France (1.09, .74 and not significant) and in the US (.82, .47 and not significant). Genre fiction is only significant in 1970-1984 in the US and in 2000-2009 in Germany. The contemporary wins of literary awards fluctuates in France (1.36, 3.38 and 2.69), while it is only significant in Germany in the last time frame. The only variable which significantly influences the time on the list in every country for each of the three time frames is star power. In 1970-1984 its effect is the largest in France and the US (2.16 and 2.24, versus 1.33 in Germany). It then declines in all three countries (1.92, 1.93 and 1.12, respectively), to become stronger than previous periods in 2000-2007, particularly in the US (3.94, versus 2.65 in France and 2.74 in Germany).

7. Discussion

This paper aimed to contribute to an understanding of longitudinal and cross-national changes in the classification of fiction books by bringing together perspectives on cultural production (material versus symbolic) not often empirically combined. The analysis is performed against the backdrop of the erosion of the high-culture system in the late 20th century (cf. DiMaggio, 1991), which, in the literary field, is strongly associated with a balance shift from a pivotal aesthetic logic (instigated by traditionally influential literary scholars and critics; e.g. via cultural consecration) to an upcoming market logic (originating in the publishing sector). I study this balance shift for one particular form of classification in the literary field, the

bestseller list, by mapping trends in the presence of authors who show clear market logic properties and authors who have been consecrated, for the period 1970-2007 in three different countries: France, Germany and the United States.

The results show that in all three countries bestseller lists are increasingly populated by authors who are produced in a system where the market logic prevails. Competition between book titles and authors has intensified considerably, but authors who write genre fiction and series, or who have star power seem to thrive better in this climate than others. Interestingly, being published by companies embedded in large corporations does not matter: it's not so much the size as it is the type of production – type of genres, authors, etc. – they engage in. At the same time, authors who have established a large literary status, as indicated by being consecrated through encyclopedia entries and previous wins of literary awards, less often appear in the lists and have shorter stays. This is probably the consequence of the gradual departing of a postwar generation of authors who combined literary status with high sales (e.g. Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass in Germany; Françoise Sagan and Henri Troyat in France; Saul Bellow, Philip Roth and John Updike in the US). Many of these authors addressed “progressive” themes (e.g. writing about the sexual revolution, questioning traditional social and political arrangements) which resonated well in the 1960s and 1970s when educational levels were rising, youths were challenging the older generations, and new artistic perspectives emerged.⁸ It seems contemporary high status authors have more difficulty tapping into such societal demands, but this needs further research: perhaps audiences' interests have become more fragmented or aesthetic logics in the literary field have turned more inaccessible for broader audiences. Theoretically, the combination of artistic and commercial success becoming rarer in recent times emphasizes the temporariness of logics: the “opportunity space”

⁸ Not coincidentally, “progressive” content also prominently featured in the oeuvres of many film directors (e.g. Francis Coppola, Stanley Kubrick, Mike Nichols) and pop artists (Beatles, Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan) who combined artistic and commercial success in that era.

(DiMaggio, 1982; Baumann, 2007) for cultural genres is also subject to change as production and consumption contexts continue to evolve.

Thus, the high educated readers of the three examined periodicals in which the bestseller lists were published have over time been exposed to a radically different corpus of authors. Consequently, the type of books and authors which are denoted as “popular” among other readers has evolved significantly over the past 40 years. While the critics of the periodicals may have continued to review mainly works of literature (cf. Janssen, et al., 2011 for the New York Times), their choices increasingly contrast with the authors on the lists. What is classified as a ‘bestseller’ hence more and more diverges from what critics classify as aesthetically important work – with the exception of contemporary literary award winners who apparently benefit from the accompanying media attention (cf. Street, 2005). Not only does this seem to be in line with the declining legitimacy of institutions involved in symbolic production, it may also add to this dynamic as it fits the broader observation of the steady marginalization of these institutions in the past decades. Follow-up research among book readers could clarify this matter by detailing how various types of classifications (bestseller lists, reviews) are actually perceived and applied in decision-making practices.

The intensity and pacing of this transformation varies per country. For American bestseller lists these processes start earlier and are more pervasive than in the European ones. French bestseller lists, as expected, contain most consecrated authors and are least receptive to genre fiction, whereas Germany holds more of an in-between position. Have differences become smaller as may be expected by research on cultural globalization and conglomerization? The answer is affirmative when comparing the European countries, but the content of the American bestseller lists has evolved so rapidly that the differences between what is listed in Europe and in the US actually became larger for most indicators. One explanation probably lies in the centrality of English-language book production – and its

dominant market logic – in the global field. More central countries (like the US) tend to set standards for cultural classification which they export to less central countries without reciprocal imports (cf. Heilbron, 1999; Sapiro, 2009; Janssen, 2009). At the same time, countries which lack this centrality (like France) may turn towards a truly international orientation through which they can “resist” the hegemonic fiction production (Sapiro, 2010). The growing impact of contemporary wins of international literary awards suggests this may be the case for French and German bestseller lists. Further research on the nationality of listed authors could examine this.

