

CONDITIONS OF ACCESS

Mapping the value of Australian novels in the
twenty-first century global marketplace

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November, 2019

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. To the best of the author's knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text. The length is just under 100,000 words (excluding front matter, figures, tables, footnotes, in-text references, bibliography and appendices).

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Airlie Lawson', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Airlie Lawson

11th November, 2019

Acknowledgements

I am enormously grateful to my advisory panel—Professor Nicole Moore, Dr Julieanne Lamond and Dr Terhi Nurmikko-Fuller—for their insightful advice, ongoing support and patience under some trying conditions. I would also like to thank previous panel members Assistant Professor Katherine Bode and Professor Glenn Roe for their early support and advice; Professor Desmond Manderson and Professor Matthew Rimmer for their conceptual suggestions; and Ben Kooyman for his thorough proofreading and copy-editing. Those who contributed data made the project possible: Elizabeth O'Donnell from HarperCollins, Maggie Thompson from Allen & Unwin, Nerrilee Weir from Penguin Random House, Teodora Bojilcheva from Bard Publishers, and Karen Le Roy from the Australia Council for the Arts. I'm extremely grateful to them, as well as the *AustLit* technical help team, who modified the data extraction mechanism, and Andrea Hanke of *Books + Publishing* who shared multiple issues of *Think Australian* in electronic format.

Many others have given informal advice on the project including Dr Rachel Hendry, Dr Jason Ensor, Dr Jan Zwar and Professor David Throsby. Additionally, I'm grateful to those who provided early encouragement for the project including Emeritus Professor Margaret Harris, the team at Anatolit, as well as Mary Cunnane, Jenny Darling and Selwa Anthony; to Junran Lei for her assistance with the database; and to Dr Kate Bowen, Dr Lan Tran, Suzanne Knight, Rosemary Shepherd and Rebecca Spaul for guiding me through the administrative maze. Parts of this project were explored in three conference papers and I appreciate the thoughtful feedback from audience members. Finally, this project could not have been completed without the ongoing support and faith of friends—including Dianna Thomas, Paul and Gabriella Disspain, Rebecca Considine, Rohan Anderson, Gini Hole, Nerrilee Weir and Linda Funnell—and family: Lainey, James, Will, Declan and Hamish Lawson, Lynda Maitland, and in particular my father, Richard Lawson.

I would also like to acknowledge and celebrate the First Australians on whose traditional lands the research for, and writing of, this study has taken place, and whose cultures are among the oldest continuing cultures in human history, and to pay my respects to elders past, present and emerging. This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Fee Offset Scholarship and funding under the provisions for HDR fieldwork allowances from the ANU College of Arts and Social Science.

Abstract

What is the value of Australian novels in the twenty-first century global marketplace?

Competing accounts about the extent of the international circulation of contemporary Australian literature and the conditions under which works circulate have informed policy advice to the Australian Government about changes to territorial copyright laws, fuelled a public narrative in which Australian access to the world literary sphere is a case of exceptions, and structured industry practices related to circulation. Academic understanding has been determined by data availability and a focus on the evidence of circulation rather than the material processes of the export trade, the less visible aspect of which is the export of intellectual property, often referred to as ‘selling rights’. With no comprehensive record of ‘rights’ activity available, these multiple accounts have led to many empirically untested theories about why the rights to Australian literature do ‘sell’.

Focusing on the novel—and conceiving of the international rights as not ‘sold’ but licensed in a conditional cultural exchange—provides the study with an indicator for ‘literature’ and ‘the global’. This thesis conceptualises these rights as traded within a global marketplace from which works of sufficient value are offered entry onto an international licensing field. Integrating this rights-specific frame within a three-tiered sociology of translation exchange model, the value of a work can be shown to be determined by international power relations, national consecration, and local networks: not, as is often claimed, by the quality or the subject matter of a work. To build the two-part database this study uses to map circulation, measure value and demonstrate this process, it draws on the license itself to create a ‘transaction’ and an ‘influence’ data set. The license provides evidence of transactions, digitally linking the constellation of information surrounding the license as a way to measure ‘influence’.

By mapping circulation in this manner, this study creates a new data-driven account in which Australian literature has a different value in the domestic marketplace and global marketplace. Not only is there more international access during the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century, in this space women authors receive a high amount of critical attention, genre fiction is highly visible, and literary fiction is not in decline. Overall, the international value of Australian literature can be seen to have increased over the period.

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Glossary

Except where indicated (by italics or otherwise), this glossary uses the Australian Government's Productivity Commission's definitions (Productivity Commission 2009, xi-xii).

Australian edition	A version of a book produced under licence by an Australian publisher. (<i>This study also stipulates that the work is written by an Australian citizen.</i>)
Back list	Editions of titles in print that have been on the market for 12 months or more. (<i>The compound word 'backlist' is also used but this study separates the words.</i>)
Export	<i>The international distribution and sale of finished books. (The export of intellectual property in this study is referred to as the international rights trade or rights trade.)</i>
Format	Relates to the size, cover and binding of a book, such as A format (small) paperbacks, B format (regular) paperbacks and C format (large or 'trade') paperbacks or hardbacks.
Front list	Editions of titles that have been on the market for less than 12 months. (<i>The compound word 'frontlist' is also used but this study separates the words.</i>)
International edition	A version of a book produced under licence by an overseas publisher. (<i>The Productivity Commission uses this definition to define 'Foreign edition', a term this study does not use. Unless otherwise specified, the term 'edition' is also used in this study to refer to an international edition.</i>)
Parallel importation	Importation of a book legitimately supplied overseas, for which there is an authorised locally published version.

Recommended retail price	The price for which a publisher recommends that a book be sold, which is sometimes printed on the cover.
<i>Royalty</i>	<i>The agreed percentage of the retail price or net price (retail price less expenses) to be paid by the publisher to the author on the sale of a book.</i>
Subsidiary rights	This term is generally applied to those ‘not automatically [...] included [in publishing agreements] as volume rights—these include first serial, dramatic, film and television rights and merchandising rights’ (Owen 2010, 52).
Territorial rights	Applies to English (and other language) rights which ‘may be licenced to an independent publisher if the original publisher will not itself be distributing the book in its language of origin throughout the world; alternatively, a large multinational group may license its subsidiaries to produce local editions’ (Owen 2010, 52).
<i>Trade book</i>	<i>A work published by a trade publisher for a general readership.</i>
Volume rights	This term is generally applied to ‘the rights which were included in the package granted to the original publisher, either to exploit themselves under their own imprint or to license onto others’ (Owen 2010, 51).
Work	An author’s written material within a book that is protected by copyright. (<i>The Productivity Commission uses this definition for ‘Literary work’, a term this study limits to works that fall into the category of literary fiction. Unless otherwise specified, this study also uses this term to describe an Australian edition of the Work.</i>)

Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACCC	Australian Competition and Consumer Commission
ALAA	Australian Literary Agents' Association
ANT	Actor-network theory
A & U	Allen & Unwin Publishers
ANZ	Australia and New Zealand
APA	Australian Publishers Association
ARC	Australian Research Council
ASA	Australian Society of Authors
<i>B + P</i>	<i>Books + Publishing; Bookseller + Publisher; Australian Bookseller & Publisher</i>
CAL	Copyright Agency Limited
GST	Goods and Services Tax
HCP	HarperCollins Publishers (Australia)
IPA	International Publishers Association
PC	Australian Government's Productivity Commission
PIR	Parallel Import Restrictions/Regulations
PRH	Penguin Random House (Australia)
RHA	Random House (Australia)
RRP	Recommended retail price
UK	United Kingdom
UMBIS	University of Melbourne Book Industry Study
US/USA	United States of America

1 Introduction: Australian novels, international value

It is early in the new millennium and Elliot Perlman is on stage at the Edinburgh International Book Festival. He is a widely-published, multi-award-winning, critically-acclaimed author, one represented by New York-based Andrew Wiley, agent to over a thousand capital L literary stars—alive and alive in print—Andrew Motion and Vladimir Nabokov to name just two. It is question time and a well-groomed, middle-aged member of the audience raises her hand.

‘Mr Perlman,’ she begins, ‘Mr Perlman. Do you have a problem being taken seriously because you’re...you know...you’re...’

The author waits; the woman seems uncomfortable. She is shifting in her seat, swallowing a little, smiling without showing her teeth—apologetic even.

‘Because you’re...’

She now has everyone’s attention.

She tries again. ‘Do you have a problem being taken seriously because...’

The room is silent; everyone waits. What is it? What is his terrible shame?

‘Because you’re Australian?’

This is an embellished version of an episode Perlman recounted at ‘Getting to Print’, a publishing forum associated with the 2012 Sydney Writers’ Festival.¹ At the time, Perlman still seemed bemused the woman could have asked such a question. Yet it is a question that deserves to be taken as seriously as Australian novelists themselves. The implication is that Perlman should have a problem; that Australians may not belong in the international literary space.

¹ ‘Forest for the Trees’ held on May 17th, 2012.

This study explores the idea that there is something about Australians that makes them difficult for others to take seriously. It does so by looking at the way Australian culture is valued on the international stage, investigating how this value manifests in, and impacts upon, the global circulation of contemporary Australian literature.

1.1 Copyright: Protecting the international book trade

The relationship between the international market and Australian literature centres on copyright. Therefore, to understand the mechanics of this global trade in Australian literature it is essential to know what publishing rights are held, how they are exercised and how they are able to be exercised. Copyright is essential to the book trade. Lynette Owen, copyright expert and author of *Selling Rights*, puts it this way:

The publishing industry—and by association the trade in publishing rights—is inextricably linked to the existence and recognition of copyright. Without copyright, it is doubtful whether the majority of authors would have the incentive to be creative. While some authors may still be prepared to publish without reward [...] others have chosen to become authors in an attempt to earn their living directly from their writing. (Owen 2010, 1)

The results of an income survey in 2017 showed only 13.7 percent of professional authors in the UK were able to earn their living this way (Singh, Kretschmer and Gavaldon 2018, 4), and the prevalence of free writing online suggests the ‘majority of authors’ may not require a financial incentive. However, there is no doubt that trade publishers would not have the incentive to publish without the protection copyright laws provide for their investment. This has long been the case. One of the reasons British copyright laws were reformed at the end of the nineteenth-century was to cover the separation of copyright into different types, not to protect the rights of authors but, Weedon argues, to protect the profits of publishers who, after market changes, ‘had to develop a sharper economic edge to survive’ (Weedon 2003, 143).

At the end of the twentieth-century, the issue of copyright and profit protection came to prominence once again as the publishing industry watched the devastating financial effect that internet file sharing site Napster had on the popular music industry. Subsequently, the new millennium began with publishers around the world sharing a sense of trepidation about how to control copyright and piracy within the emerging online space, although a

reference in *The Late Age of Print* (Striphas 2011, 43) to a 2008 article in *Newsweek* that begins, ‘Could the publishing industry get Napsterized?’ (Levy 2008), suggests the media did not make the connection until some years later. While internationally debates have centred on what is often described as ‘the copyright wars’ (Patry 2009), and considered in terms of culture and copyright protection (Hemmungs Wirtén 2004), and of digital rights and creativity (Lessing 2008), Australia has also seen debates about the term of copyright (McGuinness 2015) and, consistently, the lifting of parallel import restrictions.

The debate about parallel import restrictions also relates to controlling copyright but it is control of the kind firmly attached to place and national borders: territorial copyright. In the most recent volume of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume VII*, Catherine Seville is unequivocal in her valuation of this form of copyright in the twenty-first century stating: ‘The book trade has had to adapt to an increasingly global marketplace, in which territorial rights continue to be vital’ (Seville 2019, 581).

Territorial copyright—enabled in Australia since 1968 by parallel import restrictions, also known as regulations (PIRs)—is not seen as vital by all in Australia. It is a barrier to free trade and limits the rights of consumers, or so the Federal Government argues. The most recent evidence of this debate can be seen in the industry campaign against this proposal and the subsequent collection of essays by Australian authors in support of Australia’s current territorial copyright laws (Melbourne University Publishing 2016). The fear demonstrated in the campaign is not of the combination of Gen Y’s programming skills and contempt for, ignorance of, or opposition to the law: it is of the Federal Government. The government’s position is demonstrated by the nine enquiries relating to the issue held between 1974 and 2016.

By 20 June, 2016, the Federal Government had accepted the recommendation that the restrictions be lifted. At a public hearing, internationally bestselling novelist Garth Nix stood in front of Commissioners Coppel and Chester and told them just what he thought about the proceedings, in particular the logic behind the Productivity Commission’s recommendation, as well as that the industry should provide feedback on the support it would need when the recommendation was implemented. The word Nix used to describe the situation appears in the *Transcript of Proceedings* (figure 1).

Figure 1. Productivity Commission transcript of Garth Nix's statement

blishers who were - I actually had a conversatio
ually believe what I was telling them. They coi
vernment would be stupid enough to remove ou
I had this almost Cathegeresk conversatio, wh
s was with somebody new, where she found it h
s telling her and I had to keep repeating, "Yes, i
rket that their editions of my books could also c

Source: *Inquiry into Intellectual Property Arrangements: Transcript of Proceedings*
(Productivity Commission 2016, 738).

The (mis)spelling of Kafkaesque neatly sums up the communication gap between the Australian book publishing industry and the Productivity Commission, a gap demonstrated often during the week-long hearings. The transcript makes it very clear that both the Commissioners and their 'public' found the process frustrating, despite an apparent civility that included exchanging positive birthday wishes (Productivity Commission 2016, 729-730). On the one side, supplementing hundreds of written submissions, members of the industry—publishers, booksellers, authors and printers—argued that Australian culture needed protection, that books were a special part of Australian culture, and that removing the restrictions would have profoundly negative consequences (for example, Productivity Commission 2016, 21; 183; 365). On the other side, the two commissioners listened, sighed and one or the other repeated once again the purpose of the hearings. As Commissioner Chester explained carefully on the first day: 'Our terms of reference when it comes to parallel import restrictions asked us to advise the government on transitional issues for its implementation' (Productivity Commission 2016, 28). The lobbying was too late, the research had been done, and the decision had been made. Australian consumers were entitled to cheaper books and opening the domestic market to overseas competition by removing the restrictions was a way to reduce book prices: end of chapter. All the Commissioners wanted to find out was how the transition period might best be handled. The industry, meanwhile, wanted no transition period: they did not want the restrictions removed.

As with the other PIR investigations, the ‘problem’ was always the same—a protected market—and the proposed ‘solution’ the same—stop protecting it by opening it to international competition. The difference between the 2016 debate and the previous debates was that the government had not only accepted the recommendations; it appeared determined to act upon them. At the start of the millennium, the industry was divided over the issue, with *Australian Bookseller + Publisher* reporting of

the Australian Booksellers Association declaring its support for the removal of restrictions and, in response, the Australian Publishers Association resolving at its AGM to ‘suspend cooperative relations with the ABA at the Board’s discretion. (Kaye 2001, 6)

By 2016, the publishing and bookselling environment had changed sufficiently for the industry to be united against the PIRs being fully lifted.

Many problems were identified with the government’s decision and decision-making process: methodological: James Kellow from HarperCollins Publishers argued that the price data was out of date (Productivity Commission 2016, 177); cultural: Hachette Australia’s Louise Sherwin-Stark claimed Australians needed their own stories (Productivity Commission 2016, 51); legal: Gaby Naher, secretary of the Australian Literary Agents’ Association, pointed out changes would put authors ‘in breach’ of their agreements (Productivity Commission 2016, 886-7); and financial, with Text Publishing’s Michael Heyward believing cheap editions of books would flood the Australian market (Productivity Commission 2016, 690).

International trade was central to the debate. Nix recounted the reaction of his English publishers—‘they could not believe that our government would be stupid enough to remove our territorial copyright’ (Productivity Commission 2016, 738)—but there was limited focus on the impact the changes would have on the international rights trade, as conducted from Australia. Some from the industry—Scribe Publications’ founder and long-time publisher Henry Rosenbloom, for example—did argue that their company would no longer have an incentive to ‘buy’ rights to profitable international books and publish them under their own imprints (Productivity Commission 2016, 707), a practice made easier when PIRs were partially lifted in 1991 in an attempt to reduce British control

of the Australian book market. It is this partial lifting that Heyward argued contributed to the rapid growth of the Australian publishing industry in the 1990s (Text Publishing 2016).

Fewer alluded to the wider impact the full lifting of these restrictions would have on the trade in international rights. What focus there was remained on English language rights and the potential of licensed international editions to compete with domestic editions, ‘cannibalising’ sales as Heyward described it (Productivity Commission 2016, 693). This was the competition the government wanted to encourage; that it would reduce author income from other English language markets was less of a concern. That lifting PIRs might potentially reduce author income from translation markets was not part of the discussion. No one asked if attempting to make book prices fall in Sydney (and profits increase in New York and London) might succeed in making rights deals fail in Paris (and copy sales drop in Prague, Moscow and Istanbul, too). No one appeared to have evidence to make this global connection.

Text Publishing’s Heyward revealed a third of his successful independent company’s income now came from selling rights (Productivity Commission 2016, 693). However, his argument, like that from Scribe Publications’ Rosenbloom, focused on the mechanism by which the market would be ‘opened’: the lifting of PIRs. To put it another way, while the relationship between the Australian and international book market was discussed in terms of global economics, the discussion did not come from a global perspective but an Anglo-centric one. Moreover, it came from a short-term, sales-based, Anglo-centric perspective, which did not account for long-term, licensing-based global ramifications: it could not.

In 2002, the Federal Government were advised by the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) to lift the restrictions, based on the conclusion there would be little impact on the international export trade. As Michelle Atkins explained, ‘because the number of successful Australian authors published overseas, and therefore subject to potential competition from the sales of their books back into Australia from the overseas market, is small’ (Atkins 2002, 8), demonstrating the ACCC’s assumed connection between local success and what this study describes as ‘global access’, but no similar connection between global access and (subsequent) domestic success. In 2016, this assumption of limited activity remained.

This assessment of limited activity was, however, a comparative assessment and not quite accurate. The economic modelling that informed the Commission's decision-making process did not include much information on the international rights trade because little up-to-date, accurate information was available on either the value or extent of the trade. Written industry submissions to the Commission provided only partial evidence and anecdotal information, meaning the situation was little better than in 2011, when the Australian Publishers Association reported that in 2010, that 'rights income to Australian authors and publishers is in the order of \$5-10 million' (Book Industry Strategy Group 2011, 17). The Australian Literary Agents' Association claimed there was an increase in rights 'sales', as they are known, without giving evidence about either their financial value or extent (Australian Literary Agents' Association 2015). Well-known authors such as Marcus Zusak, Nikki Gemmell, Nick Earls, Kim Wilkins, Tim Winton and Monica McInerney provided written submissions of their international publishing experience; useful case studies which did not provide evidence of a wider trade. No evidenced-based description of the international trade in the publishing rights to books, as conducted from Australia, was provided to the Commission.

In this absence, Commissioner Coppel could confidently state: 'We've looked at Australian Bureau of Statistics data that [...] illustrates that most of the revenue from royalties is shortly after the first publication' (Productivity Commission 2016, 107). Coppel was not only referencing data that was ten years out of date and data which, as the following chapter discusses, largely neglected the rights trade, but data that failed to show the way in which royalties earned from international rights do not fit this particular model. In contrast, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data, combined with A.C. Neilson's BookScan data, meant there was substantial detail available about both domestic sales and domestic prices. The impression this data and this debate gave was that Australian publishing was primarily a domestic concern.

The data gap is responsible for, and symptomatic of, the way the relationship between Australian books and the international market has been understood during the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century. While the relationship has been viewed through multiple government, industry, scholarly and media lenses—protectionist, postcolonial and comparative—the rights trade as a globally interconnected trade, a trade

unlike domestic trade, has received far less attention. This situation has led to a limited understanding of the value and extent of this trade as well as the conditions that determine how, where and why individual works are traded.

The impact of this knowledge gap has meant that the Federal Government has relied on economic modelling based on inadequate evidence to inform a major policy change, one with potentially significant long-term ramifications. These ramifications are not just for the publishing industry, the incomes of Australian authors and the production of Australian stories, but for Australia's balance of trade figures and the nation's international cultural profile. For a government concerned about the trade deficit, that names soft power as a strategy within foreign policy documents (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2017) and invests in international success through funding bodies such as the Australia Council for the Arts, the situation does seem 'Cathegeresk' indeed.

1.2 A 'golden age' in the global circulation of Australian work?

Despite a perception that the international trade in rights to Australian books was limited during the first decade and a half of the new millennium—a period just after literary scholar Elizabeth Webby spoke of the end of the 'golden age' in Australian literature (Webby 1999, 16), and during which the Federal Government was constantly attempting to 'open' the Australian market (which would ensure the rights trade was limited)—some claimed there was extensive rights activity, a claim the findings in this study support.

While Australian literature was being discussed domestically in terms of what Mark Davis termed 'the decline of the literary paradigm'—a decline attributed to increasing commercialisation and globalisation (Davis 2006), and measured in terms of sales as well as production, often of literary works (Knox 2005)—this alternative view indicated that Australian literature was becoming increasingly 'global' in the sense of increasing global 'access'. While Jason Ensor suggested that paying attention to international reprints, sales or reception figures (using *AustLit* data) complicated the decline narrative (Ensor 2008, 207), this study demonstrates how including international production figures—rights transactions—provides an alternative perspective.

Evidence of high levels of international rights activity are evident in the media coverage. In 'Graeme Simsion and the global effect of Rosie', journalist Jason Steger wrote in *The Sydney Morning Herald* that rights to Simsion's novel *The Rosie Project* (2012) had been 'sold for publication in 38 languages and 42 countries' (Steger 2014). 'Little, Brown Pays Seven Figures for Debut Novel by Aussie Author', was the headline US magazine *Publishers Weekly* gave to the deal for Hannah Kent's *Burial Rites* in 2012, and the article revealed the 'auction for the book was held simultaneously around the world' (Deahl 2012). In 2013, Allen & Unwin reported *The Slap* (2008) had sold 1,000,000 copies globally in 29 territories (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 152). According to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, by 2015, the year she was 'guest of honour at a party held by her international publishers at the Frankfurt Book Fair', the world-wide sales of novelist Kate Morton's first four novels, beginning with *The Shifting Fog* published in 2006, had reached over 10,000,000 copies (Morris 2015).

Admittedly, 10,000,000 is only a third of the sales of Colleen McCullough's *The Thorn Birds* (1977), a figure reported in the Morton article (Morris 2015). From a publishing standpoint, however, McCullough's sweeping saga of forbidden love might more usefully be considered an American book. The author was born in Australia but based in America when it was published, the agent was based in New York, the widely publicised 1.9 million dollar deal was with an American company, Harper & Row (acquired by News Corporation in 1987), Harper & Row released the first Australian edition, and the global television event McCullough described as 'instant vomit' (Morris 2015), was produced by the American Broadcasting Company. If the novel itself were Australian from a publishing standpoint (with an Australian author and published in, and licensed from, Australia), would *The Thorn Birds* have sold the reputed 30,000,000 copies? Would the novel have been, as a Chinese sub-agent claimed to the author of this study in the early 2000s, the most copied book in China? Would Bard, the novel's original Bulgarian publisher, have sent the author of this study a spreadsheet listing a renewal for the novel's license in 2015? Would Beth Deguzman, publisher at Grand Central in the United States, when asked in 2010 what she wanted from Australia, answer 'Just one thing: the new *Thorn Birds*'?²

² The author of this study worked in international rights between 2000-2016 and these three questions are based on meeting notes from that period.

Certainly, in 1977 when *The Thorn Birds* was first published, the level of global access it subsequently enjoyed seems unlikely to have happened if it had originated in Australia. As Text Publishing's Michael Heyward claimed in a 2002 interview in Melbourne's *The Age* newspaper, 'A couple of decades ago, it was extraordinarily difficult to sell overseas' (Sullivan 2002). Much has been written about why this international trade was so difficult. Historically, it has been positioned in relation to Australia being a controlled, colonial market—as implied by the subtitle of *A History of the Book in Australia, 1891—1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (Lyons and Arnold 2001)—while between 1947—1976, it was seen as a controlled Commonwealth market. During this period, the terms of the Traditional Markets Agreement ensured Australia remained primarily a British export market and, moreover, that 'Australian-owned publishing companies were not permitted to acquire separate rights to British-originated books' (Magner 2006, 8). Subsequently, the agreement was ruled a breach of anti-trust laws in North America in 1974 and abandoned—officially, at least—by the United Kingdom in 1976.³ However, as publishing insider Hilary McPhee recalls:

It was not until March 1988, when the Literature Board sponsored publishers and agents, that any of them made the journey and began to be able to visualize Australia as a market in its own right. (McPhee 2001, 191)

The partial lifting of PIRs in 1991 and increased international engagement meant it was no longer a case of 'Australia and the world' but Australia increasingly 'within the world'.

This change to territorial copyright laws has been seen to have facilitated the growth of a domestic trade publishing industry through enabling an independent English language rights trade. The mechanism which enabled the British publishing industry to control the Australian industry's global relations was removed but by keeping PIRs partially in place, the Australian market was a 'protected' one. It is in this context of market growth that Heyward asked a rhetorical question that revealed the extent of these industry changes: 'If you've got a successful Australian book and you haven't sold the rights, you have to ask yourself why' (Sullivan 2002). Heyward's question refers to the technical ability to license

³ As most of the publishing industry in the United Kingdom is based in Great Britain, 'British' publishing is often used as a form of shorthand; an approach this study also takes. To describe the geographic territory, however, for clarity, this study refers to the United Kingdom (UK), so as to include the smaller islands, as well as Northern Ireland.

rights but it can also be seen in the larger context of selling rights and the changing conditions of global access raising another question: If McCullough's *The Thorn Birds* had originated in Australia—and been initially traded from Australia—at the beginning of the twenty-first century, might the novel's global success have been so unlikely?

1.2.1 Australian publishing: An increasingly commercial industry

Like the rest of the publishing world, the Australian industry entered the new millennium with as much trepidation as optimism and there is no doubt the first decade and a half saw dramatic technological and structural change. It was not only a continuation of what Claire Squires describes as a process of 'enormous upheaval, transforming the industries—or at least those of Western Europe and North America—from small and middle-sized, independently run businesses to global, multimedia conglomerates' (Squires 2007, 406). Cheaper printing processes such as print-on-demand were introduced; commercial fiction, driven by the global success of Dan Brown, J.K. Rowling and E.L. James, emerged from literary fiction's long shadow; visible point-of-sales data became available through tracking systems, such as BookScan; and electronic books (e-books) became mainstream with the widespread availability of reading devices such as Amazon's Kindle, which lowered retail price points, lowered the entry bar to publishing, and effectively transformed the publishing world's ecology.

Against this background, Australian literature benefitted from what the Federal Government continued to see as protectionism (PIRs), as well as from investment in domestic production by multinational groups and increasing sales of commercial fiction.

The Australian industry also remained comparatively buoyant while internationally other publishing industries faced challenges. Allen & Unwin's Managing Director Patrick Gallagher described the 'suicidal discounting of UK publishers' and 'astronomical advances paid by our American friends!' (Gallagher 2007, 139); additionally, most industries were impacted by the Global Financial Crisis of 2007. Until 2010 in Australia, however, in publishing there was 'a decade of year-on-year growth' (Coronel and Rankin 2011, 4), reflecting the strong state of the Australian economy (Gerard and Kearns 2011, 1). BookScan figures show Australians continued to buy books too, albeit in smaller numbers. As *Books + Publishing* noted in 2013, the 'late Bryce Courtenay's final novel *Jack of*

Diamonds sold '182,000 copies in hardcover', whereas ten years earlier 'sales of Bryce Courtenay's books would regularly top 240,000 units' (Coronel 2013, 4). Overall, the Australian publishing industry—while fearing piracy, the impact of lower prices and changing government regulations—remained in comparatively good health in the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century. As Penguin Australia's submission to the Productivity Commission stated in 2009:

The last 20 years have seen the flowering of a strong and vibrant Australian publishing industry. (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 9)

Part of this industry growth was an increase in the trade in international rights (Australian Literary Agents' Association 2015, 1). This increase coincided with a period in which the Sydney Olympics placed not just Sydney but the entire country at the centre of the international stage. Rita Wilson has connected this event with increased interest in Australian literature, citing statistics relating to an increase in Italian translations (Wilson 2013a, 83); Helen Kirkbride of Fremantle Arts Press implied the same immediately after the event, telling *Books + Publishing* that 'It was good to see that interest in Australian books didn't stop after the Olympics' (Shiells 2001, 10). Certainly, there was money invested in promoting Australian literary culture internationally during this period in the form of government-funded translation and publisher networking programs (Wilson 2013a, 79). Australia was without doubt more globally visible at the beginning of the new millennium and the Federal Government support of book translations suggests that cultural visibility was part of the strategy. (Although as Perlman's anecdote suggests, this did not mean Australia's culture, or at least its literary culture, was being taken more seriously by all.)

Australian literary culture was also changing during this period, coinciding with a shift in direction for trade publishing. At the beginning of the new millennium, Pan Macmillan publisher Cate Paterson acquired, at auction, the rights to publish action-adventure author Matthew Reilly's two new works with the aim of making him a worldwide success. In an interview about the acquisition, she made three significant comments. The first was that, 'the type of book Reilly writes is not something often published by Australian publishers.' She continued. 'In short, there isn't much Australian-produced commercial fiction.' (She distinguished this from very successful novels by 'Colleen McCullough, Di

Morrissey and Bryce Courtenay' which she described as 'sagas aimed at the mass market'.) However, rather than claiming the decision not to publish commercial work was publisher-led, she suggested it was author-led, stating that authors 'prefer to turn their hand to more literary genres'. Paterson concluded by predicting that for Australian publishing, 'it's all just about to break' (Shiells 2000b, 29). In this context, it is possible that after Reilly became an internationally bestselling author, as well as a domestically bestselling author, not only did Pan Macmillan begin to publish more commercial fiction, but the publisher began to receive more commercial fiction submissions from Australian authors.

During this period, David Carter and Anne Galligan also claimed that 'the current globalisation of the industry has provided more opportunities than ever before for Australian publishers and authors to sell their books overseas, thus creating new opportunities for publication, profit and profile' (Carter and Galligan 2007, 6). Random House's Nerrilee Weir, meanwhile, told the magazine *Australian Bookseller + Publisher* that 'there had never been a better time' to sell rights to Australian books (Wilkins 2005, 10). Analysis of the second of *Australian Bookseller + Publisher's* annual rights surveys the year earlier revealed 'the area of fiction, women's fiction, commercial fiction, literary fiction, fantasy and crime were all nominated as leading categories' but complicated the story by adding 'these categories were also listed by a minority as becoming harder to sell, especially literary fiction' (Wilkins 2004a, 24).

Domestically, there was no such ambiguity about the market's reception of literary fiction: it was not selling. An analysis of 2015 BookScan sales showed literary fiction constituted 5 percent of domestic sales with half of these titles produced by Australian authors (Zwar 2016, 5), meaning only 2.5 percent of works sold in that period were Australian literary novels. Sales was just one aspect of what Davis' referred to as 'the decline of the literary paradigm'. In an essay of the same name, he linked the production elements of this decline to BookScan making reliable sales figures available, as well as a number of other structural elements, from economic rationalism to the increasing power of marketing departments (Davis 2006). This (supposed) decline, at least in the sales and production of literary novels, is usually read as driven by publishers, but in light of Paterson's comment, it might also be seen as driven by authors providing publishers with more commercial (saleable)

material. This situation suggests that the role of market commercialisation—as much as globalisation and economic rationalism—needs to be considered when evaluating the increase in activity in the rights trade.

If the extent of this activity has not been not widely acknowledged, the increase has not been wholly ignored. In 2008, *Think Australian*, a supplement produced by *Bookseller + Publisher* (previously *Australian Bookseller & Publisher*), echoing Penguin Australia's summary of the industry growth, claimed, 'The growth of Australian book exports over the past twenty years is a major success story.' Alongside this growth the magazine noted that 'Language rights are increasingly important' (*Think Australian* 2008a, 5). The following year, Penguin Australia described the situation as one in which 'Australian writers and publishers are now competing on the international stage' (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 8). While proclaiming growth, however, *Think Australian's* comments imply that this growth was related to the English language market, echoing the PIR debate's English language focus. Penguin's description, however, suggests that prior to the period Australian authors and publishers had little global presence. Since Australian writers have long been competing on the international stage (Patrick White, Christina Stead, Colleen McCullough, Carter Brown, Peter Carey and Thomas Kenneally, for example), perhaps it is more that Australian publishers failed to achieve an international profile. In an interview published in *The Bloom Report* in 2006, Text's Michael Heyward suggested this to be the case, commenting that 'Any visitor to Frankfurt would be entitled to conclude that we scarcely have a publishing industry at all' (Bowen and Carey 2006, 21). More generally, an increasing international profile can be traced to industry growth, and the noted increase in the international rights trade which contributed to building an international profile. There is also evidence of increasing industry interest in the rights trade, with *Books + Publishing* progressing from mentioning international rights deals in a back column on an irregular basis to issuing *Think Australian*, an export supplement, to reporting deals in weekly email bulletins.

Taken together, the evidence suggests that while the details of the rights trade might not have been visible in the way sales value was made visible through BookScan, this does not mean there was little global access during the period—or that the rights trade had no value. The evidence collected for this study suggests just the opposite: that while the new

millennium might have been seen by some as the end of a ‘golden age’ in Australian fiction, in a material sense this period of increased globalisation and commercialism, of accountancy and digital disruption, appears to have been a ‘golden age’ in the trade in international rights to Australian literature—or, more likely, as this study contends, a period which signalled the beginning of one.

1.3 Interpreting circulation: Influence, content and context

That Australian works have circulated internationally in the twenty-first century is evident; that there is an increase also seems clear. The partial lifting of PIRs can also be seen to have contributed to the ability of the Australian industry to trade international rights, a key enabler of circulation and, this study proposes, a particularly effective indicator of circulation. What is less apparent is how and why rights are being traded. This study makes explicit the link between the ability to trade rights and the trading of those rights.

In this partially charted space, multiple ideas have developed about not only the extent of the trade but its mechanics and rationale. Most of the ‘theories’ about international access stem from one of three separate assumptions: what happens domestically influences what happens internationally; there are globally appropriate rights trading practices; and it is primarily the content of a work that determines if it will gain global ‘access’ through the trade in rights.

Based on his extensive research into the domestic Anglo-American markets, John B. Thompson argues that contemporary trade publishers acquire works for one (or both) of two reasons: essentially, prestige and/or commerce (Thompson 2010, 10). There is also a perception within the Australian industry that these two factors influence international circulation, in the form of sales and prizes. This is evident in industry commentary such as HarperCollins Publishing Director Shona Martyn’s contention, reported in *Australian Bookseller + Publisher*, that ‘the successful inclusion of Alexandra’s *White Gardenia* in this year’s Books Alive program helped to sell overseas rights, because the Books Alive edition topped the bestseller charts, clearly demonstrating its sales potential to overseas publishers’ (Wilkins 2004b, 15). There is also anecdotal evidence of the influence of prizes, with UWA Press’s director, Terri-Ann White, claiming to be inundated with international

interest after Josephine Wilson's *Extinctions* (2016) won the 2017 Miles Franklin Literary Award (White 2018).

The theory that one practice fits all national contexts—the 'one practice fits all' theory—is visible in a reference to 'sub-standard' sub-agents, and the problem with relying on third party mediators in an industry speech in 2003 by Man Booker Prize-winning novelist Richard Flanagan (Flanagan 2007, 141); an 'edited version' (Flanagan 2007, 148), was reprinted in *Making Books: Contemporary Australian Publishing*, in 2007, meaning this was not a throwaway line. More recently, this 'one practice fits all' theory can also be seen in the outcome of a case between Australian literary agent Selwa Anthony and her former client, Kate Morton. The New South Wales Supreme Court, 'held there was a breach of the duty of care by failing to advise client as to the advantages and disadvantages of world rights deals' (New South Wales Case Law n.d.). By world rights deals, this judgement is referring to deals in which publishers are granted world rights, a practice this study demonstrates is common in Australia, but which commentary suggests is less common in large English language countries, such as the UK (where Morton's current agent is based).

While the perception that external structural factors and methods influence access is prevalent, the most influential is that which relates to the 'content' of a work, most visible in a focus on literary value and perceptions of 'Australian-ness'. The 'value theory' can be seen in comments such as those in 2007 by Allen & Unwin's rights and export director, Angela Namoi, who told a journalist, in the context of trading rights, 'First and foremost, fabulous writing makes a book saleable. If you have that not much else matters' (Bates 2007, 13). The notion of 'Australian-ness' is more complicated—and also complicates the value theory. On the one hand, there is a perception that it is beneficial. Wilson declared of translations in the Italian market that there was 'a discernible trend to select titles which reflect a notion of "Australianness"' (Wilson 2013b, 183). It is also seen as a limitation, as Affirm Press's Publishing Director Martin Hughes demonstrated in regard to the 2015 Stella Prize-winning novel, *The Strays* (2014), when he commented 'I think the Australian-ness [...] would have made it difficult to even get read by international publishers' (*Books + Publishing* 2015). Within literary studies, this view is supported. In 2015, when Nicholas Birns explored the question of whether Australian literature was global enough, he suggested some believed works like those of Miles Franklin-winner Steven Carroll might

be ‘less viable on the world market’ as a result of this Australian-ness, or as he wrote, ‘novels set in defined Australian local circumstances’ (Birns 2015, 4). Namoi, Hughes and Birns are all referring to the international reception of a domestic product rather than the material factors that influence reception: this study demonstrates why the two cannot be separated.

Each of these ‘theories’, or perceptions, has implications for how the trade is valued, conducted and regulated: and hence implications for the potential circulation of Australian literature. Yet none have been empirically examined insofar as they relate to books originating in, and licensed from, Australia. Lack of awareness of the extent of the trade or what determines it means it is not possible to maximise international access strategies—or to know how to respond to challenges to the trade (such as the potential lifting of PIRs, but also technology-driven industry strategies that favour short-term distribution over long-term licensing). Together, this study contends, these theories contribute to a situation in which policy decisions are made without understanding the consequences, domestic licensing practices are developed based on sales models, discussions about the contribution of the trade are determined by the dominant metrics of the domestic sphere—and the rights trade is undervalued and misunderstood. By focusing on Australian literature, and studying its international circulation empirically, this study is able to intervene in literary discussions about the role of ‘the national’ as well as explore the implications of being ‘Australian’ in the context of literature: it is also able to provide another perspective of the nation’s international cultural value.

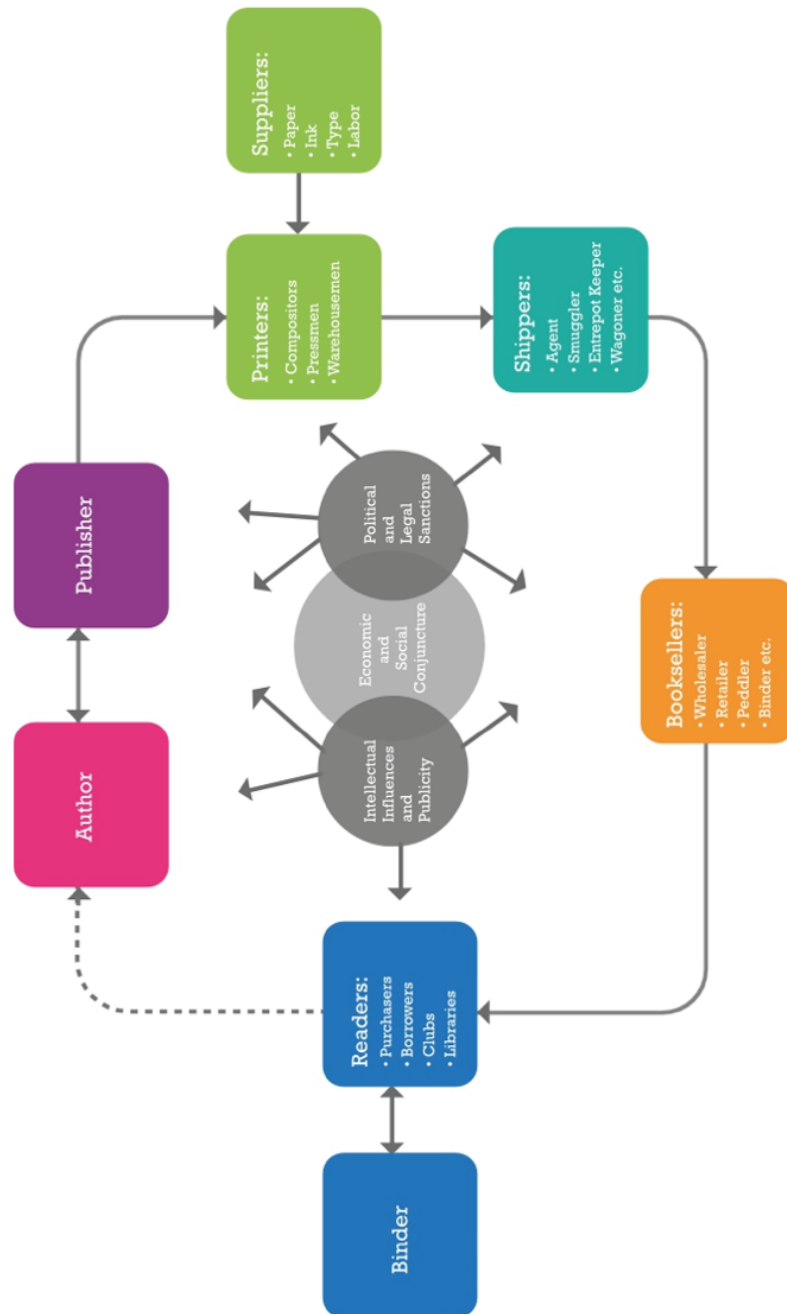
1.4 Evaluating circulation: Rights, global and access

To understand the international circulation of Australian literature, this study uses a specific indicator: the export of intellectual property. Focusing on the trade in intellectual property, a trade of licenses, distinguishes this study from others that focus on the fact of circulation, rather than the mechanics (that is, studies that do not define how a work is traded). Using the license as an indicator informs this study’s methodological approach, as licenses are exchanged and this exchange can be traced, measured and the conditions influencing the exchange mapped through the terms of the license itself by transforming these terms into data points. These data points can be digitally processed, modelled and their relationships analysed.

Using the license as indicator for international circulation provides a way to understand ‘the global’ in terms of reach (number of countries), extent (number of licenses), difference and cultural acceptance: as this study describes it, ‘global access’. This access is, in turn, understood as taking place within what the study describes as a ‘global marketspace’, a material and conceptual transactional zone from which works enter what this study introduces as the ‘international licensing field’ on the offer (and acceptance) of a license. This international licensing field is, in turn, composed of multiple sub-fields, all with overlapping national and linguistic borders, like the existing and widely used concepts of Pierre Bourdieu’s field of cultural production (1983) and the world literary space—such as that articulated in Pascale Casanova’s *The World Republic of Letters* (2004)—as well as the international or transnational literary field, Bourdieu’s field understood beyond national or linguistic boundaries. However, while each of these define literal, political, historical and aesthetic conditions, none define their ‘legal’ conditions of entry. Without this definition, understanding of international exchange of publishing rights has been limited.

The lack of specific attention to the international rights trade—those involved as well the influences—is also evident in commonly referenced book and publishing communications circuits. Figure 2, for example, the ‘Late 20th century print publishing circuit’ (2012) (Squires and Ray Murray n.d.), an adaptation of the Book communications circuit (Darnton 1982, 68), effectively illustrates how print trade publishing ‘works’, in terms of players and influence, but it does not distinguish international rights, so it does not allow for the involvement of different players (or intermediaries) at different stages, nor different influences. In contrast, figure 3, an infographic developed by online trade media site *Publishing Trendsetter* does describe the rights communication ‘circuit’, identifying the key players as well as ‘the optional intermediaries’ (publishingtrends.com 2014), but it does not make reference to those external influences that (potentially) determine rights transactions. However, each of these diagrams contributes valuable information about the social aspect of publishing and the (potential) influences for transactions: by combining these approaches the rights trade can begin to be fully described and, consequently, understood.

Figure 2. 'Late 20th century print publishing communications circuit'

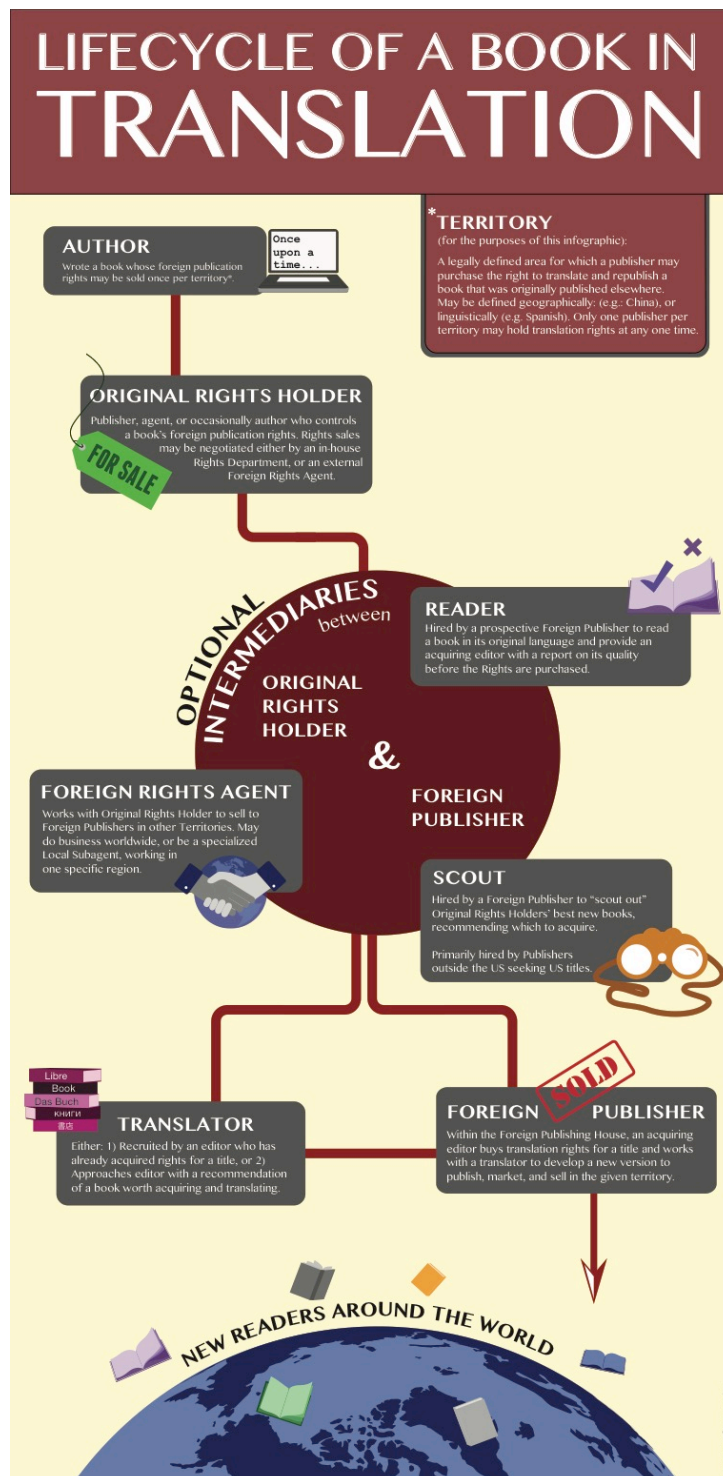


Adapted from Robert Danton's communications circuit (1982)



Copyright: Claire Squires and Padmini Ray Murray (2012)
Adapted from Robert Danton's communications circuit (1982)

Figure 3. 'Lifecycle of a Book in Translation'



Graphic design credit: Kimberley Shipley
Copyright: *publishingtrends.com* (2014)

Drawing on all these models, this study develops a new transactional circuit that incorporates the difference between the global marketspace and the domestic publishing ecosystem. It is this difference, this study proposes, that means rights need to be distinguished but also interpreted in a different way from sales.

A key difference between sales and rights is the way in which rights encompass multiple national and linguistic borders. These overlapping borders pose a problem for measuring access which means assessments have also long been compromised by a confusion over whether to measure access by language or country, or both, or a conflation suggesting they are the same. In the anthology titled *#saveozstories* (2016), for instance, the contributor page lists: Nikki Gemmell ‘twenty-two languages’, Geraldine Brooks ‘25 languages’, and Richard Flanagan ‘42 countries’ (Melbourne University Publishing 2016, 182-185). While these descriptions are in one way clear—Richard Flanagan’s work is ‘published in 42 countries’—these descriptions are imprecise in regard to global access because of the overlap between linguistic and national fields. For instance, the United States has two dominant fields, English and Spanish; Canada has two dominant fields, English and French; the official languages of India are English and Hindi but there are 22 other major languages; South Africa officially has eleven languages. So does this mean Flanagan’s work is published in 35 languages in 42 countries? Or 30 languages in 42 countries? Or some other combination?

This study proposes that access to particular combinations of linguistic and national fields within the international licensing field is associated with value, so precise identification of these fields is important. To provide this more accurate assessment, in addition to language and national field, the study uses a third measure, one that accommodates entry into linguistic sub-fields as well as regional fields: ‘territory’. As *Publishing Trendsetter’s* ‘Lifecycle of a Book in Translation’ notes (figure 3), this term defines the space—linguistic and geographic—where a publisher is entitled to distribute a work (publishingtrends.com 2014). In this way, it provides a specificity often lacking in colloquial descriptions of circulation. By not defining this space, global access can be underestimated and so, too, the circulation of Australian literature. Consequently, its value internationally can be similarly under- or mis-estimated. Using a license, and taking advantage of the conditions articulated within and around it, provides this definition for measuring access.

As the rights trade operates within geographic places, linguistic regions, and territorial spaces, the study is ‘cartographic’: it uses the licenses and their conditions to create literal, spatial and conceptual maps. Interpreting these maps requires specific ways of reading which this study does at three different levels, distant, middle and close. By defining, measuring and understanding the extent and type of activity that occurs within the global marketspace, and examining the impact of—and relationship between—the structural elements that determine access into individual fields and eventually, individual marketplaces, and using the concept of cartography and different levels of reading, it becomes possible to produce a new interpretative ‘map of access’ for Australian novels to global marketspaces—and places—in the twenty-first century.

1.5 A circulation hypothesis: Content follows context

The particular type of circulation map this study has produced, the ‘global access map’ (or ‘access map’), demonstrates there has been an increase in the trade of international rights for Australian novels published between 2000—2015 (the period and focus of this study) and provides evidence to suggest how this increase has happened. This study proposes that the trade in rights is determined as a result of a multi-level decision-making process, which begins with contextual decisions. Content—‘fabulous writing’ or ‘Australian-ness’—is at the end of the list: content follows context. In particular, the study contends that the international rights trade has a particular logic which is determined at three descending levels, each of which informs the next and involves cultural, commercial and geographical constraints. These constraints are visible at a global level, in international trade agreements and repeated attempts to modify territorial copyright laws as they relate to the book trade. At a national level, these constraints can be seen in a focus on value, associating it with domestic success and literary fiction. At a local level, the constraints can be seen as spatial, what Geoffrey Blainey described as ‘the tyranny of distance’ in his 1967 book of the same name.

The central hypothesis of this study is that the rights trade from Australia is conducted in relation to these conditions and the increase in ‘global access’ can be demonstrated by changes to the constraints at all three levels, as well the interplay between them. These levels are:

- a) **International:** power structures stemming from colonial legacies being challenged resulting in the opportunity to trade rights more widely.
- b) **National:** commercialisation of the publishing industry leading to an increase in the range of categories of works traded.
- c) **Local:** technological changes and digital developments leading to an increase in the number and categories of works offered, and easier and faster global connection.

In short, these constraints stem from historically-informed alliances, perceptions of value and communication limitations. For authors and works published in Australia looking to enter the international market, being Australian presents a set of unique conditions, quite different from those associated with entering the domestic market.

In his influential and provocative work *Graphs, Maps and Trees*, Italian-American scholar Franco Moretti demonstrates how ‘you make a map of the book and everything changes’ (Moretti 2005, 36). Such a map was created for this study, only it is of many books, and consists of many maps, and the result is not about the content, but the measurable conditions of their trade. Documenting the international journeys of a sample of Australian books, all contemporary novels, this study’s map provides a way to investigate where these works went, what ‘routes’ they took, and the reasons they took these routes. This map—and these journeys—form the basis of this study.

As a data-driven materialist work of digitally-enabled literary cartography (both representational and post-representational), the methods by which the license-based, multi-faceted global access map is produced, and its contents, mean the study intervenes in multiple current disciplinary, methodological and literary discussions. Rather than challenging literary approaches, the approach parallels questions about Australian literature’s place within the world literary space and provides a material contextual counterpoint to questions about the relationship between domestic content and global access.

The purpose of this chapter, ‘Introduction: Australian novels, international value’, has been to provide background to the rights trade from Australia, establish its importance, and describe the study’s method of measuring this trade, as well as its approach to understanding why this trade has increased. The following chapter, ‘Research background:

Competing accounts of circulation’, examines the way circulation has been measured and studied. It proposes that existing approaches have limited the way circulation has been both valued and understood. It shows how using cultural exchange as a value metric and international licenses as a measure can offer a powerful new way to understand circulation and so better understand the value of Australian literature in the global marketspace (and world literary space).

The study uses a complex interpretative framework. As this study made both additions and modifications to an existing framework so as to understand the trade in rights as practiced from Australia in the twenty-first century, a separate chapter explicates this framework. ‘Conceptual frames: Understanding access’, introduces a three-tiered sociological model developed to interpret the impact of the global, national and local on cultural exchange through book translations, but not the international rights trade itself. This third chapter shows how by modifying this model, a new conceptual approach can be developed that is capable of capturing the specificities of the rights trade. This chapter argues that the concepts of the ‘global marketspace’ and ‘international licensing field’, both developed for use in this study, ensure the full complexity of the trade can be described and thus understood. These concepts, and frames, this chapter concludes, can be understood as ‘literary cartography’, which engages with both traditional geographic and ‘post-representational’ cartography, while the map ‘reading’ is shown to happen at the multiple levels highlighted above, reflecting the frames themselves.

‘Describing the data: measuring access and influence’, the fourth chapter, demonstrates in detail how the data used to establish global access is drawn from the unique properties of the license itself. It shows how as a license is at once material and symbolic, evidence of licensing transactions can be drawn from different sources. Using previously uncollated media deal announcements, previously unreleased publisher records and bibliographic data from a subscription only set, this chapter shows how the study’s rights ‘transaction’ set is constructed from three complementary sub-sets. The license’s conditional aspect means that a work’s contents provide different kinds of global access evidence, while its primary elements—work, author, publisher—provide links to structural factors believed to influence the trade, such as awards and bestseller lists. On this basis, this study also creates an ‘influence’ data set, which consists of seven sub-sets, all of which are also

introduced in this chapter, along with the database in which the data from both sets is collated, and the analysis methods by which the transactions are measured and the links between them discovered.

The transaction set data is examined in 'Examining access: Four accounts of access', where its constituent parts are described and analysed to reveal how each of the three sources provide different accounts of global access. By combining the data that creates these accounts, this fifth chapter creates a 'transaction map'. It is this particular map that provides an empirical basis by which the study establishes how global Australian literature is and shows how this access is far more extensive than previously understood, but also far more category-driven and gendered, albeit not in the same way as the domestic field.

This 'transaction map' is explored in terms of its whole and its constituent parts in the sixth, seventh and eighth chapters, where it is also built upon and becomes, by turn, geographic, cultural and spatial. This multi-faceted approach to mapping access allows the routes to global access to be discovered and the rationale for their use examined: in other words, what begins as an account of transactions is transformed into an account that incorporates the conditions that determine these transactions.

The discovery process begins at the macro level in the sixth chapter, 'Global systems: The importance of power', which explores the transactions—and access—by language (linguistic field), country (national field) and work category. This approach demonstrates the way in which global inequalities in three world-systems can be observed to determine access—in the first instance—with significant ramifications for the trade in Australian novels, due to its differing co-ordinates in each system.

The process continues at the mezzo level in 'National fields: The value of consecration', where two of the influence data sub-sets are introduced to show how different kinds of value—conferred by awards, inclusion on domestic bestseller lists, and international deals—increase the likelihood of access at an individual level but only for certain categories of works. Moreover, this exploration reveals there are some marked differences between the works that are successful on the domestic field and those that succeed internationally.

In the following chapter, 'Local networks: The essential role of communication', the focus switches to the micro level where five additional data sub-sets and a single account of access—a modified actor-network—provide the basis from which to interrogate roles of companies, agents and the concept of agency itself. It is at this level, this chapter demonstrates, that access can be understood as an ongoing process of interventions and transformations, dependent on—and subject to—multiple types of connections: that is, it shows the process as dynamic and for this reason, vulnerable.

The study ends with 'Conclusion: Understanding the conditions of access' which argues that this new account of global access—and routes to access by author, work, category and year—provides a new way of understanding circulation through different forms of mapping: this, in turn, provides another way of understanding the value of Australian literature in the world literary sphere and thus, the material value of Australian creative culture on the international stage.

1.6 Mapping the international value of Australian novels

This study interrogates the extent, reach and the conditions of the global circulation of contemporary Australian literature as a way to discover its value on the international stage. While there is limited evidence available, and a perception of limited circulation, there is also evidence to suggest that the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century saw a significant increase in global access by extent and by reach. This increase suggests that Australian literature has an international value: in other words, that it is taken seriously. Analysis of the global access map produced for this study confirms there has been an increase, while the routes made evident by this map suggest its value is subject to particular conditions unique to being produced in, and licensed from, Australia.

This study's alternative perspective acknowledges the interconnected roles of cultural, commercial and geographical factors without prioritising any one factor. In this way, the account of access this study creates provides a more 'global' view of the circulation of contemporary Australian novels than has been previously available. Exploring this particular account of circulation and assessing the different routes to access in the early twenty-first century reveals an international literary narrative that runs counter to the domestic narrative in which men receive more critical attention, literary novels are in

decline, and prestige is not associated with commerce or genre. In this way, by measuring the circulation of novels, the study provides a mechanism by which to reimagine gender and critical attention, the relationship between prestige and commerce, and perhaps the value of Australian culture itself.

2 Research background: Competing accounts of circulation

In 1973, Patrick White was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. In the press release, the Swedish Academy praised White ‘for an epic and psychological narrative art which has introduced a new continent into literature’ (Swedish Academy n.d.). A year later, the sub-heading of a review of White’s novel *The Eye of the Storm* (1973) in America’s *New Republic* read ‘Patrick Who? From Where?’ (Wolfe 1974). This was not ignorance, at least not the reviewer’s ignorance. As David Carter and Roger Osbourne argue, it was a pointed comment suggesting that White, and by extension Australian literature, were not as well-known as they should be (Carter and Osbourne 2018, 312).

Officially, White remains the only author to be an Australian citizen at the time of winning the Nobel Prize for Literature. Yet White was born in the United Kingdom and his work was published in the United Kingdom and distributed into Australia throughout his lifetime. Australia was certainly one of his subjects and his nationality was Australian but just as Colleen McCullough’s *The Thorn Birds* can be conceptualised as coming from the American literary space, from a material perspective, and as a novelist, White might more usefully be seen as part of the British literary space.

In the context of her study of film and television adaptation rights, Simone Murray proposes ‘a lack of attention to production contexts has compromised current understandings of adaptation’ (Murray 2011, 12-13). Wilson claimed that ‘although the translation of Australian literature overseas is a significant area of literary production it remains largely under-researched’ (Wilson 2013b, 178-179). Paying attention to the production contexts as well as the distribution methods reveals how an understanding of the circulation of Australian literature has been compromised: it also suggests an alternative approach to understanding circulation. This can be done by exploring the questions: How has circulation been measured? How does defining the terms of circulation offer another way to understand circulation? What does the concept of exchange reveal? A production and distribution-based cartographic approach can allow competing theories to be reconciled, global circulation to be measured, interpreted—and understood—and a new kind of map of international circulation to be developed, one in which Australia may not be at the centre but it can be made central.

2.1 How circulation has been measured: Revenue, activity and access

One of the reasons for the various competing theories about circulation introduced in the previous chapter relates to the way circulation has been measured. The choice of indicator determines the way in which international circulation is measured and the value of individual country outputs ascertained. There are three potential indicators of this form of circulation for Australian works: revenue, activity and access. The first is an economic approach which positions circulation within the wider industry context, the second sees it in relation to copy sales, while the third focuses on individual international market entry, meaning it is more in line with the approach of scholars studying the world literary sphere (also known as the transnational or international field).

The different accounts these measures provide demonstrate the problematic nature of quantification, often positioned within an economic rationalist market-driven framework, itself part of the neoliberal paradigm; or, the twenty-first century's dominant version of capitalism (Harvey 2007). As a methodological approach increasingly used to measure all types of value, including the kind traditionally understood through qualitative approaches, it has not been universally accepted into the academy. As James F. English proposed in 2010, 'literary studies has shouldered much of the burden of critique and resistance to this encroachment [quantification as the primary model]', to the extent that 'antagonism toward counting has begun to feel like an urgent struggle for survival' (English 2010, xiii). Literary scholars are not alone in their suspicion of counting; those who count, too, express concern about the use of the methodology. The way in which the choice of indicator determines the outcome, for example, is demonstrated in a comparative study of indicators for a corpus of 70,000 books which found considerable differences according to category of work and indicator choice (Halevi, Barnaby and Bar-Ilan 2016). The same study also noted the way in which the use of 'altmetrics'—which aims to capture the influence of alternative indicators of impact (Altmetric n.d.), particularly online attention—is open to manipulation by activities such as publisher marketing (Halevi, Barnaby and Bar-Ilan 2016, 199).

As a way to understand cultural value, the use of metrics has also been the subject of increased attention as the approach has gained prominence, with essay collections such

as *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Management* (2015) describing the range of ways in which the approach is used, as well as some of its critics. In *What Matters? Talking Value in Australian Culture* (Meyrick, Phiddian and Barnett 2018) the authors discuss the results of their three-year research project that considers culture and quantification. They conclude that this trend towards favouring data-driven analysis is problematic: it is not always used appropriately, and it may offer insights but these insights might be misleading, meaning—potentially—that this form of assessment might be damaging (Meyrick, Phiddian and Barnett 2018). This study seeks to understand the international value of Australian culture through measuring the value of the circulation of contemporary literature, so these are valid and important considerations.

In contrast to those who argue against measuring cultural value, this study shows that measurement itself need not be a problem, nor the choice of metric or indicator of value. Instead, the problem is shown to be the prioritising of a single indicator that does not adequately capture the relevant type of value. In the case of Australian literature, the revenue-based financial indicator and domestic activity have effectively overshadowed what this study describes as an ‘access’ indicator. This imbalance has implications for the way circulation is assessed.

2.1.1 Financial: An account in which circulation is marginal

Government and industry rely on revenue data to measure the contribution of businesses, as well as different aspects of their businesses. Since the way in which books circulate internationally in a material sense is through export (copy sales and the licensing of intellectual property), this value is also measured in this way and revenue figures provide an highly visible account of the value of circulation. While key policy decisions are based on revenue figures, those advising the government have acknowledged a surprising lack of statistical data about the book trade in general, including revenue. In 2006, *The Bloom Report* put it this way:

You might expect a \$1.5 billion dollar industry that lives on words to relish every opportunity to talk about itself. Far from it: in fact, there is a distinct shortage of high-quality information about trends and directions in Australian publishing, compared to other industries. (Bowen and Carey 2006, 20)

Moreover, what data there is provides partial accounts determined by period, market segment and publishing category, and perceptions about the value of the export trade in Australian books reflect this. This is particularly evident in the case of the export of intellectual property ('selling rights'). The account generated by the available revenue figures demonstrates how 'selling rights', a form of licensing, has suffered from an ongoing comparison with revenue generated by the sale of books. This study shows how this comparison is misleading, primarily because what revenue data there is tends to focus on the domestic market. This focus is visible in a series of book industry surveys, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) carried out between 1994—2004; the University of Melbourne Book Industry Study (UMBIS) from 2008; *The Bloom Report* (Bowen and Carey 2006); various Australia Council-funded surveys such as *Economic Analysis of Literary Publishing in Australia* (SGS Economics & Planning Pty. Ltd. 2008); research papers such as Macquarie University's *The Australian book industry: Authors, publishers and readers in a time of change* (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015b); and, significantly, in a reliance on A.C. Nielsen's BookScan results.

For a period of ten years, between 1994—2004, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) carried out quantitative research on the Australian book industry, surveying companies 'which either had book publishing as their main activity or generated \$2.0 m or more in income from book publishing' about revenue and production (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 2). These figures, in millions, revealed that the overall value for Australian books, which for the ABS included international works published under an Australian imprint, almost doubled, rising from A\$487.7m in 1994 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996, 1) to A\$750.5m in 2003—4 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005, 5).

The ABS data varies in its level of detail across years, so it is not possible to identify trends about domestic and international activity but one key statistic does stand out. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, export income, which indicates international circulation, was marginal compared to domestic sales and barely increased in the first few years: from 13 percent in 1999—2000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 5) to 14 percent in 2003—4 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005, 5). However, across the ten year period of the ABS surveys, export revenue more than doubled from A\$81.1m in 1994 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996, 1), to A\$190.5m (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005, 5). The

reports do not reveal what drove this increase but what is clear is that it was not the export of intellectual property (rights). In 1999—2000, for example, exports were A\$160.3m, while rights ‘sales’ were reported to be just five percent of this income, A\$7.7m (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 5): the contribution made by international rights in terms of revenue appears negligible.

However, in the Melbourne University Book Industry Study (UMBIS)—a major research and industry-funded project—Jenny Lee, Mark Davis and Leslyn Thompson reviewed the ABS’s methodology. Significantly, they claimed the way the ABS categorised publishers lead to an undervaluing of the industry; they demonstrated how using a more inclusive definition of ‘publisher’ (including those with turnovers under \$2 million) radically increased the number of publishers from ‘between 205 to 244’ in the years 1999—2004, to ‘nearly 4000’ (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 11). However, like the ABS figures, the UMBIS, which drew data from Bowker’s *Books in Print* as well as directly from publishers, also found that exported copies formed a small part of publisher revenue. Unlike the ABS surveys, the UMBIS used survey results to produce a profile of ‘an “average” top 20 firm’ using aggregated data: this profile suggested export to be just 7 percent of revenue (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 31). Of rights, they claimed:

these figures largely confirm what we already know from anecdotal evidence: that book publishers mainly derive their income from selling books, and that rights sales are largely conducted through authors’ agents, with little effect on the publishing firms’ bottom line. (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 35)

However, the UMBIS acknowledged that the contribution to overall revenue made by rights altered according to the size of the company, and for some independent publishers it was comparatively more significant (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 45).

Another industry survey, released the year prior, the *Economic Analysis of Literary Publishing in Australia*, commissioned by the Federal Government’s arts funding body, the Australia Council for the Arts, focused on the state of literary publishing. The 26 publisher respondents who reported income earn an aggregated figure of \$153 million from book sales; however, just \$27.8 million was from work categorised as ‘literary’. Of this figure, the report estimated around \$1.7 million came from what it described as ‘Non-sales income’, primarily ‘royalties or rights’ (SGS Economics & Planning Pty. Ltd. 2008, 3). Again, the

financial contribution made by rights income appears comparatively marginal: as this figure does not identify the type of rights—which potentially include film, audio and other types of rights, not just international rights—international rights appear even more marginal.

This account of a marginal contribution by rights was repeated during the period under investigation in the *Final Report of the Book Industry Strategy Group* (2011). Based on 2010 figures, the accounting firm PriceWaterhouseCoopers valued the industry at \$2.3 billion dollars. Of this, the APA supplied figure quoted in the previous chapter—\$5—10 million—is estimated as coming from rights (Book Industry Strategy Group 2011, 17). A subsequent survey by the Book Industry Collaborative Council (BICC), responding to the proposal to remove PIRs, took a slightly different approach. ‘For some businesses’, the report claimed, ‘export is central to their business model; for others, export revenue is currently a secondary activity.’ The BICC report continued, reiterating a finding from the accounting firm PriceWaterhouseCoopers—as well as the ABS surveys—that the United States, United Kingdom and New Zealand were the most important export markets for Australian publishers. This report also suggested there were ‘significant potential opportunities for export into non-English language markets’ (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 24). Export, in this sense, is copies. While Appendix 1 of the BICC report reprinted the results of a survey into international rights and co-editions, it acknowledged that rights information was not easily available and they were providing a ‘snapshot’ (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 24). However, Appendix 2 of this same report included case studies of successful international rights activity and claimed that ‘Australian publishers currently lack exposure to these new markets and lack the knowledge, skills and training required to build the necessary relationships.’ (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 24). This account suggested not only limited activity, and acknowledged its assessment was made on limited data, it nevertheless provided advice that suggested limited ability: this study suggests this is not the situation.

Of all the data sources on the Australian book industry at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the most informative annual summary has come from the magazine *Books + Publishing*, which since 2003 has presented an annual market overview based on information from a variety of sources including parent company Thorpe-Bowker’s

bibliographic database, *Australian Books in Print*, the ABS figures and the sales monitoring system, A.C. Nielsen's BookScan. This overview has regularly included statistics on market size, book production numbers and sales figures. It has supported the UMBIS identification of a comparatively high number of domestic publishers (not surprising as it used the same source for information, *Australian Books in Print*); it has also shown a substantial increase in the number of books being published in Australia over the period. Between 2007—2010, an almost 25 percent increase in production was reported, with the figures rising from 14,258 to 19,831 (Coronel and Rankin 2011, 4). Like the ABS numbers, however, these production figures include international works for which Australian distribution rights have been acquired by Australian publishers. Generally, as Coronel and Rankin suggested in 2011, the increase in production reflects the self-publishing trend which made e-books an additional, rather than separate, format. However, as useful and informative as these industry overviews are, the focus is largely domestic: in these accounts, the international production of Australian works—rights 'sales'—goes largely unrecorded.

2.1.2 Activity: An account which makes circulation invisible

Where accounts of the international circulation of Australian works during the period suggest marginal and limited activity, this is in stark contrast to the account of domestic sales. From 2000, these sales have been tracked by the point of sale monitoring system BookScan. Michael Webster, who was responsible for setting up the Australian division of the company claimed in an interview that it was made possible by the introduction of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) in the same year, as shop cash registers needed to electronically monitor stock to comply with this law (Webster 2018), a law which, controversially, applied to books sold in Australia, but not those sold online.

Much has been written about the negative aspects of BookScan. This is effectively illustrated by Knox's essay in *The Monthly* titled 'The ExFactor: BookScan and the death of the Australian novelist' (Knox 2005). Brigid Magner, assessing the impact of ten years of BookScan on Australian publishing, provided a comprehensive summary of what might be called the system's 'demonisation' process, arguing that literary fiction was not as popular as it seemed in previous decades due to the ad hoc manner in which bestseller lists were constructed (Magner 2012, 248). She also quoted publisher Jane Palfreyman's

observation that BookScan only covered 28 percent of the independent bookselling sector (Magner 2012, 249). Others have drawn attention to BookScan's inability to capture some key non-trade sales. In 2013, for instance, book trade journalist Tim Coronel pointed out there was 'still no reliable mechanism to measure ebook and online sales' (Coronel 2013, 4).

Despite the wide spread scholarly and media attention given to BookScan's influence in publishing trends, comparatively little attention has been paid to BookScan's role in marginalising other less easily quantifiable aspects of the trade. This may be due to trade sales becoming so visible that NewSouth Press publisher, Philippa McGuinness, could claim in 2018 that the industry was now fully transparent (McGuinness 2018). In an interview published on the Australian writing podcast, *The Garrett*, McGuinness discusses author careers in terms of copy sales and BookScan figures. She implies sales are the only indicator that matters in measuring an author's value to a publishing house (McGuinness 2018). McGuinness' point is that where once agents and publishers could exaggerate sales figures, BookScan has made this difficult. A similar point was made in early scholarly work on BookScan. At the time of its introduction into the American market in 2002, Titania Hutton wrote that some feared it would replace bestseller lists, while noting it was not actually clear how bestsellers lists were put together (Hutton 2002, 48). What McGuinness did not say—nor have others—is that BookScan only makes exaggeration difficult in relation to domestic sales. It is a view that suggests, essentially, that there is only one market that matters: the domestic market, the one that can be seen, easily measured and, it is to be assumed, understood.

If, over the period under review by this study, the aggregated data suggest that rights make a marginal contribution in terms of overall revenue, and the lack of production data suggest they make no contribution, the visibility of BookScan ensures the industry's focus remains on domestic activity. Moreover, while the industry has been able to measure the domestic trade during the period, all the industry has known of rights trade activity is the limited amount publicly reported, information from occasional surveys of particular industry groups, and details of the transactions they, themselves (individual publishers or agents) have made, so it has not been able to be measured. In this sense, the international rights trade has become in many ways even less visible and thus, less valued. These 'official'

government and industry figures suggest that, compared to the domestic market, the international circulation of Australian literature is marginal, and has contributed little during the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century. Moreover, the high visibility of domestic sales has served to increase the comparative value of domestic sales, demonstrating the way in which the choice of a value indicator impacts upon perception: using another indicator provides a very different guide to international circulation, and so too of value.

2.1.3 Access: the visible account of international production

Another account of circulation also uses quantification, but instead of a financial or domestic activity-based sales indicator, it uses an 'access' indicator. This indicator, which describes international access in terms of international production, rather than in terms of revenue or market reception, provides a far more detailed picture of the circulation of Australian literature; or rather, it provides a number of different more detailed maps. These maps are produced by the media (mainstream and trade) and by scholars (local and international), and come from industry surveys, as well as individual author, work and language studies. Together, they provide a rich, diverse account of international engagement and suggest a much higher level of access than the financial and sales activity accounts.

Media accounts of access: A mixed message

During the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century, the mainstream (legacy) media has paid attention to the international circulation of Australian literature. However, the focus has been on authors seen as 'newsworthy': authors who won international prizes, such as Peter Carey and Richard Flanagan after their Booker Prize and Man Booker Prize wins in 2001 and 2014 for, respectively, *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000) and *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2013); authors who received six and seven figure international advances, such as Chloe Hooper with *A Child's Book of True Crime* (2002), and Hannah Kent with *Burial Rites* (2013); and those authors whose works have appeared on international bestsellers lists, such as Graeme Simsion and Liane Moriarty, both of whom have had their work on the prestigious *The New York Times* bestseller list—Simsion with *The Rosie Project* (2013) and Moriarty with *Big Little Lies* (2014), *Truly Madly Guilty* (2016) and *The Husband's Secret* (2013).

When this media focus has been on ‘global access’, works licensed so they can be reproduced internationally, the tendency has been to discuss authors who achieve wide access. This focus has given the impression that both international success and global ‘access’ are uncommon for Australian authors and works, a story of exceptions: this study demonstrates this is not the case.

The publishing trade media, while it has focused on ‘access’ (the rights trade), has provided a conflicting account of Australian access. Using the search word ‘Australian’ on 5 September, 2017, an online search of the sites of key sources of trade publishing industry information during the period (*The Bookseller*, *Publishers Weekly* and *Publishers Lunch*), revealed relatively little access. However, in these accounts less high profile authors appear, implying access to be more common than the mainstream media suggests: an implication that the findings of this study support.

Books + Publishing, the long-running Australian book trade magazine (called *Bookseller + Publisher* between 2006-2006, and, before that, *Australian Bookseller & Publisher*), also confirms a lack of access is not the case. This magazine paid relatively little attention to international rights in 2000 but as the decade progressed, this changed. The ‘Wheeling & Dealing’ column, which suggested publishers and agents email the magazine ‘to crow about your rights deals’ (*Australian Bookseller & Publisher* 2004c, 64), became monthly from August, 2004. It moved from the back of the magazine towards the front. By the end of the period, deals were being reported online weekly. Progressively more articles were published about the international rights trade too, and in 2003, *Books + Publishing* launched *Think Australian*. This supplement has one main aim: ‘to provide information about rights sales of Australian books to [an] audience at the Frankfurt Book Fair’ (*Books + Publishing* n.d.). In 2004, the magazine introduced an annual survey of rights activity, the results of which are published in *Think Australian*. This survey increased the profile of the trade in rights to Australian works by publishing an annual account of access. It provides information about international access by language and country, giving an annual ‘top ten’ list of trading partners by revenue and deal number, a ‘top ten’ of ‘conduits’ to international access, information on trends within and between multiple categories including children’s, non-fiction and fiction, and details of author advance payments. The result is that throughout the period, *Books + Publishing* (*B + P*) in its various

versions, has been responsible for creating multiple and informative accounts of the rights trade, and thus of access.⁴

Comparing these accounts by year reveals fluctuations in markets, growth areas and areas of decline, although the United Kingdom, United States and Germany are consistently important, as are the major book fairs—Frankfurt and London—and Bologna, the children’s literature book fair. However, as the methodology of the surveys has never been made clear, it is difficult to know what these accounts mean. What is clear is that they represent a public account and—read in conjunction with the ‘Wheeling & Dealing’ column, as well as the magazine’s feature articles—they describe an Australian publishing industry that is widely engaged internationally and trading actively. While this account is not designed to be interrogated or to reveal, easily, the extent of this engagement, this study shows that it is high.

Scholarly accounts of access: Partial accounts of circulation

In contrast to the media accounts, there are a number of scholarly accounts of circulation during the period which do reveal the extent of international engagement. Large scale bibliographic databases with information about circulation became not only more available, but publicly and externally accessible, allowing new data-driven studies to contribute to existing archive-based work, while claims of studies that draw on the data for quantitative analysis have been able to be checked.

Multiple bibliographic databases provide evidence of the international circulation of literature, so can be used to understand circulation. Some are national, such as *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* in the Netherlands, France’s *Bibliographie nationale française*, and Germany’s *Deutsche Nationalbibliografie*; others are scholarly, including the North American *Translation Database*, now hosted by the book trade magazine *Publishers Weekly*, which introduces it as:

The only resource of its kind, the Translation Database was founded in 2008 by Three Percent and Open Letter Books at the University of Rochester to

⁴ Unless quoting from a specific issue, for clarity this study refers to the magazine by its current name, *Books + Publishing*, or simply as *B + P* as it is commonly known.

track all original publications of fiction and poetry published in the U.S. in English translation. (*Publishers Weekly* n.d.)

Translating Networks, in contrast, is a database designed to trace global translator connections (Childress, Beebee and Weidman n.d.). Unlike the *Translation Database*, it is a linked open data graph database, so can draw on external sources.

One of the oldest and most widely used bibliographic databases is the *Index Translationum*. At the beginning of the period under review, *Publishing Research Quarterly* published an article which marked the *Index*'s 50th anniversary. The article claimed that through this easily accessed site, 'UNESCO provides both scholars and the general public with an irreplaceable tool for making bibliographic inventories of translations on a global scale' (Naravane 1999), and while Johan Heibron noted in 2000 that its contents 'do not match official figures in specific countries [so] it is unclear to what extent they are comparable internationally', he conceded that 'these figures are the only international data which are available' (Heilbron 2000, 13). A search of the *Index Translationum* in November 2017, by language ('English') and by country ('Australia'), of the years between 2000—2015 delivers just 105 records. In other words, the account this database provides of Australian literature in translation is of relative invisibility. This might be due to a European focus, however the page 'Contributions from countries' listed the current state of indexing: material from Australia for the years '2007, 2008 and 2009 is currently being processed by the INDEX team' (*Index Translationum* n.d.). The relative invisibility might also be related to where the information has been sourced. Conversely, it could be seen in terms of an industry and scholarly lack of engagement with the *Index* team. What is clear is that there are no 'official figures' from Australia to check these records against.

The account provided by the Australian literature database (*AustLit*), the closest Australia has to an official record, however, bears no relation to the *Index Translationum*'s minimal account. Developed from 1999, *AustLit* states as its mission 'to be the definitive information resource and research environment for Australian literary, print, and narrative cultures' (*AustLit* n.d.). It is, as the 'About' section of the site explains, a collaborative project 'between Australian universities, the National Library of Australia and the Australian Research Council'. It contains extensive information on Australian

works, including details of associated international editions. As the information page on the *AustLit* site also explains:

the partner universities that made up the collaborative endeavour that is AustLit have [previously] invested heavily in indexing and describing published works in print and online. Unfortunately, in light of the reduction in our funding in recent years and the ever increasing amount of online publishing, we have been forced to make a difficult decision and alter our indexing practices. (*AustLit* n.d.)

As a result of funding cuts, the site also makes clear, *AustLit*'s data collection model has shifted from comprehensive to project-based, changing the nature of the account this database provides. Nevertheless, it is an important account that represents the 'official' scholarly account of access for Australian works. However, while the database describes publisher names, alternative work names, and translator details, there is no facility on *AustLit* for recording transactional information, so this database cannot be used to discover either responsibility for access or the terms of transactions.

The move away from *AustLit*'s comprehensive indexing has been counterbalanced by an increasing interest in the area of global trade flows of Australian work, which is visible in an increasing number of large-scale studies. Katherine Bode's distant reading, data-driven study focused on Australian production within its international context and produced *Reading by Numbers* (2012) as well as a data set which is available on *AustLit*. In contrast, transnational relationships have been the focus of Carter and Osbourne's major longitudinal Anglophone study, *America Publishes Australia: Australian Books and American Publishers, 1890—2005*, one outcome of which has been *Australian books and authors in the American marketplace 1840s—1940s* (2018). Monash University's Rita Wilson has been involved in both phases of *Windows on Australia*, a study designed 'to advance understanding of Australia's global role in literary production and clarify the marketability of Australian cultural exports to non-English-speaking countries' (Wilson and West-Pavlov n.d.). The goals of the *Windows on Australia* study in many ways align with the goals of this study: to discover what Australian literature has circulated, and why this happens. The rationale of the *Windows on Australia* project is explained on *AustLit*:

By mapping these [global] exchanges, research will inform publishers, literary agents, authors, professional translators, and members of the public about the

development and evolution of trends, norms, and perceptions pertaining to Australia's cultural contributions. (Wilson and West-Pavlov n.d.)

These contributions represent four languages. What this means, to use the *Windows on Australia* phrase, is that what is known about the material factors that enable these 'cultural contributions' to the global stage is considered through the outcomes associated with findings relating to individual languages. Each of these projects provide an account of access, but none take a 'global' approach to understanding the circulation of Australian literature.

Effectively, this style of account does not provide, or aim to produce, a global (or even literal) 'map' of access. Moreover, these studies take a broad definitional approach to both international circulation and Australian work. This definition is more useful than that of the ABS surveys in which international works licensed by Australian publishers are included in Australian production outputs and revenue figures. As licensing from Australia is not the focus of the ABS surveys, the approach precludes understanding the mechanics of circulation as it happens for works originating in Australia, rather than licensed for Australian distribution: this study demonstrates the difference between the two. Conversely, scholars who take a bibliographic approach to understanding access using the *AustLit* database structure have been precluded from incorporating transactional elements of circulation into their analysis. Just as the revenue and activity indicators imply income generation is of more value than international engagement, the unintentional effect of a bibliographic database structure is to give the fact of access priority over the process of access: this study demonstrates how combining the two approaches provides a way to measure value.

Developing an understanding of international circulation and combining these two approaches, which can be categorised as 'extent' and 'transactional', is not a common approach, but there is evidence that it is receiving more attention in Australia. In March 2019, Macquarie University announced a survey jointly funded by the University, the Copyright Agency and the Australia Council. Led by cultural economists David Throsby, Paul Crosby and Jan Zwar, the announcement for the study states: "The new research will include a survey of publishers and agents, and a series of case studies of author, agency and publisher experiences with the sale of international rights" (Macquarie University

2019). Unlike this study, the Macquarie study's aim is not to position access within a global comparative context or conceptual frame, but within a nationally competitive context so as to reveal a hidden story of international success, one that this study reveals in regard to novels, but in a different way and with a focus on global access rather than global success. Moreover, the Macquarie study begins in 2008: a year which the data in this study identifies as one of the peaks in global access for Australian literature.

Internationally, there is more of a large-scale focus on the global aspect of international access, although this focus also often fails to combine fact and process. The *Index Translationum*, national databases and the North American *Translation Database* all take a wider quantitative comparative approach and focus on multiple languages, yet like *AustLit* exclude transactional elements. There is also a tendency for European studies to suggest that the United States and United Kingdom ('the Anglo-American field') represent the English language field, a field usually positioned in terms of linguistic and hegemonic dominance. The *Translation Database*'s original name, the *Three Percent Database*, came from the percentage of works shown to be translated into the Anglo-American field, while translation scholar Lawrence Venuti's 1995 comment about the value of translators continues to be widely cited. He puts the situation in blunt terms:

The translator's invisibility is symptomatic of a complacency in Anglo-American relations with cultural others, a complacency that can be described—without too much exaggeration—as imperialist abroad and xenophobic at home.' (Venuti 1995, 17)

Major studies of these two markets, such as John B. Thompson's *Merchants of Culture* (2010), also employ this same Anglo-American focus. In his study, Australia appears as a footnote. As Thompson puts it, 'there are of course countries other than the United States and Britain within the international field of English-language publishing' (Thompson 2010, 12). However, Australia remains a key export market for British publishers, a group for whom export is important: as the Publishers Association reported in 2017, exports constituted '43% of book turnover' (Publishers Association n.d.). Overall, this focus neglects the contributions to the global market from smaller English language markets, ensuring their differences from the larger, more dominant, markets remain invisible as well. While post-colonial scholars have focused on the global circulation of post-colonial literature, the focus tends not to be the trade in rights; rather, it is the rationale for that

trade. In *The Post-colonial Exotic*, for example, British scholar Graham Huggan proposes that for writers from India exoticism ‘functions as a sales-tag in the context of today’s globalised commodity culture’ (Huggan 2001, ix). This situation in itself provides a rationale for more research into this area from these smaller markets, including Australia, a market with a very different access profile and rationale to the larger English language fields, as this study demonstrates.

More widely, attempts to collect global publishing figures to understand the material circulation of books have long been limited due to the difficulty in obtaining not just reliable data but any data. There is a move towards genuinely multinational, multilingual data-driven studies. While individual publishing associations collect figures (the Publishers Association, for example, and the International Publishers Association) these tend to be available for members only or only available at a price, with any published overviews brief, tending to focus on revenue. If ‘the global’ is considered in access terms which can be measured by translation rights activity, some of the most ‘global’ (and publicly available) studies during this period are the *Diversity Reports* produced by Austrian publishing consultant, Rüdiger Wischenbart and collaborators covering the years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2016 and 2018. These reports, too, are necessarily partial accounts, developed from available resources, rather than comprehensive sources, as the introduction to the first report makes clear.

This report compiles and analyses statistics on books in translation across Europe over a period of more than 25 years (1979 to 2005, and in some aspects until 2008) and is based on the UNESCO Index Translationem [sic] as well as separate national book market statistics in Austria, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, and Poland. (Wischenbart, Jursitzky and Muriale 2008, 3)

Wischenbart, too, is involved in *BookMap*, a recent—and ambitious—collaborative project that attempts to follow global publishing outputs from a quantitative perspective (P. Anderson 2018). The project’s launch report, *How big is global publishing? A Bird’s Eye Perspective*, suggests that these outputs can be measured by revenue and production (Wischenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017). This report also acknowledges, again, that data remains difficult to obtain: it is, therefore, an account, but not comprehensive. While Australia appears at number fourteen of the twenty largest publishing industries (Wischenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 10), this is based on figures from 2013; the North American figures with

which it is compared are from 2016. Production too, just as it is in the ‘literary decline’ debate, is measured in its individual national terms, as a domestic output, and does not include production as an international output, in the sense of rights transactions. Hence *BookMap* perpetuates the dominance of revenue and national accounts as indicators of value by making global access comparatively less visible.

2.1.4 Reconciling measurements: Revenue, activity and access

This overview of different accounts of circulation demonstrates the way in which this study engages with the quantification debate, by showing that a choice of indicator has a profound impact on the way the value of rights has been measured and allocated. It also shows how a solution is not to turn from quantification but to employ an additional indicator, in this case that of ‘global access’. By providing an alternative and complementary perspective, this study is able to challenge aspects of existing accounts that position rights in terms of revenue, domestic sales, Anglo-American accounts, bibliographic information and success. This perspective shows how the international circulation of contemporary Australian literature when measured by international access offers a far richer account than revenue and activity alone, one which can answer questions about how Australian culture, seen through literature, is valued internationally and contextualise this within larger global discussions.

2.2 How circulation has been defined: Availability and acceptance

Understanding of the way international literature circulates even when visible and measured by ‘global access’ has been limited by a focus on reception without simultaneously focusing on production. In particular, understanding of circulation has been limited by a narrow focus on the relationship between production and reception and the mechanisms which enable works to enter the international literary space. While the works themselves can be understood as circulating and maps can be constructed from circulation data, without accounting for the structural factors, theories developed about such a map’s composition are necessarily limited. However, by studying rights as an international trade and defining the precise way in which works circulate, a more precise account of global access, rather than just circulation, can be drawn. Moreover, the way in

which this map is constructed can be studied and this process incorporated into the way circulation might be understood, and Australian literature valued.

2.2.1 Distribution: An indicator of availability

Analysis of the different ways in which circulation has been understood and measured demonstrates that circulation is often considered in terms of availability: this availability can be seen as a comparative contribution and also studied as a fact via revenue, activity and access. Entry to the international space, however, does not necessarily indicate acceptance into this space: in terms of understanding global access, and the value associated with this access, making this distinction is important but often not seen in this way. Databases such as Australia's *AustLit*, UNESCO's *Index Translationum* and the *Translation Database* all describe access into the international space in bibliographic terms, but as previously discussed omit the transactional elements associated with this access; large scale studies such as *Windows on Australia* which document cultural exchange do the same. This means that studies often consider entry into the international space as a sign of access, yet this study identifies three kinds of entry: distribution, issuing and rights. It proposes that only the last represents truly 'global access'.

In trade publishing, the term 'export' can apply either to the export of intellectual property or to the distribution of copies, either physically or digitally ('distribution'). Government bodies, such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) make a distinction (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002, 5); some other bodies do not. The 2013 Book Industry Collaborative Council's Report on the international trade, for example, was provided by what is described as an 'expert export reference group' (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 111). Trade media too is less than clear. This is illustrated in the introduction to an article on international activity in 2008: 'For the sixth year in a row *Think Australian* has surveyed Australian rights managers and literary agents to gauge the health of Australian book *exports* [author's italics]' (*Think Australian* 2008b, 8). However, in publishing, the term 'export' generally represents the international sale of finished copies; sometimes these copies are designed for this purpose. Just as British publishers once produced editions designed for export to 'their' colonial markets—a practice that lasted from 1843 to 1972 (Johanson 2000)—contemporary American publishers, such as Penguin

Random House, produce editions designed only for the ‘export’ market, as illustrated in the catalogue screenshot of covers from 2016 (figure 4).

Figure 4. Export edition catalogues produced by Penguin Random House (USA)



Credit: Penguin Random House International Sales (Penguin Random House n.d.)

In contrast, in trade publishing ‘rights’ normally means licensing volume and subsidiary rights. While all rights are licensed, the ‘licensing’ is more often reserved to refer to merchandising rights: this distinction is made evident by Owen, who devotes a chapter to this type of subsidiary right in *Selling Rights* (Owen 2010, 296-305). When imprint information differs for individual editions, it is often thought to indicate a separate license but this is not always so, as in the case of work by Michael Rowbotham and the imprint Sphere. *AustLit* indexers list ‘Sphere’ as an imprint of Hachette Australia, part of the multinational group Hachette Livre, yet—at the time of writing—Sphere is not a global imprint but an imprint within the Little, Brown division of the Hachette UK group, Rowbotham’s publisher. Describing Sphere as an Australian imprint gives the impression Rowbotham has an Australian publisher, whereas it seems he is grateful to have a British one, telling *Bookseller + Publisher* in 2007 that he was ‘fortunate enough to be “discovered” in the UK’ (Groom 2007, 45). Technically what he has in Australia is a printer and distributor. While Hachette UK’s Rights Director Diane Spivey asked in 2007: ‘Are HarperCollins UK or U.S.’s [sic] books published or distributed by HarperCollins Australia?’ (Spivey 2007, 120), implying for some (large) publishers there need be no

difference—in terms of attention—there is a difference in terms of the way access can be measured and identified.

More broadly, this conflation between types of access is demonstrated by the reported frustration of researchers engaged to count editions of Australian works for the second phase of the *Windows on Australia* study. When they reached the Italian editions of Australian romance titles, they were overwhelmed by works from Mills & Boon. In their report to the Copyright Agency (CAL), Wilson and her collaborator on this second stage, Leah Gerber, declare why they decided not to include these editions in their study of Australian works in translation:

one must consider that recording books which tend to have little more than a four week shelf life contributes little to a survey of translated Australian literature. (Wilson and Gerber 2011, 9)

The ‘shelf-life’ rationale is one way to exclude a category of works beyond the scope of the project. However, in an environment in which all works have an increasingly short shelf life—‘about six weeks’ was one publisher’s estimate (Thompson 2010, 266)—this is problematic.

The approach also immediately excludes a category of works associated with women authors: an analysis of 429 works from the Harlequin group with international editions extracted from *AustLit* for this study shows just nine to be written by men (that is, just 2 percent). This means that the decision to exclude works from Mills & Boon (a subsidiary company of Harlequin) impacts upon any gender analysis of the *Windows* data set, as translations are a form of critical attention. This omission is potentially significant in a period when extensive analysis of critical attention has demonstrated women authors to have received less than men. North America’s 2017 VIDA Count of book reviews in ‘15 major print publications’, for example, showed ‘8 out of 15 publications, failed to publish enough women writers to make up even 40% of their publication’s run in 2017’: their survey also revealed that the prestigious journal *The New York Review of Books* had the most pronounced gender disparity [...] with only 23.3% of published writers who are women’ (King and Clark 2018). In the same year, in Australia, the Stella Count, which measures critical attention and gender by counting book reviews in 12 publications,

revealed a slight decline in attention to women authors after five years of moving towards parity (Lamond and Harvey n.d.).

By focusing on the mechanics of circulation, the decision to exclude these works might be understood in a different way, one that affirms it was the right decision without (further) complicating the gender debate. *Windows on Australia* researchers describe Mills & Boon editions: an imprint within the Harlequin group. When NewsCorp acquired Harlequin in 2014, another NewsCorp publishing company, HarperCollins Publishers (USA), issued a press release. It refers to the way in which Harlequin's work circulates internationally:

Harlequin is one of the world's leading publishers of women's fiction, with titles issued worldwide in 34 languages and sold in over 100 international markets. (Crum 2014)

The use of the term 'issued' is significant. It is not licensing, nor selling, nor distributing copies, reprinted locally (as with Rowbotham's work and the Sphere imprint): it is something else again. In this context, it is highly likely that the editions the *Windows on Australia* researchers were seeing were not the examples of cultural exchange enabled through translation which the project was seeking, but instead copies that were 'issued'. The term 'issued' suggests a form of cultural imperialism: works that are 'issued' might constructively be seen as part of a globalisation process, rather than examples of works that achieve 'global access' through cultural exchange. This distinction provides another rationale to exclude the works from the *Windows* study, one which does not rely on a 'value' judgement.

It is highly likely that this same 'issuing' phenomenon has impacted upon the work of other scholars seeking to understand circulation through studying international editions. When David Carter examined *AustLit* bibliographic data to analyse genre flows between Australia and the United States between 2000—2009, for example, he concluded that while works of fantasy and romance circulate extensively in this transnational environment, 'Crime with its taste for the local, comes a relatively distant third' (Carter 2010, 357). The data appeared to be describing works circulating under the same conditions, as the Australian and international imprints were different, but they may have been circulating under very different conditions, ones that potentially determine that

circulation: it is for this reason that the present study excludes Harlequin (and Mills & Boon) works.

2.2.2 Licensing rights: An indicator of acceptance

The problems associated with ‘issuing’ and the confusion or conflation of ‘rights’ with ‘export’ are increasingly important, as globalisation and technology—factors that have commercialised the industry and, this study argues, enabled the development of the rights trade—have also led to an increase in the ability to export copies. Multinational company relationships potentially do mean wider availability: e-books can be released globally by putting codes in metadata fields, while print-on-demand enables copies to be printed locally rather than shipped, reducing costs. In the publishing industry, the increasing trend for companies to acquire more rights to ensure ‘global alignment’—as Richard Charkin, executive director of Bloomsbury, has described it (Jones 2011)—reinforces the concept that what is important is international availability (an edition chosen by a national publisher to become globally available according to that publisher’s requirements) rather than global access resulting from exchange (an edition chosen to be made available by publishers in individual national markets according to their requirements). The analysis of the data used in this study shows that distinguishing between availability and acceptance matters for the success of individual books, and hence for Australian literature more generally.

Distinguishing between the export of copies and export of intellectual property also matters on a conceptual level. Using the language of ‘sales’ suggests that licensing and selling is the same: this is not the case. Selling and licensing are not the same although they are generally positioned this way. Despite rights being licensed, they are usually referred to as being ‘sold’ in publishing.⁵ Lynette Owen’s reference work is called *Selling Rights*; Penguin Australia’s 2009 submission to the Productivity Commission uses the phrase ‘selling of rights’ (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 9); the recently launched Macquarie University study on Australian work in the international market focuses on ‘rights sales and export’ (Macquarie University 2019). Rights were sold in the nineteenth-century and can be sold in the contemporary market. Hachette UK, for example, bought

⁵ In other copyright industries, such as the film industry, where the financial stakes are higher for individual projects, the term licensing is much more commonly used.

rights to the works of Enid Blyton (*Publishers Weekly* 2012). While Owen states that: 'Assignment of copyright is [...] a relatively common practice in educational, academic and professional publishing', in trade publishing, she acknowledges, 'In most cases the author receives an advance and royalties on sales' (Owen 2010, 41), by which she means that rights are not sold, but licensed.

The difference between selling and licensing is not just semantic. If 'content is more important than context' might be said to form the over-arching perception relating to the rationale for why some works are successful in the global marketplace, 'licensing is selling' might be considered the underlying perception that affects how this space can be understood. It is an important distinction and cannot be examined empirically through data. The relevant definition of 'to sell' is 'to give something to someone else in return for money' (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.), while the relevant definition of 'to license' means 'to give someone permission to make, produce, or use something that you have created or that belongs to you' or 'to get permission to make, produce, or use something that has been created by or belongs to another person or company, usually by paying for it' (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.). That is, the rights to a licensed produce remain with the owner. As the Australian Society of Authors website explains to members: 'An exclusive licence gives the publisher the exclusive right to publish the work, but you – the author – still own the copyright.' Assignment, that is, selling, is to transfer of ownership. (Australian Society of Authors n.d.). Conceptually, too, they are quite different. In publishing, the first implies permanence; the second, conditions. Failing to make the distinction between selling and licensing—availability and acceptance indicated by exchange—has material consequences particularly in a digital era, whereas making the distinction has particular advantages in a study that seeks to understand and value international access.

The consequences of failing to distinguish the difference were effectively illustrated to a group of Amazon customers who discovered one morning that the electronic editions of two well-known mid-twentieth-century novels had been extracted from their Kindle libraries overnight. It is unfortunate for Amazon that the novels are well known, and not only well known as novels, but well known as ones that criticised totalitarian governments and were widely studied (the only reason there were financial consequences for Amazon).

The event was widely covered in the media. ‘Amazon Kindle customers surprised by “Big Brother” move’, is the headline *The Guardian* chose to describe the removal of the two novels in question, George Orwell’s 1984 and *Animal Farm*. The extraction might be said to demonstrate the way in which some ‘sales’ are more equal than others. Brad Stone reported the incident in *The New York Times*:

In George Orwell’s “1984,” [sic] government censors erase all traces of news articles embarrassing to Big Brother by sending them down an incineration chute called the “memory hole.”

On Friday, it was “1984” [sic] and another Orwell book, “Animal Farm,” [sic] that were dropped down the memory hole—by Amazon.com.

