Swedish Literature on the British Market

1998-2013: A Systemic Approach

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I, Agnes Broomé, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role and function of contemporary Swedish fiction in English translation on the British book market in the period 1998-2013. Drawing on Bourdieu's Field Theory, Even Zohar's Polysystem Theory and DeLanda's Assemblage Theory, it constructs a model capable of dynamically describing the life cycle of border-crossing books, from selection and production to marketing, sales and reception. This life cycle is driven and shaped by individual position-takings of book market actants, and by their complex interaction and continual evolution. The thesis thus develops an understanding of the book market and its actants that deliberately resists static or linear perspectives, acknowledging the centrality of complex interaction and dynamic development to the analysis of publishing histories of translated books.

The theoretical component is complemented by case studies offering empirical insight into the model's application. Each case study illuminates the theory from a different angle, creating thereby a composite picture of the complex, essentially unmappable processes that underlie the logic of the book market. The first takes as its subject the British publishing history of crime writer Liza Marklund, as well as its wider context, the Scandinavian crime boom. The second case study considers the role of multi-platform mediality and media convergence in the case of John Ajvide Lindqvist's vampire novel *Let the Right One In*. The Swedish contribution to Canongate's *Myth* series, *The Hurricane Party* by Klas Östergren, is then examined through the lens of a globalising world literature. The final case study widens the scope to the institutional level by analysing the role and impact of the Swedish Arts Council's efforts to disseminate Swedish literature abroad. Together, the case studies begin to illuminate the functioning of the contemporary translated fiction market in the UK, providing a nuanced understanding of the success of Swedish fiction in English translation.

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Some of the research in this thesis has been partially published in earlier and shorter versions:

Broomé, Agnes (2014) 'The Many Guises of the Book – Genre and Paratext in the Works of Liza Marklund', in *Illuminating the North: Proceedings from the Nordic Research Network Conference 2013*. Norvik Press, London.

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Unless otherwise stated, translations are the author's own.

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Sales numbers for books sold in the United Kingdom are from NielsenBookScan unless otherwise stated.

A book is never simply a remarkable *object*. Like every other technology it is invariably the product of human agency in complex and highly volatile contexts which a responsible scholarship must seek to recover

D. E. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*

*

What we cannot produce in the end is a general and all-inclusive picture of such an ever-transient, ever-changing, ever-unbalanced situation. What we can do, with caution and good sense, is to build a good number of maps, showing some of the most interesting phenomena, with examples of some of the most permanent and some of the most transitional ones.

Remo Cesareni, *Studying Transcultural Literary History*

Introduction

In a speech given to the Swedish Academy in December 2003 under the heading *Swedish Literature, an Export Good*, author, literature scholar and member number sixteen of the Academy, Kjell Espmark, boldly stated that Swedish literature has experienced a "golden age" on the international scene since the 1940s, though this has "not often been acknowledged in those terms domestically" (Espmark, 2008, p. 46). Espmark's remarks are a perceptive and accurate assessment of the situation, and points to two important truths about Swedish literature abroad. The first is that, in terms of literary exports, Sweden is and has been doing rather well for a long time. The other is that the Swedish discourse on the subject has long been suffused with a vague, and, as Espark implies, misplaced, sense of anxiety about the perceived under-performance of Swedish literature abroad.

The beginning of the success of Swedish literature is of course difficult to pinpoint with any degree of accuracy. August Strindberg was successful and influential on the continent at the turn of the last century and Selma Lagerlöf did not only win a Nobel Prize in 1909 but has also been translated to around sixty languages. Before the debut of these giants, Esaias Tegnér headed a wave of Swedish national romantic poetry, which swept Europe in the early nineteenth century.

The accelerated success which Espmark notes in his speech was to a great extent the result of the tireless efforts of a number of small, independent European presses, the most famous of which is Actes Sud in France. Swedish heavy-hitters including Harry Martinson and Gunnar Ekelöf, as well as rising stars such as Tomas Tranströmer and Stig Dagerman, who found particular favour in France, where his works still enjoy a remarkably robust fan base, made Swedish literature popular among a wide audience in the 1980s. They were followed by successive generations of writers, including Torgny Lindgren, Kerstin Ekman and Lars Gustafsson, a German favourite, and, of course, Astrid Lindgren, whose books have been translated to no less than 95 languages. This global success has seen her reach eighteenth place on UNESCOs list of most translated authors worldwide (UNESCO, 2012). Worth special mention are also Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö, the mother and father, respectively, of modern Swedish crime, whose successes in Europe and the United States laid the groundwork

for the Scandinavian crime boom that has blossomed during the twenty-first century. The list of well-received Swedish authors could be made very long indeed. The twentieth century brought Swedish literature both international critical acclaim and a broad readership. The popular and commercial success of Swedish literature has continued into the new millennium, particularly within the crime genre, where Swedish writers are leaving an indelible mark on the world market. The work begun by Sjöwall and Wahlöö blossomed with the publishing of Henning Mankell's *Wallander*-series and came to fruition with the breath-taking commercial success of Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* trilogy, which had by the end of 2011 sold over 63 000 000 copies worldwide, according to stieglarsson.se, a website dedicate to all things *Millennium*, which keeps a prominent tally (stieglarsson.se 2012) on its homepage. Swedish children's and young adult literature continues to be popular abroad and Swedish fiction more generally is punching well above its weight on the global scene in terms of number of titles translated and the sales volumes of those titles.

And yet, there is that other side of Espmark's remark, the Swedish anxiety about the health of its literature abroad. Where does it come from? To some extent, it is possible, of course, that Swedish worries stem from a general inferiority complex, from a feeling of not having full access to the world literary market, despite the high quality of its national literature. As a small nation writing in a less than central language, such worries may well be warranted. Competing in a crowded marketplace with countries whose writers work in more culturally endowed languages such as French, Spanish, German and, in particular, English, it may be hard for a small nation not to feel iteslf at a distinct competitive disadvantage. In light of the relative success Swedish literature has been enjoying in the wider world for decades, however, it seems more likely that the gloom about the nation's literature's standing internationally that sometimes seems to grip Sweden's literary sphere has its root in lack of information about its success and a desire, unmet by ability, to aid the dissemination of important cultural products.

In terms of information, studies of Swedish literature in other countries are remarkably rare. The reverse flow of literature, into Sweden in Swedish translation, on the other hand, is much more thoroughly understood. Here, a wealth of statistics,

collected by public and private organisations, such as Sweden's National Library and the Swedish Publishers' Association, an industry body, give statistical credence to detailed studies that aid policy work and accurate public perception. In the case of Swedish literature abroad, however, no such ready data exists, and the task of finding, let alone comparing or collating numbers from the world's 196 nations is thus made incomparably more challenging. The statistical databases that do exist, such as Worldcat, UNESCO's Index Translationum or the National Library of Sweden's own resource, Suecana extranea, all have significant shortcomings. The considerable gaps in registered data that plague them generally and the time lag that make them particularly unsuited to research on recent literature mean that these databases are no more than marginally useful at best. Similarly, the Swedish government has long commissioned regular and wide-ranging reports into the state of Swedish literature generally, but until the most recent one, published in 2012, Swedish literature abroad was afforded little more than passing attention in a brief paragraph or two (SOU2012:65).

Possibly due to the lack of hard information regarding the situation faced by Swedish literature abroad, and its success or lack thereof, Swedish efforts to support the country's literature were long fairly unsophisticated and underfunded. Despite early enthusiasm for public diplomacy more broadly, as evidenced by the founding of the thereto dedicated Swedish Institute in 1945, earmarked support for the translation and international promotion of Swedish literature was not allocated until the mid-1970s. The support, which was administrated by the Swedish Institute, was always small and gradually diminished until it was less than half of what smaller neighbours Denmark, Norway and Finland spent on the international promotion of their literature. Symbolically important though this state grant was for the international dissemination of Swedish literature, it is questionable whether it was ever truly thought to be a sufficient or efficient means of support, given the exceedingly small sum of money involved.

The unfortunate information gap within the field of Swedish literature abroad and the desire of individuals and organisations within the Swedish literary sphere to know more have both been important motivations for my research. Not least because they

catalysed the creation of an IMPACT studentship, jointly funded by Mr Stefan Olsson, London; the Barbro Osher Pro Suecia Foundation, San Francisco; the Swedish Academy, Stockholm and UCL, which has funded my doctoral research in full. It is my hope, therefore, that the research contained in this thesis can both contribute to resolving Swedish anxieties and provide new knowledge that increases our understanding of how contemporary Swedish fiction functions on the British market.

My desire to better understand the workings of border-crossing literature is, furthermore, paralleled by that of a number of comrades in both academia and wider society, in Sweden as well as in the UK. Academic interest in translation studies, book history and literary sociology is in ascendancy in a rapidly globalising world, and a range of theoretical tools have become available in recent decades, enabling more sophisticated study of a complex field. Society as a whole has also become increasingly aware of the transcultural flows that shape national cultural contexts. In the United Kingdom this is certainly reflected in a newfound interest for translation, which is at times associated with an equally newfound anxiety about the low rates of translation seen on the domestic book market. In Sweden, this type of enquiry has been on the rise since the 1960s, when a section for the study of the sociology of literature was founded at Uppsala University. A growing interest in the fate of Swedish literature abroad can be traced through successive Swedish government reports on literature policy since 1974. The most recent report, published in 2012 (SOU2012:65), dedicates a full chapter to an examination of Swedish literature abroad and a comparative survey of the support for national literatures in other countries. Though reliable quantitative data are still thin on the ground, much work is now being done to ensure that Swedish actors, both private and public, work effectively for the international promotion of Swedish literature. Both motivations and tools have become more sophisticated, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Method and limitations

At first glance, the title of this thesis may seem reassuringly straightforward and firmly delineated: contemporary Swedish fiction on the British book market between the years of 1998 and 2013. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals that the object of my study is a concatenation of overlapping, under-defined, over-determined meanings. Each term requires careful definition before it can be useful in an investigative context. This seems an appropriate time, therefore, to say a word or two about the fundamental limitations of this thesis, limitations imposed by the nature of the studied object, by the remits of the study as defined by this project's funders, or chosen by the researcher herself. These can be approached by examining, in turn, each of the three terms of the thesis title.

The first, and most obvious problems are encountered in the use of the term 'contemporary Swedish fiction'. Each word here adds a new layer of assumption and obliqueness. I will tackle each in turn. The first, 'contemporary', is, perhaps, the least problematic one. Though there is no obvious line to be drawn between contemporary and non-contemporary, the distinction may, at times, be important. In terms of this thesis, firm definition of the concept is largely avoided, because it is not required for the analysis or discussion in which I engage. Indeed, as far as usage goes in what follows, 'contemporary' will stand for books published within the time period in question, that is, between 1998 and 2013. The motivations for choosing this specific time period will be discussed in more detail below.

The two words that follow 'contemporary', i.e., 'Swedish' and 'fiction', are considerably thornier concepts that require careful definition. What is Swedish in the context of literature? As with any semantic definition, central examples of the concept are easy to classify. Generally speaking, they can be said to be books by Swedish authors written in Swedish and published in Sweden. August Strindberg's *Fröken Julie* (1888) can be said to one example, Stieg Larsson's *Män som hatar kvinnor* (2005), another. But even such a seemingly uncontentious definition immediately raises urgent questions. Most importantly, perhaps, what is a Swedish author? A person born in Sweden? A person whose native language is Swedish? A

person who lives in Sweden? The potential for essentialist, and, at worst, racist, classification is obvious. Surely authors from an immigrant background living in Sweden must be considered for inclusion? Conversely, many native Swedes live abroad permanently or on a part-time basis, including canonical and renowned writers, such as Henning Mankell, who spends substantial amounts of his time in Mozambique.

Adding to the difficulty of defining an author's Swedishness is the enjoinment to write in Swedish, a potential criterion that blurs the picture further. Must parts of Strindberg's oeuvre be considered non-Swedish because they were written in French? Do they then count as French literature? Considering only books published in Sweden is perhaps the least helpful of the three criteria proposed above. Not only because there are Swedish-speaking minorities in other countries, notably Finland, where a substantial number of works in the Swedish language are published each year (Statistics Finland 2007), but also because globalisation and technological advances make national and linguistic borders less important in publishing. Thus, a Swedish-language work by a 'Swedish' author can be published in a country other than Sweden and Swedish publishers regularly publish literature written in languages other than Swedish written by "non-Swedish" authors. For the purposes of this thesis, however, 'Swedish', in this sense, will be taken to mean works written in the Swedish language and published in Sweden. This should not be read as a refusal to accept the complex nature of the 'Swedishness' of a literary work but rather as a pragmatic choice that serves to limit the area of inquiry to literary works that, crucially, make a border-crossing journey from a Swedish production and reception context to a British one.

The concept of 'fiction' is no less complicated; the question of which material to include in that designation is a vexed one, given the diversity of works that exists. The question is not only whether to include types beyond the core scope of novels and short stories, such as drama (and if so, should we count drama in performance or only in print?), poetry and oral literature, but also whether to include other types of media, such as film or television, and whether to limit the inquiry to printed works or also consider digital works. And if digital works are to be included, does that mean

digital works published by a press, such as e-books, or any fiction writing found online? Though compelling arguments can certainly be made for a more diverse and inclusive view of fiction, some of which will be made in Chapter 5 of this thesis, for the purposes of simplicity, fiction will in this thesis primarily be defined as novels and short-story collections published by a publishing house, digitally, physically or both. This limitation of material under study has been submitted to primarily to delineate the field of enquiry in order to enable constructive theoretical and empirical engagement. The production and dissemination networks of different types of literature differ significantly. Thus, considering dramatic works would necessitate the inclusion of distribution channels and active agents involved in the production and dissemination of such literature, which would widen the scope of my inquiry considerably. Similarly, the inclusion of poetry would bring into play, for example, a complex network of specialised poetry magazines and awards. The constriction of the term 'fiction', should be understood, then, as a concerted effort to limit a field that is too vast and complex for ready analysis or modelling, not as a suggestion that there exists an independent field of novels and short-stories that shares no connections with other forms of fiction.