One might note that genre fiction for a long time was not published in hardcover editions and that part of the rise of this genre (particularly in the American lists) is thus caused by changes on the supply side. This could be further examined. Yet, as Thompson (2010: 36ff) points out, the “hardcover revolution” (which introduced the life cycle of hardcover, paperback, and mass-market edition) not only transformed the publishing business model, but also blurred the hierarchical boundaries in how genres were perceived. My analysis of bestseller lists containing hardcover editions is thus not only adequate, but also substantiates Thompson’s observation from a different angle.

Although this article contributes to often theorized, but less frequently examined transitions in cultural classification, it is many ways exploratory and thus needs follow-up research. This might involve comparisons with other forms of cultural classification, but also more detailed analyses of bestseller list careers than were conducted here. Particularly, the role of media attention – in terms of marketing and literary criticism – seems worth exploring. In recent years, the Internet is likely to exert a huge influence as the voice of book readers becomes institutionalized through user evaluations, social network sites and blogs (Thompson, 2010: 243ff; Verboord, 2011). For current classification practices, this seems to be an important development in cultural production to take up.

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Appendix A: Details on the data collection of bestseller lists

Lists from *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* were collected in various archives of Dutch university libraries. Lists from *The New York Times* were collected using Proquest Historical Newspapers and Lexis Nexis. Two forms of missing values occurred: occasionally magazine editions were not present in archives, other times the paper or magazine did not publish a list. In both instances the missing list could usually be reconstructed using the information from the list of the following week (the notation of the week before). When this information was lacking, missing value imputation was performed in which the book charting highest on the list before the missing one, ranked highest. For incidental longer periods in which lists were missing (e.g. a strike of *The New York Times* in 1978) data of other available bestseller lists were used (*Publishers Weekly en Livres Hebdo*).

The list of *L'Express* combined fiction and non-fiction between January 1970 and May 1975 (in a top 10) and between March 1988 and March 1990 (in a top 20/30). For the first period, all books were entered in the database, but non-fiction books were not included in the analysis. For the second period, we selected the 10(15) highest fiction notations out of the total top 20(30).

Note that in the cause of authors cooperating together, sometimes one author was designated as the main author (e.g. authors working with several less known partners, such as James Patterson and Clive Cussler often do) and sometimes the combination of authors was (e.g. Stephen King and Peter Straub). Criterion was the size of the names on the book cover: unequal sizes meant choosing for one main author.

Appendix B: Operationalization of genres

We distinguish three genre types, which can be placed on a scale from market-oriented to relatively autonomous. Note that genre is a form of classification in which often both descriptive (form, content) and evaluative (assessed quality; legitimacy) criteria are taken into consideration. The first genre is *genre fiction* (aka ‘popular fiction’, but this term may be confusing when discussing books which can be considered ‘popular’ based on their bestseller listings) which focuses on specific type of stories which makes them often attractive to large audiences. Concrete examples are ‘thrillers’, ‘detectives’, ‘romance’, ‘science fiction’, ‘fantasy’, and related genres. The second genre is *mainstream fiction* which comprises fiction which is not ‘genre fiction’, yet is also not included within the domain of ‘literary fiction’. Examples are ‘sagas’ (e.g. James Michener), ‘chick lit’, ‘war novels’, ‘melodramas’, etc. The third genre is *literary fiction* which is also general in its contents, but is often considered to be more innovative or of higher quality in terms of style or thematic depth by experts in the field.

Determining the main genre of an author was done through a three-stage strategy. First, we inspected bi(bli)ographies of authors in reference works or internet sites that supplied explicit genre labels, such as ‘literary’ or ‘crime’ (US), ‘policier’ (Fra) or ‘krimi’ (Ger). When these were not available, we looked for more implicit genre-specific traits, like winning prizes in a category matching the genre classification, being reviewed in certain newspaper rubrics or websites, are being associated with certain genres through the ‘similar products’ suggestions on Amazon.com. For authors still not retrieved, we turned to interpreting book content descriptions together with book cover depictions on sites like Amazon (US, Ger), *evene.fr* and *livrenpoche.fr* (Fra) as well as the Dutch library catalogue. Specific genres such as crime fiction and romance fiction generally follow institutional conventions which lead to distinguishable indicators of a genre, applied by publishers and recognized by consumers (cf. Piters and Stokmans 2000). Therefore, in this stage, content descriptions were inspected for strong focus on indicative story lines (eg. ‘detective solving murders’ in Crime fiction; ‘woman looking for the right man’ in Romance fiction) and book covers were examined for significant references to crime, romance, etc..