In a move that angered customers and generated waves of online pique, Amazon remotely deleted some digital editions of the books from the Kindle devices of readers who had bought them. (Stone 2009)

In his study of books and technology, *The Late Age of Print* (2011), Ted Striphas considers this incident in terms of the way the non-physical format of an e-book alters the way companies behave towards consumers (Striphas 2011, xvii). In contrast, the media of the time tended to focus on the irony of the event, and also how shocked people were to learn they did not ‘own’ their e-books like they owned printed copies. As Stone reports, ‘a sheet-music retailer in Philadelphia’ told him ‘I never imagined that Amazon actually had the right, the authority or even the ability to delete something that I had already purchased.’ However, as Stone explains, the extraction was a result of Amazon’s supplier discovering they do not have the right to sell the book (Stone 2009).

In this sense, this story is all about licensing, and regardless of the language used to described them, Amazon and many other e-tailers’ digital editions are not sold, they are licensed, and as Amazon’s customers discovered, licenses are conditional. As Stone notes, while their Terms of Service do not appear to give the company the right to remove books, ‘Amazon appears to maintain a unique tether to the digital content it sells for the Kindle’ (Stone 2009). The courts agreed, as although a high school student successfully sued the company because the exaction removed his notes on the book as well, there were still reason why works might be extracted. As tech magazine *PC World* advised their readers in an article about the legal case, ‘So, the answer is still “no,” you don’t own the digital

books you download' (Newman 2009). This is, therefore, still about conditional ownership; in other words, licensing.

More generally this incident demonstrates how the internet has further conflated concepts of licensing and selling. Licenses are now so ubiquitous that customers simply click 'I agree' to have access granted, often without knowing what they are agreeing to, as with the (fake) site NameDrop: 75 percent of the 543 who signed up had 'agreed to give NameDrop their future first-born children' (Berreby 2017). Conversely, the rise of user generated content and free access to content on websites has led to reactions against any form of digital rights management (DRM), both of the restrictive kind many trade publishers place on commercial e-books (to stop file sharing) and that kind that hinders creativity (to limit repurposing). Macmillan USA was the first large publisher to acknowledge this discontent by removing DRM for speculative fiction imprints in July 2012, an event widely reported as significant. As the headline in the financial magazine *Forbes* informed readers 'Macmillan's Tor Abandons DRM, Other Publishers Must Follow' (Charman-Anderson 2012). The British publishing trade magazine, *The Bookseller* (which *Forbes* references), positions this move in terms of a challenge to Amazon but also reports it to be at the request of (frustrated) authors and readers (Jones 2012).

Striphas argues that a larger issue with DRM is related to control and the reason licenses have been increasingly associated with control is that the contemporary online environment resists this control (Striphas 2011, 19-46). In this environment, licenses are seen as protecting company profits, rather than enabling creator income, enabling what the law defines as piracy and theft to be redefined as corporate defiance, or, more often, 'no one gets hurt'. This is presumably why in 2015, Creative Content Australia (which focuses on screen-based piracy) reported that a study by Cybersecurity firm RiskIQ found that '21 percent of Australians aged 18-64 admit to pirating content at least once monthly' (Creative Content Australia n.d.). For books, even corporations have engaged in behaviour which appears to ignore copyright, notably Google, Inc. Beginning in 2004, the company 'scanned, rendered machine-readable, and indexed more than 20 million books' (United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit 2015, 6). The Author's Guild first challenged their right to do this in 2005 (United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit 2015, 11). Ten years later, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit ruled

Google's copying 'fair use' (United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit 2015, 2). In this environment, distinguishing licensing and selling is not just semantic: it matters.

In terms of rights, the distinction offers an opportunity to take another methodological approach to understanding the rights trade by making use of this particular aspect of exchange. When customers choose 'I agree', they are accepting the conditions, in exchange for use. When customers download books they are accepting the conditions, in exchange for use. When works are licensed, the exchange indicates a different form of acceptance. The way circulation is often conceived and the methods by which it has been discussed means this conditional nature of the exchange of licenses is often overlooked. Yet the distinction matters because when a license is international, it becomes an international exchange that is also conditional, at once commercial and cultural, material and symbolic: an indicator of circulation and of 'global' reach but also a source of information about how the process of the exchange has been enabled. In other words, attention to a license provides the basis of the methodological approach this study employs to measure and interpret access.

2.3 How circulation can be understood: Practice and production

Considering access in terms of exchange offers a way to understand circulation from a strategic perspective. As Gisèle Sapiro has pointed out, 'focus on the publisher's strategy [...] opens up a whole domain of research for studying the norms of translation and connecting social factors to translation practices' (Sapiro 2010, 168). By publisher, she means 'licensee'; this too, is the way scholars such as Walter de Nooy and Marc Verboord have studied these exchanges. Outside Europe and the English language core markets, the focus often remains on the licensee strategy, and the conditions that determine the strategy, evident in the work of scholars of Iranian publishing (Nanquette 2017), and the analysis of publishers from the Indian market (Karthika 2007). Heilbron, in contrast, has considered licensor strategy but also positioning this within wider global structure (Heilbron 1999). Lynette Owen, too, has focused on licensor strategy.

Less work has been done on the interplay between licensee and licensor strategies, although this is central to the transaction process, as *Selling Rights* makes evident. First published in 1991, and now in its seventh edition, this English language licensor strategy

manual provides a picture of multiple professionals whose primary role is to secure or help secure licensing deals (Owen 2010, 84-91); these too are suggested in the licensing models. The message is that success in the trade is just as much about the ability to network as it is to negotiate: the visibility of Owen's work means that it is a British perspective that has controlled how English language rights are, could, or should be 'sold'. An Anglo-American agenting based perspective has influenced views of who should be responsible for trading rights. The perception that agents are more likely to be responsible for licensing rights is found in Lee's analysis of the Australian industry both in the 1990s—where her analysis of an increase in rights deals is based on agent activity (Lee 2004, 157)—and in the first decade of the 2000s, where it is explicit in analysis of activity with the UMBIS claim that 'rights sales are largely conducted through authors' agents' (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 35). American agent Andrew Wylie goes so far as to claim that internationally, publishers 'tend to find it more acceptable to buy books from agents' (Critchley 2016). In the same article, Wiley suggests that it is more effective to license to international publishers directly, rather than use sub-agents as intermediaries, although a *Publishing Perspectives White Paper* refers to 'the Anglo-Saxon way which often entails working with sub-agents' (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 9). This seems to be an accepted practice in Australia: it is always in the top five in the annual *Think Australian* survey of 'conduits'.

Some contemporary authors have suggested it is better not to be published in, or licensed from, Australia at all. The historical rationale was pragmatism, as circulation from Australia was limited by structural factors (the much discussed relationship with the United Kingdom) as well as prestige, and A.A. Phillips' equally extensively discussed notion of 'cultural cringe' (Phillips 1950). The contemporary rationale for this decision is little different. Bestselling crime writer Michael Rowbotham has rationalised being published in, and from, the UK in the context of Australia still being seen as an export market, stating,

Some of our most talented writers struggle to get international recognition because large publishing houses want Australian rights included in any deal. I was fortunate enough to be 'discovered' in the UK first and to stitch up deals and American and Europe even before I'd finished writing my first. (Groom 2007)

Bestselling author Nikki Gemmell, too, was reported at the beginning of the century to have said that ‘the local industry was so “insular”, and new novels so little noticed, that local writers were better off going overseas to build their reputation’ (Sullivan 2002).

Many high profile Australian authors are represented by international literary agents: Peter Carey, for example, is represented in Australia by a management agency HLA, according to their website, a ‘theatrical management agency’, but in the UK by the literary agency Rogers, Coleridge and White; Richard Flanagan is represented by Andrew Wylie (USA); and J. M. Coetzee is represented by UK agency David Higham Associates (which since 2015 have also represented Kate Morton).

When combined with available revenue data (ABS, for example) that suggests little rights activity, and the existing access data that provides a partial sample (*AustLit*, for example), these empirically untested accounts feed into a narrative that suggests those in the Australian trade publishing industry lack the ability to effectively enable Australian works to circulate globally; specifically, to achieve ‘global access’. This study reveals this is not the case but instead, by considering circulation as a trade practice based on the international exchange of licenses, it is shown to be enacted according to the particular conditions associated with being from Australia.

2.3.1 Distinguishing rights: Identifying the Australian

More generally, considering the license as a measure and means of circulation enables this study to identify the mechanics of an exchange process and the players involved, and to position the transactions in time, space and place. It provides a way to connect the elements known to be involved in circulation and those believed to have an influence. In addition, it provides a way to identify Australian literature. Simultaneously focusing on the mechanics of the process, the structural relations, and the fact of the exchange, the logic of circulation as enabled by the licensing trade can be better understood. This study shows how isolating the license as a specific type of international trade flow provides a way to measure global access, while distinguishing licensing as a separate process allows a different understanding of both access and the influences. Ultimately, it means the conditions associated with being ‘Australian’ can be identified and Australian value mapped.

2.4 Contributing to a new type of account

The way the international circulation of Australian novels has been measured in financial terms can be seen to have contributed to an undervaluing of this trade; the way it has been positioned against sales, to have contributed to underestimating this trade; the way it has been understood in non-specific ways, to have left the mechanics of the trade open to being misunderstood, and the Australian approach to the trade being seen as less than effective. It is this situation which has led to the dominance of the influential content-based theories of access discussed in the introductory chapter. However, specifying the nature of circulation in terms of the rights trade, and identifying this aspect as a primary feature of the conditional exchange of licenses provides the basis from which to develop an alternative approach to measuring and thus understanding circulation.

Taking an interdisciplinary mixed methods approach to understanding rights and describing circulation in terms of this exchange of licenses from a specific location produces a new type of account of the international circulation of Australian literature: the global access map. This approach structures an interpretative frame and determines the materials that can be used to create a new map of circulation determined by works originating in, as well as circulating from, Australia. It is a map that positions the study within multiple contemporary debates, and provides an alternative approach to understanding copyright and protection, gender and critical attention, and category and literary value.

Using the license as a material marker to illustrate and assess the value of international market access, as well as to understand 'the global', provides the data for this study and an empirical position from which to explore the question of how, and why, not just Australian novels by Australians, but novels from Australia, have achieved international access in the twenty-first century.

3 Conceptual frames: Understanding access

The way the international circulation of Australian literature has been measured, studied and conceived in the twenty-first century has created a situation in which the rights trade has been undervalued and often misunderstood. Defining global circulation as the process of cultural and commercial exchange of international rights clarifies how the trade can be measured, but also how it can be interpreted. To revalue and better understand this complex process, an alternate methodological approach needs to pay attention to the global transactional nature of the trade, and offer an interpretative framework that can effectively capture the points at which the trade is influenced.

This chapter proposes that while no single framework existed to understand circulation in the particular way this study defines it ('global access'), its specific mapping and interpretive needs can to be met by combining a multi-tiered descending frame drawn from the sociological school of translation studies—which also considers circulation in terms of transnational, multilingual exchange—modifying this frame, and augmenting it. The purpose of this chapter is therefore three-fold: to outline the components of the existing multi-tiered frame and explain how they work at an international, national and local level within a meta-frame; to describe the modifications this study has made to these frames in order to capture access as a capital-driven but conditional process; and to introduce the two new conceptual elements that together produce a more precise way of conceptualising access: the global marketplace and international licensing field. Additionally, this chapter explains how a particular kind of 'mapping' and 'reading' are integral to the study's description (and depiction) of global access in terms of this purpose-built framework.

Overall, this three-layered, augmented interpretive framework makes it possible to measure levels of international access—and understand why exchanges happen—why certain countries have higher rates of access, and why some works have higher rates of access. It is an approach that makes it possible to establish the price of international access for works originating in Australia, and show how power, value and connectivity have led to increased access in the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century.

3.1 Meta-frame: The benefits of a trinitarian approach

Triangulation has long been used in the hard and social sciences, but it is increasingly seen as an important way of testing the robustness of claims and to compensate for data deficiencies more generally. As argued recently in the long-running science journal *Nature*,

We believe that an essential protection against flawed ideas is triangulation. This is the strategic use of multiple approaches to address one question. Each approach has its own unrelated assumptions, strengths and weaknesses. Results that agree across different methodologies are less likely to be artefacts. (Munafò and Davey Smith 2018)

This concept is also used in contemporary approaches to translation studies, evident in Sofia Malamatidou's *Corpus Triangulation: Combining data and methods in corpus-based translation studies* (Malamatidou 2018), in which she argues for:

the combination, in an integrated manner, of multiple (two or more) corpus values and/or attributes from one or more corpus variables and/or the use of (two or more) corpus analysis techniques in one study of a single phenomenon. (Malamatidou 2018, 34)

This concept is applied to the primary data transaction set in this study, but triangulation can also be applied to conceptual frames, where individual frames have interpretative limitations. For this study, three frames are required to describe the impact of—and interplay between—power, value and connectivity, in enabling access. Broadly, the study applies triangulation to both the material and the conceptual aspects because of the complexity of international licensing: the mechanics of the trade work on multiple levels and multiple players are involved. Measuring the trade has proved difficult in the past with only partial accounts available; understanding it as a global practice has proved even more difficult. Triangulation makes both these tasks simpler.

While not formally articulated in terms of triangulation, Gisèle Sapiro's approach to understanding the trade in translation rights as influenced at a macro, mezzo and micro level overcomes the explanatory deficiencies at each of these levels. Drawing on concepts from two existing and complementary sociological frameworks, at a macro level Sapiro employs Pierre Bourdieu's concept of a transnational field of literary production, but sees relations between nations in this field as governed by another model, Johan Heilbron's

model of book translations as a cultural world-system. At a mezzo level, she employs Bourdieu's concept of the literary field more fully and at the micro level, she uses a reception approach, allowing individual publishing transactions to be described and their roles explained (Sapiro 2008, 163-164).

This triangulated approach, while not commonly used to understand the rights trade, has been employed by others more recently, such as Heilbron and van Es, who use it with a small data set to explain the flow of translations from the Netherlands to the United Kingdom (van Es and Heilbron 2015). In the process, they illustrate its potential. This study illustrates its potential in explaining international license flows more widely, as well as demonstrating how a licensed-based modification allows these cultural trade flows to be identified with more detail and precision.

3.2 Analysing the global: Systems and spaces of power

As is true of the publishing trades of all post-colonial nations, Australian publishing is not, and has never been, a purely domestic concern: 'enmeshed' is the word the UMBIS uses to describe its connection to the rest of the world (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 25). The trade in international publishing rights to Australian novels is predicated on crossing national borders. The contemporary rights trade is profoundly influenced by historic ties, current alliances, and emerging strategic partnerships. International power structures also determine and influence the trade. Along with the relationship between Australia and Britain, there are power imbalances between Spain and Latin America (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 9), and France and Canada. As Richard Prieur of Canada's *Association nationale des éditeurs de livres* (ANEL) explained to a journalist from *Publishing Perspectives*:

In the early 1970s, 90 percent of the French-language book market in Québec was controlled by publishers from France. These days, it has narrowed to 55 to 60 percent. (Johnson 2017)

Just as is the case with Australia and the United Kingdom, the dominant nation acquires global language rights to works and distributes their editions, despite the dominated nations having independent markets and domestic publishing industries, and hence the ability to acquire rights to publish those works themselves.

3.2.1 World-systems: Unequal trade flows and exchange value

World-systems analysis posits that global relations can be understood as operating as part of a single system. ‘Putting in the hyphen,’ Immanuel Wallerstein explains, ‘was intended to underline that we are talking not about systems, economies, empires *of the* (whole) world, but about systems, economies, empires *that are* a world’ (Wallerstein 2004, 17). This system is based on a core-periphery model defined by the unequal exchange of ‘quasi-monopolised products’ and ‘competitive products’ (Wallerstein 2004, 28). Effectively, this means there is a dominant group of core nations, a developing semi-periphery and an emerging periphery, all connected (and so positioned) by trade. Central to the concept of this system is the idea that nations can alter their place as they become economically more prosperous, as the defining feature of world-systems analysis is the relationship between centrality and economic strength.

This economic world-system is not the only world-system this study draws upon. Dutch sociologist Walter de Swann proposes that languages ‘represent one dimension of the modern world system’ (de Swaan 2001, 3).⁶ However, the linguistic world-system necessarily operates in a different way to the economic and political world-system. Under de Swann’s model, there is a hypercentral language (English) and three other bands—supercentral, central and peripheral—which, de Swaan explains, ‘correspond partly’ to Wallerstein’s three levels (de Swaan 2001, 19). However, the membership structure of the groups varies from Wallerstein’s (which itself varies over time) and is not solely based on economics. For de Swann, the global linguistic structure reflects the number of speakers of a language, indigenous and secondary (de Swaan 2001). A number of scholars have used systems theory to understand translation flows—for example, Itamar Even-Zohar ‘launched poly-systems hypothesis in 1970’ (Even-Zohar 1977, 287)—but it is de Swann’s model that Heilbron uses as the basis from which to develop a theory that focuses on book translation.

⁶ While Wallerstein does use the hyphen in world-system, de Swann does not. This study follows Wallerstein, and employs the hyphen except when using direct quotes from de Swann.

This model developed by Heilbron is useful for a study of rights because it provides a way to understand the relationship between the language in which literature is first published and the languages into which it might subsequently be translated. He argues that:

the translation of books may be fruitfully understood as constituting a cultural world-system. The working of this system, based on a core-periphery structure, accounts for the uneven flows of translations between language groups as well as for the varying role of translation within language groups. (Heilbron 1999, 429)

Heilbron further suggests that ‘Transnational cultural exchange is not simply the reflection of the structural contradictions in the world economy’ (Heilbron 1999, 429). Referring to Bourdieu, who argues that cultural products have their own ‘inverse economy’, as they are simultaneously symbolic and material (Bourdieu 1996, 141), Heilbron posits that these cultural trade flows work in a different way to other kinds of international trade flows because of the particular nature of cultural products which include books (Heilbron 1999, 432). This description of uneven trade flows, a core-periphery structure (hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral and peripheral in Heilbron’s model), and a separate economy of cultural products, offers a powerful one-world explanatory model, capable of showing how the trade in international rights operates not simply as trade between two nations but a trade situated within, and influenced by, a larger economic, linguistic and cultural framework: a global system.

Considering the international rights trade as a trade in translation rights in the broadest sense of the word ‘translation’ and as a cultural world-system overcomes the problem of what are often referred to as ‘nation-based literary paradigms’. The approach also overcomes bilateral or trilateral literary paradigms. This aspect of the world-system is particularly useful for studying the trade practices of Australian publishers, who are often caught between the competing interests of British and American publishers. This macro interpretive level sits above what Wilson describes as the ‘preferences and tastes’ of individual nations (Wilson 2013b, 81), and so offers a broader perspective of the conditions of international access, in line with the central argument of this study which proposes that a focus on context can be of more use to understanding trade flows than a focus on content. Heilbron argues ‘it is not so much the national tradition but rather the international position of international cultures, which determines the level of cultural

importation' (Heilbron 1999, 440). It is, of course, also true that these positions determine the levels of cultural exportation.

While Heilbron's approach is directed at the level of international trade, this form of world-system analysis remains relevant even when seeking to understand the trade of a single work, as global scale factors impact on individual trades in international rights. Understanding the trade, therefore, means contextualising it in terms of national relationships positioned within a larger structure and continually considering—accounting for—the impact of macro influences in relation to all transactions. While neither Sapiro nor Heilbron state this, the concept of a cultural world-system constructs a macro level of international access as an initial determining level of access, one that is subject to international dynamics, regardless of other influencing factors, which might not only be political.

The factors might also relate to the power of 'approval'. Heilbron explains how this process works in terms of translation and the global market. First, he states that 'the basic units of the world-system of translation are language groups' (Heilbron 1999, 432), before proposing that:

Once a book is translated into a central language by an authoritative publisher, it immediately catches the attention of publishers in other parts of the globe. The simple fact that an American or English publisher will publish an author from a semi-peripheral language is used extensively by the original publisher, because it is the best recommendation for publishers elsewhere to acquire the translation rights. (Heilbron 1999, 436)

Heilbron's idea of 'recommendation' can be tested as far as it relates to Australian novels and the international market, particularly when used in conjunction with another global model—Casanova's world literary space (the world republic of letters)—which is also informed by the world-system core-periphery structure but has its focus on literature, rather than language.

Casanova's particular interest is less in cultural exchange than 'approval', or 'consecration'. In *The World Republic of Letters*, she introduces the concept of a world-system of literary transfer based on literary power that is a combination of linguistic hierarchy and literary tradition. Like Heilbron's model, the literary space follows a one-world, one-system

model, built on unequal power relationships. Unlike Heilbron's approach, Casanova's theory is based on a model in which Paris—therefore the French language—is central, historically and now, because French publishers engage with multiple languages in a way that those in London or New York do not. As Casanova puts it, while New York is the:

unchallenged publishing capital of the world in financial terms, still it cannot be said to have become a center of consecration whose legitimacy is universally recognized. (Casanova 2004, 119)

Casanova's model also has literature (literary works) as its structuring element, namely world literature, a corpus American literary scholar David Damrosch in *What is World Literature* (2013), describes as:

not an infinite, ungraspable canon of works but rather a mode of circulation and of reading, a mode that is as applicable to individual works as to bodies of material, available for reading established classics and new discoveries alike. (Damrosch 2003a, 5)

The space of world literature is, in this sense, a world literary space—Casanova describes it as such—both in the sense that it focuses on literary work but also the reading and, as Damrosch puts it, 'circulation' of works of literature, literary works. It is not a material space, a publishing space, as is Heilbron's book translations world-system. The benefit of combining Casanova's approach with Heilbron's is that it adds another layer to the macro level of cultural and economic influence: consecration, in terms of the approval of a (more) powerful culture. This combination simultaneously takes into account Australia's colonial history, and the fact that Australia is an English language culture—that is, the model provides a way of describing the hierarchy within English language cultures.

3.2.2 Global marketspace: Unequal transactional value

While these two models provide different ways of imagining international engagement and power structures within existing geographies, they do not delineate a separate space of international cultural exchange. For this study, this additional conceptual space is important as it distinguishes national production spaces from global reception spaces and moves beyond source culture and host culture (or target). For this reason, this study introduces the idea of the global marketspace: a symbolic, material and conceptual space of exchange. Unlike terms such as a 'world market of translations' (Sapiro 2016, 87), this

‘global marketspace’ is a space that can represent both the physical spaces of potential exchange, such as book fairs or offices, but also the digital space of transmissions, as well as the space of potential. The term ‘marketspace’ was introduced to differentiate transactions in the physical and the digital spheres (Rayport and Sviokla 1994): there is no conflict here. This space is a licensing space and, as discussed in the previous chapter, e-books produced by the industry are licensed.

3.2.3 Positioning Australia: Hyper-central, core and peripheral

Using these models, Australia sits in relation to the rest of the world in multiple ways. Under Wallerstein’s world economic system, Australia’s relatively strong economy during the period means it can be positioned as a core nation. Under de Swann’s world language system, Australia benefits from having English, which is hyper-central, as its national language; under Heilbron’s translations as a cultural world-system model, as an English-speaking nation, Australia is dominant. However, in Casanova’s world literary space, which consists of international literary fiction (that is, ‘consecrated’ literature), the Australian literary space is a dominated space, and a peripheral one, as under Casanova’s model the nation has contributed little to the international literary canon, which is what leads to centrality in her model.

Casanova’s positioning is due to Australia having a comparatively short history in terms of independent literary production, and a correspondingly small output of titles. The world republic of letters model does account for the impact of decolonisation—the book’s overview states that ‘with decolonization, countries in Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Asia demanded access to literary legitimacy and existence’ (Casanova 2004, 11). She also notes that London, ‘even it if now finds itself in competition with New York and Toronto, continues to be central [in terms of consecration] for Australians, New Zealanders, Irish, Canadians, Indians and English-speaking Africans’ (Casanova 2004, 117). However, the world republic model does not account for the impact of the literary production of those nations continuing to be conflated with that of the former economic, political and linguistic coloniser—not London, but the United Kingdom. While Casanova’s model examines the cultural and linguistic geo-politics of circulation, it does not examine how these factors impact upon the mechanics of circulation, which Heilbron’s does. This is why the study benefits from both models.

At this macro level then, larger questions can be asked that enable the exploration of perceptions about power and circulation. Casanova claims, for example, that ‘Translation, like criticism, is a process of establishing value’ (Casanova 2004, 23), that is, one of the processes of consecration. Does what Casanova describes as ‘consecration’ from a linguistic regional centre, London or New York, enable Australian literature (which has no centre) to circulate more widely? Do German and French publishers, as publishers from two core-central languages in both Casanova’s literary model and Heilbron’s translation model, acquire work in a different way to members with peripheral languages? Does writing in the English language enable easier access for Australian authors than authors who write in languages other than English (even if Australia is positioned as a peripheral nation in Casanova’s republic)? Does the fact that Australia is economically successful and geographically peripheral have an impact on access to the global marketplace? Finally, how does conceptualising the international literary space as a publishing marketplace rather than as a publishing marketplace or in terms of a literary canon affect the way the rights trade can be understood?

3.3 Structuring the national: The field of value

The limitation of the macro approach is that it does not capture how value in a national space ‘translates’ to value in an international space, nor the interplay of international consecration with national consecration. Casanova proposes that ‘the writer stands in particular relation to world literary space by virtue of the place occupied in it by the national space into which he has been born’ (Casanova 2004, 41). That is, the consecration a national space is able to offer its authors depends on the position of that space in the world literary space. Casanova, however, also separates authors into ‘national’ and ‘international’ authors: those who are accepted internationally and those who are accepted at home. One, she suggests, is literary, as her international space is literary, while the other is commercial. Moreover, Sapiro, points out that ‘autonomy’ of national fields is related to the level of state influence, so while some national spaces are highly state-controlled others, like France, have some state intervention, and some, like the United States, are highly subject to the economics of the free market. National spaces, therefore, follow different logics according to intervention levels (Sapiro 2003).

This study examines the way value is transferred between the national and the international, and the relationship between that value and the category of literature. Further, it considers perceptions that address global access more directly. As previously discussed, Heyward suggested, ‘If you’ve got a successful Australian book and you haven’t sold the rights, you have to ask yourself why’ (Sullivan 2002). *The Strays*, Hughes believed, benefitted from being awarded the Stella Prize and *Books + Publishing* attributed the North American deal to the prize (*Books + Publishing* 2015). White revealed sudden international interest in Wilson’s *Extinctions* (2016) after it won the 2017 Miles Franklin Literary Award (White 2018), but Birns implied same award’s international value was limited (Birns 2015, 5). A secondary interpretive level is required to assess these perceptions of value—to understand the situation—one that explains the logic of national literary space. Sapiro proposes Bourdieu’s field of literary production for this purpose, with its oppositional poles, and concept of types of capital; along with the concept of a world-system. The field structure also informs Heilbron’s approach, which is driven by cultural logic, and not economic logic (Heilbron 1999, 432). Casanova, too, also employs the field, particularly the structuring concept of dominant-dominated. Bourdieu’s concept of a field of cultural production has been widely used to explain the logic of creative industries. As a central concept, this study employs the idea of the field, but adds a sub-field to the transnational field: a licensing field. This study conceives of this licensing field as powered by the forms of capital Bourdieu proposes, as well as another introduced by Casanova, and one by Thompson. This licensing field, this study proposes, is part of the global marketspace, the space of potential transactions.

3.3.1 The field of literary production: Competition for consecration

Sapiro argues that ‘field theory’:

has many advantages for the study of the international market of publishing: it allows us to compare the structure of publishing in different countries and to take into account the specific agents (individuals and institutions) as well as the international circulation of publishing models. (Sapiro 2008, 160)

It also provides a model for measuring value, as the concept of value determines the structure of the literary field. The field, like the works that are traded within it, is at once material and symbolic, with its own way of operating; as the sub-title to Bourdieu’s 1983 *Poetics* article explains, it is: ‘The economic world reversed’ (Bourdieu 1983, 311). He

describes a dual space where one side runs on commerce—the pole of mass production (the heterogeneous pole)—and the other on the economic model of scarcity (being valuable but not necessarily granting short-term economic benefits)—the pole of limited or restricted production (the autonomous pole).

As Bourdieu describes it, in this place of eternal struggle, the game that never stops, time has significance. On one side, the ‘temporal gap between supply and demand [...] tends to become a structural characteristic of the field of limited production’ (Bourdieu 1996, 82). This means the pole of limited production has a different temporal logic to the pole of mass production. Where action on the commercial side (the pole of mass production) of the field is fast-moving and market-driven, this is not the case on the other side, as it is not governed by the same temporal imperative. The point is that in the field, a competitive space, consecration is more valuable than commerce: prestige trumps sales (but players with prestige and sales win in the end). In this sense, the field model favours those who do not need to win but can produce ‘art for art’s sake’, as Bourdieu argues, and so make creative experiments and take the time that literary fiction allows, rather than producing art for cash gain in the manner of popular fiction. It is this opposition and the tension it produces that structures the field, the ‘game’ of literary production.

It is a game which includes rules and strategic ‘plays’ that bring advancement and of course players, who collectively construct the imaginary space that is the field.⁷ In the original structure of the literary field, which uses nineteenth-century France as its model and includes all literary forms, including poetry, drama, and the novel—the subject of this study—sits in the centre. Consecration in this model is not associated with mass-produced work, nor work produced recently. Moreover, a dominant position is associated with money, but not with ‘autonomy’. In other words, dominance is related to economic profit: freedom to create with ‘no profit’. (Bourdieu 1983, 329). However, scholars this study draw on who have adapted this model to analyse the field of contemporary fiction regard literary fiction as tending to the side of the ‘limited’ or ‘restricted’ pole, with commercial and genre fiction on the ‘mass’ pole, due to the different production logics of these kinds of novels.

⁷ Bourdieu uses the term ‘agents’ but this study does not follow his use, so as to avoid any confusion with literary agents, who are also active on the field.

As with all games, players bring with them certain advantages or disadvantages informed by what they have inherited and what they have acquired. These, Bourdieu argues, determine where players are—and can be—positioned in relation to other players (Bourdieu 1996, 214). These too, determine whether access to the literary field can be achieved at all.

A range of scholars have argued that the field of production has other limitations. Some have argued that its focus on class—the small-scale pole represents those not needing to work for money—reflects nineteenth-century European concerns and so makes it less appropriate for later periods or different traditions, an argument visible in the Antipodean issue of the *Journal of Sociology* (Bennett, et al. 2013); moreover, Sapiro has shown that the oppositional structure between commerce and art becomes problematic where fields have high levels of state intervention (Sapiro 2003). More recently, scholars such as Mark Davis have suggested the field is no longer a useful tool to understand the contemporary literary space as it does not effectively model the changes brought on by digital technology (Davis 2018). There concerns are not insignificant, but nor are they material to this study: class is not a key concern; the Australian field has limited state intervention, although this distinction needs to be taken into account when considering Australia's relationship with other markets; and while e-books entered the trade market during the period of this study, the prevalence of e-books was, and remains, limited in many languages other than English and is difficult to measure as accurately as print books. This limitation for this study is that the boundaries of the field of literary production, along with the transnational—and international—field, are not defined by a particular type of exchange, only by membership.

3.3.2 A sub-field: The international licensing field

Conceiving of the boundaries of the field of literary production as maintained by licenses resolves the issue of defining its entry conditions. It also creates a new sub-field, one this study introduces as the 'international licensing field', using the word 'international' rather than 'transnational' to reflect the industry use of the word and the study's market focus.

There is an important difference between Bourdieu's literary field and its global version—the transnational or international field—and what this study models as the international licensing field, a field that consists of both linguistic and national fields: fields with power

relationships determined by their positions within the world-system. This difference stems from the nature of licensing itself. As stated in the previous chapter, a license is different to a sale in terms of what it means. It also works on a different temporal scale to a sale, as the rights to all novels—literary, commercial and genre alike—can be traded at any time: pre-publication, immediately post-publication or an international deal might be made years after a novel is first published.

This temporal difference challenges a key structural feature of Bourdieu's concept of the field of literary production, as the difference between limited and mass production is conceived not only as market dependent or independent, but based on the needs of that market, whether swift or slow. It also means that measuring the temporal element of a transaction is a necessary part of understanding the logic of trading rights. For example, publishers might wait for 'symbolic' consecration, as Bourdieu describes it, in the form of reputation, prizes and additional linguistic or territorial transactions before they acquire a work; on the other hand, they might also wait for sales evidence, which might come from a licensing transaction with a publisher in a country where there is a larger market, or one more receptive to the work itself. In both cases, the transactional delay is based on the need to accumulate sufficient capital (any type) to enable access to the international licensing field from the global marketspace where the work is 'on offer'.

Each of these processes can be considered as awaiting different forms of consecration. Bourdieu uses the term 'consecration' both to mean a particular form of endorsement ('academy places, prizes, etc.'), separate from the market—that is, sales—but also writes of 'success and consecration' (Bourdieu 1983, 339). Other scholars who have considered the concept of value, such as James English, argue against Bourdieu's oppositional approach between cultural and economic capital, which is, effectively, between art and commerce. English proposes that the binary 'must be set aside', pointing out that:

The different forms of capital are actually caught up in the process of intraconversion, of exchange or translation from form to form, *at every point in the field simultaneously* and at variable rates whose negotiation is always part of this process [ie, of consecration].⁸ (English 2002, 126)

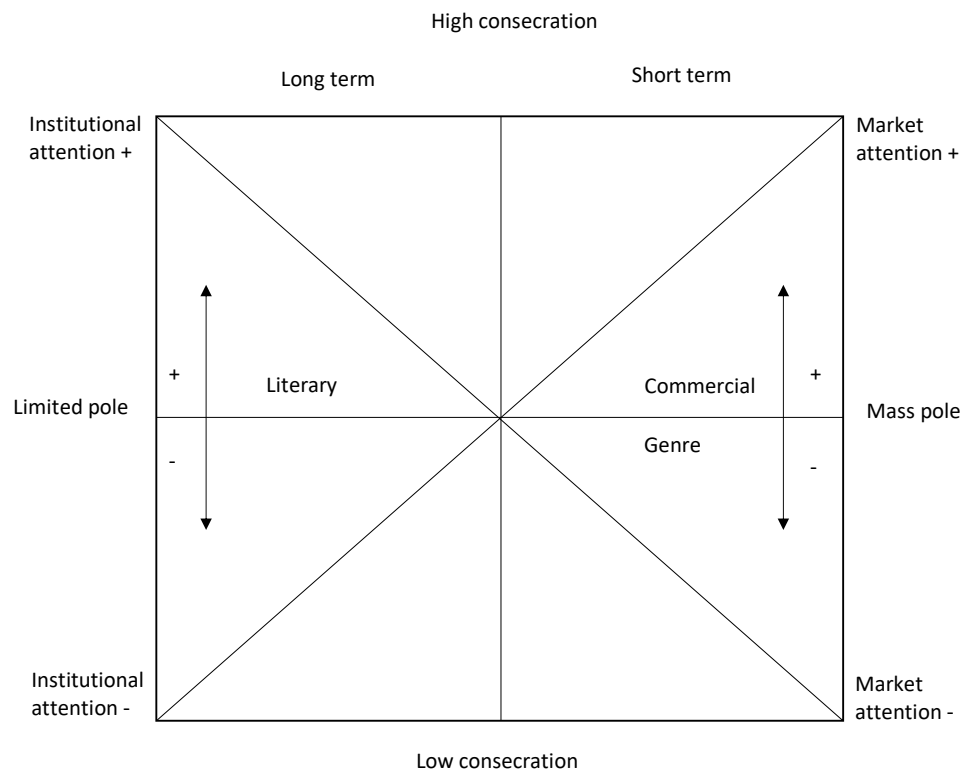
⁸ The clarification about 'consecration' is English's.

Following English's approach, this study employs the concept of consecration more broadly, expanding what constitutes consecration in the field to include sales as market-led consecration and—since Bourdieu argues that the process of publication itself consecrates a work (Bourdieu and Nice 1980, 263)—other international deals, in the form of industry consecration. This provides the licensing field with three distinct consecrating mechanisms, none of which are oppositional but all of which contribute capital of different weights and levels. They work together to create symbolic capital.

The field of literary production operates on two interacting levels: the material and the symbolic. This distinction is also relevant to the licensing field, as what is being traded does not physically exist (it is intellectual property, a license to produce an object, but not the object itself) so what is being traded is a signifier for what will become a new product. In this sense, a license deal is a perfect example of how multiple players create both the object as well as the value of the object. On the field, a license deal is not a literal transaction but a symbolic one and this 'trade' is sustained by the belief that the new product will become something with the capacity to generate capital (cultural and/or economic) and, thus, value.

While what is happening on the field is important for this study, just as important is the fact that it is not an 'open' space and that it is constructed only through a belief in the field itself (it is, after all, an imaginary space). Access to the field of literary production, as described by Bourdieu, is limited and held together by the belief of the players (Bourdieu 1996, 166-7). In terms of this study, an offer of access to the field is the offer of an international publishing license (a translation or English language license). This is, effectively, an invitation to enter the licensing field from the global marketspace: it is a literal, and a legal, license to enter. This 'invitation' itself, in the form of that license, is measurable, and the multiple factors that might lead to this invitation being issued (what can be thought of as a pre-admission test of an individual player's skills) take the form of the player's capital, much as on the field of literary production as per figure 5.

Figure 5. The field of literary production (simplified and modified)



Note: Literary categories and consecration categories as used in this study positioned according to the genre and consecration logic of the field of literary production (Bourdieu 1983, 329)

Using this model of an international licensing field, as distinct from the transnational or international (publishing) field, also provides a way to distinguish between types of international access—that is, rights and distribution (and ‘issuing’). If the international licensing field requires a license, this makes it different from the international distribution field, which can be entered without a license. Figure 6 models the relationship between the fields, and the spaces.

On the licensing field, the prerequisite condition of entry is the belief not only in the game but the value of an international license. When the international licensing field—accessed through the global marketspace, but also a sub-field of the transnational publishing field—is considered as a concept held together by the belief of those on it, this becomes a way to understand the effect of current structural changes within the global publishing industry. For example, a move away from licensing English language rights globally toward distributing copies of works can be read to suggest a lack of belief in the English language sub-field of the international licensing field, but at the same time a continuing belief in the non-English language sub-field, the translation field. However, to deny the existence of the English language sub-field within the international licensing field is to deny the existence of a unified international licensing field, since it works on a logic that depends on its relationship with the individual sub-fields. In this sense, it is a truly international field, a component of the world-system.

3.3.3 Six types of capital: Measures of value

Bourdieu uses the concepts of ‘habitus’ and ‘disposition’ to describe what leads to players taking particular positions. However, because this study focuses on both products and players, and countries, it only employs the third element that he sees as determining field position (which in this study is shown as the real engine of the field, as it is ultimately how movement is achieved): capital.

This study recognises six forms of capital on the literary and licensing field: economic, social, cultural, symbolic, intellectual and literary. In Bourdieu’s concept of the literary field, the concept of ‘capital’ begins from Marx’s meaning based on economic value, and this is recognised on the field, but the literary field also makes visible, and so measurable, other less tangible forms of exchangeable value. Social capital, as the term suggests, stems from connections (Bourdieu 1996, 262) but importantly is associated with ‘a familiarity with the field’ (Bourdieu 1983, 349). Cultural capital is more complex and this study only considers one element: that which is bestowed, following English, who explains in the opening to *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards and the Circulation of Cultural Value*, that the work ‘addresses the economic dimensions of culture [...] the rules or logics of exchange in the market for what has come to be called “cultural capital” ’ (English 2005, 3). Symbolic capital is a form of aggregated capital which Bourdieu describes as:

a kind of “economic” capital denied but recognized and hence legitimate—a veritable credit, and capable of assuring, under certain conditions and in the long term, “economic” profits. (Bourdieu 1996, 142)

Together, these four kinds of capital provide a way to understand the rights trade by differentiating the value on the field, of bestselling works, prize-winning works and works that benefit from connections; as well as works that benefit from multiple types of capital.

However, these forms of capital do not explain the value of the rights trade itself; that is, the value of a license that is traded internationally. In his study of the higher education industry, John B. Thompson provides a way to do so, by using the term ‘intellectual’ capital to distinguish intellectual property. He describes it as an asset with a particular kind of double value: cultural if held, and economic when traded or, in the language of the field, ‘converted’ (Thompson 2005, 30-6). In this study, intellectual capital makes it possible to identify the value of transactions themselves, as separate from sales, prizes or agents.

The final form of capital needed to assess transactions in a transnational study is a form of capital that can assess the value of national spaces. While Bourdieu’s social capital accommodates association, it does not take into account the measurable value of national identity. Similarly, while nationality could be considered within the concept of habitus, it is not singled out because the field itself is designed as a national field. While Casanova uses the concept of ‘literary capital’ which she claims is inherently ‘national’ because of the nature of language and its association with place—that is, politics and borders (Casanova 2004, 34)—it is limited to capital associated with the literary and the world literary space. This study broadens the definition of this specific form of capital so as to encompass all categories of literature that enter the international publishing space, as uses the term ‘national capital’. National capital makes it is possible to identify the currency—or traceable value—that certain national or linguistic associations automatically provide.

3.3.4 Valuing the field: Measuring the cost of access

Bourdieu’s field is a useful model, because through the oppositional poles, the dominant/dominated concept, and the multiple forms of capital, it can effectively model value and power relationships specific to the publishing world. Value in the international licensing field can be understood as entry achieved, and position on the field. Using the combination of licensing field and capital, and including the temporal element of a rights

transaction, also means another level of access can be interrogated by asking: Do prizes enable access? Do domestic sales mean international deals? Do transactions lead to more transactions? Looked at in conjunction with national and linguistic fields, these questions can be targeted: Which national fields rely on sales? What impact do transactions have? Does this reflect the findings for translation fields modelled by Heilbron and Sapiro? What kinds of capital matters and in which fields? How does being linguistically dominant and culturally peripheral impact on the trade?

3.4 Describing the local: The deconstructed network

The world-systems and field approaches begin to allow a more comprehensive understanding of access. Overall, by combining an analytical frame of world-systems cultural trade flows with Bourdieu's field theory and an expanded definition of capital, the factors that contribute to the likelihood of international market access for Australian literature can be understood, but the path to international publication still cannot be determined solely through these two frames. The core-periphery-structured, cultural world-system and the dominant/dominated, capital-driven field are powerful explanatory tools: they explain the way transnational literary flows appear to work based on theoretical models which use 'social aggregates', as French sociologist Bruno Latour describes Bourdieu's approach to modelling social structures (Latour 2005, 8). However, while this aggregated model positions players it fails to expose their activity. It explains what has happened and proposes why it might have happened, but does not describe *how* it happened. It does not describe the process.

For this study, this lack of a descriptive element is a fundamental limitation. To fully understand the global marketplace, the international licensing field, and access, it is necessary to de-aggregate the data. Doing this makes it possible to describe how the transaction and influence factors work on a mechanical level. Sapiro's inclusion of a micro level in her model of the transnational field—a level where 'reception' at an individual level can be studied—is an acknowledgement of the limitation of using only a macro and mezzo approach (Sapiro 2008, 163-164), as is van Es and Heilbron's more recent use of the macro, mezzo and micro approach (van Es and Heilbron 2015). Some scholars propose adding an additional frame at this level and using social networks to capture exchanges

(de Nooy 2003). This study follows that example, only it uses a particular kind of social network.

3.4.1 Field and actor-network theory

If world-systems and the field of literary production have been established as complementary—one focusing on the global, one describing the national—the same cannot be said of the field and actor-network theory (ANT). The two have often been seen as incompatible—including by Latour, one of the creators of ANT—but for this study, it is the profound differences between the approaches that make the combination of the two so effective. Combining them is also not unprecedented, just uncommon.

In a 2017 article that seeks to understand production practices on the theatrical field, Italian scholars Marco Serino, Daniela D'Amorosio and Giancarlo Ragonizi, like de Nooy, argue for the benefits of combining field analysis and social network analysis (Serino, D'Ambrosio and Ragozini 2017). More useful for this study, however, is the less recent work of contemporary music sociologists: Wendy Bottero and Nick Crossley introduce the idea of a capital-informed network intervention into Bourdieu's field, using American sociologist Howard Becker's artworld and social network theory (Bottero and Crossley 2011); Nick Prior, meanwhile, suggests using the field with a different type of social network in order to incorporate technological interventions: the actor-network (Prior 2008).

As Latour argues, actor-network theory really is a descriptive approach, 'an attempt to allow the members of contemporary society to have as much leeway in defining themselves as that offered by ethnographers' (Latour 2005, 41). In this way, it differs from field theory and from other approaches to social network analysis. While most social networks are based on a concept of society as meaning people, to interrogate associations and the role of the transfer or transmission of information, this study needed a social network approach that could incorporate not only people, but events, ideas and technology: in short—things. It also needed a non-hierarchical method that rejected assumptions about relationships to bridge the gap between the assumed and the actual, in terms of the workings of the licensing field: actor-network theory provides this approach.

3.4.2 Deconstructing the network: Identifying the roles

While actor-network theory (ANT) was originally developed in the 1980s by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon, with additional work from other scholars including John Law, this study draws primarily from Latour's articulation of the ANT approach, particularly that outlined in *Re-assembling the Social* (2005) but also in later work, such as a speech (later published) in which Latour proposes the benefits of using network-focused data visualisation software to describe social networks (Latour 2011).

In *Re-assembling the Social*, Latour sets out the principles for actor-network theory as he envisages it, claiming it might more effectively have been called 'a sociology of translations' also an appropriate description for this study (Latour 2005, 9). He also warns that ANT is not about a network as understood in the traditional sense, but network as 'a concept, not a thing out there. It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described' (Latour 2005, 131). Nor, he argues, are actors, human or otherwise, the focus of this specific form of network. In Latour's words, 'an actor-network is what is made to act by a large star-shaped web of mediators flowing in and out of it. It is made to exist by its many ties: attachments are first, actors are second' (Latour 2005, 217). In this theoretical model, the actor 'is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming towards it' (Latour 2005, 46).

In ANT, there are 'actors' and 'actants'. Simply put, an actor makes a difference but an 'actant' does not; an 'actant' is a kind of entity that may be benign—so affect nothing—or simply not quite there yet (Latour 2005, 71). This study does not use either term, 'actor' or 'actant'. Just as 'agent' has a literal meaning in the literary sphere, so too does 'actor', as while the study focuses on the trade in international publishing rights, publishing rights can also be licensed to film and television production companies, which employ human film and television actors. Consequently, this study employs the same term as it uses on the field, 'player', with each type of player defined by their specific context within any particular network. An 'actant' becomes a 'supporter'.

3.4.3 Reconceiving the social: People and things

The real benefit of applying ANT is that it is descriptive and operates at a granular level making it possible to capture the impact of multiple elements and make their role in

transformation—translation—visible. As Latour explains, in ANT, a network ‘has to be much wider than what is usually called by that name, yet strictly limited to the tracing of [...] associations and to the designing of their assemblages’ (Latour 2005, 7). The value of ANT for this project is that the descriptive method identifies what pre-formed structures cannot. By establishing connections, ANT reveals how those connections work. In the system, relationships are based on power, rather than connections; on the field, relationships are spatial; but in a network, relationships are connective, and in the model employed by this study it is these connective relationships that enable the transfer of capital.

As the previous section outlines, the concept of capital is central to this study. At the systems level, capital can be understood as being allocated by national position, whereas on a field level, it is either earned or granted. At the network level, capital is conveyed, but the network is also part of a transformation process, so the network also *generates* social capital. Latour, in one of his many criticisms of Bourdieu’s field theory, suggests ‘relativism is a way to float on data, not drown in them’ (Latour 2005, 24). He argues that a key limitation of the field is that it is an existing predetermined structure (Latour 2005, 248). The ANT approach opens up this structure.

In the field, the game seems to be partially rigged: access is limited and players are effectively handicapped by the notions of habitus and disposition—their social circumstances—so lack a real freedom to act, although acquisition of different forms of capital enables them to move. By expanding the definition of what constitutes the social, and when also used to understand social capital, ANT opens up the possibilities of movement on the field, as well as the conditions of international access. While Bourdieu argues that capital is important, the field model does not address how social capital actually works. Conceptually, once on the field, the player becomes part of the game, playing and being played. ANT is able to depict the role of social capital in this process. It can show how at a fundamental level social capital ensures that the game is inherently unfair, not only in the sense of an individual player’s acquired and inherited attributes, but also in the sense that access and positioning are enabled by the process of translation, that is, transformation.

Using the model of an actor-network, and this concept of translation and transformation (Latour 2005, 173), enables this study to establish the extent to which context determines the circulation of content.⁹ As ANT goes beyond registering the effect of social relationships, it can reveal the individual character of those relationships. As Latour explains:

Using a slogan from ANT, you have to ‘follow the actors themselves’, that is try to catch up with their often wild innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts could best define the new associations that they have been forced to establish. If the sociology of the social works fine with what has been already assembled, it does not work so well to collect anew the participants in what is now—not yet—a sort of social realm. (Latour 2005, 12)

Using the ANT model, with its focus on the new, thus complements Bourdieu’s field model—‘the sociology of the social’—with its focus on the known, allowing additional elements to be detected as active in the rights trading field, and in doing so revealing a different power structure to that traditionally ascribed within the licensing field.

Specifically, an ANT approach can reveal the hidden influences and influencers, the people and things that play a role in enabling the global trade in rights. In the twenty-first century publishing world, even before e-books were a reality, digital technology disrupted traditional practice, introducing new players and offering existing players possibilities for global connections that were previously unobtainable. In this way, technological developments can be said to have democratised potential access, if not entry, to the transnational literary field and can be considered to have agency. In this model, emails, PDFs and websites become players in international rights trading networks, supplementing traditional ‘non-human’ players, such as book fairs. When these elements are identified as connectors, their roles can be seen insofar as they affect a player’s access to the field—that is, who gets offered a license and what position they are able to assume, and how they are able to move.

⁹ The contextual elements in this study are not, however, associated with what Latour describes as the ‘Wolf of Context’, a relativist criticism (Latour 2005, 173).

By putting new players and connections within an existing network, and assembling multiple networks to reveal how they influence each other, this study re-assembles the social by allowing a new, wider global realm to be formed and examined. ANT, therefore, can be said to activate the circuits of the field. Networks become not only about the player and the contribution to the player's social capital (both illustrative and, as per Bourdieu's field, explanatory), but about the connections themselves, which, as Latour argues, are 'the centre of the social world' (Latour 2005, 238). As an approach, ANT can extract multiple levels of meaning from a single data set and thus contribute to a richer understanding of how international market access for Australian authors really works, how it is determined, and who (or what) might work together, and in what way, to determine this access.

3.4.4 Actor-networks, fields and systems: Complementary components

Overall, the world-system establishes the relationships between the multiple national and linguistic fields that make up the international licensing field, while the field and the network provide ways to understand and describe the 'game' of international access: the positions, the stakes, the strategies—and the individual plays. In a more specific sense, this three-tiered approach provides a basis from which to take into account at once the macro role of country and language power structures; the mezzo role of three key consecrating elements; and, at the micro level, the distribution (and production) of value, and the 'translations' it enables for individual players. In this way, the licensing of international rights can be viewed as a multi-dimensional process.

3.5 Representation and mapping: Truth, validity and reading

The multi-dimensional process of licensing can be explained at a macro, mezzo and micro level. To understand this process requires not only metaphorical but literal 'viewing': graphic explication is an essential part of the study's methodology. Therefore, mapping in this study is not simply used as metaphor, while map 'reading' is a layered process.

Literary cartography—a field Italian scholar Tania Rossetto distinguishes from what she describes as the analytical 'cartography of literature' or critical 'cartography *in* literature'—can benefit from an engagement with 'post-representational cartography', an approach with the capacity to blend metaphoric and literal use of cartographic terms. As she explains:

From a post-representational perspective, maps are viewed and researched as contingent, relational, embodied, fluid entities that are performed and manipulated by users in their meanings, as well as in their concrete material consistency. Maps are practices, they proceed from action, rather than being grounded in power. (Rossetto 2014, 514)

This study uses this expanded theoretical concept of mapping to interpret graphic representation at each of the three interpretive levels: world-systems can be depicted as geographic (global), the field as spatial (comparative and positional), and the actor-network as correlational (local and connective). Moreover, this concept means these maps can be understood to be constructed: reflections of different accounts and types of accounts, which necessarily need to be ‘read’ at different scales.

Using this concept of ‘mapping’ and the idea of construction means two issues related to the use of data-driven graphics can be addressed. Specifically, this expanded concept of mapping can address questions of ‘truth’ and ‘value’: in other words, the integrity of a representation and its meaning. Willard McCarty has described the need for ‘disciplined storytelling’ which needs to be accompanied by ‘a hermeneutic of suspicion’ (McCarty 2015) and while he is referring to digital projects, statisticians have also been proposing ways of ensuring this discipline. In *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information* (2001), for example, Edward Tufte explored ways of including uncertainty within a graphic image. It might be said that what is at issue is the difference between fact and *not* fact—rather than fact and fiction (or post-fact or alternative fact)—the grey area between subjective and objective. To manage this ‘grey area’, this study provides the information to describe how individual maps are created, and posits that they give an account—no more and no less—of access.

One of the ways the study creates certain types of maps is data modelling; it provides a dynamic way into data, rather than just a static end in itself. Abstracted digitally-enabled modelling using graph theory reveals connective relationships between languages, national fields and players at a global scale that other forms of visual data analysis cannot. In *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (2013), Matthew L. Jockers, co-founder of the Stanford Literary Lab with Moretti and a proponent of data-driven methods—most recently using this approach to analyse the content of 20,000 bestselling novels to discover commonalties (Archer and Jockers 2016)—demonstrates the value of

this approach as a research methodology but also the limitations. While a highly abstracted network graph provides new interpretations, for example gender and the work of Margaret Oliphant (Jockers 2013, 166), the image cannot speak for itself: without explanation, it resembles a wire kitchen brush. Drucker has a slightly different concern with this approach, arguing that a highly abstracted network graph is ‘a representation of knowledge, not a knowledge generator, whose graphic display conceals the decision and processes on which it was based’ (Drucker 2014, n.p.). This study addresses both these issues by the twin process of describing the elements used to construct the networks and using the representations as discovery tools so they can become ‘knowledge generators’.

Visualising the actor-network using traditional methods is difficult: the problem is the nature of the ‘network’ itself, but Latour has argued that ‘digital tools’ offer new opportunities to capture an actor-network’s parts as well as its whole (Latour 2011, 807), so not only as a description, but as part of the discovery process. This study addresses this representation problem by using a combination of digital and manual outputs to create a knowledge representation map of networks informed by ANT, one that also works as a ‘knowledge generator’.

These different types of maps represent different scales of analysis, so they need to be read in different ways. In literary studies, approaches to ‘reading’ have been the subject of intense debate since Moretti introduced the term ‘distant reading’, a form of reading ‘where distance is not an obstacle but a specific form of knowledge’ (Moretti 2005, 1). This form of reading has been positioned in opposition to ‘close’ reading—textual analysis—creating what became ‘reading wars’. Some have suggested these so called ‘wars’ are artificial. English, for example, declared in 2010, that

Moretti’s provocations, however scintillating, have tended to reinforce the false but pervasive perception of a great divide between literature and sociology, with the former all irrational devotion and interpretative finesse and the latter all scientific rigor and verifiable “results.” Sociology [...] has gone a good way toward dissolving, in practice as well as theory, this hoary binarism of quantitative versus qualitative. (English 2010, xiv)

Johanna Drucker, taking another approach, argues of distant reading that ‘Its literalness makes it the closest form of reading imaginable. What distant reading lacks is distance’

(Drucker 2017, 634). She is referring to the need to examine the data's origins, an approach that also dissolves the difference between the two.

This study takes a slightly different approach. Stefan Jänicke et al. propose identifying 'patterns' and exploring them so 'distant reading views [can be] interactively used to switch to close reading views' (Jänicke, et al. 2015). This study does this in a less literal fashion: identifying patterns, moving in closer, but switching angles, as it were, to get a different view. This approach to 'distant' and 'close' reading means the study does not put the scale of reading into competition, nor the scales of analysis they encompass (local, national and international). Instead, these three types of 'reading' are used together to interpret this study's map of international circulation: one that is, by turns, geographic, spatial and (cor)relational.

3.6 A purpose-built interpretative approach

Positioning international circulation in terms of licensing, a trade which can be measured through activity (as well as revenue), provides the basis from which to create this study's account of global access map. Building on the concept of cultural exchange, and the international publishing license, the complex processes that determine the trade in these licenses (the 'rights' trade) can be conceptualised using a triangulation model and tiered frame. Employing a frame that takes a macro, mezzo and micro approach makes it possible to describe the influence of, and interplay between, global power, national value and local connections, changes in each of which this study contends are responsible for the increase in the international circulation of Australian literature over the period of investigation.

Where Sapiro's tiered frame involves world-systems analysis and field theory, with a micro descriptive level, this study introduces actor-network theory in its descriptive level, arguing that this addition is complementary, and essential to explaining the logic of what this study describes as the international licensing field. This field is conceived as a sub-field of the field of transnational literary production, one entered from the national literary field by the offer (and exchange) of a license, through a conceptual transactional space, the global market-space; a space that can be seen to encompass the world literary space, as well as the field of transnational literary production. In this way, the study is able to distinguish between types of international circulation. By using field theory's concept of

types of capital, the study conceptualises and measures the cost of entry to the licensing field at an international, national and local level.

This theoretical approach makes it possible to create a licensing-informed account of international circulation, but also a data-driven, data-generated account. Or rather, data-generated maps, as while the term 'global access map' appears singular, it is plural; this one map is composed of multiple maps, as well as different kinds of maps. The methodological approach this study uses as a solution to understanding access means the study is able to create an alternative account of access, and also to measure and describe what might be called the 'conditions of international access' for works originating on the Australian publishing field. In other words, the methodological approach seeks to establish the value of Australian literature in the global marketplace.

4 Describing the data: Measuring access and influence

Two types of data are required to create the account of global circulation used in this study: both capable of measuring the extent of the transition of works from the Australian field of literary production to the global marketplace to the international licensing field, and of providing a basis from which to establish the conditions under which this transition is made. This study categorises these two types of data into activity-based, access-specific ‘transaction’ data and access-associated ‘influence’ data. Together, they simultaneously describe levels and types of access to different national and linguistic fields, identify the players involved, and by measuring the influence of factors believed to be associated with access, they establish the likely routes taken. As this study understands this influence to be part of a multi-level process, informed by national position within the world-system, value on the national field, and what can be understood as local connectivity, the data also needs to provide the evidence to demonstrate how the capital associated with power, value and connectivity determines how Australian-originated work gains entry to the international licensing field and thus becomes ‘global’, as this study defines it.

The indicator the study uses to measure global access, the license itself, also provides the data that the study uses to establish the conditions of access. These data are discoverable both within individual licenses—and visible in the specific conditions of those licenses—and externally, as the constellation of information that surrounds individual licenses and can be connected to them: data, in their broadest sense. The nature of publishing licenses, both material and symbolic, and of data as simple pieces of information, means this data can be selected from different sources. With this in mind, a key methodological question for this study was which licensing data to select: Which licenses could describe extent and reach? Which connective data could supply information not just on the ‘routes’ to access but the rationale for taking these routes?

This chapter answers that methodological question. It describes the ‘transaction’ and ‘influence’ data sets, including the rationale for their selection, and briefly introduces the methods by which these sets are organised, analysed and connected using digital methods.

In essence, it describes how this study's account of access—one that speaks to previous accounts of access but puts Australia at the centre—has been created.

4.1 Study design: Creating a new account of circulation

This study is primarily quantitative with the bibliographic and transactional evidence drawn from multiple sources. The three-tiered interpretation means there are three levels of data analysis: world-systems and field theory use aggregated data, and the way actor-network theory is used in this study means it draws on aggregated as well as de-aggregated data.

Triangulation is the methodological rationale behind the selection of sources that establish the 'transaction' set, which is constructed by combining data from three different accounts of international access, to both reconcile and benefit from their differences. This set is used in conjunction with the 'influence' set, a set containing multiple sub-sets of potentially influential data to establish the extent of access and the conditions that enable (or constrain) access. This data blend makes it possible to reveal and explore circulation information that relates to acquisition patterns, category trends, and world-wide networks. Finally, triangulation combines the separate accounts of access which position a broader range of contemporary Australian novels on the world stage than has been seen together before.

4.1.1 Delineating access: Data components

The account this study creates does not seek to be comprehensive and its parameters determine the account it can provide. These parameters—the scope—stem from the subject of the study (the work), and are applicable at seven levels: time frame, author nationality, work nationality, format, publisher, category, and genre.

Time frame: 2000—2015

The available evidence suggested that the main rise in international rights transactions for works published in Australia occurred from 2000 onwards: the new millennium also coincided with more accurate methods of monitoring and measuring book industry activity, both locally and internationally. As outlined in the previous chapter, on the production side, in 2000, the Australian Literature Database (*AustLit*) was launched as a

digital resource and Australian publishers began to change the type of works they published, with a wider focus, resulting in a greater diversity of works being available. On the reception side, also as discussed, BookScan was introduced as a sales data collection tool the following year. This period too, was when *Books + Publishing*, the trade publishing magazine, began to increase its coverage of the rights trade. For these reasons, the study's data sets begin in 2000. Moreover, the study's data sets conclude in 2015. Primarily, this relates to research limitations. However, from 2010, the logic of international access begins to alter when a convergence of e-book and on demand delivery technology, company mergers, and borderless social media, sees publishers adopt new types of access strategies to adapt to a new global media landscape. This change, however, has happened in different stages, with English language publishers ahead of translation publishers. For these reasons, the data sets in this study are limited to the period between 2000—2015.

Australian author: Citizen or resident

If 'global' is a complex question so too is what constitutes an 'Australian author'. For clarity and consistency, this study uses the existing definition on the *AustLit* database's 'About' page: an Australian author is one who is either 'born in Australia', 'born in Australia and a formative period of their lives spent here', 'born elsewhere but Australian by "adoption"' or 'born elsewhere but now resident in Australia' (*AustLit* n.d.).

Australian work: Originating in and licensed from Australia

As the purpose of this study is to establish the value of Australian culture on the international stage through looking at the circulation of Australian literature, the selection criteria for this study is restricted to works by an Australian author, published in Australia, by an Australian publisher, either first or simultaneously during the period. Works by Australian authors published first in other countries are subject to the conditions of international access relevant to works from those countries, hence are excluded.

Format: Printed

This study focuses on print books. While e-books have become increasingly visible in the English language world throughout the period under investigation, print works continue to have a higher financial and symbolic value than works only produced in electronic format, due to the financial investment involved in printing, shipping and warehousing.

More significantly, as e-books can be globally distributed and marketed online, the incentive for licensing e-book originals is not the same as for print, so the conditions of access are necessarily different: e-book circulation therefore needs to be understood through another model.

Australian publisher type: Mainstream, established throughout the period

The rationale for licensing rights differs between reference, academic, business and trade sectors of the publishing industry (Owen 2010, 58-62). For this reason, and for reasons of scope, this study focuses on just one area: trade publishing, due to its visibility and cultural significance (it simultaneously receives attention from the reading public, media, government and academia). The publishers included are book publishing members of the Australian Publishers Association, mainstream trade publishing houses that have existed for the entire period and published fiction.¹⁰ The publishers must also have active fiction lists throughout the period to enable like for like comparison across years. For this reason, small publishers such as Sleepers, Affirm Press and Black Inc. are excluded while Fremantle Arts Press and University of Queensland Press are included. In other words, the study uses a consistent sample population of the Australian literary field.

Genre: Novel

The study focuses on the adult novel. Novels are the dominant unit of study for conceiving of world literature, in both its broad sense of global access, and its narrower sense of a global canon, hence this study's findings can be considered in the context of existing studies of circulation and cultural exchange. Importantly, the documented increase in activity in the rights trade during the period has been publicly associated with novels, while the domestic and global interest in the genre mean there is a significant amount of transactional data now available.

'Adult novel' is a broad concept. *AustLit* includes short stories and novellas within its definition of 'adult novel' however, these forms of fiction circulate under different conditions to what *AustLit* defines as 'full-length, single-work fiction'. For this reason, this study is limited to full-length, single-work fiction used in other data-driven studies of

¹⁰ The study includes those that have operated under different names, such as Hodder Headline Australia which became Hachette Australia after the parent company was acquired by Hachette Livre.

Australian novels, such as Bode's *Reading by Numbers* (2012). Graphic novels, which do fall under this definition, circulate in different ways internationally—falling between adult and children's; illustrated and narrative—thus they are excluded from this study.

Categorisation: Three parts

Moretti proposes that a focus on literary fiction—works considered to be part of the canon—'erased nine-tenths of literary history' (Moretti 2005, 30). Following his example, this study considers multiple categories of works. In an analysis of the categorisation of works on *AustLit*, Bode has advocated a binary approach, and written of the way literary and genre fiction are defined in opposition to one another (Bode 2010, 38), referencing Ken Gelder's opening statement in *Popular Fiction* (Gelder 2004, 1). This binary approach has been taken by others studying Australian production during the period under review (for example, Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 10).

However, if one of the key debates in the early years of the twenty-first century has been the (supposed) decline of literary fiction, one of the important methodological debates has been how to define literary fiction—or rather, 'the literary'. BookScan does not define 'literary' as a separate category (or 'genre') nor do the industry categorisation systems the UK's Book Industry Communication (BIC), the US's Book Industry Standards and Communications (BISAC), or the international system, Thema. This complicates analysis as Magner demonstrated by comparing three accounts of the 'decline' in the production of Australian literature narrative, all drawn from *AustLit* production data, a database which also does not define 'literary'. Each account was different, with Davis' showing significant decline, Bode's moderate and Carter's, none (Magner 2012, 256). To address the categorisation problem for 'the literary', the study refines Bode's proposal that the *AustLit* field 'novel' be used as a stand in (Bode 2010, 38), by using additional indicators, including prizes and imprint status (described in Appendix C).

Trade publishers, however, do not take this 'binary' approach to categorisation. For this reason, to better reflect the way publishers position, market and so license works, this study takes a tripartite approach. Unlike other scholars, such as Verboord, whose longitudinal transnational analysis of bestseller lists, distinguishes between 'literary' and 'popular' and 'mainstream' (Verboord 2012, 400), this study designates works as 'literary',

‘commercial’ and ‘genre’, once again to better reflect industry practice. However, just as ‘the literary’ is difficult to categorise, ‘the commercial’ and ‘genre’ also pose challenges to scholars seeking to reduce subjectivity. This process can be time consuming, as Verboord et al. demonstrate by describing the multiple sources they consulted to categorise works published over a fifty year period (Verboord, Kuipers and Janssen 2015, 457). This study limits its sources to *AustLit* and publisher sites (described in Appendix C).

This particular approach to categorisation means where reference is made to the study’s data using the terms ‘literary fiction’, ‘commercial fiction’ and ‘genre fiction’, these terms should be understood to mean those works categorised for the study as such. Finally, this tripartite taxonomic categorisation can produce a different kind of analysis to existing studies of circulation and thus produce a market-oriented account of circulation, and more specifically, of access.

4.1.2 Describing the boundaries: A particular account

If its specific boundaries determine the account the study can provide, these boundaries also determine the data that can be used within them. What is required is transactional data that describes rights traded internationally for full length, single volume, adult novels, originating in the Australian literary field, published by mainstream publishers in print form and traded from that field between 2000—2015.

4.2 Transaction data set: International access achieved

Establishing a comprehensive list of international access information about Australian novels is complex for multiple reasons, including the questions of how to ‘assess’ access, what data to include, and where to find it. There is also the question of how to compare results in large data sets where multiple languages are used, a problem reported in relation to building the database for *Windows on Australia* (Wilson and Gerber 2011, 8). This study addresses these questions by using linguistic and nation-based data to assess access; includes only data related to access; and, during the processing of the data, standardises linguistic characters so transaction information about international works can be compared digitally. This reductive approach makes it possible to describe the extent of access and construct the relationships between novels, linguistic and national fields, as

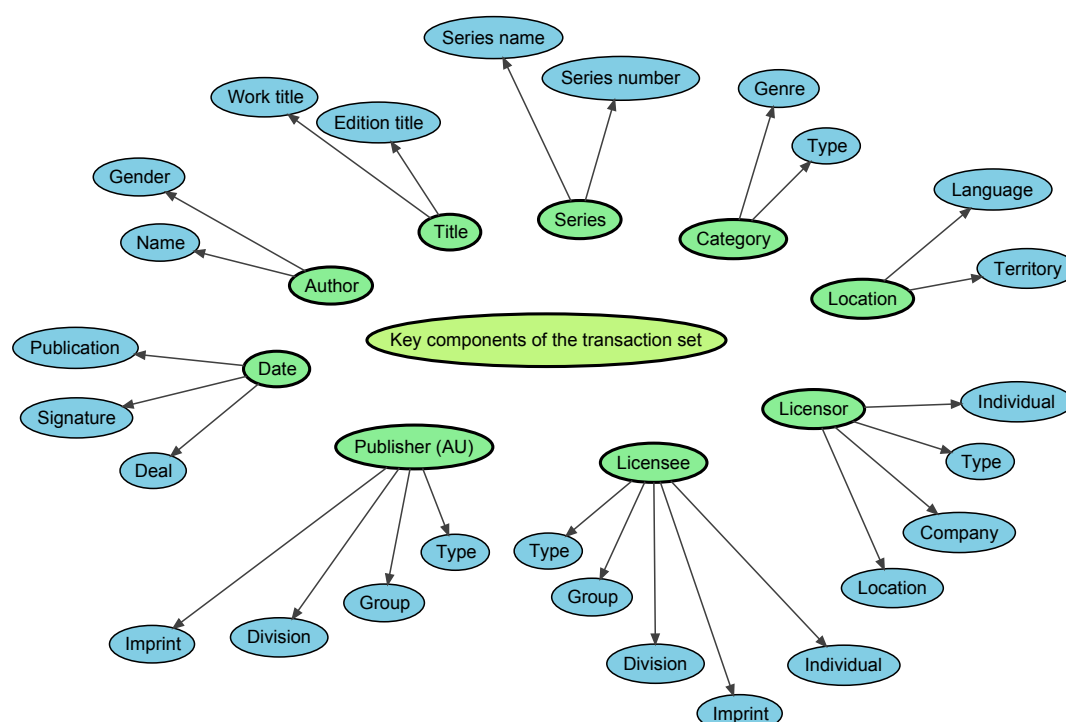
well as publishers and other cultural intermediaries to create the first component of this study's account of access: a transaction data set.

Sourcing the data was difficult. Establishing those works that achieve access during the period is the central concern and while the *AustLit* database is widely used to understand national and international trade flows, a brief comparison at the start of the study between international editions recorded on *AustLit* against a private list of rights transactions revealed the account of access the database provides is, like all accounts, a partial one.¹¹ That these transactions were for commercial works made it necessary to overcome this category-based partiality.

The bibliographic nature of *AustLit* also means it is not designed to capture 'transactional' information about novels that have been licensed internationally. While it describes works that have been traded, it does not describe how they were traded. Transactional data has two aspects: the bibliographic aspect and the details of the transaction. The study uses the term 'transaction' to capture the exchange aspect of licensing and convey the full complexity of what is involved in the trade in international rights. Figure 7 illustrates the range of data elements that can be measurable in a rights transaction; it demonstrates just how much information is extractable from a license and can be used to provide evidence of different aspects of access.

¹¹ These are transactions in which the author of this study was involved between 2000—2010.

Figure 7. Publishing licenses: Components of the transaction data set



No single source captures this particular range of elements. Instead of using oral accounts, interviews, or an industry-wide survey, which would have required support from key industry bodies, this study uses another method to establish the ‘transaction’ data set.¹² It draws on three sources (each of which describes a different stage of access) and so provides both a complementary account of entry to the international licensing field, but also the process of entry and the first indication of the price of entry.

The key steps in any agreement are deal, license and publication: no one source provides all these details yet they were all discoverable. For deal details, international rights deals publicly reported were collated; for license information, the study drew on data sets provided by four of the largest and most visible Australian publishers. For the bibliographic information on international editions, data was extracted from the country’s

¹² Neither the Australian Society of Authors nor the Australian Publishers Association responded to email approaches. The Australian Literary Agents’ Association was not approached, as not all internationally active agencies are members.

largest scholarly literary research database. Together, these three data categories establish what this study describes as ‘the licensing path’: three stages, three accounts, with a little more information introduced at each stage.

4.2.1 The deal stage: Access publicly announced

What is publicly known about the licensing of rights to Australian novels during the period of this study begins with a published announcement. The most common source of this information in Australia during the period is *Books + Publishing* (*B + P*). It is from this magazine that the study draws the data that constructs what it describes as the ‘deal set’.

Established in 1921, until 2018 the magazine was owned by Thorpe-Bowker (hence for the period of this study). In its current incarnation, the magazine has a quarterly print edition with an online presence, weekly digital newsletters and periodic supplements. The magazine’s website describes it as:

Australia’s number-one source of news about the book industry, keeping subscribers up to date with the latest book industry news, events, features, interviews, opinion, personnel changes, job advertisements and classifieds. (*Books + Publishing* n.d.)

Prior to 2012, ten issues a year were published, in print. As discussed in Chapter 2, issues published early in the period under investigation pay relatively little attention to the international rights trade, not reporting deals as regularly, or as often, as in later issues. While the domestic deal column ‘Big Deal’ is consistently at the front of the magazine, the ‘Wheeling and Dealing’ column, which focuses primarily on international rights, shifts around from the front of the magazine to the back. Sometimes it is not there at all. In 2003, there was a significant change in the magazine’s approach to Australian engagement in the international market: consequently, the ‘export’ supplement *Think Australian* was launched. As this supplement focuses on the export of intellectual property and promoting Australian writing to the international market, so it contains extensive information on the production and reception of Australian work, as well as licensing. The ‘deal’ data set is primarily drawn from here, but supplemented with data drawn from articles and interviews with publishing professionals about international rights, the magazine’s ‘Wheeling and Dealing’ column and, from 2012, the weekly email ‘Rights Round up’.

In addition to providing the trade media account of international rights licensing activity during the period, a significant benefit of using *B + P* data in the study is that, along with details about activity assumed to be of public interest—such as author name, work title, country or language, and sometimes licensee name—each license transaction has a publication date associated (the publication date of the magazine, supplement or newsletter). This acts as an ‘announcement’ date and provides an indication of when the deal might have happened. To discover if a prize or bestseller listing is actually associated with increased international access for a work, a deal date is particularly valuable, as a publication date is less reliable due to the time lags between acquisition and publication.

Crucially, the *B + P* announcements also indicate licensing responsibility, strategies used to reach the global marketplace, and strategies used to secure access to the international licensing field: in short, deals. As the person reporting the deal is generally the licensor (they hold the information), this set provides evidence of the party responsible for the deal, which is information often difficult to obtain on a large scale but is nonetheless important. Lack of transparency creates an environment where perceptions about ‘ability’ dominate, rather than facts about ability. This set also illustrates how publishers and agents alike engage third parties to license works internationally on their behalf as an access strategy, which is not visible in traditional bibliographic databases. Likewise, the *B + P* deal announcements are one of the few public spaces in which territorial rights grants are referenced in relation to particular deals. Information about these grants is particularly valuable, as their composition can make apparent the power structures of core-periphery English language trade flows, revealing the differing capital holdings between Australian licensors and international licensees.

Changes to the magazine’s focus, reporting methods and data quality itself all affect the account this data set provides. There are periods in the early years of the study when no deals are reported, while the magazine’s increasing coverage of the rights trade may reflect activity, interest in activity, or both. Deal dates too may reflect different stages of a deal (a verbal agreement, a written agreement, a signed agreement), depending on the licensor; they might also reflect the magazine’s publication schedule, since a combined ‘summer’ edition means there are long gaps between announcements in earlier editions. Given the time lag between deal and publication might take a year or two (or three, the data shows),

these differences are relatively insignificant. More significant is that the information published is self-reported. This account, therefore, reflects those who chose to make their deals public—and chose to do it through the magazine. The wording and level of detail, meanwhile, reflect those who contributed the information. This means the style is not consistent and the deal data required extensive cleaning (described in Appendix A). This set was also manually collated, so reflects the limitations of this process. None of these factors impact upon the validity of the account, only what the data can be understood to represent. It is, nevertheless, a public account of industry activity, one that provides evidence of access and route to access.

B + P also provides data that creates a different picture of access: the results of their annual rights survey, first conducted in 2004. Reproduced in the magazine as well as *Think Australian*, this survey acts as an annual public record of activity. As *Think Australian* is distributed internationally, this is also the record the (publishing) world has been given to read, so it is an important one to interrogate. Finally, the magazine's ongoing (and increasing) interest in both rights activity and rights as a trade means it is a particularly rich source of information on Australian industry views about the licensing process, activity, trends and issues, all of which contribute to establishing and elucidating the industry understanding surrounding these areas.

4.2.2 The license stage: Access legally agreed

There is also much this trade media picture does not reveal, particularly about licensees. This means global company relationships cannot be traced, for example. Similarly, while deal announcements may reference the involvement of cultural intermediaries and specific linguistic or geographic territory grants, these references are only intermittent. The license data set ('the license set'), which provides the basis for establishing an industry account of access, supplies more information about these three areas: it is also the next stage in the licensing path. Where the deal data is the account of a public announcement of a deal, the license set is the confirmation of a deal. This set also represents what can be considered to be the industry's account of international access over the period as represented by the licensing transactional records of four of the most active publishers in the deal data set. Six of the most active publishing houses were approached to supply non-commercially sensitive title licensing information for this study. Five responded, and four

supplied their international licensing transaction records for the period: HarperCollins Australia, Allen & Unwin, Penguin Australia and Random House Australia.¹³

An analysis of domestic bestseller lists between 2000-2015—those used in this study, and introduced in the ‘influence set’ section of this chapter—shows that together these four companies are responsible for 39 percent of all copies sold (all other companies combined represented just 35 percent with the exception of Pan Macmillan, which represented 26 percent). As well as increasing the extent (number of transactions), they increase the transaction set’s comprehensiveness, as the four publisher data sets combine bibliographic with transactional information, as well as transactional information not present in the deal set. Along with author and title information—and, in some cases, series and work category—the license set includes information on contract date, language and licensee (the name of the international publishing house or group that acquired the work). These entries also include more comprehensive third-party intermediary information. In this way, the license set adds detail to the global networks of cultural exchange by identifying players who might otherwise be invisible (or their active role across multiple works difficult to identify). It also includes more information about geographic territory grants.

The data that forms the license data set, called that as the distinguishing feature is based on license execution dates (that is to say, the confirmation of the license), was supplied by each publisher in Excel format and drawn from their respective databases. This means this set is the most accurate of the three sub-sets that together form the transaction data set, as problems associated with transcription and manual entry were avoided.¹⁴ Each company records rights information in slightly different ways, so this data also required cleaning, but less than the deal set. The licensing set data provides an account of industry knowledge of rights transactions, as understood by large publishing houses.

¹³ Random House and Penguin merged in 2013, but as they were separate for most of the period covered, they are treated as separate companies in this study.

¹⁴ The original Random House Australia and HarperCollins Australia data sets included authors from New Zealand: they needed to be manually identified so as to be excluded; the original Allen & Unwin data set included non-fiction, so these works needed to be manually identified and removed; finally, the Penguin set included works published outside the period which also needed to be identified and excluded.

4.2.3 The publication stage: Access confirmed

While the deal and license sets provide transactional detail, neither provide consistent information about the particular imprints within publishing houses, or particular genres of works; moreover, none provide information about the gender of authors. Therefore, these data sets do not provide accounts that can answer questions about access and imprint relationships, or describe differences in access by category, or reveal the ways in which the accounts of access might be gendered. For this information, the study uses data from the set widely. *AustLit* provides the study's 'publication' data set, the sub-set of the transaction set constructed from bibliographic records of works published during the period with associated international editions. Where the 'deal' set provides the trade media account, and the 'license' set an industry account, the 'publication' set can be understood as the scholarly account.

The 'publication' set provides the most bibliographic information as unlike the deal and license data sets—which focus on licensing activity—the *AustLit* database is designed on bibliographic principles. The database contains multiple fields, but the information extracted for the study was limited to data from fields which could answer questions about access from a contextual perspective. These fields include: author, title, series, publisher imprint and publication year, as well as work genre and author gender, alternative titles and translator names.

As with the other two sub-sets of the transaction set, the account provided by the *AustLit* data set needs to be understood in relation to particular factors, in particular, content and focus. This set reflects indexer and researcher records of activity; it documents the international circulation of Australian novels through providing information of and about international editions: it is not designed to reflect international licensing activity per se. So on the one hand, *AustLit* provides extensive information on access, and the data contributed by large studies of particular countries, languages and genres, are reflected in its composition. On the other hand, as explained when *AustLit* was introduced in the previous chapter, the design of the database itself does not allow for licensing conditions to be included, so responsibility and conditions are not visible in this set. The metadata fields show works have been licensed by recording the existence of an edition (or more than one); however, the database does not record the term of a license, does not have a

field to record the players involved in the multiple parts of the licensing process, and does not accommodate listing territories that may have been part of the transaction. The absence of structural mechanisms to record the specifics involved in the licensing process reflects the bibliographic literary studies and book history-focused genesis of *AustLit*, but without these mechanisms the potential of the database as a data source for this study is limited. Moreover, *AustLit* reinforces the perception that content drives access by providing evidence of access but not providing the resources to challenge this perception.

4.2.4 Transactions: A three-stage process

Individually, these three ‘transaction’ set sub-sets serve three purposes. They establish what can be considered as ‘known’ about the rights trade during the period within the three primary groups from which they were sourced: industry trade media, academia and the publisher rights holders. Comparing the access levels of international access for works common to all three sets establishes the margin of error between them, and provides an indication of the differences in each account. Combined, because of their individual collection rationales and the contributions each set makes, these three data sets produce a more complete description of the licensing path than has been available: the ‘transaction’ set. This description provides information that can answer questions of access at three levels. At the systems level, the transaction set provides details about global access and extent, the data to measure the effect of linguistic and national power structures, and how categories might affect access. It also shows access strategies relating to third party involvement and, usually, geographic territory exchanges. By including details of gender and genre, activity by licensor type and rights type, and by publisher and imprint, it provides a way to connect relationships.

Finally, the licensing path, and the steps along this path (deal, license and publication) are crucial to establish exactly what measurable factors might influence access at an international, national and local level. These measurements, which this study conceptualises in terms of capital holdings relating to power, value and connectivity, provide the basis by which to understand how access occurs and the rationale for the different routes by which works become international.

4.3 Influence set: Establishing and measuring access routes

This ‘transaction set’ establishes the licensing path and describes the relationship between the Australian literary field and international licensing field—but this data cannot provide the evidence to establish the value of individual Australian works in the global marketplace. It does not reveal the type, weight or combination of capital required to secure a license to the international field: it can describe access but not the access routes.

This study proposes that the rationales for acquisition from the domestic marketplace that John B. Thompson claims of the Anglo-American trade publishing industry—sales or prestige (Thompson 2010, 10)—differ when works are acquired from the global marketplace. At a conceptual level, it proposes the rise in rights activity can be linked to international structural changes, but also changing perceptions of what constitutes value (industry changes), and technology-enabled connectivity (engagement with the digital sphere). On a more material level, these factors can be identified in terms of prestige and sales, through awards and bestseller listings, but also through rights activity itself (those who trade those rights and, crucially, the network in which those rights are traded). Together, these factors contribute to the value of a work to determine the likelihood of access.

If one of the central methodological questions of the study was which data to select to describe access, and another how to categorise works, the third was how to measure this value: the answer lies in the concept of different forms of capital. At a macro level, capital holdings are national, and can be measured through the transactions themselves and understood in terms of national capital. At a mezzo level, using the tripartite concept of consecration means selection of the data becomes straightforward: they fall under institutional (cultural capital), market (economic capital) and industry (intellectual capital). The transaction set provides the evidence for intellectual capital in the form of transactions themselves, while awards and sales provide the measure for cultural and economic capital. Symbolic capital is measured through the accumulation of different types of capital. At the micro level, using ANT, the connections which convey these five other types of capital and create social capital, can be seen in publisher networks, agent connections, and events themselves.

4.3.1 Institutional data: Establishing cultural capital

To understand international access, it is necessary to assess the value of an individual national field's cultural capital within the global marketplace. Awards are material signs of prestige, hence institutional consecration, and contribute to a player's holding of cultural capital. The most common forms of awards for novels are prizes but for the international licensing field, publication grants take on a greater significance. For this reason, these two types of awards form the first of the three part 'influence' data set.

Prizes: Category and location

To understand the impact of prizes on access to the international field for Australian players, this study incorporates 49 sets of prizes. Building this data set was straightforward. Information was compiled from multiple sources such as *AustLit*, award sites, and publisher and agent websites. All available details were manually collated into a single spreadsheet. Along with author, title and year of the award where possible this data set also includes publisher name as well as imprint. Finally, the study classifies these prizes by location and award type. The first is a straightforward geographic classification, primarily to be able to identify the difference between the value of domestic and international prizes. The second is based on the body behind the award. Comparing the winners of prizes by location and category with the works in the 'transaction' data set reveals the relationship between access and this form of prestige, a form regularly believed to influence access.

At a macro-systems level, comparing this part of the 'influence' set with the 'transaction' set makes it possible to discover the different levels of international value attached to different prizes. It also makes it possible to establish how this alters by linguistic and national field, and, how this reflects the European-centred systems-based logic of the transnational field. Including location and genre information fields, as in table 1, establishes the way in which different types of consecration are valued on the international licensing field.

Table 1. Prize set classification by region and category

Prize Type	Institutional (literary)	Association (genre)	Industry awards (commercial)
International	Booker and Man Booker (‘Booker’) ¹⁵ Pulitzer	British Crime Writers Association’s ‘Gold Dagger’	
Regional	Commonwealth Writers’ Prize		
National	ASAL Gold Medal Miles Franklin Prime Minister’s Award <i>The Australian/Vogel</i>	Australian Crime Writers Association (the ‘Ned Kellys’), Aurealis (speculative fiction) Romance Writers Association awards	Australian Book Industry Awards
State	Multiple Australian state premier’s awards		

This approach means nuanced questions can be asked about the role these signs of consecration play in influencing international transactions, such as: Do industry awards have more influence than institutional awards? While the conclusions that can be drawn from this set are limited by the fact that the ‘transaction’ set is an account, not a comprehensive record of access, the licensing set does provide comprehensive records for a number of prize-winning works, and not all influence analysis requires full records. For example, a prize might be associated with a work, but does that mean the prize influenced access to specific sub-fields? Comparing the ‘transaction’ date for a work against the date the prize is awarded provides an indication of the internationally tradeable level of cultural capital associated with that prize—in other words, the weight of that prize on access and thus its potential influence on access, and as a route to access.

¹⁵ The Man Group took over sponsorship of the Booker Prize from 2002. From this year, the prize was renamed the Man Booker Prize but continued to be known unofficially as the Booker Prize: this study uses the official name for specific instances of the prize, otherwise it uses the colloquial name.

Grants: Translation Grants (Australia Council for the Arts)

The cultural capital associated with a prize can help works obtain a translation grant. The difference between other forms of institutional consecration and translation grants is that this kind of grant directly funds a work's entry into the international licensing field. The Australia Council for the Arts' Translation Grant Program has been the primary instrument of translation funding during the period, and not only linguistic translation: grants have been awarded to enable works to enter the American field, which could be considered a form of cultural translation.

For this data set, this study uses funding data supplied by the Australia Council. Structurally, it consists of author, title, international publisher, grant date and country; language and gender fields were also added. This means the works in this data set can be linked not only to the works in the 'transaction' set but to national fields and publishing houses. This data required very little processing. However, those categories of works that do not fit the selection criteria of the study were excluded.

While this set is also effectively a 'transaction' set as it records evidence of transactions, and provides its own account of access, it is included within the 'influence' set because it does not form part of the licensing path; while there is a grant year, there is not a 'transaction' year. However, the grant set's dual status means it can answer questions about the influence of institutional mechanisms over the period on category access, what extent these mechanisms influence linguistic and national access, and how they influenced access for individual publishers. Analysing the grant data in conjunction with the transaction set data also means questions about gender and international institutional support for access can be asked.

Together, these two award data sets provide evidence of institutional consecration. Establishing the value of this form of consecration in enabling access to the international licensing field makes it possible to discover if cultural capital might be more or less valuable internationally than other forms of capital, such as the form that drives the national field: economic.

4.3.2 Market: Establishing economic capital through bestseller listings

To discover the relationship between bestseller status and access, this study compiles data on domestic bestsellers between 2000—2015. ‘Bestseller’ is a term which can be understood in multiple ways. In this study, it is used to signify an Australian work for which the annual aggregated copy sales puts it among the top ten bestselling domestic adult novels for any single year during the period of the study (or ranked between one and ten by *B + P*). The task was simplified by the introduction of BookScan. When the study began, the cost of obtaining BookScan data directly meant it was not feasible.¹⁶ However, compiling the deal data revealed an alternative source: *B + P*. Throughout the period, *B + P* published annual bestseller lists, for much of the time separating Australian from international works, adult from children’s literature, and fiction from non-fiction. Initially, the data was supplied by the Australian Publishers Association (APA), hence it was more useful than the multiple store-based lists printed in newspapers at the time. By 2003, the magazine reproduced BookScan data and while BookScan’s cultural value continues to be under debate, there is no question as to its value as a research tool and indicator of domestic market activity. According to the BookScan website, it currently captures 90 percent of the Australian retail market for books (A.C. Nielsen BookScan n.d.).

As with the transaction set, the individual influence sets need to be considered as accounts. Despite its ubiquity and seeming authority, so too does BookScan. The overall sales picture BookScan provides comes from estimates of sales based on tracking data from contributing stores: it is an indicator of activity. The specific data provided by the *B + P* bestseller lists are as follows: author, title, imprint, format, price, copy sales and annual ranking. As with the *B + P* deal data set, the sales data were manually transcribed into a spreadsheet and, as with the prize and grant lists, the data in this set can be digitally linked to corresponding data in the ‘transaction’ set, through author and work, while the other elements can be used to assess value.

The information needed to be collated manually so there is potential for manual error, but beyond data entry, little processing was required as the information is consistent. The main consideration is that sales are recorded by a work’s ISBN, and each edition has a

¹⁶ This situation has since changed with BookScan altering their approach to research.

separate ISBN. This means that works with more than one edition—for instance, those published in hardback, trade paperback and mass market format, that is, successful works—have their edition sales treated separately. As licensors seeking to access the international literary field are likely to use both ranking and aggregated figures, this study adopted the same approach, aggregating works sales by year and period. Again, this means that this set, as with the transaction sets, needs to be read as an interpretation of the data, rather than the raw data presented in *B + P*.

As with the prize data set, the benefit of having dates in the ‘transaction’ set means that the association between a bestseller listing and international access can be established by asking if the access was before or after the listing. In this way, the relative value of economic capital, as represented by copy sales, can be assessed in terms of how it appears to influence access to the international field: and how it may actually influence access.

4.3.3 Reception: Transferring capital and creating social capital

Information about the process of access—what might be considered the connective tissue that enables access—can only be found at the micro level: the network level. At this level, while this study employs the concept of reception, following Sapiro, instead of positioning reception in the marketplace, it focuses on the reception in the marketspace. In this space, the study focuses on producer-to-producer relationships and considers the reception of works in terms of these relationships as well as within the wider concept of connection, and how it enables the creation and transference of social capital.

This study draws on network-related data to investigate the role of connections. As the study employs ANT, the definition of network is not confined to people, and the concept of ‘contact’ within a network describes transformative relations within the marketspace, rather than inert associations: ANT is the description of an evolving network. While there are multiple ways that connections are made and can be measured in the contemporary global marketspace, the limited scope of this study means it focuses on three elements that throughout the period are believed to have enabled access, or can be observed to have enabled it by enabling connections, capital transfer and work transformation. This data is composed of a company relationship set, scout client relationship set, a list of attendees

from the Australia Council's publishing industry networking program, and an event timeline.

Commercial global networks: Multinational company relationships

The global groups that own many publishing houses and imprints and operate in multiple languages and countries are referred to in different ways in analysis of the publishing industry. As Eva Hemmungs Wirtén comments, referring to structural changes between 1970—2000, 'Names come and go, since the *modus operandi* of the conglomerate process is a continuous state of mergers and acquisition, alliances and licensing deals' (Hemmungs Wirtén 2007, 397). Publishing houses, even large ones, form just part of this shifting portfolio. In theory, the constituent parts of a multinational company should be simple to identify, but in practice, the way multinational companies are structured—and this business of names coming and going—can make this process difficult. They might, for example, have corporate owners, groups, international national divisions, local divisions, imprints, and sub-imprints.

In the 'transaction' data set, each of the component data sets describe licensees in a different way: the deal data set tends to refer to the licensor by publishing house name or imprint name; the licensing data set tends to use the publishing house name or the publishing group name; and the edition data set uses the imprint name which might also be the publishing house name. These different approaches mean that trading relationships can be hidden or made to appear closer than they are. To discover the actual situation, the connections between company owners, publishers and imprints (and sub-imprints) need to be established. However, the changes of ownership Hemmungs Wirtén refers to, which can happen at a global or country level, mean ownership tables that link the multiple parts are normally only as current as their publication date, or slightly less so. For this reason, this study does not rely on existing scholarly data sets.

A set was compiled for the study including, where known, dates of ownership changes if they occurred during the period under review, which are not normally included due to the limitations of bibliographic databases. These dates were used to determine inclusion in the group in the field. If the takeover was in the year of the deal or license, the imprint (or publishing house) was deemed owned by the new company; if the takeover was in the year

of publication, it was deemed owned by the old company (an exception is the Penguin Random House data set, as the merger was in July 2013 and the combined group lists few deals after this date).

Information to construct the company relationship set was primarily sourced from individual company websites and annual *Publishers' Weekly* '50 top publishing company' lists. The company relationship set itself includes a wide range of companies; this study includes those with Australian works and international editions, as the purpose is to establish how Australian works access the international licensing field. As this is a global study, both parent and sibling companies are included, as well as those companies that publish in the English language and those who publish in languages other than English.

Constructing a study-specific company relationship set, with merger and takeover dates, means the data can be used to assess the influence of intercompany links across the international licensing field constructed by the 'transaction' set data. Questions can be asked, such as: Is there a current company relationship? And, if there is: What role does this relationship play in enabling access?

Formal global connections: Scout client relationships

If company relationships are difficult to establish, another form of global relationship that is even harder to establish is the scout client relationship. As Emily Williams, a New York scout for five years, explains—in one of three articles on scouting—scouts 'help make sure the companies we work for know about the books that might interest them' (Williams 2009). However, while *B + P* consistently lists scout use as a 'conduit' to international access for Australian licensors in their rights surveys, this 'conduit' is not the same as working with a sister company or sub-agent or attending a book fair, as scouts do not work for licensors, but licensees. So while as Thompson notes they can form a key part of the international communication circuit, in that, as he puts it: 'Buzz generates more buzz' (Thompson 2010, 96), 'buzz' is not always what is communicated. Chandler Crawford, previously with Sanford J. Greenburger Associates, is frank about a scout's role:

a foreign editor will say, 'Well what do you think about this book? And the scout will say, 'Oh it's garbage, just forget about it,' and then the editor puts a big cross by that title and it's done. That editor is not even going to read it.

And I think that's the power of the scout that is probably not talked about very much. (Williams 2010)

If the power of scouts is not much talked about, this is because their role as intermediaries is not always evident. They do not appear linked to clients or works on bibliographic databases nor do they tend to appear in deal announcements, and they do not work with authors, so they are not listed in contract agreements for rights transactions. Publishers tend not to list their scouts (as they do sub-agents) on their websites. Yet to understand the global rights trade, it is important to include literary scouts in the process as they are, along with being powerful, arguably the most global of all publishing industry players, the most widely connected, and potentially the most influential for access.

To discover the precise role of scouts in enabling international access for Australian work required another data set: a scout client list. No scout client list existed that revealed those with responsibility for or interest in the Australian field, so one was compiled for this study. This was done by combining different sources. The American publishing industry news site *Publishing Trends* provides information on American scouts. No such centralised information source is available to discover information about British and European scouts, but by using a combination of book fair attendee profiles, media commentary, scout client book fair handouts and scout websites, this study was able to put together a set of data. Fair hand-outs are particularly useful. These vary in their level of detail about a scout's clients, but in addition to a client's imprint name, group (if relevant) and country in which their client is based, they might include the names and contact details of the acquiring editors (or publishers or foreign rights representative) who work with the scout, along with client publishing category (children's, fiction, non-fiction, for example, or genre, such as fantasy, crime or romance). Often they provide some indication of their client's specific interests, the acquisitions their clients have recently made, or information about the company who published the original work. This last piece of information contributes to the social capital involved in imprints themselves. As with the other transaction and influence data sets, this set is just one account of activity. The information it provides about potential paths to access needs to be interpreted carefully.

Publishing Trends is a downloadable annual list of American scouting agencies and their contact details along with their international clients, by imprint and geographic territory;

this sheet also lists film and television clients. However, the *Publishing Trends* annual representative summaries are only traceable for the years 2009—2015, hence the study's American scout representation can only be assumed to be accurate for this period. The period of potential accuracy for British scouts is even shorter. Due to the sources it is 2012—2015. Prior to this period, the same relationships might have existed, but the data set cannot be used as evidence to support this as while scouts often have long term relationships with their publisher clients, scouts also do change clients (or clients changes scouts).

Using a data-driven approach means that transactions cannot be directly attributed to scouts, but by using a scout client data set in conjunction with the 'transaction' set, this study can track potential involvement in deals by digitally linking these normally invisible mediators to licensors on the transaction list. In this way, they can be inserted into the licensing process network. Using this process brings into view the role of scouts in international flows of information, and as transmitters and producers of the social capital that can result in transactions and access to the international licensing field.

Informal global relationships: Visiting International Publishers Program

Running since 1998, the Visiting International Publishers (VIP) program is an Australian government program administered by the Australia Council for the Arts. The Council's website states that the program 'strengthens relationships between Australian publishers and agents and their international counterparts, showcases Australia's literary talent, and promotes the sale of Australian titles in international markets.' (Australia Council for the Arts n.d.). Put another way, this program can be understood to recognise the role social capital plays in increasing economic and cultural capital. In 2015, Dr Wendy Were—Executive Director, Arts Strategy at the Council—stated:

Since its inception in 1998, the VIPs program has welcomed over 220 international editors, publishers and literary agents to Australia and generated up to \$1 million a year in international rights sales for Australian writers. (Australia Council for the Arts 2015)

Currently the VIP program brings 12-15 international publishers to Australia annually, and the program coincides with either the Sydney Writers' Festival or Adelaide Writers' Week. The attendee list supplied by the Australia Council includes: attendee name, company,

position, country and year. This combination of data means this data set can be compared to the 'transaction' set, and relationships discovered through company or imprint and country names, and year of attendance. While it is called the Visiting International Publishers program, attendees also include other intermediaries such as English language agents and translation agents, along with literary scouts.

Timeline: Networking events

The ANT approach makes it possible to incorporate the role of 'things' into this licensing network. Arguably, an event timeline need not be a data set but can instead offer contextual information (much the same as interviews). However, including a timeline as a separate data set means 'events' can be treated as data and be incorporated into networks. For this reason, this study includes an event timeline as data.

