Publishers, authors, and texts: The process of cultural consecration in prize evaluation

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A B S T R A C T

As cultural objects are of subjective quality, the determinants of their consecration as being of lasting value is a common focus of research. Most typically, scholars look to three constituent features of cultural objects: 1) the characteristics of their creators, 2) the statuses of their sponsoring organizations, and 3) more limitedly, the textual features of the objects themselves. Rather than treating these features as independently assigned, Bourdieu argues they are different manifestations of the same latent positional and dispositional spaces in the field from which new cultural objects emerge. Using a new dataset on the full population of submissions to the Booker Prize for Fiction over nine years (N = 1094), we rely on a suite of characteristics across these three areas of foci to examine the latent positions in the field through which "art" is defined and consecrated. Findings show the consecration process begins with publishers' nominations, which reflect a relational field of competing positions occupied by different groups under the canopy of the former British Empire. Afterward, juries' decisions of shortlisters and then winners reveal how consecration emerges through a distancing from England-centered voices, followed by a growing preference for legitimation by the literary establishment, and male over female voices.

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1. Introduction

Consecration processes matter as they create "discontinuity out of continuity," or rather, create "winners" and "losers" out of what can often be small differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Merton, 1968). Within this framework the sociological study of cultural consecration broadly focuses on two questions. The first asks *who* promotes some culture over others as being of value or import. Those who consecrate cultural objects as worthy of attention may orient toward producers (e.g. Hirsch, 1972; Rossman, 2012; Cattani, Ferriani, & Paul, 2014), consumers (e.g. Shrum, 1991; Verboord, 2013), or, be "orchestrated" toward each other and their own legitimacy (e.g. Janssen, 1997; Van Rees, 1987), as "every critic declares not only his judgement of the work, but also his claim to the right to talk about it and judge it" (Bourdieu, 1993: 36). The second major line of research, rather than asking "who" engages in processes of cultural consecration, asks "what" is consecrated as well as by "which" metrics and processes consecration occurs (e.g. Allen & Lincoln, 2004; Braden 2015; DiMaggio, 1982; Ekelund &

Börjesson, 2002; Janssen, 1997; White & White, 1965). In focusing on which metrics of cultural objects lead to their consecration, scholars working in different research streams typically orient toward three influential constituent features of them: 1) the statuses and reputations of their creators, 2) the characteristics associated with their sponsoring organizations, and 3) more limitedly, the textual features of the objects themselves.

Rather than treating these constituent features of cultural objects as independently assigned, Bourdieu treats them as conjoined in relational space. For Bourdieu, the combined characteristics of publishers, authors, and texts are manifestations within a given cultural object of an underlying position within the space of possible position-takings. The act of consecrating some of these works as "winners" and "losers" is a constitutive force within the field as it both reflects and (often) reaffirms an underlying logic of distinction.

Mapping consecration processes presents empirical challenges. Evidence of such a relational process of consecration requires a complete set of objects at least initially *deemed worthy* of consecration, as well as those selected as "winners" and "losers", and such data are rare. Relying on a dataset drawn from previously unanalyzed submissions to the Booker Prize for Fiction (N = 1194), we take up Bourdieu's treatment of consecration rituals by considering the multiple features of submitted novels – their publishers, authors, and texts – as markers of their positional spaces in the field which may predict the likelihood of their consecration as worthy of attention and praise. Moreover, if consecration processes unfold within relational spaces, analyses need to draw on models that capture both the interdependencies of who and which objects are put forward as contenders and subsequently the positions within the field that are consecrated.

Our analysis of these data therefore proceeds in two broad steps. First, we examine the space of position-takings in the literary field established through publishers' submission decisions to the Booker Prize committee. Here, we examine features of publishers, authors, and texts as constituting a relational space defined by the characteristics of all submissions. Using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), we explore the logic of distinction employed by publishers through their strategic submissions for the prize. Collectively, publishers' submissions, which are limited to two novels per publisher, reveal position-takings arrayed within a space defined by the opposition between "domestic" (English) and different types of "international" works, and a set of correspondences with the other key characteristics of authors, texts, and publishers. Second, we investigate the implications of the juries' selections of prize shortlisters and winners in defining the field through valorizing some positions in this relational space over others. We do so by employing factor analysis to model the position-takings represented in each novel along latent dimensions such as those explored in the MCA. Based on 26 binary features of publishers, authors, and texts, we confirm and extend results from the MCA. In addition to the two pronounced geographic oppositions, we find several more nuanced dimensions constituting the field. These latent dimension of field space are then used as predictors of shortlisting and winning the Booker Prize, using multinomial and ordered logistic regression models. We find consecration occurs in a processual fashion: first there is a distancing from England-centered voices, followed by a growing preference for legitimation by the literary establishment, and male over female centered voices and stories.

In addition to the contribution of our findings, we close with a discussion of the treatment of publishers, authors, and texts as homologous in cultural fields, which we feel is an approach that is more faithful to Bourdieu's understanding of cultural fields when studying consecratory processes within them. Rather than simply confirming the usefulness of this Bourdieusian approach, we also push it forward in a discussion of the *processual nature* of consecration as it unfolds within structural space. Lastly, albeit necessitating care, we also call for the more robust re-inclusion of definable textual factors in the analysis of cultural consecration processes. That the encoded contents of cultural texts may ultimately affect their evaluation and consecration within any given cultural field is no doubt an "ordinary view" view of the world, but it is also one with scientific merit.