Appendix C. Literary encyclopedias used

We selected three encyclopedias (or lexicons) per period, preferably one from France, Germany and the United States. If one of these countries was unavailable, we turned to a UK or Dutch encyclopedia as substitute. In case an author had not yet made his debut in the year the encyclopedia was published, he was regarded as missing on that variable. The same applies to authors who did not enter encyclopedias on the 20th century (or ‘modern literature’) because they published their work in the 19th century. The scores of these authors were necessarily based on a smaller sample of lexicons.

Table C1: List of encyclopedias used per period

	1970-74	1980-84	1990-94	2000-04
	1975-79	1985-89	1995-99	2005-07
Dictionnaire des Littératures (Fra, 1968)	X			
Cassell’s Encyclopedia of World Literature (US, 1973)	X			
Wilpert Lexikon der Weltliteratur (Ger, 1975)	X			
Encyclopedia of World Literature in 20th century (US, 1981-84)		X		
Moderne Encyclopedie van de Wereldliteratuur (Net, 1981-84)		X		
Dictionnaire des Ecrivains du Monde (Fra, 1984)		X		
Literatur Brockhaus (Ger, 1988)			X	
Le nouveau dictionnaire des auteurs (Fra, 1994)			X	
Merriam Webster’s Encyclopedia of Literature (UK, 1995)			X	
Encyclopedia of World Literature in the 20th century (US, 1999)				X
Encyclopédie de la Littérature (Fra, 2003)				X
Der Brockhaus Literatur (Ger, 2004)				X

Appendix D: Literary awards used.

For national awards, we selected thirteen to fifteen awards per country that (a) are given to fiction, novels or short story collections (titles and oeuvres), (b) are among the most prestigious in their national literary fields (according to reference works and number of mentions) and (c) have preferably a long history. Since there seems to be considerable difference in the prestige that awards have in their literary fields, we applied three weight categories. This categorization was established by observing how often awards were mentioned in reference works and how prominent they were on the internet. As a more quantitative check, we counted the number of times awards were mentioned in newspaper articles in their country/language area (reported in Table D1).

For international awards, again we took a sample of awards having a large (international) reputation for several countries that can be regarded as influential. Only the Nobel Prize for Literature is weighted (3). National awards of the three sample countries also act as international awards for the two countries the awards do not belong to, but are then not weighted since they generally have less (media) impact abroad.

Table D1: List of literary awards used per country

National	Names of awards
United States	A: Pulitzer Prize (708/942); National Book Award (914/153); B: National Book Critics Circle Award (239/23); PEN/Faulkner Award (189/23); Howells Medal (3/0); Los Angeles Times Book Prize (8/6) C: National Jewish Book Award (12/0); American Academy of Arts and Letters Gold Medal (8/3); Hemingway/PEN Award (12/2); Dos Passos Prize (0/0); Janet Heidinger Kafka Prize (1/0); Sue Kaufman Prize (2/0); Lannan Award (1/0)
France	A: Prix Goncourt (1017/808); B: Prix Fémina (470/200); Prix Renaudot (353/290); Prix Médicis (306/184); Prix Interallié (156/93); Grand Prix du Roman (221/104) C: Grand Prix de Littérature (60/50); Grand Prix de littérature Paul Morand (23/3); Prix des Deux Magots (63/24); Prix Roger Nimier (53/35); Prix Novembre/Decembre (90/47); Prix de Meilleur Livre étranger (48/7); Prix Médicis étranger (75/47); Prix Fémina étranger (52/26)
Germany	A: Georg-Büchner-Preis (75/235); Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels (344/402); Deutsche Buchpreis (0/396) B: Bremer Literaturpreis (26/56); Ingeborg-Bachmann-Preis (30/108); Heinrich-Heine-Preis (3/55); Kleist-Preis (20/53) C: Heinrich-Mann-Preis (8/31); Hermann-Hesse-Preis (2/17); Heinrich-Böll-Preis (4/29); Nelly-Sachs-Preis (7/22); Friedrich-Hölderlin-Preis (3/24); Peter-Huchel-Preis (6/27); Hans-Fallada-Preis (0/11); Deutscher Kritikerpreis (Literatur) (6/7); Grosser Literaturpreis der Bayerischen Akademie der Schönen Künste/Thomas-Mann-Preis (11/14); Berliner Literaturpreis (6/27)
International	Nobel Prize for Literature (US: 293/1461; Fra: 831/1686; Ger: 1295/345); Neustadt Prize; Österreichischer Staatspreis für Europäische Literatur; Premios Príncipe de Asturias de las Letras; Premios Rómulo Gallegos; Commonwealth Writer's Prize; Aristeion Prize; IMPAC Dublin Literary Award
Great Britain	Booker Prize; James Tait Black Memorial Prize; WH Smith Prize; Whitbread Prize/Costa Award; Guardian Fiction Prize; Orange Prize
Spain	Premio Cervantes; Premio Planeta de Novela; Premios Nadal
Italy	Premio Strega; Premio Viareggio; Premio Grinzane Cavour Internacional + Narrativa Extranjera;
Scandinavia	Nordic Prize
Canada	Governor General's Literary Award/Prix Littéraires du Gouverneur Général