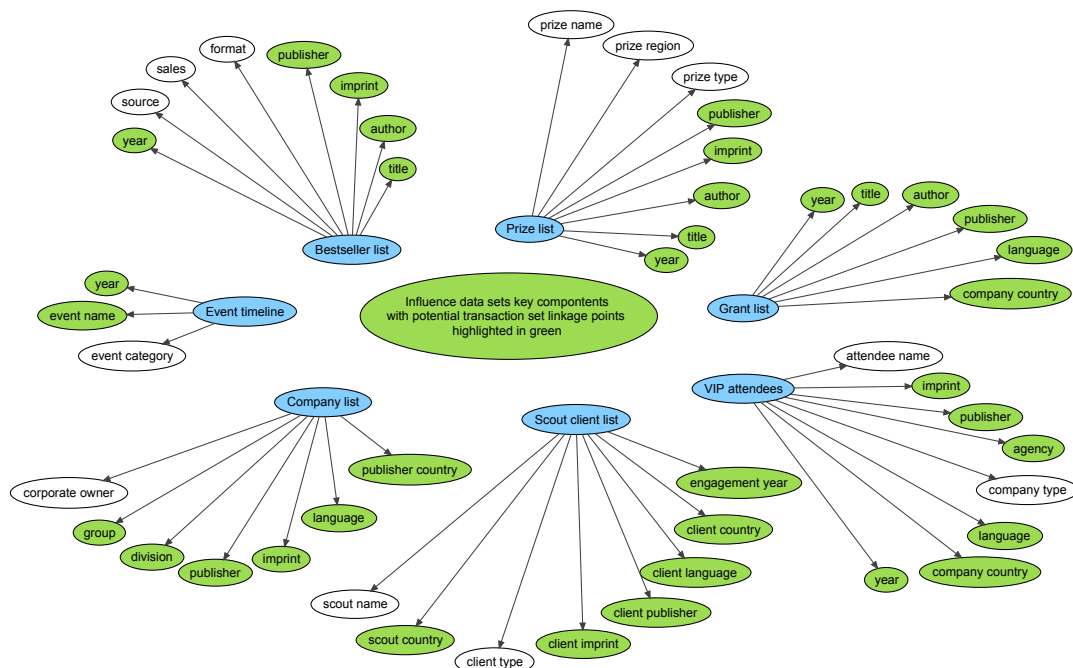
As with the company and scout client data sets, the event timeline was constructed for this study. The full timeline incorporates major external event data between 1968 and 2015, as well as some transaction set data and influence set data, and separates it into five areas: global, legal, industrial (industry), cultural and technological. This final data set captures the introduction of certain devices and software; legal interventions or attempted interventions (the multiple investigations into territorial copyright, for example); major global events (political and financial); and cultural influences which might have drawn attention to Australia and the Australian literary field, as well as international developments which might have affected the potential to trade internationally.

Drawing on this event timeline means an event can be 'allowed' to have agency. Incorporating events into a network makes it possible to link this involvement to global access. ANT would describe it as following the track. As Latour writes, 'someone pointed out to me that the acronym A.N.T. was perfectly fit for a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveller' (Latour 2005, 9), an essential requirement for the application of this approach. Only instead of tracking connections manually, including the event timeline as data makes it possible to establish connections digitally as well. Incorporating this timeline data means the concept of agency can be interrogated and the moments of intervention at which a work might be transformed—or access to the field might be increased—identified.

4.3.4 Uncovering access: Three types of influence

These three types of influence data set provide a way to consider the importance of connectivity through key components within the publishing industry and by doing so, provide a way to assess the value of the social capital they convey. This consideration requires analysis of the relationship between these sets. Figure 8 shows the linkage points.

Figure 8. Influence factors with linkage points to transaction set primary components



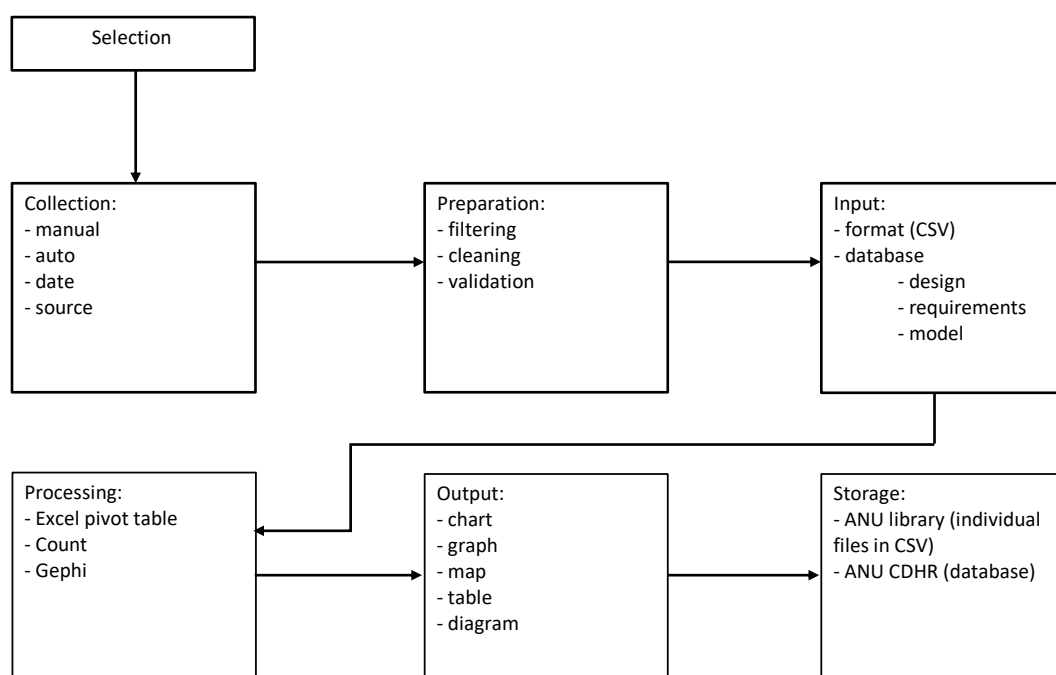
Analysing these relationships, along with analysing the transaction, and other influence data sets, was a multi-step process. The data in each individual set had to be filtered, cleaned, and collated, prior to being processed and, subsequently, visualised, explored, analysed and interpreted.

4.4 Details into data: Transforming the access information

The methods this study uses to measure and interpret the data require the information from the transaction and influence sets be transformed from human-readable information to machine-readable data: to do this meant identifying access itself and discovering the routes to access that the raw data, when processed, is capable of describing. Preparing,

processing and analysing the data involved six key stages including the construction of a purpose-built database and the use of different types of software to facilitate tabulation, calculation and visual exploration: figure 9 provides an abstracted description of these stages. This section provides a brief overview of these stages (for more detail, see Appendix D).

Figure 9. Data flow chart (simple)

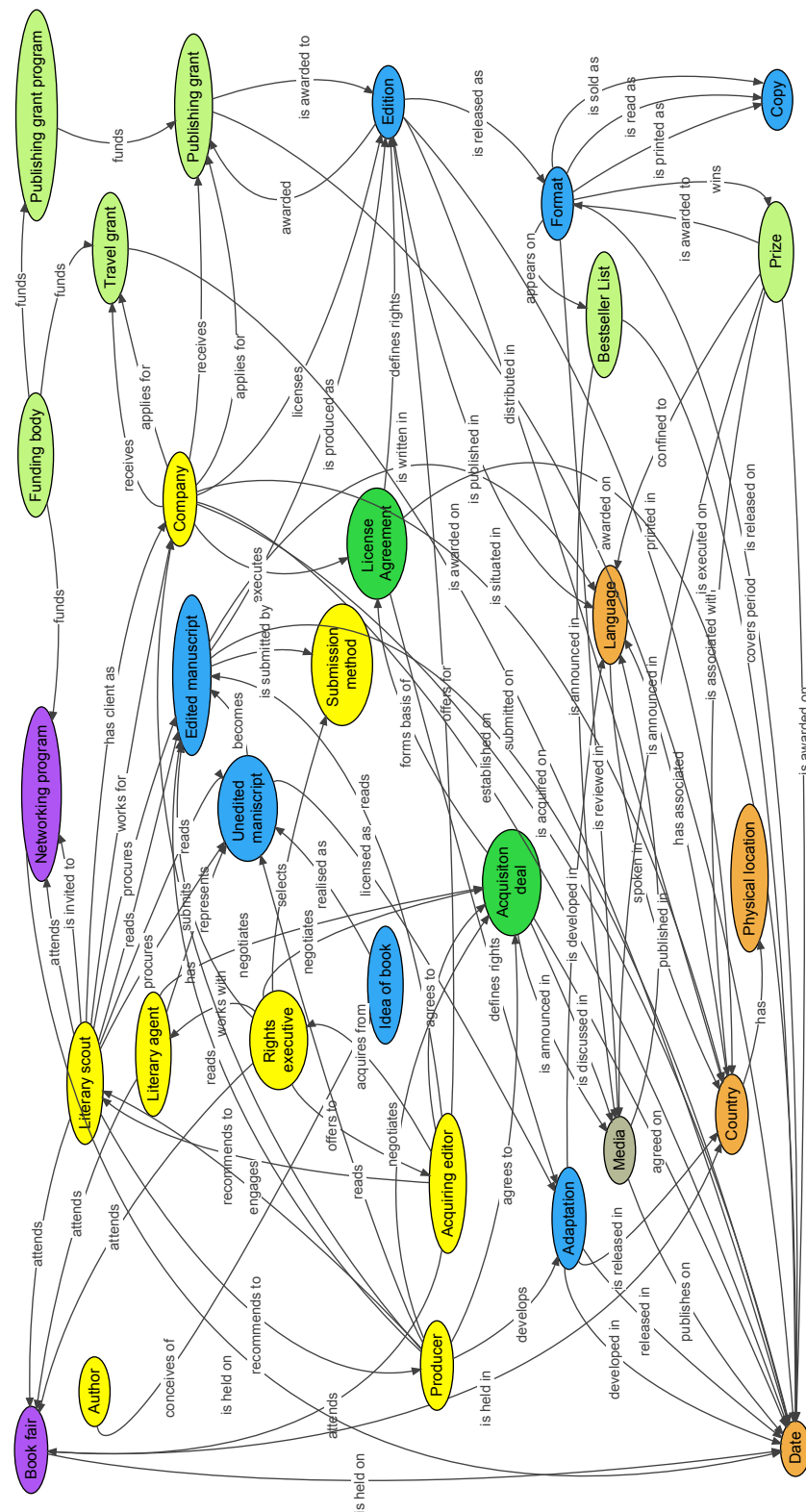


Prior to upload, all data sets used in the study required cleaning and each set to a different degree (the approach is described in Appendix B). However, the general processing followed five standard steps after selection: collect, filter, standardise, clean and format. The two main filtering actions were to eliminate data that did not fit the selection criteria for the transaction set or the time frame for the influence set, and to eliminate duplicated data within individual sets. The two main standardising actions aimed to ensure consistency within and across the sets. This process included ensuring titles, authors and company names were consistent in terms of spelling and capitalisation, along with making sure the terminology was consistent. It also aimed to make sure records that lacked specificity but could be clarified, through deduction, were clarified. The data sets were also all transformed into CSV files and these files cleaned using mechanical methods to

eliminate spaces, which read to machines as pieces of information so potentially the same title or author name spaced differently could be ‘understood’ as two—or more—different titles or authors. Using this approach, the study is able to use the different data sets to create informative human- and machine-readable accounts with as much detail and linkable connections as possible.

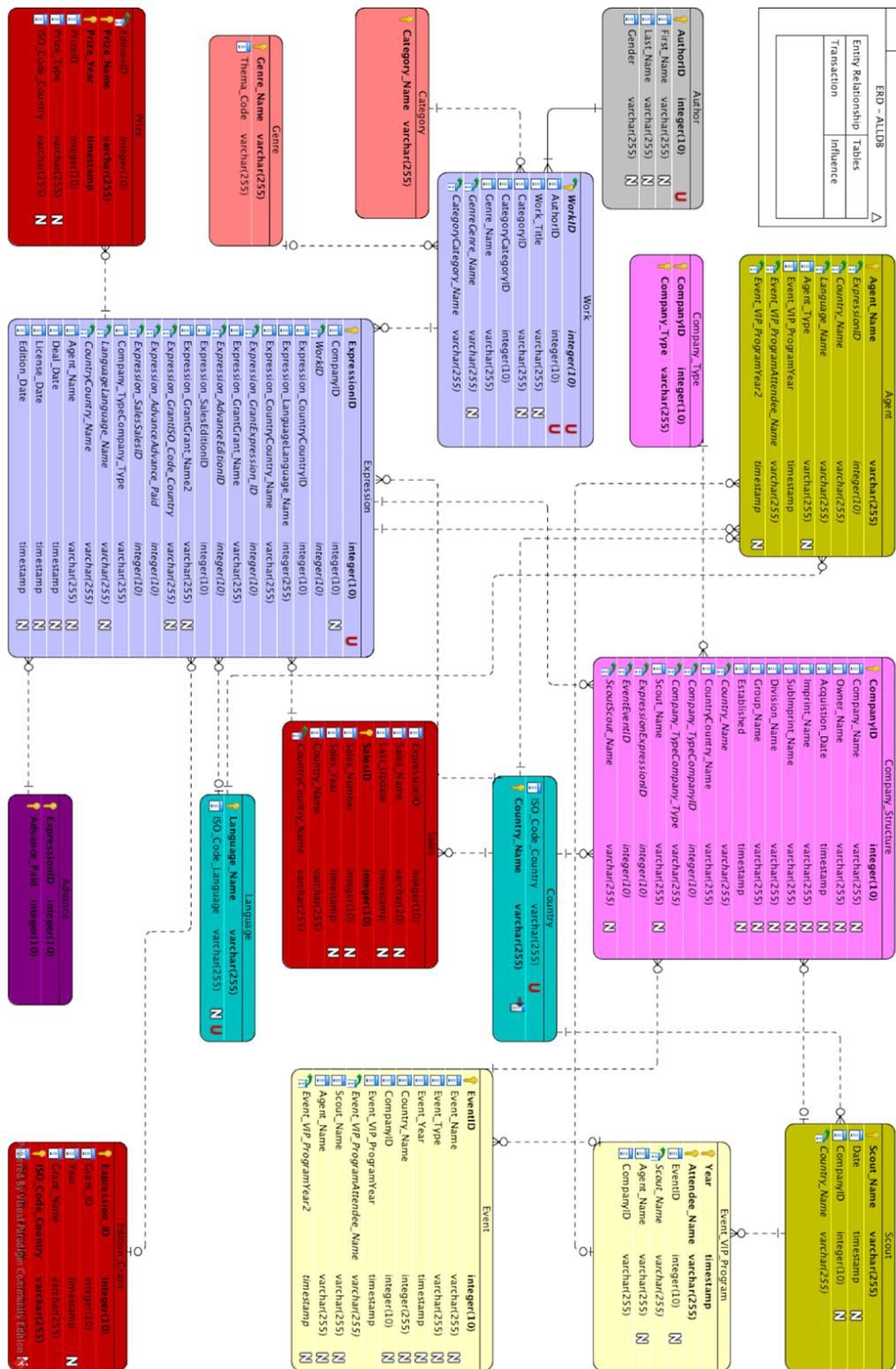
Upon cleaning, the data was uploaded into a database developed for the project: the *Australian Literature Licensing Database (ALLDB)*. The database the study required responds to the needs of the data itself and its basic construction and design is described in Appendix C. However, the structure of the database built for this study began with a knowledge map (figure 10), created to describe the licensing process, as no existing accounts did this with adequate detail. Like the book and publishing communications circuits, this map is also designed to describe influences. It does not include all potential licensing flows, or all potential influences. Instead, it includes the influences this study examines and demonstrates how the components of the ‘transaction’ and ‘influence’ data sets work together by visually outlining communication flows as well as global transactional relations. It is this knowledge map that provides the basis for an entity relationship model (figure 11), which shows the structural relationships between the dependent and independent variables in the multiple data sets: the entities.

Figure 10. Knowledge map modelling the licensing process (preliminary)



Note: Created using Vue software. Colour coded by data type.

Figure 11. ALLDB entity relationship diagram (preliminary)



Note: Created using Visual Paradigm software. Colour coded by data set relationships.

For this reason, this knowledge map not only provides a guide to the database design but also helps structure database queries and assist in the analysis of the data itself. Finally, the map in figure 10 also suggests the potential interventions and stages at which an ANT-style ‘translation’ might occur (through sales, licensing, prize or a grant or deal announcement, for example) and how this is enabled by a relationship. As that moment of translation is also the moment when capital is transferred and generated, this knowledge map also provides an abstracted view of potential interactions underlying the workings of the field itself: the workings that the data in this study—and the multiple digital methods used to analyse this data—makes it possible to explore. Overall, the Australian Literature Licenses Database (*ALLDB*) is an intrinsic part of this study, for storage of the data sets and for querying the data, which can subsequently be modelled, analysed and interpreted to answer the key questions about access that the particular data sets and individual fields enable.

Data processing: The digital tools that build maps

The structure and seventy comparable fields that comprise the data housed in the *ALLDB* make it possible to quantify and identify licensing transaction trends, patterns and relationships; to establish a rights-driven Australian field and a rights-driven international field; and to discover how these work. For statistical analysis, this study employs one (semi-) manual method, one automated program, and three analysis approaches. Microsoft’s Excel program enables counting and comparing of the data through functions such as pivot tables and charts, including pie charts, parento charts and scatterplots. These functions provide a way to construct the local and international fields and can establish relationships in a manner similar to Bourdieu’s component analysis (the approach he used to construct his field of literary production). In this way, key influences for licensing transactions can be discovered and considered according to how they change over time, as well as what type and level of capital is involved.

In addition to this Excel-enabled analysis, for network analysis the study uses an open source software program, Gephi, which makes it possible to ‘discover, extract and classify new patterns in network structure and data’ (Gephi n.d.). Using this software can provide visual descriptions of the relationships between publishers and scouts; prizes, works and authors; and countries and languages. Where statistical analysis establishes the licensing

field—a place of hierarchical relationships—network analysis establishes connective relationships, which are not only central to the acquisition of social capital (and, in this sense, international field access) but also distribute it. Inbuilt algorithms in Gephi calculate the weight of the relationships between entities, so the study uses these to calculate the exchange of capital. This software also makes it possible to establish wider contextual relationships, such as which languages are shared by authors or works, and thus can simultaneously accommodate detail and distance. As Latour has argued, Gephi allows the network not to be seen as the sum of its parts, but as constructed of its parts: digital networks do not privilege the whole (Latour 2011). This is unlike the field, which is a product of aggregated data and hence is the sum of many parts. This de-aggregated network is subsequently able to be modelled—and individual transfers and transformations revealed—to describe access at a micro transactional level.

Using Excel-enabled statistical analysis, graph theory and modelling, makes it possible to establish and measure access, compare data, provide evidence of the system, construct the international licensing field, and describe the connective and active networks that underlie it: it makes it possible to create multiple geographic, spatial and metaphorical maps.

4.5 Discovering transactions and influence

This chapter has introduced the elements the study uses to create its account of global access based on activity metrics. Analysis of this account provides the basis on which to answer the central questions about the level of, and rationale for, international access. In particular, this chapter has described where the records of the licenses that provide the evidence of cultural and commercial exchanges have been sourced, as well as the advantages of using media, industry and scholarly sources to build transaction timelines, comprehensiveness and accuracy. It outlines how the data from these three sources create individual sets, which together create the ‘transaction set’, the data from which the study produces its ‘transaction map’; moreover, elements from this set also help establish potential routes to global access.

To understand influence, this study uses its second aggregated data set: the ‘influence’ set. This ‘influence’ set consists of seven individual sub-sets, each associated with factors

believed to be associated with access, such as sales, awards, companies and agents. All of these sub-sets can be seen to represent the multiple different types of capital deployed on the international licensing field and are digitally-linked to transactional elements through items such as author, work and company names. This set provides firmer evidence about potential routes to global access—as well as likely rationales for the choice of routes.

As the impact of this capital can be measured—and its value, in terms of entry onto the licensing field calculated—this blend of data and methods, combined with the methodological approach of three frames, allows rights to be shown to be a trade not only informed by the value of individual works, but also a trade also affected by the cultural, commercial and geographical position of the particular place and time from which works originate. This approach creates, in other words, the study's '(global) access map', a uniquely Australian account of access.

5 Examining access: Four accounts of access

At the beginning of the period covered by this study, American sociologist Wendy Griswold wrote of the Nigerian book industry: ‘Literary statistics from a poorly documented book culture are like a very rough sketch: some of the lines may be off, but a picture emerges anyway’ (Griswold 2002, 276). Australian book culture is not poorly documented in general but the trade in international rights has received little attention: this study has sought to create a ‘rough sketch’—or more accurately, a rough map—of global access using a range of statistics to produce a picture that has not been seen before. This chapter reveals the first part of that picture by exploring the ‘transaction’ data set.

As the transaction data set is comprised three sub-sets, the chapter begins by exploring the primary and unique features of each, in order of the ‘licensing path’: deal, license and publication. This reveals that not only is each set structured differently—in terms of size and composition at an author, work and edition level—but that each gives a separate account of access by multiple measures including category, gender, language and national field. That is, this process shows how each set has contributed to building different perceptions about the authors, works and categories that have achieved global access: analysing the contents of each set also generates questions about the parameters of ‘global access’.

Not only do these three sets give individual accounts, each also provides additional evidence about how this access is achieved, as well as the players involved. Exploring the key features of the transaction set itself shows how combining these three sub-sets not only provides a more comprehensive, detailed and balanced account of access, but the evidentiary basis from which to establish a benchmark of extent and reach: to discover the answer to the question ‘How global is Australian literature?’

5.1 Three ‘transaction’ sub-sets: Three different accounts

Each of the contributing data sets provides not only a separate account of circulation, but the data create three different accounts, each with its own distinct elements. These differences can be explained by each set representing a different stage in the licensing path (deal, license and publication), and each representing a different collection rationale (public announcement, company record and bibliographic information).

Certain data categories are common to all three sets: author, title, language and country of international transaction, in particular, and a date (reflecting deal, license or publication year). Some categories are common to just two of the sets (territory grants, series details, company information and agent involvement, for example); other categories only appear in one of the sets. This study classifies these features into two types: primary (features common to all and which determine set inclusion) and secondary (elements that reflect the specific nature of the sets). Combining these two categories provides the evidence for establishing both extent and reach of global access, as well as decoding some practices and strategies that have made it possible.

Chapter 4 outlined how the deal, license, and publication data sets form the basis of the transaction set used in this study. The analysis of these sets shows how just as circulation in general has been understood in different ways, so too has access—and this understanding can be seen to be linked to data. This section introduces the transaction sub-sets with three broad questions in mind: What is that data? What does it reveal? How does it differ?

5.1.1 Deal data: Creating a media account of access

The *Books + Publishing* (*B + P*) deal announcement set, also known as the deal data set ('the deal set') is the first stage in the licensing path. It provides a record of publicly known information about the licensing activity of the Australian publishing industry between 2000—2015, as represented by the announcement of international deals for adult novels by the industry magazine *B + P*, either in print or online. As the information contained in this set has not been collated previously, this data has not been studied as a single set before, hence the account access this data produces has not previously existed.

At this point, rather than making a comprehensive analysis of this data, the focus will remain on the key compositional elements—primary and secondary—and establish how they describe entry into the licensing field as achieved mainly through the sub-field of translation, primarily by women, mostly by works categorised as commercial or genre and, predominantly by works that are licensed by publishers. Analysis will also establish that this pattern has changed over time.

Primary indicators: Establishing extent and reach

Where activity and revenue provide two alternate accounts of circulation, the two measures this study uses for describing licensing activity—extent (in this set, the number of deals by author, work and publisher) and reach (the number of individual linguistic and national fields entered)—are complementary descriptions of access. Structurally, the deal set has 916 records that provide evidence of individual rights transactions ('deals'). These deals involve 191 authors and 342 works. Of these works, 118 are part of a series and associated with 334 deals.

Proportionally, with almost twice the number of works than there are authors, and well over twice the number of deals than there are works, the ratio describes a wide range of authors and works entering the international licensing field during the period under review in this study. (In contrast, a small range would be a small number of authors and works and a high number of deals.) If international engagement were a case of 'exceptions'—a few authors and works entering the international licensing field, and the rest confined to the domestic field—the balance between authors and works and deal transactions would be different: there would be fewer authors and works represented, but more deals.

Using a parento chart to analyse the frequency of access by author and work respectively—as in Figures 12 and 13—reveals access to the international licensing field to be both a case of 'exceptions' but not only exceptions, in other words, 'exceptions ... and the rest'. The patterns are also largely the same shape; multiple works and authors access a few sub-fields, and few authors and works access multiple sub-fields. Only one author and one work reach the top level: 75 deals for the author, and 35 deals for the work, respectively. This analysis also reveals that authors with over 30 deals represent 40 percent of the set, while works with over ten deals represent 30 percent of the deals in the set.

Figure 12. Distribution of international deals for individual authors

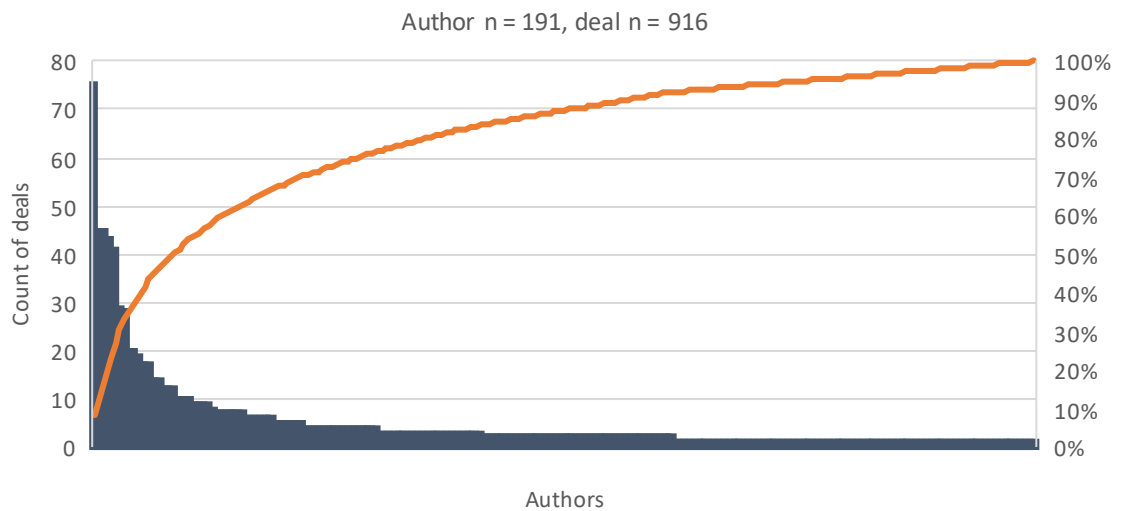
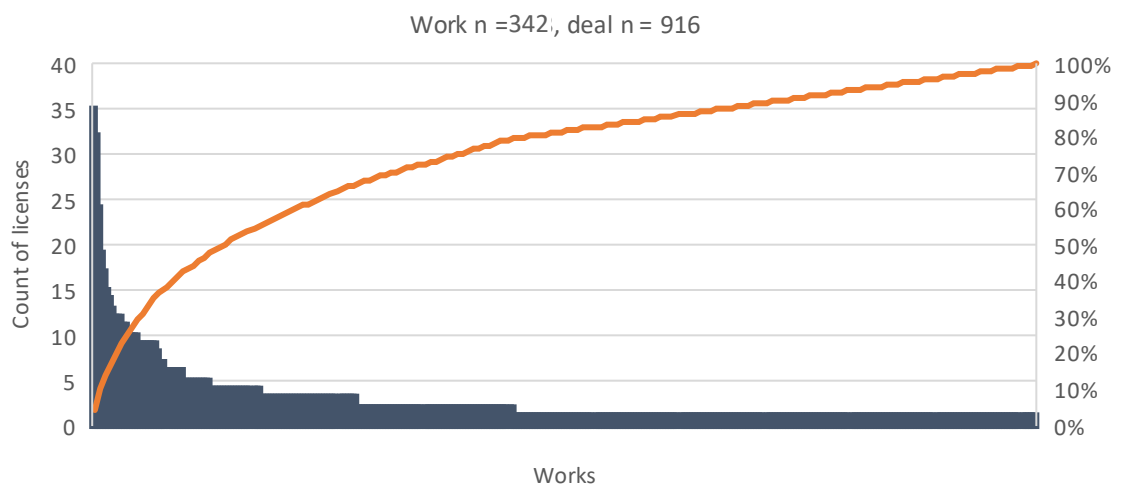


Figure 13. Frequency of international deals for individual works



The sub-fields these authors and works gain access to are both linguistic and national, with 41 linguistic fields in this data set and 45 national fields. Whilst 72 percent of the sub-fields accessed are non-English language fields, of the languages in the data set, English is the most accessed of the linguistic fields, representing just over a quarter (28 percent) of all deals. This is more than double the number of deals in the German field (11 percent), which is, in turn, just ahead of French field (8 percent); deals in the Polish, Spanish, Dutch, Italian and Portuguese fields follow (between 4–6 percent). Together, these eight language groups comprise 70 percent of all deals in this set.

Access to national fields follows a similar pattern but with one marked difference. Separating the English language field into its constituent national sub-fields shows it to be far less dominant than English as a single linguistic field, with 15 percent of deals in the United States (US) and 12 percent in the United Kingdom (UK), only moderately higher than the 11 percent of deals emerging from Germany. This difference between entry levels by linguistic and national fields demonstrates the necessity of measuring deals by nation of acquisition—national field—as well as language of acquisition.

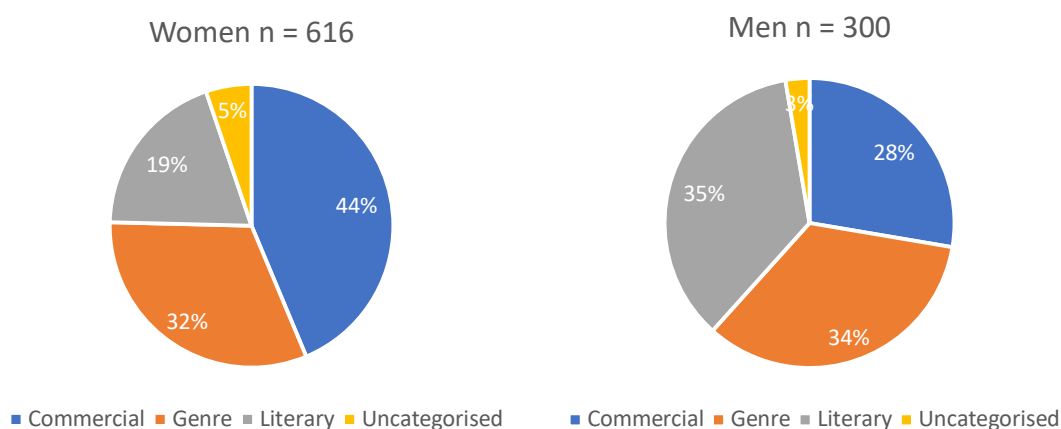
Using the measure of ‘territory’—which incorporates both linguistic and national field access hence is able to accommodate linguistic fields with multiple national fields (linguistic sub-fields or regions) and national fields with multiple linguistic fields (national sub-fields or regions)—reveals an additional fourteen territories, bringing total access to 59 territories.

Secondary details: Describing access by gender and category

Analysis of the data relating to gender and category demonstrates the way in which a focus on particular elements alters the account of access. The most striking feature of the deal data set is the numeric dominance of women authors. Women authors comprise 65 percent at an author level and work level, and 68 percent at a deal level.

A similar gender imbalance is visible when the attention turns to category of work. All three categories (commercial, genre and literary) are represented in this data set but are distributed unevenly. At a work level, genre fiction comprises 38 percent of the set; additionally, commercial fiction comprises 29 percent, finally, just 24 percent is literary fiction; 9 percent of the works are uncategorised. At a deal level, deals for literary fiction once again make up 24 percent of the total number of deals. However, while a third of the deals in this set are for genre fiction, at 39 percent, it is commercial fiction that dominates over the period. (Just 4 percent of deals are associated with uncategorised works.) An analysis of both category and gender demonstrates this distribution to be related to author gender. Figure 14, which shows the proportional relationship between access, gender and category in this set by deal, makes clear this association.

Figure 14. Category distribution by deal and gender

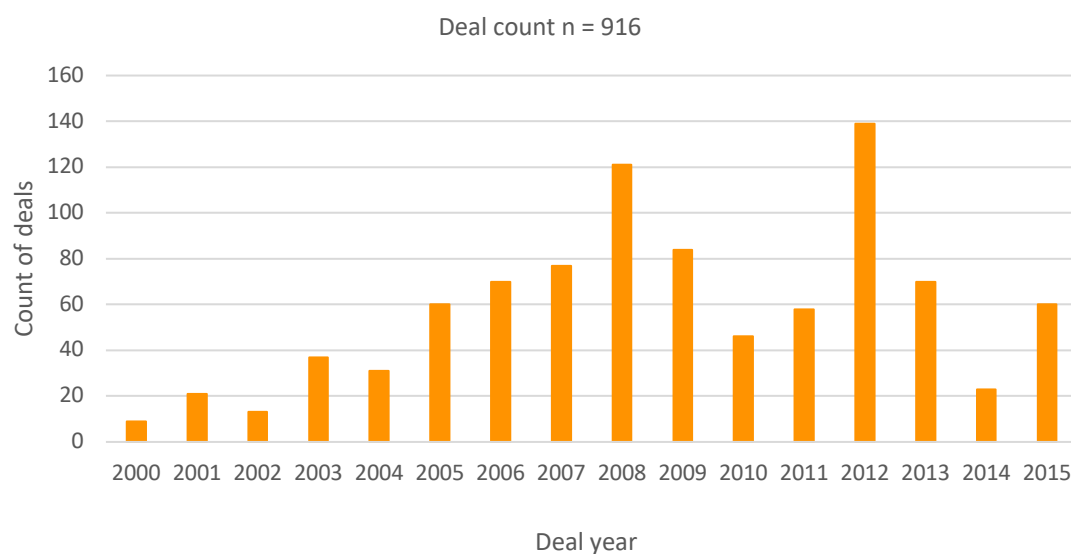


Focusing on category, as well as on gender, shows that the prevalence of women authors visible in the deal set is due to deals for works categorised as commercial and, to a lesser extent, those categorised as genre. In contrast, the presence of works by men in the international licensing field is associated more strongly with those categorised as literary, although access by category for men is more balanced. This category configuration suggests that deals have a highly gendered element.

Changes over time: Exponential increase and fluctuation

What this aggregated data analysis does not reveal is whether access is consistent across the period under review: examination of the data relating to individual years for field, gender and category reveals that by each of these measures, access levels do alter. Figure 15 demonstrates the pattern of this inconsistency, showing a steep increase in deal activity by extent between 2000 and 2008; with considerable fluctuation thereafter.

Figure 15. Frequency of deals by year

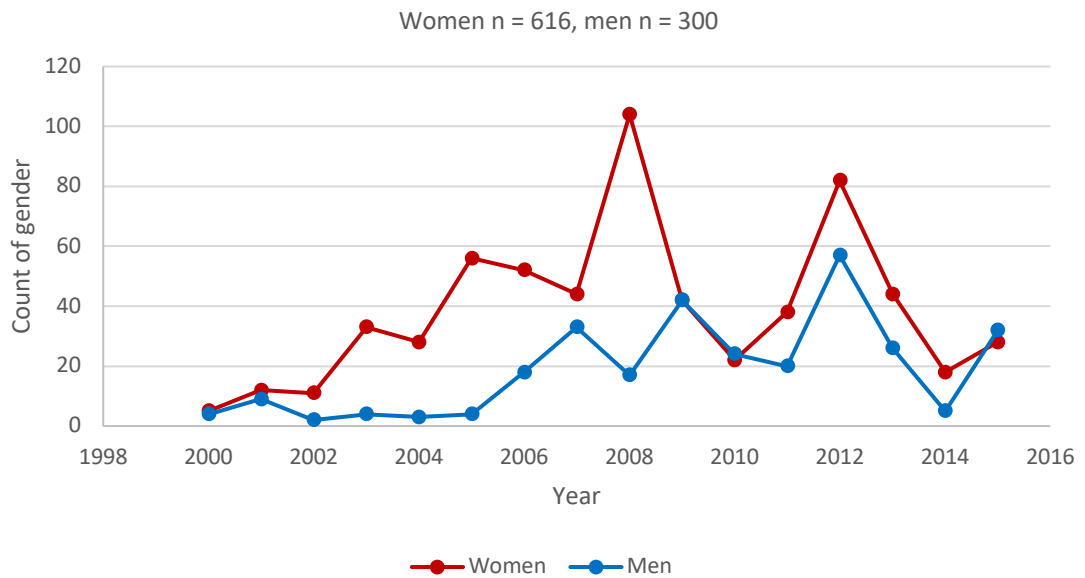


Only new works published from 2000 are included in the study but, as book trade journalist Andrew Wilkins noted, ‘backlist does just as well as frontlist’ when it comes to rights (Wilkins 2004b, 13), so the selection criteria partially accounts for the low number of deals initially. More generally, the selection criteria needs to be taken into consideration when interpreting all the study’s transaction data sub-sets: this study, as previously highlighted, describes twenty-first century access. The low number of initial deals and subsequent increase might also reflect the increase in attention by *B + P*.¹⁷ What it does represent, regardless, is the magazine’s account, hence the public account of access for contemporary Australia fiction.

Analysing this account over time, with a focus on gender and on deal year, reveals that not only is access more strongly associated with women authors, but levels of access vary by gender across the period. What is clear is that women authors have driven the increase in access for the first ten years—when there is exponential growth (figure 16). However, in the last five years, by deal, access comes closer to gender parity. Figure 16 also shows that at the start of the period there is parity: by the end, men are marginally more associated with access.

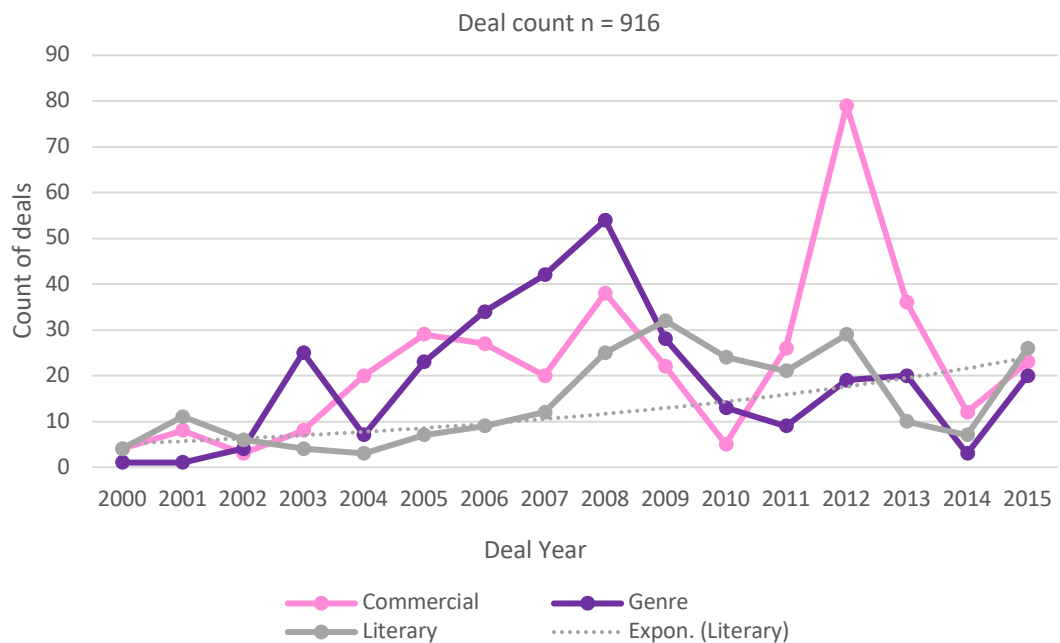
¹⁷ The first edition of *Think Australian* was published in 2003; the first rights survey published in 2004; from this period there has been an increasing online focus, too.

Figure 16. Frequency of deals by author gender and year



While commercial fiction is most associated with this access, analysis of the deal data by year makes apparent that, like gender access, this is not consistent throughout the period (figure 17).

Figure 17. Distribution of deals by category and year



There are spikes in access in three years (2005, 2008 and 2012) that contribute to the dominance of deals for works categorised as commercial. In contrast, the activity for those categorised as genre is primarily associated with the years from 2005—2008. Deals for those categorised as literary are more consistent, with relatively fewer each year until 2009, but over the period the exponential trendline shows there is also slow growth: as with deals for works by men, there are more deals for works categorised as literary at the beginning and end of the period.

Distinctive features: Responsibility indicators and transactional detail

Measuring activity by field, category and gender, aggregated over the period and by year, describes entry to the international licensing field: it does not describe the conditions of entry. This approach does not reveal the players responsible for the deals, or provide evidence of the tactics they might have employed to facilitate those deals. The deal set provides some of this evidence, particularly of licensing responsibility as it is constructed from information gained through interviews and self-reporting to *B + P* and for nearly all the deals—95 percent—a licensor is named or able to be deduced from the context. Of the 26 named licensors, three-quarters are publishing houses; the rest are literary agencies ('literary agents'). Of the publisher group, three publishers (HarperCollins, Text Publishing and Allen & Unwin) form three quarters of the entire set. Of the agent section, two agencies (Jenny Darling & Associates and Australian Literary Management) comprise 53 percent.

This set also provides evidence of two key strategies these players adopted to gain entry to the international licensing field. The first strategy is the engagement of third party international agencies. Primarily these agencies are associated with Australian literary agencies, and while only 21 deals have international agencies associated, two thirds of these are English language agencies. There are also 59 records with information about territory grants (some described in full, some in abbreviated terms): all reveal that additional territories have been ceded as part of the deal, suggesting that this is a strategy to gain entry to the field—to achieve global access. Both publishers and agencies can be seen to engage in this practice.

Deal data: A commercial and genre-centred trade account

To summarise, the key features of the deal set are women authors, writing commercial novels and an increasing number of deals over the period, peaking in 2012. The data also describes high publisher involvement in licensing and a small number of literary agencies. However, as the deal set comprises of deal announcements, it can only show those deals (and deal details) that were publicly communicated through the magazine during the period. The deal set data, in other words, offer a highly specific account of access.

5.1.2 License data: Creating private account of access

This data set consists of license data, hence it is ‘the license set’. If an announcement is proof of an international deal, a license record is evidence that the deal has been confirmed; that it has progressed on the licensing path and a contract has been formally executed. As the purpose of the license set is to provide an accurate record of these formally executed agreements, the secondary details are, necessarily, different to those in the deal set, and there are more of them.

Along with author (and co-author) names, work title, language and country of licensee, this set includes international literary agency names, licensee company name and the date of contract execution. Some of the records also include series information and details of territory grants. As with the deal set, category and gender fields have been added so the information relating to these elements can be compared with the other two transaction sub-sets and the structural differences between them assessed. Where the deal data has not been studied as it was uncollated, the license data has not been examined as it has not been made public nor combined, thus this particular industry account of activity has—like the media account—not existed before.

The focus of this section is key compositional elements of the license data set, showing how access is even more strongly associated with the translation sub-field, and even more associated with women, and works in the commercial and genre categories. It also shows that engaging international literary agents, a practice the deal set data suggested was mostly associated with domestic literary agents, is also an important access strategy for publishers. Finally, as with the deal set, the license set shows that access levels change significantly over time.

Primary indicators: Creating an account of extent and reach

As this set has only four contributing publishers, it would be reasonable to expect it to be considerably smaller and less diverse than the deal set, which has 26 licensors, publishers and agents; however, this is not quite the case. The license set is smaller than the deal set at a record level (license level), work level and author level. Proportionally, comparing the number of licenses to the number of deals, it is about three-quarters the size, but this set has just over half the number of authors and just over half the number of works. At 111 authors, 225 works and 716 records ('licenses'), the number of authors is around half the number of works, with the number of works around a third of the number of licenses. 78 works are part of a series, and these works are associated with 237 licenses. The overall composition suggests less author and work diversity than the deal set but in terms of global access, proportionally more activity for those authors and the works that do enter the international licensing field: licenses too, are more likely to be for works that form part of a series than in the deal set.

At an author level, there are also noticeable differences between this set and the deal set in the general composition. Partly, these differences can be attributed to the license set reflecting only those authors on the publishers' lists. The distribution patterns, however, do reflect those of the deal set. As figure 18 illustrates, very few authors reach what might be considered 'top level' access; a slightly larger group achieve extensive access, but the majority of authors enter just one or two linguistic or national fields. This tiered distribution pattern—a 'top level' ('exceptions') and 'the rest'—is even more evident at a work level, as shown in figure 18.

Figure 18. Distribution of licenses by author

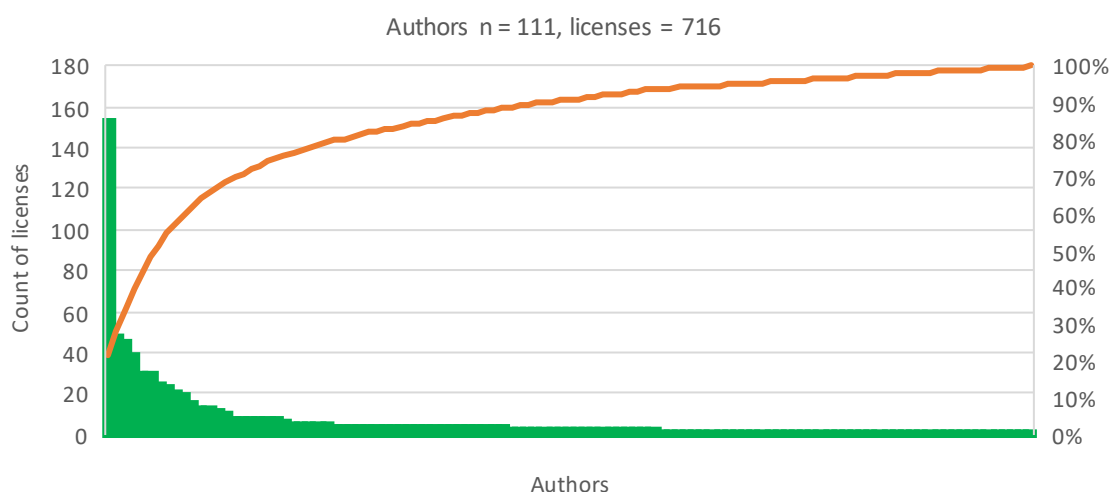
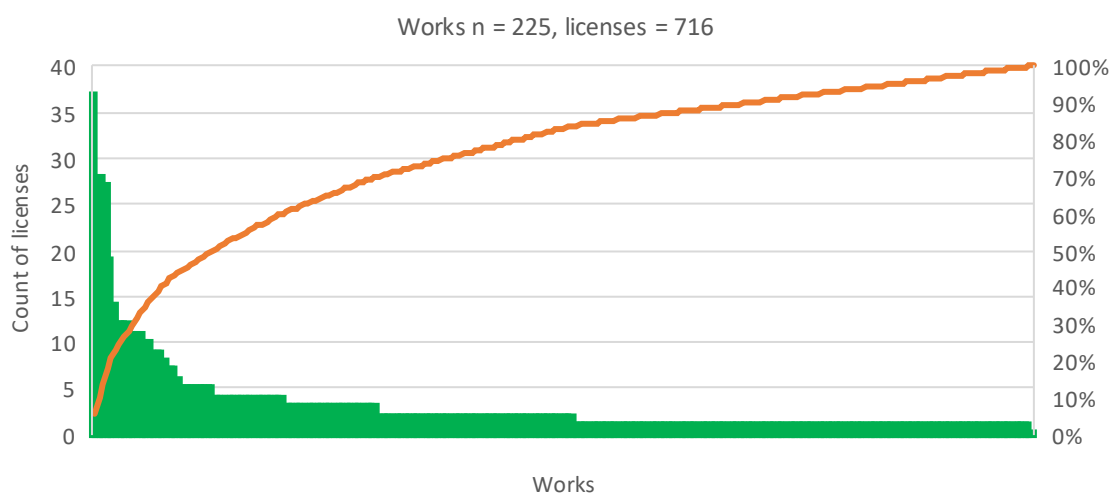


Figure 19. Distribution of licenses by work



In terms of reach (the number of fields accessed), with 35 linguistic fields and 44 national fields, the license set shows less global reach than the deal set (41 and 45 respectively). Of these linguistic fields, 77 percent of the licenses are associated with translation fields. As with the deal set, most licenses are for the English language field: 23 percent of the entire set. The German field, in contrast, represents 11 percent of the license set. German licenses, however, are significantly more common than those for other translation fields, with just 7 percent of licenses for works entering the French field and between 4 and 5 percent for the Spanish, Polish, Turkish, Russian, Dutch and Italian fields.

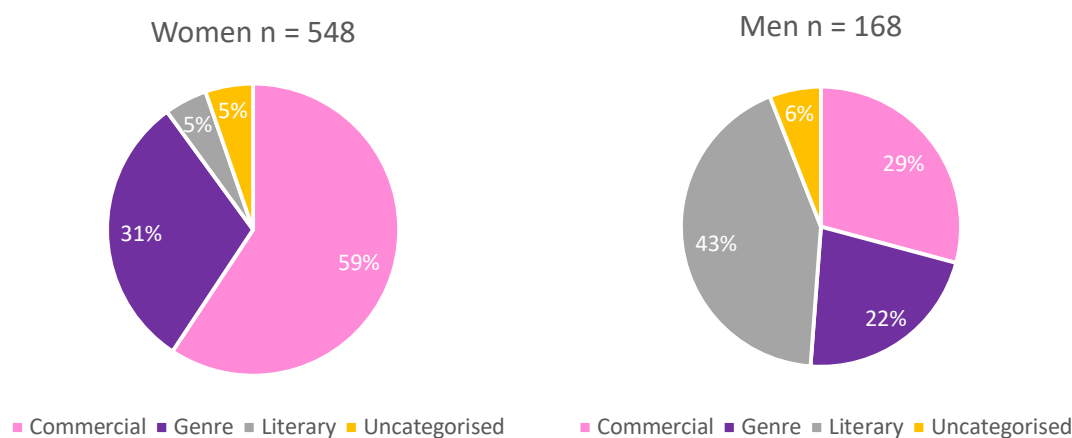
In contrast to the deal set, of the 44 national fields in this license set, Germany and the United Kingdom are most associated with access, each with 11 percent of licenses; the United States follows with 9 percent, and France, at 7, and there are far fewer licenses associated with the remaining fields. Using ‘territory’ as a measure of access, 11 additional fields can be counted, increasing access to 46 fields. In terms of fields, overall, the license data is very similar to that the deal data.

Secondary access features: Describing access by gender and category

Analysis of the data on gender and category demonstrates that for this set too, access is very much a gendered process, and once again this can be seen to be related to a work’s category. In this set, 67 percent of the authors are women, 71 percent of the works are written by women authors, and 77 percent of the licenses are for works written by women. By extent, the data also shows commercial works to have achieved higher rates of access than the other two categories with 52 percent of licenses for works categorised as commercial and 29 percent for genre. Licenses to works categorised as literary represent a smaller proportion than the deal set: just 25 percent.

The license data also shows a relationship between global access, gender and category, with the gender imbalance across the three categories far more pronounced than in the deal set (figure 20).

Figure 20. Distribution of licenses by category and gender

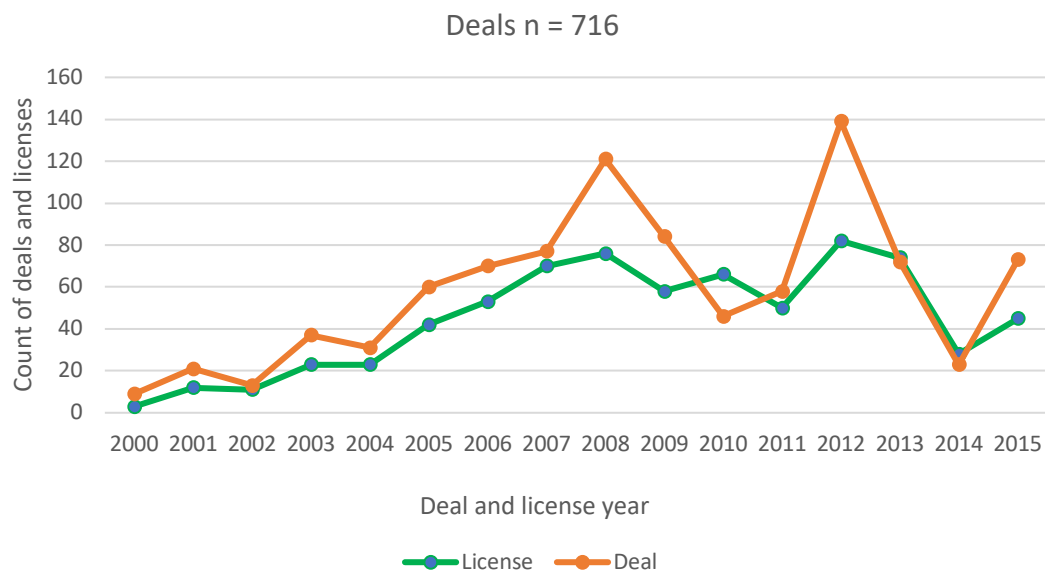


In this set too, entry to the international field is even more strongly associated with commercial works written by women (the deal set is 44 percent) and for those categorised as literary written by men (the deal set is 35 percent).

Changes over time: Exponential increase and fluctuation

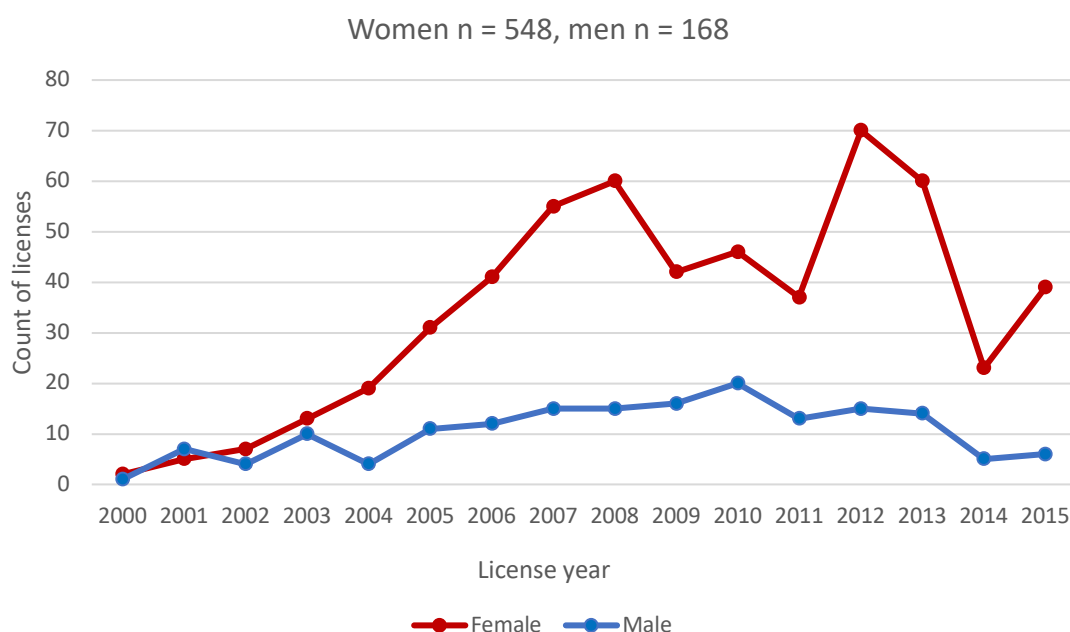
Analysis of the license data by year shows the way in which the composition changes. As with the deal set, and as figure 21 illustrates, there is a similar pattern of exponential growth in access by extent until 2008: thereafter, access levels fluctuate. (The peaks, while in the same years as the deal set, are far less dramatic.)

Figure 21. Frequency of deals and licenses by year



The correlation of the overall annual trends in access by extent in the deal and license sets suggests that the pattern in the deal set—growth until 2008, fluctuation thereafter, with a peak in 2012, and significant decline in 2014—may represent an accurate depiction of the situation, rather than just an account of what was reported. Similarly, just as the deal set showed different levels of access by year for gender, so too does the license set. In the license set, however, these gender trends are far more marked (figure 22).

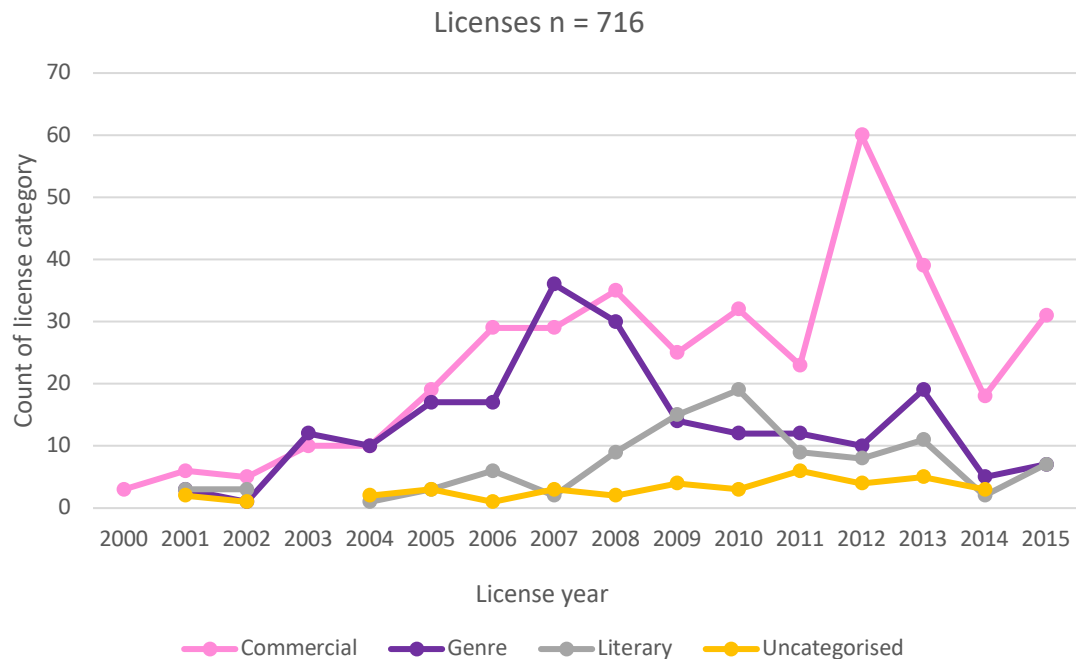
Figure 22. Distribution of licenses by gender and year



Women authors are most strongly associated with access across the period, in terms of overall license numbers: analysis of this data by year shows this pattern to be consistent throughout the period (with the exception of 2001, although there is only a marginal difference). Moreover, the data shows an increasing number of licenses for works by women, while the number for works by men remains relatively constant: that is, access increases for works by women but remains consistent for works by men. If the analysis were to be limited to works by men, it would show little increase across the period in this set while the access trends would be far less pronounced and structurally different.

Like the deal data, the license data show a strong correlation between gender and category. However, the data on category by license year reveals the two sets to have different annual access trends, although both sets share what might be considered a defining feature: the comparative marginality of international editions (deals and licenses) associated with literary works. For the license set, the increase in access to the international licensing field is associated with works in the genre and commercial categories—until 2007. Following that year, access is largely associated with works categorised as commercial: in 2012 alone, 73 percent of licenses were associated with works in this category.

Figure 23. Distribution of category by license year



One reason for the relative lack of activity for licenses associated with works in the literary category is that the license set, like the deal set, has fewer individual works in this category. While there does not appear to be a direct relationship between the number of works in a set and the number of editions per se, a relationship can be observed between the number of works and licenses by category. In the license set, the relationship between works and licenses is close to 1:5 for commercial and 1:4 for genre; for literary, 28 percent of works are associated with licenses. Structurally, these ratios suggest there is an inverse relationship between literary works and the number of licenses associated, but the reverse applies for commercial works and the number of licenses associated.

These respective 'maps' are based on global access as measured by extent and reach according to the number of international licenses for individual works in the international licensing field. In the license data set, what is clear is that the relationship between works and access is complex: it is not simply a case of 'more works, more licenses'.

Distinctive features: Responsibility evidence and transactional proof

A closer examination of the data in the license set reveals two of the strategies by which access for individual works is able to be increased, as well as information about the international publishers responsible for licensing these works. As this set is based on information contained within licenses, when third parties such as international literary agencies are involved in transactions, this involvement is recorded; for the same reason, there is also consistent information about territory grants. This is unlike the deal set, where this same information may be omitted as it is not of primary importance (the purpose of the deal set being to convey information of the fact, not the mechanics of the transaction).

In the deal set, few records are linked to international literary agencies ('sub-agents') and in that set, as with licensee details, it is not an essential part of a deal announcement (or the publisher might not wish to reveal it). In contrast, the license set reveals 52 different international agencies, and while the limited data on sub-agent use in the deal set seemed to imply they may be more associated with access to English language fields, the more comprehensive data in this set shows the opposite. Not only do 65 percent of the licenses associated with translation fields involve a sub-agent, just two of the English language licenses have sub-agents associated. Moreover, in the translation field (which represents 77 percent of the international activity), sub-agents are involved with 84 percent of the licenses and these sub-agents work in 32 of the 35 linguistic fields. Finally, each of the four contributing publishing houses is associated with at least 20 different agencies.

The territory grant information in the deal set demonstrates that access is a negotiated process—to gain entry into certain fields, additional fields are ceded. In the deal set, this primarily relates to English language fields. The license set has more information about this transactional element: more combinations of English language territory grants, as well as details of Chinese language grants, show this negotiation happens in fields other than the English language fields.

The parties responsible for these grants, the licensors, are all known in this set (in the deal set, it is 95 percent): the licensee information, the names of the acquiring publishing house or company, is also included consistently (only 52 percent of works have a licensee listed

in the deal set). There are 272 different licensees (publishers, companies or imprints) for 716 deals. Of these, just seven licensees are associated with ten or more licenses; 32 between five and nine, 101 between two and four, and 151 have just one license.

Along with agent information and territory grants, this licensee information provides evidence of access routes. Where agent engagement suggests a strategy to increase reach—and additional territory grants suggest a negotiation tactic—licensee details reveal relationships between companies as an access strategy, with a frequency rate that follows much the same pattern as author and work; that is, it shows a tendency for a few companies to be strongly associated with access, but many to be only marginally associated.

License data: A commercial and genre-centred account

The license set shows access to dominated by women, with licenses for genre and commercial works equally significant in the first half of the period, followed by a rise in commercial activity accompanied by a fall in genre activity in the second half. This set also suggests player strategies: the exchange of territories to negotiate access, the use of mediators (sub-agents) to increase reach, and a tendency to favour certain companies to facilitate field entry. Overall, the account of access provided by the license set data is very similar to that provided by the deal set data, which is not coincidental: the publishers in the license set contribute deal announcements to the deal set and the deal set is dominated by publishers.

5.1.3 Publication data: Creating a public account of access

The publication data set ('the publication set') does, partially, compensate for the lack of agent visibility in the deal and license sets. While this is not a transactional set but a bibliographic set, it captures evidence of a wider range of transactions—and, indirectly, licensors. This final sub-set of the 'transaction set' represents the final stage in the licensing path: evidence that a work has been published internationally so exists as a printed, tradable product, that a deal and a license, has led to an international edition of what this study defines as an Australian novel.

Where the two previous sets were created for this project so the data is new and hence unexamined, the data in this set has remained unexamined for another reason: there has been no simple method to extract a large number of works and their associated international edition data from *AustLit*, the data source of the ‘publication set’. After repeated unsuccessful attempts to retrieve records that were, evidently, in the database, the database administrators were contacted and confirmed that, in fact, these records could not be retrieved—at least not from the ‘front end’. To facilitate retrieval, the administrators added a new extraction key, so data could be extracted for this study and, in future, the examination of this kind of data will be simpler for other scholars.¹⁸

As with the other two sub-sets, this section focuses on the key compositional elements of the set: it describes reach and extent (which are both more extensive); illustrates access by gender and category (which are both more balanced); and, identifies the unique features of the set that reveal more about the routes of access for Australian novels during the period. One key feature of this set is that it lists individual imprints, with the high number suggesting a diversity of trading partners not evident in the other transaction sub-sets. This section concludes by showing how access has changed over the period in this set as well: as with the other sets, this is to the benefit of works categorised as commercial, but also—if not quite so evidently—to the benefit of women authors.

Primary indicators: Creating an account of extent and reach

The publication set consists of 1636 records (‘publications’), 523 works and 249 authors. Of these, 103 works are part of a series, and associated with 307 publications, proportionally far fewer than either of the other sets. Its size, and the fact that its construction reflects diverse scholarly interests, suggests it should also be the most diverse overall, as well as show the widest reach (number of fields accessed). However, this is not quite the case. While this set is the largest by author, work and publication, just as the deal and licensing sets vary in their ratios of author, work and edition (deal or license), so too does this one. There are a fifth more authors than appear in the deal set, around a third more works than in the deal set and over a third more publications. Despite the size difference, the ratios between author, work and publication show this set to be

¹⁸ *AustLit* is a dynamic database, so this set represents the database as it was constructed on the day the data were extracted: 22 September, 2017 (*AustLit* n.d.).

compositionally closer to the license set than the deal set. The number of authors is half that of the number of works, and the number of works a third of the total publications. It is a structure that suggests a focus on access by work and author. Where the license set construction suggests that publishers are actively exploiting the rights they hold—hence, fewer works and authors but more licenses—in the publication set, this construction is more likely to reflect research interests and indexing patterns, as well as the impact of scholarly case studies (along with changes to *AustLit* data collection policies outlined in Chapter 4). As with the other data sets, this structural balance does not alter the integrity of the account the data creates: a scholarly account of access as interpreted through the lens of this study’s selection criteria.

Like the deal and license sets, the publication data set reveals international access to be multi-tiered at an author and work level. However, these ‘tiers’ have a more even distribution than either of the other two sub-sets. The most active authors are responsible for 8 percent of the publications which is very different from the license set where one author—Kate Morton—is responsible for 25 percent of all licenses. Moreover, in the publication set, the second tier of active authors is much larger. As with the other sets, the data shows that a few authors gain high levels of access to the international licensing field, while many others gain more limited access; the ‘exceptions ... and the rest’ pattern, as figure 24 demonstrates. This same pattern is evident at a work level, once again reflecting the structure of the deal and license sets.

Figure 24. Frequency of publications by author

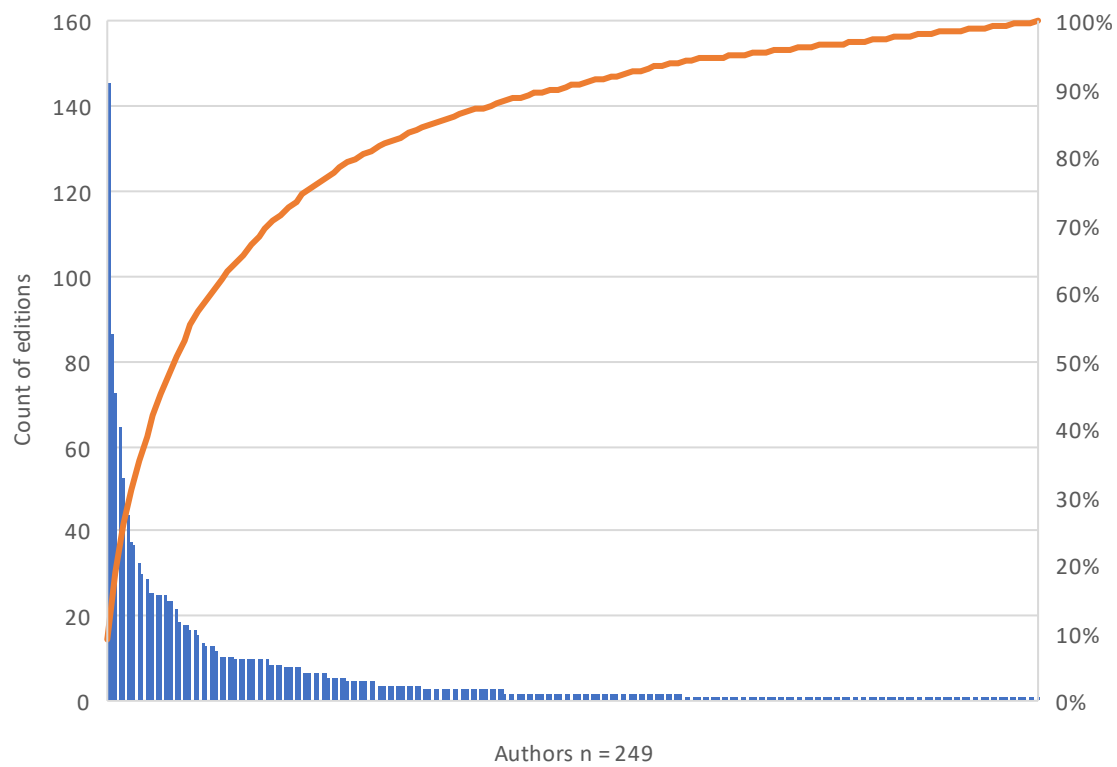
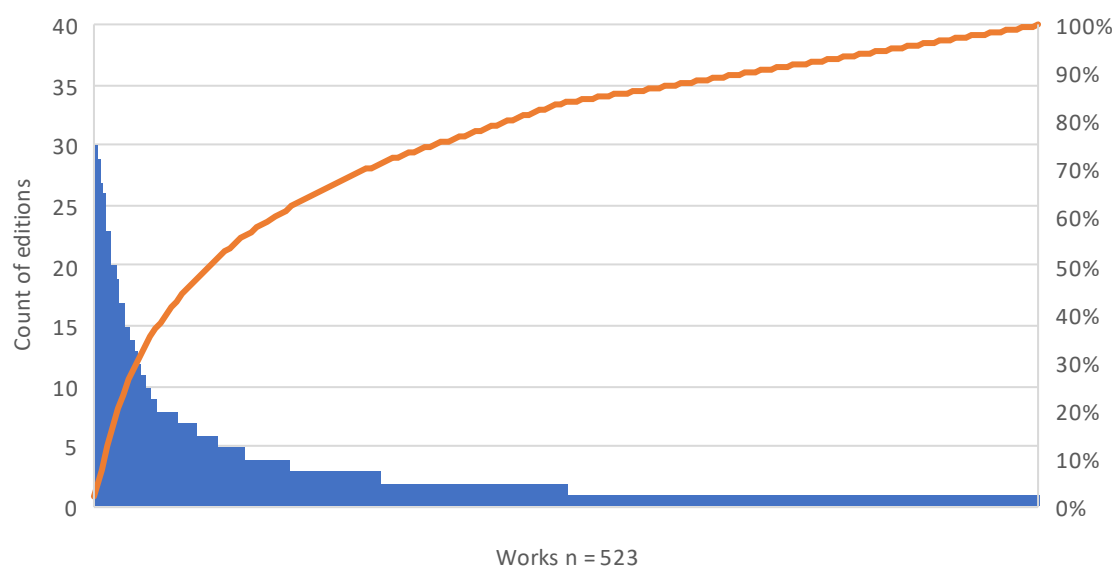


Figure 25. Frequency of publications by work



Together, these works and authors have achieved—through individual publications—a reach of 42 linguistic fields, meaning the publication set has the same linguistic reach as the deal set. The national reach, however, is 55 fields, meaning the publication set has the widest geographic reach of the three sub-sets (as national fields can be seen to represent geographic reach). The disparity between the translation field and English language field is far less pronounced than in either the deal or license set, with 67 percent of publications translations (rather than just under three-quarters for the deal set, and just over for the license set).

The proportional distribution between the 42 individual linguistic fields accessed in this data set is slightly different to the other two sets but the dominant languages remain the same: a third of publications are in the English language, which is more than double the number of German publications (14 percent), which in turn is double the number of French publications (7 percent). Together, these three languages constitute 54 percent of the entire publication set. Of the 55 national fields, once again, the proportions are slightly different in this set: the most publications are in the United States, which represents 19 percent of the set, followed by the United Kingdom and Germany, which represent a little less (each 14 percent). France, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain each represent between 4 and 6 percent. As with the other two transaction sub-sets, by both linguistic and national field, the publication set creates an account of access that is overwhelmingly European.

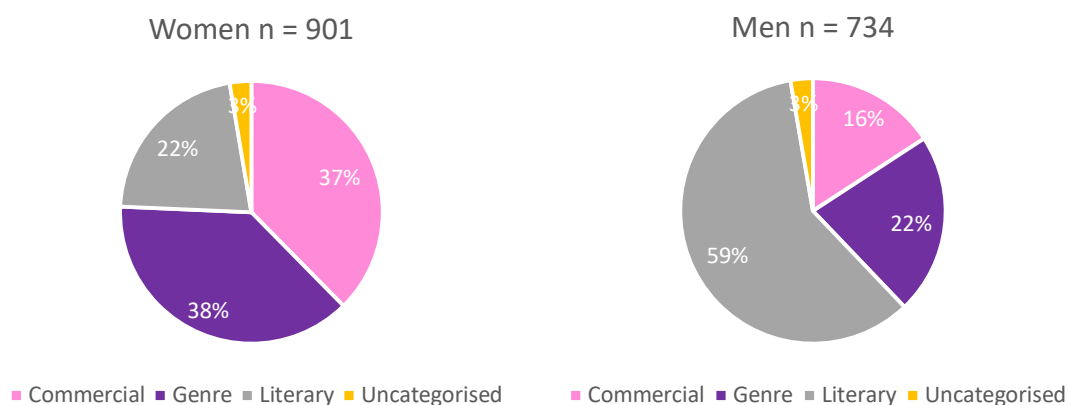
Secondary access features: Describing access by gender and category

The publication set comes closer to gender parity at most levels than either of the other two sets and shows a stronger representation of publications in the literary category. Women authors continue to dominate, comprising 63 percent of the set, and they are responsible for 63 percent of the works. However, while women authors are responsible for more publications, it is not by much: there is near parity at this level at 55 percent. While the category distribution is relatively even, there are more publications in the literary category (37 percent) than either of the other categories, with the count of commercial (31 percent) just ahead of genre (29 percent).

By this measure women and men can be seen to be entering the international publishing field in different ways. The proportional differences in access by category in the other two

sets suggest the category of a work itself might influence access. Figure 26 vividly describes this relationship between gender, category and access. While it is already evident in the deal and licensing sets, the publication set provides a very different account.

Figure 26. Category distribution by publication and gender



Note: Other n = 1 (genre) chart not shown

The analysis of the publication set reveals women authors tend to gain access to the international field through the works in the commercial and genre categories: three quarters of the publications in these categories are by women. Men, conversely, are more likely to gain access through literary works, with 59 percent of publications falling into this category.

Distinctive contributions: Identification and classification

The publication set is the source of most of the gender information for authors used in this study and much of the category information: both of these fields are unique to these sets, while the data has been incorporated into the other sets during the cleaning stage. Similarly, translator information and the titles of international publications are also unique elements of the publication set. While these elements do carry value and can be incorporated in to transaction analysis (as the *Translator Network* graph database illustrates), the scope of this study precludes exploring this aspect of these elements. Instead, they are used to provide background information. The most important element of this set, in terms of this study, is the precise identification of licensees.

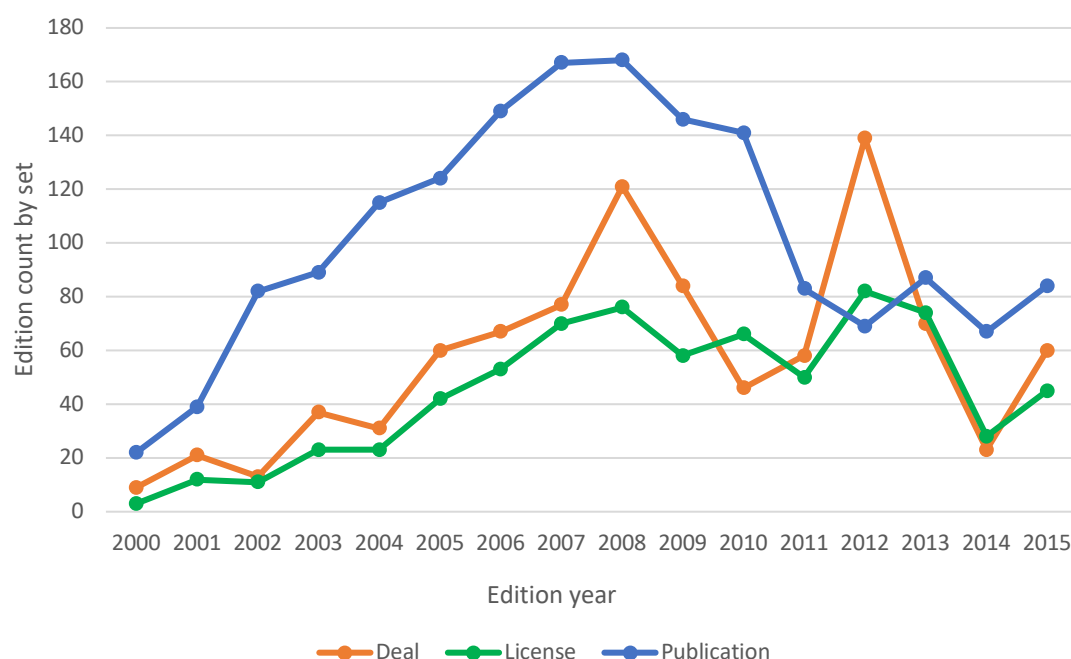
Every publication listed in this set includes imprint information, unlike the deal set—where, as discussed, imprint or publisher is listed in only 53 percent of the deals—and the license set where a licensee name might refer to imprint, publisher or group, and also may be updated to reflect the current license holder if a company merges or is acquired. Imprints have different identities and can be associated with certain categories of work, as well as varying levels of prestige (and thus different levels of capital), hence analysis of imprint data is an important component of understanding the logic of the international licensing field.

The Australian editions—the works—in this set are published by 19 companies with 40 imprints between them; the publications associated with these works are published by 596 different licensee imprints. The ratio of over one Australian imprint to every three international editions means this set describes a high diversity of international connections. It does not, however, describe what these connections may mean in the same way as the other sets; it does not explain licensor responsibility, at least not directly. However, even without analysing distribution patterns or concentration, this diversity can be considered an indication of wide global reach; reduced reach would mean fewer imprints to more editions but the same level of activity.

Changes over time: Increase and fluctuation

Over time, the access patterns visible in the publication set do not mirror those of either the deal or license set. While numbers are larger in almost all years, the data show a pattern of increase, decline and stabilisation not evident in the other two sets (figure 27). This might reflect the time lag between deal announcement, license execution, and publication, but that would assume the same editions are under observation but without a closer analysis of the data, this is not clear.

Figure 27. Category distribution by edition year

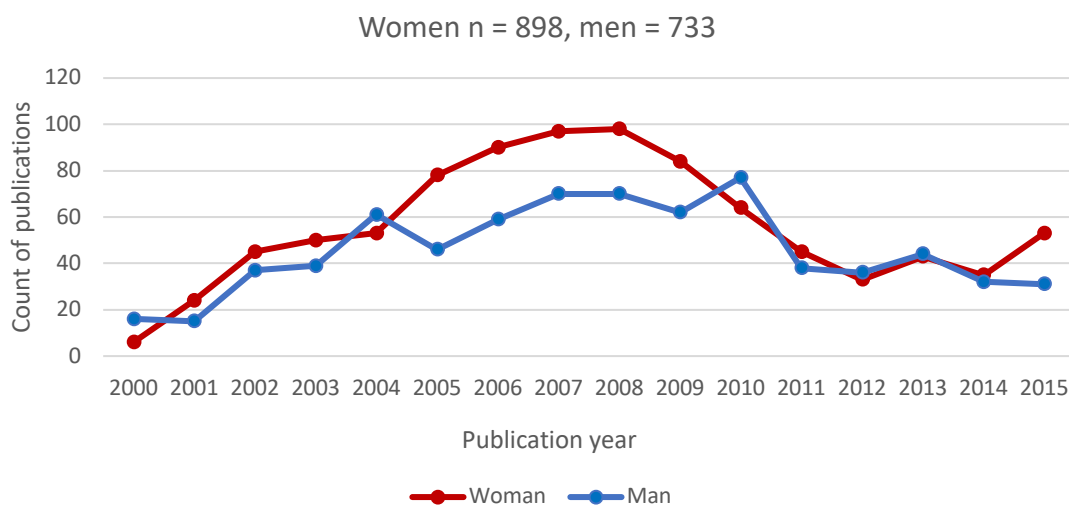


Note: Deal n = 916, license n = 716 , publication n = 1632 (less 4 editions: 2016, 2017)

Just as there are potential structural reasons for the fluctuation in the deal and license sets in the second half of the period, this is also the case with the publication set. For this set, the structure may reflect the change in *AustLit*'s data model (which, as outlined in Chapter 2, transitions from comprehensive to project-based indexing in 2012). However, the decline is noticeable from 2009: the same period as the other two sets. Comparing these three data sets suggests that the growth trend did end and was replaced by fluctuating activity in the second half of the period.

Analysis of access by gender shows that not only is there a much more even distribution of access by year but—as figure 28 shows—this impacts upon women and men in much the same way, with the gender patterns reflecting each other: similar growth periods and (mostly) similar decline periods. However, the main period of increase is associated with women authors and by the end of the period publications associated with men are associated with lower overall access, while the opposite is true for publications by women authors.

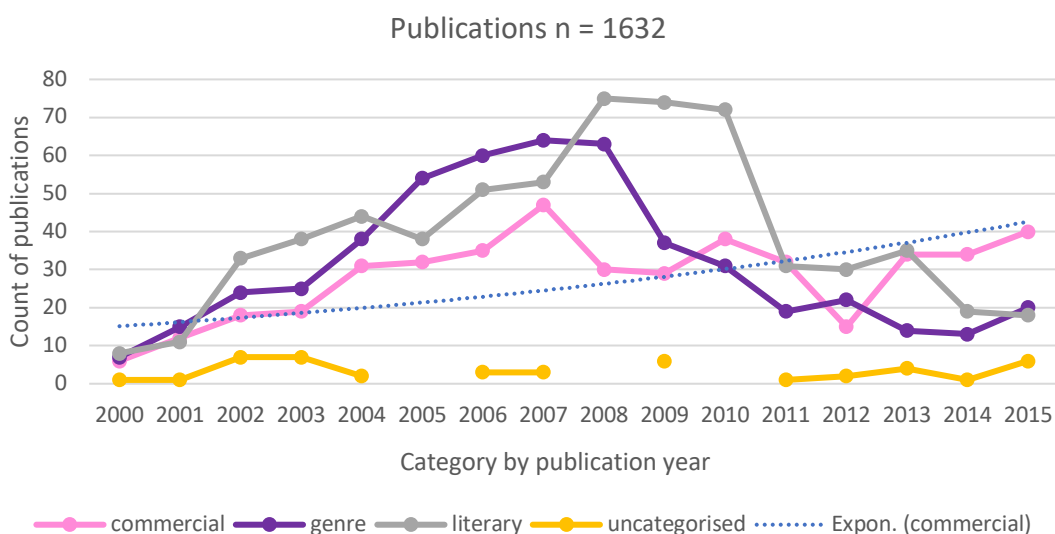
Figure 28. Gender access by publication by year



Note: Excludes 2016 n = 3, 2017, n = 1.
'Other' is 2004 and does not register.

Analysis of the publication set data by category and year reveals access by category to be very different from the aggregated data of the period (38 percent literary, 32 percent commercial and 30 percent genre). Nor does this set reflect the patterns evident in the deal and license sets at a category level, although there are commonalities (figure 29).

Figure 29. Distribution by category and publication year



Note: Excludes 2016 n = 3, 2017, n = 1

Like that in the deal set, the data in the publication set suggest publications categorised as genre contribute strongly to the increase in international activity during the growth years. Analysis of the set also reveals a particular trend associated with publications in the literary category: as with other sets, activity in the publication set does vary by year within the categories but it is works in the literary category that achieve the highest access and consistently high rates of access throughout the period. However, the exponential trendline in figure 35 suggests that while publications in the commercial category are not as strongly represented in this set as those in the literary, nor associated with increasing access, it is access associated with the commercial category that is growing.

Publication data: A literary account

The most notable features of the publication set data are (i) the high levels of international access associated with publications in the literary category, a category noted to be in decline over the period domestically (one showing lower levels of access in the other two sets); and (ii) the high levels of access by men, who are less evident in the other data sets, (though in the other two sets, as per this set, editions in the literary category are more associated with men). Furthermore, as per the other two sets, this set suggests that while publications associated with commercial works are increasing, this comes at the expense of publications in the genre category, which were shown to have declined.

5.2 Triangulating the data sets: Circulation correlation

The concept of triangulation is used in multiple ways in this study. Often used to compare the statistical accuracy of different data sets, it is also a method which reveals how the differences in each of the accounts are evident at a statistical level. By comparing the license count and the deal count of the same publishers, the discrepancies in the data on international activity emerge. Comparing this same edition data with publications reveals the extent of international activity for editions associated with the publisher, regardless of whether or not the publisher was responsible for licensing that edition.

If most of the publisher deals were reported in $B + P$, the deal and license numbers should be relatively consistent; the publication data may vary as the set reflects indexing and scholarly focus. In addition, because in English language territories literary agents are believed to license rights more often than publishers, the publication set should have

considerably more edition records for all four publishers. The case is rather different, however, as demonstrated by the comparison between the three data sets in table 2, which shows a frequency count of shared publisher records.

Table 2. License set editions compared with deal and publication set records

Individual sets	Deals Set n = 916	Set percentage	Licenses Set n = 716	Set percentage	Publications Set n = 1636*	Set percentage
HCPANZ	205	27%	279	39%	347	21%
A & U	192	25%	302	42%	171	10%
RHA	52	7%	38	5%	277	17%
Penguin	7	1%	97	14%	167	10%
Proportion of set	456	60%	716	100%	962	58%

Note: License data includes records from companies acquired by contributing houses.

Publication data includes works published after the period (2016 and 2017) for which deal and license information exists so as to eliminate discrepancies that might reflect the length of the licensing timeline. Does not include publication years from license set data.

The HarperCollins data suggest that the company did not report all deals, although there is a close correlation; the much higher publication set figure for HarperCollins suggests agents are responsible for these extra editions. This is to be expected. The Allen & Unwin data are different. The discrepancy between their license data and the deal data is considerable, with the deal numbers smaller than the license data by a third and the publication data less than the license data. The Random House data shows two notable differences: more deals than licenses, and far more publications than the number of licenses (and deals) suggests. There are two possible reasons for the difference in the deal and license data. Some deals were reported more than once in *B + P*, and while duplicate announcements were removed when found, it may reflect one or two of these. However, it is more likely that as the deal set reflects deal announcements and thus what happened at the time, hence is static, the license set reflects the current situation, so is dynamic.

Comparison between these two sets shows some individual works do appear in the deal set but not the license set, as they were republished by other Australian publishers (Peter Temple, for example, moved to Text and ‘took’ his backlist with him). The high number of records in the publication set suggests that during the period under investigation, the Australian novels that Random House were publishing were being licensed widely internationally—just not by Random House itself. The Penguin figures suggest that they were not advising *B + P* of international activity and that, like Random House, Penguin was not responsible for licensing many of the Australian novels they published during the period.

Comparing the records of individual works provides a more precise account of the set differences. As table 3 shows, it demonstrates the way these individual records contribute to wider (mis) perceptions about levels of access to the international licensing field.

Table 3. License set selected works compared with deal and publication set records

Sets	Deal	License	Publication
<i>The Slap</i>	19	28	10
<i>White Gardenia</i>	15	14	8
<i>The Hanging Garden</i>	6	7	7

What is apparent here is that there is consistent attention paid to Nobel prize-winner Patrick White’s *The Hanging Garden* (2012); consistent reporting about Belinda Alexander’s bestseller *White Gardenia* (2005), but not the same level of attention from scholars; and highly inconsistent records relating to Christos Tsiolkas’ multi-award-winning and bestselling novel, *The Slap* (2008).

Comparing the same data in the three sub-sets of the transaction set in this way presents a strong case for using multiple sets to understand access—and not judging any one licensor’s ‘effectiveness’ on aggregated access figures alone. Correlating the sets makes clear that it is essential to place activity within a wider context.

5.3 Transaction data set: A more comprehensive account

The data that comprise ‘the transaction set’ serve three purposes. They provide the measurable individual records of transactions in the form of deals, licenses and publications—the editions—this study uses to build its map of global access (the access map). They also provide the basis from which to discover not only the spaces and places accessed (the linguistic and national fields) and the frequency, but also the likely routes by which access has been achieved, as it is the set against which the external factors—records of awards, sales and deals—can be measured to establish their effect on transactions. They provide the components by which to build network connections to discover the role of social connections in enabling access. Finally, the transaction set data provide a baseline from which to discover an indicative answer to the first half of the question that drives this study: How global is Australian literature in the twenty-first century?

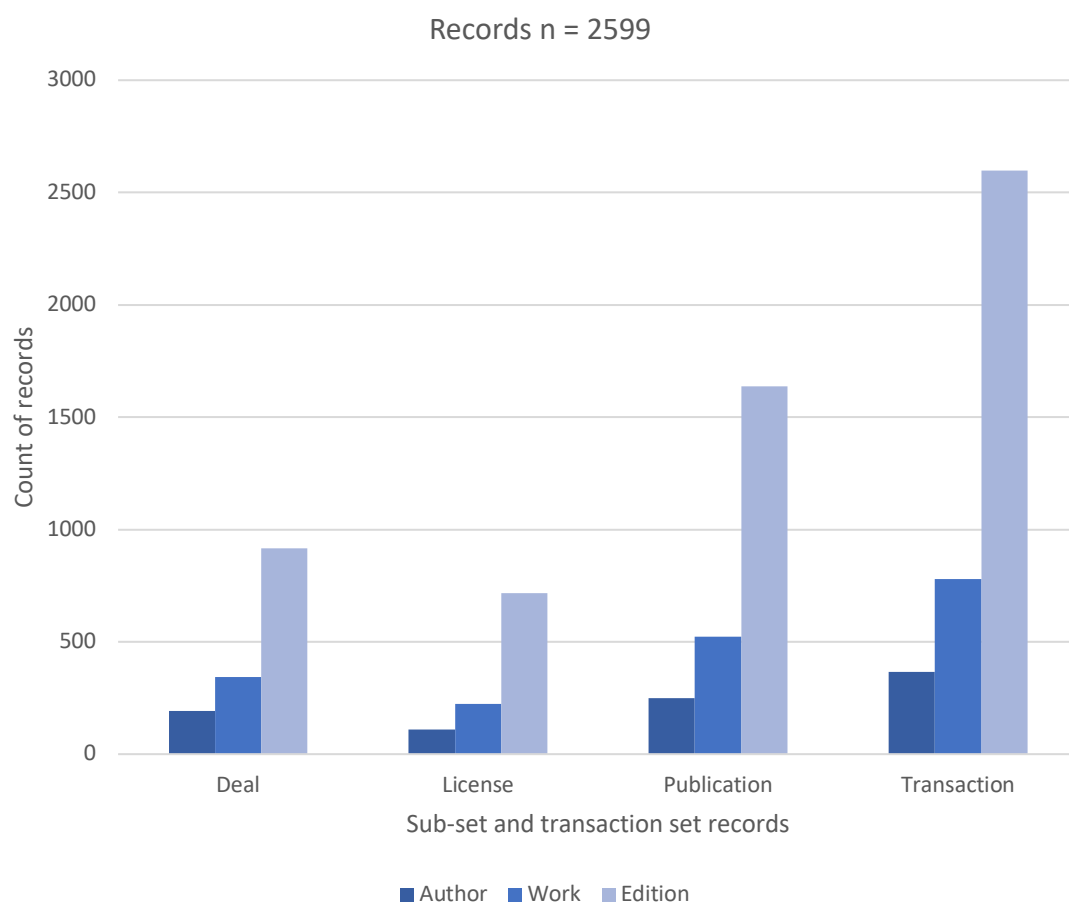
5.3.1 Reading the transaction data: A distant approach

As the transaction data set forms the basis for more extensive analysis in the following chapters, establishing its general structure at this point is important. It includes 46 linguistic fields, 57 national fields, 367 authors, 779 works and 2599 individual international editions. As the deal and publication set include additional publishers, differences between records are to be expected. In total, just 5 percent of the records have deal, license and publication dates, so are very likely to be common to all the contributing sets; 24 percent have two dates, so are very likely to be common to two of the sets, and the remaining records are unique to each set.¹⁹ This means 29 percent of the transactions have at least two dates, so this set is able to describe the multi-staged process of international licensing field access for a relatively large data sample. As each set also adds additional detail, this combination provides a strong evidentiary basis from which to understand how access to the international licensing field works, and therefore increases knowledge of the logic of this field, and thus knowledge of access.

¹⁹ Some of the records from the license set include publication year as well, so license and publication dates in common do not necessarily mean the editions are common to both sets, but this is likely to be the case.

The percentage of shared records and the number of individual records reveal this set to be considerably larger than the individual sets by extent. Figure 30, which compares the three sub-sets and the transaction set by using these three elements, makes this difference clear, showing that just as the individual sets are differently proportioned by author, work and editions, so too is the transaction set. The ratio between author and edition reveals that few authors are accessing more fields in the transaction set, as with the license set and publication sets: the deal set, however, has a slightly higher ratio of author to edition.

Figure 30. Composition of sub-sets and the transaction set by author, work and edition



If it is larger by extent, the transaction set also has more extensive reach. That this transaction set has a larger number of authors and works than the individual sets shows that different works and authors in each of the sets are entering the international licensing

field—that is, gaining global access. That the set has more national and linguistic fields than the contributing sub-sets shows that across the three sub-sets different linguistic and national fields are being accessed. (If there were no other rationale, this would provide one for combining the sets.)

The transaction set might have different proportions to the sub-sets, but the distribution pattern reflects them, showing extensive access for few and limited access for the rest. The chart in figure 34 describes distribution by author. The parento line shows 95 percent of authors access just one international field, 90 percent of the set reach two or fewer, and 85 percent fewer than three. Moreover, 80 percent of the set consists of authors whose works have access five or fewer territories. Conversely, 30 percent of authors reach more than ten territories.

Figure 31. Frequency of editions by author in the transaction set

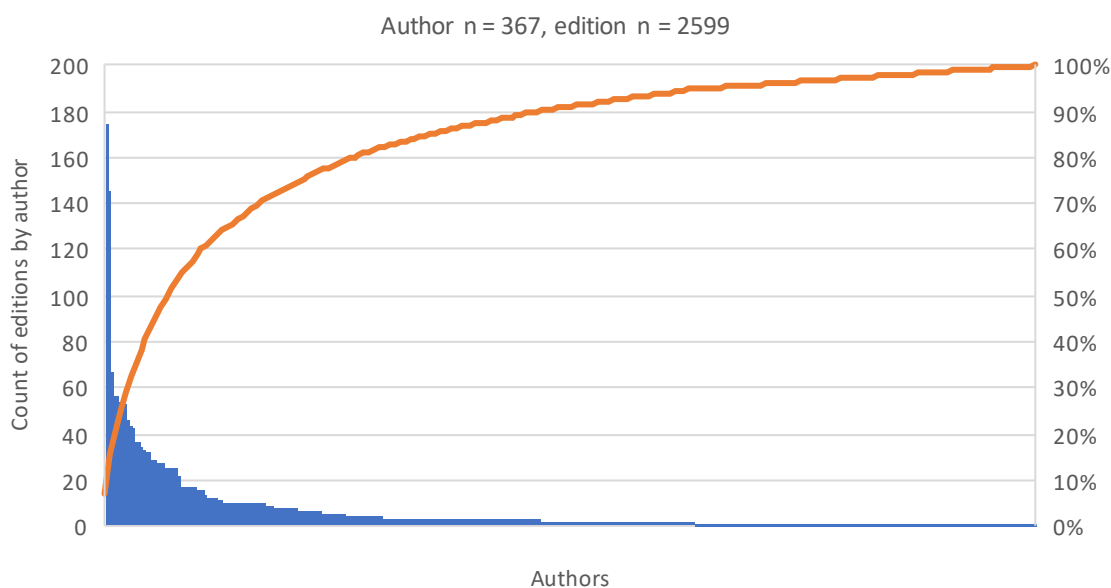
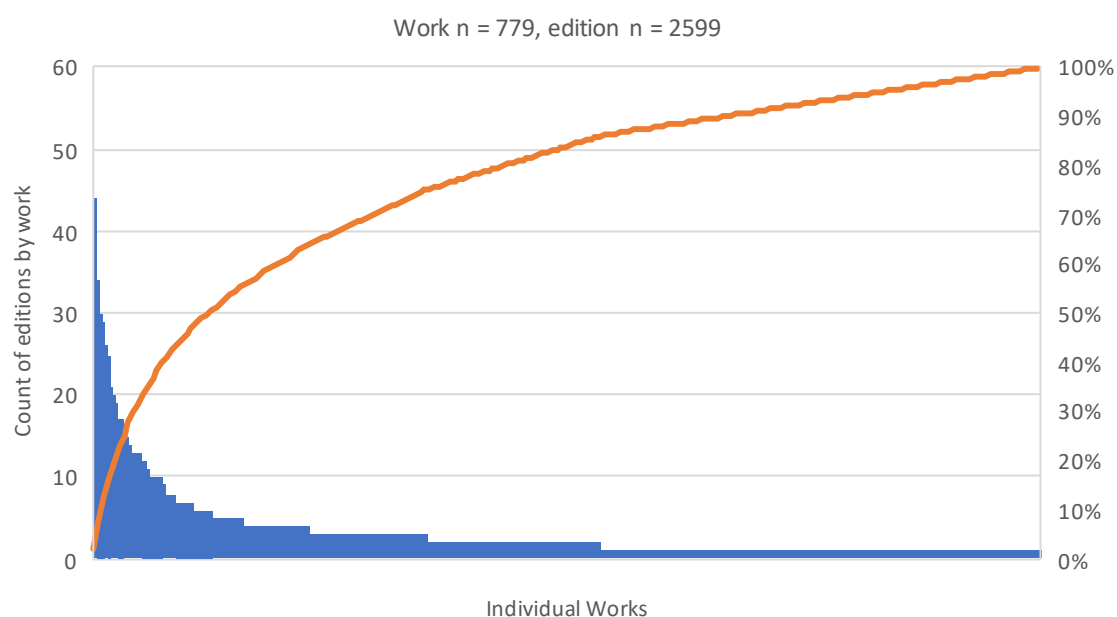


Figure 31 describes access to the international licensing field by work. It reveals a similar pattern with 90 percent of the works reaching just one field, and three-quarters of works fewer than two fields. Conversely, one quarter reached ten or more fields.