A final word on age-range may be necessary before moving on to the two other terms in my thesis title; this thesis will not consider children's and young adult fiction. This is, again, an arbitrary choice, motivated primarily by the different production contexts that obtain for children's and young adult fiction and adult fiction. These contexts do, of course, show significant overlap, in terms of active authors, participating publishing companies, distribution channels and even readers, particularly in the case of young adult literature. But, as with other forms of fiction, the children's and young adult fiction field is also partly separate, an entity unto itself, with dedicated publishers, trade fairs and consecrational routes. For an excellent survey of Swedish children's and young adult literature in the UK, I highly recommend Charlotte Berry's doctoral thesis (Berry 2013).

Having thus considered what contemporary Swedish fiction means within the confines of this thesis, and which meanings have regretfully been excluded, we move on to the next term, 'the British market'. Several qualifications of this nebulous

concept are necessary at this point. The first distinction to make is between 'British' and 'English-language'. In some respects, this is a more difficult distinction to draw than it may first appear. Consolidation in the publishing world over the last few decades has created large, transcultural corporate entities that operate in a multitude of markets. Penguin Random House, for example, was formed on 1 July 2013 through the merger of Penguin, owned by Pearson, a publishing multinational headquartered in the UK, and Random House, owned by Bertelsmann, a German multinational, and comprises over 250 imprints, has over 10 000 employees across five continents and publishes 15 000 titles annually (Bertelsmann 2013). Where can such a company be said to belong? What is the nationality of its products? In light of the task of this thesis, however, the British book market will be defined, primarily, as consisting of agents active in the United Kingdom. That means publishers headquartered there, literary agents active there, trade fairs taking place there, awards bestowed from there, and so forth. Naturally, the border-crossing journeys of cultural objects do not adhere to such strict boundaries, so at times it will be necessary to discuss production and dissemination processes outside the confines of the British Isles, specifically in the US and the wider European context, but this will always be done in order to further illuminate the conditions and developments on the British market.

Finally, we come to the temporal limitations of this study. There can, of course, never be any final and authoritative periodization of literary production. Periods bleed into each other, artistic movements overlap, political and social change is incremental, slow and always less than perfectly linear. The conspicuously recent timespan selected for this study, 1998-2013, reflects two main insights into the area of inquiry. The first is that studies within the field of literary sociology of the contemporary period are rare, both in the United Kingdom and in Sweden. Indeed, as we have seen, studies of Swedish literature abroad, during any time period, are notable primarily by their absence, but the most recent decades are the most under-researched, as will be shown in Chapter 1. Secondly, the literary field has, in terms of social, political, economic and technological context, gone through rapid changes, beginning in earnest in the 1970s. Claire Squires has in her book *Marketing Literature: The Making of Contemporary Writing in Britain*, which covers a similar timespan, shown

that these changes have made visible the increasing impact of marketing on literature (Squires, 2009). They have also contributed to an increase in translation and transnational flows of cultural products, as well as their visibility and impact, which has altered the field considerably. Furthermore, during the first two-thirds of the 1990s, a number of important developments occurred both within Sweden and internationally, that had profound impacts on the dissemination of Swedish literature abroad. Among these can be counted Sweden's accession to the European Union in 1995; the 1993 government report on cultural policy (SOU1993:52), which led to changes in how the state approached its cultural efforts; the first English-language publication of Henning Mankell's *Wallander*-series of crime fiction novels, which initiated the first wave in the Swedish crime tide that would soon follow, in 1997; and the founding of amazon.com in 1994 and the start of the company's UK trading in 1998, the same year that Stockholm held the title Europe Capital of Culture. 1998 was also the year Liza Marklund, whose crime novels are the subject of the case study found in Chapter 5, was first published in Sweden. It has been chosen as the oldest date to be considered in the present study for all these reasons. Together, the broad societal shifts, the technological innovations and the pivotal publishing events caused a shift in the way Swedish literature fared and was perceived abroad. Though a majority of the works considered in this thesis were published in the new millennium, I therefore believe it to be crucial to include the last few years of the twentieth century, lest important early stages of the present situation be missed. Longer historical overviews will be given in Part II where appropriate and necessary, in order to contextualise the production and distribution of specific books and support services, but generally, materials under consideration will be drawn from the very recent past, the better to capture a dynamic and ever-changing network structure almost as it happens.

A final note about what this study will not do: it will not discuss of the literary qualities of particular books. In other words, it will not venture into the field of literary criticism, nor will it engage with such labels as 'high-brow' and 'low-brow'. Moreover, the analysis undertaken will for the most part be confined to material aspects of the book. In other words, textual features, meanings and styles will not be explicitly engaged with. Though by no means denying that books are complex

products with symbolic as well as physical and social dimensions, only the latter two dimensions will be discussed herein. The focus is, thus, on matters outside the text, on the network of agents that produce and disseminate book, and on the production and reception of books in society. The purpose of this thesis is, thus, not indexical.

Original contribution to knowledge

This thesis will attempt to plug some of the gaps in our understanding of how Swedish literature is disseminated abroad. It is my hope, and the foundation of my doctoral project, that increased knowledge and understanding of the processes and actors involved in the journey and life cycle of border-crossing literary works can contribute to a sharpening of the tools used to promote such border-crossing. The approach of my research is not, therefore, to attempt to improve the statistical material available, nor to provide a comprehensive tabulation of Swedish fiction published in the United Kingdom since 1998. Partly this is so because such an undertaking would almost inevitably be full of holes, relying, as it necessarily would, on incomplete records and data and dealing, furthermore, with a field that cannot, as was outlined in some detail above, possibly be rigorously and consistently defined.

The conceptual framework of this thesis, as well as the network model it proposes, develops from the field of the history of the book, drawing primary inspiration from sociological theory. As such, the transition in focus here is a literary work's material translation from one production context to another, a process that is investigated through the impact of cultural, social and economic conditions. The aim is to construct, insofar as it is possible, a model that eschews simplicity and reductionism, and that is capable of harnessing complexity in the service of analysis. In order to provide an accurate picture of the complex forces and the tangled web of agents that contribute to the making of border-crossing literature, a model will be constructed that relies heavily on systemic network thinking. The focus of this thesis is Swedish literature on the British market, but I believe that a model such as the one outlined below would be applicable to a broad range of transcultural literary flows. Further discussion of how the present model can be used for the study of other literatures in different contexts can be found in the final chapter of this thesis.

The type of network model used in this study has a number of tangible advantages. Most important, perhaps, is its flexible structure. A systemic network model does not resemble a flow chart. It is not linear, nor is there any reason why it should contain only one type of node. Consequently, a network model is capable of containing nodes, or agents, ranging from a book, per se, or an individual, such as a translator, consumer or editorial assistant, to larger entities such as the publishing company that employs the editorial assistant, cultural institutions, a press corps or even a nation state. There is no need for hierarchical relations within a network. Similarly, there is no need to hierarchise the interactions of the agents in a network. All interactions in a network are interactive, located in the connection between agents, and determined by the possible position-taking space of the agents involved. Crucially, all interactive action in the network is relational and reciprocal, which is to say that all changes in the network necessarily ripple through the entire network. To put it differently, every localised action in the system is influenced by the state of the entire system and inevitably alters that state in turn. Thus, a systemic network model is highly complex, dynamic at its core and reflects a reality in which change is the product of all activity.

Needless to say, a model of this kind is difficult to deal with, owing to its high degree of complexity and lack of static linkages. Indeed, it is designed to describe a system too vast and complicated fully to grasp. As such, it may seem to run the risk of ending up having nothing to say about the processes of cultural translation from one national production context to another. Heedful of this risk, it is not my intention to attempt to model the entire system at once. Clearly, such an endeavour would be doomed to failure. What will not be presented in this thesis, then, is a neat flowchart of the life of a border-crossing book, comparable to the many models previously proposed in book history, a number of which, such as Robert Darnton's (1982) seminal 'communication circuit', will be discussed in Chapter 2. The system as a whole is, rather, conceived of as a landscape, real, certainly, but impossible to represent in its entirety. The approach of this thesis is, therefore, to provide, instead of a whole, a series of landscape paintings, so to speak, each painted from a different vantage point. Each painting is an accurate representation of the landscape, but a simplistic one, unable to capture every dimension present in the original. Moreover, the act of study

and of writing an account of that study unavoidably serves to fix the object of study in a static pose, which impairs a dynamic understanding. While the case studies presented in this thesis strive to remain open-ended and to underscore their deficiencies in terms of dynamic representation, they will nevertheless inevitably fail to convey the ever-shifting system of which they form a part. I hope that each fragmentary perspective will not only show the interesting details of the system under study, but that they can cumulatively begin to give an idea of the nature of the full, indescribable landscape.

Structure of thesis

This thesis is divided into two distinct parts. Part I outlines the context of this study in some detail and provides the methodological and theoretical framework of my research. Chapter 1 begins by outlining a general, global context of transcultural flows and proceeds to locate Swedish literature within that wider world and within the British publishing context specifically, moving through the levels of the literary system by gradually "zooming in" from a macro to a micro-context. Having established the field of study, Chapter 2 then goes on to relate the theoretical underpinnings of my approach and a full description and discussion of the model used. A number of methodological choices and the opportunities and constraints that they entail are also discussed in this chapter.

In Part II, the model constructed is applied to reality in four empirical case studies. These case studies are the landscape paintings that together will begin to give a sense of the shape and functioning of the unmappable, unrepresentable landscape by examining a range of interactive events, from the detailed to the sweeping. Through the first three case studies, there is a movement similar to the "zooming in" movement in Part I, but reversed. Thus, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 incrementally "zoom out" from an analysis of a local British network of actants, via an assessment of the impact of transnational, multimodal contexts on Swedish fiction in the United Kingdom to an examination of the effects on Swedish fiction in the United Kingdom of the pressures of the global literary system. The thesis then concludes with a final case study that simultaneously homes in on the micro-level of an individual actant

behaviour and considers the most superordinate, i.e., complex, actants in the network of Swedish literature abroad, the nation state.

Each chapter deals with a different type of object of study. This enables an interrogation of a range of different regions of the literary system, which, in turn, results in a more holistic understanding of the system as a whole. Chapter 3 is an examination of the generic identity of Swedish crime fiction, which in recent years has become Sweden's most important literary export. Specifically, the chapter investigates to what extent the genre's identity is the product of network effects, rather than a formalist characteristic intrinsic to the texts per se. Chapter 4 takes as its starting point the vampire novel *Let the Right One In* by John Ajvide Lindqvist. Here, it is shown that a network approach able to accommodate other forms of cultural production can reveal the ways in which adaptation to various media platforms, including cinema and theatre, can impact on the success and production and reception contexts of a book. In Chapter 5 the complex case of Canongate's Myth series, and particularly its Swedish contribution, Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party*, is considered in the context of the global literary system. The precarious local life cycles and fraught reception contexts of Östergren's novel serve to illustrate how structural characteristics of the global literary system, such as disruptive core/periphery tension, impact on border-crossing literature and the actants included in their production, circulation and reception networks. Part II is then concluded with a study of Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad, which traces the state's increasingly systemic understanding of the field, and the reflection of that understanding in its supporting methods. Each of these case studies interrogate the nature and processes of the conditions of production and dissemination of Swedish literature abroad from a network perspective. They also demonstrate that case studies, though unable on their own to show the explanatory power of a dynamic network model, together give an accumulating idea of the structure and behaviour of the network. Together, the case studies also attempt to show the, perhaps unexpected, extent of the network and the need to study it in all its diversity. Thus, it is not enough to study books, because books are affected by other forms of cultural production. Nor is it constructive to limit one's field of study to one author, to one profession or to any one type of actant, because the findings would inevitably miss much of the

complex context that fundamentally shapes the life cycle of all books. Naturally, limitations are necessary and unavoidable; this thesis is no exception. More case studies would have provided an even fuller picture of the subject at hand. A discussion of research that could constructively and helpfully be added to the work presented in this thesis can be found at the end of the thesis.

Part I

Border-Crossing Literature: Context and Theoretical Framework

The first part of this thesis will set out the context within which contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market operates. The context of a border-crossing book is highly complex, including, as it does, the local production, circulation and reception networks of not one but at least two countries. In addition, as a book transcends its original national context, it becomes part of a global literary system, the strictures and pressures of which will inevitably impact on the life cycle of the book, in all its stages. Part I will attempt a conceptual unpacking of the border-crossing book's context.

Chapter 1 is, thus, a mapping of the context in which border-crossing literature exists. It provides an overview of the social, economic and cultural context of production, circulation and reception for border-crossing literature at the turn of the old millennium and the start of the new. The chapter is divided into three parts, each focusing on a different level of the complex context. The movement of the chapter is one of "zooming in". First, the general material and social situation of translated fiction in the world will be considered. The translation flows of the global literary system are not straightforward and do not treat all books equally. Many are the constraints on a border-crossing book that stem from this superordinate context. Next, the chapter homes in on Swedish literature in particular. Few studies have been made of the literary outflow from Sweden, but a number of general trends concerning its dissemination abroad can be discerned. Finally, the third part of Chapter 1 outlines the particular context that is the subject of this study, i.e., Swedish literature in a specifically British context. This outline will serve as the crucial background for the specific case studies of contemporary Swedish fiction in UK in part II, providing an historical context as well as some tentative quantitative data that help put the findings of this thesis in perspective.

Having set out the three main levels of material and social context that impact on the life cycle of the border-crossing book in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 proceeds to give an overview of a number of theoretical perspectives that are helpful to the study of contemporary Swedish literature on the British market. By drawing on the insights achieved by book history, cultural economics, translation studies and, above all, cultural and literary sociology, a conceptual model of the book market is then developed. The aim of the model is accurately to depict the context of border-crossing books, by encompassing as much of it as possible without succumbing to the temptation to abstract to the point of losing any potential explanatory power. Indeed, one of the main objectives in constructing a new model is to be able to include the type of complexity that has typically been either excluded or reduced to linearity in previous attempts to model the context of book production.