'A' refers to weight of three; 'B' to weight of two and 'C' to a weight of one. Between brackets the number of hits in Lexis Nexis Academic for period 1/1/1990-31/12/1997 and 25/7/2007-25/7/2008, for American newspapers (US), French-language newspapers (France) and German-language newspapers (Germany).

Table 1: Total number of titles and authors on French, German and American bestseller lists, 1970-2007

	France				Germany				United States			
	Unique titles	Unique authors (p/y) ^a	Unique authors top 10 ^b	Titles / Authors	Unique titles	Unique authors (p/y)	Unique authors top 10	Titles / Authors	Unique titles	Unique authors (p/y)	Unique authors top 10	Titles / Authors
1970-74	271	205 (41)	205	1.32	115	86 (17)	86	1.34	163	110 (22)	110	1.48
1975-79	233	174 (35)	174	1.34	133	91 (18)	91	1.46	187	126 (25)	108	1.48
1980-84	243	173 (35)	173	1.40	124	85 (17)	85	1.46	268	170 (34)	126	1.58
1985-89	339	227 (45)	217	1.49	140	94 (19)	77	1.49	337	195 (39)	144	1.73
1990-94	578	333 (67)	261	1.74	173	112 (22)	84	1.54	402	211 (42)	152	1.91
1995-99	494	294 (59)	212	1.68	180	104 (21)	75	1.73	465	222 (45)	158	2.09
2000-04	570	322 (64)	213	1.77	293	170 (34)	102	1.72	694	286 (57)	204	2.43
2005-07	409	282 (94)	165	1.45	283	184 (61)	105	1.54	531	289 (96)	207	1.84
growth ^c	+ 110%	+ 57%	+ 4%	+ 34%	+ 155%	+ 98%	+ 22%	+ 28%	+ 322%	+ 160%	+ 85%	+ 64%
N		2010	1837			926	705			1610	1240	

^a Between brackets the number of unique authors per year. ^b Refers to count for the top 10 ranking only.

^c Growth rates refer to 1970-74 vs. 2000-04.

Table 4: Multilevel analysis of number of weeks on bestseller list (log), for France, Germany and the U.S., 1970-2007