Figure 32. Frequency of editions by work in the transaction set

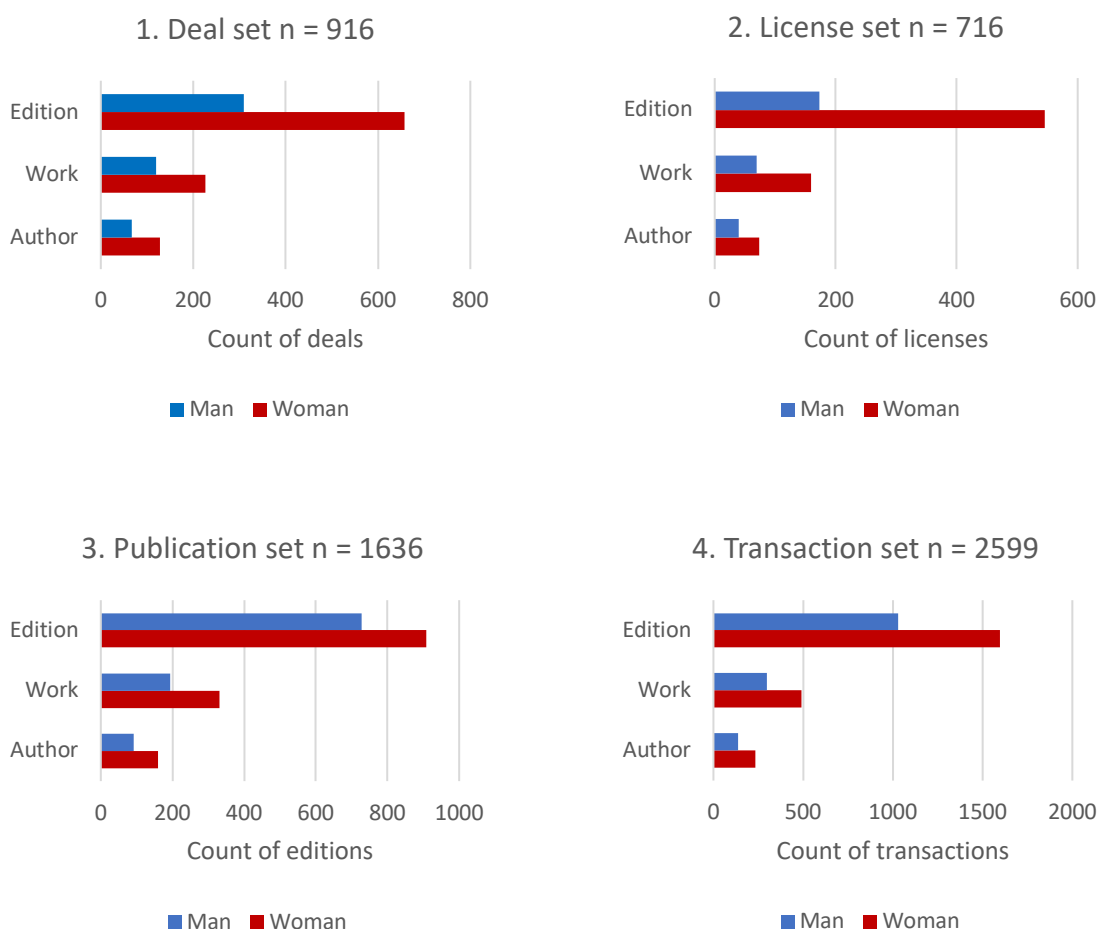


Very few works achieve access to 20 or more fields showing that on the one hand, extensive reach is about ‘exceptions’, but on the other, that it is also about (once again) ‘exceptions ... and the rest’. In publishing circles, licensors sometimes talk about ‘a tipping point’—20 territories is a figure mentioned—but of those works that access twenty or more territories, some access just 21, 23, or 26.²⁰ The data in this set suggests that access may not be about a ‘tipping point’, but it is about another widely used and descriptive term: ‘the long tail’.

As with the sub-sets, the transaction set shows a relationship between gender and access levels. The most significant difference between the transaction set and the sub-sets is that the gender imbalance is less pronounced, although it is still a considerable way from parity, as evident in the bar chart in figure 33 comparing the set construction by author, work and edition, with a focus on gender distribution.

²⁰ This figure is based on the author’s experience working in international rights in the publishing industry.

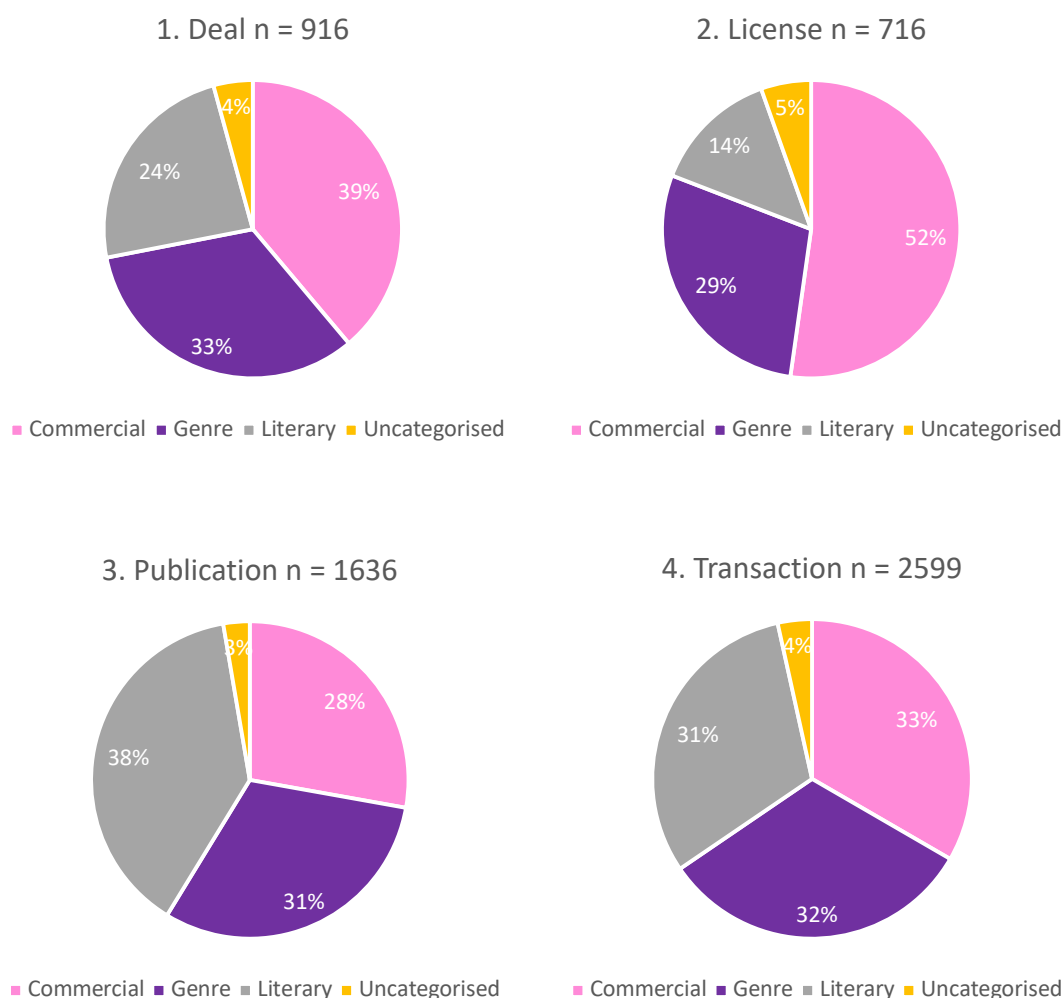
Figure 33. Gender distribution by author, work and edition (all sets)



Note: Author listed as 'other' has one work and edition so does not register visually

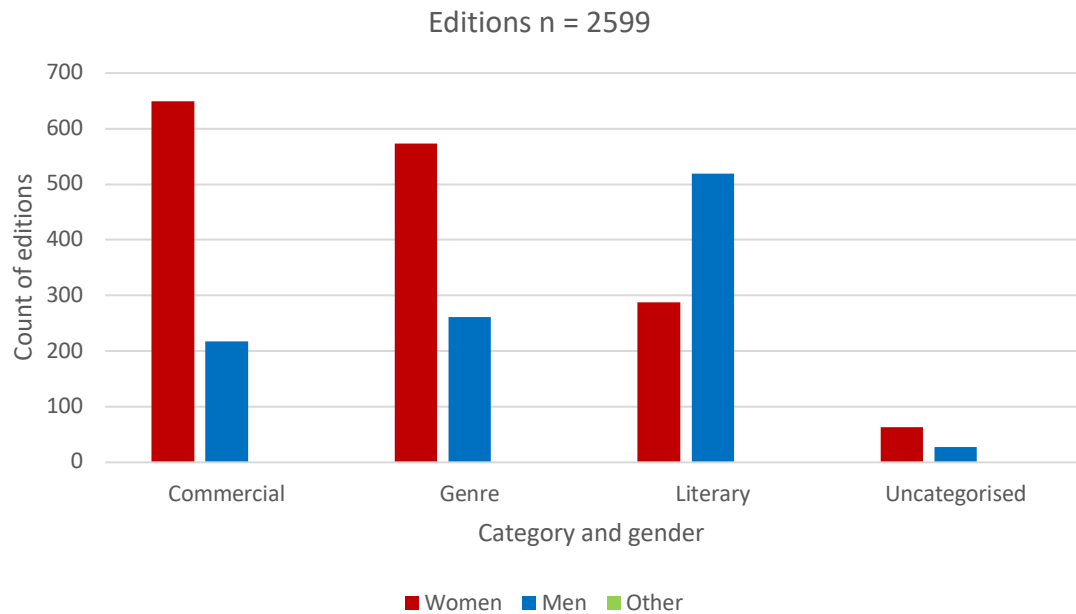
The transaction set data also show a much more even category distribution, unlike the individual sets, where the editions in the commercial and genre categories (genre and commercial editions) are far more associated with access: the difference is made clear in figure 34.

Figure 34. Category proportions by editions (all sets)



Analysis of the transaction sub-sets demonstrates the relationship between gender and category and access to the international licensing field. While women authors and works written by women have the highest rate of access in the transaction set, as with the sub-sets, one area where they do not achieve higher rates of access is the literary category. However, as figure 35 shows, in the transaction set, there are twice the number of editions by men in this category: the situation is reversed for commercial, where women authors dominate.

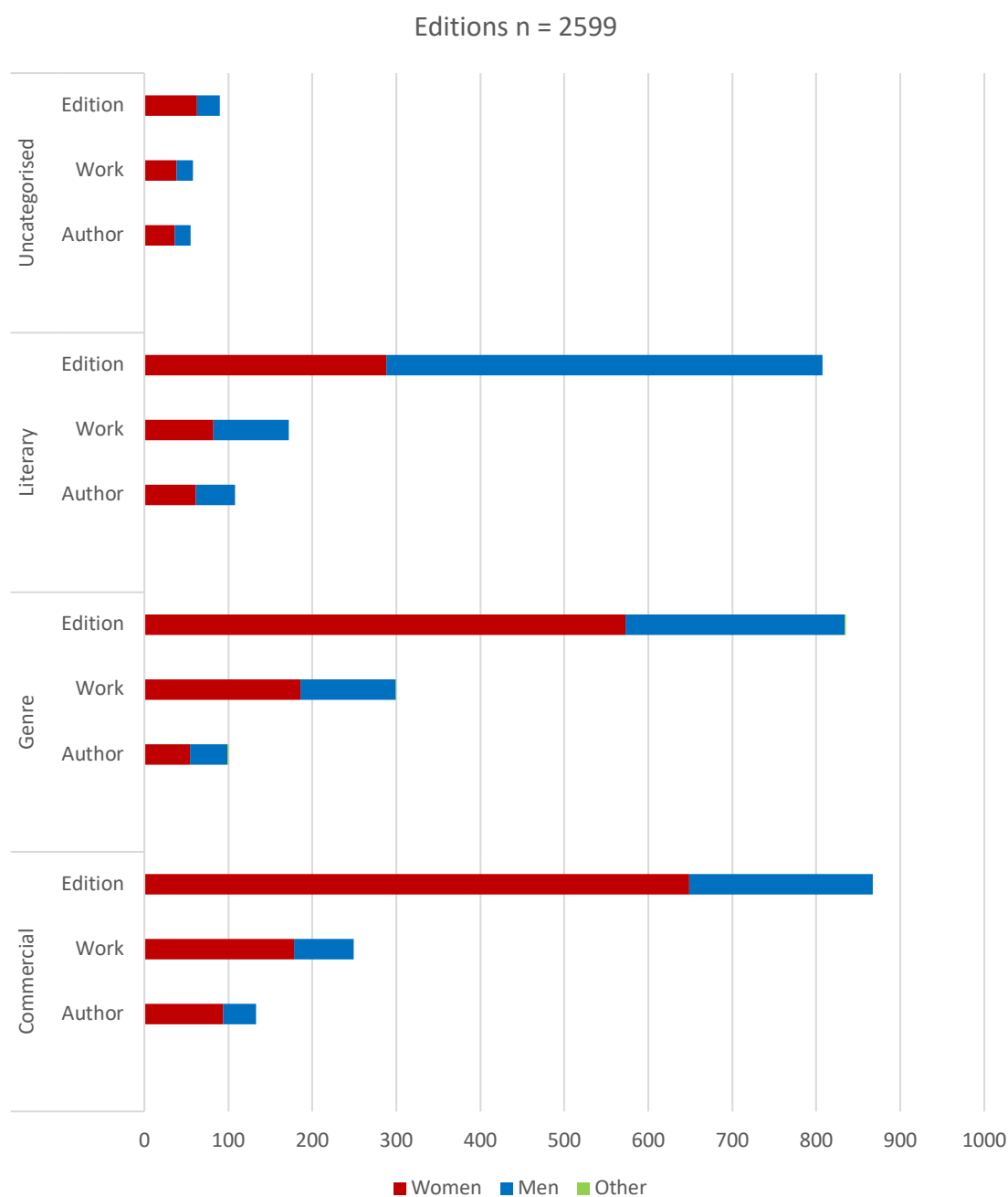
Figure 35. Transaction set editions proportioned by category and gender



The balance towards women authors might reflect individual authors who are highly active within the commercial and genre categories, except two of the most active commercial and genre authors are men (Graeme Simsion and Peter Temple). Comparing category, gender, author, work and edition shows there is also a relationship between access levels and productivity. This is evident in the ratios between the number of authors, the number of works and the number of editions.

At an author level, women authors achieve access in all categories, but far more in the category of commercial fiction. At a work level, this ratio changes. While genre is the smallest category by author number it is the largest by work number. The commercial and genre categories are also relatively evenly proportioned for women authors at an edition level, but the literary category is far less significant with less than half of the editions, as figure 36 demonstrates.

Figure 36. Category distribution by gender (author, work and edition)



Overall, this structure suggests a relationship between productivity and access for authors in the genre category, with fewer authors and more works—and editions. It also suggests a different pattern of access for works categorised as commercial, as while the relationship between works and editions is much the same as for genre, there is a significantly higher number of authors, again as figure 36 makes evident.

For men, access is relatively even at an author level across all the categories, albeit with a slightly higher rate associated with literary fiction. At a work level, the gender balance between categories is slightly in favour of men for those categorised as literary. The ratio changes significantly at the edition level. Works in the literary category and editions in the literary category show a different relationship to the other two categories, one which could be described as ‘few-to-many’ rather than ‘not-many-to-few’. This relationship suggests that for men, access to the international field through the literary category is more likely to be related to international success of individual works, whereas for women, this is less pronounced, with access more like to be associated with multiple works doing slightly less well, a more similar profile to the other two categories.

In terms of gender representation, figure 36 demonstrates the dominance of men in the literary category by edition. Proportionally, however, the literary category is also more important in terms of overall access for men, with more than double the number of literary to genre editions, while for women authors, there is not a single category that dominates, as commercial and genre are relatively even, although literary is less significant.

5.3.2 Reading the data: More access, better reach

As might be expected, the transaction data set largely reflects the sub-sets from which it is composed: it also acts as a corrective. While the English language field dominates, the most important individual English language national fields are rivalled by the German national field; significantly more translation rights are traded than English language rights. Women authors are more active in the international licensing field, where novels by women achieve higher rates of access and there are more editions written by women authors. While the number and ratio of international imprints suggests Australian licensors more generally have an extensive variety range of international contacts in a wide range of countries and languages, the differing and extended territory grants suggest licensors need to employ particular tactics to enter particular sub-fields of the international licensing field. The number of editions licensed by publishers and the number of sub-agents used suggests that both local agents and local publishers engage in specific and calculated access strategies, the first being granting publishers rights and the second being engaging third parties—that is, cultural mediators. The increasing activity

recorded suggests that the trade also increased significantly during the period under review.

5.3.3 Reading the data in comparison: Later access

As three different types of dates are associated with the edition records in the transaction set (deal announcement, license execution and international publication), and just over three quarters of these dates are unique to the set, analysing access by year means using differing combinations of these measures. This method reveals an increasing growth overall, but also a fluctuation by category and by year, and even though the set only includes works published in Australia from 2000, the pattern nevertheless suggests the trade itself was not yet established by 2000 and that the real increase came several years later.

This pattern contrasts with some of the existing studies on circulation. Longitudinal research into Italian translation rights activity shows an ‘extraordinary spike’ in Italian translations of Australian novels between 1996-2005 (Wilson 2013a, 82). Lee, too, argues there was exponential growth in the rights trade during the whole of the 1990s, stating that ‘5% of the literary agencies have contracts overseas in 1991’, but by 2001, this figure had reached between 20-30% (Lee 2004, 157). In the same article, Lee uses ABS data that shows a significant increase in revenue from licensing activity around the beginning of the new millennium: ‘income under this head [rights] in 2001-2002 was \$24.2 million; representing a 53% increase in the previous two years’ (Lee 2004, 157). ‘Rights’ is, however, a broad term and does not only include international rights.

The transaction set suggests Italian translations represent a marginal percentage of rights activity at the beginning of the period (four of the edition records); Wilson also notes a government focus on this particular European linguistic field (Wilson 2013a, 82). For these reasons, activity on the Italian field cannot be taken as representative of wider linguistic (or national) trends. The ABS data is more complicated, as discussed in Chapter 2, particularly the rights category, which also includes domestic licensing revenue; even when the figures are separate, coverage of international rights revenue is inconsistent. The evidence suggests increases in both rights income and activity; however, it does not suggest a pre-established international rights trade for Australian adult fiction. This study

does not record revenue, so it cannot assess the trend the ABS figures seem to suggest. Moreover, the relatively low level of activity apparent in the transaction set at the beginning of the period might be attributable to the study's methodology (with only titles published and licensed during the period under consideration included). Nevertheless, the deal, license and publication data indicate a noticeable increase in access to the international licensing field by extent and by reach, as shown in the number of editions and the range of languages and countries in which they are available. This increase begins in 2004, several years after the beginning of the new millennium, suggesting that in 2000 the rights trade was not yet established but instead was in the process of becoming established or, more specifically, that Australian literature as a field was in the process of increasing its global access, what might be called 'becoming global'.

5.3.4 Positioning international access within a national context

Global access in this study is measured through transactional evidence and by extent and reach, as well as the concept of 'territory'. It is the data in the transaction set that provides an answer to the question of how global Australian literature is in the twenty-first century. This means comparing the transaction data to international data: in other words, putting Australian access—a specific form of circulation—within a global context. First, however, it is necessary to understand access within a national context. To put it another way, to ask: What proportion of works on the Australian literary field gain international access? Is any form of international access an exception? What does the transaction data set actually represent?

Establishing an indicative percentage of the works published in Australia that enter the international field is not straightforward. One way might be to compare the original data extracted from *AustLit*—which includes all editions published during the period that fit all aspects of the criteria but one, namely international access—with the number of editions that fit all the study's criteria, including access. This method reveals that of the 13,512 records extracted relating to works published between 2000—2015, just 1636 fit all the selection criteria, so 12 percent. However, this figure can only be considered a rough indication of the percentage of works that successfully transition from the national field to the international licensing field due to the limitations of the *AustLit* data (revealed by comparing it to the other data sets) and the specificity of the selection criteria (which

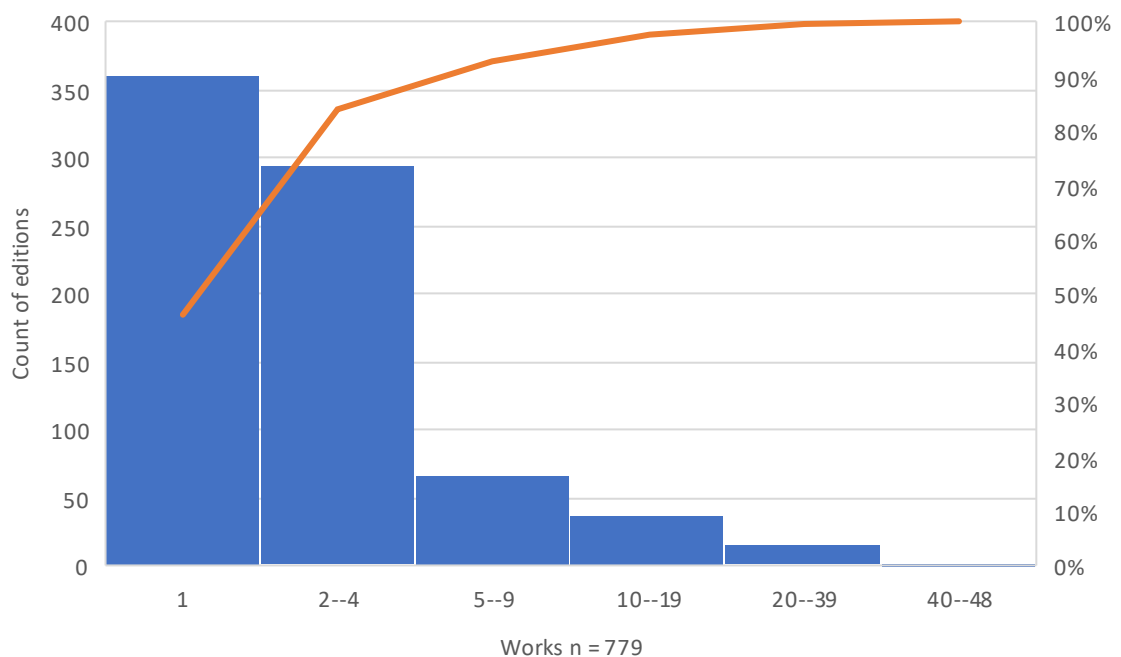
excludes multiple publishers and e-book formats). Regardless, this access figure suggests that if the pattern of access once the international field has been entered is a case of ‘exceptions ... and the rest’, entry to the international field is not a case of exceptions.

An alternative measure by which to establish an indicative level of international access for Australian literature is to compare the domestic output of the four Australian publishers who contributed to the license set with the *AustLit* data. This method involves using the data—extracted from *AustLit*—on works published by those publishers, and comparing it to the international activity records for these publishers in the transaction set. This approach provides what can be seen as a baseline of access. Of the 13,512 records, 5296 are published by one of the four contributing publishers. These 5295 records are associated with 1350 works. This figure suggests that 26 percent of works by multinational publishers achieve international access. While this level of access may seem high—particularly in the face of the media narrative which implies access to be limited to ‘exceptions’—the survey results in *The Australian book industry: Authors, publishers and readers in a time of change* show that ‘Nearly half of all [Australian] authors (44.5%) have sold overseas rights to their work during their careers’ (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015b, 5). This is over their entire careers, so the rough percentage of just over a quarter of works produced by large publishers achieving access over the period of the study seems valid. This figure suggests access is not achieved by a few, but by many: that international access itself is not only about exceptions.

Conversely, the frequency charts suggest that activity on the international licensing field is about ‘exceptions ... and the rest’. This creates the pattern known as ‘the long tail’, a sales model in which a few books succeed and the rest follow—far, far behind, creating a ‘long tail’. Chris Anderson has argued—first in *Wired* (C. Anderson 2004) and, subsequently, in a bestselling book (C. Anderson 2006)—that from economic perspective, this ‘long tail’ may be just as important (or more important) than the few works that stand out as ‘exceptions’, indeed, that it represents the future of selling. In this context, two questions arise: If the international licensing field follows this model, does access also follow this model? And if statistically an ‘exception’ is an outlier, what does extensive access mean?

The composition of the transaction sub-sets shows differing levels of international access, but all follow the long tail model. The transaction set too follows this model. Classifying works according to the number of editions they have by territory shows the difference between those works with the most extensive access (reach) and those with very little can usefully be seen to fall into three groups, each with its own sub-group.

Figure 37. Transaction set works grouped by edition count



In the transaction set, the distribution shows 84 percent of works have between one and four international editions, while 9 percent between five and 20: this is 93 percent of the data set. Figure 37 shows that the more extensive the level of international access, the fewer works achieve it, and for those works in the Australian field with international access the 'exceptions' are works that enter more than 20 linguistic fields. Overall, however, the level of access presented by this data is not dual, exceptions 'and the rest'; access is not simply about tall trees and a 'tangled undergrowth' (Carter July 12, 2018). Rather, it is a forest, with a few towering trees of works (with 40 editions or more), a middle level canopy, and below a tangled undergrowth of many works with fewer than five editions.

While 'global' access to the international licensing field for Australian literature has fluctuated over the period, the question of 'how global?' can be considered in its broadest

sense, by using the data from across the period. This is the approach most commonly used to describe access to the international field at both an author and a work level. Data is regularly aggregated in biographical information on authors who have had multiple works access the international licensing field. This is illustrated in the *#SaveOzStories* contributor notes referenced in Chapter 1: Nicki Gemmell ‘twenty-two languages’, Geraldine Brooks ‘25 languages’ and Richard Flanagan ‘42 countries’ (Melbourne University Publishing 2016, 182-185). Using this approach reveals transactions in 46 linguistic fields, 57 national fields, and, combined, 66 territories. In this way, the transaction set establishes a baseline for global access.

These figures illustrate that Australian literature, as represented by the transaction set, is at least as global as 46 languages other than English and 56 national fields other than Australia. As its own field, Australian literature is more global than the works of the author J.M. Coetzee, whose publishers’ websites—Text and Penguin Random House—in October 2018 listed his international awards (two Booker Prizes and the Nobel), but did not indicate his international access by linguistic or national field. This set, however, lists his access as 36 and 34 (for the works that fall into the selection criteria). Australian literature as a field is also more global than Peter Carey’s works. In October 2018, Carey’s publisher’s site (Penguin Random House) also did not list his international access, nor did his author site (petercarey.com), but instead provided images of the jackets of different international editions of his novels. This set, however, suggests that during the period under review that his work reached at least 30 linguistic fields and 32 countries.

In addition, the field overall is also more global than Graeme Simsion’s *The Rosie Project*, which gained national media coverage when it was reported to have been ‘sold for publication into 42 countries and 38 languages’ (Steger 2014). Finally, the Australian field is more global than internationally bestselling author Kate Morton whose works had sold over 10,000,000 copies by 2015 (Morris 2015), and according to this study’s transaction data set, had also been licensed into at least 35 linguistic fields, in across 38 languages by that year. In contrast to the above-mentioned international prize-winning literary authors—Carey and Coetzee—in October 2018, Morton’s English language website (katemorton.com) not only listed international editions, but had a dropdown menu offering translation of the webpage into eight languages. (Simsion’s site, accessed in

December 2018, linked to Text Publishing's site which listed the international editions, and had 41 national fields with an additional two languages.) Overall, using the baseline of this set and additional sources, as a body, it appears that during the period covered by this study, the sub-field of Australian literature that gains access to the international licensing field has greater reach than the sum of even its most internationally active parts.

5.3.5 Positioning international circulation within an international context

Without a wider context, it is still difficult to know how 'global' Australian literature actually is—in a global sense. In other words: What does the overall figure of 46 languages, 57 countries and 66 territories mean? Is twenty-first century Australian literature as 'global' in terms of access as other national literatures by these measures?

The (comparative) lack of research into the global rights trade on a linguistic or national basis means there is relatively little context in which to consider Australian literature's performance as a field against other fields. In contrast, there is extensive evidence of the trade in the English-language field at an individual work and author level, so it is useful to consider both indicators to make an international assessment of global access.

In the *Book Authors and their Changing Circumstances* survey in which works by the Australian authors who participated are found to have been 'translated into over 40 languages', the number is described as 'giving the study significant international reach' (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 2). In the abstract for a journal article on copyright trading in China in 2005, scholar Xin Lui offers attendance figures for the previous year's Beijing International Book Fair, writing that '900 publishers from over 40 countries of the world' attended (Liu 2005, 11), implying this figure is significant. In his analysis of the Dutch field between 2000—2009, Thomas Franssen finds Dutch publishers to have published literary fiction from 42 languages (Franssen 2015, 338). German publishers, with the help of translation grants, have achieved access to 45 languages in 40 years (Goethe Institut n.d.). Using records from the *Syndicat national de l'édition*, a national publisher organisation (which, at December 2018, had 670 members), Sapiro establishes that between 1997—2006 French publishers 'acquired the translation rights [...] from 61 languages and more than 80 countries' (Sapiro 2010, 428). French publishers (along with German publishers) have long been the most active in acquiring the rights to works in

translation, a claim supported by an analysis of data extracted from the *Index Translationum* in May 2019: it shows German and French ahead of all other ‘target’ languages (English is ahead as a ‘source language’). The French acquisition figures can usefully be considered a ‘high-water’ mark. By this measure, the sub-field of the Australian literary field that has gained access to the international licensing field (as represented by the transaction set)—46 linguistic and 56 national fields—is a fraction more ‘global’ in terms of overall access than the sub-field of the German literary field that has gained supported access.

However, international reach for English-language fields outside Australia is best measured by turning to the two largest fields, the United Kingdom and the United States, and considering the levels of access of some of their most visible individual works and authors, as it is individual players who determine the upper limits of international access.

This approach reveals that in December, 2018, British literary agency Rogers Coleridge & White’s website claimed of 2017 Nobel Prize for Literature Laureate Kazuo Ishiguro that his ‘work has been translated into over forty languages’. Similarly, the website of another British literary agency, David Higham & Associates, claimed Paula Hawkins’ psychological thriller *Girl on a Train* (2015) ‘has sold 15 million copies worldwide, in fifty countries and over forty languages’. In 2011, a *USA Today* article, ‘Fifth book in “Game of Thrones” series released’, noted with excitement that there were ‘translators in 40-some languages standing by’ (Donahue 2011). 40 is Chinese scholar Lui’s figure—and Throsby, Zwar and Longden’s. While this is an imprecise way of discovering what might be considered a ‘global’ level of global access, broadly speaking these diverse examples suggest that within the contemporary transnational literary field, ‘over 40 languages’ (or national fields) is regarded as a sign of being global.

However, the Dutch, German and French figures also demonstrate a much higher level of access to be possible. Looking at more specific information about individual works and authors known to be internationally successful—prize-winners and bestsellers from the United States and United Kingdom—also reveals a much higher level of access. Works that fall into these categories include the aforementioned Hawkins novel; Eloise James’ 50 *Shades of Grey* (2011), which her publisher’s website (penguinrandomhouse.com) claimed

had sold over 150 million copies worldwide in February 2019; *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) by Dan Brown, whose website (danbrown.com) also claimed in February, 2019 that there were 200 million copies of his novels in print; the previously mentioned Ishiguro; the Man Booker shortlisted novel *Atonement* (2001) by Ian McEwan; and 2009 Man Booker-winner Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* (2009).

On the American side, as of February 2019, *50 Shades of Grey* had been licensed into 52 languages (according to penguinrandomhouse.com) while the landing page of Dan Brown's website claimed the author's novels were 'published in 56 languages around the world', outperforming a Nobel laureate, Australian licensors and novels supported by German grant committees. Turning to the British, in February, 2019, Rogers Coleridge & White's website listed 35 licenses for *Atonement*, including three English-language deals, while 37 licenses were listed on A.M. Heath's site for *Wolf Hall*, including English-language deals for UK and US rights.

To put this all in a wider contemporary context it is worth examining the access figures for the children's book series read by many adults (and not just to their children): the Harry Potter series. According to the landing page of pottermore.com, the official J.K. Rowling site, in December 2018 the series had sold 500 million copies worldwide and been translated into 80 languages. This, it seems, is a contemporary high-water mark for global access.

Using these measures, in terms of what might be considered 'global' and in terms of access by reach for novels, at 46 linguistic fields and 56 national fields, the internationally engaged Australian literary field—as represented by the transaction data set—has not reached the outer limits of the contemporary linguistic field. Australian literature, as a field represented by the transaction data set, has less reach than Dan Brown's *Origin* at its October 2017 release (Frankfurter Buchmesse 2017) and *50 Shades of Grey*, despite the Australian field including Nobel Prize-winners, Booker Prize-winners, and multi-million copy (international) bestsellers. However, by having accessed over 40 linguistic fields, not only does Australian fiction achieve 'significant international reach' as Throsby et al.'s research suggests (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 2), but as shown in this study, the

field of Australian literature can be considered to have achieved a level of access that can be considered 'global' by international standards.

5.4 Access: Not as 'global' but 'global' enough

Overall, analysis of the deal, license and publication sets reveal an increasing level of international engagement throughout the first half of the period, by both reach and extent, but instability in the second half of the period under investigation. The transaction set shows higher activity in the translation fields, relatively even category distribution, and that women outnumber men at the level of author, work and edition.

Analysing these different accounts—and creating a single account of transactions—confirms the benefit of using a longitudinal, triangulated geo-linguistic approach to measuring global access. It also suggests access by activity provides an effective metric through which to construct a map of global access (as the *B + P* surveys discussed in Chapter 2 demonstrated). Moreover, using this metric creates an alternative account of access, one quite different to that of comparative inactivity created by industry and government revenue figures.

This (triangulated) transaction set also provides a way to examine more closely the perception (created by a focus on those works with high levels of access) that international access is mostly a case of 'exceptions': all the sub-sets, and the transaction set itself show access to be a case of 'exceptions ... and the rest'. By examining the activity of 'exceptions ... and the rest', this study is able to answer the question of how global Australian literature is in the twenty-first century.

Using the aggregated data, the question can be answered in a general sense by measuring 'global access' by the number of the international licensing field's sub-fields entered by works from the Australian literary field. By this measure, the Australian field appears not as 'global' as some individual international authors or literary fields, but is nevertheless 'global' in what can be considered 'global' terms; that is, global enough.

By describing multi-layered exponential growth and increasingly wide international engagement—as measured by activity—the transaction data provides the basis from which to reassess the international contribution of the Australian literary field during the

first decade and a half of the twenty-first century. Moreover, by positioning it not as an isolated field, but one that is part of a culturally, economically and legally connected system, the transaction data provides the empirical foundation from which this study explores and decodes the forces behind this increase from a cultural, commercial and social perspective—in other words, a world-systems, field and network perspective.

6 Global systems: The importance of position

Authors enter the world literary space with a literary past, or as Casanova argues, a national past that positions them (Casanova 2004, 40-41). This chapter explores the way in which this national past influences international access—particularly how it is determined by global relations—using the concept of national capital to capture the value of national spaces of literary origin. To establish the value of Australia's national capital, it draws on the transaction data set—the transaction map—and examines it to discover its meaning using world-systems analysis.

This examination, is by necessity, an exercise in distant reading as the world-systems approach positions access to the international licensing field as depending not on individual outputs but on the relative position of a particular language or nation within the wider global system. This relative position—linguistically hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral or peripheral; culturally or economically core, semi-peripheral or peripheral; dominant or dominated—determines the level as well as the type of capital required for works to leave the domestic field and gain access to external linguistic and national fields, a process this study conceives as gaining entry through the international licensing field. An individual field's position has also been shown to determine the categories of works particular fields are likely to acquire, as well as the categories of works they are more likely to produce.

Geographically peripheral, Australia can be also be seen to have three conceptual positions according to which the world-system frame is employed: economic (central), cultural (hyper-central) and literary (peripheral). Triangulating the global position of Australia's literary field in this way allows this study to draw on the implications of each of these positions both separately and together. Furthermore, it makes it possible to explore how the increase in access revealed by the analysis of the transaction set in the previous chapter might be associated with: an increased ability to benefit from being part of the English language field; the lifting of historic trade constraints; and, change in production trends. In other words, this approach provides a way to answer the question: How can structural changes in the global field be seen to have contributed to an increase in the number of novels licensed from Australia in the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century?

6.1 Hyper-central: Colonial legacy as a structural advantage

There are multiple ways to interpret the historical relationship between the Australian literary field and that of the United Kingdom, but often they are negative, positioning Australia as a ‘dominated and defended market’ (Magner 2006, 7). Many interpretations of the contemporary trade are also negative and position Australia’s relationship in terms of disadvantage. This can be seen in an article published in *The Age* newspaper, on the company blog and, finally, reprinted in *Publishing Research Quarterly*, in which Scribe Publications’ Henry Rosenbloom makes clear his frustration:

As in all neo-colonial enterprises, UK publishers, by protecting their own financial interests, are holding up the development of Australian publishing and the Australian book trade in general. (Rosenbloom 2008, 177)

In contrast, a key perception about the international circulation of Australian literature—visible in government, trade media, industry and scholarly discourse—is that for licensing, the English language field is the most important for Australian novels. In 2009, for instance, Penguin stated that ‘Currently, trading in rights is mostly a triangular affair: the US, the UK and Australia buy and sell rights to each other’ (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 9). Analysis of the transaction data suggests this perception is not unfounded: access to the English-language field is depicted as far more extensive than to any other individual linguistic field.

A more detailed analysis of access by linguistic field demonstrates the way in which, at a fundamental level, the legacy of colonialism has benefitted the Australian publishing industry and its relationship to the international licensing field. Specifically, being a settler nation with English as the official language has benefitted Australian authors who write in English, particularly those who trade their works. English is not only a central linguistic field, the language’s dominance has made it a hyper-central field. Quantitative approaches—illustrated by the analysis of the *Index Translationum*—have regularly demonstrated the benefit of writing in the English language: it provides easier access to the translation field than writing in any other language.

In this context, the comparatively high rate of access into the translation field for Australian works can be understood in terms of Australian works originating in an

English-language field. In a fundamental sense, therefore, English-language rights and translation rights cannot be considered as separate, but instead together form part of an interconnected global system: one in which English dominates.

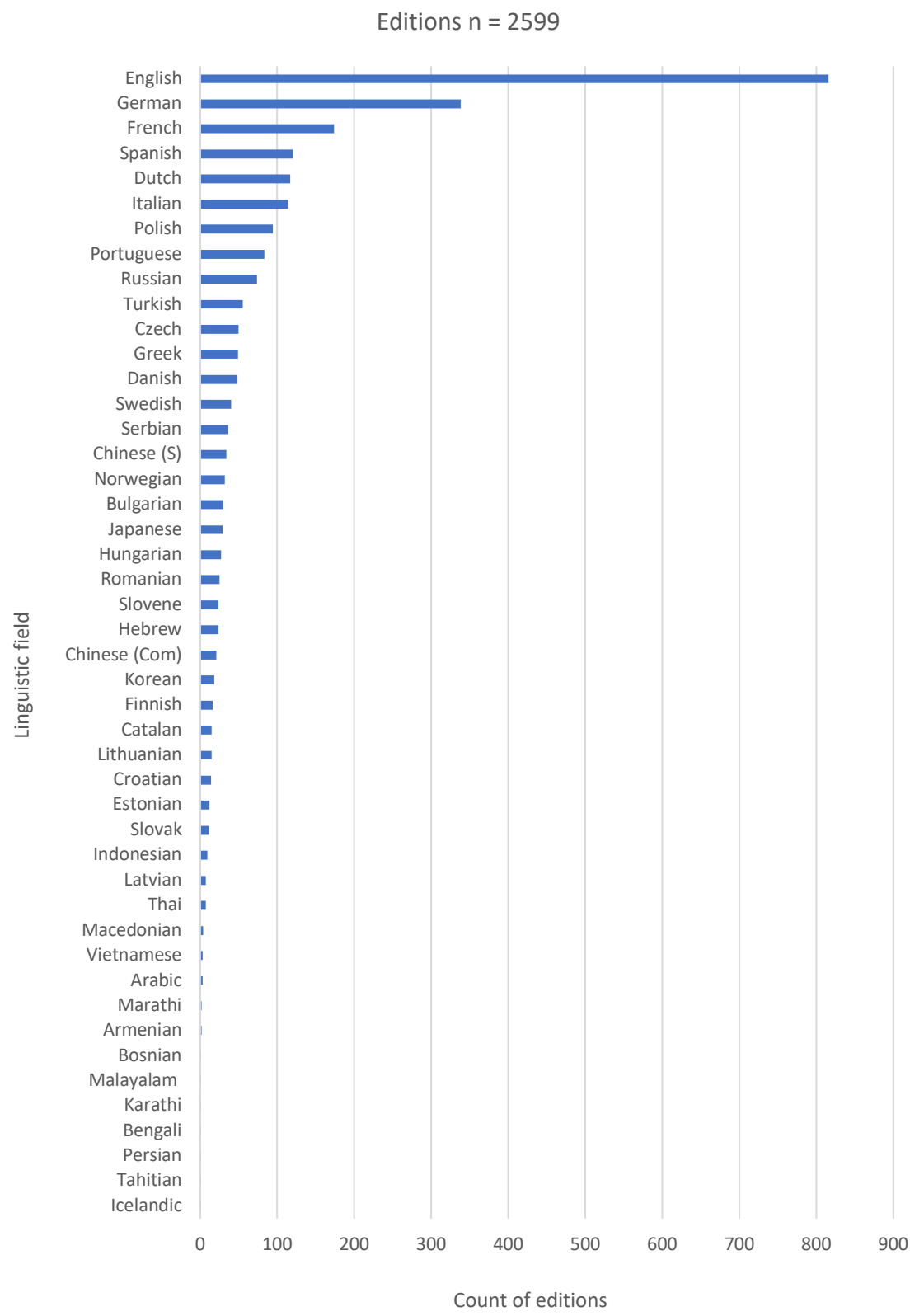
6.1.1 Linguistic fields: Where the English language dominates

There are two sets of primary indicators of access to the international licensing field: linguistic and national field on the one hand, and extent and reach on the other. To measure linguistic reach and extent involves aggregating the individual transactions (records of international editions) for each language. This approach demonstrates that the English-language field is the dominant linguistic field—that is, the Australian field has a significant engagement with the linguistic hyper-centre—but it also demonstrates this field constitutes just 31 percent of the editions in the licensing field. By this measure, for the Australian literary field, of the two linguistic sub-fields that constitute the licensing field, the translation field is more significant than the English-language field.

However, the edition data shows that 51 percent of all transactions are in just three linguistic fields: the hyper-central English language field, and two central translation fields (German and French). This reveals the structure of the translation field to be uneven. In particular, the English language field is double the size of the German field, the German field is double the size of the French field, and the French field is two thirds larger than the Italian, Spanish and Dutch fields. The transaction data also show simultaneous access to other central linguistic fields, as well as those on the semi-periphery. As with the individual field analysis, this access is largely confined to European linguistic fields; both central and semi-peripheral (Western and Eastern Europe). Considerably fewer editions are associated with non-European fields. For example, Simplified Chinese, which shows the most activity of the non-European fields (followed by Korean and Japanese), has only 10 percent of the editions visible in the German field. The linguistic fields with which the Australian field has the most limited relationship tend to be those that are the most peripheral in the book translation world-system (as well as the world literary space). These fields include those with a high number of speakers, such as the Malayalam and Bengali fields (both languages within the Indian national field), and those with few, such as the Icelandic and Armenian fields.

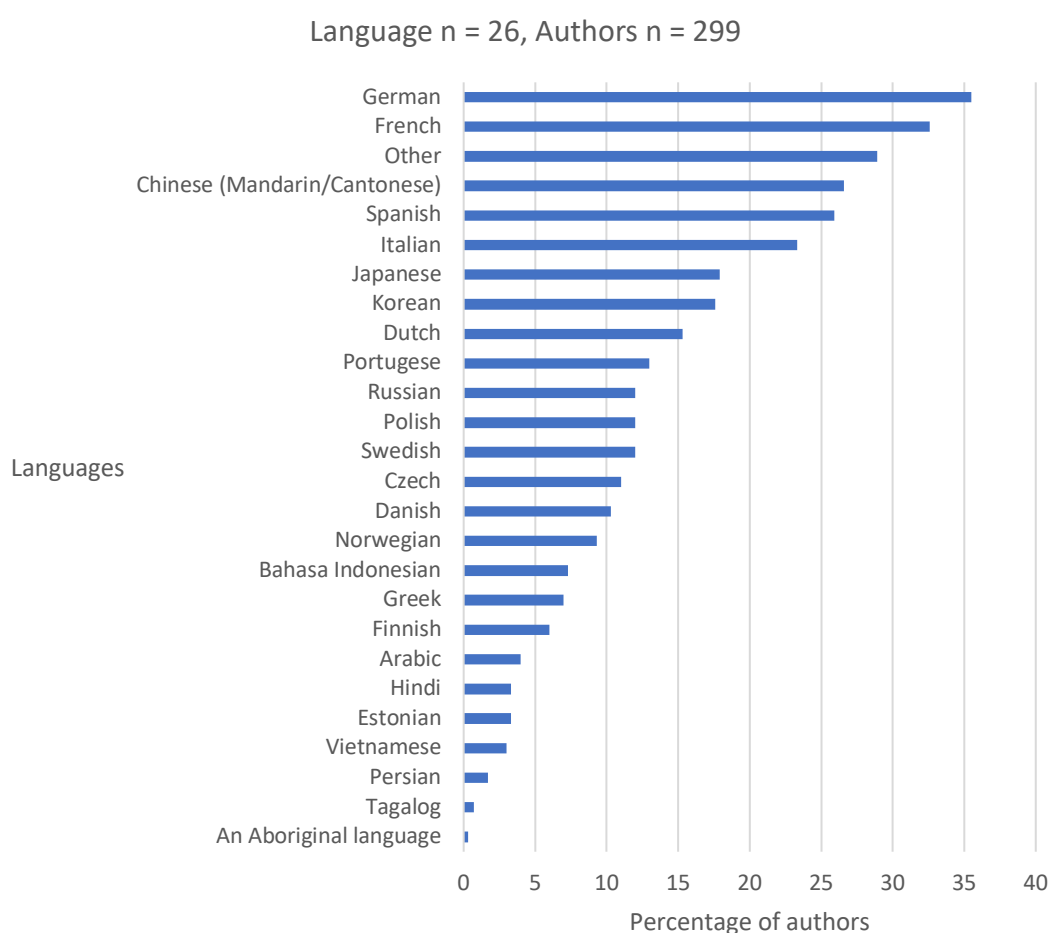
Figure 38 charts the frequency of edition distribution across linguistic fields and describes the proportional relationship between hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral and peripheral fields.

Figure 38. Transaction set edition distribution by linguistic field



The high rate of access to the German and French fields is consistent with the *Book Authors and Their Changing Circumstances* survey results, which provide an author account of access but not limited to a particular timeframe, nor to a particular work or publishing category (this survey includes children's fiction and poetry, for example). The most noticeable differences between the transaction data and this account (figure 39) is the high rate of access to the Japanese and Korean fields, both peripheral fields in the book translation world-system. While this data set appears not to follow the 'long tail' model to the same extent as the transaction data, the inclusion of 'other' (presumably languages not well represented) makes this difficult to establish.

Figure 39. Access by language from *Book Authors and their Changing Circumstances*



Source: Created from data in Table 3.12 (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 40).
Ordered by percentage.

European studies show a profile that is closer to that of the transaction set, particularly in regard to the high rate of access to the German and French fields. The German market, overall, is larger economically by value than the Australian field. Based on 2015–2016 figures, for example, *BookMap*'s analysis shows it to be the third largest global market after the United States and China, markets which, respectively, make up 39, 29 and 17 percent of the global publishing market, while France makes up just 3 percent (Wisichenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 6). However, these two fields have been seen to vie for the position of most culturally engaged—that is, the most acquisitive, in terms of international acquisitions (Kovač, et al. n.d., 16; Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 5). Overall, the proportions demonstrated in figure 38 suggest that being a part of the English-language field is an advantage for Australian licensors: the data also suggests that for Australian works, entry to the international English-language field may require lower levels of national capital than the translation field. Moreover, the relative lack of access to peripheral fields—the relatively few editions visible—can be explained by the position of these fields within the book translation world-system: that is, the level of capital required for entry is field-dependent. The analysis of the transaction data set, in this way, reflects Heilbron's theoretical model of translation as a world-system (Heilbron 1999).

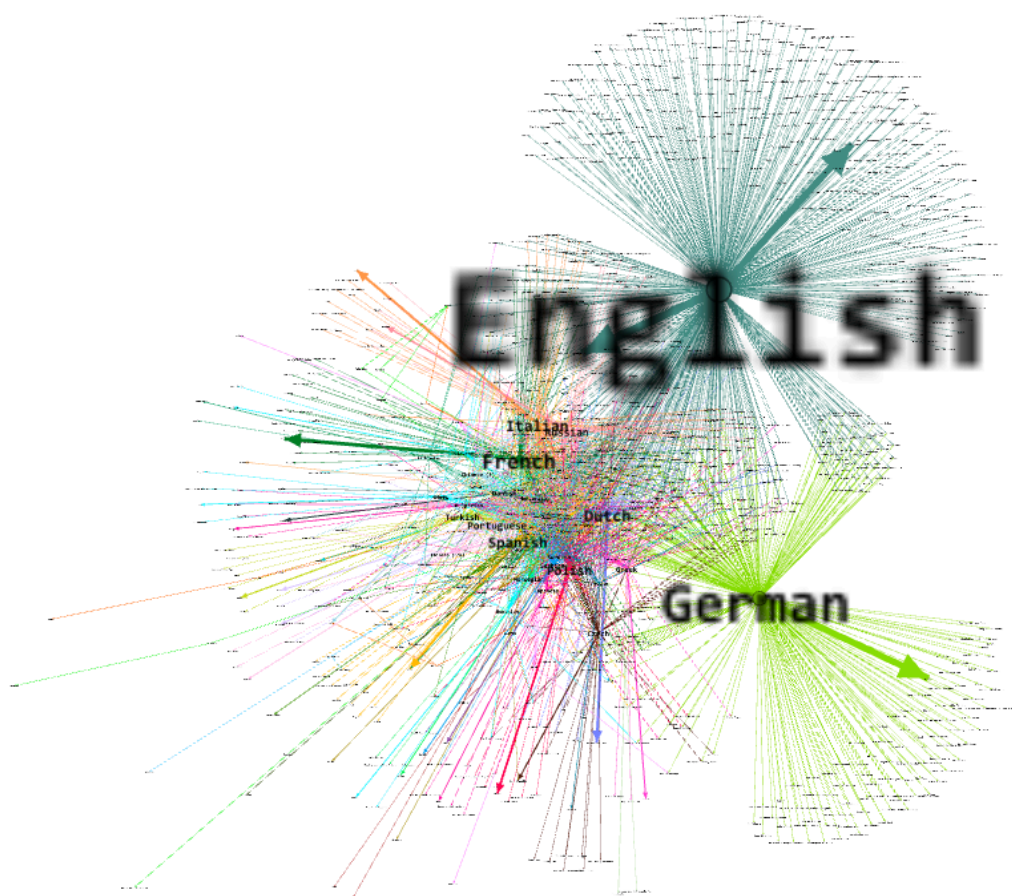
6.1.2 A connective reading of linguistic fields: The value of independence

By using another kind of analysis of the same transaction data (editions), the seeming capacity of a field's national capital holdings to enable (or prohibit) international access becomes even more apparent. This form of analysis—a 'connective reading'—reveals the relationship between the multiple fields from which the international licensing field is constructed, as it relates to Australia and this study. Identifying individual field acquisition patterns means questions can be asked such as: Which fields acquire alone? Which fields acquire together? Which acquire in groups? This approach can visualise not only book translations but book transactions (licenses) as a cultural world-system in action.

By moving from charts to graphs, and combining the transaction set's data on individual linguistic fields with access by individual works in a network graph, field linguistic acquisition approaches become visible. This approach reveals three key acquisition types. Figure 40 is constructed by combining individual works and editions associated with linguistic fields, sized by the number of editions per field, and positioned by connective

relationships. The groupings this method reveals demonstrate that the English-language field is not only the largest but that it has the most independent acquisitions.

Figure 40. Connections between linguistic fields by works shared



Note: Editions $n = 2599$.

Created using Gephi software and the Force Atlas algorithm.
Structured by in-betweenness and coloured by community.

This network graph further shows that the German field is not only the second largest field but that a large number of works are acquired independently from the rest of the fields, including from the English-language field. Significantly, a number of acquisitions are also only made within the English-language field. These two fields are also positioned independently, away from the rest of the linguistic fields and all translation fields. In contrast, the centrality of the other translation fields with a relatively high rate of access

(including the French and Spanish fields), shows them to be more connected to all other fields. However, while these translation fields share multiple connections, unlike the German field they acquire very few Australian works independently. This suggests there are structural similarities between these central linguistic and culturally core European fields. The spatial centrality of the Dutch field, in turn, shows how this particular field is positioned within, and by, its relationship with the Australian field, as determined by the number of works it has acquired over the period; and the extent to which these same works have been acquired by other fields. In this sense, the Dutch field can be seen to be an important field, but also, more than the larger fields, a highly connected field.

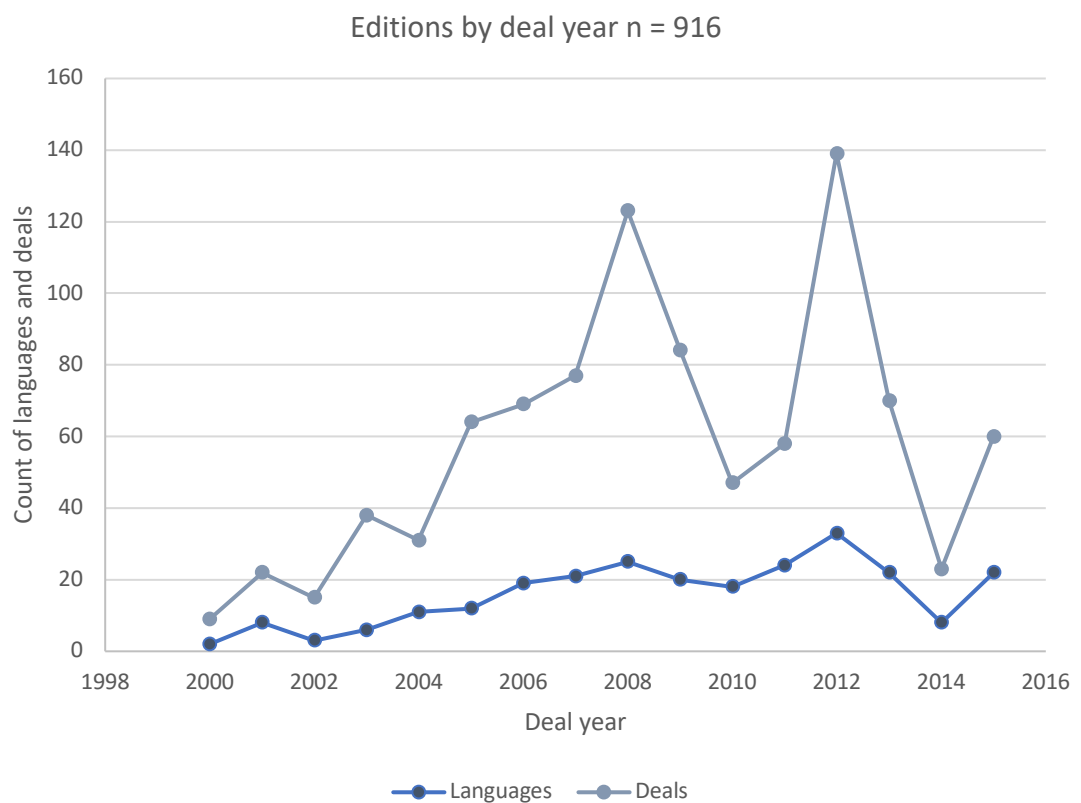
While this network graph suggests a relationship between linguistic centrality and independent acquisition practices, it does not suggest transactions in the hyper-central English-language and German fields act as a 'gateway' per se for Australian novels, enabling them to enter additional fields, as both of these languages are believed to do for translation fields within the industry (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 13). However, applying network analysis shows that once again, the transaction data reflect Heilbron's model of the translation field relationships: it also suggests a spatial reversal of structures. Just as Bourdieu's literary field is conceived as an economic space that is unlike other spaces—as the title of his 1983 *Poetics* article 'The field of cultural production, or: the economic world reversed' makes explicit, this network graph—effectively a 'connective map' of linguistic transactions—suggests that this form of world-system may also work in 'reverse' spatially, with the smaller (active) players central and the larger (active) players peripheral.

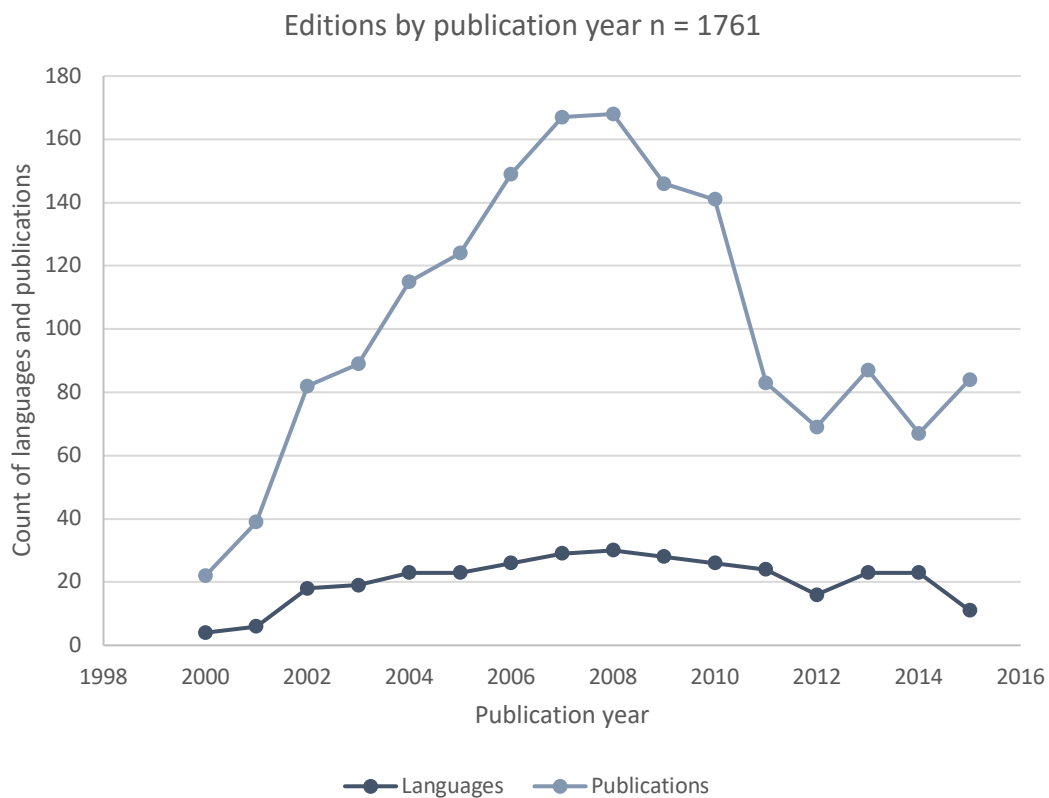
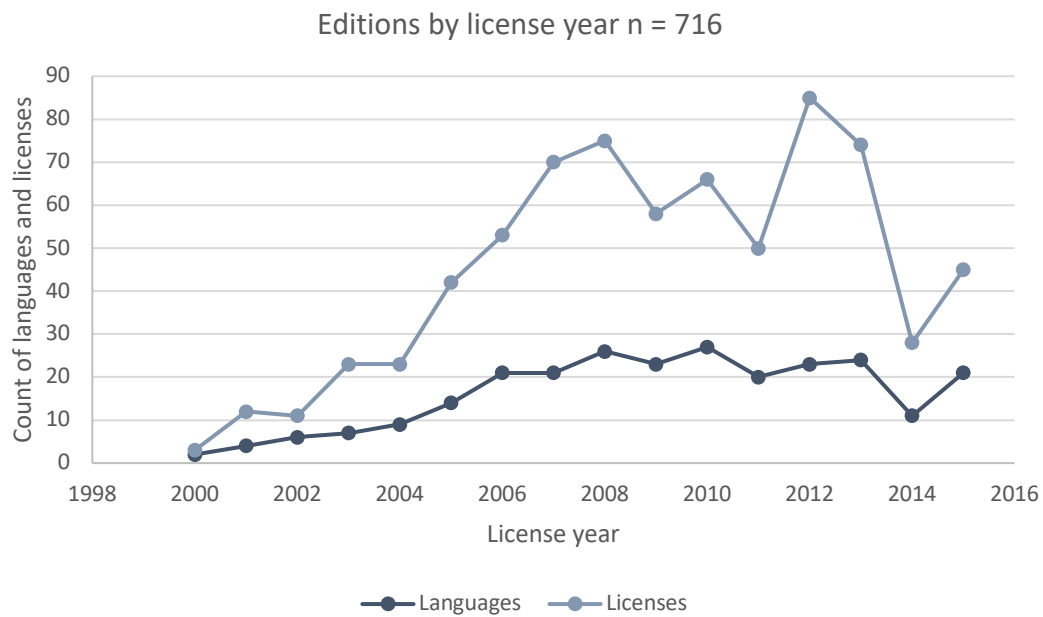
6.1.3 Linguistic fields over time: Where domination changes

Analysis of the transaction data by year and linguistic field shows that neither access nor fluctuation is consistent. However, a focus on the deal year and number of deals, shows that the fields with the most activity are represented in the most years. The English and German fields are accessed in all years, the French in all but two, and the Polish all but three, for example. The fields with what might be considered 'mid-range' activity also show an even distribution between access and year. As is to be expected, the fields with the least activity overall are those accessed in the fewest years. Figure 41 describes the relationship between levels of access and the individual fields, drawing on the transaction sub-set data (deal, license and publication) that describes editions by year and the number of linguistic

fields entered by individual year in the associated sub-set. It reveals that the steep increase in extent—evident in the analysis of each sub-set by edition year in the previous chapter—is also accompanied by a steep increase in linguistic reach (access by the number of languages). To put it another way, figure 41 shows the increase in extent is not (only) driven by increased access to the same fields, but an increasing engagement with more fields.

Figure 41. Count of individual linguistic fields by deal, license and publication year





Note: Excludes additional publication records for 2016/17

Focusing on access by linguistic field and year shows how access to peripheral fields fluctuates across the period but it is these fields that contribute to making the Australian field more ‘global’ between 2000—2015. Figure 41 also illustrates that even during the period in which extent decreases, the increased linguistic engagement does not decrease to the same extent. In other words, as the Australian field gains wide global access, as the exponential trendline suggests, it shows a tendency to retain these levels of global access.

This data demonstrates the way in which Australia’s particular position within the (book translation) world-system impacts upon access, in the sense that Australia’s engagement is not the same as that of other fields. In 2015, a *Publishing Perspectives White Paper* reported that respondents to a rights activity survey claimed ‘Russia, Greece, Italy and Spain’ were acquiring translation rights less actively while ‘other regions known for acquiring translations, including the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, are [...] more prudent’ (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 5). With the exception of the Swedish field, this is also the case for the Australian field. While each of these national fields can be seen to be actively acquiring Australian work throughout the period, deal year analysis shows a reduction in 2015, with two deals for Spain, one for Russia and Italy and none for Greece. Conversely, this report also noted ‘a consensus that Turkey is taking off, with Poland and the Czech Republic showing strong signs of life’ (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 5). The transaction data suggests all three fields (all national fields and not part of larger linguistic regional fields) have long been receptive to Australian works, ranking, respectively, ten, eleven and eight, in overall access. Polish transactions are visible in 14 of the possible 16 years the study covers, for example, and in 2013, the Polish field is the most actively accessed, as measured by editions with both deal and license years associated. This slight difference in access trends suggests the Australian field’s engagement with the international field—as it is represented in this study’s data set—only partially reflects the European experience, one which is based on data from both the English-language and European fields.

Comparing this annual transactional data to *Books + Publishing’s* country rankings from their annual survey between 2005—2015 (table 4) also suggests that the focus of the study (mainstream Australian novels) has a different access profile to Australian books more generally during the same period.

Table 4. *Think Australian* market rankings by number of rights deals (2005—2015)

Rank	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
1	US	US	US	US	US
2	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
3	Korea	Germany	Germany	Korea	Germany
4	Germany	France	Korea	Germany	Korea
5	France	Italy	France	France	France
6	the Netherlands	Spanish language	Japan	Italy	Japan
7	Russia	Korea	Brazil	China	Brazil
8	Brazil	the Netherlands	India	Spanish language	India
9	N/A	Japan	Spanish language	Poland	Spanish language
10	N/A	Brazil	the Netherlands	the Netherlands	the Netherlands

Rank	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	China	China	US	UK	US	UK
2	US	US	UK	US	China	US
3	Korea	UK	China	Germany	Germany	China
4	Brazil	Korea	Korea	Poland	Korea	Germany
5	France	Brazil	France	China	UK	Korea
6	UK	France	Germany	Korea	Singapore	France
7	Germany	Germany	Japan	Turkey	France	Turkey
8	Spain	Taiwan	Brazil	France	Taiwan	Spanish language
9	Taiwan	Turkey	Taiwan	Singapore	Poland	Poland
10	the Netherlands	Poland	Poland	Italy/US	Brazil	the Netherlands

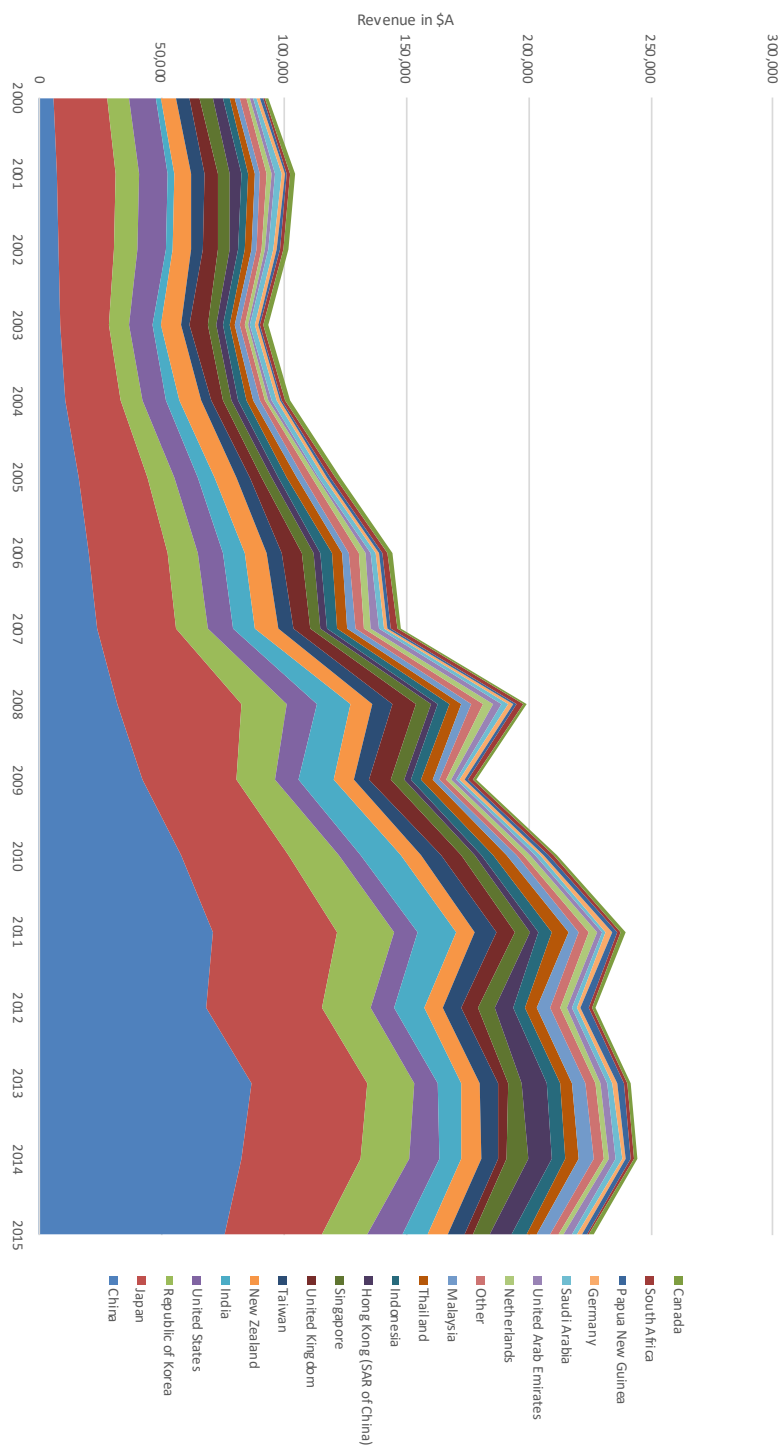
Source: Collated deal information from Australian literary agents and publisher survey data tables published in *Think Australian 2005—2015* (*Think Australian 2005* 2005, 8; *Think Australian 2006* 2006, 8; *Think Australian 2007* 2007, 8; *Think Australian 2008* 2008, 9; Wrathall 2009, 11; Wrathall 2010, 10; Wrathall 2011, 10; Wrathall 2012, 10; Wrathall 2013, 10; Wrathall 2014, 11; Wrathall and Hanke 2015, 14)

Even reading this data as a linguistic (rather than national) set demonstrates that unlike the transaction set, the *B + P* survey data does not present a solely European focus. Moreover, table 4 reveals a change in the non-European field structure over the period, depicting Japan's decline, Korea's steady presence and China's ascent. The survey set also includes Singapore, a field that does not appear in the transaction set. As an open market, Singapore is normally treated as a distribution field. This inclusion complicates how the *B + P* figures might be understood. If rights and distribution are conflated—which they might be, by survey respondents—it is difficult to measure access effectively. However, the focus is said to be rights, so the data set provides a useful counterpoint to this study's data.

In regards to the content of the *B + P* survey results, while the magazine does not specify its respondents' publishing categories, it makes reference to trends in children's books, and various types of trade non-fiction. The differences between the transaction set data (which is solely based on the trade in novels) and the annual survey activity (which is broader), suggests that different segments of the trade publishing sector have engaged differently with the international licensing field over the period (this is also suggested in the qualitative evidence included in these annual surveys).

More significantly, unlike the transaction set, by field the *B + P* rights survey results are more in line with the Australian national goods export patterns over the period, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) figures, as listed on their website (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade n.d.) and interpreted as a chart in figure 42. While this data is revenue-based, not activity-based, ranking the 20 fields in terms of their cumulative revenue provides a useful measure of international engagement. This chart shows how there is a distinct difference between what has been happening in the national trade field and the international licensing field over the period.

Figure 42. Australia’s direction of goods trade calendar years (2000-2015)



Source: Created from data in ‘Australia’s direction of goods trade calendar years 2000-2015’ (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade n.d.). Structured by revenue by year.

In particular, the DFAT data shows that for Australian goods exports over the period, the Chinese field dominates and increases considerably, as does the Japanese field; meanwhile the Korean field represents half of these markets, but is also significant and of increasing importance, with higher revenue overall than from the United States (the fourth most active trade partner). Between 2000–2015, the main Australian goods export partners by revenue have been Asian nations, with the most active licensing field (Germany) hovering at number 18 in the top twenty nations, while France—the fourth most active licensing field—does not appear in figure 45 (it is number 25). The DFAT website also lists Australian goods as having been exported to 239 national fields over the period, but as figure 45 suggests, there is considerable difference between the levels of trade, just as with the licensing field.

The structure of the DFAT revenue is also very different to the structure of the transaction data set, with gradually increasing growth to 2008, after which there is a substantial increase, in contrast to the transaction set, where the substantial growth is until 2008, with fluctuation thereafter. That the DFAT data is revenue-based and not activity based also suggests the complex relationship between revenue and activity and the difficulty of direct comparisons. Yet examining the export revenue by general goods and by intellectual property—access to the licensing field—still reveals two very different pictures of international engagement. Comparing the transaction data, the DFAT data and the *B + P* survey results suggests the logic that drives the international trade in Australian novels, as measured by access to the international licensing field over time, is quite unlike the logic that drives the trade in other Australian goods—and, potentially, other categories of books.

6.1.4 National capital, one: The high value of the English language

This different trading logic between fiction and other goods supports Heilbron's argument for framing translation (including English-language rights) as taking place within the frame of a cultural world-system, not the economic world-system. The structure of the linguistic fields over the period (the dominance of English-language transactions in the international licensing field) suggests that the Australian field benefits from its colonial linguistic literary heritage. Moreover, the importance of this field is dependent upon Australia's position within the cultural world-system. Access to the 45 translation fields which comprise two thirds of the editions in the transaction set can also be seen to be

dependent on membership of this hyper-central field. At a fundamental level, the English language itself can be seen to provide works from the Australian literary field with higher holdings of national capital than works from translation fields, national capital that appears to be of a higher value in other English-language fields, as well as the German field. The apparent value of this capital is demonstrated by the high level of access to the English language field in contrast to the widely noted relatively low level of access enjoyed by languages other than English. Translated work is routinely reported to make up just 3 percent of North American editions (*Three Percent* was the original name of the *Translation Database* mentioned in *Chapter 2*), although one study has suggested the situation might be better in the United Kingdom, with an analysis of sample data from 2004, 2005 and 2008, suggesting figures ‘consistently greater than four %’ (Donahaye 2013, 4).

One of the most widely quoted statements about the attitude towards those outside the Anglo-American linguistic field is translation scholar Lawrence Venuti’s ‘imperialist abroad and xenophobic at home’ comment (Venuti 1995, 17). While he was writing in reference to translators, he is making an observation relevant to the international licensing field more generally. For the Australian literary field, as represented by the transaction set data on the linguistic fields, this ‘imperialist’ and ‘xenophobic’ English language is the field most successfully accessed: this alone suggests the benefit of being a sub-field within this hyper-central (and large) field, albeit a dominated one.

The linguistic analysis supports Penguin Australia’s 2009 contention to the Federal Government’s Productivity Commission that the English language is the most important and ‘the US and the UK are the two principal purchasers of [...] rights’ (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 9). However, this analysis also demonstrates that access to the English language is, overall, less important than access to the translation field, and while the English language contributes to the Australian field’s holding of national capital, this capital is not the only facilitator of access. The data also reveals the Australian literary field’s role in the English language narrative of international importance, the specific orientations of which are often overshadowed by a focus on core Anglosphere markets, as discussed in *Chapter 2*. In other words, focusing on—‘reading’—the linguistic elements of

the transaction data set—the transaction map—demonstrates why these fields cannot be seen as separate or competing but rather part of an unequal world-system.

6.2 Peripheral: Post-colonisation as a structural disadvantage

In her explanation of workings of the world literary space, Casanova posits that ‘Age is one of the chief aspects of literary capital’ (Casanova 2004, 14). This means that colonialism, necessarily, has impacted on the circulation of literature. In this model, former colonies are by definition peripheral in a literary sense due to their comparatively short ‘membership’ of the world republic of letters (the world literary space). As a former colony, Australia falls into the peripheral category, with limited literary capital—one of the many ‘literarily impoverished spaces’ (Casanova 2004, 17). As discussed, this Eurocentric model—developed by a theorist from colonising power—fails to acknowledge the way in which colonised nations have an ongoing structural disadvantage for the circulation of their literature. Moreover, the concept of ‘the literary’ limits the way their contribution might be measured: using the idea of ‘national’ capital helps clarify this contribution.

The history of the Australian publishing industry has been categorised as one of emergence from colonisation to independence; this was one argument provided to the Productivity Commission in 2016. As Louise Sherwin-Stark, CEO of Hachette Australia explained to the Commissioners: ‘History, Australian publishers were just distributors of UK publishers. 50 years ago [...] there was no local expertise here’ (Productivity Commission 2016, 26). Book history scholars would argue with this summation about a lack of local expertise. Bode, for example, has used production figures to demonstrate a high rate of local publishing (Bode 2012): this study challenges the concept of independence in the first place. The Australian publishing industry’s relationship with the British market remains affected by economic hold and economic dependence, which in turn affects the industry’s structure and the circulation of work: that is, many publishers continue to act as distributors.

The production and distribution balance, however, has altered significantly in the last five decades as an article published in *Australian Bookseller & Publisher* on the subject demonstrates. Using ABS figures to support the claim that ‘60% of local sales [...] are books published in Australia’, the article also reveals that the ‘APA archive indicates a

figure closer to 10% in the mid-1970s, growing to 50% by the late 1980s' (*Australian Bookseller & Publisher* 2004a, 5). However, as closer analysis of the ABS book industry data also reveals, this aspect of the business—in respect to adult fiction—continued to represent a higher proportion of income than the domestic at the beginning of the period under investigation. In 1999/2000, for instance, imported adult fiction is valued at \$74.3 million Australian dollars, with imported fiction valued at \$49.7 million (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 15).

Just as global access for Australian literature can be seen to have benefitted from its association with Britain due to a linguistic legacy, the nation's colonial legacy in trade form can be seen to have impacted on access as well. The impact of membership of the Commonwealth on the trade in Australian publishing rights has been widely discussed in Australia, and is often perceived negatively, particularly within the industry. As Random House publisher Jane Palfreyman revealed in an interview in 2004, one of the 'biggest surprises' on entering the industry was 'Discovering that in the publishing world, Australia is still considered a territory of the UK' (*Australian Bookseller & Publisher* 2004b, 37). The reason for this negative perception (which is ongoing) is Australia's membership of the Commonwealth. Established in its current form in 1949, thecommonwealth.org describes the Commonwealth as an 'association' which now includes 'independent countries from Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and the Pacific' (Commonwealth Secretariat n.d.). The site notes that 'The last two countries to join the Commonwealth—Rwanda and Mozambique—have no historical ties to the British Empire' (Commonwealth Secretariat n.d.). The site does not suggest that this 'association' might have been established by the British in an attempt to retain control of trade to, and from, former colonies after the disintegration of the British Empire. Yet the transaction data shows it is still referred to as the 'British' Commonwealth in the publishing industry, suggesting an ongoing inequality of relationships between members.

The inequality is made clear in an interview with a Scottish publisher in 2012. In Australia as part of the (Australia Council-funded) Visiting International Publishers Program, Jamie Byng, of independent publishing house Canongate, told *Books + Publishing*:

Anachronistic as it might seem, for the vast majority of the titles we publish, key territories such as Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa, are

included in the UK publishers schedule of territories. The only publishers territory regularly not included is Canada where US publishers, for understandable reasons, want to distribute. (Hanke 2012, 16)

Byng's casual reference to publishers in the United States claiming Canada, shows it is not only those in the United Kingdom who operate in an imperial fashion. Analysis of the transaction data with attention to national fields and territory grants shows that while English is dominant as a linguistic field, by national field the situation changes. Moreover, linguistic fields that encompass multiple national fields—linguistic 'regions'—have been seen to reflect a dominant-dominated structure (Casanova 2004, 115); this also reflects the centre-periphery structure. This power structure can also be seen in terms of Venuti's previously quoted comment about the British attitude to cultural exchange, as manifested in the form of translation rights: 'imperialist abroad and xenophobic at home' (Venuti 1995, 17).

A focus on the transaction data and national fields that are part of linguistic regions demonstrates the extent to which Australia's colonial legacy determines the conditions under which works from the Australian literary field are able to enter the field in the United Kingdom: specifically, this focus brings into view the impact of the requirement for extra territories. It also demonstrates the extent to which the United States has acted like a colonial power and the way in which the colonial legacies of a number of nations within the translation field have affected the way Australian literature can gain international access: more broadly, the way it is able to circulate globally.

6.2.1 National fields: Where access has a price

The description of access the transaction data provides in relation to national fields offers evidence that the international licensing field is neither 'post-national' nor (yet) 'post-geographic' (Gibson 2003). Focusing on national fields also describes wider reach than a focus on linguistic fields: a more 'global' view of access, as it were. As the previous chapter shows, over the period works from the Australian field enter 46 linguistic fields, but 56 national fields. Figure 43 is a geographic map of access created using the transaction set data on Australian works, associated editions and capital city location co-ordinates for national fields associated with those editions.

Figure 43. Map of national fields by Australian work and international edition count



Note: Transaction count $n = 2597$ (all records less two 'world').
Created using Palladio software; map copyright Leaflet.
(Mapbox OpenStreetMap contributors.)

This proportional geographic map largely reflects the account of linguistic access—the post-representational map—but demonstrates to an even greater extent the way in which European fields dominate. It also, as analysis of the linguistic data suggested, shows considerably lower levels of access to the Asian fields (although overall, this is a populous and economically robust region); there are also lower levels of access to the Latin American fields (also populous, if less economically robust). As expected, this map supports the previous analysis and shows how singly, the fields in the United Kingdom and the United States are not much larger than that of Germany. Finally, this map describes how the ten most highly accessed fields are all European (this includes the United Kingdom): together access to these fields represents 71 percent of all access.

Overlaying the national data with linguistic data and using what Paul Giles has described as ‘the logic of parallax’—a layered approach he uses ‘to elucidate spaces where local, national, and transnational overlap’ in regard to the American field (Giles 2011, 266)—allows a more complex and nuanced image to emerge. This image captures those linguistic fields that contain multiple national fields and those national fields that contain multiple languages: ultimately, it is a map that captures—simultaneously—regional fields as well as territories. While there are 46 linguistic fields and 57 national fields, as the transaction set data analysis in the previous chapter revealed, there are 66 ‘territories’. Interrogating this data demonstrates how the nation’s colonial legacy impacts on the Australian rights trade in a different, less beneficial way by national field.

Analysing of the linguistic fields in the transaction data set showed the advantages of colonisation by the British from a transactional perspective, in terms of comparatively high levels of access to the hyper-central English-language field (a field noted to be difficult to access from other linguistic fields, even dominant ones such as Germany and France), but also high levels of access to the translation field. Exposing the relationship between the individual national fields that form part of linguistic regional fields, this same colonial legacy is revealed to be less advantageous when it comes to licensing Australian novels. The data shows this legacy to be a constraint in relation to accessing the English-language field—as suggested in much of the industry commentary—but also for accessing the translation field, a situation that has received far less attention in regards to the Australian field’s engagement with international sub-fields. However, analysis of this

data—this map of access—demonstrates that this constraint, is, over the period, gradually overcome, contributing to the increase in international access previously noted.

6.2.2 Core English language fields: The high cost of colonialism

There has been much—negative—discussion within the Australian trade publishing industry over the period about the specific conditions of entry to the United Kingdom for books first published in the Australian field. This negativity can be seen to stem from a perception that British publishers fail to acknowledge Australia's contemporary position as a field of production and sub-field of British distribution. As the often vocal Henry Rosenbloom declared in 2008,

most UK publishers regard themselves as entitled to Australia as a territory, and refuse to cede the ground. I'm convinced that they don't understand the bitterness and deep resentment, bordering on fury, that this stance is arousing in Australian publishing. It is a refrain I hear constantly, whether I'm talking to colleagues in multinational houses or to fellow independents. (Rosenbloom 2008, 177)

Palfreyman's comment about Australia being 'considered a territory of the UK' (*Australian Bookseller & Publisher* 2004b, 37) implies much the same but also that others outside Britain perceive Australia as a territory of the UK. The perception is not linguistic but national, stemming from the joint colonial pasts of both countries and the contemporary economic imperatives for Australian publishers to engage in international trade, a situation which has promoted the ongoing perception of the Australian field as one of distribution.

Some, such as Text Publishing's Michael Heyward, have suggested that the 1991 territorial copyright amendment (designed to end the British stranglehold on prices) effectively led to growth in the domestic Australian publishing industry by increasing the two-way trade in international rights, namely, acquiring and licensing (Text Publishing 2016). This growth includes increased access to the UK field and while there are multiple anecdotal accounts of the 'cost' of this access, there has been little data to verify these accounts. There is little evidence of the way Australian licensors have bypassed the (well-documented) resistance publishers in the British field have had to acquiring works that emerge from the very space in which the work might be most successful, a space they consider their own sub-field. In terms of a systemic framework, there has been little to show how Australian licensors have managed to overcome this dominated position and enable works to enter a dominant field.

The transaction data shows this has happened increasingly during the period and suggests a particular strategy: conceding geographic territories.

Publishing contracts often include the ‘schedule’ of territories Byng referenced to describe the national fields where a licensing publisher might distribute a work (either exclusively or non-exclusively). These territories are divided into ‘home’ (or ‘local’) and ‘export’, and this division determines royalty rates: ‘home’ for print books tends to mean the royalties are based on the retail price, while export royalties are based on net receipts. The Australian Society of Authors suggests ‘royalties that are calculated on the publisher’s net receipts [...] need to be between 17% and 18.5% [...] to equate with the standard-based royalty’ (Australian Society of Authors n.d.). This difference in royalty rates is one of the reasons territory grants are contentious and why national borders continue to matter in publishing: borders have an economic impact on publishers and also operate as trade barriers. (This is one reason the Federal Government has been attempting to lift PIRs.) The transaction set edition records with territory grant data associated indicate that the price of access to certain national fields can be very high: this ‘price’ is represented by an extensive list of territories. For access to the English-language field, this data confirms that it is primarily publishers from the United Kingdom, the United States, and sometimes India that are granted the right to distribute their own edition of a work into national fields other than their own: that is, to export copies into territories.

The transaction set reveals that it is access to the United Kingdom that is most likely to be associated with additional territories. If some Australian publishers have been vocal about their resentment of Australia being considered a sub-field of the United Kingdom, one of the reasons is the negative impact this view is regarded as having on Australian authors, specifically the way it has been seen to limit access. This was because the nation was, in fact, a sub-field of the United Kingdom, due inhabiting a dominated position as a part of the British Empire and, subsequently, due to its membership of the British Commonwealth. This structural imbalance has fuelled the long-running tension between the two fields, particularly over licensing and rights. The problem was made clear in an editorial in 2004:

Only last month at Frankfurt [book fair] *AB&P* witnessed a well-known British publisher telling a hopeful Australian counterpart that they wouldn’t even

look at their book because Australian rights would not be available. (Wilkins 2004b, 4)

The following year literary agent Fran Bryson revealed that British publishers wanted ‘world rights or nothing’ (Wilkins 2005, 13). A few years later, Henry Rosenbloom noted the situation had not changed and British publishers ‘even tended to refuse to consider buying rights in books that originate in Australia’ (Rosenbloom 2008, 176). Despite this apparent resistance, the transaction data shows that the United Kingdom is one of the most accessed fields. The annual *Books + Publishing* survey results between 2005—2015, as table 4 showed, also regularly placed the United Kingdom in the top five (if not top three) fields with which the Australian industry trades. This data implies that access is not as difficult for Australian licensors as the commentary from Bryson, Wilkins and Rosenbloom suggests. However, what it does not show is the price of access to the field: a price that that geographic territory data suggests.

Table 5 presents an overview of all the English language territory grant configurations in the transaction data set.

Table 5. English language territory configurations in the transaction set

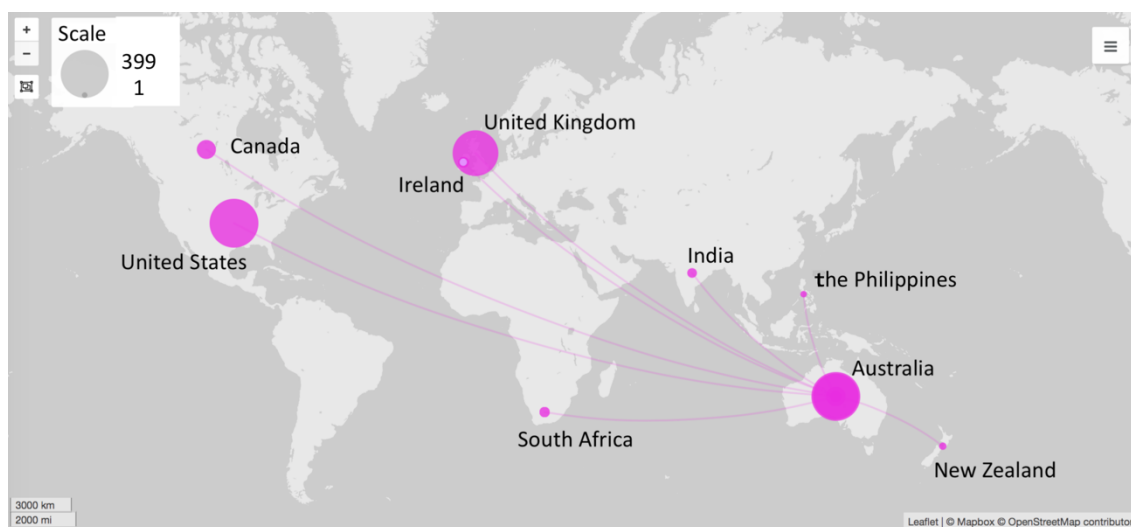
Territory configurations	Transaction count
Grants to publishers in the UK	
United Kingdom (UK)	11
UK and Commonwealth excluding Australia and New Zealand (ANZ)	18
UK and Commonwealth excluding ANZ and Canada	2
UK and Ireland	1
UK, Europe, Ireland	12
World excluding ANZ and (ANZ) territories	12
World excluding ANZ	4
World	10
Grants to publishers in the United States (US) or Canada	
US	9
North America	36
US, Europe and Ireland	4
US, UK and Europe	1
Grants to publishers in South Africa	
South Africa	1
Grants to publishers in India	
India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal	1

Note: 'World' in this case is granted to a publisher in the United Kingdom

British agent Carol Blake has argued that some books are 'too big' to license separately, and some books are 'too small' and in both cases granting additional territories can make sense (Blake 2007, 131-2). However, she also contends that English-language rights can be licensed separately in ten different national fields. Along with 'Australasia' (presumably Australia, New Zealand and various associated territories), she lists the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, India, Ireland, Southern Africa, Exclusive Europe, the Netherlands and Scandinavia (Blake 2007, 133). However, what constitutes a 'big book' or 'small book' will differ across nations, depending on their position within the world-system: a 'big book' in United Kingdom will be not the same as one from Australia, as the market in the United Kingdom is estimated to be five times the size of the Australian market (Wischenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 10). The 'option' of ten fields for an individual work is therefore immediately less likely for an individual Australian novel.

The transaction data reveals access to eight different English-language regional fields. However, the most English-language fields a single work enters is four, though this is rare, with just two works listed; in contrast, 29 works, reach three fields, while the remainder, reach one or two. Figure 44 demonstrates graphically that if an Australian work enters an English-language field it will most likely be either the UK or the US or, sometimes Canada. It also reveals something else which Blake does not discuss: the way in which entering one of these dominant fields can itself create this unevenness in distribution between core and periphery.

Figure 44. Map of national fields that form part of the English language field by editions



Note: Editions $n = 399$. Created using Palladio software.
 Map copyright: Leaflet. (Mapbox OpenStreetMap contributors.)

While the extent of access suggests a lower level of capital might be needed to enter these core fields, the other national fields listed in the territory grants provide evidence that for many works, more capital than is immediately obvious is required to secure entry. The relatively high number of works that gain entry to the UK field—and the comparatively few entries into individual national fields within the ‘British’ Commonwealth—may indicate that granting publishers in the United Kingdom Commonwealth rights is more common than the explicit deal and license data suggests. It may be that many of the deals described in *B + P* deals as for the ‘UK’ might be shorthand for UK plus ‘British’ Commonwealth (ex-ANZ) or any of the national combinations. More broadly, the relatively limited access to fields within the ‘British’ Commonwealth demonstrates the way that position within the world-system can be seen to affect the ability to trade rights from particular national fields. To put it bluntly: individual trades can be seen to be determined by national level power structures.

The most significant power structure is that which Penguin described as a ‘triangular affair’ (Penguin Group (Australia) 2009, 9). This is not an equilateral triangle: the affair is primarily between the UK and the US. The unevenness in English-language field access can be traced back to a particular colonial legacy, the ‘Traditional Markets Agreement’

discussed in Chapter 2. This 1947 agreement between the US and UK delineated publishing trade territories, effectively ensuring structural conditions by which to constrain market growth in dominated markets, as well as creating the conditions for—as Rosenbloom described it in 2008—the ‘undeclared guerrilla war’ that has been ‘going on for several decades between UK publishers and Australian publishers’ (Rosenbloom 2008, 175). In this agreement, the US laid claim to Latin America, the Middle East and the Caribbean, while the UK claimed the ‘whole British Empire (except Canada)’ (Magner 2006, 8). In other words, the UK claimed its ‘traditional markets’, those countries which just two years later became ‘the Commonwealth’. While Magner notes that Canada was not ‘given’, as it were, to the UK, this English-language field, which is roughly same size as the Australian literary field was—and remains—a contested territory.²¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, the agreement ended officially in the 1970s.

Three decades later, however, publishers and scholars from these two core fields continue to understand the global book trade in the same global binary. This view is explicitly illustrated—and explored—in a 2007 article in which Diane Spivey, from Hachette UK, poses the question:

How do we carve up the English-speaking publishing world between British and American publishers and should we even be debating the question of territories in this world of global publishing conglomerates, and worldwide access to the Internet? (Spivey 2007, 117)

Spivey also acknowledges that there is also a problem with the concept of claiming independent territories, writing of ‘a danger that the posturing, and arguing between U.S. and UK publishers give an impression of colonization by the U.S. and UK of [...] emerging English language publishing markets’ (Spivey 2007, 120). Australia is named as one of these ‘emerging’ markets. This binary is visible in the subtext of British sociologist John B. Thompson’s analysis of the contemporary Anglo-American field where Australia appears in a footnote that concedes, ‘there are of course countries other than the United States

²¹ Geographically, it is claimed by the Americans—as Byng suggested—but historically by the English, while the French part is claimed by the French, the Canadians like to think of it as their own, although in 2014, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau described it as the ‘first post-national state’ (Lawson 2015).

and Britain within the international field of English-language publishing' (Thompson 2010, 12).

The continuing importance of these 'other English-language' fields to the British publishing industry is barely acknowledged in Thompson's otherwise comprehensive and informative analysis of the contemporary publishing trade, effectively hiding the way in which the British field depends upon access to the global English-language field. As a report from the (UK) Publishers Association reminded readers in 2017, 'Exports are an important part of the UK publishing industry's turnover, accounting for 43% of book turnover' (Publishers Association n.d.). This approach, in turn, contributes to the picture of these two core fields being 'the English-language field' rather than simply the dominant and most visible players in a hyper-central linguistic region, as well as culturally dominant players in a world literary space.

The available evidence about territory grants and the UK field suggests these grants are used as an access strategy; it also suggests that the capital required to enter this field is higher than that required for entry to the US field. While the transaction data on territories associated with the US field suggests that US publishers tend to claim just one or two additional fields (Canada mostly), along with what is described as the 'open' market (national fields in which multiple publishers can access through distribution), the data shows that frequently, British publishers are granted distribution rights for all the national fields in the British Commonwealth trade block, often including Canada.

The relatively high level of access to the UK field and an apparent willingness to exchange the rights to license separately to additional national English-language fields suggests the UK field is important for Australian licensors. According to the 2017 *BookMap* report, the British market is, as previously mentioned, just over five times larger than the Australian market. In contrast, using 2016 and 2013 figures, the report finds that American publishing market is 26 times larger (Wisichenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 10). It is, however, the UK that publishers focus on from a strategic perspective. The importance of the British field in this respect is illustrated by the fact that during the period of this study, in addition to trading rights in the UK—that is, entering the licensing field—several Australian publishers entered the UK production field directly rather than through licensing rights (or

distributing copies): Text Publishing partnered with the Scottish independent house, Canongate, between 2004—2011; Allen & Unwin acquired shares in Atlantic Books in 2009 (and majority shares in 2014) and launched the imprint Allen & Unwin UK; and Scribe Publications opened a London branch of the company, Scribe UK, in 2013. These entries into the UK production field can be understood in terms of overcoming the global power imbalance—that is, Australia’s position within the world-system—that limits access to the UK for Australian works and, conversely, limits access to the Australian production field for international works (by limiting what can be licensed by Australia publishers).

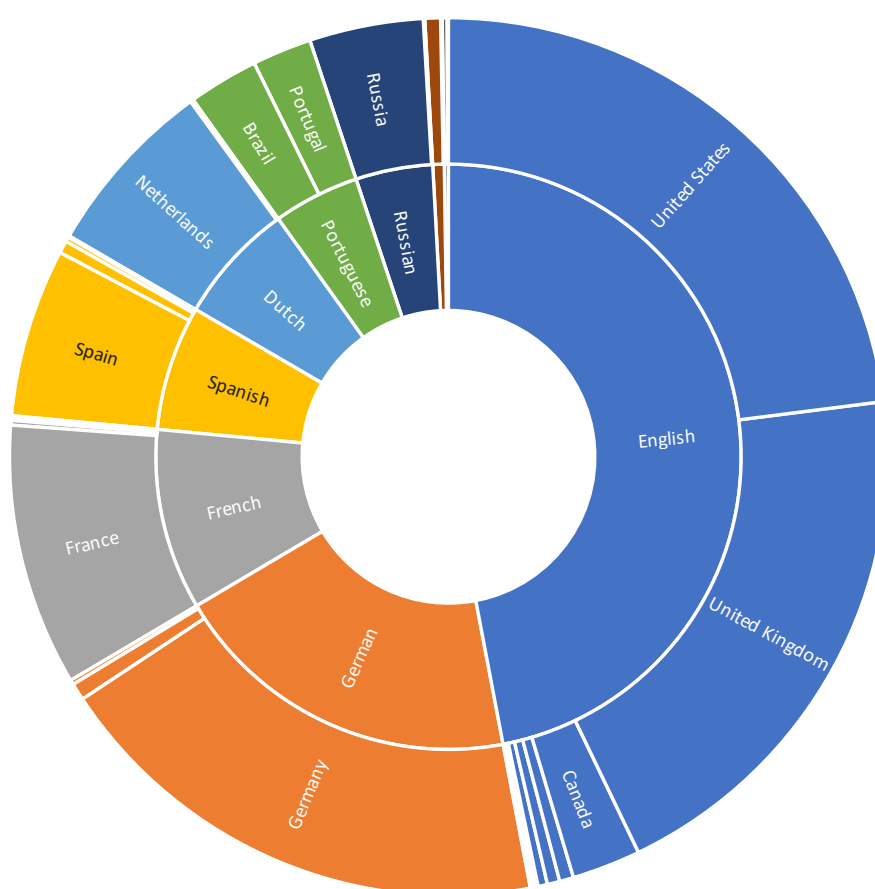
Overall, analysis of the English language regions of the transaction data suggests that while Australia’s colonial legacy can be attributed to increasing ability to access the international licensing field due to the Australian field being hyper-central linguistically—making it more ‘global’ than the French, German and Spanish fields (in terms of global access)—the nation’s colonial legacy also potentially limits global access to the international licensing field’s English-language sub-fields, as a result of being culturally peripheral, thus having lower holdings of national capital and less ability to confer capital than more dominant, and central, national fields. The willingness of Australian licensors to trade access to dominated national fields (that is, linguistically regional sub-fields) in order to enter dominant English-language fields (the United Kingdom and the United States) suggests the ongoing overall importance of these two core fields. The fact that some works achieve entry into the dominated semi-peripheral and even peripheral English-language fields (such as the Philippines and New Zealand) shows that these fields can be accessed—sometimes, as the only field, but sometimes along with other English language fields if, as Carol Blake suggested, a work is ‘big’ enough. As this study shows, this does not necessarily mean ‘big’ in terms of the field of reception—sales or brand—but ‘big’ in the licensing field, if it has the right amount and type of capital.