2. Cultural consecration and establishing what counts

The consecration of some cultural objects such as art (White & White, 1965), movies (Baumann, 2007), television shows (Bielby & Bielby, 1994), and books (Griswold, 1987a) as valuable over others poses challenges for both evaluators and researchers given that most, if not all, of their value is socially constructed (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982). Such cultural consecration processes are of interest to sociologists in part because to consecrate some objects as of lasting value is in some ways to rank the seemingly un-rankable (Karpik, 2010). Given this predicament, within any given field what are the metrics through which cultural objects are consecrated as being of lasting value and import? In any consecration process there are "winners" and "losers" with detectable differences in their character and presentation which may affect the likelihood of their cultural elevation. What is consecrated by those with the power to consecrate is, in effect, the dominate definition of art within the field at any given time. With the dramatic rise of cultural prizes and awards in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Best, 2008; English, 2005), these overtly competitive cultural arenas have increasingly become the object of study in consecration processes, be it for film (Lincoln & Allen, 2004; Rossman, Esparza, & Bonacich, 2010), music (Anand & Watson, 2004; Schmutz & Faupel, 2010), books (Anand & Jones, 2008; Squires, 2004; Street, 2005; Verboord, Kuipers, & Janssen, 2015), or fine art (Pénet and Lee, 2014).

As argued by Bourdieu (1984), "cultural consecration . . . confer[s] on the objects, persons and situations it touches a sort of ontological promotion akin to transubstantiation" (6). For the most part, however, in the study of cultural consecration scholars have treated the characteristics of texts, their creators, and their sponsoring organizations as operating independently; in essence, pitting these different properties against each other in regression models. The benefit of this

approach is that scholars can control for non-focal (in the analysis) features of cultural objects while highlighting the independent effects of organizational, authorial, or textual characteristics.

For instance, organizationally inclined studies have found that the statuses of record labels affect the interpretations of jazz recordings and the likelihood of songs being adopted into the canon of jazz standards (Phillips, 2013), and that the work of screenwriters of equivalent accomplishment receive an evaluative bump when represented by core rather than peripheral agencies (Bielby & Bielby, 1999). So too for the cultural consecration of actors who work with elite collaborators (Rossman et al., 2010), or for fashion houses that select runway models based on their selection by other high status firms (Godart & Mears, 2009). In turn, for the paintings of unknown artists the status of the dealer is used when assigning value to the work (Velthuis, 2005), and the books that emerge from old and large publishers may be more positively appraised than works published by new publishers (Bourdieu, 1983; Franssen, 2015). From these works, sponsoring organizations, be they record labels, art dealers, book publishers, talent agencies, or fashion houses, affect the likelihood of the works they sponsor being consecrated as valuable.

So too is the case for the statuses and reputations of cultural creators (i.e. artists, novelists, and so on), which may also influence the appraisal of their work. As Baumann (2007) notes of treating film as art, "it is the director who is the driving force in filmmaking, and that to understand a film correctly requires paying close attention to effects of the director's creative choices on a film's content" (83). The identities and "star image" of cultural creators are used as tools to manage how their works are evaluated, as has been shown in case studies of Pedro Almodovar (Svejenova, 2005), Dolly Parton (Wilson, 2001), and Oprah Winfrey (Illouz, 2003). For cultural creators recognition, financial support, and evaluations of quality are also mediated along gendered (Bielby & Bielby, 1996; Corse & Westervelt, 2002; Lincoln & Allen, 2004; Tuchman, 1989; Verboord, 2012) and ethnic-racial lines (Berkers, Janssen, & Verboord, 2011; Chong, 2011; Corse & Griffin, 1997; Havens, 2002; Sapiro, 2010). Prior institutional recognition can also create a Matthew Effect in which reputational honors beget future rewards (Bielby & Bielby, 1994; Braden, 2015; De Nooy 2002; Lincoln & Allen, 2004; Schmutz & Faupel, 2010; Verboord, 2003). Cultural consecration along these lines is high stakes, as fame is stickier in the arts than has historically been believed (van de Rijt, Eran, Charles, & Skiena, 2013), and in the arts and sciences positive appraisal and acclaim are highly skewed (Caves, 2000; Lena & Pachucki, 2013; Martindale, 1995; Mears, 2008; Merton, 1968). In the case of literary fiction, positive appraisal based on prior success seemed to be the case when famed novelist and playwright Doris Lessing wrote two novels under the pen name Jane Somers to see if her publisher, Jonathan Cape, would accept her work for publication without knowing who had written it. They did not. As Lessing described the stunt, "I wanted to highlight that whole dreadful process in book publishing that 'nothing succeeds like success'" (McDowell, 1984).

A third avenue through which cultural objects may be consecrated as being of lasting value is through the characteristics of the objects themselves. Much of the work on the interpretation and evaluation of cultural objects as based on their textual contents highlights discordance across fields, or other national, temporal, or socio-demographic spaces (e.g. Bryson, 1996; Goldberg, 2011; Griswold, 1987a; Liebes & Katz, 1993). Yet within a singular cultural field, for the most part, and with notable exception, for several reasons the analysis of cultural content itself has mostly been delimited to the analysis of classificatory systems such as genres (e.g. Franssen & Velthuis, 2014; Janssen, 1997), categories (Hsu, Hannan, & Koçak, 2009; Negro, Hannan, & Rao, 2010), and types (e.g. Mears, 2010). This may be due to difficulty in accurately coding the subjective contents of cultural objects (Biernacki, 2012), but also stems from the long-standing dominance of the Production of Culture perspective in the sociology of culture (see DiMaggio, 2000), which, as stated by Peterson (1994), as a self-conscious research position argued that "researchers who focus on the content of cultural products run the risk of . . . taking the 'sociology out'" (194).[3] Despite this act of "disciplinary triage" (Griswold, 1987b:4), the formal analysis of cultural texts themselves as meaningful in their evaluation and consecration has returned in at least a limited fashion, be it for the case of conventionality and innovation (Kersten & Verboord, 2013), "Oscar appeal" (Rossman & Schilke, 2014), song titles (Phillips, 2013), or "indexicals" contained within them (Santana-Acuña, 2014).