	France (N=1939)			Germany (N=912)			United States (N=1608)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed Part									
Publisher = Independent	reference		reference	reference		reference	reference		reference
Publisher = pub. group.	.115 (.182)		.100 (.179)	.105 (.175)		.071 (.175)	.476 (.315)		.462 (.312)
Publisher = Conglom.	.075 (.178)		.053 (.176)	.076 (.163)		.071 (.163)	.433 (.308)		.421 (.306)
Publisher's success rate	.352 (.200)		.182 (.199)	.557 (.254) *		.516 (.253) *	.160 (.251)		.174 (.251)
Serial format	.664 (.172) ***		.674 (.170) ***	.138 (.171)		.121 (.170)	.430 (.152) **		.437 (.151) **
Genre = literature	Reference		Reference	Reference		Reference	Reference		Reference
Genre = mainstream	-.075 (.125)		.143 (.131)	.600 (.155) ***		.488 (.174) ***	.647 (.175) ***		.685 (.195) ***
Genre = genre fiction	-.282 (.156) ~		-.075 (.160)	.342 (.164) *		.531 (.181) ***	.745 (.179) ***		.776 (.200) ***
Star power	1.870 (.178) ***		2.074 (.186) ***	2.231 (.230) ***		2.193 (.241) ***	1.937 (.169) ***		2.011 (.170) ***
Encyclopedia entries		.275 (.145) *	.041 (.143)		-.046 (.188)	.067 (.187)		-.479 (.201) *	-.386 (.197) *
Prev. nat. lit. awards		1.224 (.389) **	.304 (.409)		1.000 (.625)	.943 (.660)		-.451 (.657)	-.283 (.655)
Cont. nat. lit. awards		2.112 (.322) ***	2.476 (.338) ***		.980 (.744)	1.564 (.774) *		.552 (.658)	1.739 (.671) **
Prev. inter. lit. awards		-.540 (.811)	-.663 (.804)		.308 (.812)	-.646 (.866)		.464 (.603)	.951 (.599)
Cont. inter. lit. awards		1.509 (.617) *	1.559 (.621) *		1.492 (.711) *	1.764 (.748) *		-.048 (.788)	.734 (.761)
Intercept	3.119 (.180) ***	3.242 (.107) ***	2.846 (.187) ***	2.912 (.194) ***	3.811 (.142) ***	2.736 (.211) ***	3.534 (.310) ***	4.861 (.140) ***	3.511 (.322) ***
Period	-.184 (.022) ***	-.136 (.022) ***	-.166 (.022) ***	-.148 (.028) ***	-.176 (.028) ***	-.141 (.028) ***	-.420 (.029) ***	-.358 (.027) ***	-.424 (.029) ***
Random part									
Variance level 2 (author)									
Cons/cons	.274 (.296)	1.531 (.344)	.273 (.287)	.000 (.000)	1.466 (.419)	.000 (.000)	1.205 (.383)	3.092 (.529)	1.054 (.147)
Cons/period	.022 (.071)	-.115 (.080)	.025 (.069)	.000 (.000)	.002 (.086)	.000 (.000)	-.021 (.081)	-.250 (.108)	.000 (.000)
Period/period	.012 (.019)	.050 (.021)	.010 (.019)	.000 (.000)	.003 (.021)	.000 (.000)	.002 (.019)	.058 (.025)	.000 (.000)
Variance level 1 (time)	3.415 (.157)	2.828 (.138)	3.307 (.152)	3.306 (.154)	2.189 (.165)	3.268 (.153)	3.010 (.150)	2.609 (.136)	2.999 (.139)
-2*Loglikelihood	8204.586	8549.108	8145.471	3698.907	3735.565	3672.155	6737.437	6876.818	6724.204
Model improvement ^a	399.6 ***	55.1 ***	458.7 ***	84.7 ***	28.1 ***	91.5 ***	147.0 ***	7.7	160.3 ***

Random Coefficient Models. Unstandardized coefficients, between brackets standard error; Dep. variable scaled 0-10; Significance (two-tailed test): *** p<.000 ** p<.01 * p<.05 ~ p<.10.

^a Compared to Random Coefficient Model containing only Period. Reported coefficient is difference in IGLS Deviance.

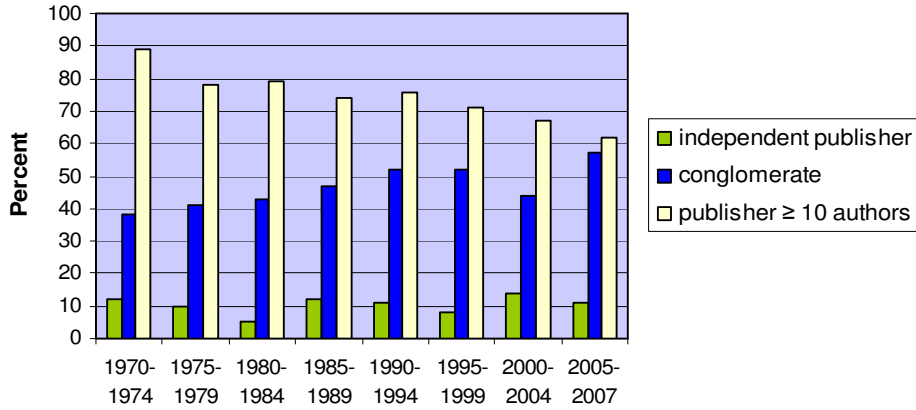


Figure 1a. Percentage of authors by independent publishers, publishers in media conglomerates, and by successful publishers on French bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

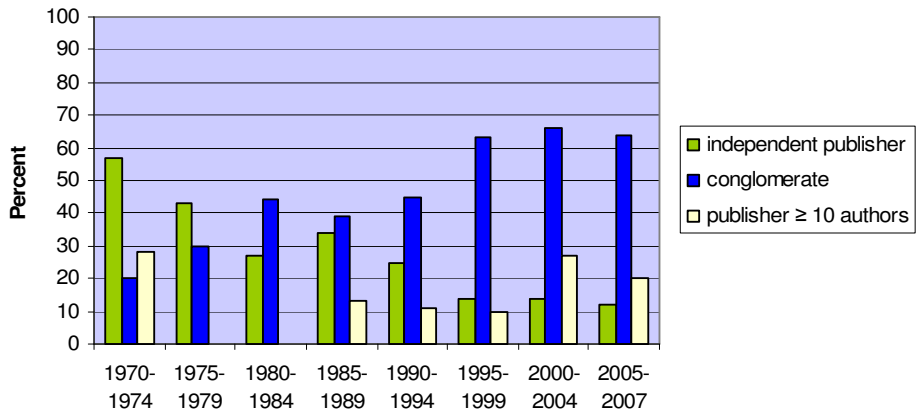


Figure 1b. Percentage of authors by independent publishers, publishers in media conglomerates, and by successful publishers on German bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