By the end of Part I of this thesis, the contextual understanding gained and the conceptual model developed will provide the tools needed empirically to explore and interrogate the complex networks of contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market.

Chapter 1

Mapping the context(s)

The core premise of any sociological study is attention given and significance ascribed to context. The specific subject of this thesis is contemporary Swedish fiction in translation on the UK market, but any study of individual actants within that specific network will have to take into account its wider context. It is therefore necessary to pause for a moment at this point and consider the nature of this context and the impact it may have on border-crossing Swedish books. As outlined in the previous section, this first chapter is structured to mimic a telescopic visual movement, in an effort to succinctly capture the complex contextual relationships that border-crossing Swedish literature in the UK has with the world around it. In other words, the chapter begins with a general and inevitably rather sweeping survey of the state of translated literature in the world today. This will help set the scene for further, more detailed discussions by providing a snapshot of translation flows, a range of quantitative data and a few words about relevant recent developments. This general picture will then be complemented by a more zoomed-in examination of, specifically, Swedish literature in the world. This will serve as a starting point for quantitative and comparative considerations in the final section of this chapter, which homes in even further to focus on the object of study in question, Swedish literature in the UK.

Literary translation in the world

Historically speaking, the study of translations long consisted primarily of relatively haphazard studies of individual texts, or to some extent authorships. The most common approach was to evaluate the merits, or lack thereof, of specific translations and to comparatively assess the perceived changes caused as either gains or, more often, losses. In modern times, translation studies has developed as a discipline in its own right, and the theorising of translation and translated texts has offered new insights into the textual and social workings and functions of border-crossing

literature. As the discipline diversifies away from overreliance on strictly formalist textual studies, which can, of course, still be of great value, toward more systemic approaches, it has become ever more feasible to study the production and dissemination of translated fiction in its broader social and market contexts. As translation theory has developed, much has been learnt about how social, political, technological and economic circumstances influence and shape both the initial production and the potential subsequent border-crossing of books.

In recent decades, cultural economics and sociological studies have further contributed to that knowledge. One of the most important insights into the context of border-crossing books offered by economic and sociological studies of the material book is that the global system of literary translation is fundamentally hierarchical and asymmetrical. The relationships that obtain in this field are an obvious mirror of the relationships that obtain more generally in global culture, trade and power relations. Or, as Lawrence Venuti puts it in his seminal work *Scandals of Translation* (1998: 158), "translation is uniquely revealing of the asymmetries that have structured world affairs for centuries". What this means in practice is that literary translation worldwide has long been overwhelmingly dominated by the English language. As a source language, English is the unsurpassed number one. Though reliable data are scarce, Heilbron and Sapiro (2007: 95ff) present numbers from the early 1980s, indicating that 40 percent of all translated books published at that time were originally written in English. German and French followed in a distant second place with around 12 percent each. Eight other languages produced between 1 and 3 percent of all translations and the other 7000 or so languages, among them Chinese, Japanese, Hindi and Arabic, which together represent almost 2 billion native speakers, produced less than 1 percent each. In Europe, the position of English is even more formidable; between 50 and 70 percent of translations published there were from English originals. Heilbron and Sapiro do not disclose the source of their data, but they are broadly confirmed by UNESCO, which collects information about translation as part of their mission. According to UNESCO statistics (2005), the biggest literary exporters are the US, the UK, Germany, Spain and France.

Conversely, in terms of target languages, English is much less dominant. Indeed, Heilbron and Sapiro's numbers show that while the proportion of translations in total number of published titles is between 14 and 18 percent in Germany and France, 25 percent in the Netherlands and Sweden and close to 45 percent in Greece – and conceivably even greater in a number of developing nations – translations account for only about 3 percent in the UK (2007: 96). These numbers are, again, slightly dated by now, but although some changes are bound to have occurred, they are most likely not significant enough to cancel out the strong trends outlined above. For example, a more recent approximation of number of translations published in Sweden each year estimated the proportion to be no higher than 18 percent of the total number of publications (Svedjedal, 73), but this significant drop is, according to Johan Svedjedal presumably the result of changes in domestic reporting routines, rather than in actual publishing output.

As the world, and the publishing world with it, has globalised, the asymmetries noted above have not seemed too diminished. Indeed, if anything, they have been exacerbated, and continue to grow. Thus, while English contributed around 40 percent of all translated works around 1980, by 2010, this number was between 55 and 60 percent (Heilbron 2010: 2). French and German have both declined slightly since the 1980s and Russian collapsed completely after the fall of the Soviet Union, plummeting from a position comparable with German and French to one more closely resembling Italian, with about 2 percent of all translations (ibid). That the imbalance exists and persists is important because it is an important factor constraining and shaping the translation flows of the international system of literary translation.

The first important consequence of the asymmetry that characterises the literary system is that what we may call "central" languages, to borrow de Swaan's (2001) useful term for categorising the global language system, hold important gatekeeping functions. In other words, important languages such as French and German have the ability to allow literary works from smaller, less culturally and otherwise endowed, "peripheral" and "semi-peripheral" languages access to the world market. They do so in two ways. The first is by imbuing selected works with cultural capital, which is

automatically bestowed through the act of translation. That is to say, if a literary work from a peripheral or semi-peripheral language succeeds in winning over an English-language publisher, it immediately gains in status and is more likely to be considered a desirable purchase by publishers in other languages. Second, translation into one of the widely spoken and understood languages of the world opens a work up to a vast number of foreign editors who are more likely to bet on a book they are able to read themselves. English, which is "hypercentral" in de Swaan's terminology, is the gatekeeper *par excellence* in terms of the status it can bestow on a work, though it may be noted that the low number of translations into English entails in practice that other languages, particularly French and German remain highly significant gatekeepers as well. Though English has less than 400 million native speakers, it is estimated that 1.5 billion people or more have a working command of English (Crystal 2000: 3). For a literary work, to exist in English, and to a lesser degree German or French, is to be accessible and desirable throughout the global literary system.

To a not-insignificant degree, central and hypercentral languages also act as transit media; there may not exist any Basque to Hausa or Chinese to Hungarian translators, to take but two examples, so any translation between those languages would have to take place through a mediating language. This function of central and hypercentral languages becomes ever more important in a globalising world where ever more language combinations are requested.

Aside from these consequences, the asymmetry of the system also has noteworthy financial effects, which powerfully shape the space available for border-crossing literature. Translated works are more costly than originals because in addition to the usual outlays there are costs pertaining to the translation per se, such as translation rights and the translator's fee, to consider. Given the dominance of English language works on the international market, and the trade imbalance maintained by a country such as the UK – where the export-import ratio was 1.41 in 2002 (UNESCO 2005) – it follows that English language publishers are able to make a substantial profit selling translation rights, while allocating very limited funds to the production of translations (Rosenthal 2013). This leaves English-language publishers free to pursue

high-reward bestsellers, while keeping the numbers of translations deliberately low (Venuti 1998: 124). The British publishing industry is the biggest exporter of books in the world; in 2009 the value of its exports was £3.05 billion and growing (All Party Parliamentary Group on Publishing 2014).

The points just outlined exemplify another development in the world of publishing. As the world and publishing industry have grown increasingly open and globalised and, concomitantly, ever more commercialised, there has been a notable shift "from political to more economic constraints" in the production and circulation of translated literary works, which has had the "effect of weakening the supply-side
and strengthening the demand-side, that is to say, diminishing, within the process of mediation, the preponderant role of agents of export (official bodies, translation institutes, cultural attachés, etc.), which are now increasingly obliged to take into account […] the activities of importing agents, specifically, the various agents in the book market: literary agents, translators, and most particularly, publishers" (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007: 99). This development has had significant impact on the production and circulation contexts of translated fiction across the board, and will be discussed further in relation to the case studies presented in part II of this thesis. Suffice it to say at this point that the increasingly pervasive commodification of literature has caused dramatic changes in the networks that are the main object of study herein, in terms of actants present in the networks, the roles those actants are capable of playing, and even the very logic that determines the function and functioning of the networks themselves. Thus, for example, literary agents have proliferated and grown in prominence outside the Anglo-American context in recent years; indeed, Karl Berglund whose work is one of very few attempts to study the role of the literary agent in Sweden, claims that Sweden has experienced a "boom in […] literary agencies" (Berglund, 2014). State authorities, on the other hand, have become more marginalised and increasingly obliged to participate in the arena of commercial exchange on the same conditions as other market agents.

Swedish literature in the world

Sweden is in many respects the quintessential semi-peripheral country. In a global context it ranks fairly high on important indicators: it is the world's 56th largest country in terms of geographic area and it has a population of just under 9.7 million, or almost 0.14 percent of the world's total population, landing it in an international 96th place. In terms of gross national product Sweden comes in 35th place, significantly outperforming its relatively small size (Central Intelligence Agency 2014). Swedish ranks 88th out of a total of over 6500 languages in terms of number of native speakers (Lewis 2009). Within its immediate region, Scandinavia and Norden, which comprises Sweden, Denmark and Norway, Sweden and Swedish hold dominant positions in terms of size.

Interestingly, although Sweden ranks highly internationally and within its own neighbourhood, within Europe, the country's position seems more peripheral. Though still of impressive relative geographic size, Sweden's GDP is dwarfed by its western European neighbours and in terms of population it is merely middling. The Swedish language is relatively minor; European Union data show that only two percent of the European Union's population are native speakers of Swedish, which is on par with Greek and Bulgarian, and the number of speakers of Swedish as a foreign language is more or less negligible (Eurobarometer and European Commission 2012).

By international standards, the Swedish publishing industry is in good health. Every type and genre of literature is represented in the country's output and the number of titles published annually totals between 9000 and 15000 annually (SCB 1998-2013)[1], of which about 2000 is fiction for adults (Svedjedal 2012: 30). According to Mikael Parkvall's estimations, which admittedly must be used with a great degree of caution, due to the limitations of his source data, Swedish comes in twelfth internationally in terms of books published annually (Parkvall 2006: 62). Sweden's literary reputation

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[1] This number includes books longer than 48 pages but excludes PhD theses and yearbooks.

is also greatly enhanced by its prestigious literary awards. Above all, it is, of course, the home of the "coveted Nobel Prize", which according to Pascale Casanova (2004: 168) has "made [Sweden] a crossroads for world literature". More recently, in 2002, the Swedish government, no doubt sensible of the fact that important literary awards have the potential of garnering outsized amounts of media attention and cultural capital, established the Astrid Lindgren Memorial Award, the world's largest award for children's and young adult fiction – and third largest literary award overall.

Sweden's literary sphere has also long been open to and eager to participate in the wider world. Swedish PEN, founded in 1922, was one of the first PEN clubs in the world and many Swedes have held high office in PEN International, formerly known as International PEN, since its founding. The privately held Bonnier Group, Sweden's largest media group, which owns the publishing house Bonnierförlagen, has a large international presence with newspapers, magazines and book publishing operations, as well as digital start-ups and television and radio channels in Europe and the US. The Gothenburg Book Fair was established in 1985 and is the second largest book fair in Europe in terms of footfall, drawing around 100 000 visitors each year (Bok och Bibliotek 2013).

To be specific and quantitative about the success of Swedish books abroad is, however, very difficult. This is so because although data relating to Swedish publishing and literary inflows are thorough and easily accessible, data on literary outflows are almost impossible to come by. A few sources for international translation flows do exist, chief among them UNESCOs *Index Translationum* and WorldCat, but both of these suffer from some significant limitations. *Index Translationum* is useful to map trends over time or to test simple hypotheses that require no fine detail, but the database can only ever be, as Anthony Pym (2009: 270) so aptly puts it, "as good as its member states". It goes without saying that the data collection abilities of the world's nations varies greatly, and since UNESCO does not impose specific definitions, concepts such as "books" and "translation" potentially take on broad semantic meaning, making international comparison fraught to say the least. WorldCat is a catalogue listing the holdings of participating libraries. The catalogue contains over 300 million records from 10 000 libraries worldwide, which

is impressive and useful. Given that the United States alone has 12 904 academic, national and public libraries, however, it is also clear that WorldCat represents only a limited subset of the world's library holdings (OCLC 2011). As is the case with UNESCOs *Index Translationum*, WorldCat relies entirely on the voluntary participation of interested libraries, which means that its catalogues' coverage is inevitably less than complete. WorldCat also does not make available any tools for searching for translations, so as a means of assessing quantitative trends it is cumbersome; searches must be made manually using relevant keywords.

In the context of the more specific case of Swedish literature abroad, there is another important tool, the National Library of Sweden's database *Suecana Extranea*. This database draws on the works acquired and registered by the National Library, which is tasked with collecting literature about Sweden and translations of Swedish literature. As with the *Index Translationum* and WorldCat, however, *Suecana Extranea* suffers from sketchy coverage. Christina Tellgren's wonderful 1982 study of Sweden's children's and young adult literature estimates that less than half of the Swedish titles translated to another language are represented in *Suecana Extranea*. As Andreas Hedberg (2012: 119) points out, the database also tends to overrepresent minor languages and is sensitive to individual trade agreements through which the National Library may receive a sudden influx of titles from a certain language. Moreover, as with WorldCat, the search tools used in *Suecana Extranea* are blunt and require manual review for any degree of accuracy. Nevertheless, the National Library's catalogue has been the basis of several academic inquiries into the success of Swedish literature abroad, particularly after 1963, when *Suecana Extranea* was first offered in print. Germund Michanek (1972) showed that *Suecana Extranea* could reveal interesting general trends regarding target language frequency; Danish was the most common, followed by German and English. He also demonstrated that children's and young adult literature was translated to a significantly higher degree than fiction for adults, and that Astrid Lindgren towered over all other Swedish writers in terms of international presence. *Suecana Extranea* was also used extensively by Lars Lönnroth in his 1990 survey of Swedish literature. Lönnroth's focus was on particular authors, rather than general trends, but his thorough account can nevertheless give indirect insights into the relative dissemination of different

genres, literary movements and so forth.