While it is common in the analysis of cultural consecration to include variables across these different areas of focus (i.e. creators, organizations, and texts; e.g. Janssen, 1997; Rossman & Schilke, 2014; Waguespack & Sorenson, 2011), less common is to treat them as co-constitutive across types in relational space (Cf. Ekelund & Börjesson, 2005; Franssen, 2015; Kersten & Verboord, 2013 for notable exceptions). That within cultural fields creators, their creations, and the organizations that sponsor them are not independently assigned, however, is part and parcel of Bourdieu's understanding of how fields are structured. As Bourdieu and Nice (1980) write, oppositions, as based on structural similarity and dissimilarity in social space can be found in the "perfectly congruent . . . characteristics of *the authors* . . . , *the works*, and the [sponsoring] . . . *businesses* themselves" (269–270, emphases added). As "the closer the agents, groups or institutions which are situated within this space, the more common properties they have," the constituent features of authors (such as their "social origin"), their works (as reflective of their positions), and their publishers (i.e. the "symbolic banker" who "invests his prestige" in the consecration of an author and novel that reaffirm his position in the field by "putting it at stake") are, in effect, all equally reflective of the position in the field through which new artworks emerge (Bourdieu, 1989:16; Bourdieu, 1993: 77, 80). As Bourdieu (1993) writes, rather than looking at the characteristics of publishers, authors, and texts independently, "it is a question of understanding works of art as a *manifestation* of the field as a whole, in which all the powers of the field, and all

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[3] In the strongest statements to this effect, any importance to encoded content at all in mattering for evaluation or consecration has been entirely bracketed out (e.g. Salganik & Watts, 2008; Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa, & Von Rittmann, 2003; Godart & Mears, 2009).

the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated" (37). Put another way, from a Bourdieusian perspective it is not just novels, or authors, or publishers that are being consecrated. Instead, consecration is a fundamentally relational social process in which power is symbolically defined and redefined as based upon positions within an underlying field of contestation, in which objects are stakes in the game.

While Bourdieu has provided the broad contours for a relational approach to consecration, puzzles remain. Here, we address one puzzle that concerns the processual nature of consecration, or, the "social magic" that creates "discontinuity out of continuity" (Bourdieu, 1984:117). Given the vast number of objects that may be considered as potentially worthy of consecration by those who submit them for consideration, do the objects that are selected as *worthy* of consecration reveal a meaningful social space and act as a "first cut" into the continuity of objects? How does the processual nature of consecration unfold within such a space in creating later and final cuts that leave some objects as "winners" and "losers"? Are some positions more key to gaining recognition at some point in the consecration process but not others? Prizes such as the Booker have institutionalized this process as publishers dictate the field space through their collective nominations. From these initial submissions, which can be seen as position-takings by publishers based on a relational struggle for distinction, what positions are more likely to be consecrated by juries?

Following Bourdieu's general insight, we proceed first by briefly providing more detail about our field site and data: submission lists for the Booker prize for fiction. From there we discuss our analytic strategy, data, results, and discuss several ideas for future research.

3. The booker prize

As a cornerstone of literary consecration in the English speaking world outside of the United States (Street, 2005; Todd, 1996), the Booker Prize has been called "a cultural institution of incomparable significance" (Atlas, 1997: 38) and is, according to English (2005), "by far and away the most successful of all the . . . literary prizes founded since the mid-twentieth century" (197). The prize was founded in 1968, under suggestion and then advisement of Tom Maschler, Director and then Chairman of the English publishing house Jonathan Cape. Maschler, who wanted to institute a prize "to stimulate interest in serious British fiction as a whole," needed a sponsor, and approached Booker, which already had an Authors Division through which Maschler had negotiated contract rights for Ian Fleming's *James Bond* novels (Maschler, 2003: 20). Maschler, who had "re-stabled Jonathan Cape as the blue-chip literary imprint" of British literary arts (Wroe, 2005), said his involvement in the founding of the Booker Prize was "the most important thing I've done in my career" (Maschler, 2003: 21).

Anand and Jones (2008) treat the Booker Prize as a "field configuring event" which 1) creates institutional spaces for increased interaction among field participants, 2) organizes around issues of common interest, 3) confirms and reifies status hierarchies within the field, and 4) allows for the transformations of capitals (e.g. cultural or social to economic) among players (1038). In the case of the Booker, by excluding American entrants, the prize had the latent effect of creating both a field and market category of "postcolonial fiction" as distinct from American fiction. Whereas novels written in English across the Commonwealth had been thought of as diverse and diffuse, the Booker Prize created a centrally oriented institutional framework in which players could both jostle for and reaffirm their positions within a new field of postcolonial literature.

While the Booker is nominally awarded to the best work of fiction, in line with Maschler's vision the prize is awarded to what is deemed to be the best work of "serious" fiction, or, fiction that is deemed to be "literature." Although "literary fiction" is believed to be *sui generis* by those invested in the objectified and institutionalized capital of the label, as in all matters of cultural classification and taste "all determination is negation" and in the book trade "serious" or "literary" fiction mostly operates as in negation from what is referred to as "genre" fiction: science fiction, suspense, thriller, romance, fantasy, and so on (Bourdieu, 1984: 56). In turn, in negation of the Booker's negation, the award also spawned other awards such as the Costa Book Awards (née Whitebread), which "defines itself *against* the Booker" by marking itself as "not a 'literary' prize, but rather a book prize" (Street, 2005: 824).

Given the Booker's delimitation to "serious" fiction, neither the novels submitted for consideration to the Booker Prize nor the novels which are ultimately consecrated by it are representative of the literary field as a whole. Instead, the Booker Prize is the primary overtly competitive arena of consecration and contestation for the sub-field of literary fiction in English within the broader literary field, which as Bourdieu argues, resides between the poles of large-scale and restricted production (Bourdieu, 1993).[4] As a result of its position within the wider literary field, the Booker prize is as much about the consecration of cultural and symbolic capital as it is about the near-instantaneous conversion of those capitals into economic capital through book sales (Squires, 2004; Street, 2005; Todd, 1996; see also Rossman and Schilke, 2014 for the case of film). Yet as subfields operate as their own microcosmic fields (Bourdieu, 1993) the Booker Prize is, in essence, the primary consecratory mechanism through which literary fiction is defined in the literary field among those who enter and take notice.

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[4] There has been increased research focus on the space "between" poles within cultural fields, showing that "artistic" and "commercial" orientations operate on a continuum (Kersten & Verboord, 2013), can sometimes be overstated by players as markers of legitimacy more than being reflective of day-to-day practice (Childress, 2015), and at least within organizations within the field of production are oftentimes more or less harmoniously "balanced" and mutually reliant on each other rather than being an everyday source of conflict (see in particular Chapter 6 of Childress, 2016; Mears, 2011). In line with this research stream, the data relied upon in this work investigate a subfield between the poles.