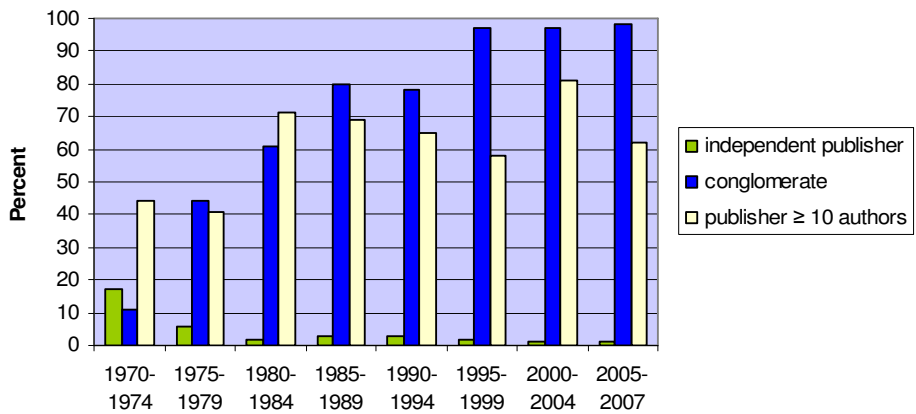


Figure 1c. Percentage of authors by independent publishers, publishers in media conglomerates, and by successful publishers on American bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

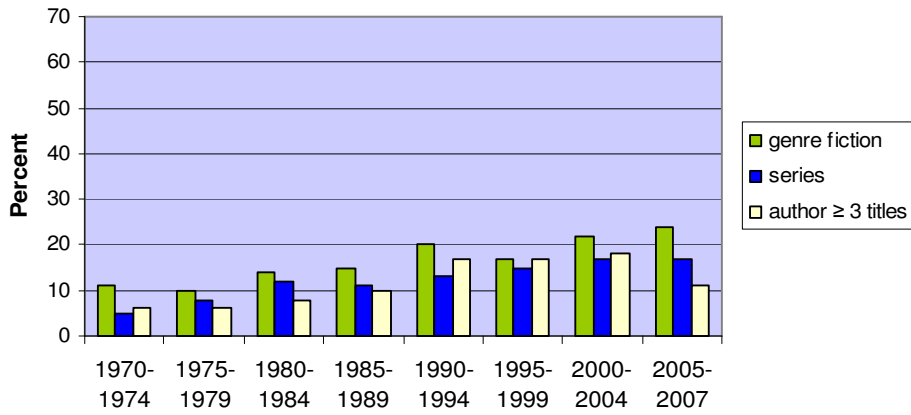


Figure 2a. Percentage of authors who write genre fiction, who use the serial format, and who have star power on French bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

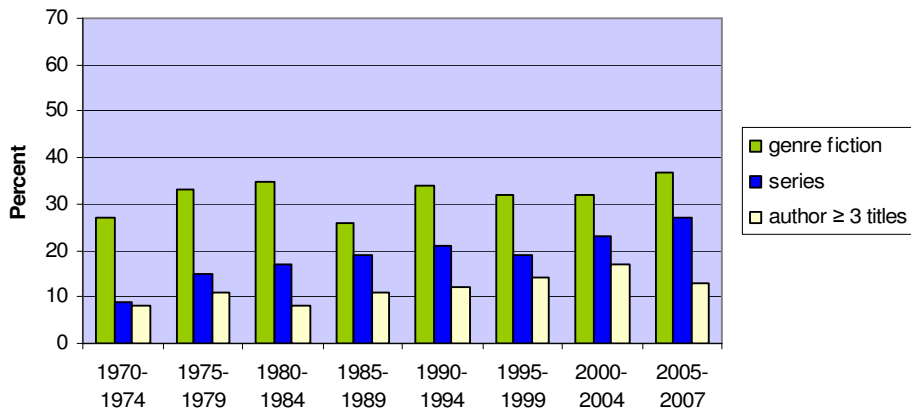


Figure 2b. Percentage of authors who write genre fiction, who use the serial format, and who have star power on German bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