A contemporary search of *Suecana Extranea* reveals that in the period 1970-2009[2], 24 293 titles were translated from Swedish, which gives an average of just over 600 titles per year. An output of this size means that Swedish had, by the 1980s, established itself as one of the world's leading source languages. Indeed, Heilbron's (2000: 14) data confirms this finding, placing Swedish in eighth place globally, ahead of much bigger languages such as Japanese or Portuguese, which must certainly be taken as a remarkable sign of the success of Swedish literature abroad. *Suecana Extrenea* also demonstrates that the number of titles translated has grown steadily, if not evenly, over the course of the period in question, as figure 1 illustrates.
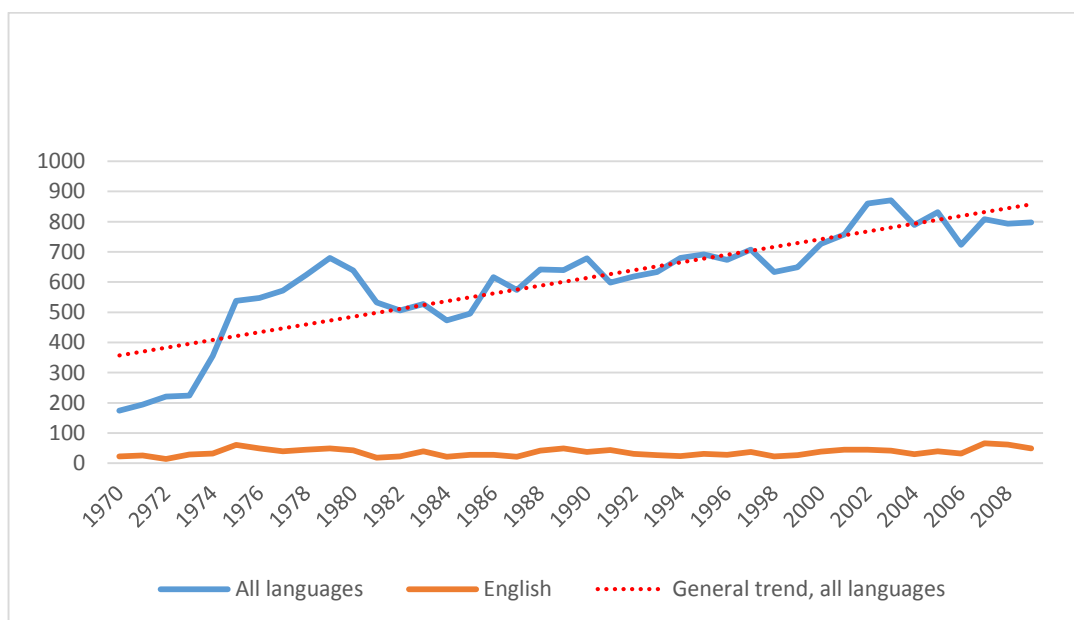
Figure 1 Total number of titles translated from Swedish into any language between 1970 and 20009.

The value of international rights for Swedish books has also risen in recent times. The contribution to the Swedish publishing industry from sales of translation rights was about SEK60 million annually in the 1990s (Government Proposition 2013/14:3). By 2012, that number had more than doubled, to roughly SEK150 million, a considerable sum for companies in a relatively small market.

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[2] This end date was chosen to avoid impact on the data of the time lag from which *Suecana Extranea* inevitably suffers.

Studies of *Suecana Extranea* and other materials also reveal two more important things about Swedish literature in the world. The first is that the literary transit routes out of Sweden have undergone considerable change in the last few decades. The old dictum that "one had to be famous in Denmark and Germany before one could be famous in the rest of Europe" (Lönnroth, 1990: 38) is no longer as true as it once was. Today, the unrivalled transit role of Danish and German, alluded to above, is challenged, both by a much less rigidly structured market and by the rise of English, which has become ever more important for the international dissemination of literature. What does remain true, however, is that there is a so-called Matthew effect of accumulated advantage, which works to ensure that books that receive attention from foreign publishers, particularly publishers from central language areas, are more likely to receive even more attention, while an initial lack of interest breeds a widespread conviction that the book is not worth the gamble for anyone. More will be said about transit routes and the disproportionate influence of centrally placed publishers in Chapter 5 below.

The other thing to note is that while a healthy number of Swedish authors do get translated into foreign languages, it is not always the authors who are popular in their native country who find success abroad. And those who do may not achieve universal acclaim. Indeed, in this, Astrid Lindgren and her internationally renowned peers are the notable exceptions rather than the rule. Instead, a particular country may prove particularly fecund for a particular writer, while another has better luck somewhere else. Thus, Stig Dagerman was and is immensely popular in France, while Lars Gustafsson has done much better in Germany. Miha Kovač and Rüdiger Wischenbart's *Diversity Report 2010* supports these findings by demonstrating, using UNESCO data, that truly broad international acclaim is the exception among bestselling authors, not the norm. Only 29 of the 452 bestselling authors analysed by Kovač and Wischenbart managed to get onto the bestseller lists in three or more language markets. It is worth noting that while almost half (13) of these were English-language writers, three of the 29 were Swedish (Kovač and Wischenbart 2010: 44).

Moreover, the authors that rise to the upper echelons of the Swedish canon are not necessarily regarded with equal rapture abroad. Indeed, as Svedjedal (2012:59) rightly points out, "the harsh truth is that Swedish authors seem unable to break into the narrow global elite group of authors and works that is called the hypercanon". Consequently, Swedish writers are almost completely absent from the large English-language anthologies of world history and underrepresented in for example the Penguin Classics series. Aside from the select few who have received the Nobel Prize, for which Swedish writers are somewhat overrepresented, few important international accolades have been given to Swedish writers. Instead, Swedish successes have been and are most noticeable in genre fiction, particularly children's literature and crime fiction.

It follows, then, that the most translated Swedish author remains Astrid Lindgren, whose translation into 96 languages grants her the 18th place on UNESCOs list of the world's most translated authors, trailing Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie and Shakespeare but comfortably beating Charles Dickens, Plato and Karl Marx (UNESCO 2014). Against Astrid Lindgren's individual and singular success within children's literature, on the other hand, stands the more recent rise of Swedish crime fiction, which has become central to global perceptions of Swedish literature today. The almost unbelievable success of Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* trilogy, the almost as astonishing success of Henning Mankell and the collective achievements of a now fairly sizable group of Swedish crime writers, and their Scandinavian colleagues, has put Sweden and Scandinavia on the map of popular culture in a way that has rarely, if ever, been seen before.

Swedish literature on the British market

Scandi crime fever has certainly ensorcelled the British book market as much as any other. This is reflected in substantial sales and big investments on the part of British publishers, as manifested in lavish marketing campaigns and multi-volume book deals. Crime novels have paved the way for crime television series, both of Swedish origin and in English-language versions, such as Kenneth Branagh's successful remake of *Wallander*. The pervasiveness of Scandinavian crime in British popular

culture can also be seen in the establishment of book clubs, noticeable media attention and the founding of Nordicana, an annual expo dedicated to Nordic fiction and film, and Nordic Noir in particular. Scandinavian crime also regularly features at CrimeFest, a crime fiction convention, as well as on the short list for the Crime Writers' Association's International Dagger Award for best translated crime novel.

Popular as crime fiction is, however, it is important to remember that Swedish literature in the United Kingdom extends far beyond the present crime wave, both diachronically and generically. The history and present-day situation of Swedish literature on the British market can begin to be quantified with the help of *Suecana Extranea*, which allows for searches for specific language pairs, such as, in this case, Swedish to English. In his analysis of *Suecana Extranea*'s data, Andreas Hedberg (2012: 129) has shown that the number of titles translated into English has ranged from between approximately ten titles a year to 55 titles at the peak of international popularity in the mid-1970s. Since that decade, English translations have remained below, oftentimes significantly so, the number of titles translated to German, at times even dropping below the number of titles translated to French. Until the 1990s, however, the number of titles translated to English can be seen, as Hedberg points out, to follow, fairly closely, the number of German titles translated. This suggests that German has traditionally functioned as a transit language for Swedish translations on their way to English. Hedberg's data ends in 1996, at which point the number of translations into English had been declining steadily for several years. As stated in the previous section, however, the late 1990s was when Swedish crime began gaining popularity and legitimacy, primarily through the works of Henning Mankell, so that declining trend can rightly be expected to turn soon after Hedberg's chosen end-date. A trawl through *Suecana Extranea*'s data on the years from 1996 to 2009, which is the last year I have considered, in order to avoid issues of time lag in the National Libraries acquisition rate, shows that since 1996, the number of titles translated to English has risen steadily to a peak in 2007 and 2008, which, we may speculate, could potentially have marked the crest of the crime wave, as Figure 2 suggests.
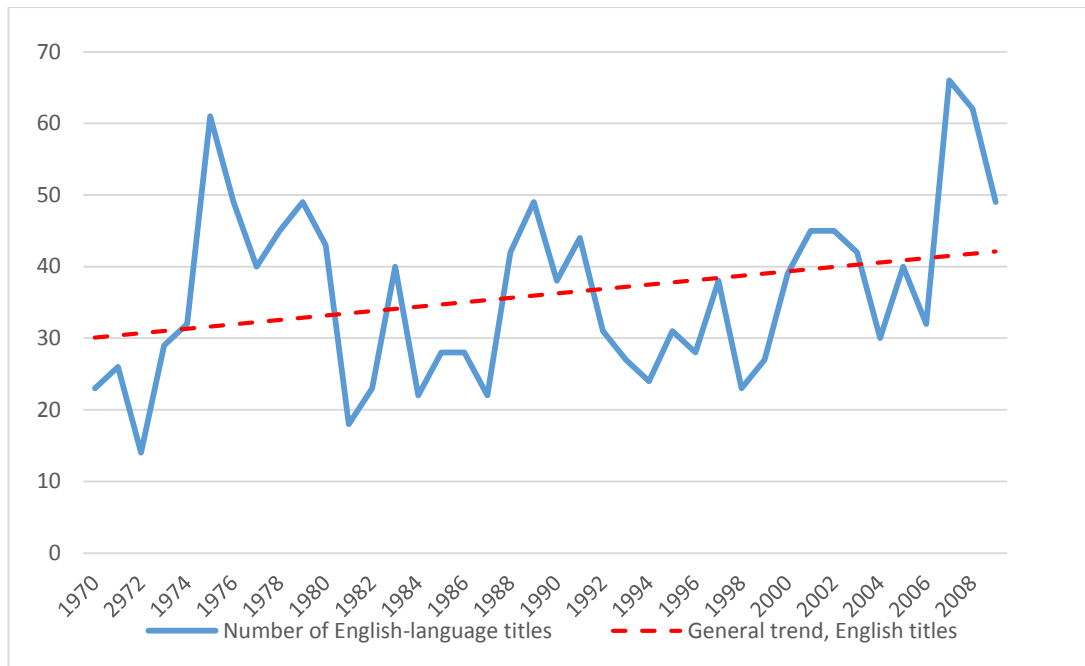
Figure 2 Total number of Swedish titles published in English translation between 1970 and 2009.

When considering the specific, zoomed-in context of Swedish literature in the United Kingdom, rather than one of the more general contexts discussed above, the researcher has a small set of extra tools to use for quantitative analysis of the translation flow. One of these is Nielsen BookScan, which compiles point of sale data for the UK. Though Nielsen BookScan only covers about 75 percent of retail sales at the time of writing, it is an invaluable tool for assessing the relative success of individual titles on the British market. The information it provides will be used and referred to on numerous occasions in Part II of this thesis. For insight into more general translation flows, with regard to number of titles translated, generic distribution and so forth, Nielsen BookScan is, on the other hand, not exceedingly helpful. For such inquiries the British Library, the national library of the United Kingdom, is a more productive source. The British library is a legal deposit library, which means it receives copies of all books produced in the United Kingdom; its catalogue ought therefore to contain records of all books translated from Swedish to English and published in the UK. Unfortunately, the British Library's search tool suffers from the same limitations as WorldCat's; it does not allow searches based on source language. Consequently, searches must be conducted using more general keywords and results checked manually. Even so, books not tagged to indicate their source language will be missed in a search of this kind. It is reasonable to believe

that the omissions caused by this limitation are great indeed. It may also be assumed, however, that such omissions affect the corpus evenly. In other words, though absolute numbers may not be even marginally reliable, general trends ought still to be discernible. Used in conjunction with findings in *Suecana Extranea*, British Library data can, at the very least, help confirm or repudiate the conclusions drawn from the result of searches in *Suecana Extranea*.