The Booker Prize is awarded annually in a three step process. First, any full-length novel which has been written in English by a citizen of the British Commonwealth, Republic of Ireland or Zimbabwe is eligible for submission. Submissions must come from publishers, which may submit two books for consideration in each year the prize is awarded.[5] About 120 novels from about 60 different presses both inside and outside of the England are submitted annually (Caine, 2003). From these submissions, six books are selected for the "shortlist." Then, from the shortlist, on the morning of the day that the prize will be announced, the jury reconvenes and selects a winner.[6] As has been found for the Academy Awards in the Hollywood film industry (Deuchert, Adjamah, & Pauly, 2005), for the Booker Prize, making the "short list," rather than winning, is regularly the most meaningful step in generating recognition and sales in the awards process (English, 2005; Squires, 2004; Todd, 1996).

Relying on a system of third party evaluation (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Sauder, 2006), Booker judges are selected by a seven person committee consisting of a librarian, a literary agent, an author, a representative from Booker, and two publishers; the committee that selects the committee is deliberately diversified in occupations in the field in order to signal the judgements of the prize as representational of the field on the whole. The judges themselves are selected based on their own legitimacy and power to consecrate, and are made up of academics, literary critics, authors of consecrated literary fiction, and usually one celebrity to drum up public interest. Operating as an "expert opinion regime" (Karpik, 2010) the judges fully rotate each year, and their system of adjudication is reinvented annually, as it is wholly decided upon by that years' committee (Trewin, 2003). As such, this peculiar organizational feature of the Booker allows us, like Anand and Watson (2004), to treat outcomes over time as not merely being reflective of a singular and stable judging committee, but as reflective of the field itself as defined by those rotating members with the power to define it. While the decisions in any given year may be idiosyncratic, as discussed below, over time they stabilize into clearer patterns, both for the positions of submissions and the dispositions of rotating judges in consecrating submissions. As explained by former Booker Chairman Michael Caine: "the prize cannot itself be judged on the award of a single year. It has to be evaluated on what it has achieved over a number of years" (Caine, 2003: 14).[7]

4. Data & methods

Our data began with annual submission lists which are housed in the Booker Archives in the Oxford Brookes Library. Submission lists were not preserved prior to 1983, and there is a 20 year embargo on archival data; at time of collection submissions lists from 1983 to 1991 were available for coding and analysis. This resulted in 1194 novels which had been submitted by publishers for consideration over a nine year period. When available we obtained electronic copies of the novels, and when not available we obtained them through library loan from the first author's location in the northeastern United States. While novels that had shortlisted and won the prize were easily obtainable, many of those which had been nominated but were not awarded were not; they were not consecrated as being of lasting import and some of them had to be obtained through interlibrary loan from Australia, Asia, and Europe.

Some studies of consecration in cultural awards and prizes are forced to sample on the dependent variable (i.e. looking for common characteristics across cultural objects that *have* been consecrated). Others must compare awardees to all possibly eligible participants rather than those which were actually nominated and in the running. From the Booker archive we can instead rely on the full population of books submitted *for eligibility* to the prize by book publishers. As a result, we can be sure that submitting publishers were staking a claim in their submissions, and from their roster of books in that year had selected those which they believed to have the best chance of being consecrated as deserving of award. Put another way, our data are somewhat unique in the study of award and prize consecration in that in differentiating between winners and "also rans" all of our also rans did in fact also run.

From our submission lists we coded publisher, author, and textual characteristics of novels. Our process in constructing variables was first to confirm that data for any one variable could be found across all of the shortlisted books, and then to take a random subsample of 100 non-shortlisted books, excluding variables that would cause greater than 5% of our non-shortlisting books to drop out of the full model. As a result of this conservative strategy, our full model relies on 100% of shortlisted books, and 99.3% of non-shortlisted books. For textual characteristics we limited ourselves to variables that minimize subjective classifications (e.g. we are uncomfortable trying to objectively model the quality of prose, even with coder reliability tests). Textual variables include page length of the submitted edition, genre (triangulated across Amazon, Google Books, and Goodreads), gender of the main character or characters, nationality and race of the main character or characters, and main geographic location (defined by country, and then reduced to region) in which the story was set. Authorial variables included are the author's gender, nationality and race, and if the author had previously shortlisted for the Booker Prize. We coded the publishers for their country of origin, if they were independent or part of a conglomerate, and their founding dates. For English publishers we also coded if at time of submission their main editorial offices were located in

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[5] Although it does not affect our data, starting in 2014 the Booker changed its eligibility requirements, opening the prize to U.S. authors and decreasing the submission total to one book per imprint.

[6] While this is true for our data, for the Booker Prize it has not always been the case. In the early years of the prize, like Academy Awards, the winner was selected well in advance of the announcement.

[7] The identities of individual judges by year can be found at http://themanbookerprize.com/fiction/backlist

Bloomsbury Square in London, the epicenter of the English literary arts. As Tom Maschler of Jonathan Cape was instrumental in the founding of the prize, we also created a dummy variable for if the submission came from the Cape Group. Of key note, our data span a period of conglomeration in English publishing (Thompson, 2010), which is reflected in our data structure. By way of example, Virago was part of the Cape Group (and coded as such) before 1987 and not after (and then coded as such), just as until 1987 Jonathan Cape was an independent publisher (coded as such) but not after when it was purchased by Random House (and then coded as such). Such is also true for authors and previous consecration; an author who was shortlisted or won is coded as not having shortlisted previously until she did shortlist, and from that point forwarded is then sensibly coded as having shortlisted.