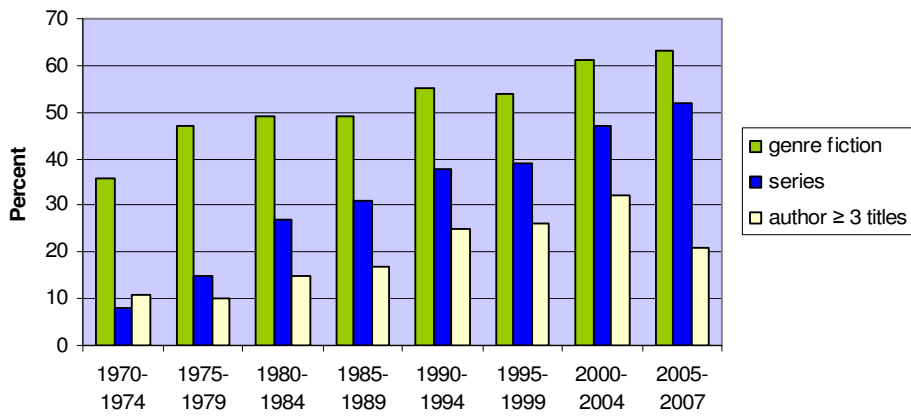


Figure 2c. Percentage of authors who write genre fiction, who use the serial format, and who have star power on American bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

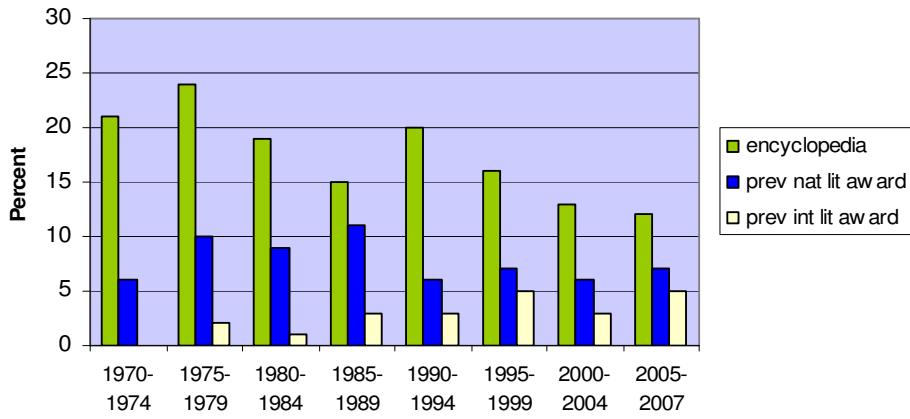


Figure 3a. Percentage of authors who have encyclopedia entries and who had previous wins of literary awards on French bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

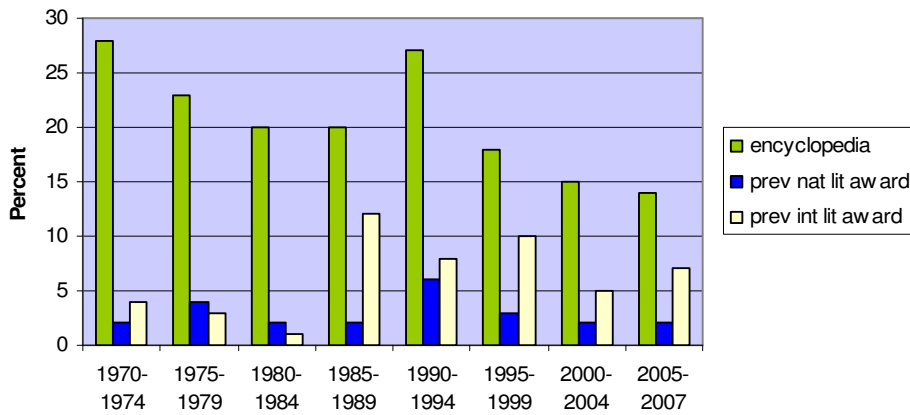


Figure 3b. Percentage of authors who have encyclopedia entries and who had previous wins of literary awards on German bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

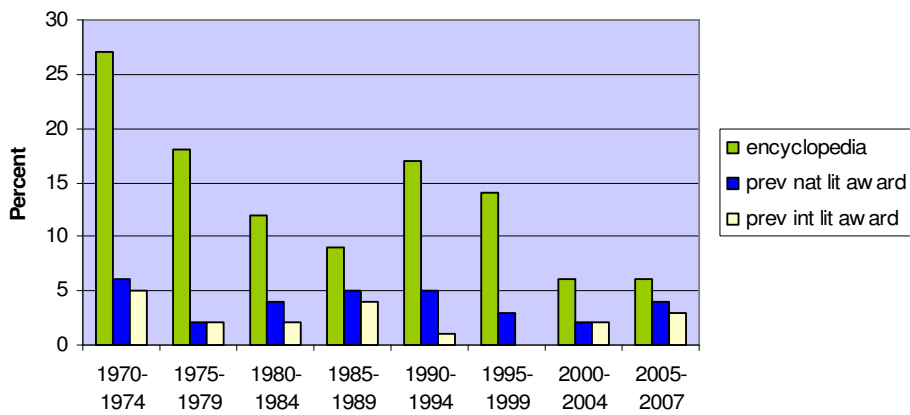


Figure 3c. Percentage of authors who have encyclopedia entries and who had previous wins of literary awards on American bestseller lists, 1970-2007.