6.2.3 The translation fields: The often unacknowledged price of colonialism

It is not only the English language field that demonstrates the price of a colonial legacy: the translation data suggests the cost of another nation’s colonial legacy impacts upon the ability of works from the Australian field to gain access to particular international fields. Figure 45 shows each of the linguistic fields with more than one national sub-field in the set (the ‘regions’), including the English language field, proportioned by the number of

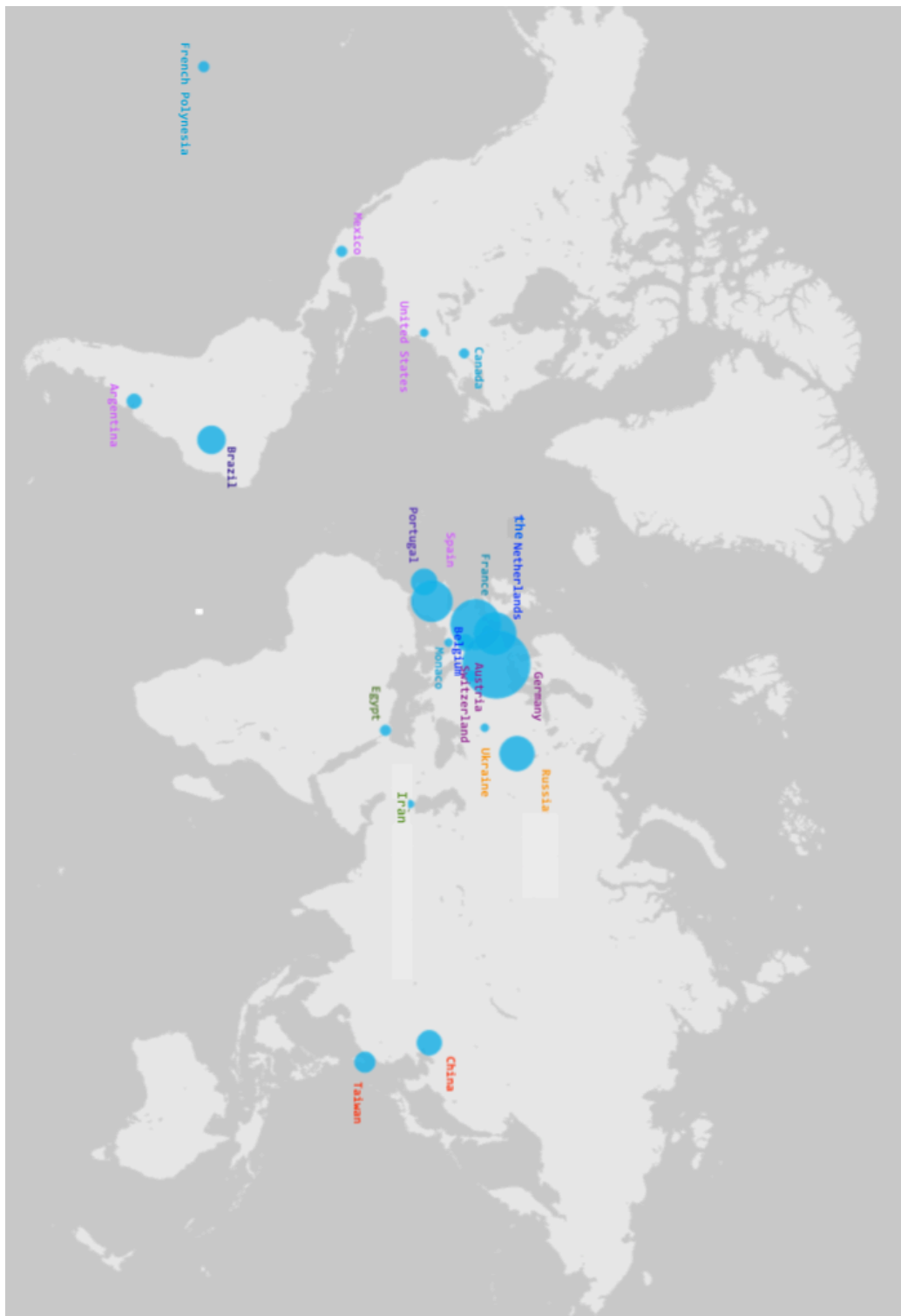
editions in each field. Figure 46, conversely, is a proportional geographic map constructed by national field, linguistic field and edition (using national capital location co-ordinates to position data). Together, figures 45 and 46 demonstrate how access to the translation fields has a different pattern than access to the English-language field: with the exception of Portuguese, most linguistic regional fields have a single highly dominant national field associated.

Figure 45. Chart of national (translation) fields that form part of linguistic regions



Note: Editions by language n = 1295.
Fields with fewer than ten editions are not visible on this chart.

Figure 46. Map of national (translation) fields and linguistic regions by edition



Note: Editions n = 917.

Created using Palladio software. Coloured by common languages.

Map copyright: Leaflet. (Mapbox OpenStreetMap contributors.)

Along with the eight English-language fields, figure 45 shows four French fields, three German fields, three Spanish fields, two Dutch fields, two Portuguese fields, and two Russian fields. As China and Taiwan use separate scripts and thus do not ‘compete’ for editions, the Chinese-language field does not appear in figure 45, but the two Chinese written languages (simplified and complex) are included in figure 46 for comparison purposes: it demonstrates access to be similar. The two fields with fewer than ten editions, the Arabic fields (Egypt and Iran) and the Slovak fields (Slovak Republic and Czech Republic), cannot be used to illustrate—or not—single field dominance, where this dominance is evident, it is normally a European field with a colonial history. This is certainly true of the Dutch, French, German, Russian and Spanish linguistic fields, although it also reflects their contemporary positions: analysing the Portuguese, Arabic, Spanish and French fields demonstrates the impact.

Of all the linguistic fields, only the Portuguese field shows a different access pattern with more Australian works entering the (historically colonised) Brazilian field than the (historically dominant) Portuguese national field during the period under investigation. This access reflects Brazil’s contemporary position in the economic world-system (which is less peripheral than Portugal’s); it also reflects Brazil’s relative strength in the publishing field. While the Brazilian book industry’s growth was limited between 2004—2013, at just over 7 percent, there was some growth (Carrenho 2015), at least until 2015. In that year, a *Publishing Perspectives* article about the decline of the Brazilian rights market begins: ‘Over the past few years, professionals at international book fairs have enthused about the booming Brazilian publishing market’ (Loman 2015). There are two other reasons access to the national fields of Portugal and Brazil appear evenly balanced. It might well be that, as literary agent Beatrice Coll has suggested, ‘Brazilians and Portuguese loathe one another’s versions’ (Coll 2006, 32). Alternatively, as Portuguese publishing consultant Paulo Ferreira recently pointed out, it might be that they are simply different markets: ‘Although we’re sister countries, and there is great mutual admiration between Portugal and Brazil [...] there are few writers from one country that are well-known in the other’ (Crichtley 2018). This is a very different story to the English-language fields; it also provides a rationale for ‘splitting’ rights by national field rather than licensing ‘world’ language rights to a publisher based in one national field.

The balance in the Arabic field, in contrast, may be related to something different. On the one hand, this linguistic field is barely represented in the transaction set, indicating that gaining access to this field is difficult for Australian works, or at least Australian novels. This in turn suggests that these works lack the level or type of capital valued on this field. This may be the case. However, there may be another reason, unrelated to Australia's national capital holdings. In a newspaper article published in 2017, Shaikha Latifa Bint Mohammad Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice-Chairman of the Dubai Culture & Arts Authority, wrote: 'Recent statistics show that the Arab world in its entirety produces fewer books than a small European country' (Maktoum 2017). The focus of the piece is on market potential and it also lists some obstacles to market growth, including 'censorship, limited distribution channels and a lack of copyright protection'. The 'limited distribution' means that many of the Arabic-speaking nations do not possess the established export relationships apparent in other linguistic fields with national sub-fields (regional fields), meaning the Arabic field as a whole lacks the advantages of scale. Effectively, these factors suggest entry to the Arabic field does require very high levels of capital, but not just for Australian works, but all works, as in the book translation world-system Arabic is a peripheral field (Heilbron 1999, 434) and peripheral fields require higher levels of capital.

The situation within the Spanish language regional field is also complicated. While this is a field that Australian works have been relatively successful at accessing (it is the fourth most commonly accessed), as the data in figure 45 shows, access is mainly gained through the Spanish national field. The data also shows there is access to other national Spanish-language fields in North, Central and Latin America but this is very limited. However, this reflects trends more generally. In 2016, Anna Soler-Pont, a Spanish literary agent, suggested that while the Spanish market has declined in recent years, this is not the situation in Latin America:

Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Chile, and Peru are growing, making it more appealing to sell regional Spanish-language rights—splitting the rights among different countries and/or regions—rather than world Spanish rights. (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 9)

In the same article, Elizabeth Kerr from the American house W.W. Norton proposes this is not a new event:

this splitting of Spanish-language rights marks a return to publishing trends of about fifteen years ago, when splitting rights was customary prior to the rise of big publishing conglomerates in Latin America and Spain. (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 9)

Kerr is referring to how conglomeration means that multinational companies acquire world rights to distribute works. This can be seen to have created a publishing space that reflects both imperialism (the Spanish-speaking nations of Latin America were colonised by the Spanish) as well as globalisation, which favours the distribution rather than licensing model.

The relatively high level of access to the Spanish national field evident in the transaction data suggests that entry requires less capital than entry to other national Spanish linguistic regional fields. It also suggests that despite commentators such as Anna Soler-Pont and Kerr contending there has been change, publishers in the Spanish national field continue to insist on world rights, a global territorial grant which includes the rights to distribute to the Latin and Central American Spanish-language national fields, as well as the North American field, an increasingly important Spanish-language field. Certainly, the position of these other Spanish language fields in the contemporary economic world-system is not as strong as Spain's. There is also national capital associated with publication in the core field, or 'consecration', as Casanova describes the process of allocating this capital. Barcelona-based Spanish publishing executive Valerie Miles described it another way in 2006, stating that 'most Latin American authors do not feel they have "arrived" until they have been published by a Spanish publisher in Spain' (Miles 2006, 22). The same might be said of those Australian authors who prioritise publication in the United Kingdom over publication in Australia.

As with strategies to enter core English-language fields like the UK, it stands to reason that licensors might agree to exchange additional territories (Latin, Central and North American territories; or 'world') for access to the Spanish national field. This is despite there being 25 countries in Latin and Central America where Spanish is spoken, and, in 2007, 'approximately' 37.5 million Spanish-language speakers in North America, as literary agent Beatrice Coll pointed out to a group of rights professionals in 2006. For context, Coll noted there were 40 million in Spain itself (Coll 2006, 28).

France's dominance in the French-language field is a different story again, despite being influenced by its imperial past and the dominance of multinational corporations. The transaction data shows the French-language field to be the third most extensively accessed by Australian works between 2000—2015 (after the English-language and German fields). The French field, the data also shows, includes four regional fields, but the rights activity is primarily limited to the core-European field, France. This focus is despite the French language being, globally, 'the fifth-largest language pool, coming after Chinese, English, Spanish and Hindi' (Astier and Pécher 2014): it is a global language and, as Heilbron has argued, one that is 'supranational' (Heilbron 1999, 432).

In 2014, French literary agents Pierre Astier and Laure Pécher, wrote an article exploring the differences between the international publishing markets for languages associated with colonialism (English, Spanish, Portuguese and French). They argue that while the English, Spanish and Portuguese languages are associated with new markets and growth:

The French market, which has long been professional and creative, is still largely centred on Paris. Yet, according to forecasts of population growth, its language pool will comprise some 700 million French-speakers by the middle of the century. (Astier and Pécher 2014)

Astier and Pécher note that for large French publishing houses setting up international divisions is the exception and not the rule; moreover, that export is the norm, hence French publishers are even more resistant to 'splitting' rights between countries than British publishers (and, presumably, Spanish). Their summary of the situation is simple: 'It is still difficult to sell French-language publishing rights inside the French-speaking world.' This approach, they suggest, has limited the development of non-European French language fields, particularly the largest, the Canadian French-language field. This article also suggests that French firms are not international, asking 'Why has a firm like Hachette not started subsidiaries in South America, India, China or Russia?'

The answer is that Hachette has, instead, created partnerships in India, China and Russia, taking a different approach to American or British multinationals, one that which is not colonial. The fact remains, however, that the French field is France-centred. For Australian publishers looking to license French rights, this explains why France is the key field: the

capital required to enter French sub-fields independently is higher than that required to enter France itself, and the cost of entering the French field is ceding these territories.

Finally, there are several peripheral fields, such as Russia and the Ukraine, as well as the Czech and the Slovak fields, both of which also constitute regional linguistic fields, but the activity is too small to draw any conclusions other than to suggest they illustrate the wide-spread nature of the role of power structures and the importance of examining each to understand the rights trade and why, for Australian works, this has increased overall, but also been limited.

6.2.4 National capital, two: The low value of the Australian field

Analysing the English territory data in conjunction with the transaction data reveals that the Australian field benefits from the access that the English language provides to the international licensing field, but Australia's dominated position within the English-language field disadvantages it. This situation both supports the industry and government analysis about the importance of the English-language field but also demonstrates the way in which access to core fields comes at a cost: trading peripheral fields. The data reveals this cost to be associated with a number of nations that have left a colonial legacy. The rationale for this is suggested in *BookMap* data analysis which links nations with 'past imperial connections, as is the case with the United Kingdom' to high rates of export (Wischenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 17): logically, these nations are likely to require additional territories.

The data analysis also demonstrates the value of paying attention to production as well as distribution contexts when looking to understand cultural exchange, as both these factors influence entry to the international licensing field (an area that Casanova's model, for instance, does not quite accommodate). More generally, considering the relationship between language and national field—the regional fields—indicates the way in which Australia's contribution to the world literary space has been hidden by the dominance of the United Kingdom and Australia's association with the United Kingdom. Identifying Australia as a separate trading nation provides an alternate way to interpret Australia's peripheral position in the world literary space, as constrained by structural rather than

cultural factors which an increased ability to trade rights has increased its ability to overcome.

It is entry to multiple regional fields that defines wider reach, as it is entry into multiple international fields that allows a novel to become more 'global' in terms of global access. In this sense, the concept of territory is critical to understanding access. Including geography (represented in this study by national fields) with linguistic field analysis reveals an even higher level of engagement with multiple peripheral and semi-peripheral linguistic sub-fields than a linguistic analysis alone shows.

Overall, analysing access based on editions using the transaction data suggests that historical and linguistic alliances play a major role in facilitating access to the international licensing field at a macro level but English language field access is not always associated with increased international reach. More widely, considering linguistic and national fields together reveals that nations with shared linguistic fields tend to acquire rights at substantially different levels, reflecting their positions within the economic as well as cultural world-system, which plays a role in determining the individual levels of access for Australian works.

National fields ceded in a transaction and so listed as additional territories in a license schedule become, by definition, part of the distribution field in those territories. The result is that while the work might be made available in these fields, this availability limits the work's potential for wide global access through exchange, as the distribution field does not designate access, only circulation.

6.3 Core: The benefit of (free market) economic prosperity

Analysing the transaction data with a focus on linguistic and national fields shows that works from the Australian literary field have increased access to the international licensing field during the period, by extent and reach, despite (post) colonial constraints limiting access to certain sub-fields. This analysis also shows that access to both linguistic and national fields appears to be associated with national capital holdings, reflecting a nation's position within both the cultural world-system and the world literary space. What this analysis does not take into account is the role played by the changing shape of the

Australian literary field itself in the twenty-first century: that is, its increasing commercialisation.

Sapiro has argued that the category of a work influences the way it circulates internationally, and her analysis suggests a relationship between commercialisation and access (Sapiro 2003). Like that of the US, the UK and Germany, the Australian economy is market-driven. In the contemporary economic world-system, it is considered a core nation. Sapiro proposes that the more market-driven (or dependent) a publishing field is, the more commercial it is likely to be, but this commercialism is tempered by the level of state intervention. In this context, the relationship between category and access can be seen to be subject to the positions of individual national economies.

In the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century, the Australian publishing industry became increasingly focused on the demands of the domestic market, but received very limited government support. This increased market focus can be traced to economic measures. At the beginning of the period, the Goods and Services Tax (GST) was introduced, and imposed on most products, including Australian books. Webster, as discussed in Chapter 2, claims the GST enabled the introduction of the point-of-sales monitoring system, BookScan (Webster 2018). By revealing what was being sold to publishers and booksellers (by other publishers and booksellers), BookScan can be seen to have created a feedback loop in which consumption influenced production far more than it had in previous decades. As proposed in Chapter 1, the result was, arguably, the production of more commercial fiction by both authors and publishers.

The category analysis of the transaction data in the previous chapter revealed works in the commercial category to gain access at the same level as those in the literary category, a category widely believed to circulate more easily. As Lisa Highton, publishing director at Hodder Headline Australia, explained to *Publishers Weekly* in 2003:

At the same time the company is importing many titles, it's also selling plenty of rights around the world—even if they aren't the "precious literary novels" people think of in this regard. (Mutter 2003)²²

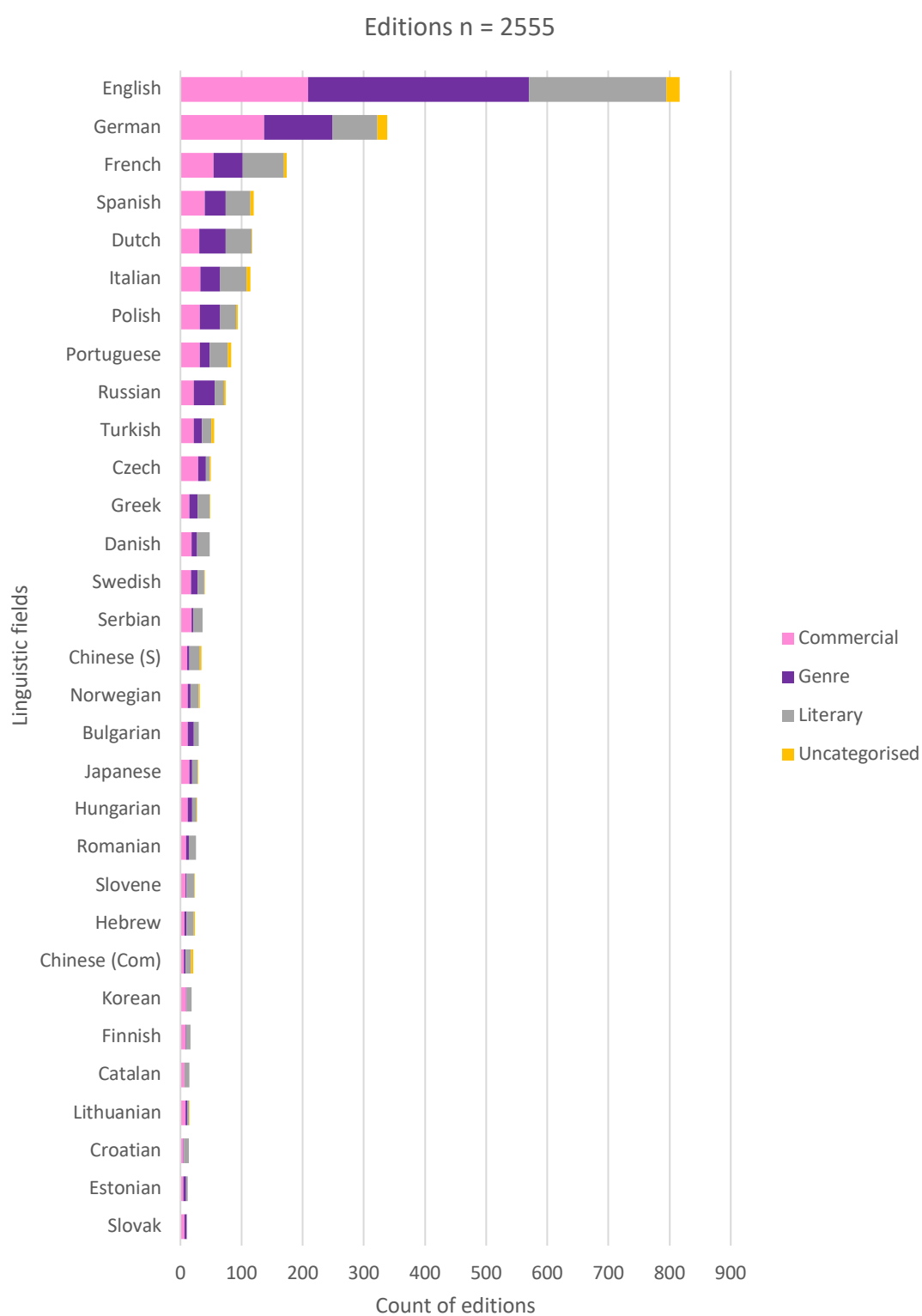
²² They were, in fact, non-fiction titles.

Despite a lack of consensus or a consistent way of identifying 'literary' novels, scholarship also suggests works in this category circulate internationally more easily. For instance, in a longitudinal study of French novels and the North American English language field, Sapiro found this to be the case (Sapiro 2015, 324). In a study of the Dutch field between 2000—2009, Franssen—who classifies 'literary' as a genre—demonstrates it is sourced from significantly more languages (10,528 works from 42 languages) than the next most popular 'genre', crime (6,775 in 24 languages). He also argues that the perception literary fiction 'travels' better may be due to a research bias towards literary fiction (Franssen 2015, 388); a scholarly focus that, effectively, can be seen to create another type of feedback loop. However, while analysis of the transaction set in the previous chapter revealed all categories (literary, commercial and genre) to have achieved relatively even levels of access, this analysis did not show which fields works were entered, how access might have changed over the period, or the extent to which category analysis explains the pronounced gender imbalance.

6.3.1 Category by linguistic and national field: An unequal balance

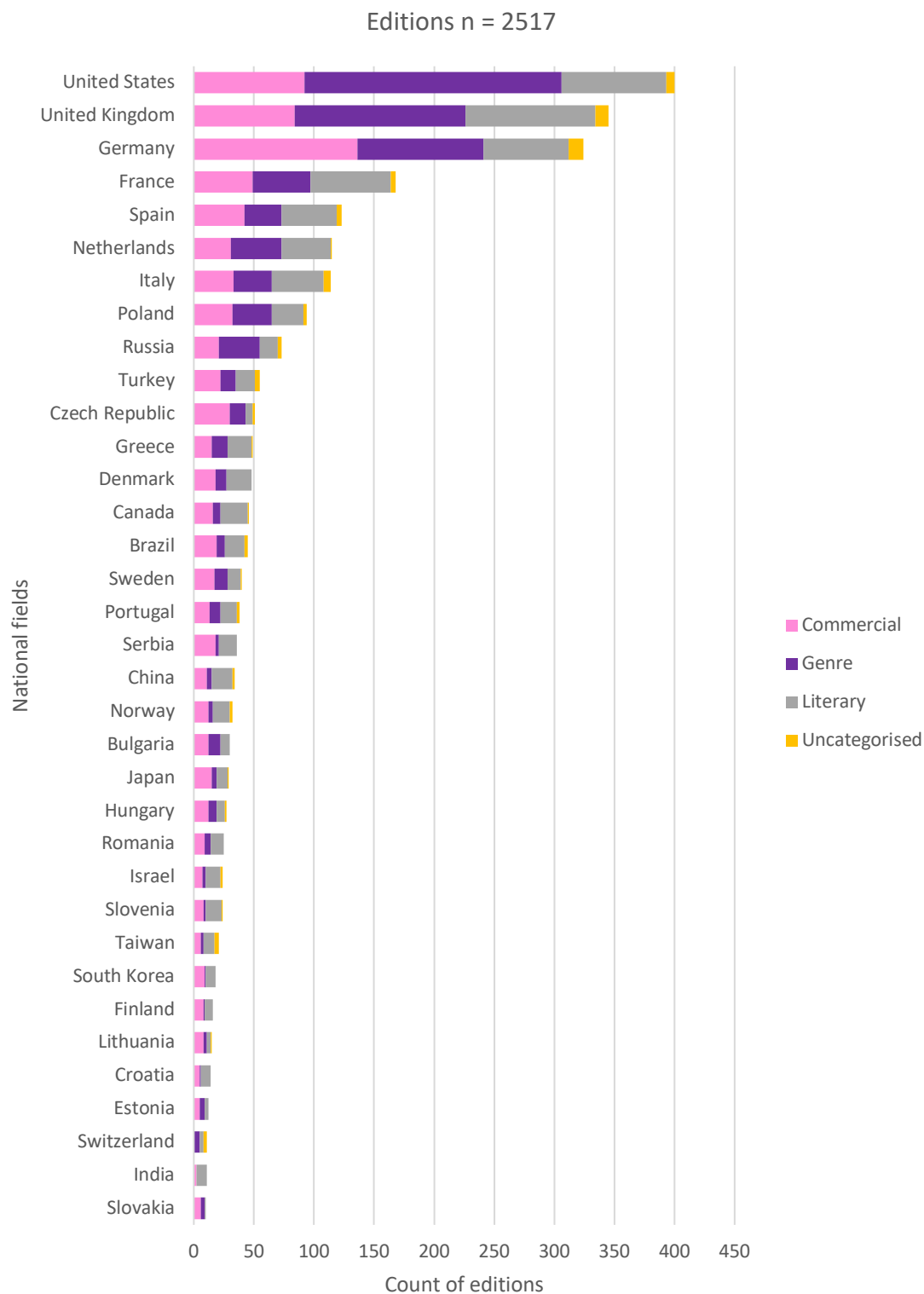
The transaction sub-sets do reveal some category imbalance but the transaction data itself shows each category to be associated with around a third of the transactions: an equal distribution. Paying attention to the relationship between edition category and linguistic and national field, however, reveals considerable imbalance. Each category is core-field focused, with German and English central, and Germany, the US and the UK dominant—as figures 47 and 48 show—but the distribution of works into the regional sub-fields varies considerably between the three different categories.

Figure 47. Distribution of editions by category and linguistic field



Note: Only fields with more ten or more editions included (15 excluded)

Figure 48. Transaction set proportions by category and national field



Note: Only fields with more ten or more editions included (22 excluded)

Works in the commercial category tend to have high rates of access by extent and by reach: 39 linguistic fields and 51 national fields are accessed. However, English and German fields represent 40 percent of the associated international editions. Germany, at 16 percent of the set, is more strongly represented than either the US (11 percent) or the UK (10 percent). All other linguistic and national fields represent, individually, a much smaller proportion of the set. The extensive level of 'reach' is due to editions in multiple English language, French and Spanish-speaking national fields, as well as the two Portuguese-speaking fields. Works in the genre category, in contrast, have high rates of access by extent (multiple editions reach the international licensing field) but overall, demonstrate lower reach, with 32 linguistic fields and 41 national fields: works in this category can be seen to access around three quarters of those accessed by works in the commercial category. Moreover, 56 percent of all associated editions are in the English-language or German-language fields—of these, 26 percent are associated with the US. The differences between access for works in the commercial and genre category suggest a difference in the value of the national capital associated with these two categories, which are, significantly, both situated in the market-driven pole in Bourdieu's model of the (domestic) field of literary production.

Works in the literary category, or those situated in the pole of limited production on the domestic field, have a different access profile: these works achieve access to 43 linguistic fields and 48 national fields. However, 45 percent of the editions in this category are associated with just three linguistic fields—English, German and French—while 57 percent are associated with seven national fields: US, UK, Germany, France, Spain, the Netherlands and Italy. Access to the English-language field (28 percent of this set) is somewhat more associated with the UK than the US (13 and 11 percent, respectively). Works in the literary category also achieve higher levels of direct access to the Canadian field. In other words, the Canadian field is more commonly accessed through the licensing field rather than distribution field; this is not the case for works in the genre category. As the overall distribution numbers of works in the literary category in figure 51 show, while only a fifth more national fields are accessed by works in the literary category than those in the genre category, the proportional rates of access are very different.

Works in the genre category achieve high rates of access, but access relatively few national fields: the access rates are very uneven. Works in the literary category have a more even rate of national field access. In contrast, works in the commercial category have wider access but the access is not balanced between fields. For works in the literary category, after the core English-language fields, it is the core European fields that are most accessed, but access is also achieved in more peripheral language fields. These peripheral fields include Serbian and Romanian, both fields that are also peripheral under the book translation world-systems model, suggesting that the transaction data supports this model, as well as Casanova's model, in which supplementing the domestic literary field with consecrated (literary) works from another field is a way of increasing a field's overall capital (Casanova 2004, 134): a key strategy for peripheral fields. Moreover, the data also support Sapiro's argument that there are different 'state' and 'market' models of acquisition, models in which state intervention and economic considerations impact upon category preferences (Sapiro 2003).

Overall, analysing the transaction set data by international edition, linguistic and national field reveals three key differences between the categories: Germany is the field most associated with access for works in the commercial category; the US, for works in the genre category; and the UK for those that fall into the literary category. France is the fourth most accessed field for all three categories, although at different rates. These findings are only partially consistent with the analysis by other scholars of national fields. For example, Sapiro contends that the US is the most market-driven of all national fields, 'with the intervention of the State being minimal' (Sapiro 2003, 450), and Verboord's longitudinal study of bestseller listings between 1970—2007 seems to support this contention, with the US listings showing an increasingly different pattern to European listings (Verboord 2011, 309): that is to say, a more commercial pattern. This analysis suggests the US would be able to sustain genre fiction—which sits in the mass pole—in a way less market-driven fields might not. However, Verboord also finds 'French bestseller lists [...] contain the most consecrated authors and are least receptive to genre fiction, whereas Germany holds more of an in-between position [between France and the US]' (Verboord 2011, 309). What this suggests is that there is, potentially, a difference between the logic of the reception field (of which bestseller lists are one measure) and the international licensing field.

More broadly, the tendency for publishers in the UK to acquire more works in the literary category from the Australian field can be seen as a reflection of the relationship between British publishers and Australian authors. Hilary McPhee, reflecting on her time in publishing, writes of a tendency for British publishing houses to cherry pick, as it were, a certain kind of Australian author (to acquire ‘world’ rights, including ANZ). Part of this process, as she interprets the situation, involved gaining access to the Australian distribution field, or she recalls it, ‘a few British literary publishers’ set out

to comb Australian publishers’ lists and those from the Literature Board of the Australia Council for the ‘big names’, a handful of authors who could be enticed to leave their Australian publisher and be published back into Australia from England. (McPhee 2001, 173)

Analysis of the transaction data provides another way to interpret other contemporary research into category and the international rights trade, such as Sapiro’s work on translation data between 1980–2005, which found that French publishers tend to acquire English-language commercial works, while literary works tend to be acquired from (multiple) other languages (Sapiro 2010, 419). However, as the data in figure 51 shows, French publishers acquired marginally more literary work from the Australian field than other categories (39 percent, against 31 percent for commercial and 28 percent for genre). Dutch publishers, however, acquired a very similar amount of literary and genre works from the Australian field (36 and 37 percent), reflecting Franssen’s analysis of the Dutch field between 2000–2009, which revealed that it is dominated by literary work from peripheral fields. Moreover, it reflects what he also discovered about genre categories (particularly crime and romance): that they are dominated by English-language translations (Franssen 2015, 317).

This difference suggests, in turn, that the English-language fields do not work in the same way in the global marketspace—and therefore, the international licensing field—and that the circulation of works from the Australian English language field might more closely reflect the circulation of works written in languages other than English. The apparent difference between the logic of the American, British and Australian national fields in terms of access by category appears to reflect the difference in their positions within the cultural world-system. The relatively peripheral position of the Australian field might mean that works in the literary category have a higher value, which appears associated

with a higher level of national capital, higher than the two other categories for Australian works (which may not be true for American and British works). In this sense, the category of a work can be seen as a key predeterminant of which fields a work is likely to be able to access.

6.3.2 Category as a positioning device: Re-configuring the transaction data

While the data in the previous section suggests different levels of access by national field, and that certain national fields are more aligned with one or another category (or two), figure 49 demonstrates what this means in terms of access on a world-systemic level. It shows where different national fields are positioned in relation to each other, not just in terms of the numbers of editions, but the works themselves. This approach makes clear the way in which the category of literary fiction is, indeed, separate to commercial and genre categories.

Figure 49. Connections by national field positioned by category (distant and detail)



Note: Editions $n = 2599$.

Created using Gephi software and the Fruchterman Reingold algorithm.
Sized by connections, positioned by relationship to category, coloured by communities.

In figure 49, Germany is more central than the UK or the US (along with Bulgaria, Poland and Portugal) while the Netherlands sits between literary and genre in contrast to Canada and Israel, which sits between literary and commercial. China, Japan and Brazil, in contrast, are closer to commercial, as the filtered version of this network makes clear. The South Korean, Chinese, Thai and Taiwanese fields are separately positioned, as are Finland, Norway and Sweden. Of the English language fields, Canada and India are positioned away from the UK and the US, showing that these fields are acquiring different works, possibly because of their dominated positions in the book translation world-system. This might also account for the acquisition differences across the Scandinavian regional fields.

Alternatively, these positions can be understood in terms of the economic world-system: the more peripheral publishing fields are less commercial, hence more likely to acquire less commercial works, particularly from the international licensing field. As French publisher Gallimard's foreign rights director Anne-Solange Noble has argued, in regards to why American and English publishers tend not to acquire French commercial and genre work:

First of all, most Anglophone publishers are not really interested in France's mass market fiction: they already have the equivalent in their own countries. What they are looking for is exciting new voices in literary fiction. (Cultural Services French Embassy in the United States n.d.)

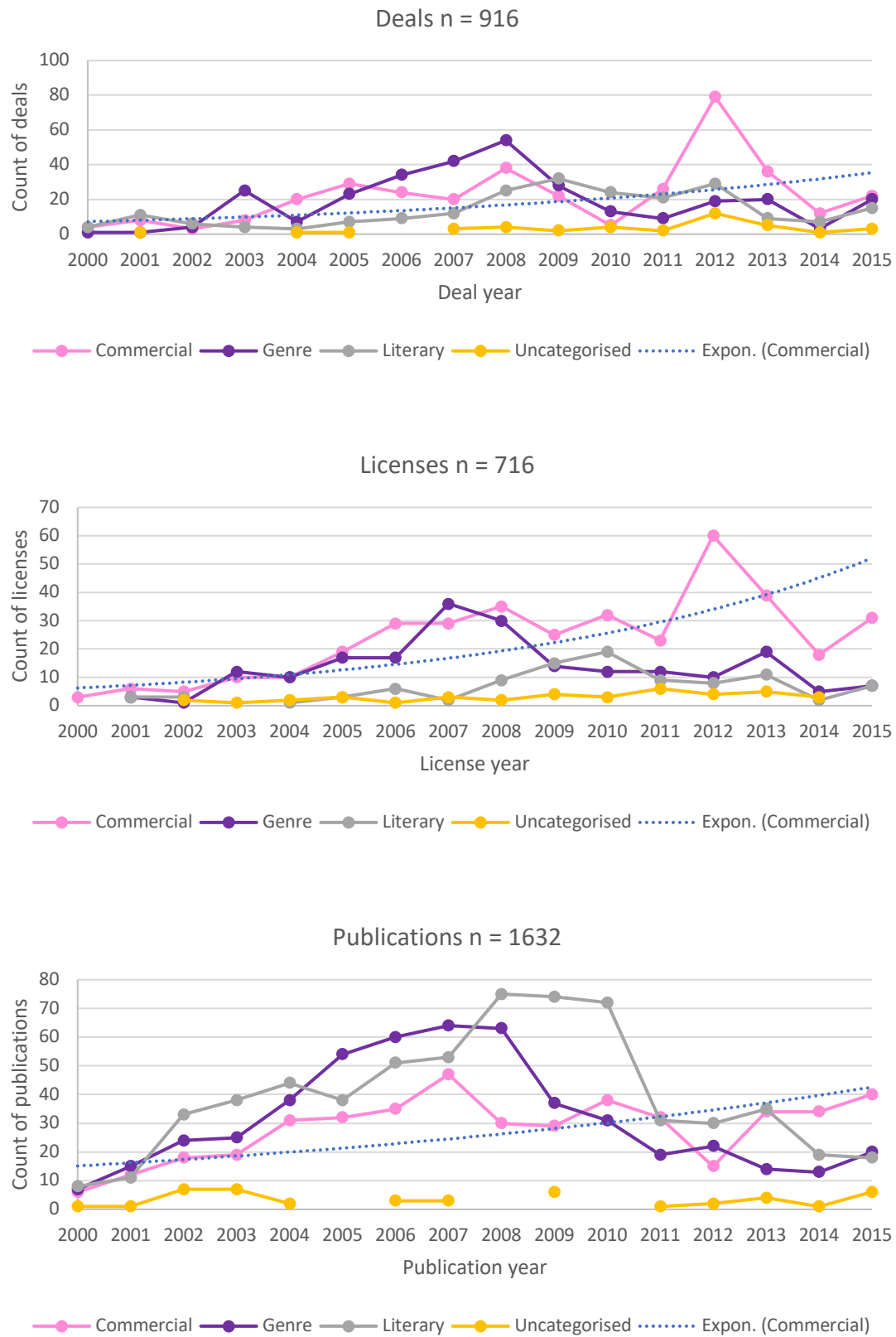
This study shows the core economic fields are likely to acquire genre and commercial works from the global marketplace, particularly the dominant English-language fields. A key aspect of this field-focused category analysis is that it reveals how commercial and literary categories have multiple commonalities, whereas genre fiction is far less central and more closely aligned with the national field of the US. This suggests a stronger relationship between works produced in the mass and limited poles of the domestic field than has been modelled in the domestic field.

6.3.3 Category changes over the period: The rise of commerce

While the previous two sections consider category by linguistic and national field, analysing the relationship between category and individual fields, the results are based on aggregating the data from across the period. This method does not reveal how access

might have changed over the period by individual category. Two ways in which rights trading can be considered on a longitudinal front are by the year associated with individual field access and edition (deal, license or publication) and by the year of publication of the associated work in the Australian field. Combined, these two aspects illustrate how the three categories operate differently to each other over time, in terms of gaining access to the licensing field (figure 50), but also in terms of domestic publication.

Figure 50. Frequency of category by edition year (deal, license, publication)



By deal year, editions in the literary category are most prominent at the beginning of the period and again at the end. During the middle period, however, this is overshadowed by editions in the genre and commercial categories, although there is strong growth in the commercial category. This is illustrated in figure 50, which shows the relationship by deal, category and year. While the extent of access is limited for all categories at the beginning of the period, as previously discussed, the increase in access for works in the literary category, though marked, is not as strong as in the genre category; however, it is more consistent than the commercial category in which, as figure 50 makes clear, access fluctuates considerably across the entire period, with growth years punctuated by declines. The longest sustained growth is related to works in the literary category (between 2004—2009), while the steepest rise is between 2010—2012, and is associated with access by works in the commercial category. The increase in access by works in the commercial category (indicated by the trendline) reflects the increase of production and reception of this category on the domestic field, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Category analysis by license year shows results similar to those presented by the deal year—but not exactly the same. The works associated with the commercial category have the highest rate of access by year across the entire period (for all but two years), followed by those in the genre category. This is to be expected, as this set is constructed from data sourced from four large publishers, three of them multinationals, companies that have, as many have argued, a ‘commercial’ agenda. By license year access associated with works in the literary category is far less evident, and absent altogether in some years. Overall, works in the literary category are not significant by license year. Considering category data by publication year, however, and a different account of access emerges. Works categorised as literary have a high rate of access to the international licensing field throughout the period, although access related to literary fiction—along with genre fiction—also shows the steepest decline. By publication year, it is access by commercial works that maintain steady growth, like the license data, reflecting an increase in production on the domestic field.

Focusing on the transaction set editions with publication dates shows a different structure than when the focus is on editions with deal and license dates. Partially this can be accounted for by publication being ‘out’ by a year or two, due to the lag between the

making of a deal, executing a license, and the publication of an international edition. It may be this factor that explains the 2014 increase in commercial access for editions with publication dates, unlike those with deal and licenses dates, where the increase is visible in 2012. Yet as figure 50 demonstrates, there are periods where works categorised as literary achieve a higher rate of access to the international licensing field than works categorised as either genre or commercial.

Analysis of this transaction data suggests there is some truth to the perception that literary fiction ‘travels’ more easily: works in this category do travel more widely. However, they do not ‘travel’ more extensively, nor is the access achieved consistent over time. The rise in access for the transaction set more generally cannot be attributed to activity in this category, although it has contributed. The general upward trajectory of access for works in the literary category between 2000—2010 also provides an alternative narrative to the ‘literary decline’ narrative dominant during the same period on the domestic fields, both production and reception. From 2010 there is a decline in access in this category: however, it is more marked for editions with publication rather than deal and license dates, as is the decline in access by genre, a decline visible earlier for works with license dates and later for those with deal dates.

In contrast, what is apparent throughout the period, and in the transaction data by year, is increase in visibility of the commercial category (illustrated in the trendlines in figure 50). As there is an increase in domestic production of commercial fiction, this increase in access might reflect the fact that there are simply more commercial works available to license. However, this domestic increase coincided with a global trend, and a turn towards the commercial. This rise in commerce, and the accompanying perception of a commercialisation of the industry, have been linked with—as discussed in Chapter 1—the ‘decline of the literary paradigm’ (Davis 2006) but this category-focused analysis demonstrates this is not quite the case on the international licensing field. Where Ensor proposes taking international reprints into consideration when measuring the decline, a reference to the reception field (Ensor 2008, 207), this data provides a rationale for taking the value of the international field of production into consideration, as measured by access to the licensing field. In this space, there is fluctuation but not a paradigm of decline.

More broadly, the analysis of category data in this section supports the world-system-informed analysis in the two previous sections in which national capital is demonstrated to be associated with category itself. Wilson describes the impact of ‘tastes and preferences’ on a national field’s acquisition patterns (Wilson 2013b, 81). This data suggests that prior to the point at which these ‘tastes and preferences’ matter, access is determined by the needs of individual fields, depending on where they sit within multiple world-systems, not only the cultural world-system and the world literary space but in the economic world-system, which also impacts upon the likely direction of trade flows. In this context, work from the domestic pole of mass production can be seen to have contributed to increased external flow in Australian rights in to the international licensing field.

6.3.4 Category by gender: The rise of women authors

If the category of a work provides it with a different value on the domestic field and in the global marketplace—when value is measured by the national capital associated with access to the international licensing field—this has important implications for women authors whose value has been the subject of considerable attention during the period. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the key debates in literary studies during the period has related to the relationship between gender, category and literary value—measured by critical attention—in Australia and internationally. The increase in access to the domestic field by women has not been accompanied by a noticeable increase in critical attention. As the Australian Stella Count shows, more reviews of books by men are evident between 2012—2017 (Lamond and Harvey n.d.).

In a study of bestseller lists in Germany, France, the Netherlands and the United States between 1960—2009, Verboord demonstrates that while women authors increasingly gain access to bestseller lists, their association with literary prizes is not nearly as strong. He concludes that: ‘Gender inequality thus appears to be larger in the high-brow system than in the popular system, and this does not change over time’ (Verboord 2012, 404), reflecting the subsequent VIDA and Stella Count findings. A gender- and category- focused analysis of the transaction data only partially supports this conclusion: it also provides a position by which to recontextualise it.

The overview of the transaction data suggests some gender difference by category. Figures 51, 52 and 53 demonstrate the extent of these differences by, respectively, author, work and edition.

Figure 51. Category construction by gender and author

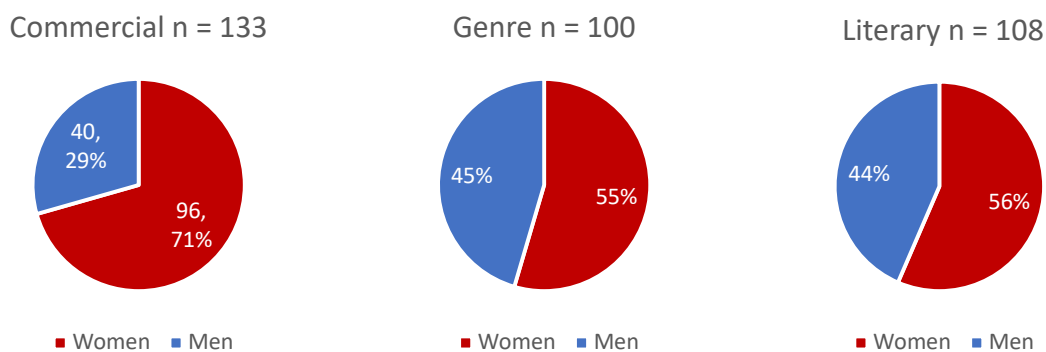


Figure 52. Category construction by gender and work

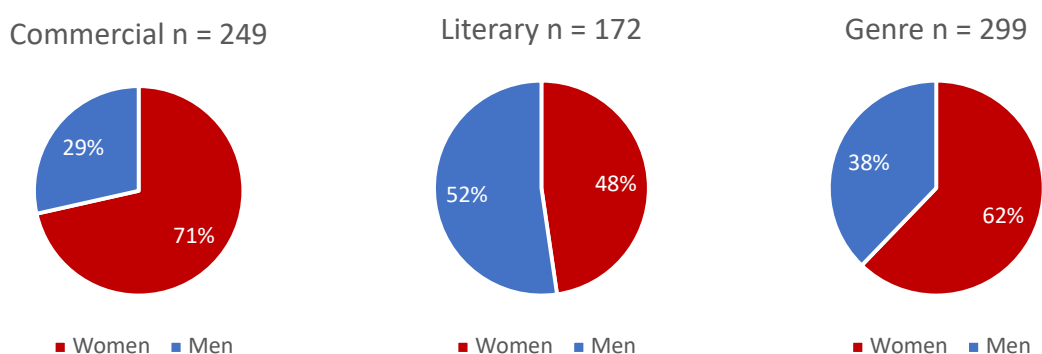
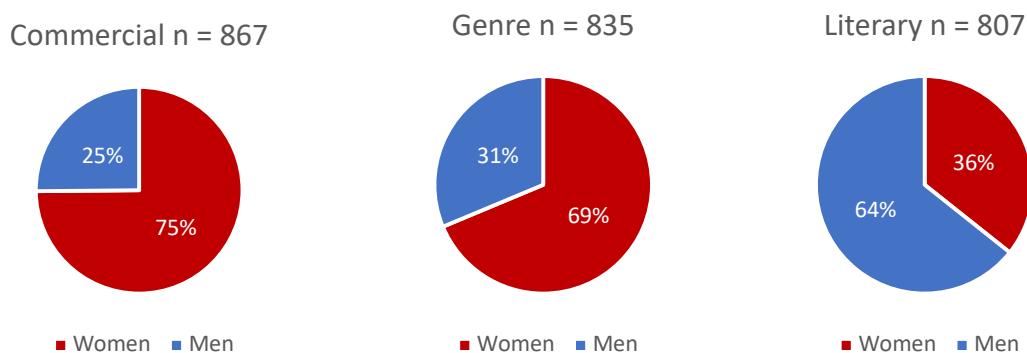


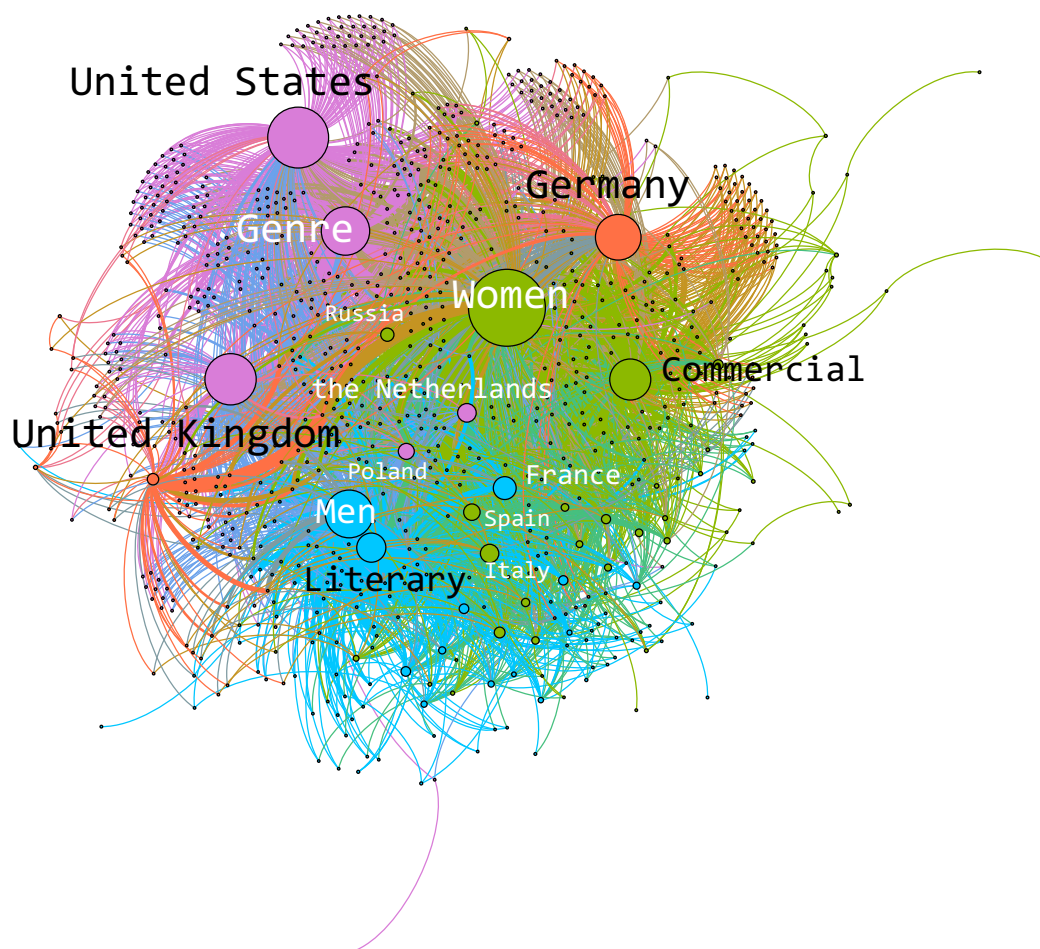
Figure 53. Category construction by gender and edition



In the commercial category, there are more than twice the number of woman authors, more than twice the number of works written by women, and nearly three times the number of international editions written by women. In the literary category, there are more women authors, but more works overall by men and almost double the number of international editions in this category are written by men. This is the reverse of the other two categories. For genre, the difference is less pronounced for author gender, but at a work level women are responsible for writing twice the number of works, while twice the number of international editions are associated with these works.

Access by field is roughly equal, though while works categorised as commercial by women dominate, men access slightly more linguistic fields in this category (36 to 35). Works categorised as literary and written by men also have a wider reach by language (39 to 33) and by country (46 to 37). However, this is measured by the number of editions overall (so may mean only one author has gained access). Analysing gender by individual field demonstrates what might be expected based on the category construction. There is a stronger tendency for editions written by women authors to be associated with core fields, both linguistically and nationally, and in particular the core English-language fields (31 percent of editions are in the US and UK fields) and the German field (14 percent). The same focus on core fields is evident for editions written by men but the tendency is slightly lower, with access to the core-English fields 27 percent of editions, and the German field, 10 percent. Figure 54 is a network graph constructed using works, national fields, gender and category. It demonstrates these tendencies spatially.

Figure 54. Connections by work, category, gender and national field



Note: Editions n = 2599. Created using Gephi software and the Force Atlas algorithm.
Sized by transactions, positioned by shared editions and coloured by communities.
Key fields named.

Figures 55, 56 and 57 describe author gender access data by category, deal, license and publication year, and show women authors gain increasing but inconsistent access. The same pattern is visible for men.

Figure 55. Frequency by category, deal and gender



Figure 56. Frequency by category, license year and gender

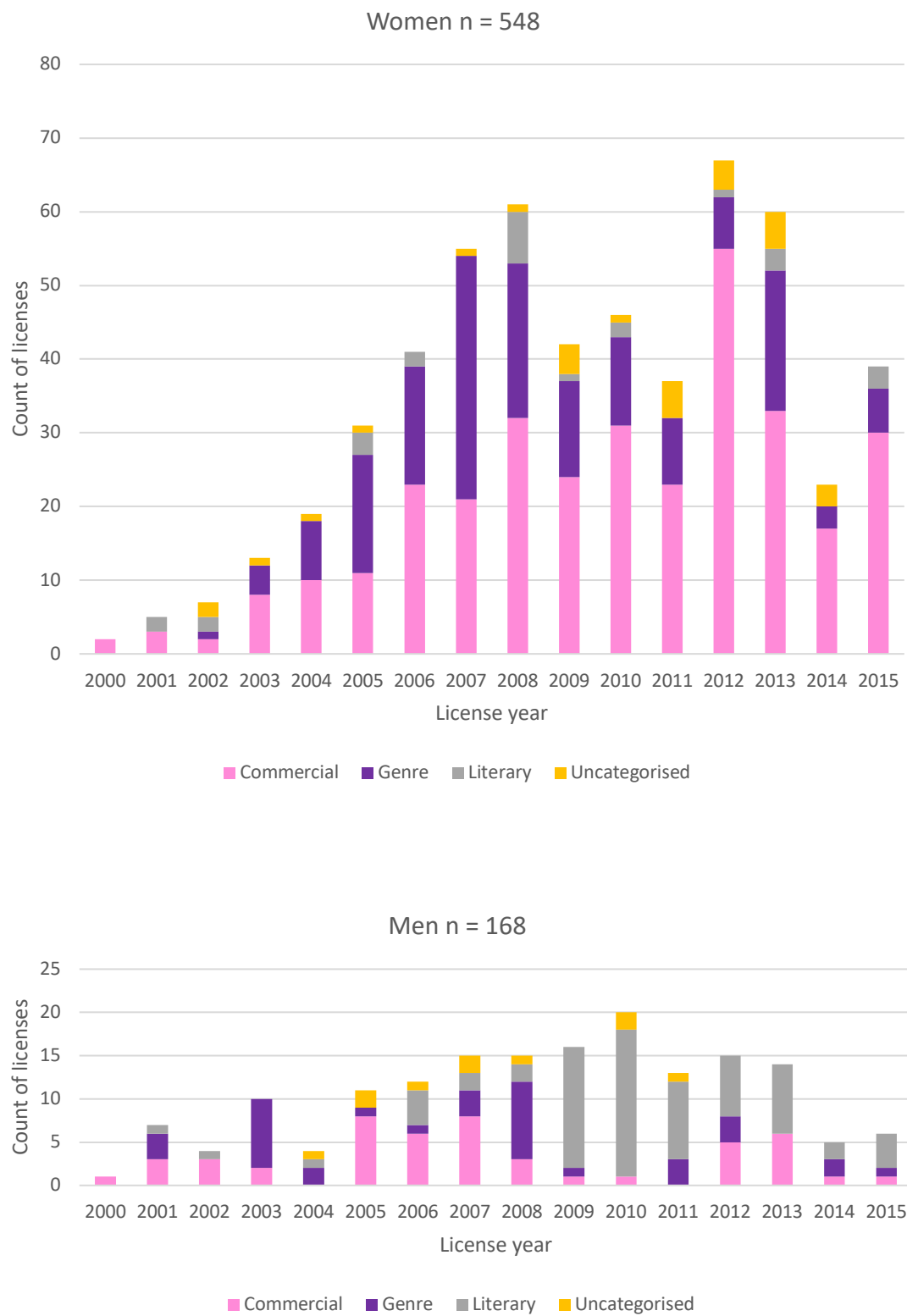
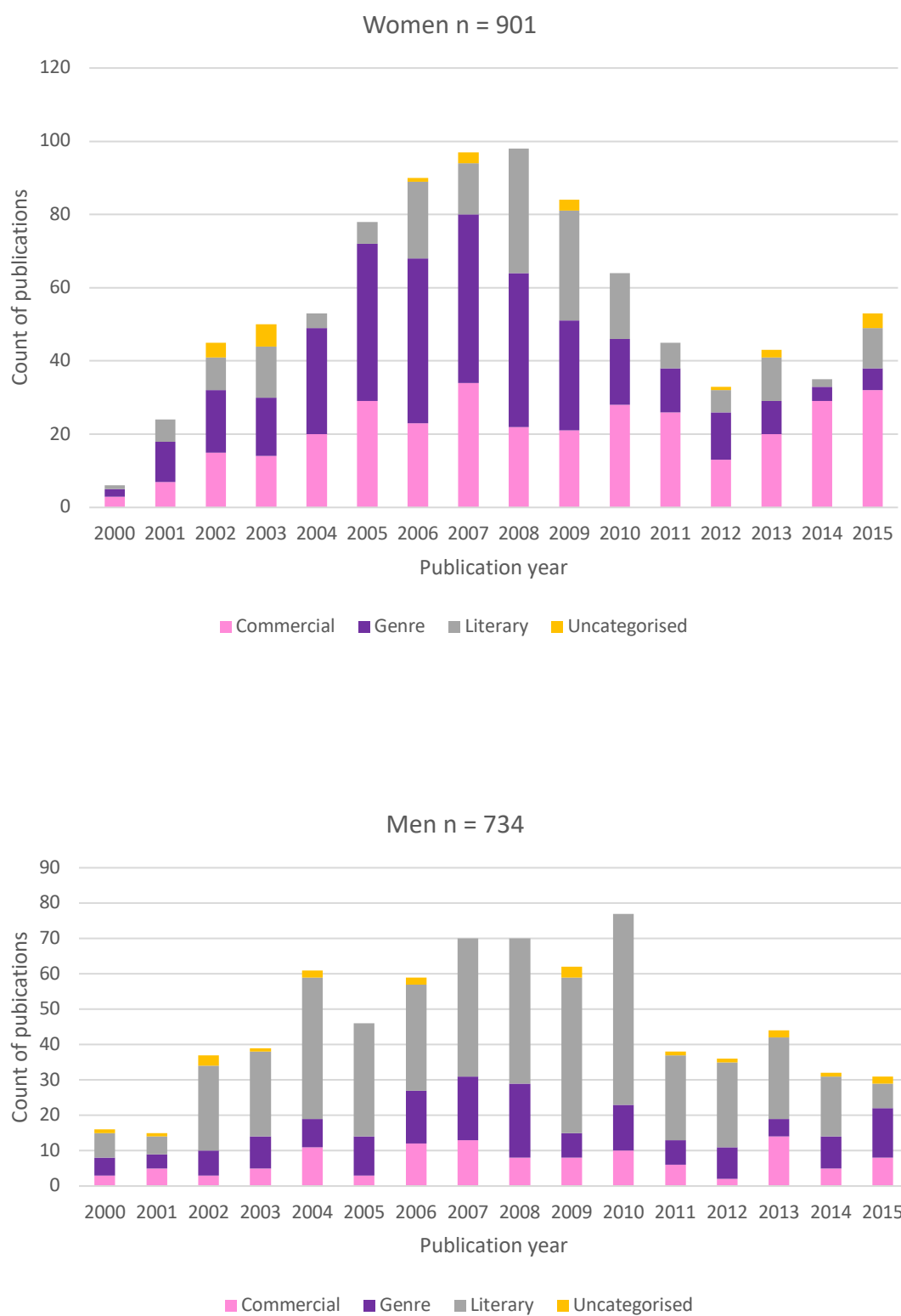


Figure 57. Frequency by category, publication year and gender



Note: 'Other' category is one in 2004

The data in Figures 55—57 suggest the decline in production of works categorised as literary on the domestic field is less evident on the international field; this can be seen to benefit men. However, as the publication year data makes very clear, the decline evident in the genre category has the most impact on women authors. Conversely, the increase in access by commercial works can be seen to have benefited women authors. Overall, this data suggests that the increase in access to the international licensing field can be attributed to more women authors writing commercial and genre fiction; a trend that is also associated with the commercialisation of the domestic field. More broadly this increase in access can be seen as being facilitated by the commercial category having a higher value in core fields.

6.3.5 National capital, three: The high value of commerce

Commercialisation has been demonised in regard to the twenty-first century Australian literary field. Not only has the commercial agenda been positioned in relation to the ‘decline of the literary paradigm’ (Davis 2006) but, as also discussed in Chapter 1, it has even been associated with the death of the (Australian) author (Knox 2005). Conversely, Bode has used quantitative analysis of *AustLit* data to demonstrate how a focus on the ‘literary’ provided a ‘distorted picture’ of the production of Australian literature (Bode 2009, 87) and this ‘supposed’ decline.

A category-based analysis of the transaction data suggests that the commercialisation of the Australian domestic literary field has benefited the internationalisation of the Australian literary field, when measured by access to the international licensing field. While this access has been driven by all three categories, it is primarily the two categories considered to be market-driven: commercial and genre. This situation contrasts with the perception that popular fiction (genre and commercial, in this study) is more likely to be sourced directly from a country’s domestic field, visible in the French Embassy in New York’s intervention into a debate about translation in 2013 mentioned earlier in this chapter (Cultural Services French Embassy in the United States n.d.).

This study’s data, however, does demonstrate a comparatively high rate of Australian literary fiction being acquired in translation from the global marketspace. This also differs

to quantitative analysis of the Dutch field, for example, where works acquired from the English language for translation are more likely to be popular fiction (Franssen 2015, 387).

The even balance of access by category visible in the transaction set suggests that the Australian field's relationship with the global marketspace is unlike that of the Anglo-American English-language fields—and the translation fields. Overall, a category analysis of the transaction demonstrates the way in which the relationship between linguistic fields, national fields and category needs to be considered to understand access. Moreover, a category-based focus must, necessarily, be gender-based if the full meaning of access is to be understood. Where entry to the international licensing field is seen as a form of value in itself—'the foremost example of a particular type of consecration in the literary world', as Casanova proposes of the world literary space (Casanova 2004, 133)—access to the international field by any category of work can be seen to contribute to a work's domestic capital holdings. In an environment where these are often undervalued, this re-positioning has significant implications for understanding the contribution of women authors in the Australian field.

6.4 Power and position structure access

Reading the transaction data from a distance suggests Australia's particular co-ordinates within multiple world-systems have a significant impact on international access in terms of linguistic field access, national access and access by category of work. This means understanding Australia's position in multiple ways: hyper-central, as an English-speaking nation, but sub-dominant as a colonial settler nation; culturally peripheral as a colonial settler nation, and economically core, as a result of being a colonial settler nation with the resources to challenge a one-way economic trade flow. Analysing the transaction data in terms of these three positions, each of which can be seen to impact upon national capital holdings, shows the extent to which Australia's literary field's multiple levels of national capital holdings can be seen to influence global access at what can be considered a fundamental level. To put it another way, this distant 'macro' reading reveals how an interplay of linguistic dominance, historical relationships, and category valuation determines at a macro level, how rights are, and can be, traded from Australia.

National capital is not earned or bestowed on an individual work but stems from a national fields' complex position in the global world-system, so this chapter is based on reading a map created from aggregated data. This data shows that while the English language is important, this importance has fluctuated over the period, is not associated with enabling wider access and is not a condition of access to the translation field. Moreover, access to core and dominant linguistic fields appears to limit access to dominated and peripheral linguistic sub-fields—except for those linguistic fields where the written and spoken languages vary. This limitation, however, is more pronounced in particular categories. While the transaction data shows equal access by category in general, it also shows there are distinct differences between levels of reach and extent between categories. Simply put, reading the transaction map and interpreting access in terms of the world-system and national capital shows that being part of the English-language field increases capital holdings, making access easier to core English-language fields; meanwhile, being dominated decreases capital holdings within this field, making access to its peripheral fields more difficult. At a category level, the relatively even levels of overall access suggest literary fiction has a higher value in the global marketspace than on the domestic field, where throughout the period works in this category lost value.

Overall, this 'distant' reading of transaction data—the transaction map—suggests that Australia's national capital holdings effectively increased throughout the period as a result of structural changes in the international field: a breaking down of British control, adoption of methods to overcome British resistance, and the increasing commercialisation of the publishing field. Moreover, this analysis suggests that circulation happens by stages and the first level is a global level. In this sense, global access can be seen to be determined, in the first instance, by Australia's unique position in the world-systems.

7 National fields: The value of consecration

Studying the global access of Australian literature at a macro level through the world-systems frames does not explain, at an individual work level, why it is that some novels circulate widely and others not at all: it cannot. The frame provides a way to understand why the Australian literary field has stronger relationships with the English-language and German-language fields than other fields; why the linguistic relationships are stronger with dominant nations than with dominated; and why literary and commercial fiction can be seen to have a high extent of access as well as wide reach, while genre fiction only has a high extent of access. It is a frame that makes it possible to understand increases in the overall activity rates over the period under consideration according to changes in relationships between national fields as well as changing production trends.

This chapter introduces another approach to explain the roles of different forms of value believed to influence the international circulation of Australian literature: in particular, to influence global access measured by the trade in rights. It is at this point that the transaction map begins its transformation into a global access map, and the logic of the international licensing field is shown to be unlike that of the domestic field, but also unlike the world literary space. For Casanova, the home space is primarily driven by a commercial logic whereas the world literary space is subject to an artistic logic (Casanova 2004, 109). However, her world space is primarily conceived as a space for works in the literary category. In contrast, analysis of the transaction data set has already demonstrated the international licensing field to be more inclusive in terms of categories, with equality between them in terms of overall access: this chapter reveals how this equality is less apparent when the impact of different types of 'field' level value is measured.

To understand how the Australian field values work and how this same work is valued internationally, the transaction data need to be examined more closely: at a mezzo level. At this level, the study turns not only to Bourdieu's model of the field of literary production, but to the concept of consecration and what he describes as the 'cycle of consecration', referring to the fact that value is not only produced but also produces itself: it is cumulative (Bourdieu 1996, 168), and, for this reason, it can also be measured.

To measure domestic and international value, this chapter investigates the transaction set in conjunction with influence data related to what this study proposes are three key consecrating bodies: literary institutions (awards), the market (bestseller listings) and the international publishing industry itself (transactions). This approach means the impact of the forms of capital associated with each of these bodies—cultural, economic and intellectual—is able to be assessed to answer the question: How has the increasing commercialisation of consecration contributed to an increase in access to the global marketspace and, subsequently, the international licensing field for Australian novels in the twenty-first century?

7.1 Awarding access: The partiality of institutional consecration

On the licensing field, the value associated with awards is conceived in terms of institutional consecration, a specific form associated with cultural capital. This institutional consecration can be measured both in terms of the consecration awards embody and the consecration they enable. It is for this reason that this study draws on data sets that reveal two related forms of institutional consecration: prizes and publication grants.

7.1.1 Literature prizes (as well as literary prizes): Novels awarded

Prizes are associated with conveying the value of a work, as Casanova (somewhat grudgingly) concedes:

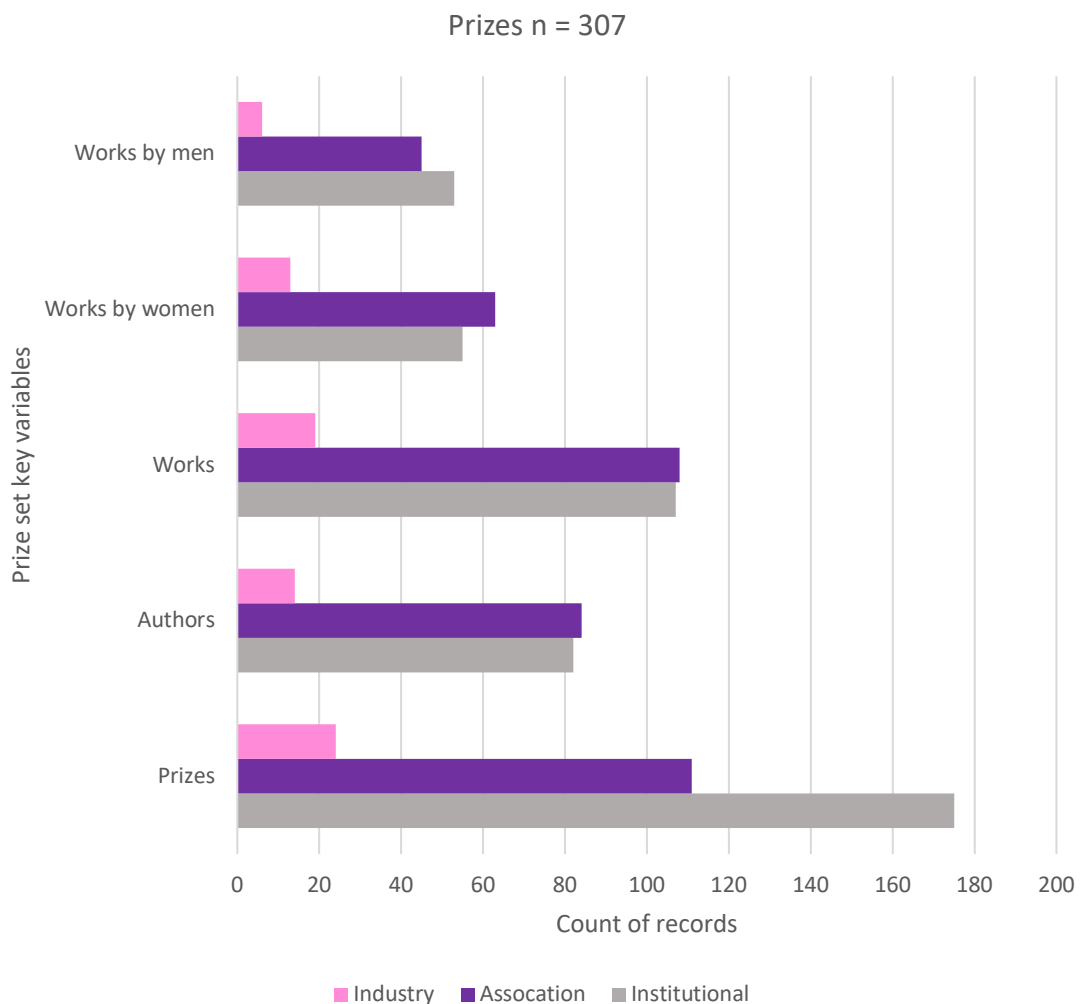
Literary prizes, the least literary form of literary consecration, are responsible mainly for making the verdicts of the sanctioning organizations of the republic of letters known beyond its borders. (Casanova 2004, 146)

This section measures the way in which these verdicts influence access ‘within the borders’ of the international licensing field and examines the general structure of the prize data set before digitally linking this set to the transaction data to explore the commonalities between the sets. In this way, works with prizes associated can be identified and access and prize timelines subsequently compared. What this method makes apparent is the difference between the value of the cultural capital conferred on a work by an Australian prize and an international prize, and that conferred by the awarding body: institution, industry or association.

National institutional consecration: A partial account

Of the 49 different book prize ‘groups’ in the data set compiled for this study and awarded between 1999—2015 (the 1999 prize is for unpublished work), there are 9 international and 40 national groups, 112 sub-groups, 306 individual prizes, 165 authors, 215 works and 37 publishers; also, two prizes are for a body of work. Institutional prizes comprise 53 percent of the set, significantly outnumbering association prizes, which comprise 36 percent; industry prizes constitute the remainder (11 percent). The structural imbalances evident in figure 58 reflect the nature of the prize categories.

Figure 58. Prize set frequency comparison by category, author, work and gender



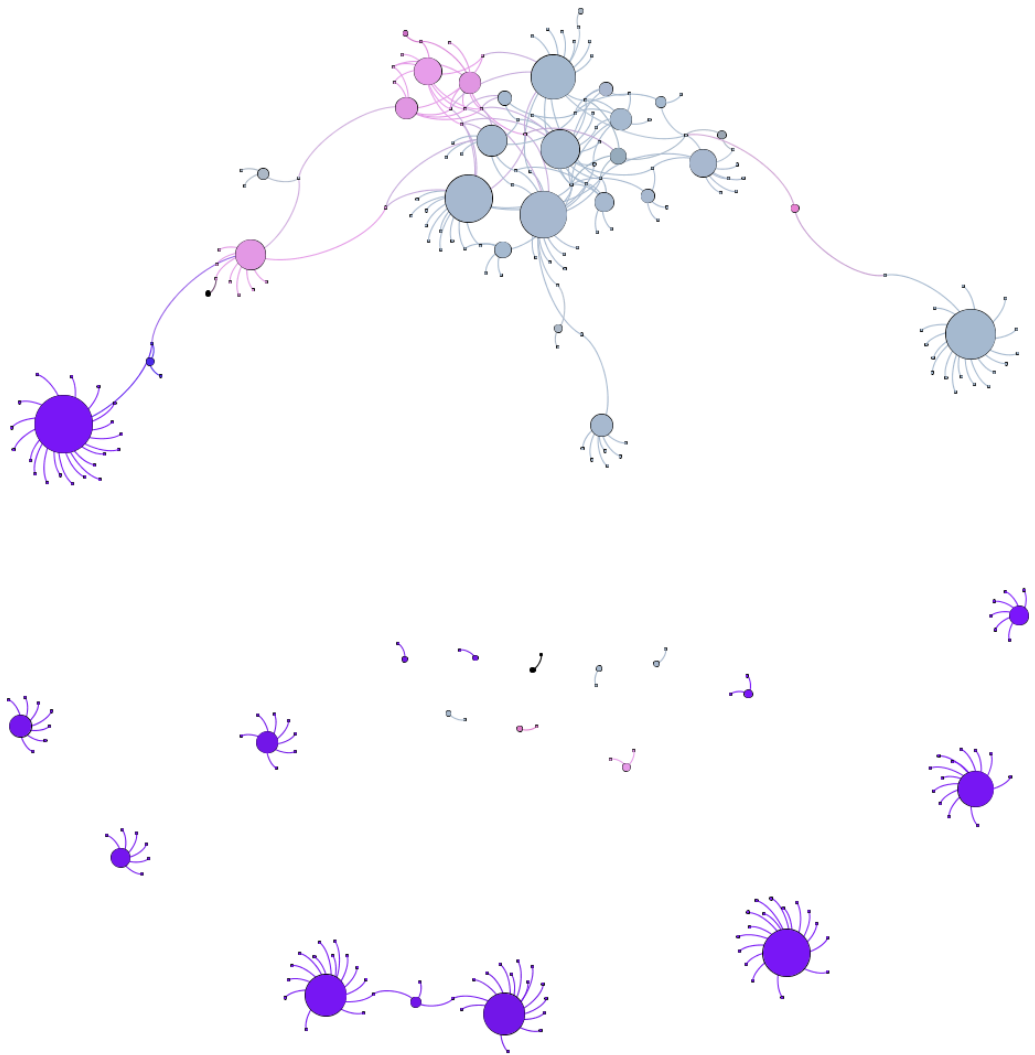
Note: As most of the prize categories are consistent with the work categories the same colours are used. Prizes for body of work are excluded from this list.

There is a large number of Australian state Premier's prizes (28 percent of the set) and these are all categorised as institutional. The 'association' category consists of two of the most prominent genre writing associations in Australia—the Crime Writers Association and Romance Writers of Australia—while speculative fiction is represented by the Aurealis awards.²³ This category is also strongly represented in terms of the number of prizes awarded. Conversely, the set has only a small number of significant industry prizes—just four—from the Australian Book Industry Association (ABIA) and the Australian Booksellers Association (ABA). Unlike the transaction set, this prize set shows a much more even gender balance when it comes to authors of prize-winning works, although again, women are slightly better represented in each of the three categories (although this is only marginal in the institutional category). Structurally, the study's three categories falls into clear areas. Figures 59 and 60 draw upon data on individual prizes and works that have been awarded prizes to construct a proportional network graph which reveals the way in which the three categories interact. This graph makes apparent a close relationship between those works awarded institutional and industry prizes; as well as highlighting the way in which works awarded association prizes are separate.

Figure 59 demonstrates the way in which institutional prizes are highly inter-connected through individual multi-prize-winning works. Industry prizes are connected through works that have won both institutional as well as industry prizes, while association prizes are largely independent of the other two categories, suggesting that there is little cross over between institutional and industry prize-winners and association prize-winners. Association prizes are necessarily separate, because this set consists of three separate associations, each defined by a genre (romance, speculative fiction and crime). Figure 60 includes the titles for the individual prizes.

²³ The Aurealis Awards are not awarded by a writing association, but for the purposes of this study these awards are categorised as association awards, as the administrator ConFound is 'a not for profit association' (Aurealis awards n.d.), also involved with speculative fiction and pop culture conventions.

Figure 59. Prize categories connected by prize-winning works (abstract)



Note: Works $n = 217$. Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas 2 algorithm.

Prize category communities hand-coloured:

grey (literary), pink (commercial), purple (genre). Premier's 'People's Choice' prizes literary but coloured pink to reflect their market-driven logic.

Sized according by number of works that have won a prize.

Figure 60. Prize categories connected by prize-winning works (detail)

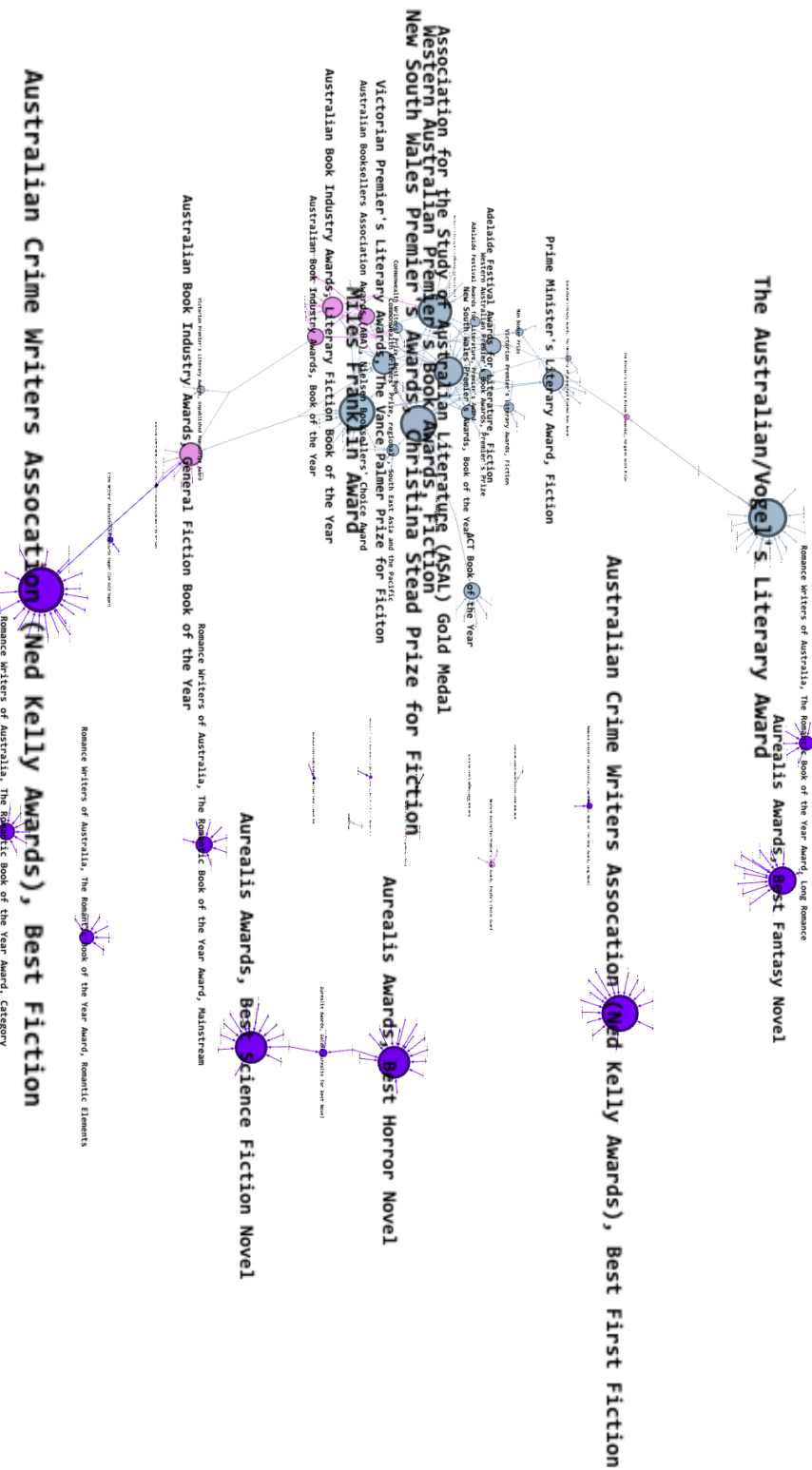


Figure 6o shows that *The Australian/Vogel's* Award-winning works, like the association prizes, tend not to be linked through prize-winning works to other prizes during the period covered by the study. The situation is similar for association and industry awards but the reverse is true for the sub-category of institutional awards: namely, the state Premiers' awards. The Premiers' awards are highly connected through award-winning works and primarily to each other. The Miles Franklin Award—the website of which claims it is 'Australia's most prestigious literature prize' (Perpetual Trustees n.d.)—sits among the various Premiers' awards, but is also close to the industry awards.

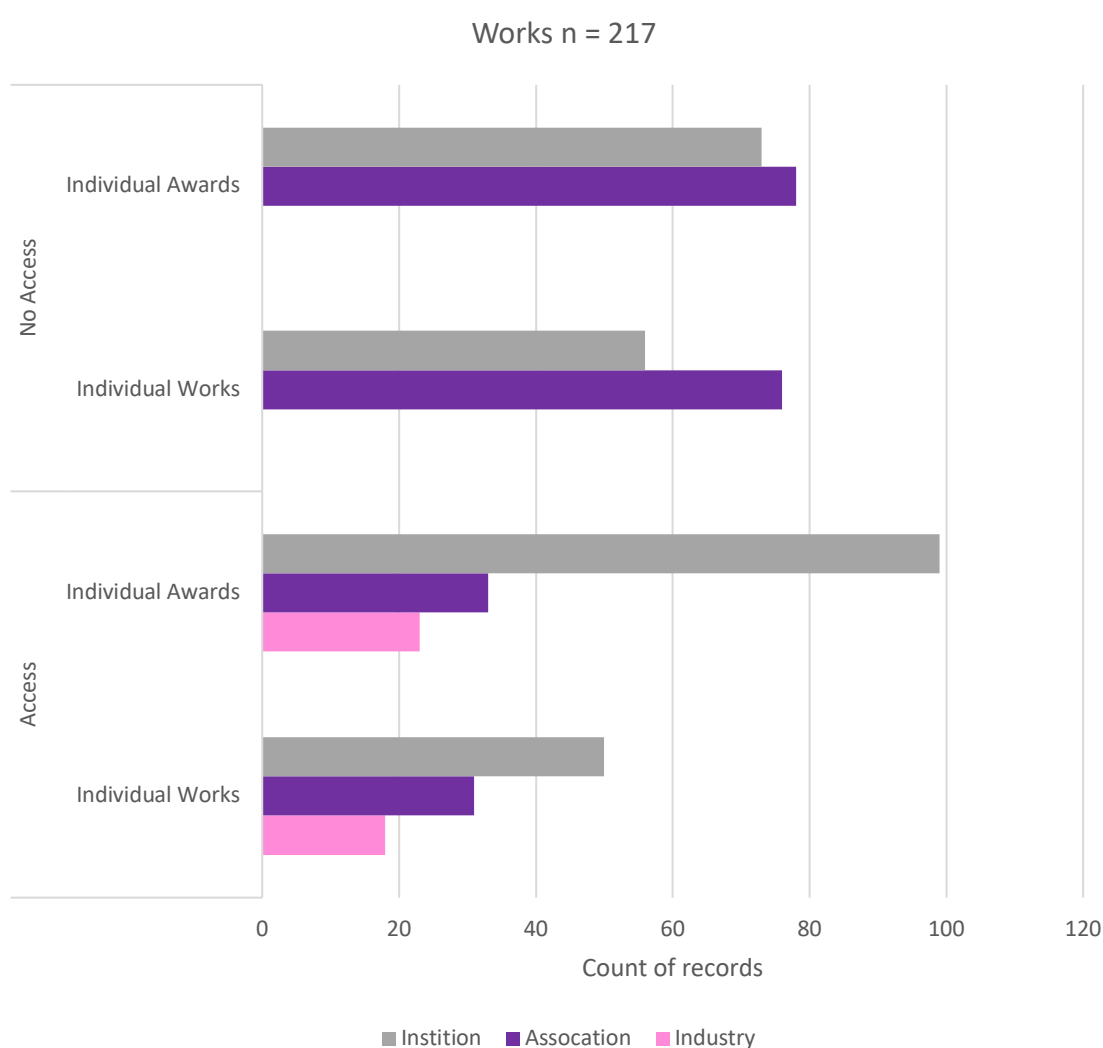
A similar clustering effect can be seen with the publishers associated with prize-winning works. Of the 3o8 works in the set, 3o6 have a publisher listed; 37 publishers listed by name. However, 76 percent of the set is dominated by just six publishers, in order: Allen & Unwin, Pan Macmillan and Random House, followed by HarperCollins, Text Publishing and Penguin. (When the 2o 'Vogel'-winning works are excluded—Allen & Unwin publishes the winners—Allen & Unwin is the second most awarded publisher.) By category, the publisher mix is more diverse. Nine publishers gain industry awards, 15 gain institution awards, but 29 publishers are visible in the association award data: the latter two groups both include small publishers.

The spatial relationships that figure 6o makes visible, and the dominance of large publishers in the prize set, suggest a link between commercial production and the winning of prizes. This link supports commentary during the period which has identified what might be considered the commercialisation of Australian literary prizes (specifically prizes for 'literary' work), which suggests a disproportionate number of prizes go to works by large publishers who tend to publish for more commercial or accessible works (see, for example, Stinson 2o16, 37-39). More accessible works also have the capacity to sell, and the alignment of industry and literary prizes appears to support this, as industry prizes can be seen to be awarded to works that do sell extremely well. However, figure 6o also shows a field in which smaller publishers are associated with literary prizes as well as genre prizes. This relationship may support the identification of the trend towards a higher production rate of literary work by small publishers (Stinson 2o16), as statistically if there are more books, they are more likely to win prizes; it may also indicate a lower production rate of genre fiction by commercial publishers, hence they are less likely to win prizes.

Works, prizes and access: Limited entry to the international licensing field

Prizes as a form of field-produced cultural capital appear to have a limited value in the global marketplace. Of the 217 individual Australian novels in the prize set, 18 percent have received more than one prize; of the 306 awards associated with individual words, almost half are associated with international access (154 to 152). Figure 61 shows how access is strongly connected to prize category.

Figure 61. Prize-winning works by category of prize and access



19 percent of these prizes are categorised as industry ('industry prizes') and 22 percent association ('association prizes') but 59 percent are categorised as institutional ('institutional prizes'). Analysis shows that works awarded industry prizes are certain to

gain access to the international licensing field (all works have international editions), while 47 percent of works with institutional awards gain access. However, according to the data in this study, just 29 percent of novels with association prizes achieve international access (as measured by a presence in the transaction data set).

Two factors might influence these figures. The prize set includes publishers who do not meet the selection criteria and 29 of these are genre publishers (either too small, not Australian, or the editions were only available as e-books). This might explain the limited relationship between association prizes and global access. The high correlation of industry prizes and access similarly might be attributable to the transaction set structure: all seven of the publishers in the industry prize set are represented in the transaction set. Nevertheless, the international value of the cultural capital associated with prizes can be seen to vary according to the category of the prize itself. As most prizes are associated with a work category, the value of access can also be seen to be related to the category of the work itself.

Editions, prizes and access: Uneven entry on the international licensing field

According to the data on works that win awards and do gain entry to the international licensing field, there is an relationship between access and awards. This relationship does not mean that the prize leads to access, but exploring it is the first step to measuring this form of cultural capital and identifying if a prize can be linked to access. Overall, 11 percent of the works in the transaction set are associated with prizes. For authors and editions, this frequency increases to 16 percent of authors: just over 26 percent of the international editions in the transaction set can be seen to be associated with a prize-winning work.

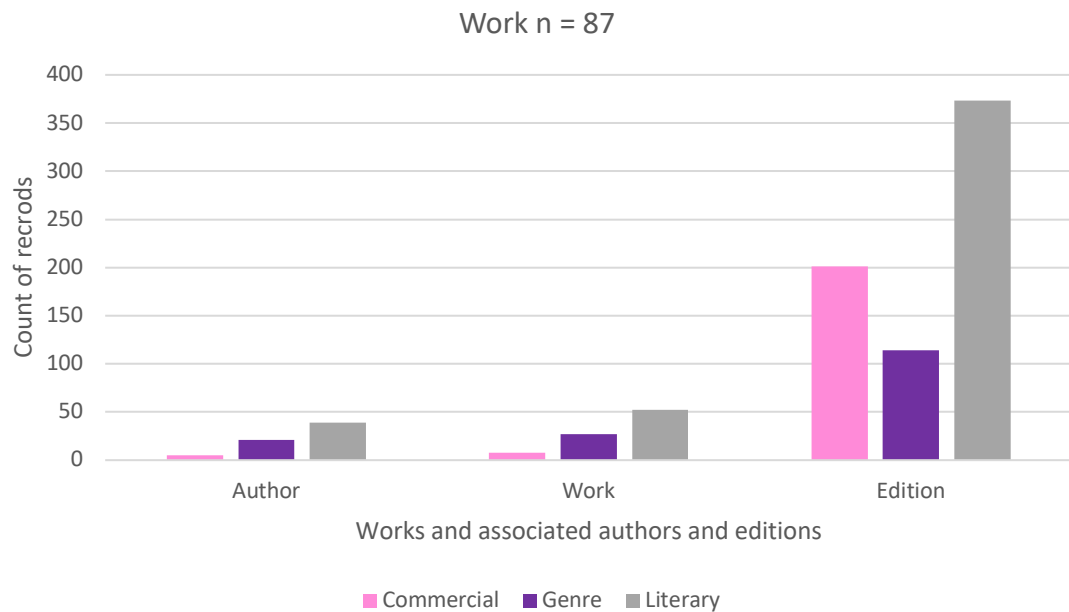
Possibly due to the prize set's construction (it includes multiple romance awards which are associated with women authors), the prize set itself is gender-balanced: with 153 works by authors the study identifies as men and 153 by women authors. The situation alters with prize-winning works that enter the international licensing field: 41 percent of the prizes won by women authors are not associated with entry into the international licensing field but 59 percent of the prizes won by men are associated with entry. At an individual work level, of the 217 works in the set, 36 percent of prize-winning works written by women authors are associated with access; for works by men, this increases to 44 percent.

However, these proportions differ according to the type of prize. Of the 18 industry prizes, women are awarded twelve and all are linked with access; of the institutional prizes, it is relatively even, with 50 percent for men, and 46 percent for women linked with access. For the association prizes, while the distribution is also relatively even (at 18 and 13), 38 percent of the prize-winning works by men achieve access and only 22 percent of prize-winning works by women. This analysis of prizes and access suggests that higher levels of cultural capital of value on the international licensing field are associated with works by men that have gained institutional consecration.

An examination of the prize-winning works in the transaction set by category shows a correlation between work category and prizes. The category analysis of the transaction set in the previous chapter demonstrated that literary works were more likely to have been written by men (those that achieved extensive access, far more likely). A closer examination of the transaction data shows that these figures are not influenced by the work of a single author, although this is the case with the association prize category, which features, in general, works in the genre category (Peter Temple). The industry prize category, which includes predominantly commercial works, is also dominated by a single author (Kate Morton). In the institutional category, which is associated with literary works, while there is one author (J.M. Coetzee) who dominates in the transaction set at a work level, works in this prize category have considerable diversity. For this reason, it is useful to compare transaction category and prize-winning works. This approach reveals 60 percent of the prize-winning works that access the international licensing field are literary fiction, 31 percent genre and just 9 percent commercial.

Figure 62 shows the author, work and edition frequency of prize-winning works in the transaction set, separated by work category. At a work level the composition of the data reflects the composition of the prize list itself, but at an author and edition level this is not the case. At an author level, the composition reflects the work composition almost exactly (literary 60 percent, genre 31 percent and commercial 9 percent). At an edition level, the situation is very different. If a work is associated with a prize, the extent to which this work has gained access to the international licensing field is a better indication of the value (the cultural capital) that may be associated with that prize.

Figure 62. Frequency of prize-winning authors, works and associated editions by category



Note: This list excludes the two 'body of work' awards as it is limited to specific works

At an edition level, the data suggest there may be strong differences in the value of prizes on the international licensing field, and these differences can be seen to be associated with the awarding body. This institutional prize data shows that works that win such prizes achieve higher rates of access. In other words, the data seem to suggest that institutional prizes confer higher levels of cultural capital and so give the associated work a higher value in the global marketplace, potentially leading to an increased likelihood of access to the international licensing field. It is not only institutional awards that appear to confer this capital; there also appears to be a high correlation between industry prizes and access to the international licensing field. Moreover, industry prizes are associated with commercial works with high levels of access. This association might seem to suggest that these prizes, too, potentially confer high levels of cultural capital on a work. This is not the situation with association awards. Examination of the transaction data set shows few genre works have been awarded prizes of any form; just one of these works achieved a high level of access.

Analysis of this study's data on editions associated with prizes by linguistic field suggests there may also be a relationship between an acquiring field's position in the world-system and the value of cultural capital conferred on an Australian work by winning a prize. Figure 63 shows the proportional relationship between linguistic fields and editions with prizes for the twenty most highly accessed fields, structured by frequency of editions. These twenty fields constitute 91 percent of the set. (Figure 64 shows the remainder of the set.)

Figure 63. Proportional association between most 20 accessed linguistic fields and prizes

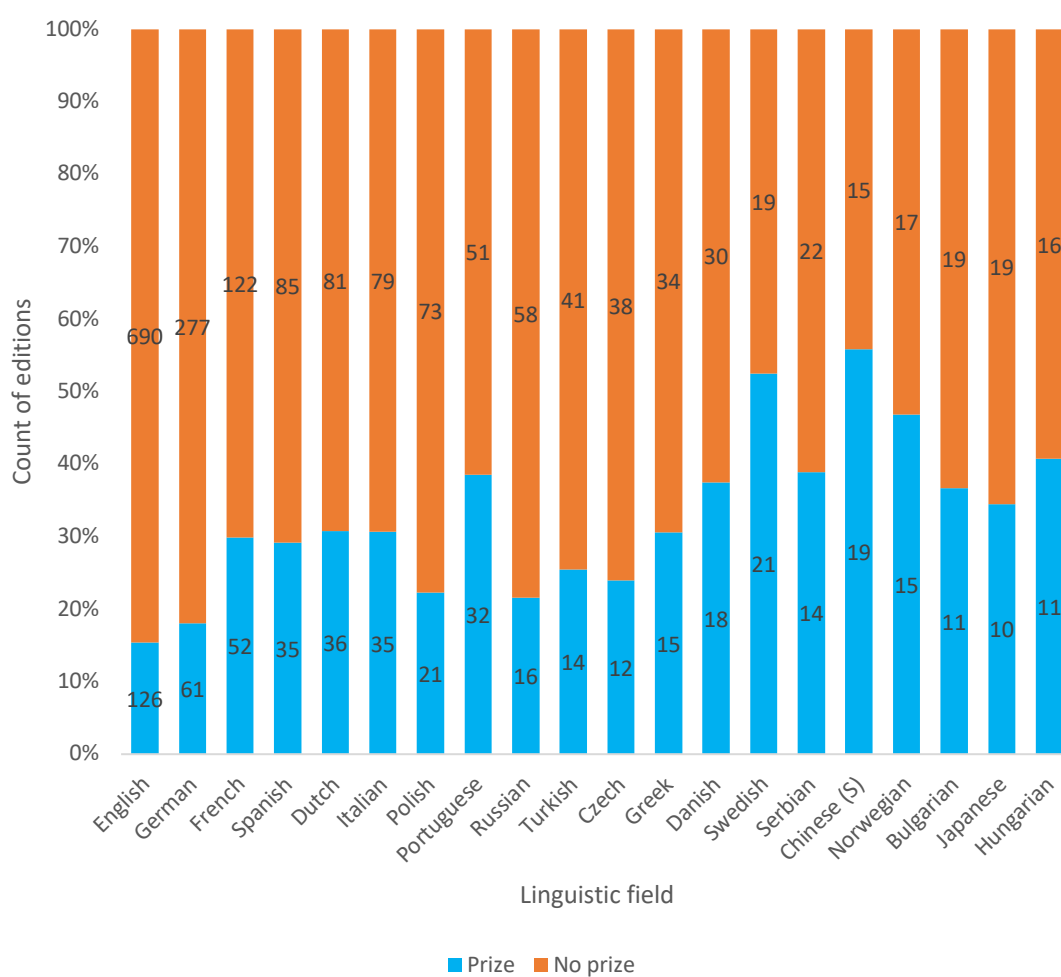
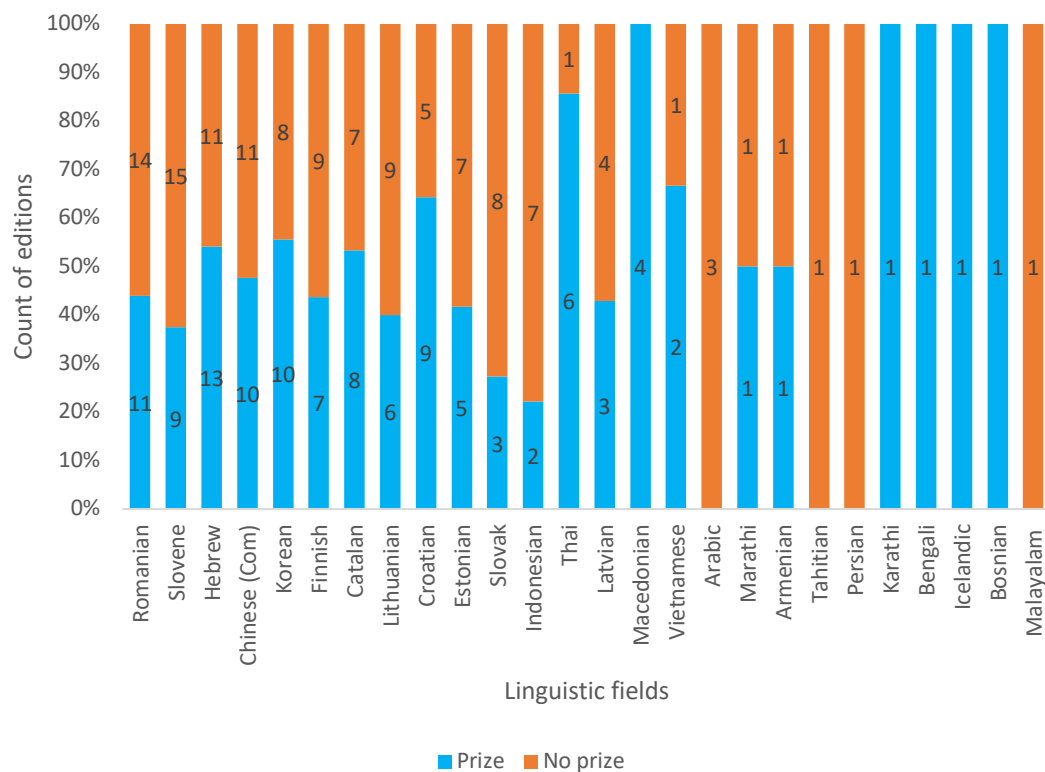


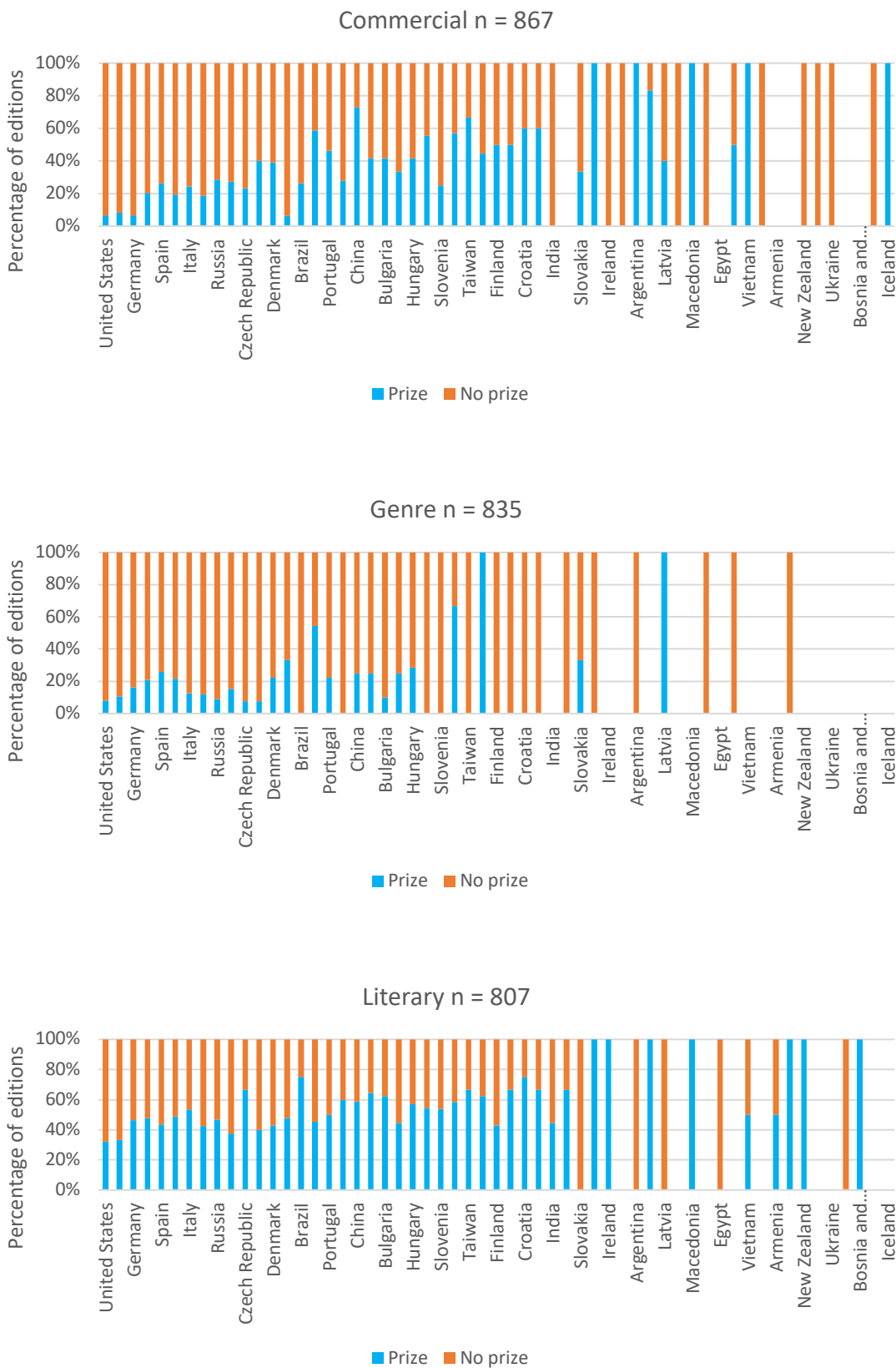
Figure 64. Proportional association between 26 least accessed linguistic fields and prizes



Figures 63 and 64 demonstrate an apparent inverse relationship between the level of engagement a field has with the Australian field—the number of Australian works to enter that field—and the influence of prizes in enabling entry: the higher the level of engagement, the fewer editions associated with prizes. Some of the most peripheral linguistic fields only acquire works with awards associated, although some do not. This same trend is evident with national fields, supporting the suggestion that position within the world-system may be associated with an increased requirement for cultural capital to gain access. For example, only 13 percent and 17 percent respectively of English-language editions in the US and the UK are associated with works that have won prizes, while 30 percent of Canadian English-language editions are associated with prizes.