Our analyses of these data tracks the three stages of the consecration ritual. We begin by using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) to examine the position-takings of the nominating publishers, and the relational social space these decisions collectively produce. MCA is a scaling procedure for nominal-level data and can be considered a categorical corollary to principal components analysis.[8] Categories contained within nominal variables are arrayed in a low-dimensional space to reveal the latent relational structure of a set of observations. Bourdieu famously used MCA in *Distinction* (1984) and other works to reveal the underlying oppositional logic in which tastes are positionally arrayed. We employ MCA similarly in order to reveal the relational logic of nominations and the extent to which these constitute a space in which the subsequent consecrations occur. Do the collective position-takings of publishers reveal an intelligible underlying space of possible position-takings − i.e. a field? How do nominal characteristics of authors, texts, and the nominating publishers themselves create a first cut into the amorphous set of objects deemed worthy of consecration, and thus a stage upon which juries' make their decisions?

After answering these initial questions through our exploratory MCA, we use the dimensions of the underlying nomination space as predictors of subsequent consecrations – i.e. those positions that were plucked out for consecration by the Booker Prize from the space of competing positions. Are some positions in this field space more likely than others to be consecrated through this process, and if so, which ones? Are the same positions rewarded in terms of both shortlisting and ultimately winning the prize, or are some positions in the field more clearly associated with the second but not the final stage of consecration? In order to answer these questions, we parameterize the underlying dimensions of the field space first explored in the MCA using factor analysis. Here, we convert all nominal characteristics of authors, texts, and publishers into an array of 26 binary variables. We then use tetrachoric correlation to produce a matrix as input for the factor analysis. Results produce two primary factors that are consistent with the two-dimensional space in the MCA, in addition to additional factors that elaborate the dimensions comprising the field space. We describe these factors in greater detail in the results section.

We use the derived factors as focal predictors of a novel being shortlisted or winning the Booker Prize using both multinomial and ordered logit regression techniques. Our observations are the 1094 submitted novels and the dependent variable for both models is the outcome of the prize evaluation process for each year − i.e. (1) "nominated, but did not shortlist," (2) "shortlisted, but did not win," and (3) "won." The multinomial logistic regression treats these as categories in order to estimate the effects of occupying a given position in the field on the likelihood of achieving some level of consecration as compared to simply being nominated. Our main predictors are the factors summarizing each novel's position in the field. We use the unrotated factors from the factor analysis because these preserve the descending order of each factor's explanatory power in determining the field space, and allow for correlations among these dimensions. Allowing such correlations has a greater conceptual consistency with Bourdieu's theorization of a field space than would be achieved by forcing orthogonality among the dimensions. The effects of each factor can therefore be considered as estimating its partial contribution to the likelihood of consecration of a one unit increase along that dimension, net of its position on other dimensions.

There is no *a priori* reason to suspect any one of these dimensions as being most important in any given stage of the consecration process. A tighter coupling of the nomination stage and award recognition stage would be reflected in the primary dimensions of the field being most salient in the determining the subsequent shortlisters and winners. Such a tight-coupling would be further indication of the presence of a literary field spanning producers, critics, and others in the expert opinion regime. However, to the extent that less prominent dimensions of the field of contestation are determinative of consecration, this would suggest that position-takings of producers operate under a separate or perhaps simply less nuanced logic than the opinion regimes which determines the subsequent acts of consecration.

The multinomial logistic regression is key in determining differences between categories of consecration, especially comparing those achieving any formal recognition from the Booker Prize over simply being nominated. However, treating these outcomes as categories overlooks their inherent order and loses information contained in that ordering. In much the same way as there is an inherent ordering of Olympic athletes in terms of simply competing in the games versus achieving a specific level of medal, the Booker Prize is really three levels of consecration − i.e. being nominated, shortlisted, and winning.[9] As discussed above, the largest differences for literary marketing purposes is between being nominated and shortlisted. However, it is an important question whether or not some dimensions of evaluation are important in shaping the

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[8] For more on MCA as an extension of Correspondence Analysis' single value decomposition of a contingency table see Greenacre and Blasius (1994).

[9] That these are three consecratory levels is also shown in the practice of placing stickers on novels after the award to signal them as "winners", "shortlisted", and sometimes even just "nominated for the Booker Prize."

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and MCA Mnemonics.

	MCA Mnemonics	Cases	% Total
Publishers			
Offices in Bloomsbury	pb_bloom/pb_notbloom	540	49
Part of Conglomerate	pb_congl/pbn_otcongl	428	39
Part of Cape Group	pb_cape/pb_notcape	175	16
Founding Date:			
<50 years	pb_new	389	36
>50 years & <100 years	pb_midage	528	48
>100 years	pb_old	178	16
Authors			
English	au_eng	624	58
Former Colony	au_col	162	15
North America	au_nm	54	5
Celtic	au_celt	129	12
Continental Europe	au_cont	116	11
Male	au_male/au_female	658	60
White	au_white/au_nonwhite	984	90
Prior Shortlister	au_prev/au_notprev	141	13
Texts			
"Genre" books	bk_genre/bk_ntgenre	148	14
Long books (>300 pages)	bk_long/bk_ntlong	168	15
Location of Story:			
England	lc_eng	507	47
Former Colony	lc_col	221	20
North America	lc_na	56	5
Celctic Country	lc_celt	101	9
Other Location	lc_oth	202	19
Non-white location	lc_nwhite/lc_white/lc_other	168	16
Main Character(s):			
English	mc_eng	624	58
Former Colony	mc_col	162	15
North America	mc_na	54	5
Celtic	mc_celt	129	12
Other	mc_oth	116	11
Female	mc_fem/mc_male	396	37

level of consecration as compared to any formal consecration above nomination. To examine this possibility, we use the ordered logistic regression model using the same variables as in the multinomial regression. The ordered logit takes into account the *level* of the prize evaluation, and does not require these differences to be equal as in the interval-level requirement of OLS regression. Coefficients describe the log odds of a one unit increase in the level of consecration for a one unit increase in a novel's position along a given dimension in the field space.[10]

Table 1 lists the categorical variables and mnemonics for the variables used in the MCA. These are transformed into a series of 26 binary variables in producing the latent factors that are the focal independent variables in subsequent models.