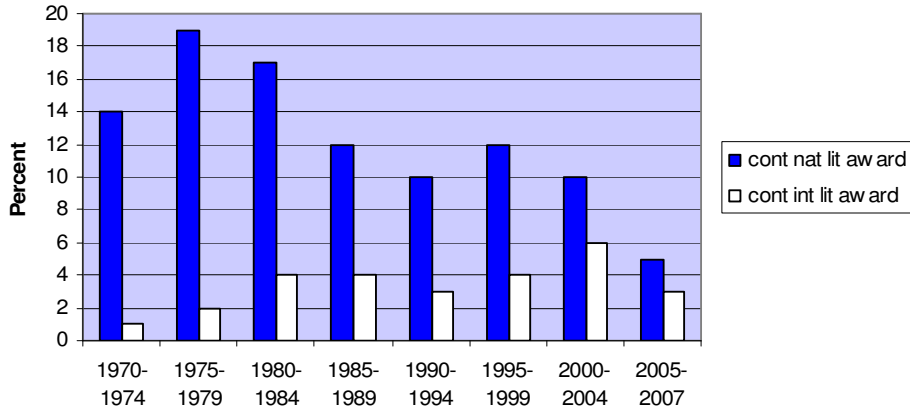


Figure 4a. Percentage of authors who win contemporary literary awards on French bestseller lists, 1970-2007

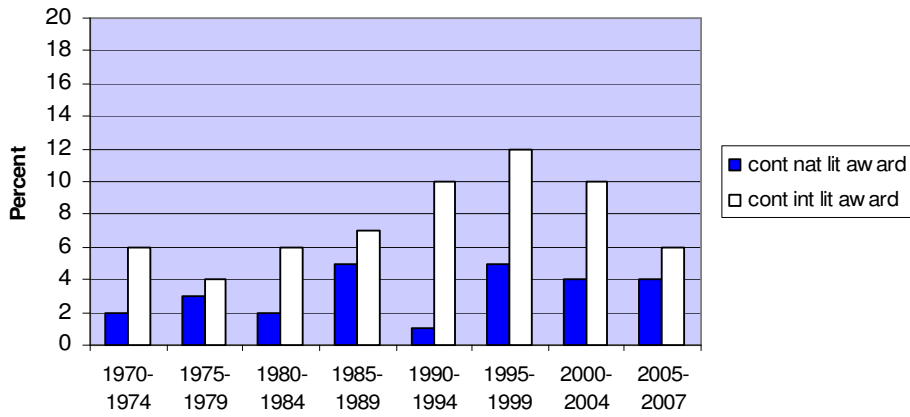


Figure 4b. Percentage of authors who win contemporary literary awards on German bestseller lists, 1970-2007

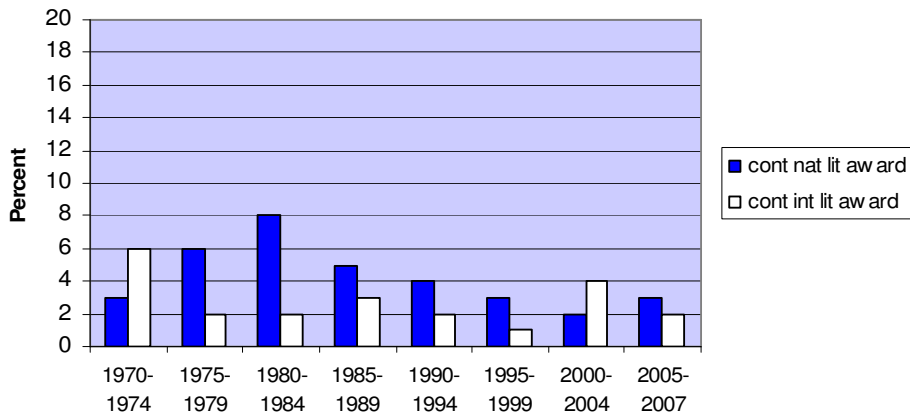


Figure 4c. Percentage of authors who win contemporary literary awards on American bestseller lists, 1970-2007