This field access can also be seen to be related to the category of edition with those in the literary category more strongly associated with access in all linguistic and national fields. Genre and commercial works, in contrast, show a lower correlation between prize and access, as the field category percentage chart in figure 65 demonstrates.

Figure 65. Percentage of editions with prizes by national field by category



Analysing the data on prize-winning works and associated international editions demonstrates a relationship between prizes, category of work and access. Figure 65 also suggests is that the cultural capital associated with prizes might be one way of compensating for the low national capital holdings of the Australian field, but it is not the only way. Moreover, prizes for literary works—mostly institutional prizes—are not always associated with increased access to peripheral fields.

Prize timeline: Association does not mean influence

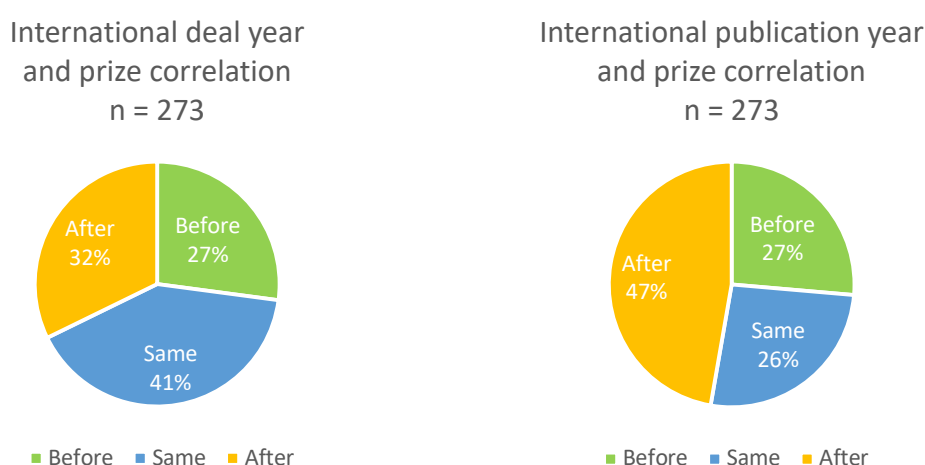
Establishing the relationship between prizes and access reveals potential links. It cannot establish if a prize might have influenced access to the international licensing field or, for those works with multiple prizes—such as Richard Flanagan’s *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2013) and Christos Tsiolkas’ *The Slap* (2008)—if one prize confers higher levels of cultural capital than another, giving the work, potentially, a higher international value. Establishing and interrogating a prize, deal and license timeline, however, helps reveal the type of link. Specifically, this approach can show if it is a link with the capacity to influence access.

Comparing the year of international publication and prize year can disprove influence, by showing, for example, the international edition was published prior to the prize being awarded, while comparing the year of international publication and prize year does not effectively establish if an award has influenced access. As the transaction set data show, the period between a deal announcement and international publication can be up to two years. Therefore establishing a potentially influential link between a prize announcement and an international edition using the publication year is not possible. However, establishing this link using deal and license dates is easier, and this study does so by building a simple three-part timeline that draws on the deal and license years for works that have been awarded prizes, and year the prize was awarded. This method provides a way of establishing the international value of this form of capital on access.

Comparing the data on the international edition deal year for prize-winning works and the prize year shows that in the case of deals, nearly a third of the deals are announced in the year after the announcement of the prize itself, while well over a third are made in the same year as the prize: the capital associated with prizes may have influenced access for a

high percentage of these works. However, just over a quarter of the deals are made in the year before a prize is awarded, so there can be no direct influence from winning any prize. An analysis of the data on the international publication year of prize-winning works, the prize year, and the deal year, shows just over a quarter of the works were published prior to the awarding of the prize. However, a quarter of works are also published in same year; just under half are published subsequently. These differences are made clear in figure 66.

Figure 66. Correlation between prize year, deal year and publication year

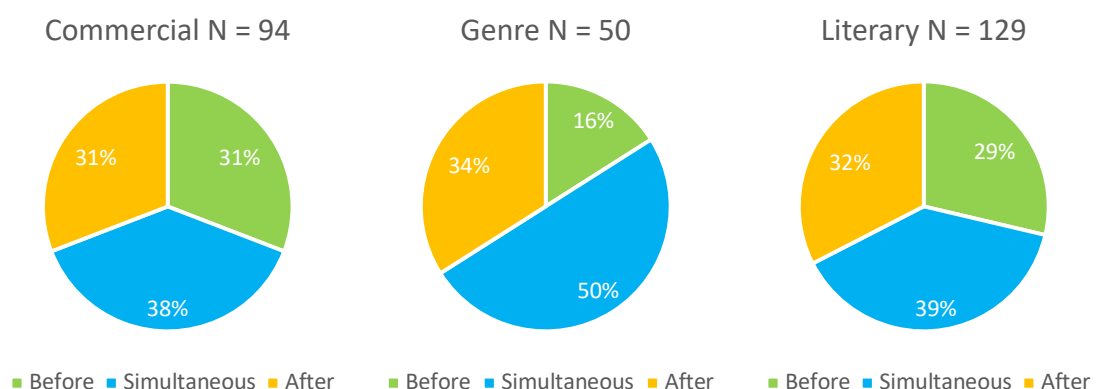


By establishing the potential relationship between a prize and an international edition, this temporal approach also helps locate the influence of specific prizes on access to the international licensing field. The benefit of this method can be seen by analysing the data relating to Peter Temple's *The Broken Shore* (2005). The prize data show it was awarded two (major) domestic prizes in 2006. The transaction set reveals there to be six deals in this year: US, UK, Canada, Germany, France and the Netherlands. With the exception of the Netherlands—which, as discussed in the previous chapter, has been shown to acquire a high percentage of its fiction from the English-language field, and a particularly high percentage of crime fiction (Franssen 2015, 388)—all these nations are part of linguistically central or hyper-central fields. In 2007, the UK edition was awarded the British Crime Writers' Association's 'Gold Dagger': additionally, the work entered eleven more international fields.

This timeline suggests that the combined capital of the domestic prizes (the Australian Crime Writers Associations, Best Fiction and the Australian Book Industry Association, Book of the Year, General Fiction) provided enough cultural capital for the work to enter core national fields. The increase in access after the Gold Dagger win suggests that the cumulative capital of the Australian prizes was not enough alone to influence access for this novel. It may be because the novels falls into the genre category, a category that analysis of the transaction data revealed to have lower levels of access than the two other categories. In contrast, the cultural capital associated with a British association award can be seen to confer higher levels of cultural capital, enough for the work to achieve a higher level of access.

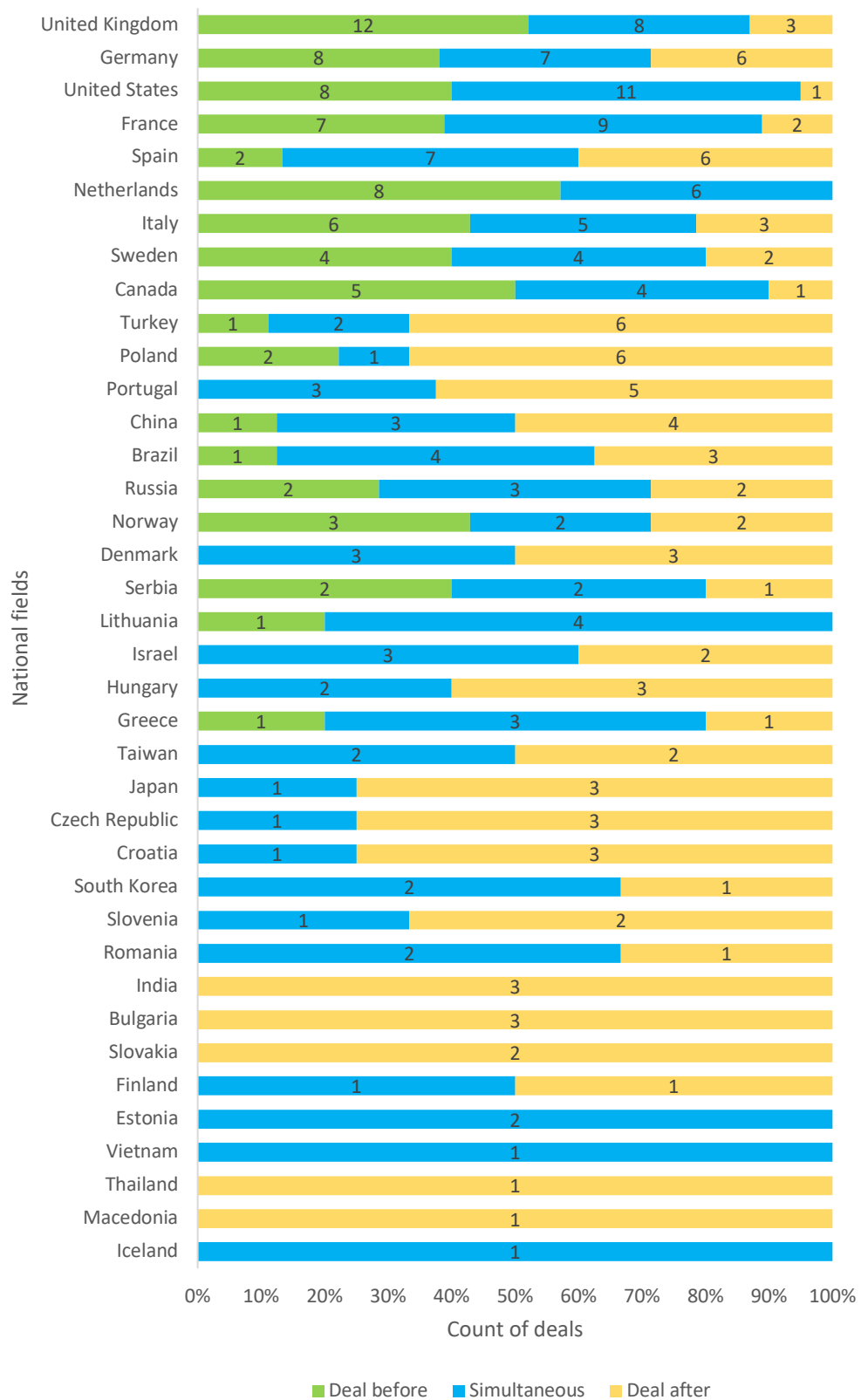
In addition, this temporal approach can more effectively show the relationship between categories and prizes, as well as different fields and prizes. Examining the data by deal year, prize year and work category in this way shows that for commercial works (mostly with industry prizes), just under a third achieve access prior to the prize being announced, just over a third achieve it the year of the prize and just under a third do so the year afterwards. Literary works (mostly institutional prizes) follow almost the same pattern. Genre works (mostly association prizes) show a different pattern: just a sixth of deals are made prior to work being granted the prize, but half the same year, and, much like the other categories, just over a third the year after the prize. In this sense, when an association prize is awarded—as the differences in percentages in figure 67 show—it can be seen to have more of an influence than prizes in the other two categories.

Figure 67. Access proportioned by prize year, work category and deal order



Considering prize and deal year correlation by national field reinforces the world-system structure as *The Broken Shore* analysis suggests it might. Editions in 38 national fields are associated with works that have been awarded prizes. Within this group, the more peripheral the field, the clearer the pattern of a diminished likelihood of access before a prize is announced. As figure 68 reveals, three English-language fields are over 80 percent more likely to acquire before Australian publication, as are the more commercial fields; Spain is an exception. The structure of this set, too, roughly echoes the overall structure of the transaction set in terms of access patterns. However, as figure 68 also shows, some of the most peripheral national fields in the set (Austria, Egypt, French Polynesia, Monaco, the Philippines, South Africa and the Ukraine) show no international edition and prize association, suggesting any level of the cultural capital conferred by a prize is insufficient for a work from the Australian field to gain entry.

Figure 68. Prize and deal year correlation by national field



Cultural capital: A benefit, for some

Ultimately, while just under a fifth of the international editions in the transaction set are associated with prizes, analysis of the data suggests that for at least a quarter of these, the international access is not related to the cultural capital conferred on a work by winning a prize. Moreover, comparing prize-winning works and international editions shows, definitively, that prizes do not automatically grant access. However, this method of analysis does show institutional prizes to be more associated with international access, so this form of prize can be seen to confer a higher level of cultural capital—and industry prizes, a higher level still. This correlates with the data analysis on works in the literary category and the international licensing field more generally, in which they are associated with higher levels of national capital. This association suggests that access for these works might be due to accumulated capital: higher symbolic capital, rather than cultural capital alone. Similarly, the high rate of access for works in the genre category awarded international association prizes suggests access is likely to be the national capital field membership confers on the body awarding the prize increasing the cultural capital associated with the prize itself. The analysis of category and prize data suggests that cultural capital, as measured through prizes, can confer capital on all categories of works, but this capital has different value in different fields.

7.1.2 Australia Council translation grants: Novels awarded

If a fifth of international editions are associated with a prize—and at least over a quarter of these prizes are not associated with leading to access—more than four-fifths are demonstrably not influenced by the capital associated with prizes. Instead, they enter the international licensing field using some other form of capital, or acquire cultural capital from another source. One source of cultural capital that ensures an Australian work is able to enter the international licensing field is a translation grant. Awarded to works with existing holdings of cultural capital, a translation grant itself confers cultural capital, but it also confers economic capital, as it involves direct funding. In this sense, it is a form of institutional consecration.

Grants have been shown to play an important role in facilitating international access for Australian works and those from other national fields. Wilson's analysis of Australian access to the Italian literary field, for example, suggests that the Australia Council's

translation grants program has played an important role in increasing access (Wilson 2013a, 79). Research into access from the Dutch field into the German, French and the UK fields has also demonstrated the importance of grants (Heilbron and van Es 2015, 304). For this reason, this study includes grants in its analysis of influences of access to the international licensing field. In particular, it establishes the commonalities between the grant set and the transaction set, linking them by work. Isolating the works awarded grants on the transaction set, and measuring the access associated with works awarded grants, provides a way to measure the level of cultural capital that grants may confer, but also to discover the role of grants in increasing access for the Australian field over the period covered by the study.

Grants: The government certified route to access

This study considers grants from the most visible Australian translation grant funding program during the period: the Australia Council's translation grant program. The sub-set of the translation grant set used in this study (adult novels) has several key features. As 'literary merit' is part of the selection criteria, additional category allocation is not required.²⁴

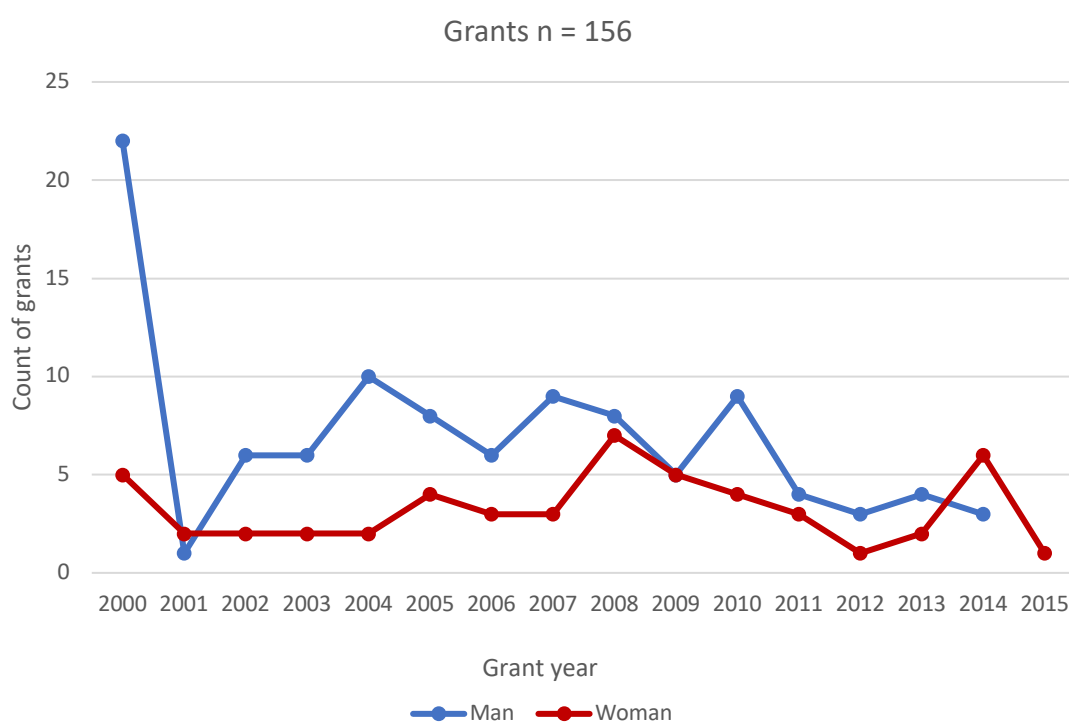
This set is small, with just 72 authors, 114 works and 156 grants; just under half the authors receive multiple grants and two authors receive 11 grants (Tim Winton and Richard Flanagan), while one receives eight (Peter Carey); in total, just under a quarter of the works receive multiple grants. Certain publishers also receive multiple grants. While there are 94 international publishing houses listed, just over a third of these receive multiple grants, with one French publishing house (Actes Sud) receiving just under 10 percent of all grants. There are 31 linguistic fields and 36 national fields represented, but the data demonstrates a focus on publishers in central linguistic fields: with 51 percent of the grants going to publishers in five fields: the French, German, Spanish, Dutch and Italian fields. Of this group, 37 percent of the grants are to French-language publishers.

Similar to the transaction set and the prize set, the grant set has an author gender imbalance. Examination of the transaction set and prize list data reveals prize-winning

²⁴ The conditions were described in an email to the author from Karen Le Roy, Australia Council for the Arts (June 26th, 2016).

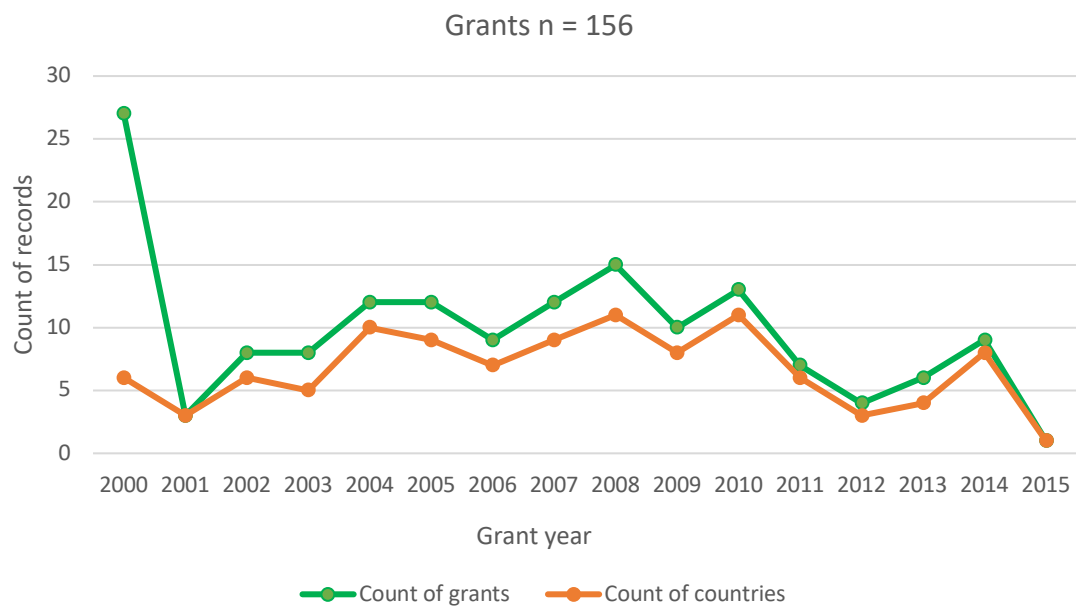
works by men to be more likely to achieve international access: the data in the grant set reveals institutional support plays a role in this higher level of access with 68 percent of authors and work in the set written by men. This gender disparity continues at the level of individual grants: 67 percent are awarded to works written by men. The national fields also show gender disparity: in 26 out of the 36 national fields where grants are awarded, works written by men are more visible. However, the grant set data does show that access changes over time, with a small increase in the number of grants to women authors, as figure 69 demonstrates.

Figure 69. Frequency of translation grants by gender



In contrast, publishers from increasingly diverse fields receive funding, compared to the beginning of the period (figure 70).

Figure 70. Frequency of translation grants by number of countries



However, the trends evident in both figures 69 and 70 reveal a reduction in grants for novels over the period. A change in funding in 2015 explains the reduction in that year: while grants in other categories (children's, poetry, graphic novels and non-fiction) potentially explain the overall decline. Regardless, there is a marked decline in funding for novels. With the exception of 2000, the grant pattern reflects the activity pattern of the transaction set itself—strong growth trend until 2008 and subsequent fluctuation—but at the end of the period, instead of an upward swing, there is a continuing decline.

Grants and the transaction set: A privileged few

Comparing the grant and transaction set edition data shows just 3 percent of the editions in the transaction set received translation grants (68 editions), across 6 percent of works in the set (43 works). In comparison, analysis of the Dutch field finds that support to be associated with between a third and over a half of works translated, depending on the field (Heilbron and van Es 2015, 304). Unsurprisingly, of the works awarded translation grants in the transaction set, a very high number (88 percent) are associated with works this study categorises as literary. Eight of the works awarded grants only enter the international licensing field once: presumably as a result of this grant.

Of the 56 national fields in the transaction data set, grants are associated with access to 22 of these fields. Not one of these national fields is solely accessed as a result of a translation grant, although one of the most peripheral—Armenia—has only two transactions, one the result of a grant: Richard Flanagan’s *Gould’s Book of Fish* (2001).²⁵

What comparing the grant and transaction data sets mostly reveals is the way in which this form of government support has benefitted certain works, authors and publishers—international and Australian—over the period, a lack of association between grants and peripheral fields, and a high association between grants and works that have already achieved access to the international licensing field. For instance, Sophie Laguna’s *One Foot Wrong* (2008)—which has entered ten international fields—is shown to have received a grant to enter just one: the German field, a field the analysis has shown is least likely to need additional capital. *The Slap*, which has entered 29 international fields, is shown to have received a grant to enter the French field (along with the Slovenian, Russian and Brazilian fields). Flanagan’s *Gould’s Book of Fish*—which enters 21 fields—along with five other grants, receives a grant to enter the Italian field. One of the three grants for Tim Winton’s *Dirt Music* (2001), too, is to enter the Italian field (the other two are Bulgaria and the Czech Republic). One of the three grants for Peter Carey’s *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000) is to enter the Spanish national field (the other two are Bulgaria and India). In this sense, grants can be seen to have enabled these players to gain global access over the period; consequently, this form of capital can be seen to have contributed to the increase in access for the Australian field more widely.

Culturally supported economic capital: a discriminatory path to access

Examining the grant data set against the transaction data set demonstrates that grants, which can be seen to reflect government support, largely support works in the literary category, particularly those in central and economically core fields. Between 2000—2015, this support has tended to benefit novels written by men: this, in turn, means this ‘route to international access’ can be seen as one of government support that favours works by men. However, this direct support has had little impact on overall access for the contemporary field suggesting that grants as an access route may have decreased in

²⁵ The other is Marcella Polain’s *The Edge of the World* (2007).

importance since Wilson's analysis, and as the Australian field has become more commercial. The difference between the limited support received by works in the Australian field and the high level of support for Dutch works suggests the Australian field benefits from the nation's hyper-central (if dominated) position in the book translation world-system, as a 'gateway' translation language is not required to achieve wider international access. This may explain the access to peripheral fields that might be expected to require the combination of capital conferred (cultural and economic) by a grant. The lack of association between direct government support and access also suggests the benefit of the Australian field's increasingly commercial focus. If the analysis of this data set does not show an involvement in increasing access for the field generally, it does demonstrate the role repeated grants play in enabling individual works to achieve wider global access over the period.

7.1.3 Cultural capital: An unequal path to access

In the transaction data set, the percentage of editions associated with institutional consecration in the form of an award is 26 percent for prizes and just 3 percent for a grant: overall, it is relatively low. Moreover, as the comparative analysis by year shows, at least a quarter of editions associated with prizes do not achieve access through the cultural capital associated with winning the prize, as they enter it before the prize is awarded. Overall, prizes are important for novels in the literary category and in translation fields, but grants themselves do not appear to generate additional cultural capital with value on the international field. What the data suggest is that in regard to awards, the level of cultural capital associated with institutional consecration is related on the international licensing field. Moreover, the level of consecration—and therefore the cultural capital endowed on a work through this consecration—varies according to work or prize category, with literary works and institutional prizes benefitting the most from this form of capital: that is to say, authors who are men.

7.2 Buying access: The limited value of market consecration

If less than a fifth of works that access the international licensing field are associated with awards (prizes and grants), and most of these are literary works, it suggests that another type of capital is involved in providing individual Australian works in each category with the capital necessary to enter the international licensing field. Along with institutional

consecration, anecdotally, domestic sales have been associated with increased international access.

To investigate the influence of market consecration, this study draws on another data set, this time the annual domestic bestseller listings between 2000–2015, produced by combining the Australian Publishers Association’s list of bestsellers for 2000–2003, and BookScan bestsellers from 2004 onwards, as published in *B + P*. Exploring the differences and commonalities between the bestseller list developed for this study and the transaction set reveals the way in which, as with prizes, the relationship between economic capital and access is not clear-cut, and is also strongly associated with category and field, suggesting a relationship with relative positions within the world-system. As with prizes and grants—and access itself—this analysis of the data reveals some marked disparities between the genders when it comes to domestic market consecration.

7.2.1 Reading the national bestseller lists: A commercial story

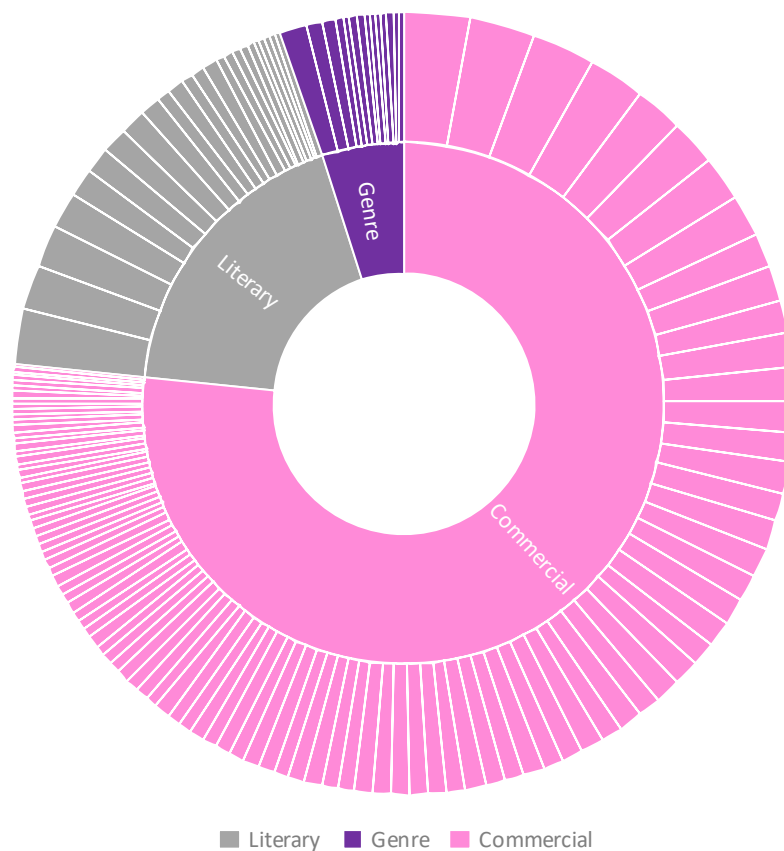
Due to the set’s construction criteria (the ten bestselling Australian novels annually), the bestseller data set is small, in terms of works (and editions), authors and publishers. Unlike the grant set which is also small, this set has more works but fewer authors and publishers: 138 individual works (179 editions, including different formats of the same work), but only 44 authors, 15 publishers and 28 publisher imprints. The only large number is the sales: 11,700,000 million copies.

This study categorises works in the transaction list by literary, commercial and genre, and the prize list by institutional, industry and association; however, the bestseller list is categorised by the level of annual copy sales. Visually and statistically analysing the data using a parento chart shows the sales figures fall into several descending levels. For clarity, the study categorises them into five levels: exceptions (250,000 +), bestsellers (200,000 +), strong sellers (100,000 +), good sellers (50,000 +), and healthy sellers (under 50,000+).

Structurally, however, the bestseller data follow the same ‘exceptions ... and the rest’ pattern as the transaction set data. Only five works fall into the ‘exception’ category, selling over a quarter of a million copies and four of these are by Bryce Courtenay; the other is Tim Winton’s *Dirt Music* (across four formats). Four works fall into the ‘bestseller’ category of 200,000 and 250,000 copies sold. However, 33 works are strong sellers, with

copy sales of between 100,000 and 200,000 over the period; 40 are good sellers, with between 50,000 and 100,000; and 48 are healthy sellers, with under 50,000 copies sold. In figure 71, over three quarters of the works are associated with the commercial category; the successively smaller 'slices' of the chart also reveal that within the three categories there is an 'exceptions ... and the rest' distribution pattern.

Figure 71. Annual bestseller list proportioned by category and work



Note: Works n = 141

Along with this category imbalance at a work level, a similar disparity can be observed in relation to gender distribution: 28 percent of the works in the set are written by men while 72 percent are written by women. Copy sales also present a picture of disparity, only with the genders reversed: 7,107,000 copies are works by men with just 4,593,000 works by women. Given the scale (millions), the revenue generated (many millions), and the consecration associated, this disparity represents a significant gender imbalance in domestic market consecration levels.

Of the 43 works that have sold over 100,000 copies, 11 are written by women while 32 are written by men. As with the prize set, large publishers dominate: at a copy sale and work level. Three publishing houses—Pan Macmillan, Penguin and HarperCollins—are responsible for 71 percent of the works, but Pan Macmillan and Penguin alone are responsible for 69 percent of the copy sales. Random House, Allen & Unwin, HarperCollins and Text make up 22 percent. Nine companies comprise the remaining 9 percent, a list which includes two British divisions of multinational companies, responsible for bestselling works by Australian authors: Colleen McCullough's *The Touch* (2003) and *Morgan's Run* (2000) and Nikki Gemmell's ('Anonymous') *The Bride Stripped Bare* (2003). As these works have no Australian publisher, this study does not consider these works to be part of the Australian publishing field. Instead, like Patrick White at the time of his Nobel win, these works can be seen as part of the UK's domestic production field, and the UK export field, hence they belong to the Australian distribution field, a field in which the income from copy sales, as discussed in the previous chapter, is roughly half that of the domestic sales field. By choosing to be published from the United Kingdom—and by the twenty-first century, it is a choice—Australian authors are likely to be at a considerable financial disadvantage if the work is successful in Australia. (Although potentially, success in the UK will influence Australian success.)

7.2.2 Bestsellers and international access

It is self-evident that Australian authors who publish on the Australian field, and are successful, benefit financially from sales income. Combining the bestseller data with the transaction data provides a way to measure the extent to which these authors benefit from the economic capital Australian market success—consecration—confers on a work and how this is valued in the global marketspace and, subsequently, the international licensing field: in other words, its association with access.

As with the prize set, the analysis reveals differences between the data in the bestseller list and the transaction data at a work level, but there are some commonalities which suggests economic capital generated on the Australian field does carry some value internationally. However, while 59 percent of the works in the bestseller set do appear in the transaction set, these works represent just 7 percent of the total number of works in the transaction set, a much smaller percentage than the award set, which is close to a quarter. At an

edition level, 22 percent of editions in the transaction set are associated with a bestseller from the Australian field (lower than the prize set association of 31 percent).

If the analysis of the data does suggest the economic capital generated on the Australia field has some value, the difference between the work and edition percentages also suggests—as with the prize set—that for those works that do appear on both sets, economic capital can be deployed to increase international access, but the structural differences at a work level between the two sets demonstrate that economic capital alone, no matter how much, does not ensure access.

Table 6 demonstrates the relationship between the ‘top’ end of the two fields by comparing the two sets by activity levels, ranking the works from one to 20 (the bestseller list, by aggregated copy sales over the period), the works the sets have in common by sales levels; and the works on the transaction set by extent of international access. (Works in common to all three data sets are presented in bold.) This approach demonstrates the actual difference between those Australian works that are most successful in the domestic sales field during the period according to the bestseller list data, and those Australian works that are most successful on the international licensing field, according to the transaction set data. The data show that not only do some bestselling novels on the Australian field not enter the international licensing field, but for those that do enter the field there is no obvious relationship between domestic bestseller status and wide global access.

Table 6. Activity rankings, bestseller and transaction sets

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Top 20 works from the bestseller list</i>	<i>Copies sold</i>	<i>Top 20 of works common to both lists</i>	<i>Count of editions</i>	<i>Top 20 works from the transaction list</i>	<i>Count of editions</i>
1	<i>Four Fires</i>	305,000	<i>The Forgotten Garden</i>	44	<i>The Shifting Fog</i>	48
2	<i>Dirt Music</i>	295,000	<i>The Rosie Project</i>	40	<i>The Forgotten Garden</i>	44
3	<i>Matthew Flinders' Cat</i>	245,000	<i>The Distant Hours</i>	34	<i>The Rosie Project</i>	40
4	<i>The Slap</i>	238,000	<i>True History of the Kelly Gang</i>	30	<i>Slow Man</i>	36
5	<i>Whitethorn</i>	235,000	<i>The Secret Keeper</i>	30	<i>The Distant Hours</i>	34
6	<i>The Narrow Road to the Deep North</i>	227,000	<i>The Slap</i>	29	<i>True History of the Kelly Gang</i>	30
7	<i>Breath</i>	188,000	<i>The Broken Shore</i>	26	<i>The Secret Keeper</i>	30
8	<i>Seven Ancient Wonders</i>	182,000	<i>Shantaram</i>	25	<i>The Slap</i>	29
9	<i>The Persimmon Tree</i>	180,000	<i>People of the Book</i>	23	<i>Elizabeth Costello</i>	29
10	<i>Sylvia</i>	175,000	<i>Gould's Book of Fish</i>	21	<i>Summertime</i>	27
11	<i>The Five Greatest Warriors</i>	166,000	<i>The Lake House</i>	19	<i>The Broken Shore</i>	26
12	<i>The Rosie Project</i>	161,000	<i>The Secret River</i>	17	<i>Diary of a Bad Year</i>	26
13	<i>Area 7</i>	155,000	<i>Jasper Jones</i>	15	<i>Shantaram</i>	25
14	<i>Those Faraday Girls</i>	145,000	<i>My Life as a Fake</i>	15	<i>People of the Book</i>	23
15	<i>All That I Am</i>	143,000	<i>Dirt Music</i>	14	<i>The Magicians' Guild</i>	21
16	<i>True History of the Kelly Gang</i>	140,000	<i>Breath</i>	14	<i>Gould's Book of Fish</i>	21
17	<i>The Husband's Secret</i>	137,000	<i>Destined to Play</i>	13	<i>White Gardenia</i>	20
18	<i>The Tournament</i>	133,000	<i>Truth</i>	13	<i>Theft</i>	20
19	<i>Smoky Joe's Café</i>	100,000	<i>Wild Lavender</i>	12	<i>The Childhood of Jesus</i>	20
20	<i>Jasper Jones</i>	96,000	<i>The Unknown Terrorist</i>	11	<i>The Lake House</i>	19

Comparing the twenty bestselling works of the period against the twenty works with the most international activity over the period—that are also bestsellers—with those works with the most international activity overall (regardless of domestic sales) demonstrates that the shape of the two fields is very different, with different works being successful domestically and internationally. Regardless of potential data limitations, the difference is so marked as to suggest two distinct field logics. It does not entirely support Casanova's contention that the home field tends to have a commercial logic while the international licensing field has a literary one (Casanova 2004, 109), but it does suggest that in order to understand access, taking into account a difference logic is important.

As with the transaction set itself, the prize set and the grant set, there are certain works and authors who dominate. This domination does need to be taken into consideration when interpreting this data. As table 6 shows, the bestseller set is dominated by Bryce Courtenay: Courtenay's works comprise 14 percent of all copy sales. However, despite seven of the nine works on the bestseller list with sales of over 200,000 copies being written by Courtenay, only three of these works have entered the international licensing field (as constructed by the data in this study)—*Four Fires* (2001), *Matthew Flinders' Cat* (2002), and *Whitehorn* (2005)—and none are recorded as entering the translation field. Courtenay is one of the authors in the transaction set for whom the activity data can be assumed to be accurate as it was supplied by the publisher apparently responsible for licensing these novels. The lack of wide international access for Courtenay's works suggests that domestic market consecration alone, and the economic capital conferred by a quarter of a million copies, combined with the national capital conferred by the Australian field is sufficient to gain entry into the English language field: however, it is not sufficient to gain access to the translation field, at least for works that fall into the commercial category.

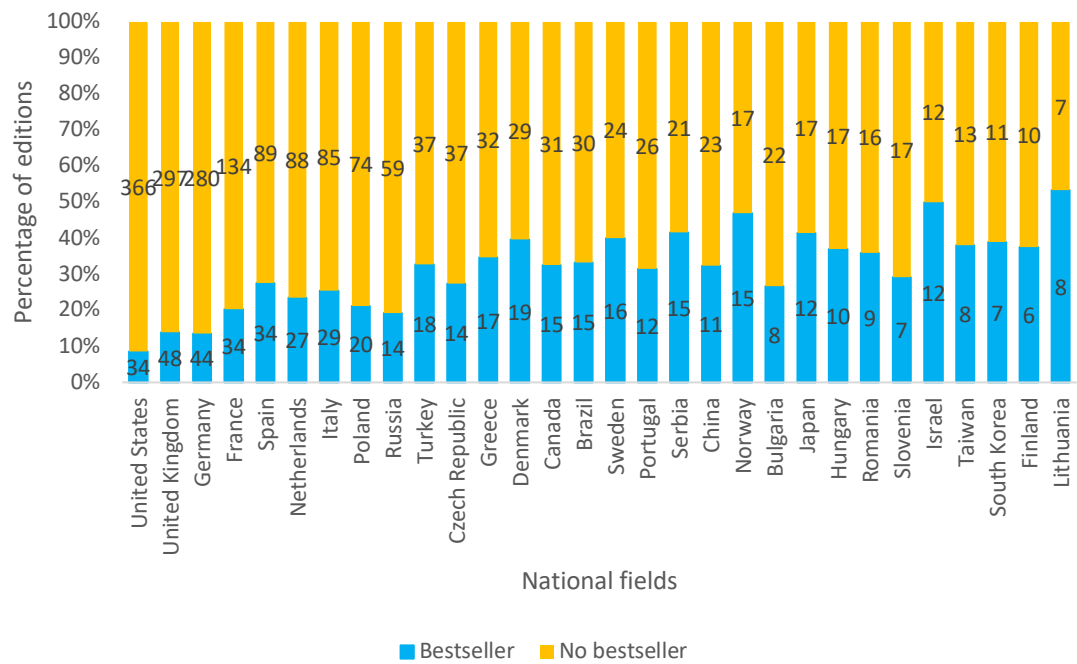
The difference between the overall shape of the two sets and the individual works suggest economic capital produced in the Australian marketplace has limited value in the international licensing field overall—and not just in relation to works by Courtenay, but more generally—but that value differs across the multiple sub-fields that comprise the international licensing field.

7.2.3 Fields and sales: A selective approach

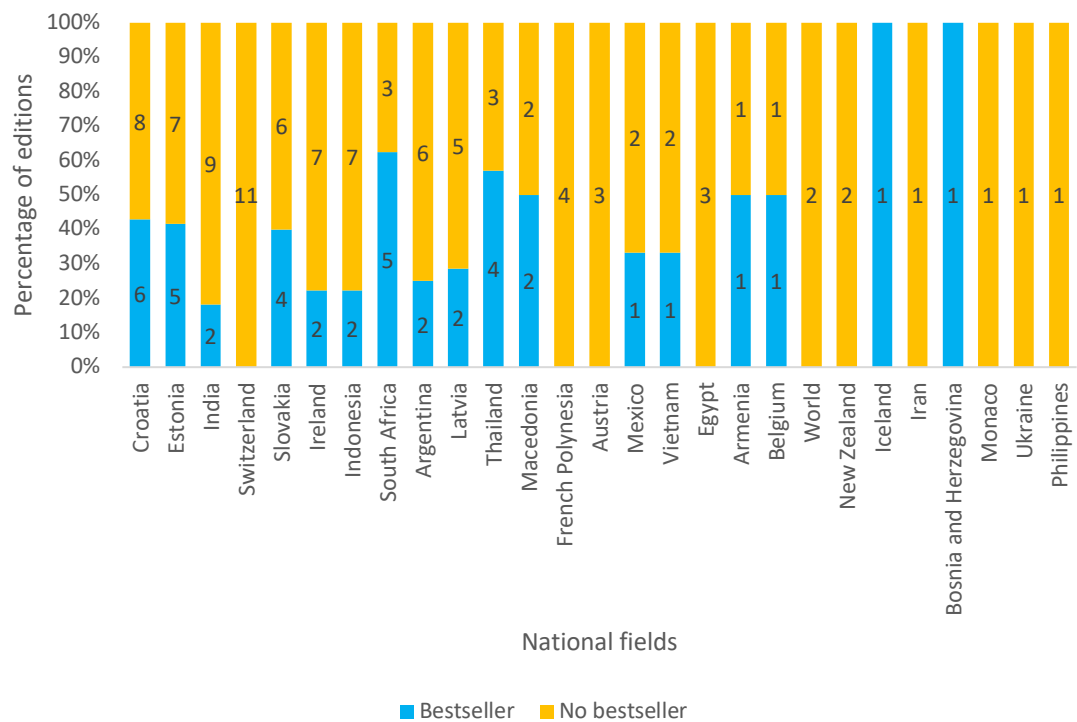
Just as comparing access by linguistic and national fields with a focus on prizes shows distinct differences, so too does examining it in relation to bestseller listings. The ratio between field size and prizes reveals a difference in the value of cultural capital: this analysis shows that different fields value economic capital in different ways.

While 41 linguistic fields are associated with bestsellers, 47 national fields are associated with this area. The five linguistic and ten national fields that do not have an association with a bestseller are all either linguistically, culturally or economically peripheral (with the exclusion of 'world', which includes only two editions and has no status in the system). Separately and between them, these fields also have very few editions listed. Respectively, well under a tenth of editions are associated with an Australian bestseller, but it is peripheral fields with little access that tend to have the highest percentage of editions associated with bestsellers, as figure 72—which describes the relationships—demonstrates. By field, the data reveals a pattern slightly different to the larger pattern of access, and the prize data pattern. As with the prize data, however, the field sizes need to be taken into consideration when interpreting the meaning of this data, as the fields in the lower section have far fewer works.

Figure 72. Proportional association between bestselling works and editions



Note: Fields with between 51—400 editions



Note: Fields with fewer than 50 editions

The three largest fields—the US, the UK and Germany—all have similarly low ratios, under 15 percent, more closely reflecting the award-winning percentage. This also reflects their position within the multiple world-systems—hyper-central, central and core—fields which require less capital from external fields. Ireland—linguistically hyper-central but sub-dominant, economically semi-peripheral but culturally central—has just over a fifth of editions associated with Australian bestsellers. Canada—a field with the same world-system position as Australia, and more associated with access than Ireland—shows a different pattern to the dominant hyper-central national fields, the US and the UK, but the same as Ireland: just over a fifth of editions associated with bestsellers (lower than prizes). The French field, the fourth most highly accessed over the period by Australian works in the transaction set, has a similar proportion. Other linguistically central European fields have a higher rate of editions that are also national bestsellers (as they do with editions that have been awarded prizes): Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, Russia and Poland all have between 20 percent and 30 percent of editions associated with works that have been bestsellers on the Australian field. More peripheral fields, too, have higher numbers: for example, Israel has just under a third of editions associated with a bestselling Australian work, for example. Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Iceland, have just one edition and it is associated with a bestselling work, not a prize-winning work. This suggests the capital associated with this form of access is not just national or cultural, and that economic capital is of value. (Macedonia, Belgium and Thailand, in contrast, have editions only associated with prizes and bestseller listings.)

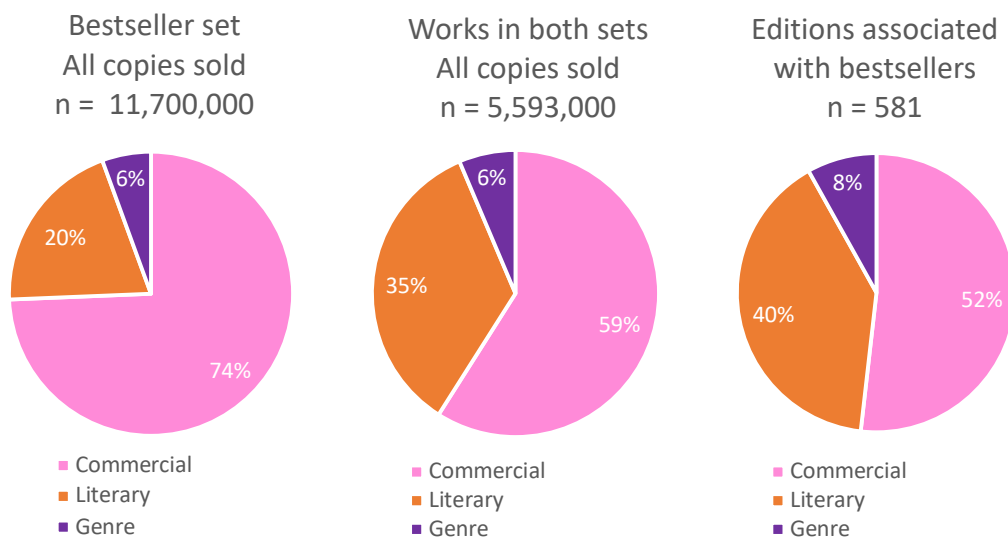
This structure seems to reflect, as with literary and cultural capital, a relationship between access, capital type, and position in the world-system, with economic capital more associated with access for semi-peripheral and peripheral national fields, be that economically or culturally. The central fields appear to need less economic capital, which largely reflects the pattern found with prizes in the previous section, suggesting that for these fields, this form of capital may also play a small part in ensuring access.

7.2.4 Category and sales: The value of commerce

Analysis of the transaction set and prize set by category reveals substantial differences in levels of access at a work level. In addition, there are significant differences in access for those bestselling works that also appear on the transaction set.

Commercial works account for 74 percent of sales domestically across the period under investigation in the study, while literary works account for just 20 percent. Figure 73 demonstrates that for bestselling works that enter the international licensing field, the proportions alter dramatically.

Figure 73. Bestseller set activity by category



The category proportions in the pie charts in figure 73 suggest the economic capital associated with the commercial category might be limited; the proportions also make very clear the relative invisibility of genre works across all sets. The genre set itself is dominated by Peter Temple's *The Broken Shore* (2005) which has 25 editions; this novel also has significant holdings of cultural capital (with three prizes). Figure 73 suggests there is a relationship between bestseller status and international access, particularly for works in the literary category. These works only comprise a fifth of the works on the domestic bestseller list, and just over a third of the copies sold for works on the transaction set, but these works account for 40 percent of the editions associated with bestsellers. The data suggests these 'gains' in proportion are at the expense of the commercial category, not the genre category, which to a far lesser extent increases its share in the international licensing field. In other words, combining category analysis with bestseller list analysis suggests that it is a combination of capital that is leading to access, not economic forms alone.

7.2.5 Bestseller status and awards: An apparently winning access strategy

In contrast to Bryce Courtenay's works, the other two works with over 200,000 copies—'bestsellers'—are in the transaction set as well as the prize set: both achieved wide access. Tim Winton's *Dirt Music* published in 2001 by Pan Macmillan in Australia (295,000 copies sold across four editions, with 80,000 in hardback), has at least 14 international editions, measured by publications, while Christos Tsiolkas' *The Slap*, published in 2008 by Allen & Unwin, definitely has 29 international editions, measured by licenses.

More widely, analysis of the data relating to the correspondence between bestseller status and prizes, shows that just over a third of works have both: two of these works are genre, five are commercial, and the rest are literary. These proportions increase when the number of international editions is taken into account. Of those editions associated with either a bestseller or a prize, just over half are associated with both forms of consecration. Works that are domestic bestsellers and have prizes are more likely to be associated with extensive international access. In the case of commercial prizes, it is likely works are awarded because they are bestsellers, and the list seems to confirm this: four of the five bestsellers with industry awards have over 30 international editions—Kate Morton's *The Forgotten Garden* (2008) and *The Distant Hours* (2010), *The Secret Keeper* (2012), Graeme Simsion's *The Rosie Project* (2013)—while just one—Monica McInernay's *Those Faraday Girls* (2007)—has only two editions. The two novels in the genre category—Peter Temple's *The Broken Shore* (2005) and *Truth* (2009)—both have over ten editions, and just two of the thirteen novels in the literary category that appear in the bestseller list—Anna Funder's *All That I Am* (2011) and Richard Flanagan's *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2013)—have less than five editions listed in the transaction set: all the others have between nine and thirty editions. These figures suggest the combination of economic and cultural capital is essential to ensuring wide access signified by multiple licenses.

7.2.6 Bestseller timeline: Association and correlation

The association of bestseller status and access does not mean the high sales themselves and the economic capital associated contributes to the level of capital that enables a work to enter the international licensing field: as the analysis of the prize set demonstrated, closer examination of the data is necessary to establish a potential connection. The prize and transaction set analysis shows that for at least a quarter of the works the capital

associated with a prize does not appear to have influenced access. Comparing the deal, license and publication years in the transaction set with the year an edition of an associated work appears on the domestic bestseller lists reveals a similar pattern in relation to economic capital.

Figure 74. Relationship between bestseller status and deal, license and publication year



As with the prize set analysis, the important proportion in figure 74 is those works with deals announced, licenses executed or international editions published prior to the work becoming an Australian bestseller, as it provides strong evidence that the capital associated with a bestseller listing did not influence access (the bestseller listing is April—May so it cannot be called firm evidence). This data reveals that half of the deals happened in the year before the bestseller listing. Meanwhile, the license and publication dates have a lower number: just three editions are associated with license years and one with publication year. However, of the licenses, 47 percent are more likely to have been licensed in the year prior. The publication year has a smaller likelihood, at 29 percent. The proportions suggest a high level of domestic market consecration does have international value—but as with making an association between a prize and cultural capital, it might not be the economic capital that earns a bestselling work international access in the first instance.

7.2.7 Economic capital: An unreliable path to access

That economic capital may not assure entry into the international licensing field, no matter how high the level of capital suggests the international licensing field has a different logic to the domestic field, or, to put it another way: consecration has a different value. While the licensing field is constructed in a different way to Casanova's world literary space (with all categories relatively evenly distributed) the model seems to support Casanova's argument that the national and international spaces are differently structured.

Overall, market consecration, as represented by inclusion in the top ten of an annual Australian bestseller list, is associated with—but does not ensure—access. Moreover, this association varies by category and territory. As with prize influence, market consecration is not as influential as it might appear after a work has become a domestic bestseller (or an international bestseller, for which access to at least one field is generally necessary). Moreover, in this set, prizes are more strongly associated with granting capital of international value than a bestseller listing, but the smaller the field, the more important either form of capital becomes. There is also a strong relationship between access, prizes and sales. What this suggests is that both cultural and economic capital are important for international access, and the more peripheral the field, the more important the combination appears to become.

7.3 Dealing access: The high value of industry consecration

While cultural and economic capital are important for some works, the majority of works in the transaction set that enter the international licensing field appear to rely on neither the cultural capital associated with institutional consecration (as measured by the awards data set) nor economic capital associated with domestic market consecration (as measured by the bestseller data set). This suggests the third consecrating body this study investigates may play a role in enabling Australian works to access the international licensing field: this third player is the international publishing industry. As Bourdieu proposes, publication constitutes consecration (Bourdieu 2008, 123).

If Australia's position in the world-system is simultaneously linguistically hyper-central but culturally peripheral, as well as economically core, it follows that this form of field consecration—industry—will play a different role than it would for works originating in other national fields. The international licensing field itself represents an important measurable form of consecration—through the exchanges themselves—and thus value. This study uses the concept of intellectual capital to measure this value, a form Thompson has described as 'vital to their [publishers'] success' (Thompson 2010, 7). In Thompson's concept, intellectual capital differs from other forms of capital in that it is a signifier of cultural capital when it is held but when deployed it can also become economic capital. In this study, the term 'intellectual capital' has a particular benefit: it distinguishes value on the international licensing field from value on the distribution fields where the capital can be seen to be associated with institutional and market reception: in other words, cultural and economic capital.

Analysing this data by linguistic field demonstrates that international transactions per se do lead to more international transactions. Moreover, this would imply that all fields, licensors and categories operate in the same way: however, the data analysis in this study shows this is not the case. This assumption denies the complexity of the international trade in publishing rights. After all, an international rights transaction is not simply a 'deal' in the way that a domestic 'deal' is a 'deal'. An international rights transaction sits within a wider global context. At a fundamental level it involves a language, a location and a party willing to acquire rights. In this sense, the real question is: What relationship does one deal have to another deal? Unlike investigating the role of prizes and sales in influencing

access, this form of influence relates only to the international licensing field. In this sense, it is an extremely complex question.

This study addresses this question by measuring the transactions and attributes of those transactions, then analysing the results in two ways: by connection and over time. The first method involves reviewing the relationships between transactions; the second, analysing influence by identifying the order of transactions. In conjunction with the transaction data, the data used to establish the role of institutional and market consecration provides a basis from which to measure the value of international transactions themselves and demonstrate the increasingly important role intellectual capital plays in field access.

7.3.1 A connective (re) reading of the national transaction data

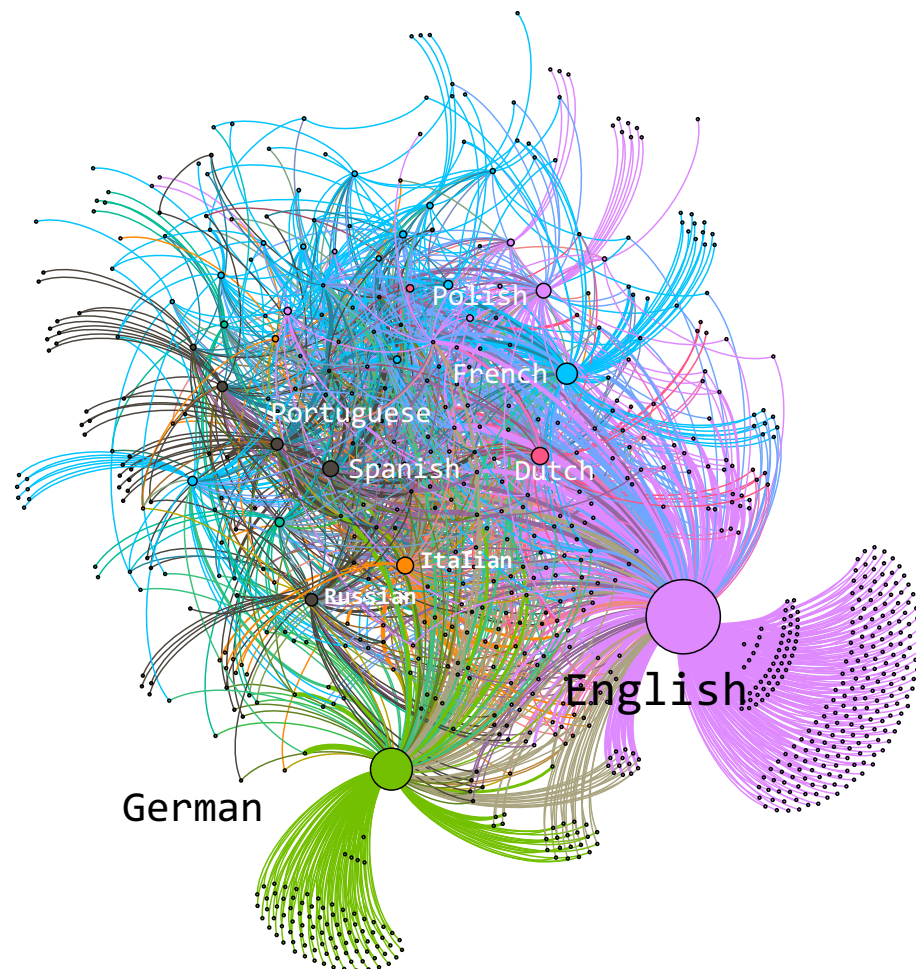
Casanova argues that core cities act as consecrating bodies, Paris, mostly, in the nineteenth-century but even now she argues that the city continues its pivotal role due to its high level of cultural exchange with multiple other national literary spaces (Casanova 2004, 119). London and New York, she acknowledges, are also important. The former ‘continues to confer real literary legitimacy upon writers from Commonwealth nations’ (Casanova 2004, 118); the latter is the ‘unchallenged publishing capital of the world in financial terms, still it cannot be said to have become a center of consecration whose legitimacy is universally recognized’ (Casanova 2004, 119), unlike Paris.

Licensors, too, subscribe to the concept of field consecration (national, if not city-based) when they license English-language rights in core fields first, followed by translation fields, a strategy identified by HarperCollins Publishing Director Shona Martyn early in the period under review, when she is reported to have noticed ‘an emerging pattern was to sell English-language titles in the week before the fair and then secure good deals in Europe’ (Shiells 2000a, 11). This statement also illustrates a focus on core translation fields: European fields. Licensors might not describe this approach as seeking ‘consecration’, but this access strategy stems from the belief that intellectual capital is conferred by a grant of access to core (and dominant) fields, and that this capital can subsequently be deployed to gain wider international access. (This strategy is different to deploying accumulated economic and cultural capital to gain wider access.)

This same concept of field-based consecration is evident in the academic commentary which draws on cultural world-systems analysis to position the English language as a ‘gateway’ language to the wider field for works from peripheral languages, and to a lesser extent, other central languages. As Heilbron proposes, ‘the more central a language is in the translation system, the more it has the capacity to function as an intermediary or *vehicular language*’ (Heilbron 2000, 16). The industry also acknowledge the role of German, as evident in the *Publishing Perspectives White Paper* (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 13). While *A Practical Guide to Publishing in Japan 2014-2015* provides a practical rationale for English as a ‘gateway’, advising those looking to trade rights that there are ‘only a handful of people in the Japanese publishing industry who can read and write one or more foreign languages other than English. Furthermore, there are few translators specializing in languages other than English’ (The Japan Foundation (JF) and Publishers’ Association for Cultural Exchange, Japan (PACE) n.d., 25).

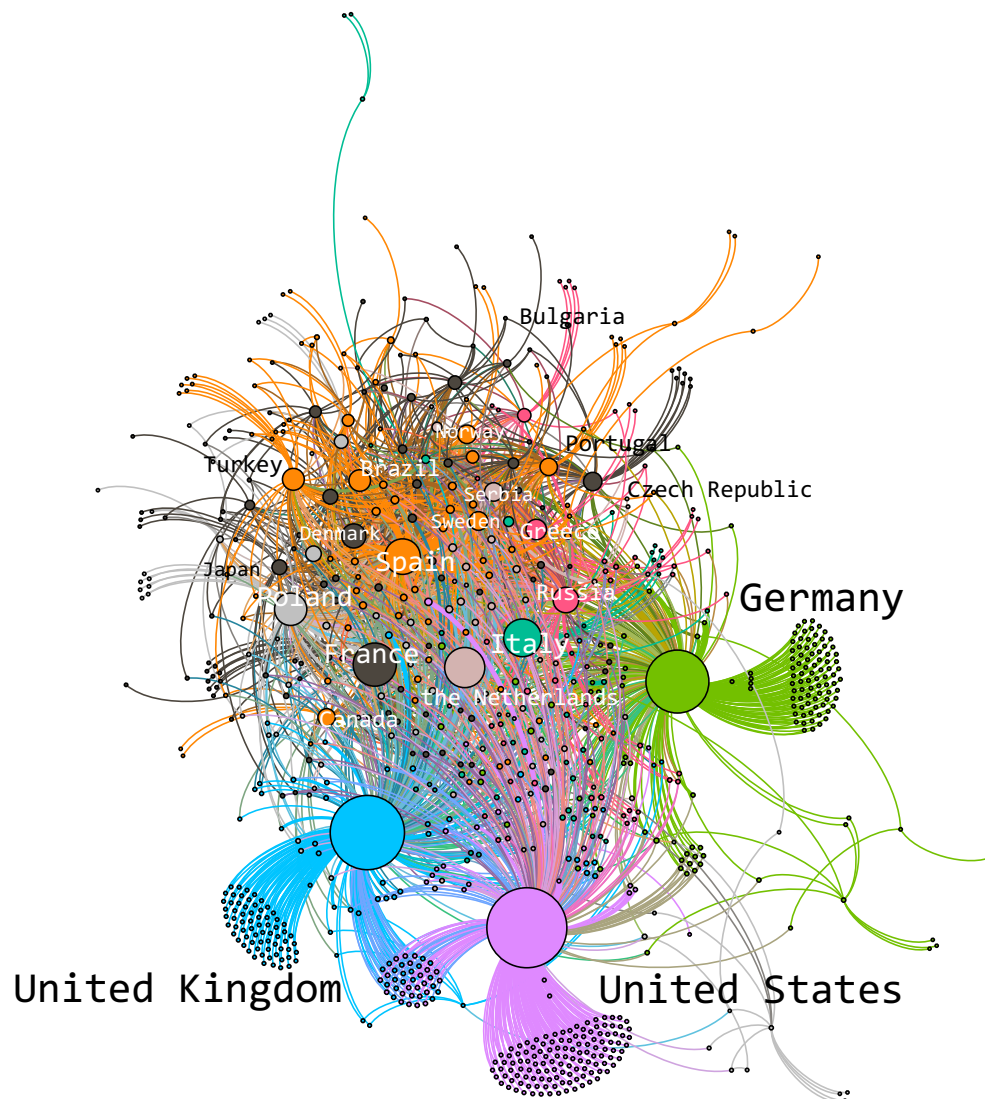
In the transaction set, just under half of the works (46 percent), enter the international licensing field only once, into a single linguistic and national field. An overwhelming number of these works enter one of two linguistic fields—the English-language and German fields—and one of three national fields: the United States, followed by the United Kingdom and Germany (with fractionally more in Germany). The comparatively large number of works that fall into this category suggest that a transaction (as with a grant) may not lead to another transaction. Whether international transactions in the plural may mean more transactions is a different question. Figures 75 and 76, constructed by connecting work data with linguistic and national field access data, suggest the international licensing field is, effectively, an extensive web of connections. This shows there is certainly a relationship between specific linguistic and national fields and access.

Figure 75. Linguistic field connections by work



Note: Editions n = 2599. Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas algorithm.
Sized by connections, positioned shared connections, coloured by communities.
Only key fields named.

Figure 76. National field connections by work



Note: Editions n = 2599. Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas algorithm.
Sized by connections, positioned shared connections, coloured by communities.
Selected fields named.

These network graphs—spatial maps—show that the English language dominates the deal data, with four English-language national fields accounting for just over a quarter of all editions (28 percent); two of these, the US and the UK comprise most of this field (95 percent). However, of those works that enter only two fields, 16 percent enter English-language fields, and 54 percent, just one English-language field—but 46 percent do not enter an English-language field at all. In itself, the transaction data suggest that the value of core-field English-language consecration (US and UK; New York and London) in providing access to the licensing field may be limited, at least for the Australian field, in contrast to the commentary. Given the weight attached to these fields by industry (in focus), government (in policy-making), and scholars (in attention), the relationship between English-language access and international access is an important area to investigate.

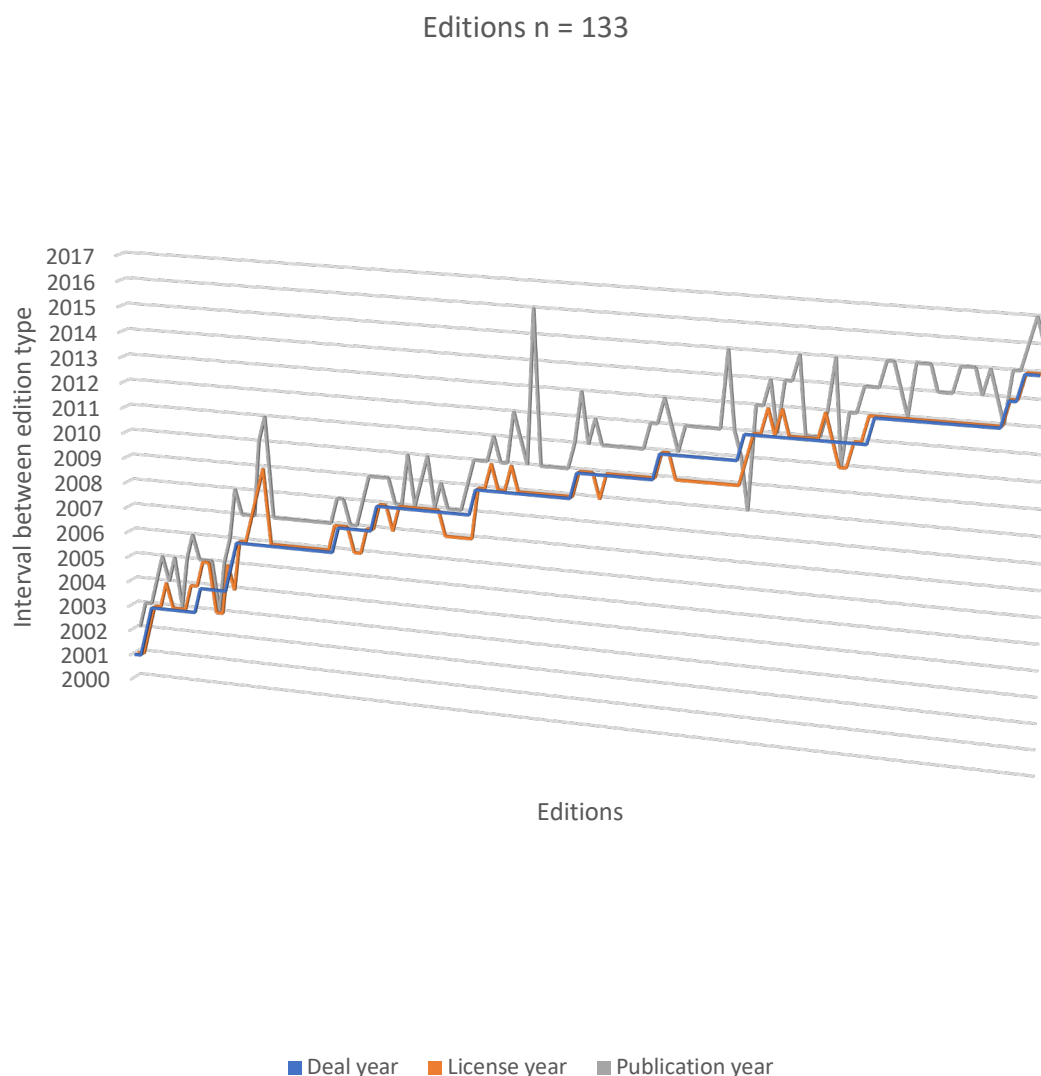
7.3.2 A temporal reading of the transaction data

A timeline helps establish the influence of industry consecration but using this approach is not straightforward. The announcement date of a deal will reflect licensor and licensee workloads, negotiation times and even company policy while license terms might be agreed upon in days and licenses executed swiftly, or alternatively this process may take some months. The publication year will reflect the negotiation and license existing periods, translation and re-editing periods and field publication strategies, so publication may happen swiftly, potentially before—or years after—the original Australian publication.

The differences in these delays are evident in the data relating to the 134 works in the transaction set with deal, license and publication dates. (This figure is higher than the individual set correlations, as additional publication dates are included in the licensing set). About half of these transactions demonstrate a delay between license or deal and subsequent international publication of a year, regardless of the field involved, but a quarter of the set shows delays of two years; in addition, just under a tenth shows three or more years. A fraction were also published prior to the deal announcement being made. More generally, the records with all three dates present deal announcements and licenses in close proximity but the associated publications some time later. This pattern is demonstrated in figure 77, which describes the intervals between deal, license and

publication years for the editions with all three dates. The key feature is the difference between deal and license year, and publication year. (This data also suggests the temporal dimensions of the publishing process have not changed over the period.)

Figure 77. Intervals between deal, license and publication years



There are, however, significant differences between acquisitions by international field: this becomes visible by using the editions with deal or license dates. While only a small percentage of the set feature all three dates, nearly half of the editions have either a deal or license date (49 percent), while 14 percent have both. Deal dates are visible in 36 percent of the editions.

Of the works in the transaction set with deal months as well as years associated (153), 1 percent have 20 deals or more; 4 percent, between ten and nineteen; 5 percent between six and nine; 8 percent between four and five; 10 percent have three; 17 percent have two; and 55 percent have just one deal. These deals are associated with 720 editions. Using deal announcement dates as a measure, therefore, provides a substantial sample. By narrowing the focus onto access by deal and month, but simultaneously broadening it to consider work acquisition by national and linguistic field deal order, it is possible to assess the value of intellectual capital in different fields and, in this way, establish the value of international industry consecration for Australian works. This means there are enough works with multiple editions to establish the impact of the capital associated with linguistic and national field consecration: intellectual capital.

Deal order: Early access for core fields

Given the hyper-central position of the English language, it is useful to examine this data by considering the English language field as a single regional field, and the translation field as a set of individual fields. Using this approach, 55 percent of English language deals can be seen to be reported first or simultaneously with other deals; 30 percent, meanwhile, are reported in the second wave of announcements which suggests the capital granted by other English-language fields does not influence access for just under a third of the works. Only 15 percent of English-language deals are associated with third or fourth wave announcements.

Importantly, these announcements overwhelmingly concern the core English-language fields, the US and the UK: two fields considered to offer high levels of consecration. Only two Canadian deals are reported first, along with one South African and one deal in India. The relatively low rate of early access for these culturally peripheral English-language fields shows the dominance of the core English-language fields. The relatively early deal times (in terms of the process) in core English-language fields suggests the US and UK are more likely to acquire works early, seeming to support the earlier analysis that suggests these core English-language fields require less capital for entry (that is, the economic and cultural capital associated with sales or prizes, which generally happen post-publication and generally takes time). This timing may also reflect a perception of the strategic

importance of these core fields: they may have been targeted by licensors. However, the data does not provide a way to discover if this is the case.

On the translation field, 7 percent of the deals—just 45 deals—are announced prior to deals in any English-language field: the majority of these are German deals (nine), followed by French and Polish (six); Italy, the Czech Republic, Russia, Taiwan and Turkey follow. Previous analysis of the transaction set shows acquisition levels to be higher in central linguistic, dominant national fields; it is not just a pattern in the English-language field. If, as Casanova argues, the core (and dominant) translation fields also provide consecration, the primary translation fields (French and German) should be the linguistic fields more strongly associated with early acquisition in this data set: however, this is only partially the case. In the previous sections, the figures suggest that access to translation fields requires more capital than access to the English-language fields for Australian originated works: analysis of the deal timeline suggests access is not as heavily influenced by the capital associated with English language core-field for dominant central translation fields as it is as for the more peripheral fields.

An analysis of access to the (economically) core Asian fields—South Korea, China and Japan—shows a different pattern. Industry commentary suggests these fields value work from English-language fields. A survey of the Korean field as constituted in 2005, for example, reveals the ‘foreign bestsellers’ (for adults) are ‘mostly American’ (Sonne-Nijhoff 2007, 62). *BookMap* data for the end of the period shows the core Asian language fields to be economically strong publishing fields, based on market value: China comes after Germany and the United States, and is the third largest publishing field; Japan, after the United Kingdom, is fifth largest (Wisichenbart, Bueno, et al. 2017, 10). Yet the transaction data shows these linguistic fields to be accessed relatively infrequently by works originating in the Australian field. In the sub-set defined by deal dates, the case is the same. Combined with the relatively low rate of access to these particular fields overall, the very small number of first deals in core Asian language fields—or deals where the Asian field as the only sub-field of the international licensing field accessed—suggests that for Australian-originated works, the conditions of access to these fields might be different to those for works from the core English-language fields (the US and UK). To put it another

way, these fields appear to require higher levels of capital for Australian-originated novels than those from the US and the UK.

Deal order: Late access for peripheral fields

Analysing the Australian publication year, international deal and license year, and national field data elucidates the different access patterns of the English-language fields and the translation fields. This data show that the US and the UK's field access patterns are very similar, with 29 percent of deal announcements appearing before Australian publication, 27 percent in the same year, and 44 percent appearing in the year (or years) following the announcement.

Germany reflects the core English-language fields in size and acquisitions (both shared and independent) but in terms of acquisition timing reflects other core-nation translation fields. Along with the Netherlands, Spain, France, Turkey and Poland, Germany acquires between 10 and 18 percent of works in the year prior to Australian publication, and between 55–73 percent in the year after. It is, instead, the Italian field that tends to acquire works prior to Australian publication: with 23 percent of deals announced before the release date of the associated Australian edition and 49 percent announced the year following. This data suggests that the capital associated with deals—intellectual capital—may be more important on the Italian field than the capital associated with prizes and sales.

Six national fields have no deals announced 'before' the Australian publication year and all are peripheral (Argentina, Armenia, Estonia, French Polynesia, Macedonia and Vietnam). This suggests that these fields may require additional evidence-based capital for access: that is, additional levels of intellectual capital alone are not sufficient combined with Australia's relatively low national capital. However, the acquisition figures in all of these fields are too small to draw any strong conclusions. The pattern of access relating to license dates and Australian release dates is similar to that of deal dates, with the English-language core fields tending to acquire earlier and translation field publishers acquiring later. The pattern associated with publications, in contrast, has twelve national fields that acquire before the Australian edition has been released but of these, the United States, the

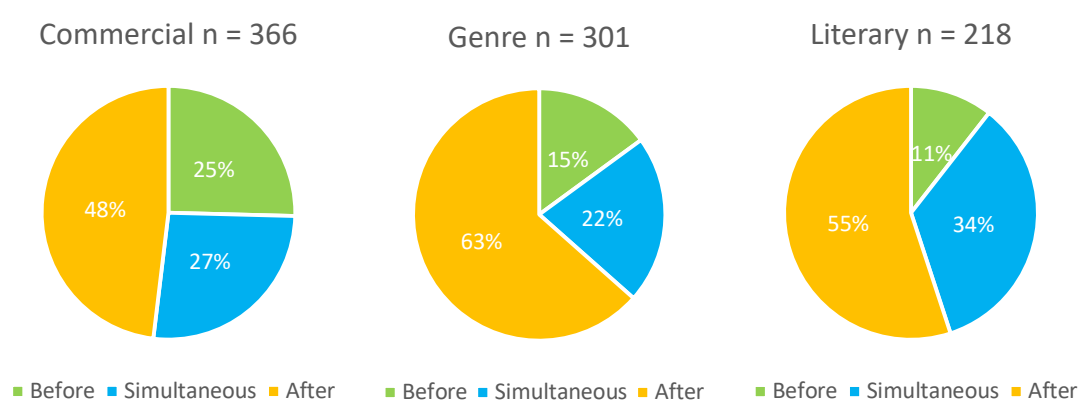
United Kingdom, Canada and Ireland (all English-language territories) account for 77 percent of the acquisitions within this group.

Overall, whether associated with deal and license order or year of publication, international English-language editions are, in general, more likely to be licensed earlier than editions in the translation field. This might suggest the dominance of this linguistic field or the dominance of this field in the transaction data set. It may also reflect the particular conditions of the English-language field, which as the analysis of access and national fields shows, appears to be limited by historic ties and, logically, geography.

Category and industry consecration: Commercial benefits

Isolating the different forms of consecrating capital makes it possible to discover what kind of additional capital might be deployed to gain access to peripheral fields. The previous analysis of linguistic and national fields demonstrates the relationship between transaction and category: examining transaction order reveals that on the licensing field there is a relationship between the influence of intellectual capital generally and category. This approach requires comparing the Australian edition publication year and international edition deal year (figure 78) and the Australian edition publication year and license year (figure 79).

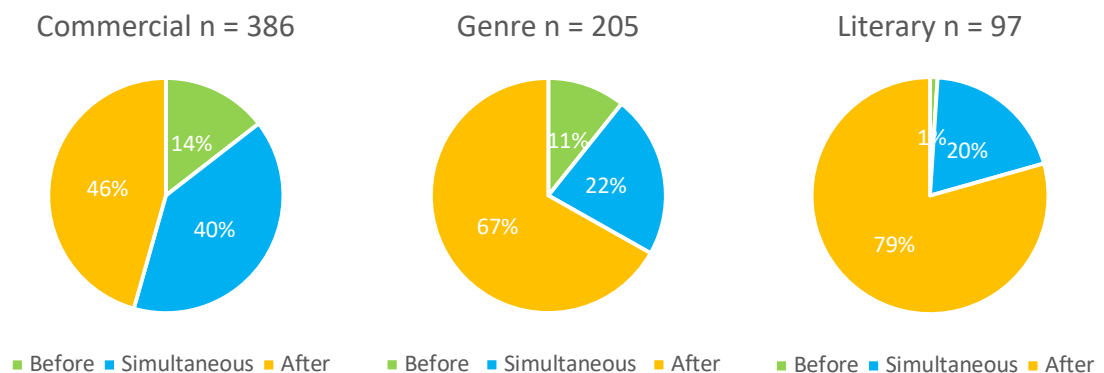
Figure 78. Comparison between Australian publication year, deal year and category



Note: Excludes uncategorised n = 31

The differences between the categories are significant, particularly in relation to deals announced prior to publication, with commercial works considerably more likely to be licensed prior compared to genre works, and far more likely than literary works, but deals for genre fiction overall are more likely to be announced the year after publication than either of the other two categories. Comparing the license year and Australian publication year reveals the same overall pattern in terms of all categories and ‘before’; the pattern varies for genre and literary works licensed in the year of publication, or afterwards.

Figure 79. Comparison between Australian publication year, license year and category



Note: Excludes uncategorised n = 41

The primary difference between the deal and license year composition is that literary works are much more likely to be licensed in the years following Australian publication than genre works. The most striking similarity is that over half of licenses for works categorised as commercial are, as with deals, in the year of, or before, publication; for genre works, this is a third (with deals just over this amount). For literary works, however, a fifth of licenses are in the same year (with few before) but for just under half of the deals. Overall, the differences between the category access timelines by Australian publication and international deal and license year suggest that the category of a work might well play a role as to the point at which a work accesses the international licensing field.

Analysis of the access timeline suggests that the cultural capital associated with awards might be even more important for literary fiction than the analysis in the first section of this chapter suggests, but conversely that economic capital earned on the domestic field

might be relatively less important for commercial fiction than the previous section suggests. To put it another way, it may be that intellectual capital (capital earned from offers of access to the international licensing field generally) might have a higher value on the international licensing field for commercial works than for genre and literary works. For works in the commercial category, access may be influenced by capital based on industry consecration, or as a property being considered 'hot' within the global marketplace. As Thompson proposes, one of the reasons literary scouts are used on the international licensing field is that 'Buzz generates more buzz' (Thompson 2010, 96): this 'buzz' creates competition, which can be seen to be driving access in the global marketplace.

Isolating influence: When industry consecration is the only form

Analysis of the institutional consecration data shows that access to peripheral fields can be related to prizes and financial support; analysis of the bestseller data, meanwhile that it can be related to sales. Assessing how a deal in one field might influence a deal in another with more precision means examining the data associated with works without other forms of consecration. (This is most of the set, as only 3 percent of editions have grants, while only 7 percent of editions have works that have appeared on an annual Australian bestseller lists associated and only 10 percent have prizes associated.) Moreover, prizes, grants and sales tend to follow after the Australian publication (unpublished manuscript awards, like the 'Vogel', are exceptions), so examining deals, licenses and international publication in relation to Australian publication dates reveals which editions achieved access prior to these potential confers of capital.

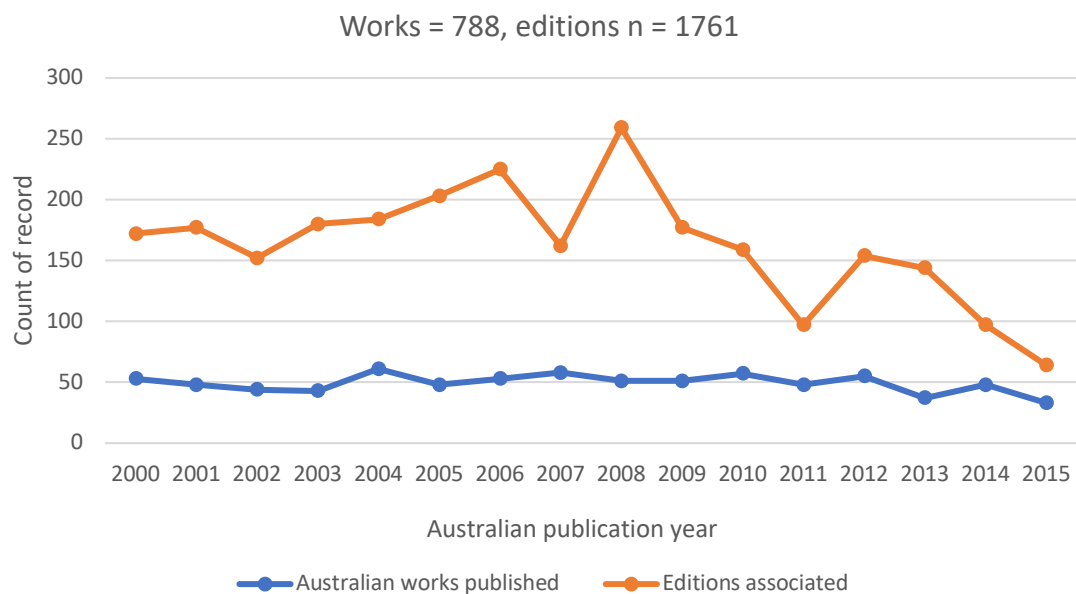
Overall, 78 percent of the international publications appear in the years following the first Australian edition; while 19 percent appear in the same year as the Australian edition, the remaining 3 percent of Australian novels published internationally are released before the Australian edition. Yet the data relating to the year works are licensed internationally provides a slightly different account of access. According to this data, 54 percent of international licenses occur the year after the Australian publication of a work; meanwhile, a third of the licenses are made in the same year, while 11 percent are executed in the year prior to Australian publication. The deal data, in turn, shows 59 percent of the international deals for Australian works are announced in the year after Australian

publication, and 24 percent occur in the same year as Australian publication while a much larger percentage of deals for international editions occur prior to Australian publication than do licenses or publication of editions: 17 percent. This data suggests that intellectual capital, as a form of capital, might have a higher value overall than cultural or economic: however, as the more detailed analysis shows, this varies by category and field.

Deal years: Access and time

Taking another approach to time and the field, and turning to access by year reveals the way in which intellectual capital is accumulated on the licensing field. Comparing the Australian release year with the international deal, license or publication year, shows how international acquisition patterns over the period have changed. Comparing the number of Australian editions by year and international editions by year using the deal and license dates shows that the patterns are not related to Australian production (at least not overall), but rather the entry of works into the licensing field (figure 80).

Figure 80. Australian publication and international edition years compared

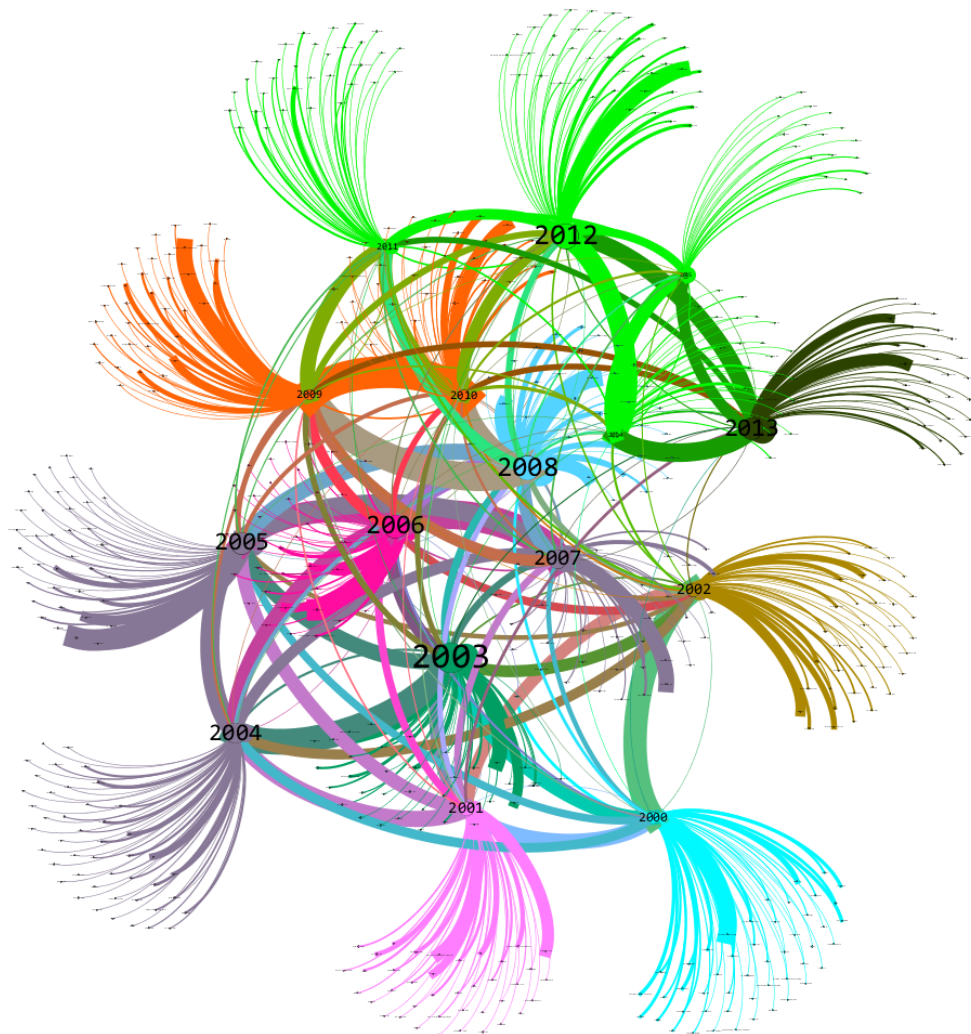


The consistency in the number of works achieving access to the international licensing field in any given year is noticeable, as is an inconsistency in the levels of access by individual years. The downward trend in access in the latter part of the period may reflect the fact that works take time to enter the international licensing field, as the previous

section demonstrated. Long term, those works published in the first half of the period appear to benefit from the field's structural logic which favours accumulated capital, as demonstrated by the overview in the previous section in which most works gain access in the year of Australian publication or in the years afterwards.

Taking a different approach by connecting individual works by Australian publication year and international publication year demonstrates the way in which this (capital-dependent) long-term logic structures the field. Using a network graph (figure 81), shows the extent to which access is staggered across years, with the years associated with the highest number of international editions more central, the most connected years the largest, and the links between years weighted by number (individual works with high access have heavier links). This network makes the connection across different years evident.

Figure 81. Australian and international publication year connections by works



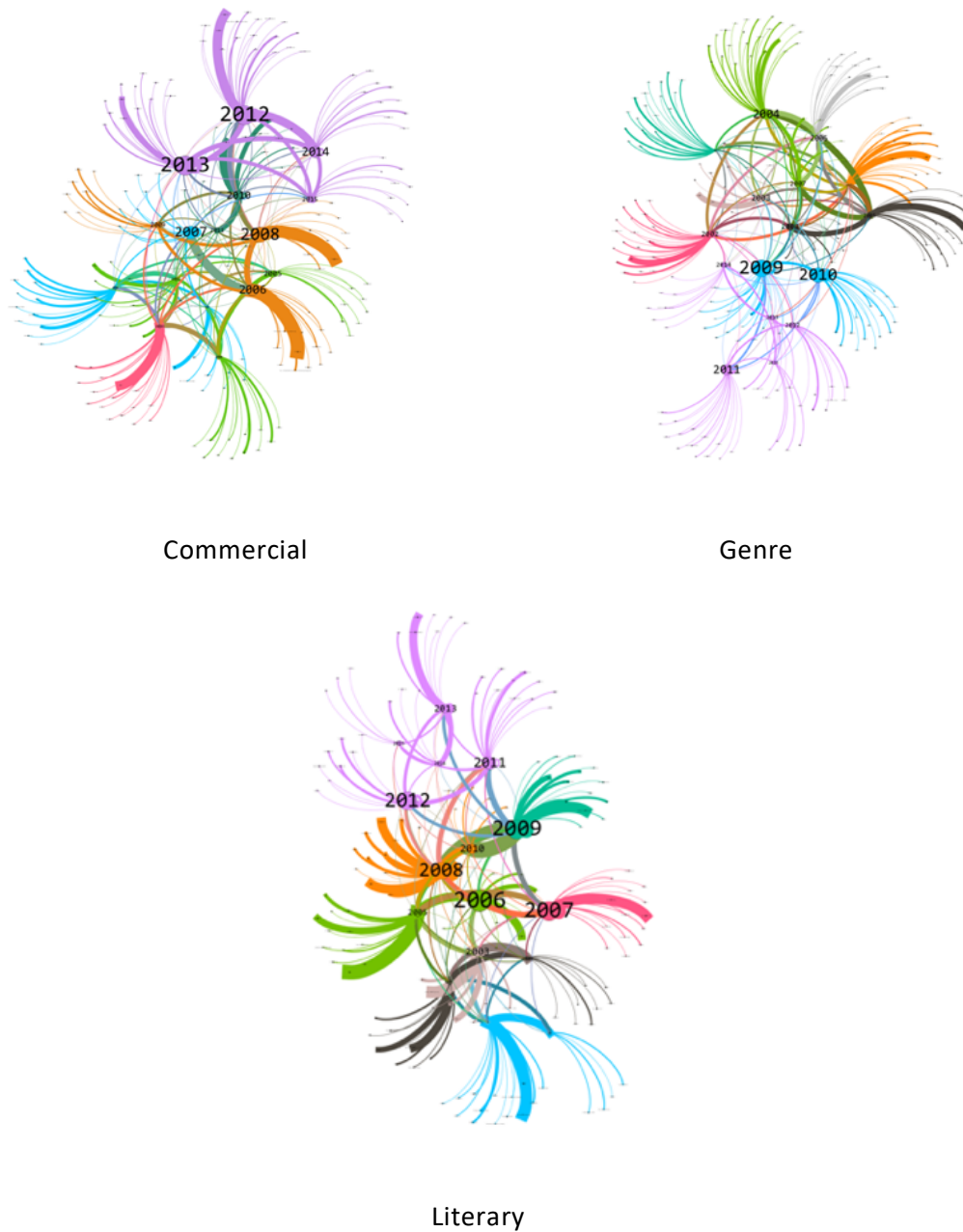
Note: Publications $n = 1761$.
Created using Gephi software and the Yifan Hu algorithm.
Structured by size and shared connections; coloured by communities.

While most of the works tend to be clustered closest to the year in which they are most associated by edition publication, it is not just the ‘exceptions’ that are connected over time: multiple works achieve access across multiple years. This field, then, is very different from the sales field—where one publisher reported to Thompson that ‘the life of a book today is about six weeks’ (Thompson 2010, 266)—and it reflects book trade media assertion that in rights, ‘backlist does just as well as frontlist’ (Wilkins 2004b, 13). This model also points towards the licensing field’s similarity to the world literary space, a space defined not only by literary works, but the time it takes literary works to be accepted.

Breaking this network into individual categories shows too, that it is not only literary works that achieve access over time. If the licensing field were to reflect Bourdieu’s literary field, works in the commercial and genre categories would fit a short time frame, hence not be connected over multiple years, while works in the literary category would be highly connected. In fact, when figure 82 is divided into categories, each reflects the same pattern (multiple connections over multiple years; some links heavier than others).

Although the dominant years are different—and the literary and commercial categories there are stronger connections over time—the predominant pattern is connection across years. This pattern is one that confirms what the data analysis of access years in the previous section suggested: that the two poles of the domestic field are governed equally by a long term logic in the international licensing field. This contrasts with Bourdieu’s model of the field of literary production, in which this long-term logic is restricted to the pole of limited production (in this study, the literary pole).

Figure 82. Australian and international publication year by category connected by work



Note: Commercial n = 549, genre n = 520, literary n = 666.
 Created using Gephi software and the Yifan Hu algorithm.
 Structured by size and shared connections. Coloured by communities.

As has been discussed, the pole of limited production in Bourdieu's model is based on the concept of long-term consecration, informed by continued and additional attention: publication, reviews, prizes, syllabus inclusion—continuing waves of visibility. As the international licensing field seems to be driven by different forms of consecration (prizes, as well as sales and deals themselves) and to work on this long-term model for all three categories of works, it appears that the entire international licensing field follows the autonomous pole model: a model that is, by definition, not driven by financial incentives. However, it can be seen to be driven, as Bourdieu suggests, by capital.

7.3.3 Intellectual capital: The easiest path to access?

Analysing the transaction data through connections shows three levels of access: works that only access English-language fields and ones that only access the German field; works that access other multiple fields; and those that only access translation fields. This supports the world-systems analysis: that is, for core fields, consecration from other fields is not necessary. Analysing the relationships over time between national and linguistic fields supports this reading, but also demonstrates that core fields acquire works earlier. Isolating for other influences shows the extent to which peripheral fields are influenced by the intellectual capital holdings of a work.

Overall, access—indicated not just by deals but licenses and editions—is more strongly associated with entry to the licensing field itself than either prizes or sales. However, this access, which represents a work's intellectual capital holdings, appears to have a higher value in translation fields, as well as a higher value in peripheral fields. It might be said that the global marketspace itself, which is driven by commercial and cultural exchange, might confer a higher level of consecration than Paris, London or New York (France, the UK or the US) alone. The relatively high value of institutional consecration supports the commercialisation argument, as the industry itself is driven by commerce.

7.4 Consecration increases access

How have differences in concepts of national and international value contributed to an increase in access to the global marketspace and, subsequently, the international licensing field for Australian novels in the twenty-first century?

Analysing the ‘maps of access’ in conjunction with the consecration data suggests that access to international licensing field is, to a significant extent, influenced by measurable forms of consecration—institutional, market and industry—with capital contributions from these sources valued differently according to the source of the capital, the type of capital, and the needs of the individual field itself. This reflects existing theories about the international circulation of novels that focus on circulation and exchange, if not licensing.

More specifically, as consecration in all forms is necessarily a time-dependent and delayed process, the data in this chapter suggests that logic of the international licensing field is not only different to the domestic sales field but is more akin to the pole of limited production of Bourdieu’s field of literary production. In this, it can be seen to reflect Casanova’s world literary space structure not only for literary works but all categories, including commercial fiction (produced on the domestic field for swift consumption) and thus, on the domestic field, positioned at the opposite pole: the pole of mass production (the commercial pole). This (re) positioning of works is not in conflict with Bourdieu’s model: commercial and genre works on the domestic field may be produced for commercial purposes but this cannot be their purpose on the international field, as transactions cannot be assured and are unlikely to be swift. In this sense, the role of categories can be seen to transform between the national field and the international licensing field (a sub-set, remember, of the transnational publishing field).

This temporal difference, along with evidence that suggests institutional and market consecration on the domestic field is not necessarily associated with access into the international licensing field—in other words, that value on the international publishing field is not the same as value on the national field—ultimately supports Casanova’s contention that works have two lives: one at home and one abroad. Moreover, exploring the data associated with three forms of consecration shows there is no clear correlation between success at home and success abroad, in contrast to the commonly held perceptions discussed in Chapter 1. However, it does suggest that commercialisation of the domestic field—a higher production of commercial and genre fiction—has contributed to the increase in access to the international field for Australian works, as these categories do have value on the international licensing field, if not on the world literary space. For individual works, this value can be seen to be associated with and increased by the capital

conferred through different forms of consecration, contributing to their ability to access the international licensing field.

8 Local networks: The essential role of connection

Using world-systems to analyse the transaction data—the transaction map—in international cultural, literary and economic terms and to allocate national capital demonstrates how a weakening of traditional global power structures has benefitted the Australian literary field through modifying the conditions of global access. Adding the influence data to this map and interpreting it using the field concept of ‘consecration’ reveals the differing roles of awards, sales and transactions themselves in providing the cultural, economic and intellectual capital that increases the value of individual works, thereby increasing their chance of entering the international licensing field.

This chapter identifies specific access ‘routes’ without which there can be no entry onto the licensing field: this is the micro level of access. It is at this final level that the involvement of those described by Heilbron and van Es as ‘transnational intermediary actors, events and institutions’ can be identified. All are, they claim, ‘indispensable for Dutch authors to be able to transcend the boundaries imposed on each of the aforementioned levels [macro and mezzo] in order to become consecrated into the English-language literary field’ (Heilbron and van Es 2015, 298). By applying ANT to extend the approach taken by Heilbron and van Es (who do not apply an additional frame at this micro level) and by Sapiro (who focuses on reception at this level) this study demonstrates how ultimately it is particular players who can be seen to be responsible for enabling access.

Using the concept of an actor-network—a descriptive ethnographic approach—means these ‘transnational intermediary actors, events and institutions’ can all be seen as equal players within multiple individual actor-networks, networks which together enable the global circulation of novels, the creation of the global marketspace and therefore, entry to the international licensing field. This approach exposes connections and describes the individual roles of players (and supporters), to reveal a process of mediation, intervention and transmission that transforms works from domestic to international. Combining ANT with social capital (a form both earned and distributed) and symbolic (a form of accumulated capital) provides a way of measuring the importance of this level in enabling access.

Drawing from the transaction data set, influence data sets already examined, as well as four additional influence data sets to create a single actor-network, this chapter explores this network—expressed as a knowledge map—to show how the changing roles of publishers, an expanding field of agents, and alterations in agency together answer the question: How have changes in network processes contributed to increased global access for Australian novels?

8.1 Describing the process of circulation: The final stage

The individual actor-network this study creates to describe how access is the result of a complex interplay between the three levels and the accumulation of multiple types of capital, enabled through the transformative process, is based on a novel that has achieved wide access. To understand this process involves asking this network a simple question: Why did it take six years for Christos Tsiolkas' *The Slap*, first published in 2008 by Allen & Unwin, to receive an offer to enter the Japanese language field, and subsequently be published by Gendaikikakushitsu?