A search for Swedish fiction in the British Library's catalogue for the years 1970-2009 returns a total of 568 titles. This is significantly less than the 1444 titles identified in *Suecana Extranea*. Part of the difference may be explained by the fact that the British Library may not have acquired American produced translations of Swedish titles that are represented in the National Library of Sweden's holdings, but a substantial part of the difference must certainly be due to methodological search limitations. Aside from the numerical differences, however, we can see from Figure 3 that the general trend over time looks similar to that drawn from the *Suecana Extranea* data; the shape of the curve is broadly similar.
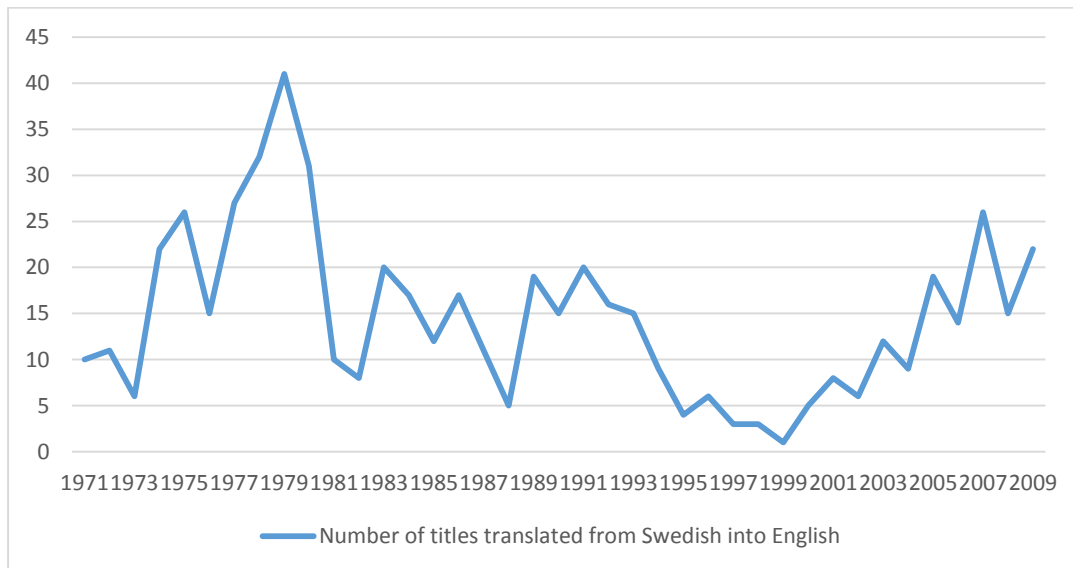
Figure 3 Number of titles translated from Swedish to English between 1970 and 2009, British Library holdings

Moreover, the manual search the British Library catalogue requires also, happily, enables the identification of the generic categories of the titles found. Divided into adult fiction, poetry, drama, children's and young adult fiction, and crime, the titles in the British Library search are distributed as shown in Figure 4.
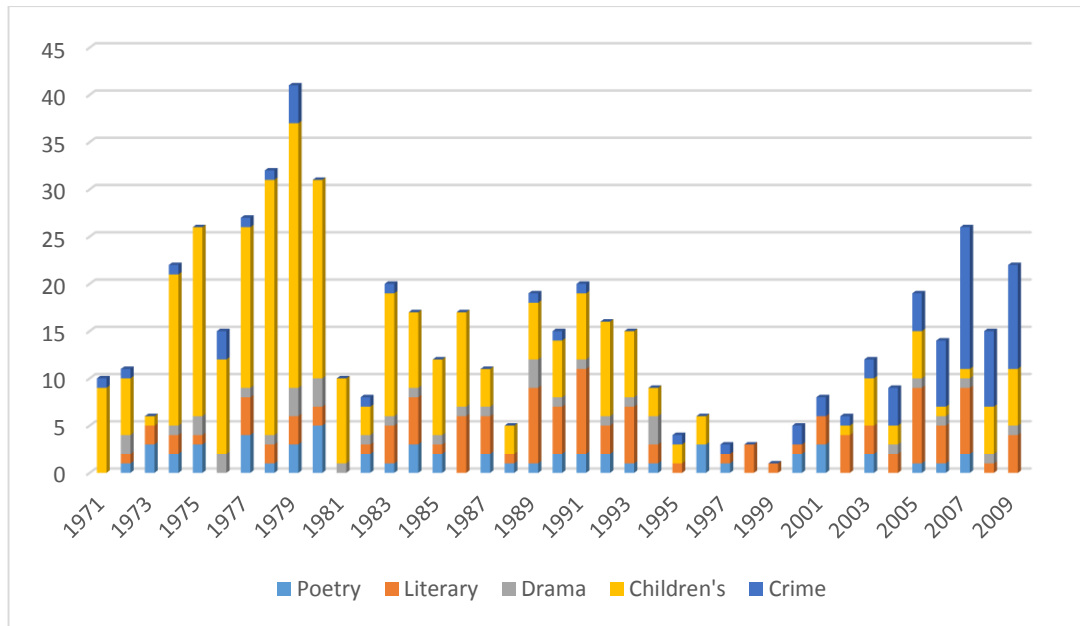
Figure 3 Total number of titles translated from Swedish to English between 1970 and 2009, by genre, British Library holdings

Perhaps the most interesting revelation to be gleaned from this complex chart is the relative preponderance of different genres. The dominance of children's and young adult literature until the mid-1990s, and its rapid diminishing thereafter is clear to see. The building of the Swedish crime fiction wave can also be detected toward the end of the period. Figure 5 shows the relationship between these two genres more clearly.
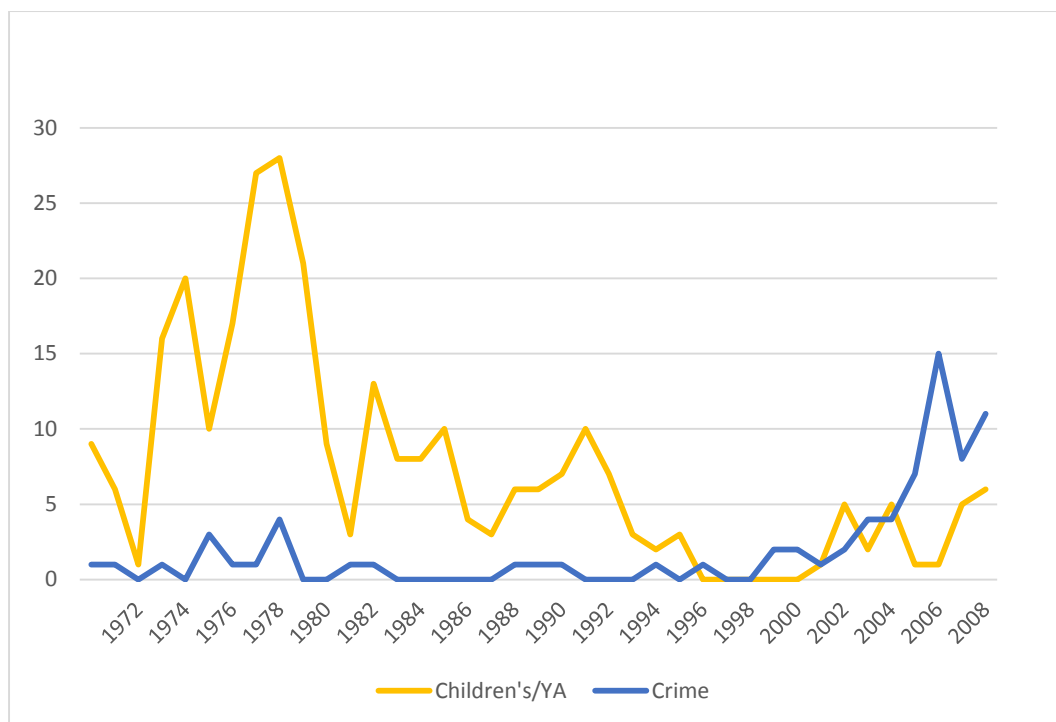
Figure 4 Total number of children's/YA and crime fiction titles translated from Swedish to English between 1970 and 2009, British Library holdings

The data from the British Library confirms the dominance of Swedish children's literature during the 1970s and 80s, noted by several researchers, as outlined above. Moreover, as Figure 5 shows, it gives statistical credence to the existence of a Swedish crime wave, revealing a very clear upswing for the crime genre, beginning with the publication of Kerstin Ekman and Henning Mankell around the turn of the millennium, the starting point of the period studied in this thesis, and peaking – possibly – at the time of Stieg Larsson's entry into the market with *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* in 2008.

That much having been said about positive trends in Swedish literary exports to the UK, the core premise of Sweden's literary trade relationship with Britain is still one of "astounding trade deficits," as Svedjedal so correctly puts it (2012: 11). In 2009, 735 adult fiction titles were translated from English to Swedish. An additional 597 children's and young adult titles makes a total of 1332 titles translated from English (KB Nationalbiografin 2009: 3). That is 70 percent of the total number of translations, an overwhelming figure. The 49 titles translated from Swedish into English, as identified by Suecana Extranea, pale in comparison. Nevertheless, the report *Three*

percent? Publishing data and statistics on translated literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland (Donahaye 2013), commissioned by interest organisation Literature Across Frontiers, shows that a number of that size does indeed make Swedish one of the most important source languages for translations into English, corroborating the data outlined previously. Though the report does not make available data for 2009, its 2008 data show Swedish in sixth place after French, German, Spanish, Russian and Japanese. The absolute numbers are small, yet the relative situation for Swedish fiction on the British market seems to give cause for cheer.

Conclusion

This opening chapter has outlined the context for Swedish literature abroad from several perspectives and relative depths. The quantitative overview it has provided will help set the scene for Part II of this thesis, in which more qualitative case studies of individual texts, authors and institutions will be attempted. It is my hope and belief that the two perspectives, broadly quantitative and more narrowly qualitative, are both crucial for a holistic understanding of a complex research field. To some extent the twin perspectives reflect the dual nature of the book, which is both a quantifiable, tradable good and a unique, qualitative symbolic work of art. The context that this chapter outlines illustrates some very important fundamental facts about the conditions under which border-crossing texts operate, and it is intended to be borne in mind throughout the thesis.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework and the construction of a network model

As is clear from the contextual outline provided in the previous chapter, border-crossing books inhabit a complex world, abounding in constraints and pressures, which shape their selection, production, dissemination and reception. Contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market is no exception. I say books, because in this thesis I will approach my field of study primarily as a book historian and a sociologist, concerned more with the social and material conditions of literature than with its symbolic, formal-aesthetic and stylistic communicative content. The aim of this thesis is to develop a conceptual model that can not only describe the production, circulation and reception context of contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market but that can also be constructively applied to empirical case studies. Indeed, as we shall see, while the theory will be a necessary framework for approaching empirical studies, empirical studies will be required to fully elucidate and articulate the theory. In my desire to develop a more holistic and precise understanding of the ways in which books circulate on the market, I follow in the footsteps of great scholars from many academic disciplines, from book history and literary sociology to translation studies and cultural economics, whose work I will gratefully draw on to make the arguments presented in this thesis. The present chapter will be dedicated to identifying the theoretical background on which my approach builds, and to the construction of the systems approach that will then be applied to a series of four case studies that offer, severally and together, new insights into the social and material context of border-crossing literature.

Constructing a model

The task of constructing a model, or framing an approach, is not an easy one, and much is at stake in the precise formulation. It follows, then, that I am happy to avail myself of the assistance offered by scholars gone before me. In what follows below, I will therefore outline disciplines and frameworks that are relevant to my inquiry, and evaluate their strengths and weaknesses. This section consequently serves as something of a literature review, but also has a more profound purpose. As the survey of extant literature progresses, the strengths of a range of approaches will be drawn on and their weaknesses ameliorated through multidisciplinary recombination. Thus, slowly but surely, the outline of my own model will become discernible.

History of the book

Given the material focus of this thesis, a productive starting point for any theory construction is the discipline of book history. Book history "is the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception. […] [I]t allows us to describe not only the technical but the social processes of their transmission." (McKenzie, 1999: 5). One of the most seminal contributions to the field of book history is Robert Darnton's 1982 article 'What is the History of Books?' The usefulness of Darnton's article stems partly from its understanding of books as material, socially embedded and produced objects that are subject to the physical conditions of the world and the market, and partly from its promulgation of a model which structures a book's production and dissemination in terms of the agents that engage with it, the so-called communication circuit. Darnton describes the life of a book as a journey through the hands of a number of professionally defined agents, each representing a step in the production, circulation or reception context of books. The book begins life at the hands of the author and then moves via publishers, printers, shippers and booksellers to reach readers, where it transmits its communicative content more or less felicitously. The behaviour and reactions or those readers then in turn influence authors. Thus, the model is a closed circuit which focuses on the materiality of a book as represented by its communicative content, which travels between agents. The driving force behind this journey is taken to be the communicative message of the book, which is not restricted to the message of

the text, and the model is therefore dubbed 'the communication circuit'. The communication circuit is a simple, yet effective model, especially appropriate as the conceptual base for this thesis' theory building because it cuts through many of the complexities of the book trade while keeping the focus on the material aspects of texts rather than on literary analysis.

The model's simplicity is the result of Darnton's conscious effort to counteract the 'interdisciplinarity run riot" (*ibid.*: 67) which he felt plagued the discipline of book history, a area of research that "looks less like a field than a tropical rain forest", in which "at every step [the explorer] becomes entangled in a luxuriant undergrowth of journal articles" (*ibid.*: 66). It should be noted, however, that the straight-forward, commonsensical nature of the communication circuit, which makes the model useful for setting up a conceptual paradigm for further study and for directing the focus of a sometimes disjointed discipline, has some fairly significant drawbacks. Its chief short-coming is that it sidesteps the high degree of complexity that characterises the book market. Thus, for example, each separate stage in the circuit is represented solely and exclusively by one type of agent. The book's creation is the purview of the author and no one else, reception is performed by readers alone, in some degree of isolation. There is no sense, in the communication circuit, of social interactivity, not between one agent and another, which are represented by discrete boxes in Darnton's chart, e.g., the author's stage is completed in full by the author alone before the book proceeds to the publisher stage, nor between agents and the wider world. Indeed, all contextual factors, defined as intellectual influences, publicity, economic and social conditions and political and legal sanctions or, in Darnton's own, rather vague but nevertheless accurate expression, "other elements in society[...] which could vary endlessly" (*ibid.*) – are excluded from the defined parts of the model. Instead of interacting with the communication circuit, these other elements hover, slightly ominously, in the circuit's empty centre.

Darnton's model is clean and neatly constructed, and has the benefit of being sufficiently abstract to be applicable to a range of cultural and temporal contexts. Unfortunately, the exclusion of the messy and often arbitrary contextual factors that

can have a profound impact on the life cycle of a book renders the communication circuit somewhat limited in its use. When applied to a real-life context, most of the information about how the book market functions within a society will have to be added ad hoc by means of other theoretical frameworks.

Even more serious, however, is the fact that Darnton's omission of contextual factors obscures that these "other elements" would fit poorly with his model's insistence on the primacy of communication as the engine of book production and circulation. Darnton's understanding, which is fundamental to his model, of the journey of a book as being propelled primarily by the desire of various agents to disseminate its communicative content cannot account for such factors as the need to make profit, the production of art for art's sake or the desire to buy books for reasons other than reading, such their perceived social status, aesthetic appeal or usefulness as cheap fuel during times of economic hardship. It requires no extensive research to establish that factors such as these play a great role in shaping the life cycles of books.