5. Results

Fig. 1 shows the results of the MCA. The space summarizes the relationships among the categorical variables within the two most important dimensions retrieved from the multiway contingency table. The meaning of any given category is in relation to the positions of the other categories, and, similarly, the meaning of a dimension can be interpreted as in other scaling procedures through the oppositions in relational distances among the variables in the space. The most import dimension (the *x*-axis in this case) reveals a clear opposition between the domestic and the exotic – i.e. novels written by white vs. non-white authors, English authors, settings, and main characters vs. those from former colonies. Along this dimension we also see a corresponding distinction between male and female authors and main characters. The second most important dimension (the *y*-axis) reveals an orthogonal opposition between the domestic and the exotic, but in this case the more proximate exotics of the Celtic regions of the British Isles. Along this second axis of exoticness, North American works

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[10] We tested the proportion odds assumption of the ordered logit model using a likelihood ratio test, which tests whether or not the differences relationships among each pair of categories in our dependent variable is such that we can assume a single model exists. In the likelihood ratio test, finding non-significant results is indication that this assumption is supported. Our results were non-significant (chi-square = 6.55; df = 17; p=0.98).
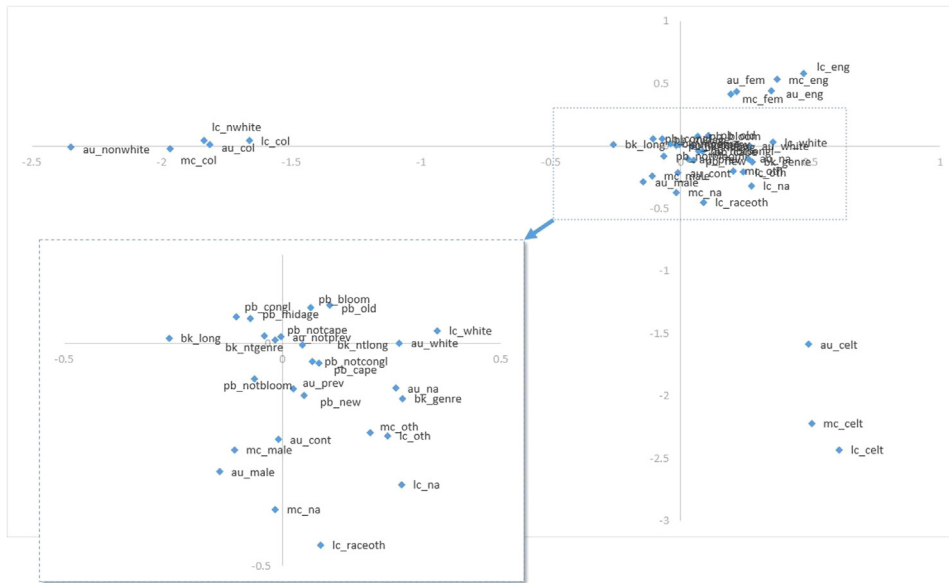
Fig. 1. Multiple Correspondence Analysis Results.

are positioned between England and the Celtic regions. As with the first dimension, the second dimensions reveals a separation of male and female authors and main characters, albeit in more limited fashion.

The large clump of categories closer to the centroid suggests that there may be other dimensions that are less significant in determining the field space that have more do with author, text, and publisher characteristics in particular, that are not strongly correlated with the first two dimensions. In other words, publishers of a specific type do not seem to be nominating novels of specific types, with some exceptions being a correspondence between old publishing houses and those in the Bloomsbury district and the nomination of more domestic-focused works. Smaller oppositions are revealed within this central clump. For example, one can discern somewhat of an opposition between more and less "serious" works in the oppositions between genre works (which also correspond closely with North American authors) and longer texts that are clearly seen as literature, an opposition that is somewhat homologous with gender.

Paradoxically, given the history of England as the center of power and global domination, the relational space reveals that the domestic position squarely corresponds with the feminine, while the masculine is located closer toward the exotic poles. Once again, the nomination process reveals a strong preference to align author and text in that the genders and racial/ethnic backgrounds of authors and main characters are almost identically co-located in the space. This could be because "writing what you know" may be viewed as a mark of literary authenticity, what Heinich (1997) refers to as the homologous "personalization of the object . . . [and] symmetrical objectification of the artist as a person" (1997: 115). Publishers have collectively identified female-centered novels most likely to receive consecration as those centered in England – thus, in the relational space in which shortlisters and winners are selected, the field dramatizes a symbolic inversion of power relations in which England is now on the dominated end in terms of gender polarities. Another interpretation, perhaps more in line with normative gender expectations and biases (Bourdieu, 2001), is that in the submission process publishers see female novelists and main characters as best concerning themselves with "domestic" matters of the homefront, while male authors and main characters are more equipped to explore the exoticized hinterlands of the former colonies.

The nomination process by publishers is first and foremost a positioning of novels clearly within a literary field characterized by power relations of the British Empire. Publishers' collective strategies of vying for distinction through position-takings produce a field in which the authors "speak" for their ethno-racial identities as demonstrated in the close alignment of author and textual characteristics. That gender, among all the other possible correspondences, gets most strongly folded into this two-dimensional space as an augmenting of the historical power relations of core to the periphery suggests that the nomination process sets a stage for consecrating the voices of those historically subject to the power relations of Empire, including domestic English women. The Booker Prize is thus about adjudicating which subaltern's voice shall speak the loudest.

Table 2 shows the factor loadings derived from the factor analysis of 26 binary characteristics of authors, texts, and publishers. Following convention, we retain all factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, and we display factor loadings greater than 0.40, which is a reasonable cutoff for considering a variable as loading strongly on a factor. Not surprisingly, given the close mathematical relationship between MCA and factor analysis, the first two factors are very similar to the axes of the field space in Fig. 1. Factor 1 is clearly characterized by the opposition of the domestic and the former colonies, while

Table 2
Factor Loadings.