To answer this question, along with data in the transaction and previously explored influence sets, this study draws on three additional influence sets developed for the study (the company relationship set, the scout client set and the event timeline), the Visiting International Publishers Program attendee list supplied for use in this study, and various supplementary materials, including a case study in the Collaborative Book Council's Final Report (a document with multiple aims, including to provide evidence about the state of the industry). As Allen & Unwin contributed licensing information to the transaction data set, and is responsible for licensing *The Slap*, the licensing information for this work can be considered reliable; the sales figures also come from one source, *Books + Publishing's* BookScan data, hence can also be considered a reliable guide (to print sales, at least).

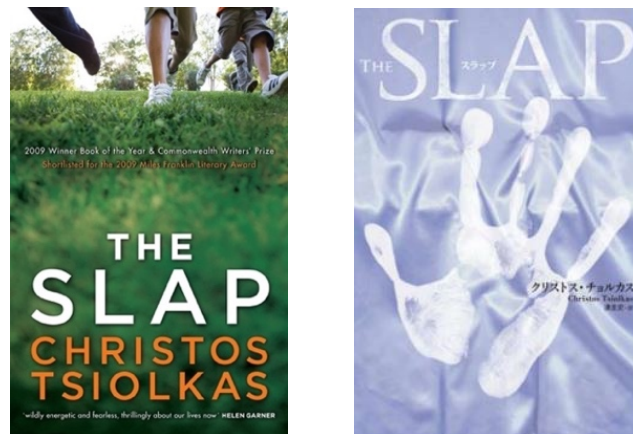
The Slap also holds a usefully representative place in the transaction set, in terms of: the period under consideration (it was published in 2008, hence sits in the middle), category and capital (it is an international literary bestseller), and publishers (Allen & Unwin is independent, but large, with a British subsidiary). *The Slap* provides the ideal example by which to examine internationalisation through describing the process of transformation—'translation'—from domestic work to international edition, showing how it is cumulative and involves capital, consecration and intervention. This novel also provides an ideal

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example as it was not expected to circulate beyond the Australian field. The case study, provided by Allen & Unwin, opens with the admission that ‘Tsiolkas’ previous books had not sold widely overseas so when we first began submitting the novel it was a challenge to breakout a new author’ (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 151).

Tsiolkas was not a new author when *The Slap* was published in Australia and the findings in this study suggest that the poor sales of previous works should not have been a consideration; they were not for Allen & Unwin, after all. Moreover, this is a substantial, multi-voiced novel that examines contemporary middle-class mores or, as Allen & Unwin describe it, a ‘literary novel with an urban setting’ (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 151). The author’s first novel, *Loaded* (1995), was adapted as a feature film and his second, *Dead Europe* (2006), won *The Age* Book of the Year (Fiction) Prize. This novel, too, was adapted as a feature film. Tsiolkas’ previous work had also been published internationally (hence was valued in the global marketspace, if not in individual marketplaces.) All these factors contribute to Tsiolkas’ symbolic capital holdings and so, to a degree, to the capital holdings of *The Slap*. However, his literary agents seem to have agreed with Allen & Unwin about the international potential of this novel. Curtis Brown Australia has a strong track record in international activity (more evident in analysis of data taken from *Publishers Lunch*, the US trade news site, than in the *B + P* data). This activity means they must withhold international rights (from the Australian publishers, at least). If the agency believed the novel was going to ‘travel’ they would have retained these rights. Instead, they granted Allen & Unwin not only Australian and New Zealand English-language rights but world rights, for all languages. This alone is a strong indication that the agency did not believe this work would ‘travel’ (and certainly not as far as Japan).

A content-based approach to understanding access would no doubt support this belief. Not only is the work set in (sub)urban Australia—a space, as discussed in Chapter 1, that has been seen to have relatively little international value (Birns 2015, 4)—but the contrast in the design of the covers of the Australian and Japanese editions (figure 83) suggest there may have been far larger cultural barriers to overcome.

Figure 83. Australian and Japanese covers of Christos Tsiolkas' *The Slap*

Covers copyright: Allen and Unwin (*left*); Gendaikikakushitsu (*right*)

A context-based analysis demonstrates how these perceived barriers are overcome through a process of multiple transformations: the ‘internationalisation’ of *The Slap*, in other words, a process that this study’s version of an actor-network describes. A knowledge representation diagram, a ‘knowledge map’, provides a method by which to visualise this description, and to position players, as well as identify their relationships—and therefore interpret their roles—within the network. The map developed for this study takes two forms, the original relationship ‘sketch’ (figure 84) and the more complex connective diagram (figure 85). They describe the journey of *The Slap* from its conception to the Japanese deal in terms of connections, with a horizontal timeline: in the first, the different components are positioned on the vertical axis; the second, meanwhile, is colour coded. While both maps have a different form, both contain the same information. They each constitute an account of the actor-network in which *The Slap*—the work—is the ‘lead’ player (the actor). It is the reason for this ‘assemblage’ in which multiple elements can be seen to play a role, including those such as bestseller listings, prizes and grants, along with international editions, VIP program attendance, book fairs, and sub-agents.

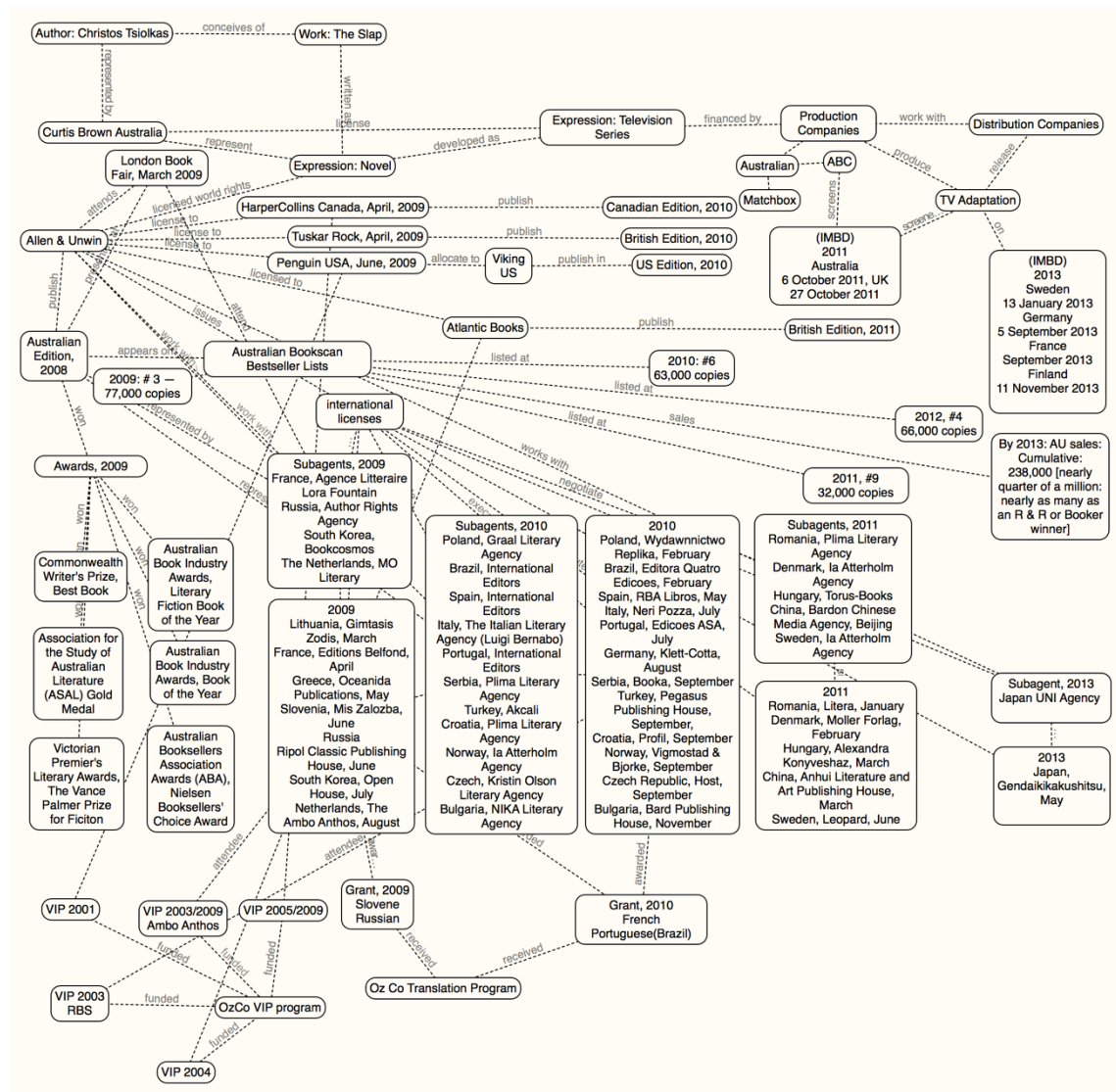
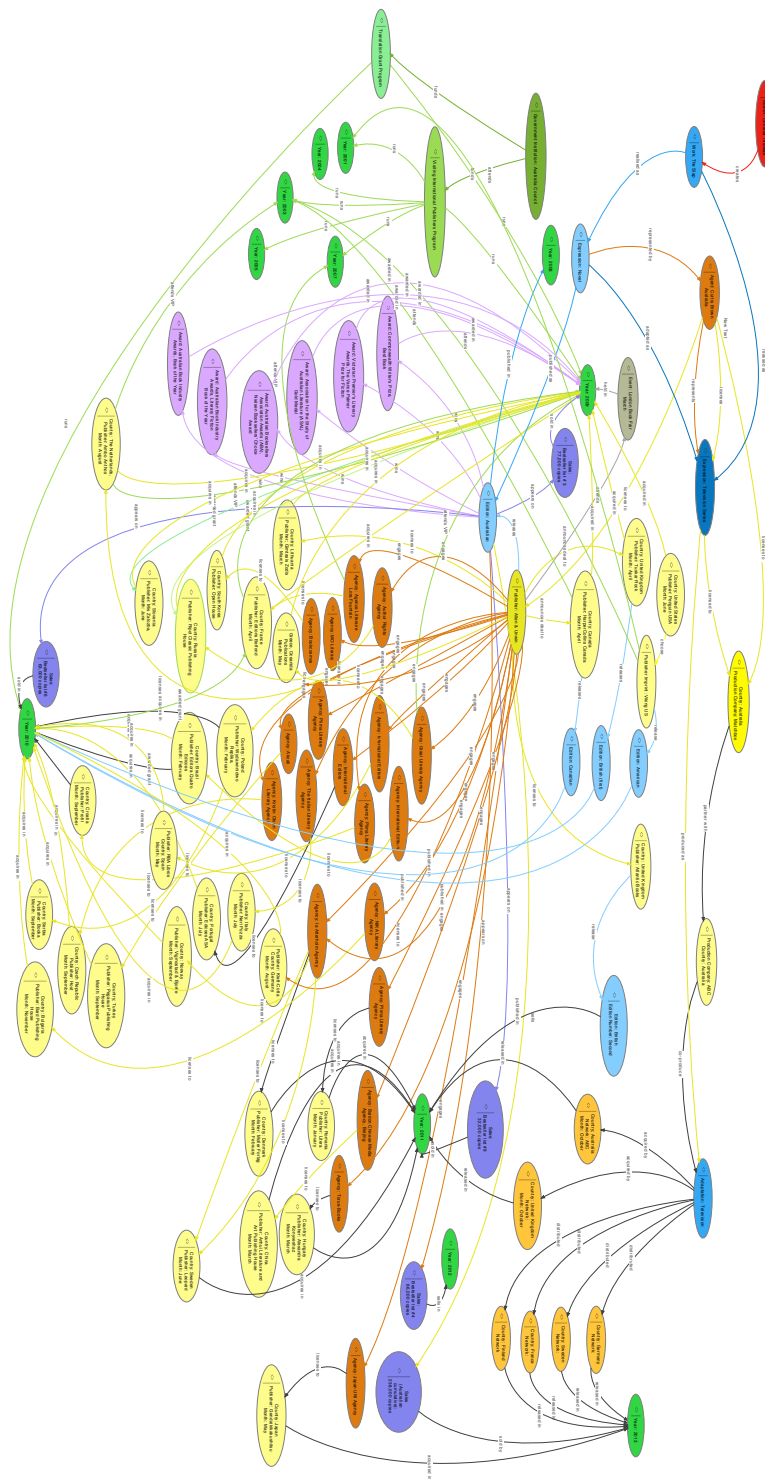
Figure 84. Initial knowledge map of the internationalisation of *The Slap* (2008-2015)

Figure 85. Connective map of the internationalisation of *The Slap* (2008-2015)

Note: Colour code is by player type: author (red), agent (orange), publisher/producer (yellow), format (dark blue), edition (blue); sales and awards (purple); funding body, grant, fair, media, year (shades of green)

Essentially, analysis of figures 84 and 85 suggests it took six years, six prizes, a million copies, an internationally distributed television series, and entry into 28 other international fields before this Australian-originated work accumulated enough symbolic capital—economic, cultural and intellectual—to gain entry into the Japanese field. This reconfirms the analysis in Chapter 6 that suggests the level of national capital associated with nation-of-origin plays an important role in enabling wide access. Industry accounts of the Japanese field also support this analysis, suggesting it has been a relatively difficult field to access, due to the comparatively low number of translations into Japanese: just 10 percent in 2005, the Japanese agent Chigusa Ogino of Tuttle Mori Japan estimated. At the same time, Ogino proposed that Japanese was likely to be ‘last on the list these days of deals made in foreign countries’ (Ogino 2005, 69). This difficulty can be seen to reflect this field’s peripheral position in the book translation world-system (Heilbron 1999, 434), as comparatively few works are translated from Japanese, hence its peripheral position in the (literary) world-system, as few translations means comparatively fewer works from Japan circulate in the world literary space. Under this model, the Japanese field would be inclined to acquire more literary work. In the economic world-system, however, Japan is a core nation; previous analysis suggests under this model, this field would be inclined towards more commercial works. Overall, analysis of *The Slap*’s access data—as described in figures 84 and 85— suggests that the combination of literary and field-earned capital plays a crucial role in enabling wide access.

What this analysis fails to reveal is the access route itself which in turn means that the role of this route is not able to be acknowledged as a journey and—in the manner of many fictional journeys—a transformative process. This study’s ANT reading adds this dimension. Over the period of six years, *The Slap* has transformed multiple times, from a work in the domestic field, to an internationally ‘hot’ title, to an award-winner (domestically and internationally), to a bestseller, to an international bestseller (with a television adaptation). It was also awarded multiple translation grants, and players involved in the ‘internationalisation’ attended both domestic and international network events (the VIP program and, at least, the London Book Fair). The internationalisation of *The Slap* is, in this way, demonstrably the result of multiple interventions. To understand this process means interpreting these interventions and their role in the production and transmission of capital, a process this study conceives as creating and conveying the final form capital of value on the field: social capital. A closer examination of *The Slap*’s

knowledge representation map reveals that it is ultimately this final form of capital that ensured entry into the Japanese field. This becomes evident when the map is read in two ways: descriptive and interpretive.

A descriptive 'reading' highlights the key features of *The Slap's* 'journey'. This provides a basis from which to interrogate the impact of respective levels of capital—and the roles of players. This reading shows no deals were announced prior to the novel's Australian publication on 10th November, 2008. The six prizes, in contrast, are all awarded in 2009; one grant is awarded that year; another in 2010. Australian copy sales are consistently strong but never over 100,000 in any one year, although the data shows the novel features on the annual BookScan bestseller lists for four of the six years.

The most noticeable aspect of the maps that describe *The Slap's* 'journey' is that it involves a slow accumulation of capital and that there is an interrelationship between forms of capital. If a combination of cultural and economic capital can be attributed to facilitating access into the first of the international fields, the influence of intellectual capital can also be seen, albeit from another form of tradeable rights: the dramatic. In the year after the Australian screening of the television adaptation, domestic sales double: this is the point at which the cumulative sales reach nearly a quarter of a million copies (238,000). In comparison, more than 200,000 copies is the figure that has been associated with winning the Booker Prize in the UK (Thompson 2010, 278), so this quarter of a million is a significant number, and imparts considerable economic capital. However, this same year, Allen & Unwin also states that by this time, over a million copies have been sold globally (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 151): in other words, three-quarters of the work's sales are international. This figure demonstrates the work is not just successful in the domestic marketplace and the global marketspace, but the global marketplace as well. The timing of the offer of entry into the Japanese field suggests that these high capital holdings play a crucial role. This descriptive 'reading', however, does not reveal the role that social capital plays: for that, a 'closer' form of reading is required, one that interrogates the transformations themselves.

This 'closer' form is what this study describes as an 'interpretive' data reading, one which the map provides a basis from which to explore the roles of players and how changing modes of connection over the period have contributed to the 'internationalisation'

process: publisher, agent and agency. Using *The Slap* as a starting point, this process of internationalisation can be seen from an ANT-informed granular level as a transition process from the national field, to the global marketspace and, finally, not only to the international licensing field, but the multiple sub-fields from which it is constructed, wherever they are positioned within the world-system in relation to Australia. Australia, as noted, has three different positions, plus a final one that has yet to be discussed, but relates to all three other positions, as it can be seen to have inform them: it is geographically peripheral. In terms of global access, this final position can be seen to be the most influential and in the twenty-first century, able to be overcome.

8.2 Publishers: When connections may not mediate

Commentary stemming from the Anglo-American field has suggested that publishers should not act as international mediators. American agent Andrew Wylie has gone so far as to claim that internationally, publishers ‘tend to find it more acceptable to buy books from agents’ (Critchley 2016), suggesting publishers should not be involved as licensors in the global marketspace, nor by extension the international licensing field. Instead, their role should be confined to licensees in the global marketspace. However, industry commentary has revealed that in France, at least, publishers do play not only an active role as licensees in this space, but as licensors, as an article in *Publishing Perspectives* made clear in 2015. Reporting on a panel discussion at the major French book fair, the Salon de Livre, the trade journal reported that ‘much of the dialogue highlighted the contrast between the French way of handling foreign rights sales—primarily via publishers’ and the title of the article made the situation clear: ‘In France, Rights Directors—Not Agents—Rule’ (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 11). Australian scholars have made a connection between multinational publishers and increased international access. Elizabeth Webby, for example, claimed in an interview on ABC Radio National that ‘because of all the publishers being globalised, it is now much easier to get a good range of works by Australian authors in England and America than it ever was, say, 20 years ago’ (Webby 2007). These differing perceptions suggest the value of exploring the questions: Would a multinational publisher have achieved access more effectively for *The Slap* than the independent company, Allen & Unwin? Is the social capital a multinational publisher confers on a work higher than that conferred by an independent publisher?

The Slap knowledge map shows—and Allen & Unwin’s case study confirms—that no licensing deals were made prior to Australian publication (Book Industry Collaborative Council 2013, 151): the combination of capital conferred by nationality and category does not provide enough national capital in any international field. The work’s capital, the overview of the map suggests, is a combination of cultural, economic and intellectual capital earned on the field. However, in contrast to what might be expected based on the analysis in previous chapters, the first license to be announced (March, 2009) is not a license associated with a dominant English-language field (where the capital needed for entry has been demonstrated to be lower than translation and sub-dominant English-language fields), nor the German field (shown to acquire actively and independently, and to acquire as many works in the commercial category as the literary category); nor is it any of the European fields with a tendency to acquire early (such as the Italian field). It is a peripheral field, one even more peripheral than the Japanese field: it is linguistically and economically peripheral; it is also peripheral in the world literary space, hence it is culturally peripheral. The field in question is Lithuania.

The logic of each of these versions of the world-system suggests a publisher from Lithuania would be more likely to acquire a work in the literary category, and while by this point in the timeline award shortlists might have been announced and sales may have been building, this would not have generated enough capital to enable entry into this remote field. Nor is there a translation grant, a significant reason for access to a peripheral field; a grant, for example, explains the Slovenian deal, announced three months later. There is also no intermediary involved.

Analysis of Allen & Unwin’s company connections—using the transaction data—provides the answer. There is an existing relationship between Allen & Unwin and *The Slap*’s Lithuanian publisher, one that can be seen to increase Allen & Unwin’s social capital for this publisher enough for it to become part of *The Slap*’s network before the work acquired, in the end, a very high level of accumulated (symbolic) capital. In October 2006, this publisher acquired another novel from Allen & Unwin: Kate Morton’s *The Shifting Fog*. An examination of *The Shifting Fog*’s actor-network (created using additional contextual data) reveals why this earlier acquisition may have made the difference. After the British edition of *The Shifting Fog*, re-titled *The House at Riverton*, was chosen for the Richard and Judy

Book Club—a television book club with, at the time, ‘an average audience of 1.9 million’—the edition sold over half a million copies (Byrne 2008).

In the actor-network of *The Shifting Fog*, ‘Richard and Judy’ can be seen as a capital-bestowing mediator, transforming the work into a bestseller in the British field. The transaction data field ‘alternative title’ shows how the publisher of the Lithuanian edition can be seen to acknowledge the role of the British sales in this transformation process by referencing the British title, *The House at Riverton*, in the Lithuanian title: *Rivertono dvaro paslaptis: romanas*. This novel was already high in intellectual capital—as it had been licensed widely—and subsequently became an international bestseller transitioning successfully from the global marketspace to the international marketplace, but the Australian connection is disguised. However, the economic capital of *The Shifting Fog* appears to have increased Allen & Unwin’s social capital, not as publisher but as a licensor. While the Nobel committee claim Patrick White put Australia on the global literary map, in a very real sense Kate Morton put Allen & Unwin on the global publishing map, earning the publisher-as-licensor highly valuable social capital. Conceptually, this capital can be seen to have been deployed in this transaction, effectively transforming a novel by a respected literary author to a novel from the originator of a (at the time of *The Slap*’s acquisition) globally bestselling novel.

At the other end of this scale, the acquisition of the UK English-language rights to *The Slap* by Tuskar Rock (and Atlantic) can be seen as Allen & Unwin deploying social capital in the way multinational companies are said to do: using a corporate network to keep the license within the ‘family’. In this sense, analysis of the transaction data demonstrates two ways in which *The Slap* appears to have benefitted from the social capital associated with the ability to activate existing company relationships. An examination of the company relationship data developed for this study, in conjunction with the transaction data more broadly, reveals that in regard to multinationals—companies where the relationship, in theory, is designed to be active (rather than activated)—this is not necessarily the case. It does, however, reveal why the perception exists.

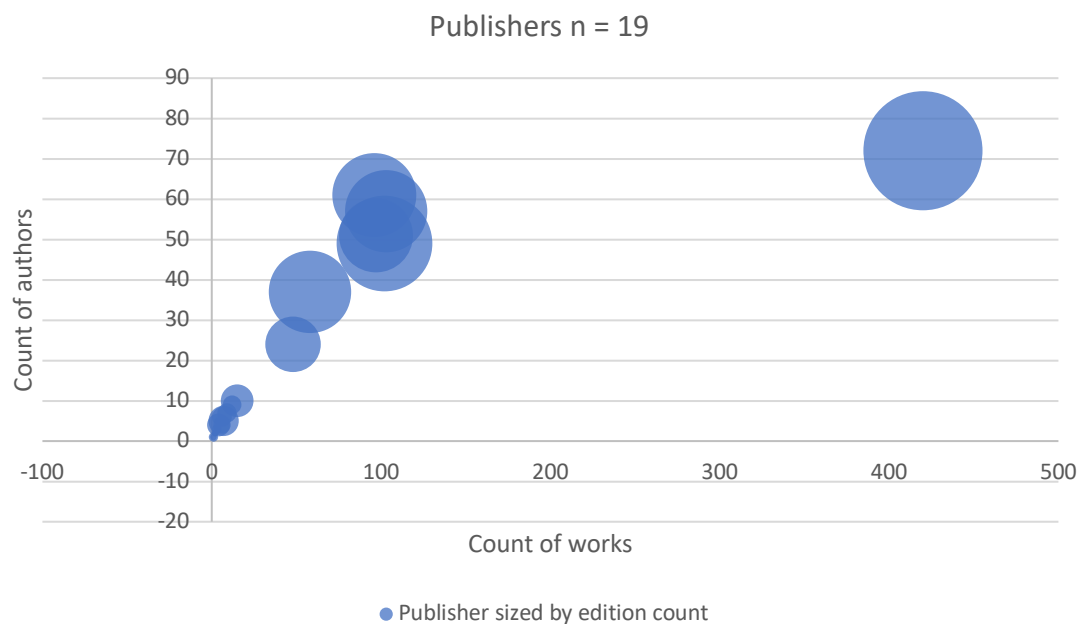
The company relationship set has 483 individual imprints. Within these, eight large corporate owners are represented, based in six countries: France, Germany, Spain, the United States, the United Kingdom and Sweden. Bertelsmann and Lagardère are the most

prominent, followed by News Corp, Pearson and Holtzbrinck. Together, these companies have divisions operating across 26 countries, including Australia. At an imprint level, the United States and United Kingdom are most strongly represented with 165 and 123 imprints, respectively. There are multiple acquisitions and mergers visible in this data set. However, while the corporate owner might change, and the global group might rebrand to reflect a merger (Penguin Random House, for example), and national groups might be rebranded (Harlequin offices quickly became HarperCollins, for example), at a national imprint and national division level, there is, generally, a consistent identity. This consistency makes it possible to trace the connection between Australian novels and their international publishers over the period—even with global ownership changes—and ensure that access is not attributed to previous company relationships.

There is also extensive company information in the transaction set. Of the 2599 records, all have an Australian publisher associated (a criteria for inclusion). Of these publishers, eight are multinationals; while twelve are independent Australian companies. During the period, mergers and acquisitions reduced the number of multinationals to five (HarperCollins acquired Harlequin; Penguin and Random House merged; Hodder Headline was acquired by Hachette); while the number of independent companies was also reduced from twelve to ten (Allen & Unwin acquired Murdoch Books; HarperCollins acquired control of the ABC Books license). Within this group of Australian publishers, there are 42 imprints overall. Just 6 percent of the 2599 editions associated with these imprints are not associated with one of the 832 different international imprints in the set. Of these international imprints, a quarter are English-language imprints; the remaining three quarters are publishers from translation fields. The data set, therefore, has a very high degree of imprint data relating to the international licensing field. In conjunction with the company relationship data, this provides a robust basis for analysing players—and therefore individual routes—to international access.

Of all the publishers with editions associated, seven publishers can be seen to be either mediators or intermediaries with over 150 editions: five of these are multinationals. There are key structural differences within this group: as figure 86 demonstrates, it falls into four clusters.

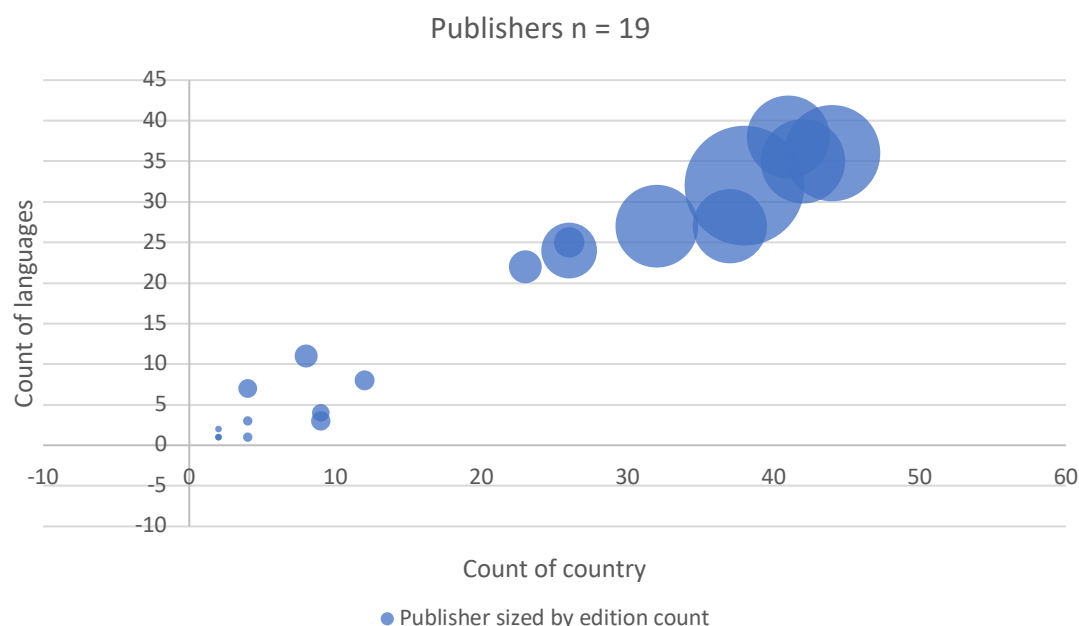
Figure 86. Australian publishers positioned by author, work, edition



HarperCollins, in the top right-hand corner, has twice the number of editions of Random House, and twice the number of works, but a similar level of authors. Text, Random House and Pan Macmillan, in contrast, all exhibit similar numbers of authors, works and editions. Penguin, meanwhile, has more authors and a similar number of works to Pan Macmillan and Random House, but has significantly fewer editions.

When the number of linguistic and national fields accessed by individual publishers is taken into account, size is shown to be not all that matters, as the cluster reorganisation in figure 87 shows.

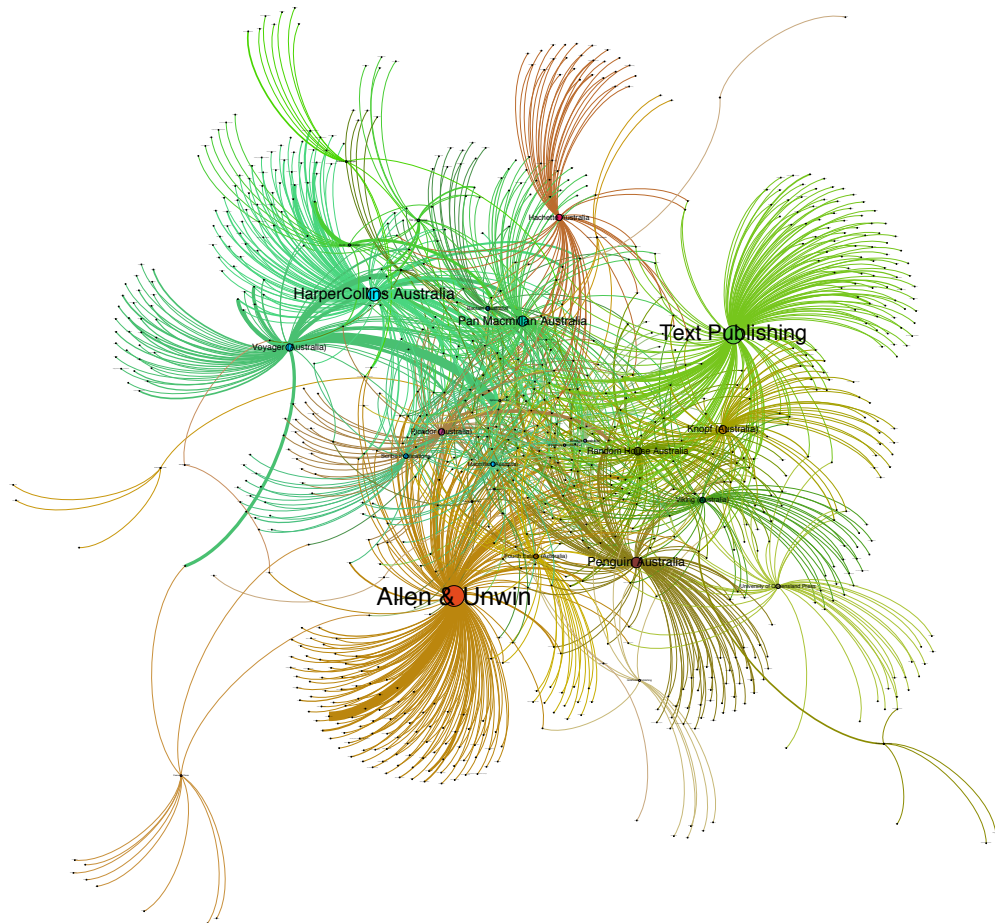
Figure 87. Australian publishers proportioned by language and country access



Using this measure, Allen & Unwin and Random House are associated with the widest access: HarperCollins, despite the high extent of activity—reflected in the ‘bubble’ size—has a lower reach in terms of both linguistic and national fields. However, there is a relationship between extent and reach: those Australian publishers with the lowest number of international editions associated also have the most limited reach.

The other measure of global access is connective diversity. Measuring the number of international imprints associated with an individual publisher suggests the range of their international relationships. These networks also provide data by which to measure the social capital holdings of Australian publishers. Figure 88 is a network graph constructed using the data on Australian publishers and the international imprints with which they are linked through shared works. It is sized and proportioned by the number of editions. Effectively, this is a connective map. It demonstrates that while HarperCollins’ works are associated with the highest extent (represented by the number of international editions), this extent does not necessarily translate into diversity, as measured by imprint. While it has a third more editions than Allen & Unwin, the company has only a few more imprints associated. Random House, Pan Macmillan and Text, in contrast, share a similar level of diversity to each other; all are higher than Penguin.

Figure 88. Australian publishers with international imprint connections



Note: Editions $n = 1635$.

Created using Gephi software and Yifan Hu algorithm.

Coloured and positioned by shared connections.

Potentially, diversity might be limited by company type. While independent companies can choose to work with whichever partner they consider most appropriate, multinational companies are potentially more restricted. As an article in *Publishers Weekly* states in 2003, ‘Like many multinationals’, Random House Australia operated under a family first policy when it came to rights, although as then managing director Margie Searle explained, ‘we can’t force them to buy books’ (Mutter 2003). In the same article, Pan Macmillan Australia’s CEO Ross Gibb explained, ‘Because of mergers, rights have “dried up,” [...] so

“we chip away here and there” (Mutter 2003). In theory, multinationals have more to gain by working within their own corporation. Certainly, the thicker links in figure 88 show that HarperCollins regularly works with many of the same imprints. This image also shows how the smaller companies have their own separate licensing networks, as Per Henningsgaard described in a small-scale study of contemporary Australian publishers and the American field (Henningsgaard 2017). These networks, however, simply demonstrate association.

Multinationals: Often a mediator, more often an intermediary

The analysis of the prize and bestseller lists demonstrated how a different form of analysis—in those cases, temporal—was needed to establish if the capital associated may have influenced access: to understand the influence of company relationships requires an additional level of analysis. In contrast to one that simply identifies links, as with figure 88, it is necessary to take a step closer and identify what role a company might play in the identified network. Combining the company relationship set and the transaction set data reveals the relationships between Australian works with licensed editions, the Australian publishers of those works with international licensees, and those Australian publishers and international publishers. By including the transaction set ‘licensor’ field in the analysis, it becomes possible to distinguish responsibility. Figure 88 shows why multinational companies appear to enable access: to establish a company’s role in a transaction it is necessary to separate association from causation.

When seeking to understand Dutch access to the English language field, Heilbron and van Es claimed that: ‘Having the rights to globally represent, sell or reproduce foreign artists and authors has become a significant stake in globalizing cultural fields’ (Heilbron and van Es 2015, 299). While this study separates the concept of ‘globalising’ (to use the British spelling) from that of exchange—the process which it understands to be the way a work achieves ‘global access’—having or holding the rights to a work is certainly a central stake in the international licensing field. Where figure 88 shows connections, it does not reveal the active player in the transaction: that is, the player responsible for the individual license. To do this means establishing if the company’s role is as a mediator or an intermediary: if it has agency, in other words, what kind of player it is, if it is an active player or a supporter, as it were.

Analysis of the company data demonstrates (as with prizes, bestseller lists and deals) that responsibility changes by field, category, and gender. Comparing the Australian publication data, the licensor data, and the licensee data—linked through individual works and international editions—also exposes two kinds of company relationships. In the first kind, the company enables access directly, thus offering social capital through providing the connection. In the second, the company or imprint can be seen to provide intellectual capital by publishing a work through its Australian division, with capital subsequently deployed by a third party to increase access to the international licensing field.

Figure 89 shows the number of works associated with Australian publishers in the transaction set; moreover, figure 90 shows the works these publishers are known to be responsible for licensing.

Figure 89. Publishers associated with international editions

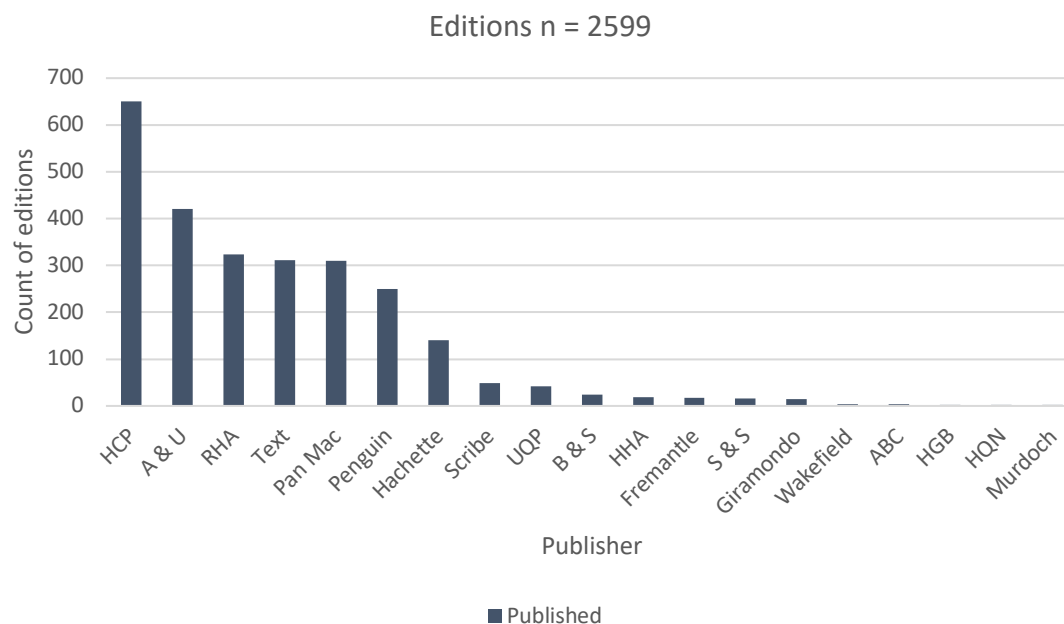


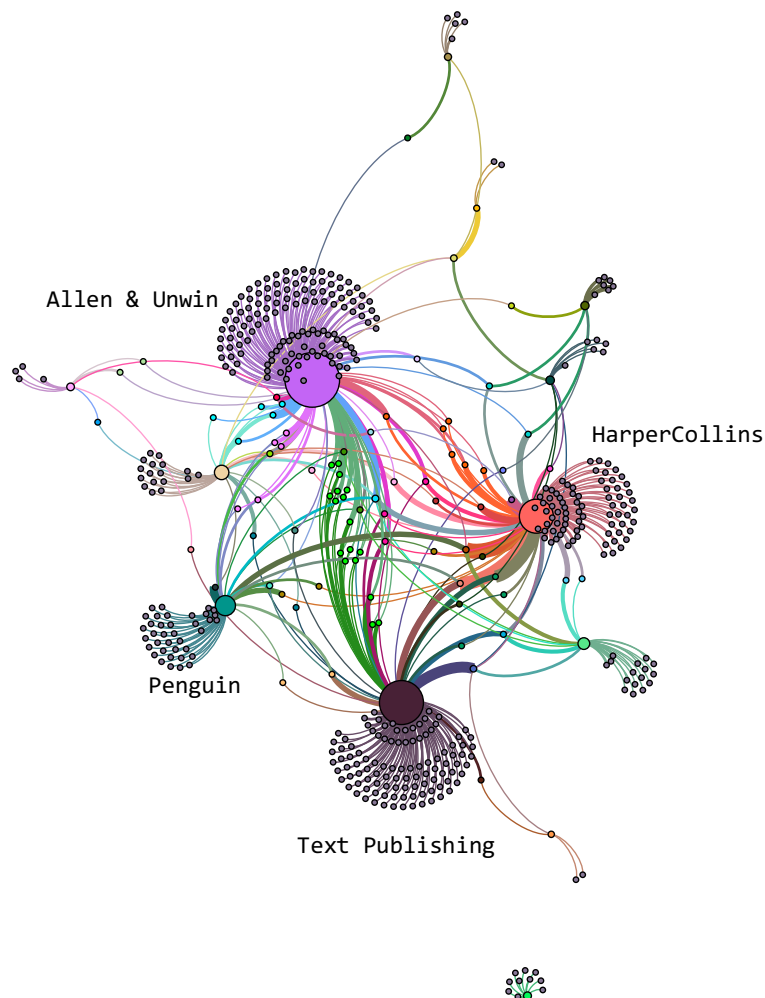
Figure 90. Publishers responsible for licensing international editions



Note: For Figures 89 and 90 publisher abbreviations not listed in glossary are Pan Mac (Pan Macmillan), UQP (University of Queensland Press), B & S (Brandl & Schlesinger), HHA (Hodder Headline Australia), Fremantle (Fremantle Arts Press), S & S (Simon & Schuster Australia), HGB (Hardie Grant Books), ABC (ABC Books), HCN (Harlequin Australia)

Figure 91, a network graph, is constructed by the connections between Australian publishers in the licensing set and their international partners (by imprint), sized by the number of individual connections with the links weighted by the number of individual transactions. The graph makes evident the way in which the two independent publishers—Text Publishing and Allen & Unwin—can be seen to be more connected to each other through transactions but also more widely connected to the international community in general through the number of different licensing partners. Conversely, figure 91 confirms that smaller publishers in the set do not only share works but do have different licensing networks.

Figure 91. Australian publisher connections to licensing partners



Note: Publishers $n = 19$, licensing partners (imprints) $n = 495$.
 Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas algorithm.
 Coloured and positioned by modularity. Only largest publishers named.

Focusing only on English language transactions shows that the three multinational publishers in the transaction set for which there is firm evidence of licensing responsibility—they contributed data to the license set—are more likely to work within their respective groups, both indirectly and directly (table 7).

Table 7. Australian multinational company relationships with English-language licensees

Group	English language editions	Percentage of licensees named	Percentage within group	Percentage of licenses within group	Percentage licensed to most significant partner
HCP	250	82%	35%	40%	24%
Penguin	104	74%	36%	53%	20%
RHA	84	83%	37%	26%	20%

Nearly a quarter of the editions associated with works published by HarperCollins were licensed by the company to HarperCollins UK. Penguin can be seen to have a similarly close group relationship: half of the editions licensed by Penguin are within the group (a fifth to Penguin UK). Random House are associated with licensing just over a quarter of works within the group; a fifth to Random House UK. In each case, the main partner within the group is also the company's main trading partner more generally: ultimately, the data do suggest multinationals work with their sibling companies. This is at a company level.

At an imprint level, the situation is more complicated. The data show HarperCollins' main partner continues to be HarperCollins UK, while Penguin's main partner is outside the group (the German house Bastei Luebbe), and Random House's main partner is also a German house, and likewise outside the group (Econ Ullstein List). Comparing the number of imprints with which these three multinational publishers have a direct trading relationship (a mediator role) to the most active independents in the transaction set (Allen & Unwin) reveals more about the 'routes' to access (table 8).

Table 8. Australian publishers, editions and international licensees

	Imprint (All)	Edition (imprint)	Imprint (EL)	Imprint (EL multi)	Edition (EL)	Edition (EL multi)	Percentage (EL multi)
HCP	105	300	27	18	94	75	80%
Penguin	55	104	16	12	39	29	74%
RHA	44	60	11	6	15	8	53%
A & U	179	349	27	13	63	22	65%

Note: EL = English language, multi = multinational company

The transaction data in tables 7 and 8 show that for the most active Australian divisions of multinational publishing houses, intercompany relationships are important but of less importance than relationships with companies outside the group: however, these companies are more likely to be other multinationals. Conversely, the single large independent company in the set (Allen & Unwin), has relationships with far more international companies, hence has a larger number of individual connections: that is, a greater diversity of connections. As Allen & Unwin is also a mediator in these relationships, this highly active independent can be seen as more ‘global’ (in the sense of achieving wider ‘global access’ through connections) than the largest and most ‘globalised’ of the multinationals (in the sense of transnational ownership).

Category: Why company intermediaries become mediators

The evidence that shows multinationals tend to work with other multinationals suggests other elements have a higher value than company ties on the international licensing field. Category, the data shows, is valued in different ways on the international licensing field, depending on the sub-field and the time period. Figures 92 and 93 show the difference between the number of editions in categories with which publishers are associated (by publishing associated works in Australia), and the number of editions they are responsible for licensing internationally within those categories.

Figure 92. Frequency of transactions by category and publisher

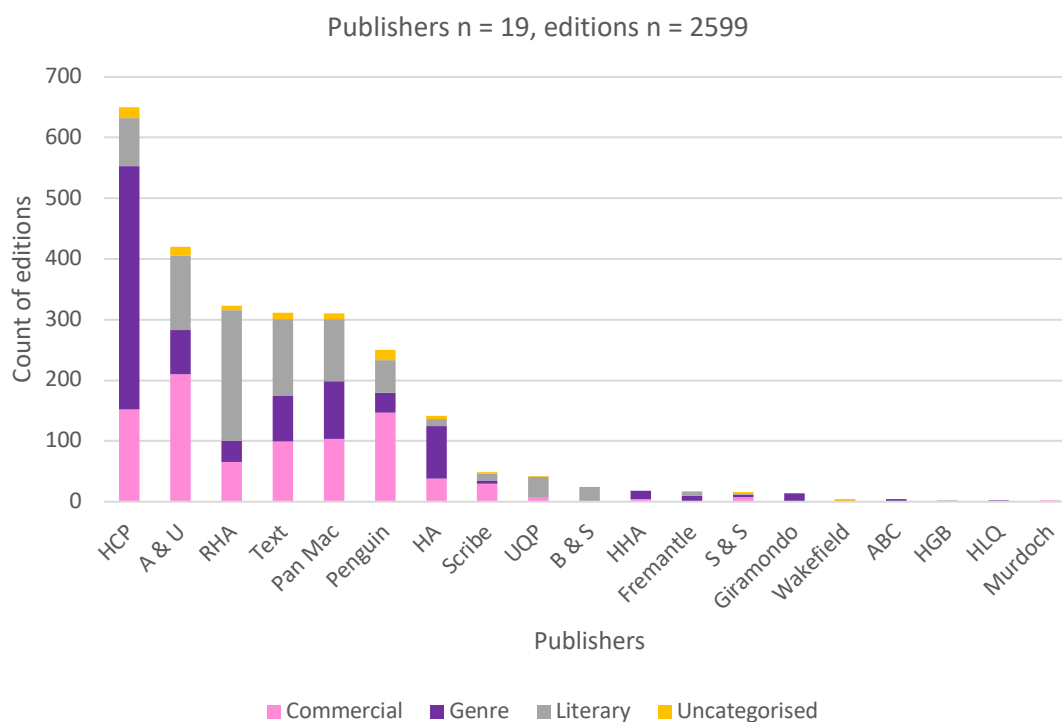
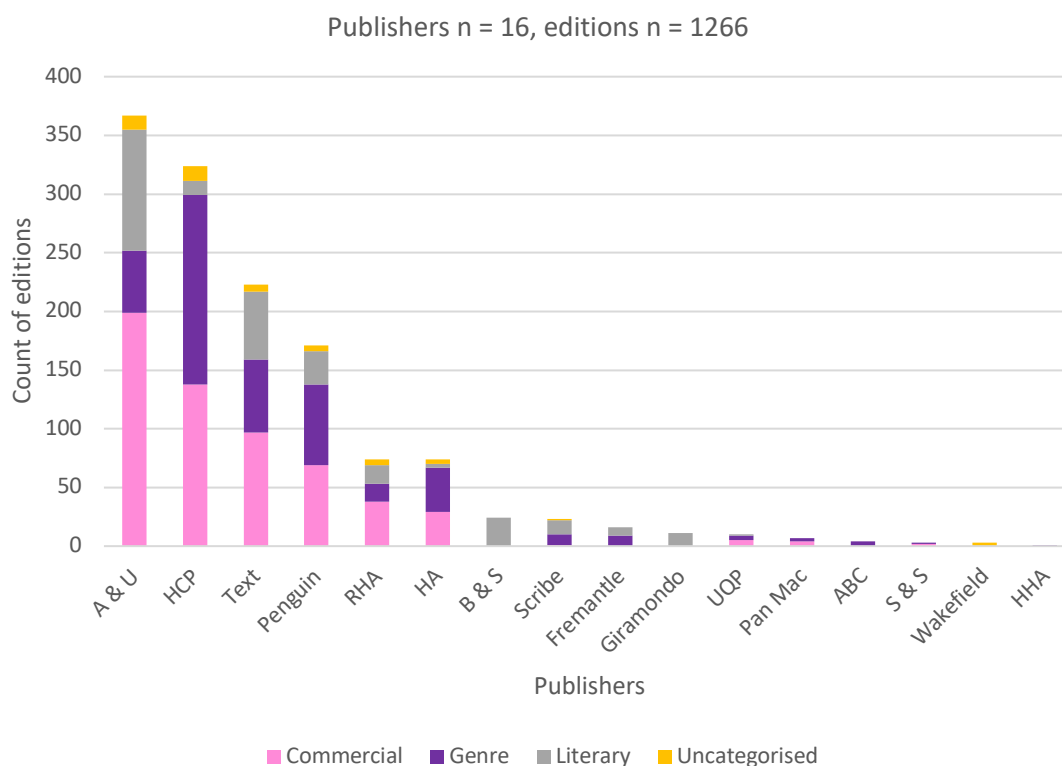


Figure 93. Frequency of transactions by category and publisher licensor



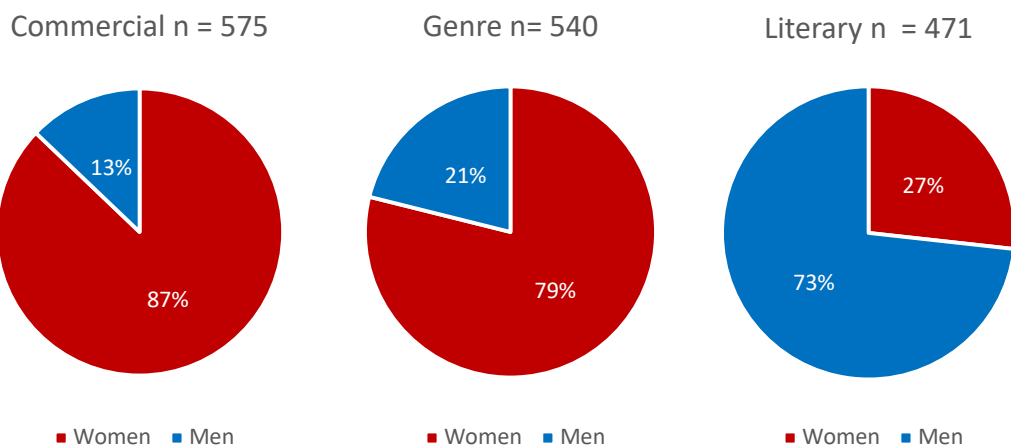
This data demonstrate how the rights granted to publishers alter by category as well as by publisher type (independent or multinational). Figures 92 and 93 also show how the independent publishers Allen & Unwin and Text are more associated with international editions in the literary category, both as publishers and publisher-licensors. More than half of all editions in the literary category are licensed in the transaction set by Text and Allen & Unwin, but also the smaller publishers Brandl & Schlesinger, Scribe, Giramondo and Fremantle Arts Press. In contrast, multinational publishers associated with editions in the literary category appear less likely to be responsible for licensing the works: that is, they are more associated with editions in the literary category but as publishers rather than publisher-licensors. Instead, multinational companies are more likely to license works in the genre or commercial categories.

The data suggest that independent publishers are more often granted international rights to works in the literary category. Possibly, as with *The Slap*, these works are not expected to enter the international licensing field, or not expected to enter it widely. This division between categories may suggest that the capital seen to be associated with the three different categories plays a role in whether or not publishers are granted international rights (by an author or agent), leading to multinational publishers being granted more rights to non-literary works, or world rights to literary works that do not gain sufficient capital to enter the international literary field (and thus do not appear in this set).

This analysis of category and responsibility also reveals another link between gender and access. Previous analysis of the study's transaction data has shown the categories of commercial and genre fiction to be strongly associated with women authors: analysis of publisher roles shows multinational publishers to be more associated with the categories of genre fiction and commercial fiction. At the publisher level, multinational publishers are far more strongly associated with women authors than men: analysing the transaction data and isolating responsibility shows the extent to which this area, too, is gender- and category- driven.

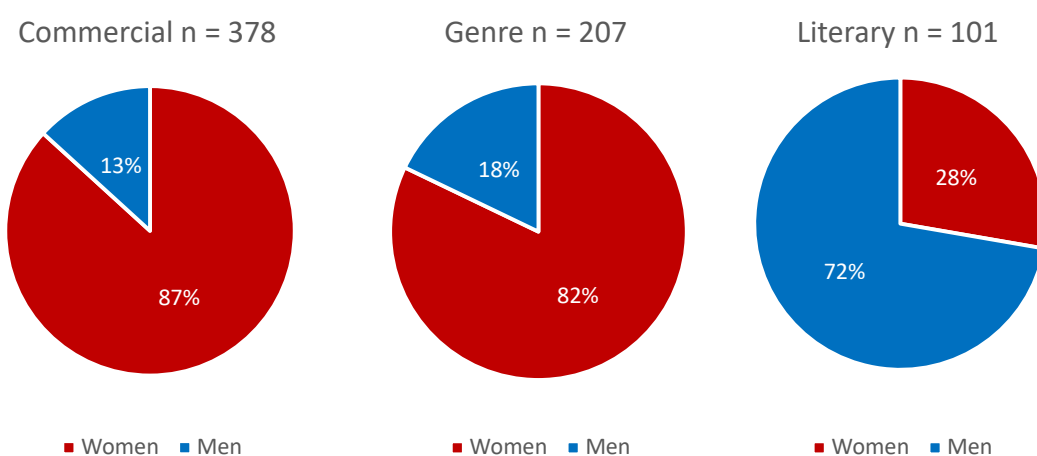
Figure 93 shows the extent to which category is involved in enabling access for works published by the Australian multinational imprints in the licensing set. Much the same gender distribution pattern is reflected in the editions these companies are associated with, along with those they are responsible for licensing internationally (figure 94).

Figure 94. Publisher and category association (license set publishers)



Note: Uncategorized is excluded (women n = 41, men n = 16)

Figure 95. Publisher and category licenses (license set publishers)



Note: Uncategorized is excluded (women n = 24, men n = 8)

Figures 94 and 95 suggest a strong relationship between women authors and international access for the editions in the commercial and genre categories but an inverse relationship for those in the literary category. This might suggest that agents (or other parties) are not granting world rights to multinational publishers for literary fiction. Moreover, that it is more likely that those literary works are written by men.

8.2.1 Social capital, one: Companies as conveyors and creators

Isolating responsibility and analysing the multinational company relationship set in conjunction with the transaction set shows a complex network of access routes enabled by multiple players with different roles. This suggests that the conditions on the Australian literary field, the increase in production of commercial fiction, the publishing of genre fiction, and the perception by agents that literary works ‘travel’ more easily, have all contributed to the growth of the licensing trade. Paradoxically, it is possible that a belief in the higher international value of work in the literary category by Australian agents (as is demonstrated by the licensing data), has enabled the Australian literary field to become increasingly global—in terms of access—in the twenty-first century, as it has forced multinational publishers to attempt to exploit the rights they hold and these rights have been for works in the categories of commercial and genre fiction. Both categories carry a value on the international licensing field, though it varies according to linguistic and national field. This situation can be seen to have benefitted women authors.

Due to the relationship between genre and series (evident in the transaction set where 87 percent of genre works in a series) and commercial work being written in a consistent style (so being more likely to be consistently acquired by the same publishers), these categories are inherently less diverse in terms of licensees, hence multinationals are less likely to be diverse by association. Conversely, ‘literary’ authors produce diverse works, so for structural reasons independent publishers can be seen to be better positioned to have wider networks. While independent publishers appear to enable wider access, this can be seen to be a structural element of the field itself: one related to the category balance. To understand company relationships in the international licensing field, there are important advantages to be gained from interrogating network links using ANT concepts to establish the role of the link within any international network.

8.3 Agents: Why visibility may not mean responsibility

Australian literary agencies did not contribute to the license component of the transaction data set; they are, however, visible in the deal announcements. They can also be made visible by identifying those transactions for works published by Australian publishers who contributed licensing data for which the publishers were not responsible. Using this

method in conjunction with the deal data, the role of literary agencies ('agents') is shown to be far more extensive than the deal information alone suggests.

For editions with license date information associated (the license set), 60 percent of the set show authors' agents (or other third parties) to be responsible for 18 percent of the deals. However, analysis of the editions associated with publishers in the license set shows that 56 percent are not licensed by the publishers. This figure only partially supports scholarly accounts of access in which, in the contemporary English-language field, agents rather than publishers are positioned as international mediators. This is visible in statements such as, 'rights sales are largely conducted through authors' agents' (Lee, Davis and Thompson 2009, 35) and 'in this new globalized arena of the printed word it is the agent, not the publisher, who controls the keys' (Thompson 2010, 70). Not only scholars take this approach. In 2017, British-based, North American-born bestselling author David Sedaris was asked about the best career advice he ever received. 'Hold on to your foreign rights' he replied (Sedaris 2017): in other words, do not give them to your publisher.

This belief sets up a binary between publishers and agents, and there has long been considerable antagonism reported between the two. 'Initially,' Jonathan Rose wrote of their relationship in regard to the twentieth-century British market, 'publishers denounced them [agents] as parasites and useless middlemen' (Rose 2007, 342). More recently, one of the global industry's most influential players, the agent Andrew Wylie, proposed that on the international field publishers preferred to acquire works from agents (Critchley 2016), the implication being that publishers were not trusted by other publishers. Despite this apparent antagonism, there is no question that agents and publishers are mutually dependent in national fields, both being part of the literary production process (described visually in Chapter 4's figure 10). Identifying the routes to access on the transaction map—that is, creating an access map—reveals that publishers are more active internationally than the commentary suggests: it also reveals that agents tend to position themselves so they are able to work internationally with those works they consider to have the most international potential, reinforcing the perception of their effectiveness at international rights trading. Analysing the access data—the map—reveals that in the global marketspace, the relationship between Australian publishers and literary agents has a different quality as well as a different structure to that between international publishers and agents. Moreover, using the ANT approach to interpret this data reveals

these relationships to be mediated by another form of agent, one whose role in creating actor-networks (in the internationalisation process) is otherwise largely invisible.

The key to this alternative ‘reading’ of publisher-agent relationships is the definition of the term ‘literary agent’. It is a broad term. On the domestic field the term tends to describe an author’s agent. In contrast, on the international field, while literary agents might represent authors directly (Wylie, for example), they might also represent other agents and—crucially—publishers. In the global marketspace, there are authors’ agents, agents’ co-agents and publishers’ sub-agents. Some may be all of these, playing different roles in different networks. Some, too, may also be literary scouts, who work for scouting agencies. For this reason, on the international licensing field, agents can be seen to play a crucial role in the global exchange of licenses. Understanding this to be a far wider role than the commentary suggests demonstrates the ways in which they are central players in the transmission and creation of social capital.

Agents: A transformative network of activity

Interrogating the routes of access exposed by analysing access data associated with *The Slap* reveals one kind of agent: the literary agency, Curtis Brown Australia, responsible for the novel’s access to the Australian field. In this case, the agent is a mediator, enabling the transformation of the work from an unpublished manuscript to a published novel. *The Slap*’s ‘access map’ also reveals the involvement of 21 sub-agents as well as the potential involvement of scouting agencies.

The sub-agents can be seen to facilitate access making the transformative connection between the Australian publisher, Allen & Unwin, and multiple international publishers: that is, their role is as a mediator. Not only do they convey the literary and any additional capital already associated with this work from the global marketspace to the international licensing field, but they can be seen to add the national capital associated with their own field, as well as to create social capital through the act of facilitating the metaphorical translation of the work into, for example, a French or a Russian edition. Sub-agents are associated entirely with translation fields—central and peripheral—and are involved in two-thirds of these transformations.

Some agents operate in multiple linguistic fields: Ia Atterholm, for example, is involved in the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish deals for *The Slap*, each of which were announced at different dates. Others are part of international groups: International Editors is associated with the Brazilian, Spanish and Portuguese national fields. While these agents can be seen to enable transformation, an individual agent's involvement cannot ensure access, nor necessarily increase the speed of access: this is suggested by the differing deal dates in Ia Atterholm's network and demonstrated by the fact that the Japanese deal—the final step in what can be seen as *The Slap*'s journey to internationalisation—is mediated by Japan UNI Agency. Overall, the engagement of sub-agents can be seen as an important strategic process in this actor-network, at least for the translation fields.

The transaction set also reflects a higher level of sub-agent involvement in translation fields: 'the Anglo-Saxon way' is how *Publishing Perspectives* described it (Nawotka, Cox and Johnson 2016, 9). Works with deal and license dates provide the foundation for identifying agent involvement in access to distinct linguistic and national fields. As with the data on additional territory grants, the data in the transaction set about agent use suggest that they are important for many Australian licensors seeking to gain access to the international licensing field. Over the period, works with license dates—works known to be licensed by publishers who contributed data—are shown to have extensive connections and similar levels of connections to agents internationally: between 20 and 24.

For those transaction records—editions—with license dates associated, the evidence shows this form of intermediary use to be common: 65 percent involve an agent as mediator (much the same proportions as for *The Slap*). Just two of the English-language licenses have agents listed as mediators. Conversely, in the translation field, which represents 77 percent of the international activity in this sub-set of the transaction set, 17 percent of the transactions do not involve a sub-agent. The data show that 52 different agencies are involved and sub-agents are widely engaged during the period as a strategy to access translation fields by the publishers who contributed to the license data, as well as active parts of the access routes by which Australian novels are able to enter the international licensing field.

In the wider transaction set, including all records with an international agency associated, the number of named international agencies increases to 64. Together these international

agencies cover 32 linguistic fields and 36 national fields. It is also important to note that this form of agent involvement is often not included in deal announcements in the *B + P* data: HarperCollins, for instance, does not name agents in its announcements, yet for over half of the licenses—which reflect many of these deals—subagents are involved. This suggests the true percentage of agent use is likely to be considerably higher than the data suggest. What the analysis does reveal is that while the use of sub-agents for English-language fields appears to be limited—for publishers at least—the use of sub-agents is an important strategy for accessing translation fields for licensors from the Australian field: a strategy also evident in the actor-network of *The Slap*.

Without knowing which works sub-agents represent and submit, it is not possible to establish the ‘success’ rate of any individual agency: that is, those agents who in any given network regularly transition from intermediaries to mediators. The agent network may be much larger than this set suggests too, as an unsuccessful agency will not be visible (since there will be no transactions).

Examining the data with licensing dates—the sub-set in which agent use is consistently and accurately recorded—reveals the way in which the linguistic field has a strong impact on sub-agent use, as does category type, as illustrated by the proportional charts in figures 96, 97 and 98.

Figure 96. Sub-agent use by proportion of linguistic field

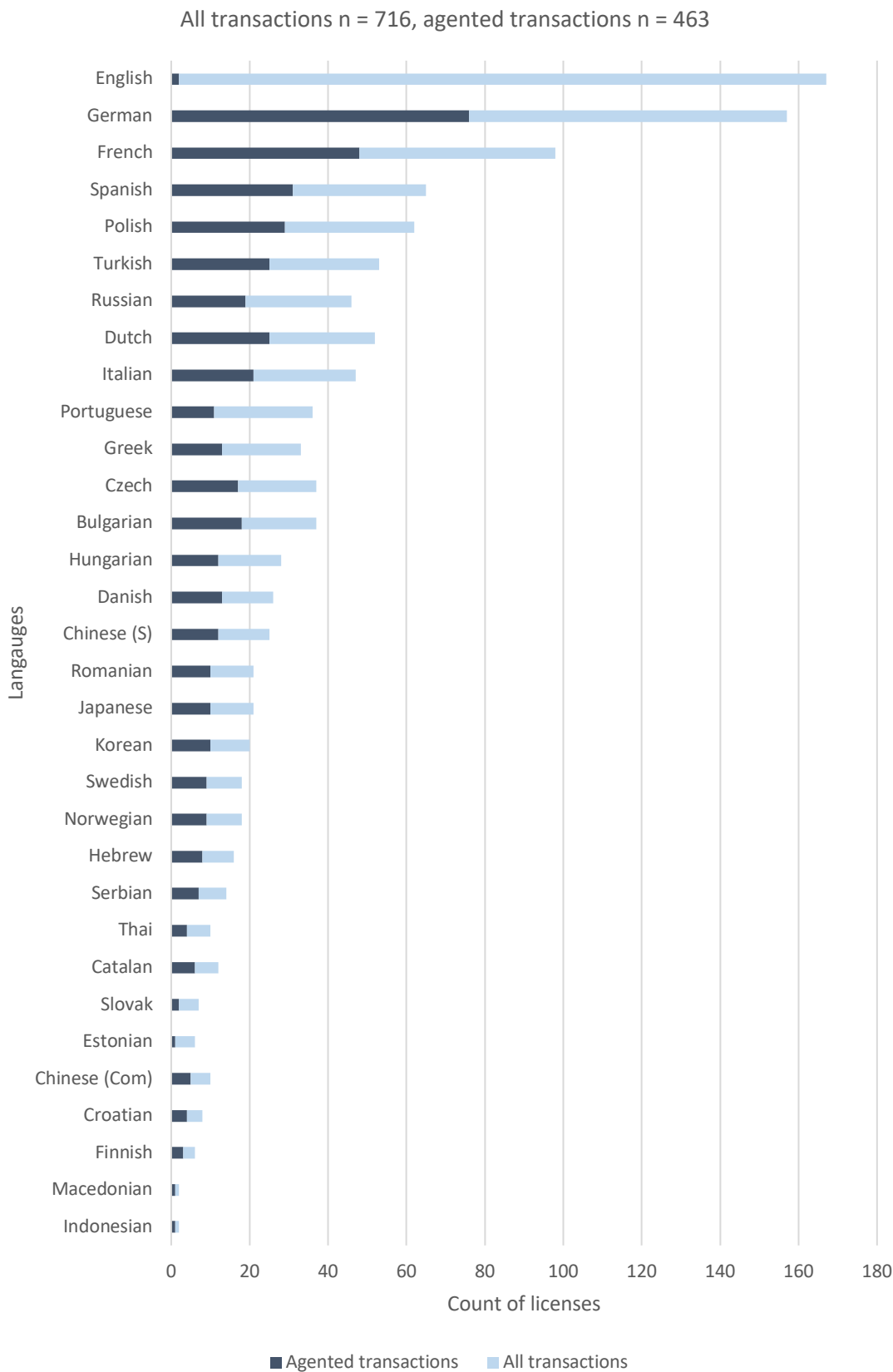


Figure 97. All licensing transactions by linguistic field and by category

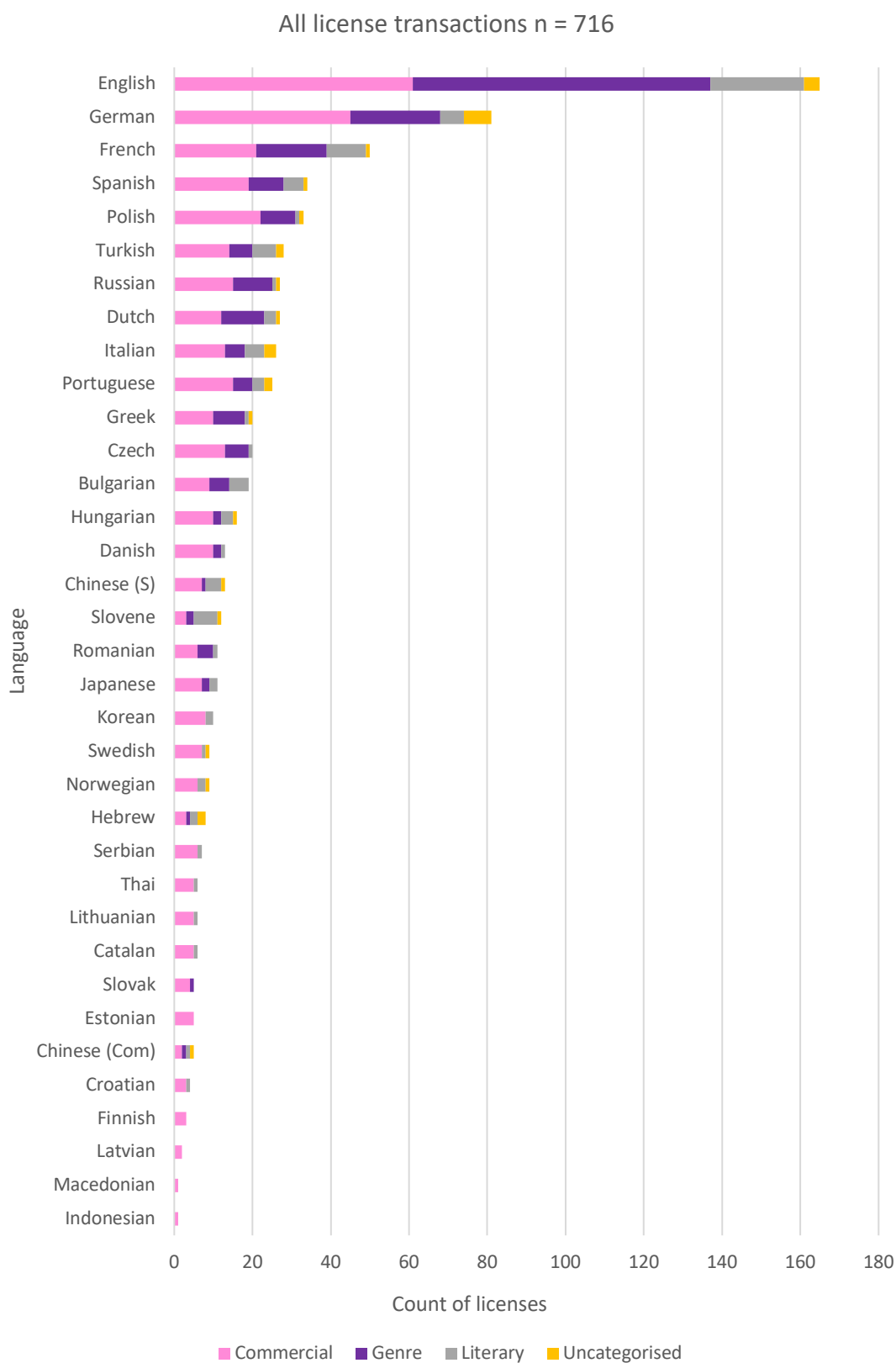
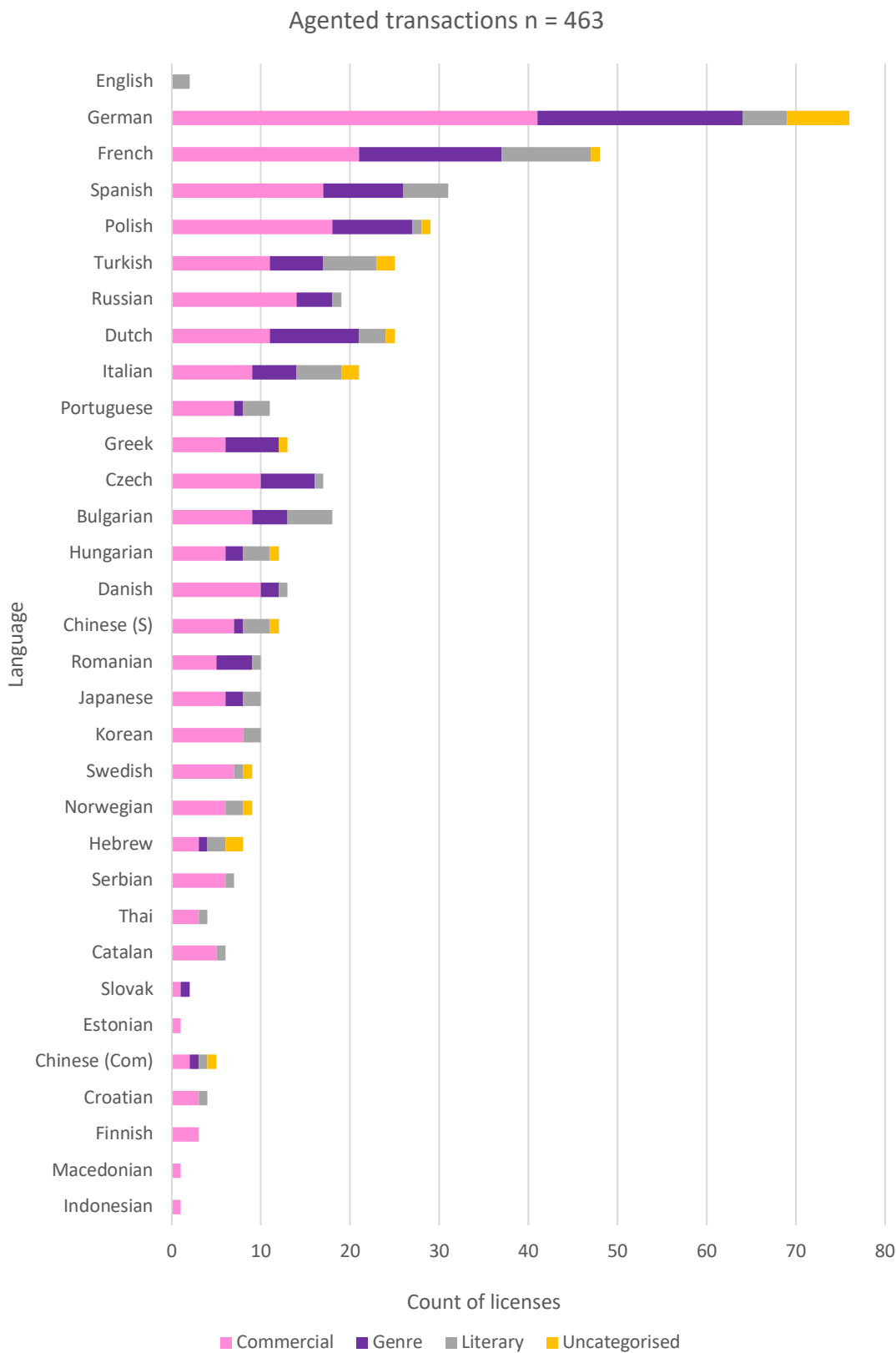
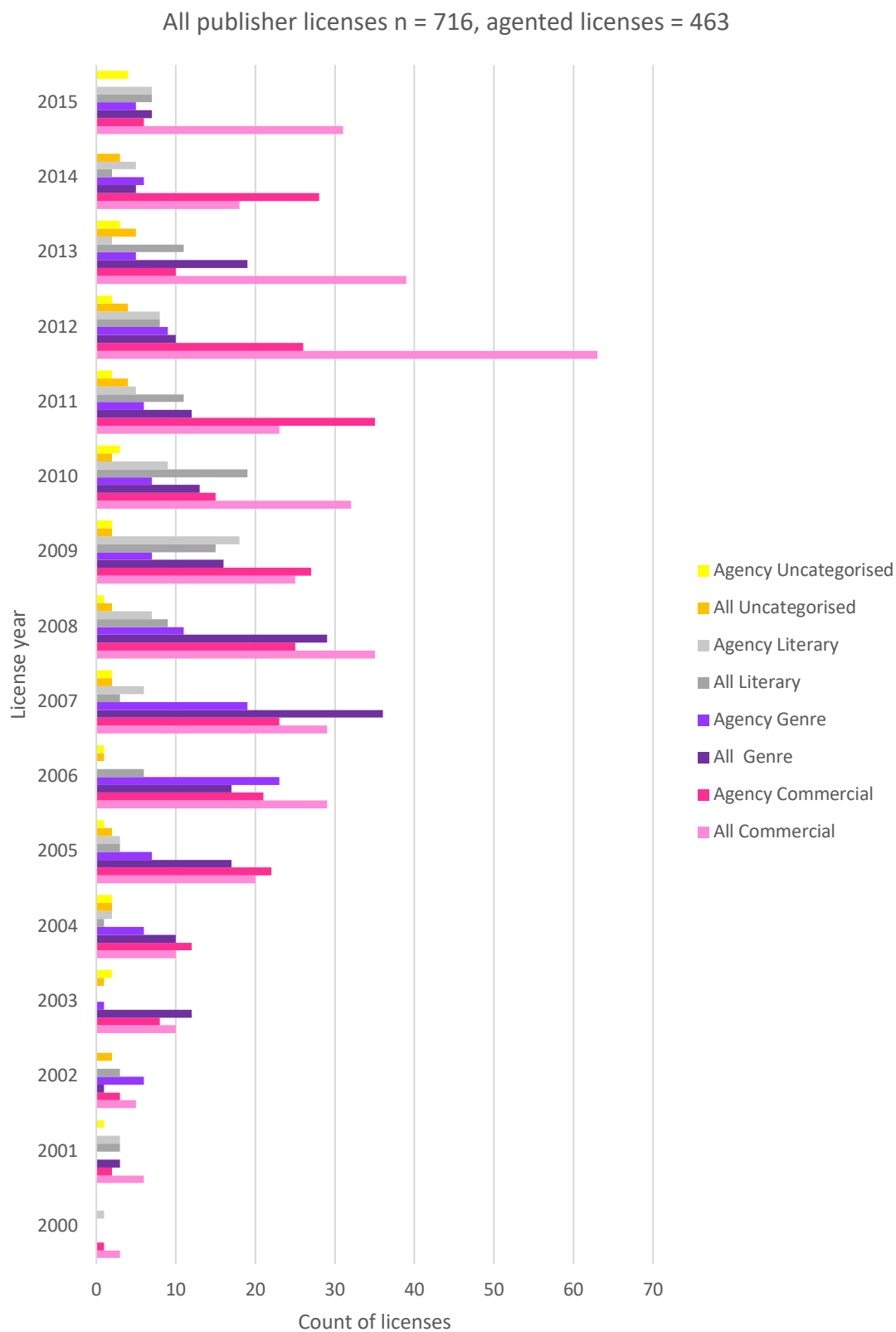


Figure 98. Sub-agent licenses by linguistic field proportioned by category



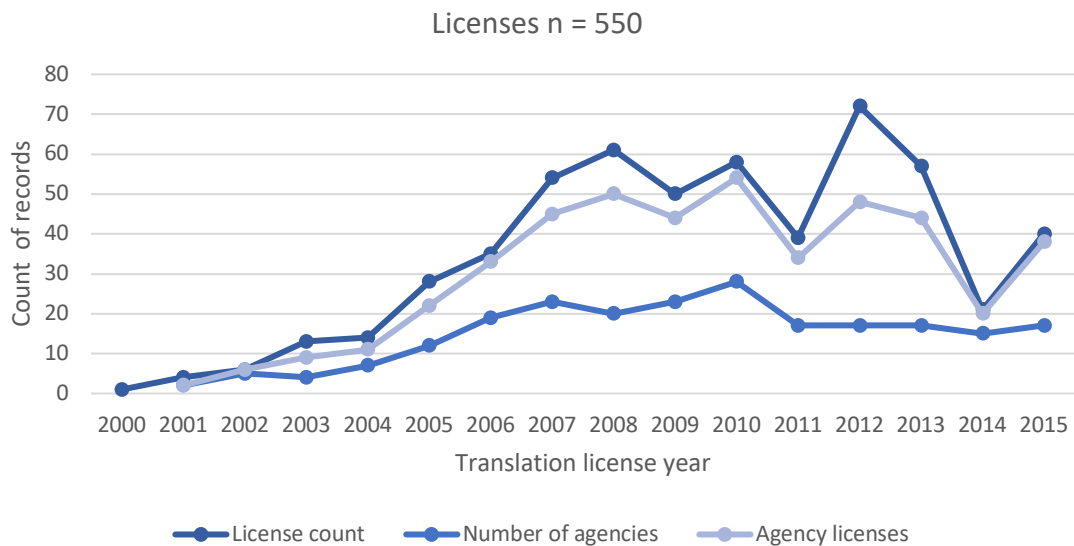
This agent data show that not only do publishers in the Australian field—as represented by the license list—use sub-agents extensively, and in the translation field, but there is a strong correlation between sub-agent use and the most active of the translation fields. Moreover, there is also a category correlation, with sub-agents most likely to be involved in licensing works from the commercial and literary categories: the categories that achieve the widest reach. Focusing on agent involvement over time, as in figure 99, reveals that this commercialisation is not consistent across the period under review in this study, nor across all fields.

Figure 99. Comparison of sub-agent use by category and license year



Considering the number of agents included as mediators within the actor-networks in the transaction data set, however, demonstrates their increasing importance across the period, as evident in figure 100.

Figure 100. Agent use increase over time using license dates and translation figures



Agent use can be seen to be an increasingly an important access strategy, if not (consistently) for all categories of works from the Australian field.

Scouting agencies: The invisible mediators

Analysis of the actor-network for *The Slap* reveals that contrary to what might be expected, sub-agents are not always involved in transactions in some of the most peripheral non-English speaking fields. An examination of those works with license dates—works for which sub-agent information is known to be accurate—shows the case to be the same in the larger transaction set, which shows unassisted access to the Slovenian, Lithuanian, Marathi and Latvian fields. As with *The Slap*, this suggests international access has been achieved through other mediated routes.

There are several potential explanations for direct access to peripheral fields, all involving networks. Structurally, Australia's position in the linguistic world-system as an English-speaking nation means a 'gateway' language—linguistic field—is not required; however, this alone does not explain the route to access. A deal announcement might convey the capital holdings of a work, this capital may include national capital associated with core

fields, the intellectual capital associated with access to multiple fields, and the cultural and economic capital from prizes and sales. Together, this aggregated—hence symbolic—capital may make a work internationally visible: consequently, an independent offer might be made. This, in itself, does not ensure the offer is accepted: the player may have no context. In contrast, the peripheral field might also be entered as a result of a player from an existing network being engaged, effectively combining social capital with a high level of symbolic capital, as can be seen with *The Slap* and the Lithuanian field.

Drawing on the company data from the Australia Council Visiting International Publisher program attendance list for the period, and the company and work data from translation grants, the knowledge map that describes *The Slap*'s internationalisation (its actor-network) reveals the incorporation of players from these other networks into that which leads to the novel's internationalisation. For example, the Dutch publisher Ambos Anthos attended the program in 2003 and 2009, and the Dutch deal is evident in August 2009; meanwhile, the Spanish publisher RBS attended the program in 2003. An interrogation of the Visiting International Publisher program attendance data set also makes it possible to trace the potential involvement of another kind of literary agency, one with its own network. This agency does not appear on the knowledge map nor any official maps of access: it is a scouting agency (a 'scout').

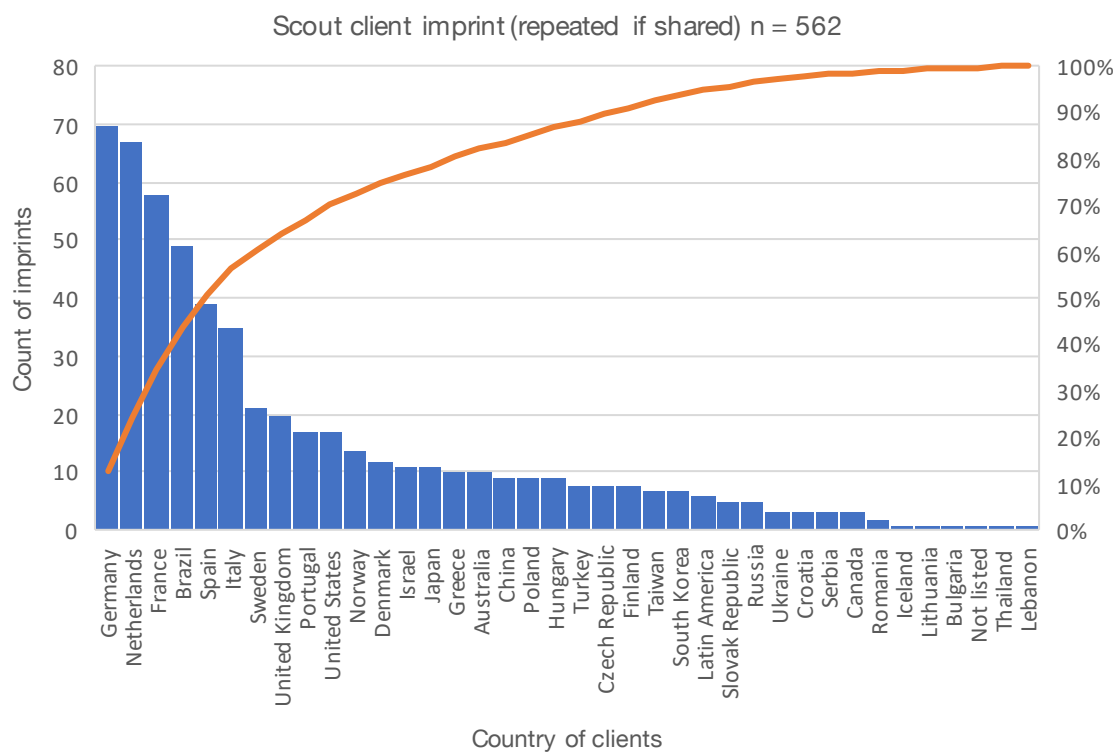
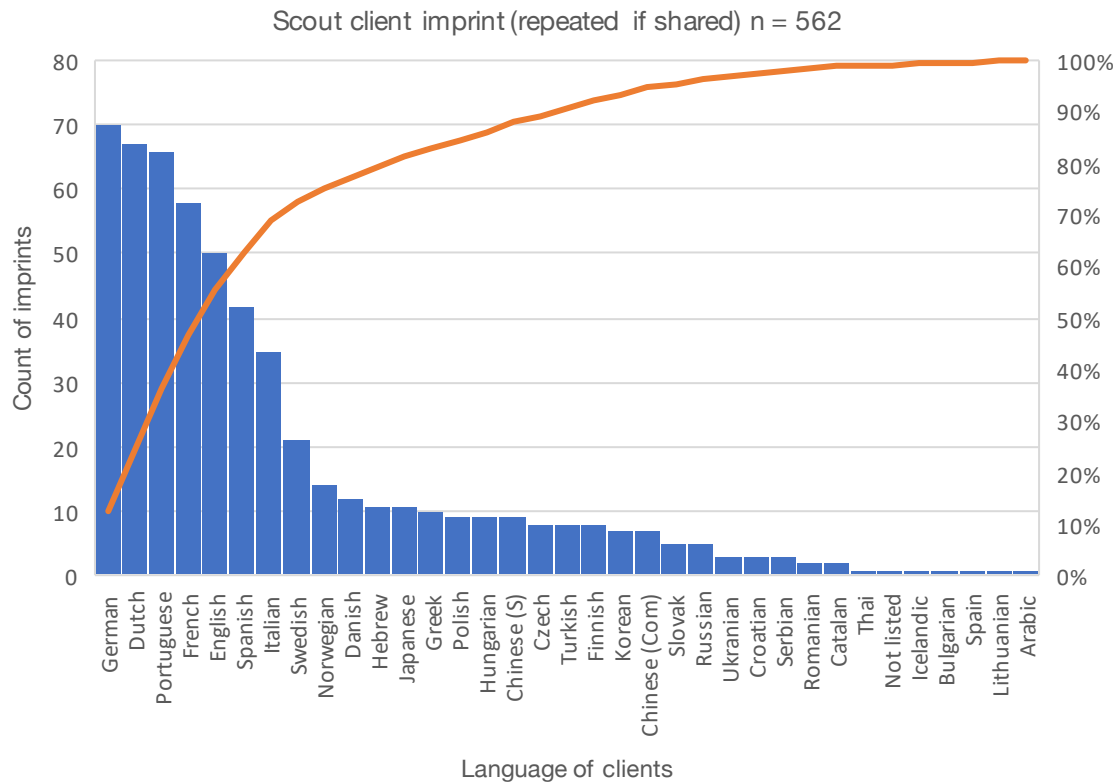
Focusing on the role of licensors as only agents and publishers fails to allow for other less visible players that may mediate access. It also contributes to a narrative in which mediator status is granted to publishers and agents when they may only be intermediaries. Including literary scouting agencies in the access equation complicates this narrative. The title of the article referenced in Chapter 4 by former New York scout Emily Williams, 'Inside the Secret World of Literary Scouts' (Williams 2009), suggests why literary scouts are not regularly included in the access network: they operate, effectively, as publishing world spies. On the one hand, scouts are employed by publishers (as well as film and television producers) to advise on works circulating in the global marketplace. On the other, they are used by agents and publishers looking to circulate works in that space. Unlike agents and publishers, scouts do not need to assert their involvement. Again, as discussed in Chapter 4, all they need to do is provide useful advice to their clients about which international works are likely to be of interest. They are not signatories to licensing agreements, they do not appear in databases associated with international editions and

they rarely appear in deal announcements. However, as advisors they do have a role as ‘agents’, moreover, they serve as international licensing field gatekeepers, who can enable increased access by extent and reach swiftly, by recommending a work, and facilitating access to a manuscript, or alternatively can limit access by advising that a work is not suitable for their clients—in other words, saying, as former scout Chandler Crawford suggested ‘it’s garbage, just forget about it’ (Williams 2010). However, drawing on the scout client set and company relationship data developed for this study—and plotting this data against transactions with imprints associated—brings these players back into view as potential mediators within individual actor-networks. Establishing their involvement shows how they can potentially be key agents of access.

The data in this set shows that most literary scouts are based in New York or London, the two dominant English language fields from which most translations are acquired. This suggests the primary role of these scouts is to report on these markets, confirming their international importance of these two fields but also ensuring their continued dominance. Certainly, there is no evidence of literary scouting agencies operating from Australia during the period, and as the *Publishing Trends* sheets indicate, coverage of the Australian market is often delegated to British scouts, reflecting the traditional market ‘ownership’ structure as well as Australian literature’s sub-dominant position in the English-language hierarchy. Combining this scout client set data and the transaction set data, it is possible to trace connections; by adding the Visiting International Publishers program attendee data set, it becomes possible to identify if one these elusive literary players may have had a transformative mediating role within an individual Australian licensing network.

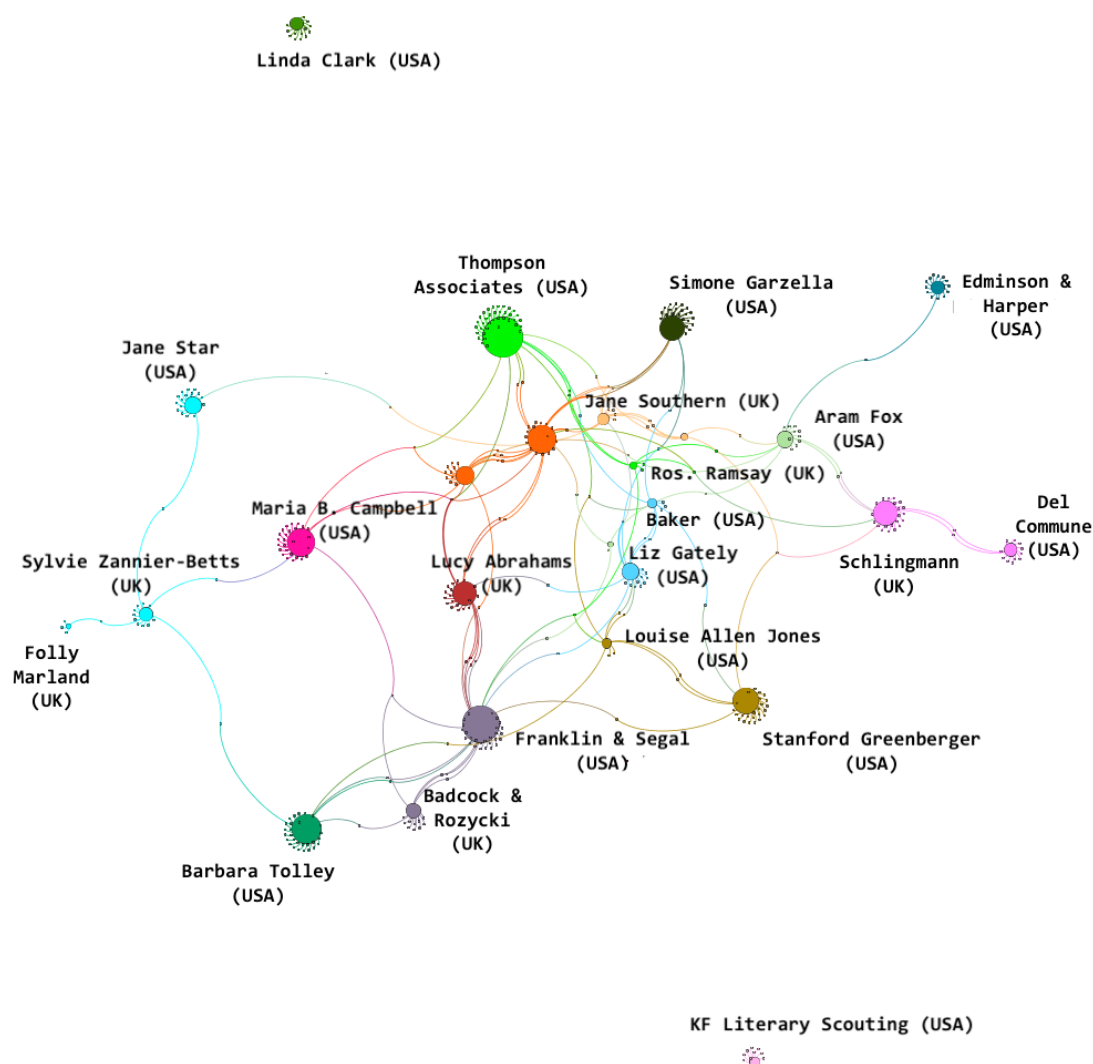
As with the other influence sets, the scout set is a partial set, designed to discover potentiality. It is indicative, not comprehensive, but as the previously quoted Griswold argued in relation to the Nigerian field, a rough sketch is better than none (Griswold 2002, 276): in this case, it is a rough set. The study’s scout data set has 32 scouting agencies, covering 424 publisher imprints (or houses), six literary agencies, 14 production companies, and works across 34 linguistic fields and 38 national fields. Some fields rely on scouts more than others (figure 101).

Figure 101. Frequency of scout use by language and client imprint



The most active users are the core European fields (also the most active in acquiring works from the international licensing field), but also some of the most peripheral linguistic and cultural fields (those with the least capital), such as Finland. Of the three fields most extensively accessed by Australian works over the period investigated by the study (the English-language, German and French fields), the German field has the highest representation in the study's scout client set. The other two fields are visible but not to the same degree; instead, it is publishers from the Dutch and Portuguese-language fields that can be seen to have high scout use. In contrast, by national field, analysis of this set shows that the Netherlands, along with Germany, has higher use than France and Brazil. The use of scouts by nations such as Australia—which has a similar level of usage to Greece, China, Israel and Hungary—suggests the importance of scouts as network elements, connecting fields that are linguistically or culturally peripheral to those that are central or dominant, so they can leverage the cultural capital associated with these nations, through acquiring prize-winning (symbolic) or bestselling (economic) works. As scouts work for multiple clients, they are also able to know early about a work's level of intellectual capital, in the form of other deals. However, as they do work for multiple clients, and clients tend to employ scouts in the US and the UK (figure 102), this does add another layer of complexity to discovering the involvement of scouts in providing additional capital for Australian works to enter the international licensing field.

Figure 102. Connections by scout and client imprint



Note: Scout clients (publishers/imprints) $n = 562$.

Created using Gephi software and the Force Atlas algorithm.

Sized by connections and positioned by shared connections. Coloured by communities.

Combining the Visiting International Program (VIP) publisher imprint company data, the company data in the transaction set relating to *The Slap*, and the scout-publisher client imprint lists reveals how players from these networks can be identified as forming part of *The Slap's* latent associative network which may have been activated to enable wider field access and thus can explain the involvement of certain peripheral fields, even those with

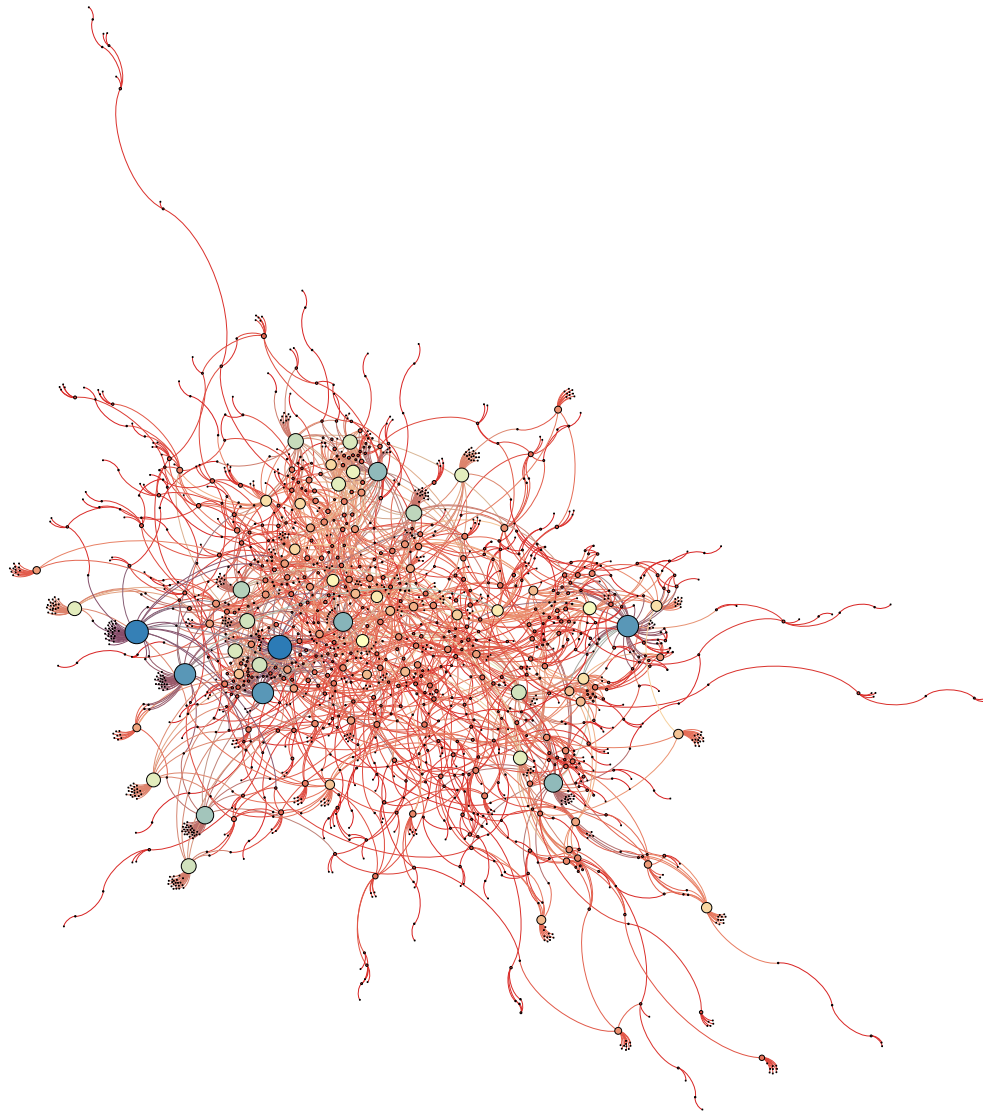
sub-agents: the scout-conferred social capital. This approach reveals nine of *The Slap*'s international imprints have scouts associated: four are associated with one American scout, Aram Fox. Five other scouts are visible in the VIP program attendee list: Koukla MacLehose (1999), Anne Louise Fisher & Associates (2002), Thompson Associates (2006), Standford J. Greenburger (2010).²⁶

Combining the scout client imprint lists with the imprint details in the transaction data set more widely shows how this analysis approach can be used to identify potential scout involvement in other actor-networks, in this way identifying other routes onto the international licensing field (less common, less reliable but in some cases effective).