It is becoming clear, then, that while Darnton's communication circuit is very useful as a general conceptual base, being a simple model that describes the book market in terms of cultural materiality and the agents involved in the production and dissemination of physical books, its very simplicity, particularly in terms of motivations and drives, threatens its effectiveness as an explanatory model because the insights derived from its application can border on the reductionist. In the words of Claire Squires (2009: 52), complexity does not fit into Darnton's model "which by streamlining [the system's] processes risks eliding all the competing and occasionally haphazard motivations at work in a book's history".

A helpful attempt at remedying the reductionist impulses of Darnton's explanation as to the motivation that drives the dissemination of books was made by Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker in their article 'A New Model for the Study of the Book' (1993). Adams and Barker's model improves upon Darnton's by replacing the six positions occupied by groups of people in the communication circuit with five events in the life of a book: publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival. Such an event-centred approach is more flexible than Darnton's

communication circuit in that it prevents the model from quickly falling prey to anachronism, by allowing it to adapt more easily to changing contexts, both geographically and diachronically. Moreover, it enables the inclusion of social interactivity within the different stages of production, because it does not define the agents active at each stage or limit their number to one. Thus, reception, for example, rather than being the purview of readers alone, can in Adams and Barker's model be construed as involving both readers and critics, severally and interactively.

Such flexibility is highly desirable given that our world is growing ever-smaller with the development of ever-more sophisticated technology, which can and is having and impact on the fortunes and practices of agents within the publishing industry (cf. Hu and Smith 2013; Qiu and Zhang 2012; Gordon, Kung and Dyck 2014). Production techniques have come a long way since they were limited to the copying by hand of scribes and monks; today's books are manufactured in fast integrated and automated machines, capable of flexible mass production on a scale unheard of just a few decades ago. Even more recently, print-on-demand technology which allows the profitable production of smaller print runs, even single copies, and individualised mass production has emerged, changing the stock keeping practices of established publishers and enabling small agents to enter the publishing market with minimal manufacturing and storage investments. The way print-on-demand has changed manufacturing, online book selling has changed distribution. Web shops such as Amazon have made distribution independent of traditional brick and mortar shops and is increasingly becoming the sole external distribution channel for many small publishers and self-publishing authors. Even more extremely, the introduction of e-readers, such as the Kindle, and the spread of smart phones and tablets seem finally to have given momentum to the e-book market, in which large sections of the production context of traditional books is circumvented completely, potentially cutting out every middleman between author and reader, including publishers, printers and booksellers. A model of the contemporary book market will have to engage with and accommodate all of these changes, even as it seems impossible to predict or keep up with them. A framework designed for flexibility and a dynamic approach to the world of books will therefore be essential.

Aside from adding a crucial dose of flexibility and dynamism, Adam and Barker's shift from a person-centred approach to one focused on crucial events subtly changes the focus of the model from the transmission of an immaterial communicative message to the transmission of the material text. This shift in focus more readily enables the researcher to deal with the different factors that drive the journey of a book, since it makes it possible to account for such factors as technological and economic constraints and emotional desire as a motivation for consumption. Indeed, it is the accommodation of desire as a driving force that makes Adams and Barker's model stand out; they write:

> The movement is initiated by the desires of the author and publisher when they launched the book on its way. The momentum is provided by the desire of others to possess the book. Again the most obvious of these desires is the wish to read the book, but to do so one must possess the object. Further, the desire to possess a book does not necessarily mean a desire to read it. Immediate reading is only one of the purposes for which people buy books. They may buy books to read later, an intention not always fulfilled, or for reference. But they may also buy a book because their position or function (or their view of that) demands it [...] Books may be bought just as furniture, to garnish a room; that too is use expressing status. Finally, there is the power conveyed by the book itself, an incalculable, inarticulate, but none the less potent factor in the mixture of motives that makes people want books. (Adams and Barker 25-26)

Here we see described the desire of the buyer/reader, but desires can also be seen to drive the author, whose wish to communicate a message is surely complemented by a desire to earn a living, become famous or realise a dream of attaining the status of creative artist.

Publishers, distributors and booksellers, who represent the manufacturing and dissemination of books also have motivations beyond the communication of messages, the most obvious of which is the push for profit or the accumulation of

various kinds of cultural and intellectual capital. It is not difficult to see that Adams and Barker's model, though still simple in terms of construction, is better able to accommodate some of the "other elements" left undefined and unintegrated by Darnton. Chief among these, perhaps, the elements of publicity and marketing, which per definition play on the desires of book buyers. However, even though Adams and Barker have successfully added nuance to the potential motivations that make the book market go round, their model is still not able fully to accommodate the complexities of the field. The most conspicuous shortcoming of the theoretical framework reviewed thus far may be that motivations are constructed as singular and simple, shared by all agents involved, easy to define and trace to their source and always closely related to the book itself, be it to its content, message or material form.

Cultural economics

It may seem particularly inappropriate, perhaps, that an account of the motivations of agents in a market should ignore financial considerations, given that the book market, particularly in our modern times, exists within a broader capitalist framework in which economic motivations provide both the primary drive and the bottom line for companies. Book historians have typically favoured a more philological, sometimes even romantic view of their field of study (as argued by, for example, Svedjedal, 2000) and economists, who might be expected to take a more quantitative approach to the subject, have been slow to engage with the book market. In recent years, however, some attempts have been made at mapping the fundamental economic features of this market, including supply and demand, price elasticity and the nature of books as economic goods. These are features which may be intuitively sensed to impact directly on book production and dissemination and which must therefore necessarily be included in any theoretical framework hoping accurately and comprehensively to describe the book market.

It is clear from a review of the available quantitative studies relating to the book market that the researcher who wishes to conduct a scientific investigation of the workings of this field must face a number of challenges. The first of these is scarcity

of data. Few national statistics agencies collect data on book selling or buying in anything resembling a rigorous manner. The book industry itself tends toward secrecy and, furthermore, does not consider it its duty to collect the type of data that would be most useful to researchers. Virtually all efforts made are instead aimed at market research and profit maximisation. The data available therefore tends to be incomplete at best and more often than not ill-suited to scholarly statistical analysis. Consequently, results from quantitative studies are often weak and the methods used to analyse them are often convoluted to compensate for paucity of available data. This inevitably limits the explanatory power of such studies, but as results slowly accumulate, certain tentative conclusions can nevertheless be drawn.

Two studies that exemplify both the difficulties outlined above and the valuable insights that a quantitative investigation of the economics of the book market can provide come from Christian Hjort-Andersen (2000) and Ringstad and Løyland (2006), who have, respectively, explored the Danish and Norwegian book markets from the perspective of cultural economics. Ringstad and Løyland approach the problem from the point of view of the price and income sensitivity of books and furthermore attempt to determine what socioeconomic characteristics of a household, such as sex, age and access to books, correlate with more frequent purchasing of books. Interestingly, their study also includes a brief analysis of the cross-price elasticity of books, i.e. the impact on book sales of the presence of other cultural media and their price. This type analysis points to an understanding of the book as a cultural good which exists in direct competition with other cultural goods such as newspapers, cinema and television. Ringstad and Løyland's intuition that books exist in an interconnected media context, and that their circumstances are to some extent determined by factors external to the publishing context, is a useful one, and forms part of the model developed in this thesis. Its premise, i.e., that books cannot and should not be studied in isolation from other forms of cultural expression, or, in other words, that the publishing industry, in the broadest sense, is inextricably linked to other cultural industries, will be elaborated further and tested empirically in Part II, particularly in Chapter 4.

Hjort-Andersen's study is broadly similar to Ringstad and Løyland's but diverges from it in two significant ways. Firstly, instead of investigating the book market from the perspective of demand, Hjort-Andersen takes supply as his point of departure. Thus, rather than investigating why and how often certain consumers can be expected to purchase books, he investigates how various strategies employed by publishers affect demand. Secondly, Hjort-Andersen is not content to leave his study as a simple statistical analysis of data; he also seeks to add a more extensive theoretical framework to his research. This is primarily done through the introduction of a schematic model of the Danish book market, clearly reminiscent of Darnton's model but more elaborate and adjusted to Danish conditions. The only prominent alteration Hjort-Andersen has made is the division of the system into three compartments, supply, the market and demand. Unfortunately, Hjort-Andersen's tendency to avoid engaging with a range of factors, such as reading ability or the interactions between publishers and the retail sector, which Hjort-Andersen (2003: 31) describes as 'interesting […] but] probably not important for an overall description of the book market', limit the explanatory power of his model.

The flaws of these two studies, which are typical of many quantitative cultural economic studies of the book market, consist, then, partly of a lack of available data but also partly, and more importantly, of theoretical shortcomings. Looking to the strengths of this kind of statistical enquiry, however, we note that Hjort-Andersen and Ringstad and Løyland are able to supply several important results. These include estimates of the price-elasticity of books, which both analyses determine to be well below -1. This indicates that books are fairly price-elastic and that increased prices would be expected to lower total turnover while a decrease in price would allow turnover to grow. Both studies also estimate the income elasticity to be significantly above 1, which places books in the 'luxury good' category (*ibid.*: 39). If books behave, in economic terms, like luxury goods with a fair amount of price elasticity, it ought to follow that the subsidising of books, or the lowering of their price by some other means, should result in increasing demand. This information could potentially be of great interest for agents on the book market.

In addition, Hjort-Andersen and Ringstad and Løyland both indicate that there is significant interaction with other types of cultural goods, and even though neither analysis is able to provide details regarding these interactions, they confirm the notion that other media forms exert real influence on book markets. Their results are supported by other studies such as Bittlingmayer (1992), Prieto-Rodríguez, Romero-Jordán and Sanz-Sanz (2004) and Fishwick and Fitzsimons (1998), which report similar findings. Though all these studies suffer from overreliance on incomplete data sets, the accumulative evidence is strong, if not precise.

Thus far, we have seen that models of the book market from the fields of book history and cultural economics, though complementary in some senses, suffer from the same unwillingness or inability to engage with the complexity of the book market. Indeed, it is curious that many of these studies not only laud the virtues of a systemic approach but even go so far as to castigate researchers deemed not to use a holistic approach in their studies, while simultaneously dismissing the idea that such an approach can be taken or is of any great importance. In the words of Hjort-Andersen:

> It is important to form an overall idea of the operations of the book market as many reports [...] take a very narrow [...] view. Actually, aspects of the book market are often discussed by non-economists, such as representatives of authors' associations, librarians, prominent authors, and professors of the sociology of literature, with very little idea of how the *entire* market works (Hjort-Andersen, 2000: 27, my emphasis).

Nevertheless, the approach of cultural economists, as represented by the two studies outlined above, is useful because it fills a gap habitually present in the frameworks of book historians and sociologists. As we integrate further elements into the theoretical framework of this thesis it will be important to bear in mind that if the quantitative, empirical approach of the economist cannot be accommodated within it, the framework will have failed properly to acknowledge and utilise an important tool for estimating the effect of contextual factors on the book market and the balance of economic and cultural value of literary production.

Field theory

The next step in the process of constructing a productive and holistic framework for study of the book market is therefore to expand the basic circuit model exemplified by Darnton and Adams and Barker by allowing it to become more complex and thus enabling the accommodation of practical, quantitative analysis more easily. A good candidate for achieving this aim while still retaining the qualities and conceptual foundations introduced by the interactive relational models of book history is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields of cultural production. As we shall see in what follows, exploitation of field theory concepts will allow me to draw upon the best qualities of the models we have reviewed so far but will also provide the theoretical tools to manage a dynamic model that includes both agents, as in Darnton's circuit, and events, as in the model advocated by Adams and Barker.

Moreover, in addition to allowing us to accommodate both agents and events, each complexly imagined, field theory also helps to develop a more sophisticated understanding of what motivates the actors on the book market. Different types of motivations can be differentiated and to some extent traced to their causes, when those causes can be shown to be the results of contextual factors. Consequently, no one motivation need be taken as the driving force underpinning and propelling the dissemination of books generally. Instead, this process is construed as multifaceted and dynamic and only possible to capture accurately with a complex approach that rejects static modelling.

Like Darnton's and Adams and Barker's models, field theory can easily be utilised within a pragmatic framework such as the one I wish to establish. I feel that it is important to retain this dimension in my theoretical approach, partly because it will be important to show that the theory is indeed applicable to actual market contexts and partly because it will allow me to perform a number of case studies in the second part of this book. These will both utilise the theoretical framework established herein and evaluate it by showing to what extent it can explain the features that appear in the study of specific examples. Ultimately, what I seek to construct with the addition of field theory to my framework is a "rigorous science

of the production of the value of cultural goods" (Bourdieu 1996: 167).

The most important concept introduced by Bourdieu is the *field*: a structured social space that functions according to its own set of rules and establishes its own particular set of hierarchies and borders. In the words of Bourdieu:

> A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field. In other words, in certain respects, the field (for example, the literary field as a microcosm bringing together the agents and institutions engaged in the production of literary works) is comparable to a field of physical forces; but it is not reducible to a physical field – it is the site of actions and reactions performed by social agents endowed with permanent dispositions, partly acquired in their experience of these social fields. (Bourdieu 2005: 30)

From this quote we can conclude that a wide variety of agents are able to perform within the field: authors, readers, publishers, agents and many more, all of whom both occupy and shape the field. Moreover, their participation is relational and dynamic; the space of possible positions is not static but forms the ever-changing foundation for so-called position-takings by agents. Position-takings, a concept that will be central to the model developed here, is roughly equivalent to an agent's active or passive behaviour. An inherent, and crucial, characteristic of position-takings is that they always have the potential to redefine the field and thus the meaning of all other position-takings. On an individual level, then, each agent in a field can only be fully understood through the investigation of its interdependencies and the nature of its relations. Importantly, it follows from this that the social space under investigation can never be defined once and for all but relies on the actions and reactions of the agents occupying the field. Each position-taking performed inevitably changes the meaning of all other positions and position-takings. Thus, each position-taking has the potential of altering the space of possible positions and consequently, the field. The potential for impact on the field of an agent's position-takings depends on that

agent's relative 'weight' within the network. Bourdieu uses a metaphor from Einsteinian physics to illustrate this: "the more energy a body has, the more it distorts the space around it, and a very powerful agent within a field can distort the whole space, cause the whole space to be organized in relation to itself" (Bourdieu 2005: 43). It is clear how this approach expands significantly the underlying ideas of the models reviewed in previous sections. It should not be forgotten, however, that they fundamentally spring from the same idea of a system working in a relational way to drive and shape the life of material books.