Variable	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9
Author Characteristics									
English (au_eng)	0.42	0.57							
Former Colony (au_col)	−0.84								
North American (au_na)				0.68					
Celtic (au_celt)		−0.65							
European Continent (au_cont)			0.58						
Female (au_fem)						0.52			
White (au_white)	0.84								
Previous Shortlister (au_prev)					0.41				
Textual Characteristics									
>300 pages in length (bk_long)			0.48						
Genre (bk_genre)					−0.43				
Located in England (lc_eng)	0.44	0.58							
Located in former colony (lc_col)	−0.86								
Located in North America (lc_na)				0.67					−0.42
Located in Celtic country (lc_celt)		−0.72	−0.42						
Other location (lc_oth)			0.63				−0.41		
Located in white area (lc_white)	−0.81								
Main character English (mc_eng)	0.43	0.64							
Main character former colony (mc_col)	−0.79								
Main character North American (mc_na)				0.81					
Main character Celtic ethnicity (mc_celt)		−0.70							
Main character other ethnicity (mc_oth)			0.74						
Main character female (mc_fem)			−0.44			0.57			
Publisher Characteristics									
>100 years old (pb_old)					0.54		0.46		
Bloomsbury (pb_bloom)					0.65				
Conglomerate (pb_congl)								0.52	0.41
Cape Group (pb_cape)					0.68				

Factor 2 shows the opposition of the domestic and the Celtic. The factor analysis has the added advantage of providing additional dimensions that are ordered in descending importance in describing the latent space of prize nominations, which may be additionally important in shaping the prize evaluation process. Here, we see a dimension (Factor 3) concerning European continental writers and story locations outside the main two oppositions, while the fourth factor squarely concerns North America. It is only when we reach the fifth factor that publisher characteristics become clearly important in the field of submissions. Factor 5 is clearly distinguishing the literary establishment from others (publishers over 100 years old, located in the Bloomsbury district, and members of the Cape Group), and includes the author as a previous shortlister. Factor 6 is where the issue of gender emerges and shows the strong linking of author and main character. Factors 7–9 show more idiosyncratic combinations with Factor 8 being the clearest single-variable factor (i.e. conglomerate publishers).

Table 3 shows the results from the multinomial logistic regression model that predicts consecration among the nominated novels based on their positions in the field of nominations, summarized by the nine factors. Results indicate that the first two dimensions are strongly predictive of consecration, but not the same level of consecration. Publishers' submissions are tightly coupled with juries' decisions, suggesting what Bourdieu would predict: the "rules of the game" and what are at stake within it are well understood by the players involved. However, there is a clear ordering of juries' preferences in terms of which positions in the field are most worthy of consecration. Both shortlisting and winning are formulated from a rejection of the domestic England-centered novels. The opposition of England and Celtic is most determinative in shaping shortlisting, while the opposition of England and the former colonies – the most important dimension in both the MCA and factor analysis – is most determinative in shaping who wins the Booker. Factor 5, which combines publisher characteristics with former shortlisting, is strongly determinative of which novels are consecrated, while the factor linked strongly to conglomerate publishers only predicts shortlisting. The gender dimension strongly shapes the winner of the prize. The significant coefficient for Factor 6 indicates that gender has a net impact on consecration beyond its association with England-centered novels. Controlling for these factors, feminized novels are less likely to win.

What is the combined magnitude of these effects in shaping consecration? To facilitate interpretation of the coefficients in the multinomial logistic regression model, we predict probabilities of shortlisting and winning the Booker based upon combinations of the significant factors in that model. Table 4 shows the predicted probabilities for one standard deviation increases/decreases in a novel's position within the significant dimensions of the nomination space. Baseline probabilities, in which all factors are at their mean values, represents the likelihood of a novel at the center of the field space being consecrated. A novel in the centroid would have a 0.025 probability of being shortlisted and a 0.003 probability of winning the prize. Moving one standard deviation closer to the domestic region of the space decreases the probability of shortlisting to 0.017 and winning to 0.001. Based on significant coefficients, a move toward the Celtic region of the nomination space

Table 3
Results from Multinomial Logistic Regression of Likelihood of Prize Shortlisting and Winning (Nominated Omitted Category).

	Shortlisted vs. Nominated	Won vs. Nominated
F1: English vs. former colonial authors and stories	−0.087	−2.097[*]
	(0.468)	(1.022)
F2: English vs. Celtic authors and stories	−0.955[*]	−0.827
	(0.488)	(1.742)
F3: Continental European authors and stories	0.751	−3.801
	(0.651)	(3.078)
F4: North American authors and stories	1.054	0.726
	(0.610)	(2.404)
F5: Celebrated authors writing "literature" for high-status English publishers	1.843[***]	2.506[*]
	(0.424)	(1.047)
F6: Female authors and characters	−0.956	−4.436[*]
	(0.560)	(2.243)
F7: Historic publishers	−0.401	−1.7
	(0.449)	(1.147)
F8:Conglomerates	1.452[**]	−1.452
	(0.545)	(1.806)
F9: Non-North American conglomerates	−0.687	0.183
	(0.445)	(1.314)
Constant	−4.088[***]	−5.054[***]
	(0.677)	(1.371)
Log-likelihood	−204.382	
Number of observations	1094	
Degrees of freedom	34	
„		

Note: Model includes t-1 indicator variables for years.
[*] $p < 0.05$.
[**] $p < 0.01$.
[***] $p < 0.001$.

Table 4
Predicted Probabilities Based on Significant Coefficients from Multinomial Logistic Regression Model.

	Shortlisted	Won
Average Submission	0.025	0.003
(F1 & F2 Low) England-centered novels about white people	0.017	0.001
(F5 & F8 High) plus established, conglomerate publisher & previously shortlisted author	0.055	0.002
(F6 High) plus male author/main character	. . .	0.008
(F2 Low) Celtic-centered novels	0.036	. . .
(F5 & F8 High) plus established, conglomerate publisher & previously shortlisted author	0.111	. . .
(F1 Low) Colonial-centered novels about non-white people	. . .	0.007
(F5 High) plus established publisher & previously shortlisted author	. . .	0.009
(F6 High) plus male author/main character	. . .	0.047

combined with a move toward the publishing establishment pushes the probability of shortlisting to 0.11, but does not increase the probability of winning the prize. The region of the space most likely to receive the highest consecration is where the former colonial meets established publishing and a male gendering. A novel in this region is almost 16 times more likely to be consecrated than a novel in the center of the space.