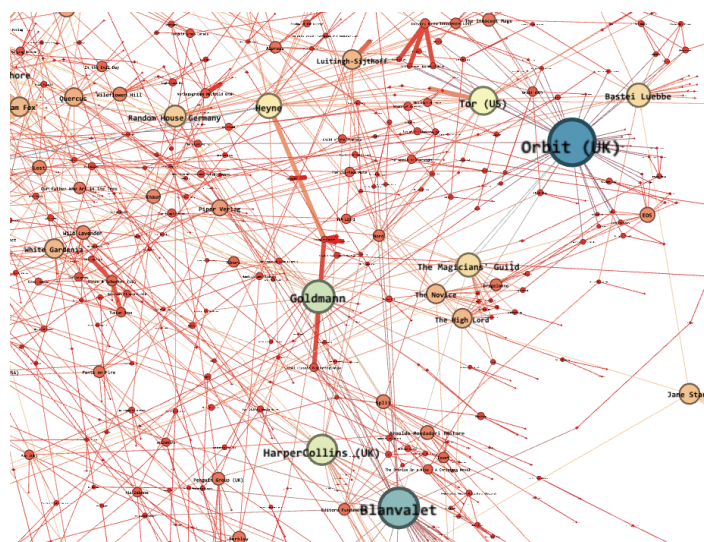
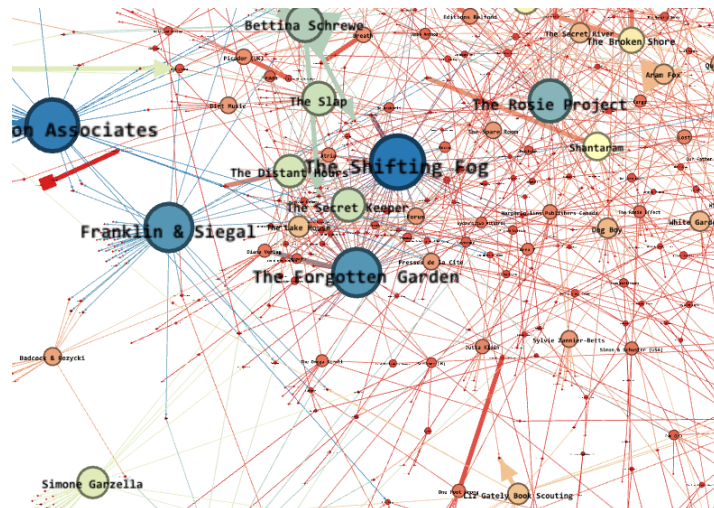
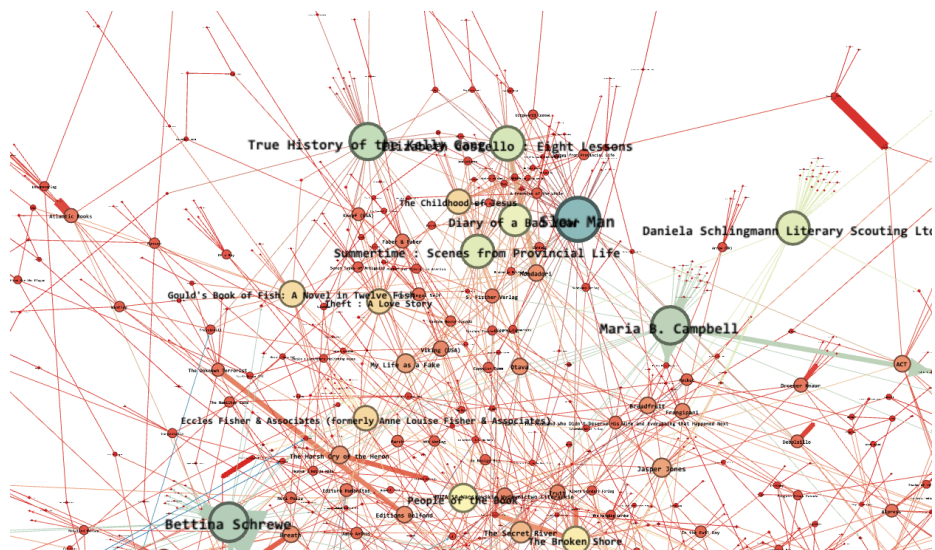
Combining the transaction set with the scout client set by using the scout name and imprint fields from the scout client set with the imprint and work fields from the transaction set, and using an algorithm that positions the most connective records in the centre, and the most connected as the largest, reveals the extent of this connectivity in relation to the Australian field. Making connections of this kind, between scouts, imprints and works that have entered the international licensing field, does not confirm scout involvement in transactions. However, this use of graph theory-enabled network modelling—a form of post-representational cartography—does identify potential agency. Figure 103 provides a bird's eye view of the transaction field networks, including scouts as players, as well as three closer views of the top, left and right segments. The field is shown to be both highly connected, central and complex; it also can be seen to be constructed by work category.

²⁶ Anne Vial Literary Scouting—a European agency—also appears, but in 2014: the last deal for *The Slap* in this set is in 2013.

Figure 103. Connections between works, scouts, clients and publishers



Note: Editions (with publishers/imprints) $n = 2445$.
Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas algorithm.
Coloured by community, sized by connections and positioned by shared connections.

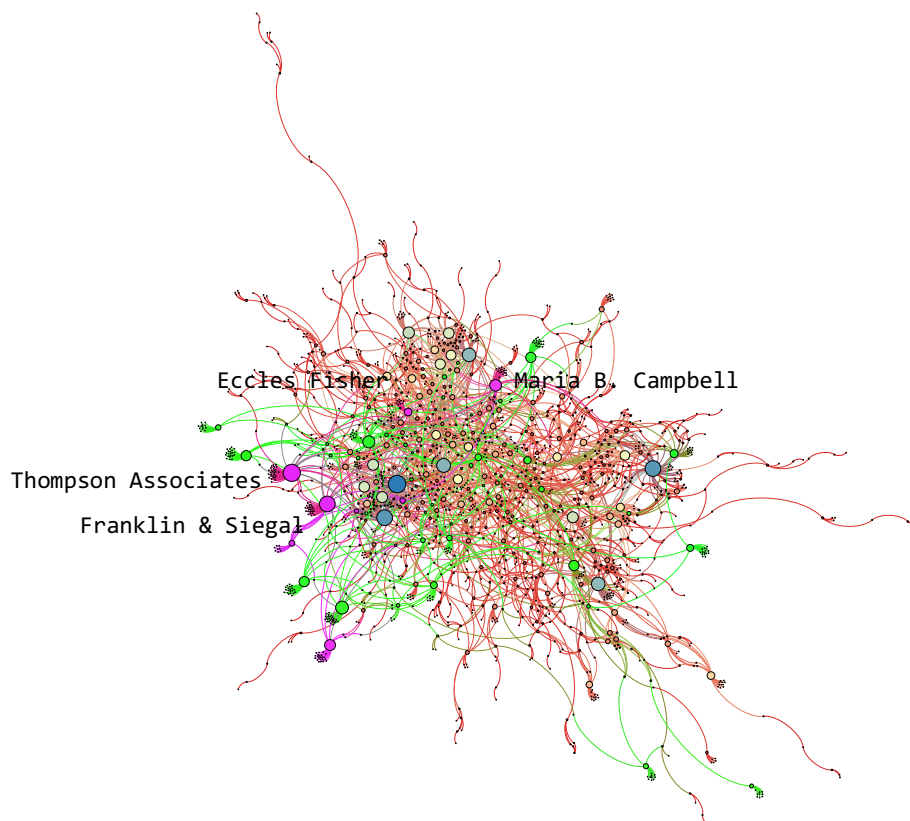


Note: Detail shows *top*, *left* and *right* sections of main network, respectively.

Establishing the connections between the scout client set, works and their international publishers demonstrates the relationship between particular scouts and work category, and particular publishers and work category. Specifically, this network approach suggests that for some works, their category changes when they enter the international field. For example, in figure 103 (*left section detail*), *The Slap*—categorised as literary—is closer to the commercial works, Kate Morton’s *The Shifting Fog* and Graeme Simsion’s *The Rosie Project*, than other ‘literary’ works (those by Flanagan, Carey and Coetzee), suggesting that on the international field this novel has been positioned as commercial. In contrast, in figure 104 (*right section detail*), the imprints Orbit, Blanvalet and Goldmann—all of which publish genre fiction—are closely positioned and more visible than the individual works that fall into this category. However, in figure 104 (*right section detail*), literary works are both visible and positioned more closely with J.M. Coetzee’s *Summertime*, Richard Flanagan’s *Gould’s Book of Fish* and Peter Carey’s *My Life as a Fake* all linked. (When using this approach to describe the international licensing field, Nick Cave can be seen to be linked to Peter Carey, as they share an Italian publisher.)

Identifying those scouts that are likely to have an interest in, or knowledge of, the Australian field, is a way to further narrow down the likelihood of their mediating role—that is, their agency—in a transaction. To do this, this study draws on scout data from the VIP program attendees. As discussed earlier, publishers, agents and scouts attend this Australia Council-funded program in which 12–15 publishing industry professionals are invited to visit the country—and are introduced (or become better acquainted with) the Australian industry and players. Over the period, the data shows that nine scouts attended: four British scouts (Anne Louise Fisher & Associates which subsequently became Eccles Fisher, Elena Lappin Scouting, Koukla MacLehose, Petra Sluka, Badcock and Rozycki); four American scouts (Maria B. Campbell Associates, Franklin and Seigel Associates Inc., Sanford J. Greenberger Associates, and Mary Anne Thompson); and one European scout, Anne Vial Literary Scouting. As the purpose of the program is to introduce publishers to the Australian field, it would seem that the nine scouts were invited to discover the Australian field on behalf of their respective international clients. While the exact roles that these scouts played in the transactions cannot be known, Figure 104 shows the extent of the related connections.

Figure 104. Connections between scouts (VIPs), scout clients and publishers of international editions



Note: Editions (with publishers/imprints) $n = 2445$.
Created using Gephi software and Force Atlas 2 algorithm.
Sized by connections and positioned by shared connections.
Scouts (VIP attendees) and connections hand-coloured pink.
Scouts (non-VIP attendees) and connections hand-coloured green.
Selected scouts named.

Connecting the data on scouts who attended the VIP program, the scout client set, and the transaction set works suggests how using a connective graph—based on the scout, work and imprint fields in the respective sets—can provide the evidence to suggest the likelihood of scout influence in individual transactions. From a distance, figure 104 suggests that two of the scouts who were also VIP attendees are deeply embedded into this particular network: these two are Anne Louise Fisher & Associates (Eccles Fisher) and Maria B. Campbell, both scouts with large client bases and a more literary focus than some of the others. Potentially, this embeddedness appears to suggest that across the period under consideration, literary works may have benefitted most from the capital associated with scouts who attended the VIP program.

Refining this analysis—including data on transaction year, scout attendance year and client engagement year—would provide firmer evidence of the likelihood of scout involvement. For a distance, however, figures 103 and 104 do suggest that it is likely that scouts have provided additional social capital to enable certain works to enter, or re-enter, the international licensing field.

8.3.1 Social capital, two: Agents as conveyors and translators

This method of close ‘reading’ and examining accounts of access shows that the strategic reasons that sub-agents are employed are a combination of Australia’s position within the world-systems—specifically, its linguistic, cultural and geographic position—and capital earned on the field; it also shows how many other kinds of agents are active on the field and which overall agent involvement has increased over the period. Interrogating the role of agents demonstrates the benefit of the descriptive approach of (a modified form of) ANT in its capacity to reveal previously hidden network elements such as scouts that may be influential in enabling transmission and transformation. In this sense, examining the roles of agents shows their role as conveyors and creators of capital, but also suggests that closer inspection of an individual network can show how agency does not only rest with literary agents.

8.4 Agency: Where transmission leads to transformation

Australian literary agent Jenny Darling claims that trading rights is a ‘contact sport’ (Hoch 2015). The phrase can also be interpreted as meaning rights is networked sport: a sport that depends on connections and the transmission of information through those

networks. Scholars, too, have depicted this network in social contact terms, *Translating Networks* (Childress, Beebee and Weidman n.d.), for example.

Examining agent networks using ANT reveals previously hidden network elements: its concept of the social as more than people also means that it allows agency to be invested in things. Furthermore, an actor 'network' is not pre-formed by association links but instead formed (and reformed) through information transmission and transformative events: it is formed by something happening. This dynamic approach provides a way to describe rights trading not as an act or an outcome, but as an ongoing interconnected and conditional process. Using ANT, the entry of a work into the international licensing field can be seen as part of an ongoing capital-driven exchange enabled by all kinds of multiple players and transformative interventions, which can be understood as licensing 'events'. In this context, contact can be seen as central to this exchange, both as a form of transmission and transformation. Analysing *The Slap*'s journey to internationalisation with a wider understanding of the concept of both agency and network means that multiple other elements can be seen to intervene in and thus enable the transformation process of the work itself. This study proposes that technology played a key role in enabling access over the period under review. This role can be demonstrated by reading the transaction data and influence data in conjunction with a networked timeline and asking: How have technological interventions transformed access and the logic of the international licensing field?

8.4.1 Connecting data with a networked timeline

Understanding the relationship between access and time—paying attention to the temporal—is central to understanding the logic of the licensing field. At a macro level, it is time that leads to cultural consecration and the accumulation of national capital. Time is similarly crucial at the mezzo level of the field. It takes time to accumulate sufficient sales to make an impact through economic capital, and it takes time to have enough deals for intellectual capital to matter. Prizes, normally, are awarded after publication, and grants after prizes, so the acquisition of cultural capital is what might be called 'a slow burn'. At the micro level, time has a different role to play. Arguably, it is this level where time has the most significant impact. To put it another way, an actor-network is necessarily a temporal network.

To investigate the impact of the temporal on access the licensing-specific event timeline outlined in Chapter 4 was created for this study. It includes global, legal, industry-related, cultural and technological events that potentially influence or are associated with access or changes in access. Events prior to the study's timeline have already been discussed in relation to the way they impact upon knowledge of the Australian field: the press release for Patrick White's 1973 Nobel Prize states that his work 'introduced' to the (literary) world 'a new continent' (Swedish Academy n.d.) and publishers were invited to visit this 'new continent' in 1988 (McPhee 2001, 191); and, along with multiple discussions about lifting Parallel Import Legislations, these are documented in an extended timeline (Appendix E). The event timeline in this section is restricted to the period of the study.

Table 9. Timeline categorised by event type (2000–2015)

YEAR	GLOBAL	LEGAL	INDUSTRY	CULTURAL	TECHNOLOGICAL
2000	Olympics held in Sydney	*Goods and services tax introduced (GST) *Intellectual Property and Competition Review Committee advise removing PIRs more beneficial than damaging	Rise in rights deals		*ASA trials OzAuthors rights transaction site for three months *Google launches world's largest search engine' (Google, 2000)
2001	*9/11 Terrorist Attacks (USA) *100 years of the (British) Commonwealth	*ABA for PIR lifting; APA against *Napster loses case *PIRs lifted for software *ACCC recommends lifting PIRs *Senate Legal and Constitutional Legislation Committee blocks lifting PIRs	Amazon becomes profitable (five years from conception)	Peter Carey's <i>True History of the Kelly Gang</i> wins Booker (the transaction data shows that rights licensed in 30 territories)	*BookScan introduced *Email in common use *Apple Mac's OX 10 operating system introduced *HarperCollins announces partnership with rightscentre.com *Publishers Lunch news site launched
2003				Australian-based South African J.M. Coetzee wins Nobel Prize for Literature	*Publishers claim email makes international submissions easier for Australians
2004	Australian Mary Donaldson weds Crown Prince of Denmark (May)		Text and Scottish publisher Canongate form partnership		
2005		Google sued for scanning books without permission, so breaching copyright	Australia and New Zealand market focus countries at the London Book Fair		

Timeline, cont. (2009-2016)

YEAR	GLOBAL	LEGAL	INDUSTRY	CULTURAL	TECHNOLOGICAL
2006			<i>Australian Bookseller & Publisher</i> becomes <i>Bookseller + Publisher</i>	*Kate Morton's <i>The Shifting Fog</i> licensed in 13 territories prior to publication	*Blackberry 'smart' phone in wide use
2007	Global Financial Crisis (July)				*Apple's iPhone launched in US *Amazon's Kindle launched in US *Goodreads launched
2008	Film <i>Australia</i> released globally	*Council of Australian Governments decides to reconsider removal of PIRs and Productivity Commission investigates	*Australian Book Industry Association (ABIA) Export Success Award introduced (includes rights) * <i>Peak of rights activity in data</i>	Christos Tsiolkas' <i>The Slap</i> published in Australia (eventually licensed in 29 territories)	
2009		*Productivity Commission advises lifting of PIRs (July) *ABA and APA united against lifting PIR *Google book scanning lawsuit agreement proposed	*HarperCollins takes over publishing of ABC Books *Allen & Unwin takes share in UK company Atlantic *Rights deals shown to decrease		*Amazon's Kindle released in UK plus 99 other countries including Australia *Amazon launches publishing imprints (including translation: AmazonCrossing)
2010		*Publishers and Apple enter 'agency' agreement to maintain control on e-book prices	HarperCollins announce that Voyager speculative fiction imprint will be a global imprint		*Apple's releases iPad *Apple launches iBookstore *More e-books than print books bought from Amazon
2011		*Google book scanning lawsuit agreement rejected *Publishers and Apple investigated by European Commission for e-book price fixing *UK Office of Fair Trading investigates agency model	*A & U launches UK list *Red Group book stores (Borders and Angus & Robertson) in administration *UK company Canongate sells shares in Text		*Random House relaunches Loveswept imprint as digital only
2012		*PIRs further modified under 'Speed to Market' agreement: 90/30 day rule becomes 14/14 day rule *Google settles book scanning lawsuit with publishers	*Australian Book Industry Collaborative Council established * <i>Bookseller + Publisher</i> becomes <i>Books + Publishing</i>	*28 pre-publication deals for <i>The Rosie Project</i> (subsequently XX) *Seven figure two book deal for Hannah Kent including <i>Burial Rites</i> ; <i>Burial Rites</i> subsequently licensed in 35 territories)	*Random House launches multiple e-book only imprints

Timeline, cont. (2009–2016)

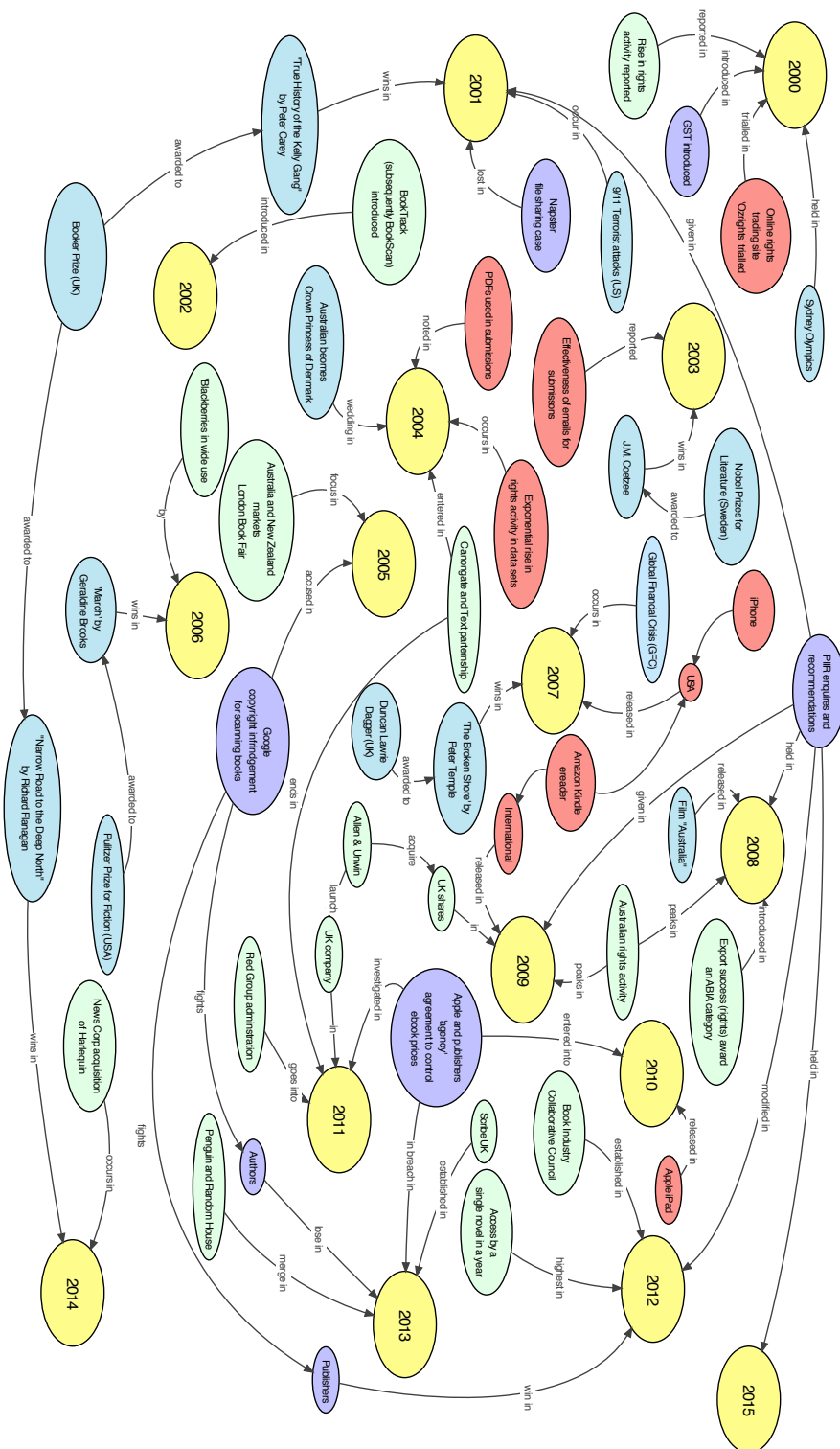
YEAR	GLOBAL	LEGAL	INDUSTRY	CULTURAL	TECHNOLOGICAL
2013		*Google wins book scanning lawsuit with authors *Publishers and Apple found to be in breach of anti-trust laws in US with agency agreement	*Random House and Penguin merge (July) *Scribe opens UK office		*Amazon acquires goodreads.com
2014			*News Corp acquires Canadian company Harlequin *Allen & Unwin take a majority share in Atlantic *Book Council of Australia announced	Richard Flanagan's <i>Narrow Road to the Deep North</i> wins Booker Prize (unclear how many licenses)	
2015		Productivity Commission releases <i>Issues Paper on Intellectual Property Arrangements</i>	Book Council of Australia dissolved		*AmazonCrossing (USA) publishes three times more than other US publishers

As discussed in Chapter 1, and as table 9 shows, the twenty-first century has seen dramatic changes to publishing industry practices as a result of what is often described as digital disruption. E-books—as recently as 2018 called a ‘stupid’ product by Arnaud Nourry, CEO of global publishing group Hachette Livre, due to their limited impact on the reading experience (Gill 2018)—have challenged publisher gatekeeping, while other digital technologies have substantially impacted on other facets of publishing: online store Amazon on publisher prices (and profits); algorithms—such as those used by search engine Google—on ‘product’ discoverability; the introduction of eReaders (such as Kindle and iPads) on buying patterns; smart phones (such as Blackberries and iPhones) on reading; and the growth of electronic aggregated rating and recommendation platforms (GoodReads, for example) on reviewing hierarchies. All are major technological interventions into the fields of production and reception.

On the licensing field, while digital technological interventions have had an impact, the interventions that can be seen to be more influential did not involve formats, algorithms, aggregated consumer data or prices. The licensing field—as the data analysis in the previous chapters has suggested—has its own logic, a logic that depicting the timeline in

another way helps clarify: figure 105 provides the networked version of key elements of the study's timeline structured as a series of related events. While in a literal sense table 9 details the events, figure 105 makes sense of the relationships between events—as they relate to the licensing field, access and the ability to transmit social capital. The key differences between presenting events in a linear structure and as a network is that the linear structure provides a straightforward account and the networked structure disrupts this account: in actor-network terms, it can be seen to be 'reassembling the social' (Latour 2005) by reassembling events as they happen in time. On the licensing field, transforming this timeline into a network demonstrates how this form of agency can be seen to play out in terms of the extent, reach and speed of access over the period: that is, in increasing the overall access to the Australian field.

coloured by: year (yellow), cultural (blue), technological (red), industry (green),
global (purple)



Note: Coloured by: year (yellow), cultural (blue), technological (red), industry (green), global (purple)

The account the data in this networked timeline shows 2001 and 2014 to be connected through the Booker Prize and the PIR debates through 2001, 2008, 2009, 2012 and 2015, while the growth period of international access—2004 to 2008—can be linked to a specific type of digital technology. While free online media newsletters (*Publishers Lunch*, in particular, launched in 2001) could advise potential licensees around the world about new deals, thereby increasing visibility in a way subscription-only print publications did not, the most transformative event can be seen to be related to submission methods.

Despite much enthusiasm for online trading platforms at the beginning of the period, there is no evidence in the transaction set of use of these sites, nor in the *B + P* deal commentary. Furthermore, online trading sites are also consistently ranked lowest in *B + P*'s annual survey of rights 'conduits'. Rather than a new type of submission method—such as an online database—the data suggests that transformation can be tracked to new approach to a more traditional method. Where printing and posting was, and remains, expensive, particularly for Australian licensors (as does travel), email is free: emailing a Portable Document File (PDF) allows a final edited document to be supplied to potential licensees in a format that can be received in moments—rather than days or weeks—and read electronically. Reading can be done from anywhere too: at a fair, during a meeting, or from the office. Both email and PDFs are noted as influencing access in industry commentary: the first in 2003, the second in 2004.

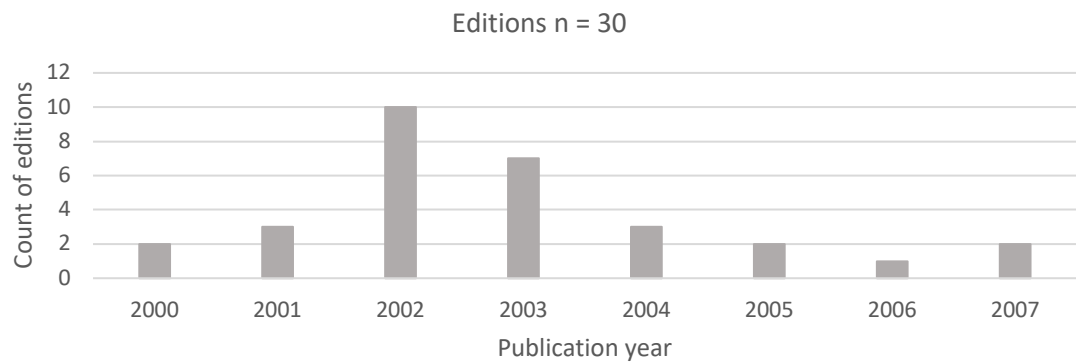
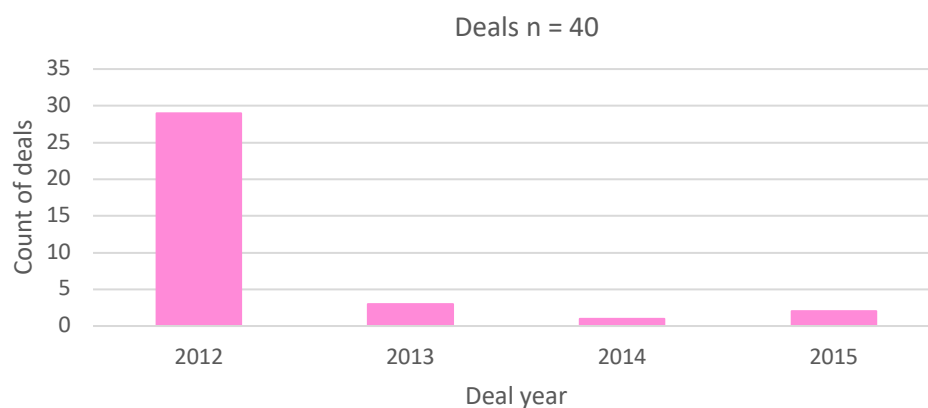
Previous data analysis has shown that this period not only marks an increase in access but an increase in access for genre works and commercial works. It is logical, therefore, to assume that this increase might be associated with a reduction in submission costs—all works could be sent out, not only those considered strategically important (certain authors) or likely to be licensed (categories that had been licensed before—literary). In this context, if e-books have democratised the publishing field and marketplace, email and PDFs can be seen to have democratised access to the global marketplace and licensing field. Finally, the fluctuating levels of access from 2008 shown in the transaction data can be seen to be related to the Global Financial Crisis in 2007; while the continuing reach evident in previous analysis can be linked to the ability to (re)assemble networks through the use of digital technology. This 'temporal network' suggests the importance of communication and, as Darling suggests, 'contact' (Hoch 2015).

More broadly, digital intervention can be seen to have altered the geo-spatial-temporal power balance by removing some of the limitations inherent in Australia's geographic coordinates ('the tyranny of distance') but also altered the way in which it is positioned within the different versions of the world-system—not only being geographically peripheral, but the impact of being culturally peripheral. It has increased the benefits of being linguistically hyper-central: English is the language of widely read industry newsletters as well as media more broadly. It has challenged the extent of the Anglo-American domination by making Australian work more 'discoverable'. This intervention has also allowed the country's economically core position—which can be seen to be associated with publishing a higher number of 'commercial' books—to benefit the licensing trade. In other words, reinterpreting the timeline as a series of networked events and analysing it as such suggests how digital technology can be seen to have led to increased global access for works from the Australian field.

A temporal reading: The speed of access

Reading this 'temporal network' in conjunction with *The Slap*'s knowledge map—and the transaction and influence data—shows how digital technology can be seen to have increased not only the level of access, but the extent and speed of this access. The knowledge map suggests that in *The Slap*'s actor-network, access happens in distinct stages: stage one is Australian publication, followed by a delay; stage two is a period of capital accumulation on the Australian field (economic and cultural); stage three is a period of cultural capital accumulation in the world literary sphere (a reception space); stage four is entry into the international licensing field and the gradual accumulation of intellectual capital; stage five involves entering more sub-fields of the licensing field and the continuing accumulation of capital in multiple forms. The final section describes how these five stages happen over a period of years.

By comparing the access timeline associated with *The Slap* with two other novels first licensed in different years—both of which also achieve wide access over the period under investigation, and each of which also holds high levels of capital in the global marketplace (cultural, economic and intellectual)—this section demonstrates the impact of the digitally-enabled change in the temporal logic of the field, evident in figures 106, 107 and 108 which show the number of editions by year for each work.

Figure 106. Access by publication year *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000)Figure 107. Access by license year *The Slap* (2008)Figure 108. Access by deal year *The Rosie Project* (2013)

There are key differences between the data for these works: each is drawn from a different transaction set sub-set; their Australian publication years; and, most significantly, as figures 106, 107 and 108 show, each of these works has a different temporal access pattern.

True History of the Kelly Gang (2000) shows a slower impact of the accumulation of capital to *The Slap* and is only marginally more global. While this study does not take into account the existing capital of authors, in Carey's case this is suggested by the fact that the year the Australian edition of the novel enters the national field—is published—three international editions are simultaneously appear in the international licensing field, not as deals or licenses but as publications: this is stage one. The year the work is awarded the Booker Prize there are more publications, suggesting they were influenced by existing capital, rather than the prize win itself. The influence of the capital conferred by this prize, and possibly the intellectual capital conferred by an increasing number of editions, can be seen over the following years. For this work the internationalisation process takes seven years. In contrast, Graeme Simsion's *The Rosie Project* (2013) can be seen to enter the international licensing field prior to its entry into the national sales field: here, the stages are compressed into months. It is also more 'global' in terms of access, than both the prize-winning literary novels. While Peter Carey's *True History of the Kelly Gang* takes seven years to generate 30 editions, with the most active years the two immediately after Australian publication, Simsion's *The Rosie Project* achieved access for 29 editions in a single year prior to Australia publication.

These differences in access rates might be explained by editions being published relatively slowly (with gaps of years), as opposed to deals, which can happen very quickly. It might be a limitation of the transaction set, or deal reporting issue. However, Carey is a widely studied author so the publication set data is likely to be relatively accurate and the extent of *The Rosie Project* data does, largely, reflect the publisher website. Regardless, the sheer number of deals for *The Rosie Project* reported at the one time suggests a change in the field, one that is unlike the social capital that can be seen to be deployed by Allen & Unwin for *The Slap*.

As a literary novel with an internationally valued international award (the Booker Prize), as well as an author who had won the prize before, *True History of the Kelly Gang* should have had enough capital to achieve wider access than *The Rosie Project*, a commercial novel, by an unknown author. According to the transaction set data, *The Rosie Project* 'travelled' far more widely than *True History of the Kelly Gang*. Unlike Hannah Kent's *Burial Rites* (2013), which an actor-network created for this study shows was initially transformed by a global auction and the subsequent announcement of a million dollar

deal with the American arm of a French multinational, *The Rosie Project* was not transformed by high levels of intellectual and national capital. However, this work can be seen to have benefitted from the same kind of capital conveyance. Rather than an increase in the international value of different types of capital or a change in the status of the Australian field, the reduction in the time—or temporal distance—between rights trades suggests that better communication tools have made the Australian field more visible through online media, thus access is more likely and submissions are both faster and easier (through PDFs and emails). As a player in the actor-network for *The Rosie Project*, digital technology is revealed as a powerful mediator, conveying and creating capital.

Ultimately what analysing these examples show is that at the beginning of the period, wide reach was 20 editions and it took years, reflecting Damrosch's assertion about global reach just a few years later, when he claimed that 'for the first time in history, authors of highly successful works can hope to have them translated into twenty or thirty languages within a few years of publication' (Damrosch 2003b, 523). However, by the end of the period, two novels in the transaction set have entered over 40 fields (the global benchmark for access identified in Chapter 5), the second in a matter of months.²⁷

While Damrosch associated increase in reach to globalisation (Damrosch 2003b, 523), he was discussing a pre-digital period. Examination of the networked timeline demonstrates the way in which technological developments can be seen to have been instrumental in these changes. As this approach shows, at the beginning of the period, books were still being sent out; as a result the postage costs were high. There were no iPhones or blackberries, nor social media. That is, the capital could not easily be transmitted—and the licensing net itself was necessarily smaller and less effective. Moreover, this temporal reconfiguring suggests why there is a change in the field itself with cultural and economic capital seemingly becoming of less value than intellectual capital combined with social capital.

8.4.2 Social capital, three: Agency as transformative contact

Examining the impact of digital technology demonstrates the contingent nature of the licensing field, as well as and the contingent nature of the process of licensing itself: it

²⁷ The other novel is Kate Morton's *The Shifting Fog* (2006).

relies on connections and the quality and capacity of those connections. More generally, what the analysis of *The Slap*'s actor-network as described in the knowledge map demonstrates is how these multiple types of agency transform a work, along with how multiple types of agency are required to internationalise a novel and enable it to gain global access: however, these types are often not visible or acknowledged because of a focus on human agency and personal contact.

In the international licensing field, access and transformation can be seen to be affected by connection—and communication. So while licensing is a 'contact sport', there are far more players involved than those named on licensing agreements, or in deal announcements. It is a process not driven by *agents* (or licensors) and contact, but by *agency* and contact. It is not that *anyone* might play: it is that *anything* might play—and by playing, change the course of the game itself.

What might be called a 'temporal reading' of the field itself—one that focuses on the impact of the technology which changes it—supports the commercialisation of (book) culture argument, visible in the debates about 'the decline of the literary paradigm' (Davis 2006) and the shift towards awarding literary prizes to more accessible (market-friendly) novels, a trend discussed in relation to Australia by scholars such as Stinson (Stinson 2016). It also suggests an inward focus from the industry itself, with industry consecration replacing institutional and market consecration: and the higher value of social capital enabling this shift. This can be seen as part of the more recent approach by publishers acquiring works by authors who are connected and able to connect, an approach common enough for 'a video-tracking platform powered by artificial intelligence' to have been set up to track online potential and mainstream enough for the British arm of Pan Macmillan to use it (Bridge 2017). In other words, this can be seen as an increasing focus on authors who can create social capital as well as convey capital.

This analysis also contributes to discussions about the literary field being outmoded because of digital interventions (Davis 2018). It does not, however, suggest that the licensing field is outmoded, only that the conditions of entry are subject to change. As Bourdieu explains of the literary field, new players tend to enter and positions are changed when there is a revolution in style. In the licensing field the entry of players from the

Australian field, and the increasingly better positions of those players, can be seen as part of the digital revolution and commercialisation of trade publishing.

8.5 Connection enables internationalisation

By examining the internationalisation of *The Slap*, this chapter demonstrates why an individual rights transaction cannot be fully understood through world-systems and field theory alone. The employment of the micro explanatory level supports Sapiro's suggestion that this level can be conceptualised through attention to reception, although this study positions reception within the broadest concept of receiving information. Similarly, the use of this approach supports Heilbron's claim that it is at this level that 'circulation'—in this study, access—effectively, is enabled. Where the world-system describes the overriding logic of relations between national and linguistic fields, and the concept of consecration and capital provides a way to understand what influences individual access, using actor-network theory (ANT) illuminates access routes in terms of agency, capital production and distribution, and in this way describes the mechanics that underpin the international licensing field.

Unlike the world-system (which suggests how international trade flows of novels are likely to be influenced by the power balance of national relationships) and the literary field (which shows how particular types of influence impact on entry to the licensing field), the example of *The Slap* shows how using the actor-network, which uses de-aggregated data, makes it conceptually possible to separate the mediators from the intermediaries and to include all elements with a transformative aspect within the network rather than outside of it, so that these elements are also players with mediating potential.

This chapter has shown that for the Australian field increased circulation—in the form of international rights—can be attributed to a democratisation of access to the global marketplace, enabled by the increasing commercialisation of the industry, with more genre and commercial works being published; wider reach being enabled by the use of networks of agents, and, the intervention of new technologies reducing the financial, physical and temporal barriers imposed by geography.

By focusing on data relating to responsibility, agents and agency—and using the ANT concepts of connection, mediation and transformation—this reading reveals that

multinational companies are more likely to work together, but not necessarily within their own groups; that agents are largely responsible for enabling access but often as mediators working on behalf of publishers; and that frequently agency does not rest with agents (or publishers), but other players such as scouts and fairs whose mediator role can be identified using network graphs and access-focused knowledge maps.

Using these maps also reveals the intervention points in the actor-network where capital associated with other elements of influence is conveyed and social capital produced. It is during this process that works are transformed and become international. In the end, this final process is what ensures access. Works that enter the global marketspace, and gain access to the international licensing field are not international in the sense that works of world literature are international, but they are subject to a process of internationalisation. Finally, this approach shows how it is changes in network processes that have enabled the increase in the global circulation of Australian novels—specifically, in the form of ‘global access’.

9 Conclusion: Understanding the conditions of access

When Elliot Perlman recounted the incident described in the Introduction about the woman in Scotland who wanted to know if he found it difficult not being taken seriously because he was... 'Australian', he did not reveal his response. He may not have made one, although as a barrister it is difficult to believe he did not say something. Possibly, it was pithy and pointed. Or perhaps not. Perhaps he leaned forward, focused on the woman and said, 'Madam, it's not being Australian that's the problem, it's being a member of a geographically and culturally peripheral, economically central, dominated sub-group of a hyper-central language, trapped within an imperial paradigm within a neo-liberally inclined globalised world space. It's the implications of that particular position, in terms of international access and exchange, cultural and commercial, that's not taken seriously, because nations, and languages, and therefore exchanges, are not equal.'

'Australians do some things differently because we are different. What might be appropriate for the British and North Americans is not always appropriate for Australians. Our colonial, Anglo-settler history both constrains and enables our relationships with other nations and even in a digital world our physical isolation continues to inform the strategies we adopt to engage with the wider world, while the available technology determines the networks we use and how we employ them. As to others who interpret our behaviour as inappropriate or incorrect and so do not take us seriously, as if we don't know the right way to act—well, yes, madam, I do find that difficult. I also find it not a little patronising.' He might have paused here to take a sip of water before focusing once again on the woman. 'Personally, I've sought to address this problem by supplementing my limited inherited national capital holdings with acquired forms of capital, additional national capital, as well as the cultural, intellectual and social type. My strategy, I hear you ask?' This question would, without doubt, have been followed by a smile perhaps, but not a break. 'Writing novels that fall into the literary category,' he might have added, 'and having sufficient skill, influence and luck to ensure consecrating institutions support my work by granting it multiple awards, and by engaging a powerful literary agent to ensure that my works are published widely and, of course, by prestigious imprints, a man who

understands that the global rights trade is both a system that works on multiple levels as well as a process. While I'm an Australian author, and part of the Australian literary field, my work is not licensed from Australia but New York, by the Andrew Wylie Agency, so you could say, in the global marketspace, my works carry very high levels of capital, of the various types of value at every level on the international licensing field—global, national and local. Consequently, what we might call the “Australian” issue does not matter nearly as much for me as it does for those without my particular advantages. Thank you for your question. Madam.'

In fact, Perlman could not have replied to the women in the audience in the way suggested above. Specifically, Perlman could not have drawn on the three-tiered, data-driven, capital-informed, network-based approach this study employs to depict and understand the internationalisation of Australian literature as a licensing process. The approach was developed for this study, and informed by data selected, collected, processed, combined, compared and analysed for this study. It is this approach that creates a specific kind of circulation map—the 'global access map'—by describing how, where and why novels originating in Australia enter the licensing field from the contemporary global marketspace—and, in doing so, draws together the threads of power, value and connectivity and shows the way in which changes in these areas have benefitted the Australian literary field.

At this stage, there still remain a few questions to be answered, questions which require a final map reading, as it were: How might this extended account of access, with its focus on reach and the mechanics of the rights trade contribute to government and industry understanding? How might the account's descriptions of gender, category, and publisher activity productively intervene into academic discussions on gender attention, literary value and the commercialisation of culture? How might the data itself be further explored, the database be developed, and the methodology repurposed? Finally, does this in-depth, multi-level 'reading' of this new account of access suggest a new research direction?

9.1 Australianess: Context first, content last

In 2015, scholar Nicholas Birns implied 'too Australian' [a phrase which also evokes its opposite 'not Australian enough'] is a problem in terms of Australian literature becoming accepted as 'global'. He argued that Australia remains too parochial, not global enough to

function as local, in the way of New York and Paris (Birns 2015). Like ideas of quality, this view positions content as the primary driver for international acceptance. As the value of content largely relies on subjective appraisals, this view cannot be empirically investigated in the same way as perceptions about the value of consecrating factors, sales and prizes, for example.

Views about the primary importance of content can, however, be empirically tested by taking a contextual approach to understanding international rights transactions. In other words, they can be tested by looking beyond content to context: looking to, as Damrosch writes in relation to culture, language and world literature, 'both the forest and the trees' (Damrosch 2003b, 519). This is not to imply that content is not important. Moreover, just as this study demonstrates the value of not positioning 'literary' and 'popular' ('commercial' and 'genre') as oppositional, and shows how agents and publishers are not necessarily oppositional, it also reveals how theories of content and context can be complementary. 'Texts are certainly the real objects of literature,' Moretti declared in 2005, 'but they are not the right objects of knowledge of literary history' (Moretti 2005, 76). In the same way, this study presents the case for considering the content of novels (the texts) as the object, but not the right 'object' by which to understand the global circulation of literature, in terms of the rights trade. Using the contextual approach, the question of 'too Australian' or 'not Australian enough' can be addressed by examining the data on access for Australian-originated work, or rather, it can be seen in another way. While analysis of the access map shows an increase in activity by reach and extent—as well as category—it is this increase that suggests access is not fundamentally a question of 'too Australian' or 'not Australian enough'.

On the contrary, examining the access data—and analysing the rationale for the different routes taken—shows the way in which access can be associated with the accumulation and deployment of different forms of capital in the currency of the field: national (from the global position); cultural, economic and intellectual (from the material evidence of different forms of consecration, including institutional, market and industry); and, social (from networks). This analysis shows how holdings of different kinds of capital are what enables certain works to enter the field and be translated for readers beyond Australian borders.

Conceptually, for this study, when a work in the global marketplace is granted a license to enter the international licensing field, it gains global access. This access can also be seen as an acknowledgement that the content of the work is global: it is a global story. In *What is World Literature?* Damrosch explores the question of ‘what it is we do when we circulate works through the shifting spheres of world literature’ (Damrosch 2003a, 36). His interest is international circulation and reception but before this, this study suggests, there is a preliminary step—gaining ‘global access’—from which comes internationalisation and the opportunity to join the body of work defined as ‘world literature’.

This ‘internationalisation’—entry to the field itself—is part of the process of ‘translation’, which continues as the work enters multiple sub-fields. This means that the process of internationalisation through which a ‘smack’ becomes *The Slap* can be seen as the process through which Australia’s suburban stories become global stories. By tracking and understanding internationalisation as a process, context-related evidence can be used to examine the content-based identity question, and provide an answer that suggests the first concern about a work is not whether it is ‘too Australian’ or ‘not Australian enough’, but rather: How much capital has it got?

As the (imaginary) answer to Perlman’s (real) woman suggests—and analysis of the data-driven transaction, access and actor-network informed knowledge maps in this study shows—content-based ideas of ‘too Australian’ and ‘not Australian enough’ might not be the first concern but ‘Australianness’ does have consequences. It is known that different national and linguistic publishing fields interact in different ways: Casanova’s world literary space and Heilbron’s cultural world-system are based on this idea. It has been demonstrated using the Dutch field that peripheral fields require different strategies to enter hyper-central linguistic fields (van Es and Heilbron 2015). However, (nation-)state of origin does not just matter, as Perlman’s imaginary response suggests and scholarly research supports: indeed, this study shows it is central to the international access process.

This study makes the centrality of this form of context clear by identifying the specific ‘conditions of access’ for Australian-originated works. These conditions of access can be seen in terms of the interplay between the three areas of power, value and connectivity, but a work’s nation-of-origin determines that interplay. Its particular history, politics, economy, size, linguistic affiliation and physical location, are all affected by changes to

global trade structures, industry models and technological advances. The twenty-first century trade in international publishing rights itself might be described as the collective effort of globalising individual works, while the process of internationalisation might usefully be seen as a process based on a geo-spatial-temporal equation. For Australia the key elements are a complicated colonial legacy—of linguistic benefit and ongoing interdependence—accompanied by increasingly wide transnational engagement made possible by digital developments.

Fundamentally, investigating the complex and detailed maps of access that the data creates provides an evidentiary basis from which to demonstrate how content is not more influential than context. Positioning it as more important limits the understanding of the material trade, as measured through exchanges that are cultural and commercial, and potentially limits the trade itself, as works thought ‘too Australian’ (or ‘not Australian enough’) are potentially not offered entry into the global marketplace (the essential first step to gaining access to the international licensing field). Overall, this study demonstrates that when seeking to understand how, and why, works enter the international licensing field, the starting point might most usefully be a material approach: a study of the context in which works are traded.

9.2 Circulation re-evaluated: Contributions and interventions

By employing an additional metric to measure international access, taking a genre agnostic, gender-informed approach, and using a model which understands access as not only different from sales but Australia-specific, as well as a multi-level practice, this study offers an alternative, data-informed description of international circulation. It is a new account, one that shows the extent of access, the types of work that have gained access, what has influenced access and the ways in which it has been achieved. ‘Reading’ this account—this map—also points to the ways this access might be maintained.

9.2.1 Activity: A valuable metric and a metric to measure value

By employing the activity metric, and combining three complementary but differing transaction maps, the study provides a new account of the reach, extent and growth trends of the rights trade since the beginning of 2000. This account reveals a new thread in what might be called the ‘narrative of exceptionalism’ as it pertains to the rights trade. It is an account that supports the idea of exceptions, as well as a ‘tangled undergrowth’ of works

accessing the international field (Carter July 12, 2018): it also presents evidence of a middle ground. Overall, this account shows that there has been far more activity than previously perceived. In this way, employing the activity metric makes access visible, hence this account complements and balances the revenue metric that has informed the way rights has been valued.

Licensing is also a global practice that takes place in a single marketspace, one composed of separate English language and translation spaces or 'fields'. This marketspace, moreover, can be seen as part of an inter-related world-system: one influenced by the unequal global relations as described by Wallerstein, Heilbron and Casanova, but also subject to a logic quite different from that of a domestic marketplace. For this reason, interpreting this access map suggests that not only activity but the logic of the international licensing field need to be taken into account when the potential financial and cultural impact of Federal Government policy changes are being assessed.

For example, if territorial copyright restrictions were to be lifted, resulting in no territorial copyright protection for Australian publishers, licensors might choose not to license novels to British publishers so British editions of works do not enter the Australian market (and compete with the Australian editions), instead distributing Australian editions in the UK. The significance of this decision is that these editions would not be eligible to be entered for the Booker Prize, a prize widely associated with enabling international access: an association evident in the data set for Peter Carey's *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000), for which 30 editions are recorded. While this association with access is not evident for Richard Flanagan's *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2013)—with just four editions in the data, unlike the 21 for his earlier work, *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001)—the cultural capital associated with the Booker Prize appears to have been deployed on the Australian domestic field and (successfully) converted to economic capital. According to the 2015 BookScan data, after winning the Booker Prize *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* sold 173,000 copies. For genre novels, this study suggests a different problem with removing PIRs. For fantasy, for example, the most significant capital is social capital, which can be seen to come from imprint association: the global connections between different imprints. The removal of PIRs may discourage this trade, and so limit this capital. Removing these international license-related drivers can thus be seen to limit the

international potential of a work: and international success—as this study shows—should not be separated from domestic success.

Federal Government changes to copyright law are not the only reason that rights might not be licensed. Over the period under review, there has been an increasing tendency for multinational publishers to acquire world English-language rights, but not to license works and instead to distribute them through sister companies. If the distribution or issuing model is adopted more widely, it may impact the international success of individual works as ‘issuing’ potentially removes some key transformative events in the international access process, in the same way as distribution does. Keeping a work inside a company—that is, keeping it ‘vertical’—potentially means works are not part of market-driven competitive processes such as auctions which drive economic capital and increase social capital through, for example, publicly announced acquisitions, imprints and deal terms. For instance, on July 12th 2012, a news article was published in *Publishers Weekly*, reporting, that a global auction,

was held simultaneously around the world—centered from the U.K. and Australia—and closed yesterday. In the States, Clain wound up beating colleagues at Grand Central for the novel. (Deahl 2012)

The headline of that article noted that it was a million dollar deal (‘Little, Brown Pays Seven Figures for Debut Novel by Aussie Author’). This same article noted the key players in the transaction: Judy Clain, Little, Brown; Dan Lazar, Writers House, Pippa Masson, Curtis Brown, the Australian imprint Picador and that rights had also been licensed in France, Italy, Brazil, the Netherlands and that the work had won the Writing Australia Unpublished Manuscript Award, 2011 (a new award not listed in this set). The novel, referenced in terms of its success in the Introduction, was Hannah Kent’s *Burial Rites* (2012). If it had not been the subject of a highly competitive auction, if the outcome of that auction had not been announced globally, and if the (high profile) players involved in that auction had not been made public, it is unlikely that it would have gone on to be licensed to publishers in 33 fields (according to the website of her translation agents, Curtis Brown UK), and subsequently enter the domestic bestseller lists, with 85,000 copies sold in 2014.

What analysis of the study’s global access map ultimately suggests, in regard to policy, is that changing aspects of the current intellectual property system may have unexpected consequences that neither the Productivity Commission’s economic modelling nor

multinational company strategies currently take into account. To put it another way, the study's findings suggest there is an answer to the question posed in Chapter 1: Might attempting to make book prices fall in Sydney (and profits increase in New York) succeed in making rights deals fail in Paris (and copy sales drop in Prague, Moscow and Istanbul, too)? The answer is yes, and transaction data set results, while only one account, do provide an indicative global benchmark from which to assess the impact of such potentially game-changing approaches to the international field for Australian novels.

9.2.2 International access: Another link in the publishing value chain

This study demonstrates how considering the novel in marketing, rather than literary terms—using a non-binary categorisation method—provides a way to discuss and measure access that reflects the trade conception rather than the scholarly categorisation of fiction. It also provides an alternative perspective by which to understand and measure literary value, to re-assess gender and genre contributions, and thus to understand what might constitute 'success' on the Australian literary field.

Combining this approach to category with the concept that rights activity is determined by the context in which a work is traded—and access enabled by a work's capital holdings—also provides an alternative way of understanding access itself. Using additional forms of capital, not just economic or cultural, also provides another way to measure and conceptualise literary value. Studying the global access map (the transaction map with access routes included) at different reading distances shows that these forms of capital have particular weight in the international licensing field.

National capital is limited (or enhanced) by place of original publication; social capital holds the most global weight and is essential; intellectual capital is the highest form of consecration; economic capital is the lowest; and the cultural capital associated with prizes is limited. It is these capital holdings that position a work internationally—and these holdings are affected by a work's category. Overall, analysis of the access map demonstrates that the commercialisation of the industry, often positioned as a negative in academia, can be seen to be associated with increased international access. Contrary to the impact on the domestic field, this study finds this increase to be not only associated with works in the commercial and genre categories, but also those in the literary category, suggesting that commercialisation can be seen as beneficial for all categories.

It is not only at a category level that the access maps provide evidence to suggest that incorporating international rights transactions into the publishing value chain can alter the way in which literary value might be understood and calculated. Recalibrating value and including international access also has implications for how players might be positioned on the domestic field. This has particular importance from the perspective of gender. Just as the study of genre has long been a gendered story, this global access map suggests, in line with the previously discussed French and other language studies, that international access is also a gendered narrative. Where statistical analysis of critical attention and literary prizes in Australia in the Stella Count has revealed a bias towards works by men from 2012—2017 (Lamond and Harvey n.d.), this study reveals the opposite. The tri-part category approach also provides a more nuanced account of gender roles. The increase in access during the growth period, between 2004 and 2008, is most strongly associated with genre fiction—and with women authors. Women dominate at every level: author, work and edition.

The exception is the category of literary fiction, which is dominated by men. In an environment where quantitative analysis of the domestic field has shown women authors have received less critical attention over the period in the form of reviews and prizes—key forms of cultural capital—and where commercialisation has been linked with women authors and an associated lowering of the novel's prestige, the global access map produced for this study provides an important intervention into gender-based literary studies. Ultimately, using a different metric to measure success, the non-binary categorisation method and the gender-based analysis uncover a previously hidden narrative that connects international consecration to commercialisation, which can be seen to benefit both women and literary fiction.

9.2.3 Modelling acquisition: The multi-tiered approach

'First and foremost,' Allen & Unwin's Angela Namoi claimed in 2007, 'fabulous writing is what makes a book saleable. If you have that, nothing else matters' (Bates 2007, 13). This study does not dispute that fabulous writing, or the content of a work, may well be the first and foremost consideration for acquisition: at the point at which content matters. Prior to that point, everything else matters. As the analysis of the study's multiple data sets show, there are multiple other factors that impact upon a work's ability to enter the

global marketspace and, subsequently, its licensing field: how the trade is practiced is central to this.

At the beginning, this study proposed that understanding the rights trade through the filter of dominant Anglosphere market practices fuelled a perception that Australian licensors were not practicing the trade ‘the right way’. The study removed what might be seen as a filter, by considering the implications of trading from the Australian position. It located this position at three points within the global world-system (linguistic, economic and cultural) so Australia became—as per the imaginary Perlman conversation at the beginning of this chapter suggested—simultaneously hyper-central (albeit dominated), core and peripheral.

The study then introduced the concept of a global marketspace, a place of conditional trading opportunities, and within this space the international licensing field. Unlike Casanova’s world literary space where the method of access is not defined, or the transnational and international literary fields where the method of access is incidental, the international licensing field is defined by access. This field is an exclusive field where entry is only possible through the offer of a license, an offer that depends upon the capital holdings associated with a work.

This capital potentially comes from three levels: global (‘national’, a type of literary, adapted from Casanova), national (cultural, economic, following Bourdieu; intellectual, following Thompson) and local (social, Bourdieu again; however, this form is also conceived as enabling the conversion of other forms). By demonstrating how access to this field is determined, enabled and ensured by the three descending levels, the study suggests why some works have achieved wider and swifter access over the period than others and demonstrates why success on the national field may not mean success on the international field (and vice versa).

Most particularly, analysis of the data selected for this study demonstrates that the licensing field has its own particular logic. Like Casanova’s world literary space, the international licensing field is shown to operate, in many ways, more like the limited pole Bourdieu’s literary field (in the fiction-based model), which is economically-dominated and consecration dependent: in other words, it is not financially-driven and ‘success’ takes

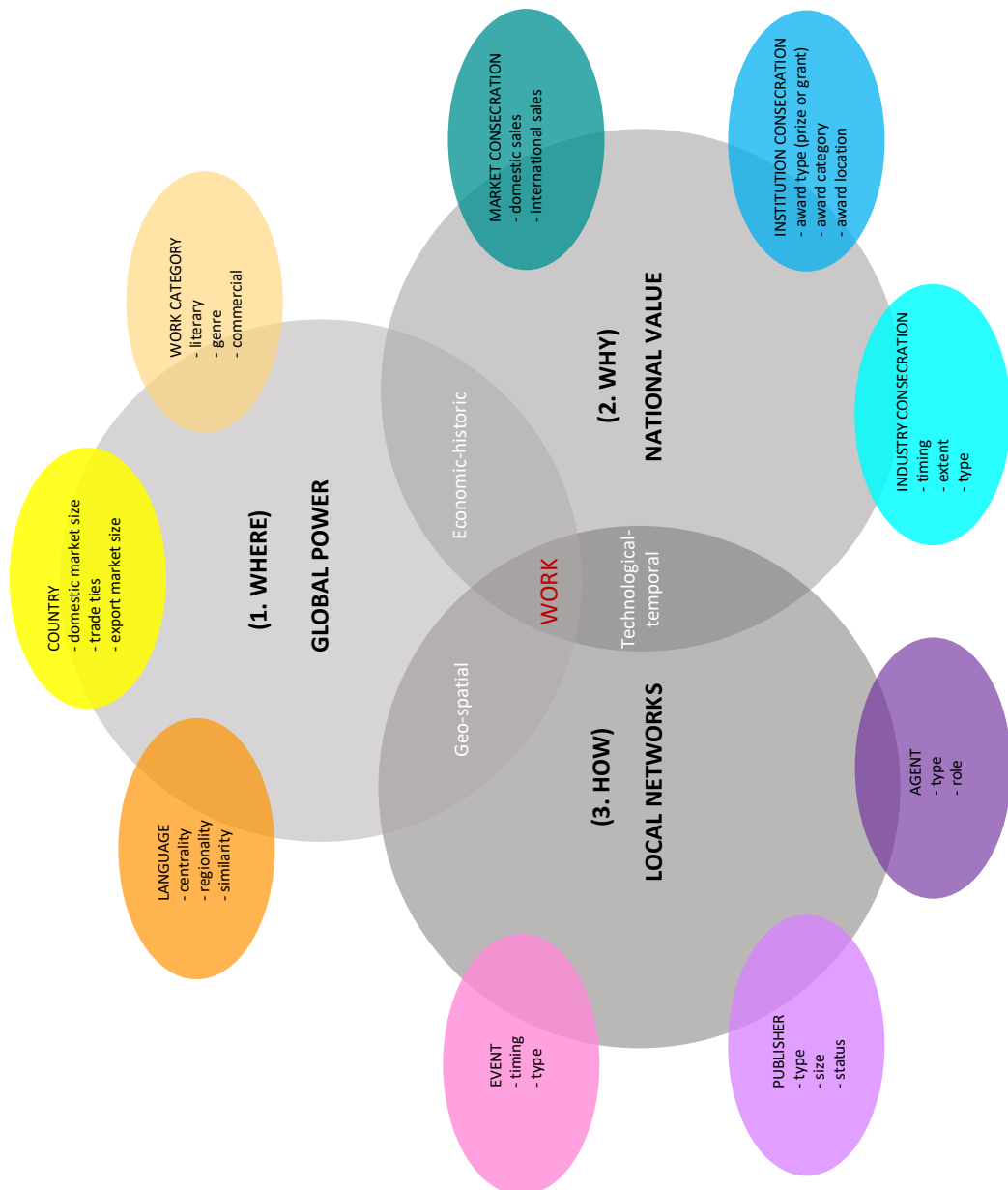
time. It is also the space of the category of literary fiction, in Bourdieu's model. In the licensing field, works in the genre and commercial categories are also subject to this consecration-dependent, long-term temporal logic. This logic is fundamentally different to the short-term, income generation logic of the domestic publishing field.

Understanding this logic provides a way in which financial and activity level expectations might be appropriately managed. Understanding how access is determined to the licensing field can also provide a basis from which to construct a model in which the impact of multiple contextual elements might be taken into account—before the content of a work is considered. 'The hardest decision for any house is the acquisition decision' high profile North American industry commentator Mike Shatzkin wrote in a 2005 article about how publishers could make wise financial decisions (Shatzkin 2005, 32) and this remains the case. Shatzkin was, however, only considering acquiring from the domestic market space. This study demonstrates that the situation is different when acquiring from the global market space and while the three-tiered—macro, mezzo and micro—approach to understand circulation modelled by Sapiro is based on the domestic and international spaces having different logics (Sapiro 2008, 163-164), the global market space has not been previously conceptualised as separate from the transnational or international field literary field, hence not able to be studied on its own terms.

To model international acquisition decision-making means taking account of contextual factors at these three levels, but also acknowledging the relationship between these levels. Using this approach, decision-making can be seen as a stepped process. For a licensor, each step eliminates more potential licensees, making the process of licensing more efficient. Such a model positions content as not the first but the final consideration the deciding factor for access, the last, perhaps, but not the least. The first consideration is world-systems related associated with category, genre, language, and country (national field). Field-earned capital, cultural, economic and intellectual follows, as can be seen in awards, sales and other deals. At the third level, the (actor) network shows social capital, connections and transformations, and that agents, scouts, deal announcements and technology enable access. It is this accumulation of capital, and the transformation process, that increase a work's international value. This particular logic provides the basis for an international rights acquisition decision-making influence model (figure 109), which presents the layered process from which works made available in the global

marketspace might be offered access to the licensing field. As is evident this model keeps the work itself—the content—meaning the quality or topic of the writing—central, but incorporates, in order of importance, the multiple contextual factors that determine the likelihood of a work entering not only the licensing field itself, but particular sub-fields.

Figure 109. International acquisition decision-making influence model



Overall, the accounts of access, approaches and methods used in this study have potential application in government, academia and industry. By using an alternative metric to measure access, they offer an alternative perspective about international circulation which can be of use to those responsible for providing evidence-based advice to government policy-makers. By challenging national and literary content-based perceptions, they provide another element to include in the value chain to assess literary value. Finally, the logic of the licensing field suggests a model by which access potential can be determined, and the study itself provides a way of describing the field, not only the Australian field, but the global field.

9.3 Future directions: Data, database and methodology

The relatively limited scope of this study means that it is, effectively, a pilot study: a comparison of existing accounts of access and a detailed account of access, but not a comprehensive account. It is a particular approach to understanding international access for Australian-originated works, one that has been developed, tested and shown to provide answers to particular questions about the levels of—and the rationale for achieving—a form of international access that is defined by trading rights. By developing a complex two-part data set, adapting an approach to measuring and understanding international access from a national perspective, as well as demonstrating how the data might be used in conjunction with the methodology, this study provides, at a base level: (i) an extensive amount of material for further examination; (ii) an approach that might be expanded; and (iii) an approach that might be employed to investigate licensing in other cultural and research areas.

Only a fraction of the data has been explored. The analysis that has been done, however, suggests the data has far more to say about gender, category and consecration, as well as the relationship between them; there is also significant research that can be done on responsibility and access. There was also an extensive amount of data excluded, including transaction information for what is known as ‘category’ romance (rather than romance as a genre) which appears to have a very different access profile to other forms of fiction. What might a comparative analysis of this set show? What might the data reveal using different analysis approaches?

The results certainly suggest the value of using the same approach in a larger study. While Macquarie University currently has a large scale study underway involving peak industry bodies—including the AALA, APA and ASA, as well as the Australia Council and Copyright Agency—the approach focuses on the period between 2008—2018. Its aim is to develop a picture of access that can be interpreted from a cultural economics viewpoint—and repeated regularly—but not to build an open source database or to interpret access from a political, cultural and historical multi-layered perspective, in the manner of this study.

In light of the meeting of the national, cultural and digital economies, the database itself could be built upon to include a wider range of publishers, but with a more comprehensive range of measurable influences included. These influences might include traditional and social media coverage, monthly sales, film and television adaptations, international bestseller listings, and prize-shortlistings, for example, which a study of the site goodreads.com has shown to (temporarily at least) increase activity on reception field (Kovács and Sharkey 2014, 1). An expanded time frame, beginning in 1968, would capture the growth of the industry and the wider effect of structural change. Beginning in this period means it would also cover the introduction of Parallel Import Restrictions that came with the changes in the 1968 Copyright Act, the impact of the 1974 collapse of the British Market Agreement, the partial lifting of Parallel Import Restrictions in 1991, the question of increased growth in the sets from 2004, the effect of digital editions, the introduction of 360 publishing models, and—should territorial import restrictions be lifted—the impact of the change on the trade in Australian literature. Analysis of this more comprehensive data set could produce meaningful evidence-based answers about access and probability, an approach that could enable a predictive model of access to be developed.

The conditional nature of publishing licenses and methodology could also be employed to understand the mechanics behind how different types of works enter the international licensing field and how these mechanics alter between sectors and categories to create a truly global understanding of Australian writing in the world. Educational, professional and reference works could be considered, so too could illustrated and general non-fiction, as well as children's picture books, middle grade fiction, and young adult titles. Given the market dominance of local adult non-fiction over local adult fiction during the period, and the *B + P* rights survey evidence of the periodic dominance of non-fiction (including

memoir and popular science), non-fiction is certainly an area of interest, particularly as this area—even more than fiction—has often been categorised as limited by its national content. In contrast to the sales of the two top selling Australian adult fiction works of 2014—5—Booker-winner *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2013) with BookScan reports at 173,000 copies in 2014 (Hanke 2015, 3), and the film tie-in edition of Rosalie Ham's *The Dressmaker* (2000), which BookScan lists at 130,000 copies, in 2015 (Jefferies 2016, 4)—local children's authors Andy Griffiths and Terry Denton's Treehouse series sold over 565,000 copies in 2014 (Hanke 2015, 3) and 700,000 in 2015, with nearly 350,000 of those for *The 65-Storey Treehouse* alone (Jefferies 2016, 4). These numbers suggest that children's fiction would benefit from close scrutiny using the methods employed in this study: Do these national figures carry global weight?

The study's database is also RDF-friendly and shares parallels at a schema and at instance levels with international transaction projects, such as UCLA's *Translation Network*. Consequently, it has the potential easily be transformed into a Linked Open Data project—similar to *JazzCats* (Nurmikko-Fuller, Terhi and Daniel Bangert n.d.), for example—with the potential to expand this study of rights beyond national boundaries; it also future-proofs the data itself. This approach makes it possible to understand the complexities of a vital local cultural industry that sits within a larger international industry, as well as other industries.

As licensing is not unique to publishing, the methodology could be adapted for use in the film and television industries, for example. Modified versions of the triangulation meta-frame and adapted three-tiered quantitative approach in which the weight of capital is calculated, and with actor-network as the micro level, have the potential to be used to understand the internationalisation of works in other cultural industries with a licensing framework that operate from national bases, such as film, television and popular music. This methodology might also be used in other humanities areas looking to measure influence from international publication, such as research grant selection measures, offering a way to quantitatively assess the value of published research outputs, adding levels of nuance to present systems dependent on attention-based and journal or publisher status metrics. There are, ultimately, multiple ways in which the research and methodology of this study might be explored, expanded and adapted.

9.4 More globalised, less global?

Comparative analysis of this study's account of access suggests that Australian literature is not as 'global' as it could be in the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century, but it is nonetheless 'global' in terms of what is acceptable, internationally: in other words, global enough. Longitudinal comparative analysis of the data and the routes to access, shows a substantial increase in access over the period. This increase is the result of specific and measurable changes at a macro, mezzo and micro level.

By establishing the operational logic of what the study describes as the global marketplace in which it conceives the rights trade taking place, and the impact of this logic on the conditions of access into what the study conceptualises as the 'international licensing field'—the transaction-based sub-field of the marketplace and transnational (international) literary field—this study shows the trade to be dependent on a complex balance of value-based exchanges between systems, fields and networks, a process through which capital is generated and accumulated. In other words, the international circulation of novels, measured by the mutually beneficial exchange of licenses, happens not only as part of a three level process, but at degrees.

The study's methodological approach and analysis of the data this approach produces also reveal how the current environment—where, increasingly, national borders are seen as trade barriers to be overcome rather than cultural boundaries, where copyright is considered another form of control and limitation, and where short-term financial accountability drives an economic rationalist market—presents a potential threat to international access. It is an environment which creates the perfect conditions for a situation that might best be described as 'Kafkaesque' (or, as the Productivity Commission transcription reproduced in figure 1 has it, 'Cathegersk'), and one that would certainly ensure Australian literature was not taken seriously. Potentially, just as the Australian literary field appears to be becoming less peripheral within the dynamic world-system, resulting in an increase in circulation, with more favourable conditions of access, there might be a decrease in access: to put it simply, might Australian literature become more globalised, but less global?

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Appendix A. Data management plan

The approach to the data management plan draws on advice provided by the Australian National University's library guides series on this subject (ANU Library n.d.), and the author of this study's discussions with panel members, as well as staff members at the Centre for Digital Humanities as well as the Australian National Data Service.

This appendix explains the strategy, process and outcomes in terms of the aims, considerations, actions and actions of five key stages of the study.

Stage 1: Selection

- Aim: ensure data can be combined, published and do not require ethics or contributor approval
- Consideration: usage and acknowledgement specifications
- Approach: limit to non-commercially sensitive data, publicly available data, and data that can be adapted; request conditions
- Action: conditions met: Allen & Unwin (did not stipulate limitations), Penguin Random House (did not stipulate limitations); HarperCollins (data to be aggregated; shown articles prior to publication); *AustLit* (extraction and modification of data with acknowledgement); *B + P* (advised of study; did not stipulate limitations)

Stage 2: Collection

- Aim: ensure data are collected or supplied in compatible formats to reduce workload and limit transcription errors
- Consideration: consistent format and field names
- Approach: download *AustLit* in CSV and save as Excel; request publisher data in Excel; enter manually selected *B + P* data into an Excel spreadsheet
- Action: data collected, re-formatted and fields re-named

Stage 3: Filter

- Aim: ensure all data fit the study criteria

- Consideration: maintain original sets for reference; maintain excluded data for future exploration
- Approach: identify potential problems by individual set; create new files with data that fits the criteria; store original files
- Action: data filtered; stored in CSV format; excluded data sets saved: *AustLit* ('category' romance), publishers (film, television, audio, non-fiction), *B + P* (small publishers, non-Australian authors, works not published in the period)

Stage 4: Cleaning

- Aim: consistency and accuracy; make machine-readable
- Consideration: ability to count, compare dates and establish relationships across sets using digital processes
- Approach: modify data where necessary for consistency: Anglicise language characters; use the same format for dates; standardise capitalisation and spelling; remove spaces
- Action: cleaned data using Excel and Excel pivot tables to identify and eliminate differences

Stage 5: Processing

- Aim: enable statistical analysis, map and diagram construction
- Consideration: time; complexity; software availability; cost; operating platform compatibility
- Approach: use software already licensed by the ANU, author or open source software
- Action: used Excel, PowerPoint and Scapple (under license); Gephi, Palladio, Vue and Visual Paradigm (open source or free versions)

Stage 4: Storage during project

- Aim: ensure data secure, protected and accessible offsite
- Consideration: local host, compatible systems and technical support; human readable field naming protocol; no fees and limited need for maintenance

- Approach: use open source software to create a relational database with widely used query language; use ANU server
- Action: used SQL database MariaDB (used to be MySQL); stored on ANU Digital Humanities Centre server

Stage 5: Storage after the project

- Aim: ensure data can be understood, explored and built upon
- Consideration: software life; database access; secure access; data size
- Approach: database: use a human-readable field naming protocol and human readable entity relationship model; create and store database rules; use a machine readable schema (metadata fields) so allow exploration; data: save individual sets as CSV files (a universally readable format) and store separately
- Action: in discussions about ongoing hosting of the database by the Centre for Digital Humanities (ANU); individual data sets will stored at the Australian National University library data repository upon completion in CSV as it is a widely compatible; further discussions about incorporating data into *AustLit* to be held.

Appendix B. Data cleaning

The tables below describe the specific actions taken to transform the information into data and to filter and standardise each set.

Deal set

Deal	Process	Field	Action
	Filtering	Category	Deals for crossover novels primarily considered to be YA were excluded (for example, a US deal for Marcus Zusak's <i>The Book Thief</i> to Knopf for Younger Readers and while <i>AustLit</i> lists it as 'novel' and 'historical fiction', <i>AustLit</i> review records show it to be reviewed as a YA work in YA publications, such as <i>Viewpoint</i> (Mann 2005, 21) and <i>The Newsletter of the Australian Centre for Youth Literature</i> (Sheahan-Bright 2006, 16)
			Deals for works categorised as fiction but evidently non-fiction, children's or young adult were excluded (a deal for Julie Pallant's <i>SPSS Survival Manual</i> was reported as for fiction, for example)
		Author	Deals for authors evidently not Australian were excluded (HarperCollins and Random House reported deals done on behalf of their sister companies in New Zealand, for example); where there was doubt about an author's nationality <i>AustLit</i> , publisher web sites and other online sites were consulted
		Work	Deals for editions that did not exist were excluded (a deal for a novel called <i>Matroska</i> by Belinda Alexandra, for example, was associated with Simon and Schuster in 2001, but HarperCollins published this novel as <i>White Gardenia</i> in 2002 and subsequently reported multiple deals)
		Edition	Deals for works with no Australian edition associated were excluded (<i>AustLit</i> was checked for published works; for unpublished works, a deal with a grant of world rights to an international publisher was an indication that there would be no Australian edition)
		Publisher	Deals reported by non-trade, very small, or non-mainstream publishers who did not publish fiction during the entire period under consideration were excluded (Wild Dingo, Clan Destine, Rockpool, Ford Street, for example)

Deal	Process	Field	Action
	Filtering (cont.)	Deal	Deals where key identifying information missing and unable to be deduced—particularly geographic territory and language—were excluded
			Where deals were announced more than once only the first announced was included
	Consistency	Author	Author names were listed to reflect the name on the book jacket or author or publisher website ('Jenny' Fallon was altered to 'Jennifer' Fallon, for example)
		Company	Company names were listed to reflect the most recent—and commonly used—name (Fremantle Press, for example, is used rather than FACP or Fremantle Arts Centre Press; and Random House Germany rather than Bertelsmann)
		Date	Dates were listed as the first of the month (as the month is more relevant than the day, and the set consists of weekly and monthly reports)
			For combined issues the first month was used (December for December/January issues, for example)
		Country	Country names were changed to reflect commonly used terms (the Netherlands, not Holland, for example)
		Territory	Grant territory terminology was made consistent ('North America' not 'US and Canada')
	Clarification	Country	Added language if country but not language reported ('sold to Germany', for example, rather than 'German language rights')
		Author	Author names were added if missing and the author able to be identified by the work or series
		Title	Where a deal was reported for an 'untitled series' or an 'untitled sequel' or 'book two' and the title could be deduced the correct title was added (<i>The Rosie Effect</i> , for example, was included as follow up to <i>The Rosie Project</i>)

Deal	Process	Field	Action
			Where a work was licensed prior to publication under another title, the record was changed to reflect the publication title (<i>The Authoress</i> by Kate Morton is <i>The Forgotten Garden</i> , for example)
			Where an exact title was not possible to identify, the reference was modified to reflect the author name and, if relevant, the series order (<i>Untitled, Fallon, Book 1</i> , for example)
		Series	Where the work was part of a series, the series name and work number were added if not already included (based on <i>AustLit</i> or online details from author, publisher or other site)
			Where the deal information did not specify if a work was part of a series, the series information was added
			Where multiple book deals were reported as one 'a three book deal', the deals were entered separately (to be able to get a full count of works licensed)
		Country	When a country was not included, but an agent or publisher whose location could be confirmed was listed, the location was used for country (for example, a deal for Trudi Canavan by Fran Bryson via Arabella Stein indicated British rights, as Arabella Stein was a British agent)
			When languages were reported without the country, the dominant country for that language was assumed ('Chinese' was presumed to be a deal with a publisher in China, unless Taiwan or Hong Kong was specified, and 'Spanish', to be a deal with a publisher in Spain)
		Language	When deals were for countries without a language specified, the official or most commonly used print language for the country was assumed (Spanish for Mexico, for example, and Portuguese for Brazil)

Deal	Process	Field	Action
	Clarification (cont.)	Territory	English language territory grant information was not assumed to be accurate unless it was specific (such as 'UK and Commonwealth, ex ANZ, ex Canada') as information on grants in the license set suggests that 'UK rights sold' or 'US rights sold' are sometimes used to indicate country of acquisition and sometimes territories acquired
	Interpretation	Rights	Unless the context suggested otherwise 'world rights' was assumed to be 'world, all languages'
			Phrases such 'rights sold to Germany' were interpreted to mean world German language rights were sold to Germany, unless there was information that implied this was not the case (when, for example, Spanish rights were sold to both Spain and Argentina)
			Assumed the same licensor would continue to be responsible for licensing rights to individual works unless there was evidence another was responsible (some of Peter Temple's works were first published by Random House and republished by Text, for example)
	Additional	Publisher	If only an imprint name was mentioned, the publishing house name was added, if known
		Gender	Author gender was added as a field (based on <i>AustLit</i> data, publisher or author websites)
		Genre	Work genre was added as a field (based on deal context, <i>AustLit</i> data, publisher or author websites)
		Category	Work category added as a field
		ID	A source and individual ID was added to each deal record

License set

License	Process	Field	Action
All sets	Filtering	Rights	Additional subsidiary rights deals were excluded (such as audio, book club and large print and film)
		Work	All work by non-Australian authors, not published during the period or not fitting the category criteria (such as short stories, graphic novels, YA and non-fiction) were excluded
HarperCollins & Penguin Random House		Author	Author nationality was checked for this list as New Zealand authors from HarperCollins and Random House were listed (Deborah Challinor and Russell Kirkpatrick, for example, from HarperCollins)
Allen & Unwin		Category	This set included non-fiction and as resources precluded individual title checking, non-fiction titles were identified—and excluded—based on: subtitles ('how to' and 'guide'); the Allen and Unwin imprint (academic was assumed to be non-fiction); licensee imprint (publishers associated with universities and museums were assumed to be acquiring non-fiction); and the Allen & Unwin website category (checked when there was doubt)
All sets	Consistency	Author	Where an author name differed from that on the book jacket, the name on the book jacket or publisher site was listed
			Where a ghost writer was listed as the primary author in the data but not on the jacket, the primary author on the jacket was listed first
			Where the contracting party was different to the official author name, the official author was listed
		Publisher	If the publisher name was spelled or formatted in a different way to the <i>AustLit</i> set both set entries were checked against the company website and listed as per the site

License	Process	Field	Action
All sets	Identification	Series	If a work was part of a series and neither author nor publisher sites listed an official series name, the name of the recurring character was used following standard practice
		Country	Where necessary a country field was added, based on license attributes (language and/or territory grant)
		Country	Where there was conflict between country and language information, the language information was used (for example, Exmo are listed as being in Cyprus but they are a Russian publisher, but the money goes through Cyprus)
All sets		Sub-agent	A second international agent field was added to accommodate multiple agency involvement in licenses (ANA used Booklab, for example)
HarperCollins & Penguin Random House		Publisher	As publisher names reflected current copyright holders, in the case of mergers or acquisitions, the original publisher name was listed (based on <i>AustLit</i> or Amazon original publication information)
Penguin Random House		Licensor	The license list arrived with the licensor listed as Penguin Random House, even for deals made prior to the merger of two companies, so this set was separated and the original licensor details included
Penguin Random House		Dates	No specific deal dates or licenses dates were listed, only years; publication years were also included in this set
Allen & Unwin		Deal	The 'offer accepted' field was considered 'deal date' as after this time the deal can be announced
All sets	Additions	Series	Where series information was included in the title field a series field was added and the information separated Where necessary, series details were added and numbered and the series name added (either the official name or if no name of the key character)
		Gender	Author gender was added as a field (based on <i>AustLit</i> data, publisher or author websites)

Appendix B

License	Process	Field	Action
All sets	Additions (cont.)	Genre	Work genre was added as a field (based on deal context, <i>AustLit</i> data, publisher or author websites)
		Category	Works were categorised according to the method outlined in the category section and a field added
		ID	A source and individual ID was added to each record
	Formatting	Author	Author names were reformatted to first name, last name
		Title	All titles were put into title case where necessary and the definite article added where missing

Publication set

Publication	Process	Field	Action
	Filtering	Category	Non-fiction and short story collections were excluded (<i>Girl 43</i> , <i>Batavia</i> , <i>Lasseter's Gold</i> and <i>The Boat</i>)
		Authors	Any works by authors who were obviously not Australian were excluded (Rupert Thompson, Michel Faber, Phillip Henshaw, Cormac McCarthy, for example)
		Editions	All works by Australian authors without an Australian publisher were excluded (J.M. Coetzee's <i>Youth</i> , Colleen McCullough's <i>Morgan's Run</i> , for instance)
		Works	Works without key bibliographic details (such as publisher name, year or place of publication) were excluded
		Format	Self-published works and e-books were excluded

Publication	Process	Field	Action
	Filtering (cont.)	Rights	International reprints and second editions of works published by the same group in the same country were excluded as these represent a single license (for example, a Knopf edition in 2005 and Vintage in 2006)
			International audio and large print editions from specialist publishers were excluded (Thorndike, Compass, Wheeler, Ulverscroft, Ibis, Thorpe)
		Distribution category	'Category' romance works, including non-trade titles published by Harlequin (Mira titles were included as it is a trade imprint)
		Publisher	All works published by specialty or reprint publishers and by very small and recently established publishers not visible over the period under consideration (Clan Destine Press, Sleepers, Affirm) were excluded
	Consistency	Publisher	Publisher names were standardised (A. Michel to Albin Michel, Diane-verlag to Diana Verlag, for instance)
		Author	Author names were listed to reflect the name on the book jacket and in the other sets (Graeme Charles Simsion to Graeme Simsion, for example)
	Formatting	Author	First and last name were transposed (as with other lists) so counts could be done by surname and any quotation marks removed (whether an author uses a pseudonym is not relevant to this project)
	Completion	Gender	Where gender was listed as 'unknown', this was checked by visiting the publisher or author website
	Classification	Genre	Genre fields were split (the first was used for analysis unless it was evidently inaccurate)
	Clarification	Characters	As different versions of written Chinese are licensed separately, Chinese was identified where possible as either simplified 's', for Mainland China, or complex 'com', for Taiwan

Appendix B

Publication	Process	Field	Action
	Simplification	Characters	The extraction process corrupted non-English language symbols (accents, umlauts etc), so these were removed; names and words were also Anglicised so data could be compared across languages as language differences have been noted to make cross-cultural analysis in large data sets difficult (Wilson and Gerber 2011, 8)
	Additions	Rights	A rights field was added to differentiate translation and English language editions (this was added to all sets)
		Country	A country field was added and countries identified based on the location given in the city field
		Series	A series field was added, with series names and numbers, as with the other sets
		ID	A source and individual ID was added to each record
	Corrections		Obvious data entry errors were corrected ('Orbit Voyager' was listed for Glenda Larke, for example but they are two different imprints from two separate companies and <i>The Wicked Lord Alive</i> should be <i>The Wickest Lord Alive</i>)

Influence

The influence data sets required less cleaning than the transaction sets, as their purpose is not to establish access itself but to provide evidence of access routes. The focus was to ensure consistency of spelling and formatting of names (author, work, company and country). Identification fields were also added. Companies that did not fit the criteria remain in this set (including e-book publishers, category romance publishers and international publishers).

Set	Process	Action
Awards	Identification	Company names were added where only the imprint of the publishing company was listed; a gender field was added
Grants	Identification	A language field was added to the spreadsheet supplied based on publishers national field
	Consistency	Company names were standardised where necessary to reflect the spelling in formatting in other data sets; year field was added
Bestsellers	Consistency	Sales are attached to edition, not work; these numbers were aggregated
		Company names were added where only imprints were listed
Company	Consistency	This set is constructed from multiple sources, primarily publisher websites but also annual <i>Publishers Weekly</i> top 50 publisher lists, so the data was cleaned as it was entered, the main change was that characters were Anglicised where necessary
VIP	Identification	A company 'type' field was added (publisher, agent, scout) as was a language field
	Consistency	Company names were standardised where necessary to reflect the spelling in formatting in other data sets
Scouts	Consistency	This set is constructed from multiple sources; the main cleaning element was adding company names
Timeline	Consistency	This set is constructed from multiple sources, the key aspect was to format it to make it both a human- and machine-readable

Appendix C. Category allocation method

There are multiple ways to define fiction categories and the choice of method depends on the scholarly discipline and the research purpose. What is important for this study is the way categories are defined by publishers and subsequently used as marketing tools. As discussed in Chapter 4, there were two challenges: the first challenge was to identify the categories; the second was to categorise works.

In *Book Authors and Their Changing Circumstances*, Throsby et al. state that they consulted with ‘authors’ associations concerning classification issues’ (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 10). For fiction published by trade publishers they chose three categories ‘literary fiction, genre fiction and children’s fiction’ noting that:

The literary fiction category refers to fiction written with literary intent or aspiring to literary quality standards; such books are of a sort that may be nominated for a literary prize.

They position this against ‘genre’ concluding:

Genre fiction includes works written in a range of specific styles and in particular subject areas including the following: crime/mystery/detective, action/adventure, fantasy, historical, horror, thriller, romance, erotica, science fiction and urban fantasy. (Throsby, Zwar and Longden 2015a, 10)

They acknowledge that not all works sit within one category, but argue the approach represents the author (and industry) perception of categories. This study refines this view by introducing the third category for adult fiction: commercial fiction.

‘Commercial fiction’ was decided upon after consulting the websites of the three publishers that contributed data to the study to understand the ways in which category is used by industry in Australia. The HarperCollins website (harpercollins.com.au) has a ‘Reader Favourite’ drop down menu which includes ‘new releases’, ‘bestsellers’ and ‘award-winners’. The subjects listed include ‘fiction, science fiction and fantasy, crime and thrillers and romance’, while a separate fiction menu includes format, prices, type (children’s fiction and non-fiction), guides, imprint, age, publisher, collection, series. The Penguin Random House site (penguin.com.au) also has a drop down menu. This menu—unlike that of HarperCollins—has a drop down with ‘genres’ which includes ‘literary

fiction, crime and thrillers, and romance'; it also has 'other genres'. Clicking on 'other genres' takes the viewer to non-fiction, children's, reference, but also 'Contemporary Fiction', 'Action & Adventure', 'Fantasy & Science Fiction', 'Fiction Classics' and 'Historical Fiction'. Clicking on 'Science fiction & Fantasy' takes the viewer to 'Popular Fantasy & Science Fiction Books' which contains local and international titles, old and new, adult and children's. There is no guide to what 'popular' might mean in this context. The fiction drop down menu on the Allen & Unwin site (allenandunwin.com) offers 'Crime & Mystery', 'Fantasy', 'Graphic Novels', 'Literary Fiction' and 'Popular Fiction'. What this survey of the contributors to the license data set makes evident is that in addition to 'literary' and 'genre', there is a third prominent category. The term 'commercial fiction', is a term used regularly in the *Think Australian* rights survey analysis, for example: 'This year's survey shows that it's a boom time for rights sales, with commercial fiction leading the way' (*Think Australian* 2008, 8). As *Think Australian* is produced by B + P and B + P use industry terminology, this term is clearly in current use and used to distinguish this category of fiction from literary and genre fiction: for this reason, it is the term this study employs.

Once the categories had been identified, the question of category allocation needed to be addressed. In their longitudinal study *Institutional Recognition in the Transnational Literary Field*, Verboord et al. consulted 'literary encyclopedias and online sources', noting that 'mainstream was the default' and included references to 'poetry, short stories and essays' as signifiers of the literary (Verboord, Kuipers and Janssen 2015, 457). This method was not employed due to the tendency for contemporary authors to write in multiple forms once considered literary but democratised by the internet (personal essayists and Instagram poets), the subjective problem with this approach, and, as discussed in chapter four, the labour-intensive aspect of this approach. The method Bode proposed in 2010 in relation to *AustLit* is less labour-intensive. In her study of production and Australian literature, she notes, 'while *AustLit* identifies popular genres, it has no category for literary fiction' (Bode 2010, 38). However, she notes that: 'A spot-check of *AustLit* records against novels that would generally be considered literary indicates that such titles are simply not allocated a genre' (Bode 2010, 38). This method, she argues, offers the advantage of being objective, so repeatable (Bode 2010, 40). For Bode's purposes this method was adequate: she was working with a very large dataset and domestic production. However, while a 'spot check' using this approach to identify literary works in the publication set suggests an 80

percent accuracy rate—based on this study’s author’s subjective assessment of works that might be considered ‘literary’—if the category is also used for associated international editions, the margin of error increases dramatically: multiple editions multiply classification errors and, consequently, distort findings. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, this method could not be employed to categorise literary either. However, drawing inspiration from both Verboord et al. and Bode, an alternative categorisation method was able to be developed.

This classification method needed to encompass an approach that identified not only ‘the literary’, however, but also ‘the commercial’—as it is not an ‘official’ category—and as ‘genre’ is used in this study in the marketing rather than stylistic sense, this too, needed to be categorised in a particular way. Based on understanding ‘literary’ as well as ‘genre’ and ‘commercial’ as manufactured marketing concepts, and seeking a method that was repeatable and efficient, the study employed a three-step identification process. This process involved using *AustLit* genre field information on works, supplemented by information in the prize data set, and the imprint information. Works were categorised as ‘literary’ based on acknowledged status identifiers: prize listings and Australian imprint and the licensee imprint. (Imprint status was assessed according to authors on the list—so J. M. Coetzee, for example, and Peter Carey, suggested a ‘literary’ imprint—as well as information in the scout client set which defined imprint tastes by category). Works granted a primary classification on *AustLit* as crime, fantasy, sf, horror, detective or romance were categorised as ‘genre’ works. The remaining works were categorised as ‘commercial’. This category includes those works categorised on *AustLit* as action, adventure and thriller, as well as historical and mystery. (Mystery could arguably be considered ‘genre’ but a check of *AustLit* suggested works categorised as such were more likely to be commercial: mystery works include those by Kate Morton, for example.) Using this method, just 4 percent of the works in the transaction set remain uncategorised.

Appendix D. *ALLDB*: Database design and rules

As relational databases have long been used by libraries for bibliographic record storage and research projects with bibliographic elements, the study uses a relational database. There were three stages in building this database: the design stage in which relationships were modelled; an ontological stage, where the data fields were named using existing bibliographic and social ontologies; and the structural stage in which the tables were uploaded and their relationships defined. This combination of steps means that this database, while for this stage relational, is graph and linked open data ready, both stages that future proof the data sets.

The database itself, the *ALLDB*, uses Maria open-source software and is designed to respond to queries in MySQL, the commonly used query language. This style of database describes the relationship between data sets, which are uploaded as tables: it is by querying these set relationships that the study examines the data. *ALLDB* allows the data to be maintained in a secure environment and updates to be made across tables in which replicated data might be stored. These tables and their relationships are represented in the (preliminary) entity relationship diagram that visually describes the interaction of the set presented in Chapter 4 (figure 11). The field names were subsequently modified so that the final version of *ALLDB* consistently employs machine-readable terminology, reflecting the bibliographic database naming protocols, as well as people, licensing, geographic and subject level protocols. Consequently, the final field names are drawn from five different ontologies, as no single ontology covered the data and its relationships. These are: *Functional Requirement for Bibliographic Records (FRBR)* for publishing terms; *Friend of a Friend (FOAF)* for people; *Music Ontology (MO)* as it includes a licensing model; *Thema* the international categorisation system for genre categories; and, *International Organization for Standardization (ISO)* for countries and languages.

Securely hosted on the server at the Centre for Digital Humanities Research—part of the Research School for Humanities and the Arts within the College of Arts and Social Sciences at the Australian National University—the *ALLDB* has employed the same machine-readable semantic naming system as *AustLit*, as *AustLit* has provided a basis for this study, and the additional records will be shared with *AustLit*. Discussions are being held about other ways this data might be publicly shared, including publishing the sets as CSV files.

Database rules (general)

Work (concept); expression (novel); manifestation (edition)

- All manifestations have an author
- All authors have a gender
- All authors have a work

- Some authors have more than one work
- Some works have more than one author
- All works have an expression
- Some works have more than one expression
- All expressions have a manifestation
- Some expressions have more than one manifestation

- All manifestations have a language
- All manifestations have a location
- All manifestations have an Australian publisher
- All manifestations have an Australian publication year
- All manifestations have an information source

- All manifestations have a category
- Some manifestations have a genre

- Some manifestations have two information sources
- Some manifestations have three information sources

- Some manifestations have two authors
- Some manifestations have an international publisher
- Some manifestations have licensor

- Some manifestations have international deal dates
- Some manifestations have international license dates
- Some manifestations have international publication dates

Database rules (general) cont.

- Some manifestations have international deal and license dates
- Some manifestations have international deal and manifestation dates
- Some manifestations have international deal and manifestation dates
- Some manifestations have international manifestation and license dates

- Some manifestations have grants
- Some manifestations have prizes
- Some manifestations have sales
- Some manifestations have grants and prizes
- Some manifestations have grants and sales
- Some manifestations have sales and prizes
- Some manifestations have grants, prizes and sales

- All prizes have dates
- All prizes have works
- All prizes have authors
- All prizes have locations
- All prizes have categories
- Some prizes have publishers

- All grants have dates
- All grants have works
- All grants have authors
- All grants have publishers
- All grants have languages
- All grants have locations

- All sales have dates
- All sales have works
- All sales have formats
- All sales have authors

Database rules (general) cont.

- All sales have publishers
- All sales have a ranking
- Some scouts have publishers
- Some scouts have imprints
- Some imprints have publishers
- Some publishers have groups
- All groups have owners

- All agents have works
- All agents have authors
- Some agents have publishers
- Some agents have agents
- Some agents have publishers and agents

Appendix E. Extended timeline (1968-2016)

Year	International	Legal	Industry	Cultural	Technological
1968		PIR introduced			Hewlett Packard release a personal computer
1971					Email first used
1973				Patrick White wins the Nobel Prize for Literature	
1974		'Traditional markets agreement' ruled anti-competitive by US courts			
1976		'Traditional markets agreement' considered a conflict with EEU trade terms for the UK			
1977				Colleen McCullough's <i>The Thorn Birds</i> published (goes onto sell over 30,000,000 copies)	Apple II personal computer released
1978					
1982				Thomas Kenneally's <i>Schindler's Ark</i> (1982) wins the Booker Prize	Commodore 64 home computer released
1984					IMB personal computer released
1988	Bicentennial of British settlement of Australia	Copyright Law Review Committee find book prices too high and propose partial lifting of PIRs by means of a 90/30 day import rule		Peter Carey's <i>Oscar and Lucinda</i> (1988) wins Booker Prize	
1989		Prices Surveillance Authority recommends full lifting of PIRs (prices still considered too high)	Angus & Robertson acquired by News Corp and becomes part of the new global imprint HarperCollins		
1990			Allen & Unwin becomes independent after management buyout from British parent company		Windows operating system introduced

Appendix E

Year	International	Legal	Industry	Cultural	Technological
1991		PIRs partially lifted with the introduction of the 30/90 day rule			
1995		Prices Surveillance Authority continues to find prices too high			Amazon.com bookstore launched
1996					*Hotmail released as more use email *PDFs in use including in printing
1997		Google company incorporated			
1998		*PIRs lifted for CDs *PIRs for book lifted in New Zealand			
1999	'Reaching the World' Festival tours (pre-Olympics)	*Napster music file sharing site launched *Australian Competition and Consumer Commission finds Australian book prices still higher than the US/UK		J.M. Coetzee's <i>Disgrace</i> (1999) wins the Booker Prize	Blackberry device first released (email pager)
2000	Olympics held in Sydney	*Goods and services tax (GST) introduced *Intellectual Property and Competition Review Committee conclude removing PIRs more beneficial than damaging	<i>Rise in international rights activity noted for Australian books</i>		*Inventory control needed in shops *ASA trials OzAuthors rights transaction site for three months *'Google launches world's largest search engine' (Google, 2000)
2001	* 9/11 Terrorist Attacks (USA) *100 years of the (British) Commonwealth	*Publishing industry divided over PIRs with ABA supporting lifting and APA against *Napster settle lawsuit with record companies *PIRs lifted for computer software *Australian Competition and Consumer Commission recommends lifting of PIRs for books *Senate Legal and Constitutional Legislation Committee blocks lifting of PIRs for books		Peter Carey's <i>True History of the Kelly Gang</i> (2000) wins the Booker Prize	*BookScan introduced *Email in common use *Apple Mac's OS 10 operating system introduced

Year	International	Legal	Industry	Cultural	Technological
2002	Euro introduced (12 countries)				
2003				South African-born Australian resident J.M. Coetzee wins Nobel Prize for Literature	*Publishers claim email makes international submissions easier for Australian licensors
2004	Australian Mary Donaldson weds Crown Prince of Denmark		Text Publishing and Scottish publisher Canongate form partnership		
2005		Google is sued by authors and publishers for breach of copyright by scanning books without permission: Google claims fair use	Australia and New Zealand London Book Fair market focus countries		
2006			<i>*Australian Bookseller & Publisher becomes Bookseller + Publisher</i> <i>*Kate Morton's The Shifting Fog (2006) licensed to 13 countries prior to publication</i>		*Blackberry smart phone in wide use
2007	Global Financial Crisis (July)				*Apple's iPhone launched in US *Amazon's Kindle launched in US
2008	Film 'Australia' released globally	*Council of Australian Governments decide to reconsider PIR removal, Productivity Commission investigates	*Australian Book Industry Association (ABIA) Export Success Award introduced (includes rights) <i>*Peak of rights activity in study data set</i>		

Appendix E

Year	International	Legal	Industry	Cultural	Technological
2010		*Publishers and Apple enter selling agreement that gives publishers control over e-book prices ('agency model')	HarperCollins announce that the Voyager speculative fiction imprint will be a global imprint		Apple's iPad released
2011		*Google book scanning lawsuit agreement rejected *Publishers and Apple investigated by European Commission for e-book price fixing due to agency model *UK Office of Fair Trading investigates agency model	*A & U launch UK list *Red Group book stores (Borders and Angus & Robertson) in administration *Scottish company Canongate sells shares in Text Publishing		*Random House relaunch Loveswept as digital only imprint
2012		*Publishers agree to modify PIRs with 'Speed to Market' agreement and 90/30 day rule becomes 14/14 day rule *Google, Inc. settles book scanning lawsuit with publishers	*Australian Book Industry Collaborative Council established *Bookseller + Publisher becomes Books + Publishing	*28 pre-publication deals for <i>The Rosie Project</i> (2013) announced *Seven-figure two-book deal for Hannah Kent announced (<i>Burial Rites</i> plus a second novel)	*Random House launches e-book only imprints
2013		*Google, Inc. wins book scanning lawsuit with authors *Publishers and Apple found to be in breach of anti-trust laws in US due to agency agreement	*Random House and Penguin companies merge (July) *Scribe Publications opens UK office		
2014			*News Corp (owner of HarperCollins) acquires Canadian company Harlequin *Allen & Unwin take a majority share in Atlantic Books in the UK *Get Reading program loses funding	Richard Flanagan's <i>Narrow Road to the Deep North</i> (2013) wins Booker Prize (subsequently sells 173,000 copies)	

Year	International	Legal	Industry	Cultural	Technological
2015		Productivity Commission release <i>Issues Paper on Intellectual Property Arrangements</i>	*National Book Council established (but no reference made to the existence of one previously)		
2016		Productivity Commission recommends PIRs be lifted			