Given the complex array of ever-evolving agents postulated by Bourdieu and incorporated into the theoretical framework of this thesis, the outlines of a proper research area, such as was clearly discernible in Darnton's model, might easily become obscured. If we posit a fluid and dynamic system we run the risk of being unable to define which elements constitute our field or how it is to be separated from other fields. Inevitably this does necessitate a certain amount of subjective judgment on part of the researcher, for better or worse, but Bourdieu has also attempted to counteract this problem by more narrowly defining fields of cultural production, such as the field of literary production, as a system which possesses relative autonomy from other fields and from the wider social space. For this reason, fields are able, in part at least, to define their own sets of values, articulated by Bourdieu as *capital* (1983, 1993). The capital produced and controlled within a cultural field is termed cultural capital.

Cultural capital Bourdieu defines relationally in opposition to economic capital, which is the value defined by the *field of power*, under which all fields of cultural production are subsumed. Economic capital is "simply money or assets that can be turned into money" (Benson and Neveu 2005: 3). The structure of the cultural field, and the proof of its internal cohesion, isolation from the wider social space and thereby also of its existence, is thus defined by opposition between its autonomous pole, at which cultural capital dominates, and the heteronomous pole, which represents the external forces that originate mainly in the field of power, at which economic capital dominates (1983). It follows that a move toward the heteronomous pole indicates commercialisation, leading to an increase in quantitative market

success and a larger readership, but inevitably also a concurrent decrease in the recognition bestowed by the field, such as critical acclaim, prestigious awards and the recognition of peers. Generally speaking, economic capital is taken to be the more powerful but a cultural field is constructed so as to encourage the conscious or unconscious valorisation of the form of capital uniquely possessed by the field, in the case of the literary field, cultural recognition, literary awards and, often, the very lack of financial success come to represent a high degree of cultural capital.

The idea of economic and cultural capital is profoundly useful in the study of cultural industries, but strict adherence to Bourdieu's conception of the dichotomous and antagonistic relationship that persist between the two may lead the sociological scholar to somewhat reductionist conclusions regarding the motivations and compositions of agents in the field of cultural production. Indeed, Bourdieu has at times been criticised for implying that there exists what one might term "genuine" art, which is under constant attack from the agents of commercialisation, who have no ambitions or motivations beyond the nakedly mercenary. Such a picture of cultural production is patently over-simplified, and it is therefore useful, here, to look beyond Bourdieu, to more recent adherents of field theory, for a more nuanced view of capital.

In his book *Merchants of Culture* (2010), John B. Thompson proposes to counter the polarisation of economic and cultural capital by instead recognising five types of capital present in the trade publishing industry: economic, human, social, intellectual and symbolic capital. Postulating the existence of more types of capital enables more precise and accurate analysis of the underlying reasons for observed behaviour on part of the agents in the field, and also counters the unfortunate impression that any one agent may possess virtually pure, unmingled capital of either the economic or cultural kind. Thompson persuasively posits that all agents possess a complex mix of capitals, and though the impression given in *Merchants of Culture* is at times that the effect is to some extent happily cumulative rather than the cause of internal tension, the fundamental notion is highly constructive. James F. English takes the idea of a diverse range of capital and adds to it the idea of intraconversion, a process by which one form of capital is transformed into another through interactivity.

Though English is exclusively concerned with the subject of literary awards, his lucid analysis of the ways capital flows through the field is directly applicable to broader studies, including the present one. Following English, the agents of the literary field should be understood as complex and, crucially, ever-shifting concatenations of capitals, "each of them [representing] not one particular, pure form of capital, but a particular set of quite complex interests regarding the rules and opportunities for capital intraconversion. (2005: 12)

Complemented with this type of nuanced conception of capital, the relational way in which field theory defines value is able to reveal how conflicting types of value act on one another within the field, making interactions between disparately motivated agents sites of continual struggle and adjustment. In so doing, field theory allows us to take a holistic and dynamic view of literary works, that understands them as complex agents, simultaneously material goods and symbolic artefacts. This conception of the value held by cultural products helps explain why traditional economic theories of markets and goods fail fully to explain the workings of the book market, because it fails to take cultural capital into account, but also avoids the temptation to think of literary products as ethereal artefacts that ought never be sullied by discussions of the market processes of capitalism. "In short, 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 the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated" (Bourdieu 1983: 319). At this point it is necessary to underline that I do not wish to imply in my framework, as Bourdieu is occasionally accused of doing, that books can be reduced through this, or any other model, to the mere consequences of contextual restraints.

As stated above and as will be reiterated throughout this thesis, books are simultaneously cultural artefacts, creative works of art, and commodities. The distinctive characteristics of each literary text cannot be explained by a simplistic cause and effect process. This does not entail, however, that contextual factors and interactions in the literary field do not influence literary production in a systemic fashion, on all levels of production, circulation and reception. Indeed, I strongly believe that an ideal analysis must necessarily approach the book as a complex product which requires both market and literary analysis to be understood. Having

said as much, it is necessary here to concede that such a comprehensive understanding of books is not yet possible for me to achieve. The focus in this thesis will be the former type of analysis, at the expense of any critical analysis of the literary features of books as communicative texts. A discussion on how this shortcoming can be alleviated through further study that more consistently incorporates textual analysis can be found at the end of this thesis.

By virtue of its non-reductive notion of value, which incorporates both cultural and economic capital, field theory is also useful in explaining the manifest differences between different categories and genres of literature on the market. Because cultural and economic capital are set in diametric opposition to one another, literary products will range from the most economically endowed, i.e. mass market genres such as Mills and Boon or pulp sci-fi, to the most culturally distinguished and often more obscure, such as symbolist poetry. In other words, a market of symbolic goods such as the book market is structured around the opposition between small-scale and large-scale production, operating according to different, even contrary, rules. While intellectual or aesthetic criteria prevail at the autonomous pole, in small-scale production, more conventional market logic prevails within large-scale production (Bourdieu 1993). This view firmly rejects 'the austerely monetary system artificially constructed by economism' (Robbins 2000: 34), and by extension the approach used by most cultural economists as seen above. Instead, it suggests that the function of value on the book market is two-fold and that value is a site of conflict in which the processes of the cultural endowment resist and counteract the traditional ascription of economic value of the capitalist market.

While allowing us to understand these value-based differentiations, however, the use of field theory does not restrict us to a hierarchical notion of the market, so long as we do not assume that one pole is superior to the other[3]. It also does not restrict us to rigid categorisation because the struggle between the economic and cultural poles is ongoing and the balance between them ever-changeable. Thus, any one work or genre or agent can, over time or in different traditions, be perceived as having

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[3] Such a neutral position may not necessarily be attributed to Bourdieu, see further Hesmondhalgh, 2006.

relatively more or less of either type of capital. To take but one example, consider books belonging to the historical genre which were, not long ago, deemed 'low-brow' or in other words were perceived as being located near the heteronomous pole of the literary field, possessing little cultural capital. In the last two decades, however, the genre as a whole has come to be re-evaluated by the agents of the field and has consequently moved, with remarkable speed, into a position much nearer the autonomous pole. We will return to take a closer look at this phenomenon in Part II, when we consider specific examples of the genres of crime and horror in Swedish literature.

Field theory's conceptualisation of how value is created within the field through an ongoing process of struggle between different types of capital makes it possible to evaluate the book market and its products both textually and contextually. It has been noted, above, that being able to do so is crucial for an approach that aims to understand books both as cultural constructs with symbolic content and as economic goods that are exposed to general capitalist market processes. To ignore the market and societal constraints upon production would lead us to consider literature in a vacuum, and to reduce the book market to a mechanistic model in which books are only valued as commodities for sale would wilfully ignore the alternative valuation processes that apply to a work of creative art. Thus, sociological approaches, such as field theory, "direct us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption" (McKenzie 1999: 15). We see now how Bourdieu's theory of the field of production can elaborate, and be informed by, ideas from the disciplines of book history and cultural economics.

Thus, the underlying concepts of Darnton's and Adam and Barker's models are retained in the relational structure of a Bourdieusian framework but the structure is rendered more sophisticated, but also more nebulous, by the introduction of the notion of the field of cultural production. Darnton's suggestion that the agents that through their actions and relations shape and drive the life cycle of a book must be constructed as directly impacted by contextual factors finds easy accommodation in a Bourdieusian framework in which the relations of the agents are still the

fundamental building block of the field but in which their positions and directions are less static and predetermined. Moreover, by elaborating on the vague description of the relationship between a book's production and dissemination and various contextual factors, field theory, through its use of interactive and concentric fields, gives us a more systematic framework with which to understand the constraints that shape the book market.

The insights gained by economic inquiry into the book market can also form a constructive complement to a Bourdieusian approach. Field theory was never intended to be a mere theoretical construct. Rather, it is conceived as a toolkit for empirical investigation, and indeed, even intervention. It thus welcomes and relies on empirical data, both of the qualitative kind and of the quantitative, which in turn rely on economical and statistical models for usefulness. Bourdieu has on numerous occasions emphasised the need for a practical conception of theory, in which abstract theoretical constructs, such as fields, are 'above all there to solve puzzles, to be put to work on empirical facts and not to be the chewing-gum of intellectuals' (Neveu 2005: 203). That Bourdieu's work is best understood by appreciating the pragmatic utility of his concepts has also been demonstrated by the many studies that have made practical use of his concepts, such as Wacquant (1987), Bentley (1987) and Ringer (1990), to name but a few. As suggested previously, I intend to continue in this tradition through the use of my case studies.

So far, then, it would seem that Bourdieu's field theory can accommodate most of our investigatory and theoretical needs; it is fundamentally informed by the theoretical clarity of the more basic models reviewed, but allows a more sophisticated understanding of the functions of the market. Indeed, at its most useful, field theory can help to amalgamate a number of different ways of approaching the book market and thus to build a more comprehensive framework on which to base our empirical investigation of the field of translated fiction in the UK. It has, however, been argued that field theory is less useful when explicitly considering a market; Bourdieu's framework, though encompassing a range of cultural institutions and acknowledging the agency and roles played by various commercial entities such as publishers, does not spend much time contemplating the nature of the commercial

enterprises involved in literary production. Certainly, Bourdieu felt pessimistic about the increasing importance of the heteronomous pole and economic capital within cultural markets, as evidenced by his evaluation of television in 1996:

> In editorial rooms, publishing houses, and similar venues, a 'rating mindset' reigns. Wherever you look, people are thinking in terms of market success. Only thirty years ago, and since the middle of the nineteenth century – since Baudelaire and Flaubert and others in the avant-garde milieu of writers...immediate market success was suspect. It was taken as a sign of compromise with the times, with money. ...Today, on the contrary, the market is accepted more and more as a legitimate means of legitimation... Audience ratings impose the sales model on cultural product. (Bourdieu 1999: 27)

Indeed, the recent pivot toward commodification in the publishing industry (obvious even in the semantics of the expressions publishing *industry* and book *market*) and the increasing reliance on and use of marketing techniques to sell books was noted in the Introduction and pointed out by scholars such as Claire Squires in her aptly named book *Marketing Literature* (2009). Bourdieu seems to view this development as a fall from the grace of a more blessed time, when culture was practically untainted by market considerations, represented in his mind by the time of Baudelaire and Flaubert. He frames the consequences of the fall in dire terms: "In other words, sales, values, against which all specific autonomies have been constructed [...] become, if not dominant, then at least threatening, in every field' (Bourdieu 2005: 43).

The first objection to such gloomy musings has already been touched upon; they seem to betray a hierarchical and possibly elitist notion of cultural capital as superior to, and potentially entirely detachable from, economic capital. The application of John Thompson's more nuanced concept of capital goes some ways to resolving this. The second objection, which still remains to be addressed here, is that even though Bourdieu recognised the rapid change the literary field was already undergoing at the time of his writing, as a consequence of increased commodification and

commercialisation, he has done little to assemble a coherent framework for defining and understanding the companies and institutions that drive and sustain this development. Rather, Bourdieu's treatment of these agents seems to reveal a lack of a systematised approach to understanding their function. Oftentimes, institutions are portrayed as scaled up versions of individuals, suggesting, following Nicholas Garnham, "that Bourdieu's theory of communication – derived from thinking about primary, one-to-one human communication – is ill-equipped to deal with the phenomenon of contemporary communication industries" (Robbins 2000: 112).

While many of Bourdieu's assumptions about the nature and function of larger scale agents are intuitively attractive and sensible, the theory regarding their formation and performance is somewhat underdeveloped. What is needed to complement field theory and make rigorous study of a field populated by such varied agents as texts, writers, publishers, agents, translators, academies and national states is the addition of a framework that is able to explicate and unify our understanding of all the various agents that act within the literary field, from the smallest to the largest. It was suggested above that Bourdieu has less to say about large-scale production than about restricted production. In part, this can surely be attributed to his partiality to a time, real or imagined, when the development of art for art's sake allowed for the flourishing of independent writers, as well as to his habit of focusing primarily on less accessible but more culturally endowed literary production. This bias in Bourdieu's production, which goes hand in hand with his interventionist stand, makes it difficult directly to apply his model to the contemporary book market which, in the terms used by Raymond Williams (1981: 51), has entered "the corporate professional phase" in which "social relations typical of the integrated professional market" persist. Since Williams wrote these words in 1981, the publishing market has gone through a wave of mergers and consolidations, a development that will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 4. The result is a modern market ever more dominated by very large transnational conglomerates, a situation that only serves to make his pronouncements more valid:

> There is then a qualitative change from earlier socio-cultural relations, even within the earliest market phases. For the effective (if of course never absolute) origin of cultural production is now centrally sited within the corporate market. The scale of capital involved, and the dependence on more complex and specialized means of production and distribution, have to an important extent blocked access to these media in older artisanal, post-artisanal and even market professional terms, and imposed predominant conditions of corporate employment. (Williams 1981: 51)

It can readily be understood that these fundamental shifts within the book market have had the most profound consequences for relations between agents in the field and for the possible space of position-takings; in other words, the field has been transformed and our inquiry must reflect this. Clearly, we must ask ourselves whether the importance of large publishing conglomerates and book sellers is such that they may have shifted the balance of the literary field toward the pole of large-scale production. This in turn makes it crucially important better to understand not only large scale-production, which is promoted by the corporatisation of the market, but also the nature of the large enterprises that dominate the field.