Are these factors important in shaping the level of consecration? The ordered logistic regression model takes into account that the outcome of interest represents an increasing level of consecration and uses the factors as predictors of receiving an additional level of consecration. Table 5 shows results from this model, which indicate that the first two factors are not determinative of the level of consecration. In other words, moving further toward one of the exotic regions of the nomination space does not affect the magnitude of consecration. This is consistent with the multinomial regression results, which indicated that a shift in one direction led to greater likelihood of being shortlisted and a shift in the other direction led to greater likelihood of winning. What shapes the magnitude of consecration most clearly is Factor 5–i.e. the mark of the literary establishment. Holding other factors constant, a one standard deviation increase along this dimension of the field space corresponds with a 1.9 increase in the ordered log-odds of being consecrated at a higher level. To a lesser but still significant degree, an increase in the conglomerate publisher factor (Factor 8) increases the likelihood of achieving a higher

Table 5

Results from Ordered Logistic Regression Models. Predicting Level of Consecration.

	B	SE
F1: English vs. former colonial authors and stories	−0.406	(0.407)
F2: English vs. Celtic authors and stories	−0.856	(0.478)
F3: Continental European authors and stories	0.35	(0.656)
F4: North American authors and stories	0.984	(0.595)
F5: Celebrated authors writing "literature" for high-status English publishers	1.893***	(0.389)
F6: Female authors and characters	−1.238*	(0.557)
F7: Historic publishers	−0.574	(0.419)
F8: Conglomerates	1.160*	(0.523)
F9: Non-North American conglomerates	−0.643	(0.425)
Cut 1		
Constant	3.693***	(0.609)
Cut 2		
Constant	5.632***	(0.685)
Log-likelihood	−208.732	
Number of observations	1094	
Degrees of freedom	17	

Note: Model includes t-1 indicator variables for years.

** $p < 0.01$.

* $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.001$.

level of consecration. Finally, a continual shift away from the feminized region of the space toward more male authors and main characters increases the likelihood of achieving a higher level of consecration.

6. Discussion

With some notable exceptions (e.g. Ekelund & Börjesson, 2005; Kersten & Verboord, 2013; Phillips, 2013; Rossman & Schilke, 2014; Santana-Acuña, 2014) and mostly save for the case of genre (e.g. Janssen, 1997; Franssen & Velthuis, 2014), under the stewardship of the Production of Culture approach the contents of cultural objects has mostly been bracketed out from formal cultural analysis (Peterson, 1994; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Using a Bourdieusian perspective we show the importance of encoded cultural content as one of several sites through which structural positions within the field are defined. The other two, the status characteristics of creators and organizations, are much more regularly the focal variables of studies of cultural consecration. More importantly, we believe that in taking a Bourdieusian perspective on cultural consecration it is important to treat these constituent features of cultural objects as different pieces to the same puzzle: the structural position within the space of possible positions through which new objects in the field emerge. Rather than approaching the content of cultural objects as an independent factor, our approach bolsters the view that content is one dimension – indeed a highly salient dimension – within a latent field space created through contestation over what is deemed as lasting and valuable art. Thus, our approach points to one fruitful direction in "bringing the content back in" to the sociological analysis of consecration processes.

Relying on nine years of nomination data for the Booker Prize consisting of 1194 novels, we use assorted characteristics of publishers, authors, and texts to positionally map submissions within a relational field of contested terrain. We find a processual system of consecration: the first consecration comes in nominations themselves, and in the Booker's tournament consecrations are refined as positions are further weeded out and more refined dimensions become the foci. Textual factors, and their alignment with authors as authentic speakers of these factors, constitute the most important first cut into the continuity of objects that could be considered worthy of consecration. Rather than the eventual winners of the game dominating throughout the process, we find art can be consecrated from different positions, depending on the stage of the tournament. In fact, within the subfield of literary fiction as defined by our data, submissions from the two furthest poles of the field are most likely to be consecrated as deserving of attention and acclaim, although one pole eventually wins out.

If the Booker Prize was the Olympics, the Bronze would go to English Female position, the Silver to the Celtic position, and the Gold to the Former-Colonial Male position. Likewise, to get from Silver to Gold is to be pushed forward by the tailwinds of an already established and consecrated publisher. These findings can be read to confirm what has long been whispered about the Booker Prize: as much as it is a "postcolonial" project (Anand & Jones, 2008) it is also a "neocolonial" project (Huggan, 1997) in which the creative labor of the subaltern (English Women, the Celtic, and non-white "post-colonial" men) are converted into the objectified cultural capital of already well-established English publishers and then pitted against each other in the processual awards process for greater capital accumulation. Through the Booker Awards process objectified cultural capital becomes institutionalized, and then quickly converted into economic capital through sales. This favoring of the subaltern voice over male English novelists (who are disproportionately extracted from the competition at first pass)

captures what Huggan (1997) calls the inherent contradiction of postcoloniality: an attempt to reconcile "*anti-colonial ideologies and neo-colonial market schemes*" *(412, emphasis added).*

Lastly, in this account we highlight the *processual* nature of culture consecration. There is face validity to this approach, especially when considering cultural arenas such as formal prizes and awards in which there is an oversupply of entrants and a shortage of time: the position-deficient (and perhaps structurally impure) are first weeded out, before in later stages the serious work of picking the winners and "not quite" winners begins.[11] Future work may look for effects of one year's consecration process on subsequent years' nominations and awards, which could provide greater insights into field-configuring effects of prize evaluations (e.g. Rossman & Schilke, 2014). One could also extend the processual nature of culture consecration out in either direction: which positions get first weeded out by never even being nominated for consideration at all, and which positions last from the short-to-middle range consecration of literary awards into long-term literary recognition and renown.

Acknowledgements

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[11] This to us, sounds of little difference to other competitive arenas under similar conditions with which readers may be familiar: the selection of articles for publication in an academic journal, or the selection of candidates for an academic job.

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