It is unhelpful that on the rare occasions that Bourdieu does expound on the subject of larger companies, the emergence of these enterprises is largely ignored; they seem to have sprung from nowhere or, as David Hesmondhalgh (2006: 220) puts is, "the large firms seem [in Bourdieu's account] to have arrived from nowhere, or rather, they seem to be big versions of the small, entrepreneurial firms established in the 19th century". Two problems follow from Bourdieu's omission; first, without a systematised understanding of the formation and function of large enterprises, it is impossible to provide a way of relating micro and macro levels of the market, a serious flaw in any investigation but surely particularly serious in a study which aims to provide holistic explanations that pertain to all parts of the field of production. Second, incapability of accounting for conglomeratisation leads to a poor understanding of recent and ongoing developments in the literary field. To take just one example: an age of mergers and acquisitions in the publishing world has created massive media conglomerates with a significant presence in multiple media fields.

This has had consequences for rights holding; since the parent company that owns the rights to a work now often has in-house opportunities to see to the production of book, film, video game and merchandise, a more diverse presence across platforms is encouraged and texts are more likely to flow from the traditional book format into other media forms, encouraging its spread and penetration of markets. It is not inconceivable that these developments could have particularly far reaching consequences for border-crossing works, such as the ones that form the subject of this thesis; in a situation where publishers are reluctant to take a chance on a foreign text, judged to be less likely, or at least no more likely, to sell than a native equivalent, the cross-production of films, television productions and so on can offer additional opportunities to expose customers to the product. Clearly, the potential for geographical integration and the production of translations is also greater in a market where conglomerates have a significant and valuable presence in several regions and national markets. Since none of the models used so far is particularly well equipped to deal with these matters, it will be necessary, in order to provide a satisfactory account of the contemporary book market, to find a way to further extend our model.

Assemblage theory

A useful place to look for a complement to the framework constructed so far is assemblage theory. Articulated by Manuel DeLanda as an elucidation of Deleuzian thought, this framework is an approach to social ontology, which "concerns itself with the question of what kind of entities we can legitimately commit ourselves to assert exist" (DeLanda 2006: 1). In other words, unlike Bourdieu, who takes the existence and nature of the wide variety of agents present in a field for granted, giving limited attention only to the formation and function of individuals while remaining silent on the topic of larger entities such as corporations and cultural institutions, DeLanda proposes to subsume the formation and performance of a broad range of entities, including all those appearing in a field or in a market, under one unifying framework. He accomplishes this by positing that all entities are the result of the assembling of heterogeneous parts subject to recurrent interactions. Entities are thus understood as constructs, in a most literal sense, as wholes that have agglomerated through historical processes of genesis and development. Crucially, entities are taken to be more than simply the sum of their parts; they are understood to possess

emergent properties of their own that spring from the unique interaction of their heterogeneous parts. Importantly, assemblage theory seeks to avoid conceiving entities as seamless wholes, in the tradition of Hegelian totalities, which by default precludes the possibility of analysis of their component parts and therefore runs the risk of resorting to essentialist explanations. Assemblages must also avoid falling prey to the organismic metaphor, the basic concept of which is "*relations of interiority*: the component parts are constituted by the very relations they have to other parts of the whole. A part detached from such a whole ceases to be what it is, since being this particular part is one of its constitutive properties" (DeLanda 2006: 13, emphasis in original). It follows from this that a "whole in which the component parts are self-subsistent and their relations are external to each other does not possess organic unity [...] even if it is accompanied by a semblance of unity it remains nothing more than *composition, mixture, aggregation,* and the like" (Hegel, 1989: 711 original emphasis). Clearly, the inability of such an organismic model to explain the occurrence of synergistic properties, which emerge not from the components themselves but from their interaction, is problematic.

Assemblage theory enables us to acknowledge and study emergent properties as the result of complex interactions between component parts, such as can uncontroversially be observed in, for example, self-organising processes and constructions like termite nests and honey-combs. This is because the relations that exist between components of an assemblage are of an "*exterior*" nature (DeLanda 2006: 10). What this means is that parts can be detached from a whole and inserted into another where other interactions may be possible, suggesting that parts have a certain level of autonomy. The opposite situation, termed "relations of interiority" (*ibid.*), does not allow for productive decoupling by one part from the whole. It follows from this view that the properties of an assemblage can never fully be explained by reference to the properties of its parts. In addition to the properties of the parts it is also necessary to consider the capacities of the parts, both the ones that form part of an interaction and those that may be present but dormant.

One of the great benefits of assemblage theory is that it makes it possible to analyse agents of a very varying nature according to the same basic framework. Thus, individuals are assembled entities, consisting of sub-personal components whose

interactions lead to the emergence of identity. Individuals, in turn, form heterogeneous component parts of larger entities, such as organisations of various kinds. These larger entities, commercial publishing enterprises for example, therefore consist partly of the individuals that contribute to it through their interactions, but also of many other parts of highly dissimilar natures, such as materials, infrastructure, technology and so forth. Since the nature and constitution of these larger entities mirror those of smaller entities, such as individuals, it follows that they are in their turn capable of interacting with other entities, becoming in the process component parts of even larger entities, such as markets or nation states or both simultaneously.

It should be clear from this account that using the insights from DeLanda's Deleuzian assemblage theory to complement Bourdieu's field theory allows us to avoid many of the problems outlined above. First, we gain a constructive account of the formation and nature of entities that goes beyond Bourdieu's explanation, which is limited to the notion of a habitus in individuals[4] and notably missing for larger entities. It is important to note that the elegant solution provided by assemblage theory does not contradict the ideas underlying field theory, or indeed the circuit models reviewed at the beginning of this chapter; it, too, relies fundamentally on relational explanations of identity and disposition.

Once the impact of the relative opacity of Bourdieu's entities on the present model has been reduced, we are also in a better position to link micro and macro levels of a social space, such as the literary field, without resorting to reductionist measures. This is always a danger in field theory since processes are construed as the position-takings of individuals, the template of which is only obscurely extrapolated to cover the behaviour of larger entities. Since DeLanda's account of the formation and performance of entities is compatible with Bourdieu's frameworks, it can be used systematically to underpin those sensible intuitions about the behaviour of companies that Bourdieu has expressed but not clearly explained. Following assemblage theory, it should not surprise us if the performance of companies and cultural institutions seem analogous to that of

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[4] The habitus is perhaps the most controversial and problematic of Bourdieu's concepts. For a more in depth discussion cf., for example, Shusterman (1999).

individuals; they are both formed and sustained by the same type of processes and form analogous parts located on different levels of the social space. Ultimately, assemblages have no fixed scale, but can only be designated micro or macro in relation to other assemblages in which they participate (Gerstein 1987: 88).

The ability of assemblage theory to consider all actants in one sense equal and structurally similar also addresses an issue of agency that could arise from overreliance on Bourdieusian field theory. Put another way, in a field theory approach to the market, agents are primarily construed as individuals, and to some secondary extent supra-individual confederacies of various kinds. The agency of these agents produces, among other things, products, in the present context taken to be books. These products, however, do not possess their own agency. Though they may indeed affect the field, potentially radically even, they cannot be said to be considered equal to their producers, who constitute the class of active agents. From an assemblage perspective, on the other hand, agency is understood to be a property of interaction, not agents, which means all nodes in a network are capable of possessing it. Consequently, a product, or, indeed, even the materials used to produce a product can be read as active and interactive. As will be seen in Part II of this thesis, empirical study of Swedish border-crossing books reveals many cases of cultural products, such as books, engaging in meaningful, productive interaction, both with each other and with other types of actants. Assemblage theory makes it possible to identify and analyse such interaction.

Assemblage theory and field theory are a good match in the sense that they both identify an asymmetrical degree of access to resources as the factor that leads to differentiation between groups (or assemblages). Bourdieu's expansion of the Marxist idea of capital to include culturally defined resources that do not have a direct bearing on the means of production corresponds to DeLanda's inclusive definition of resources, which encompass all the parts of an assemblage, including such things as specialized skills or knowledge. Bourdieu's emphasis on empirical investigation is also echoed by assemblage theory; because 'relations do not have as their causes the properties of the [component parts] between which they are established' (Deleuze, 1991: 98). Consequently, it is not the aggregation of properties that determines the emergent properties of a whole, but the interaction of

components, i.e. 'the actual exercise of their capacities' (DeLanda 2006: 11). It follows from this that performative linkages, the exercising of a subset of components' capacities, are not "logically necessary", but perhaps only "contingently obligatory", given that the capacities performed by any one part at any one time is determined by its interactive environment, and any number of capacities may therefore be dormant. DeLanda rightly points out that while "logically necessary" relations can be investigated by thought alone, this is not true for "contingently obligatory" relations, which require empirical study, even direct intervention, to be fully determined. Both assemblage theory and field theory thus commit to an agenda of empiricism and leave open the possibility of scientifically informed intervention in a social space. But the addition of assemblage theory to the framework of this thesis crucially allows us to eradicate artificial hierarchies of agents or the dichotomous categorisation of agents as human or nonhuman. Using DeLanda's insights will enable my model to simultaneously accommodate all levels of the book market and encompass a wide variety of functions, both local and global, specific and general, within one coherent framework.

Polysystem theory

Having set out from the somewhat reductionist but helpfully lucid communication circuit constructed by Darnton in 1982, this chapter has reviewed a number of influential theories, drawing on their respective strengths to construct a theoretical framework that retains the qualities of Darnton's basic model while allowing a more sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of the book market. The framework this thesis is now primed to utilise for empirical study of a specific market context is qualitative in nature but aims for pragmatic application that incorporates quantitative methods. It is dynamic and able to accommodate the rapid changes and fluid nature of book production and it allows a nuanced description of the actants, events and forces that act on and within this field. Nevertheless, the framework is still not fully equipped to deal with the matter at hand, the British market for Swedish fiction in translation, because the theories thus far employed are primarily designed to examine the national literatures and book markets that still underpin most modern university departments.

I would posit that the role of border-crossing literature is distinct from that of native literature; it belongs, at least partly, to a separate production context, which comprises a number of agents, such as foreign publishing companies, foreign rights agents and translators, and processes, such as translation, re-editing and localisation, that are not present in a purely national book market, or that perform different functions there, constituting, to speak with DeLanda, parts of different wholes. They are also subject to different external constraints, in terms of both financial and cultural dimensions. The marketing position of foreign fiction in translation is also distinctly different from that of native literature: the creation of author celebrity is more difficult; sustained media attention is more difficult to secure; translated fiction is liable to be excluded from consideration for many prestigious awards and so forth. These specific challenges encourage different publishing, marketing and distribution strategies that do not typically apply to native texts. Furthermore, as evidenced by research within the field of translation studies, such as that conducted by Lawrence Venuti (1995, 1998), the reception and perception of foreign literature in translation among publishers, media and readers cannot be equated with that of native literature. This seems particularly true in Anglophone countries where the proportion of translated literature is notoriously low (Sapiro 2010). Many researchers who focus on the book market are aware of these difficulties, as revealed by their occasional mention, always in passing, of the separate nature of foreign literature in translation. Some, such as Hjort-Andersen, even go so far as to include foreign texts as a supply channel entirely separate from native texts (Hjort-Andersen 2000: 28). This notion, however, remains inarticulate as researchers shy away from the complexities involved in formally including translated literature in their single-language models.

This avoidance of accounting for border-crossing literature conveniently allows researchers to sidestep many methodological and theoretical difficulties in their studies of book markets but seems increasingly untenable in a world that is globalising ever more rapidly. Every day the world shrinks a little more and as a result, translated literature becomes ever more ubiquitous. No study of the book market can be complete without taking into account the circumstances of translated

literature. Between 1980 and 2000, the number of books in translation in the world increased by 50% from 50,000 to 75,000 titles according to UNESCO's database of global translation flows, the *Index Translationum* (UNESCO 2014). Moreover, the upward trend shows no sign of having abated since the turn of the millennium. In some European countries the majority of newly published books were originally written in a foreign language. Clearly, no account of the book market that fails to consider translated literature can be considered complete. For my conceptual model, it would be directly fatal.

Considering foreign literature in translation quickly reveals that a purely material, commodifying approach to the study of the market for translated fiction is inadequate; the act of translation itself belies the notion that books can be studied as merely physical objects. By its very essence the border-crossing text exists in part outside the material world of books as it moves from one linguistic, physical form to another. This transition cannot be brushed aside; it constitutes an important stage in the life of a border-crossing work, a stage which is, furthermore, accompanied by its own sites of production, which would need to be added to any model of the production system.

Similarly, many economic and sociological models are unable to explain why foreign texts in translation appear to be treated differently from native equivalents. Even a model that takes into account the different production costs involved in launching a translated work will not be able to account for the variation in proportion of translated literature on different markets; there can be no simple economic reason that explains why translations account for over 45% of book production in Greece, 20% in France and Germany and less than 3% in the UK (Sapiro, 2010: 420). Moreover, a purely economic approach to the functions of translated literature would fail to show why translations seem asymmetrically to be flowing outward from an Anglophone core toward a periphery of smaller or less culturally endowed languages (*ibid.*; Venuti 1998). These facts call for an approach able also to take into account the cultural nature of books and the hierarchies of power and sites of struggle that can be assumed to exist in book markets. Here a merging of Bourdieu's systemic theory of fields of production with systemic ideas drawn from the discipline of translation studies will

prove able to tackle the questions of why there seems to be a resistance to translated foreign literature in the UK, how this resistance manifests itself, in which spaces it occurs and who is responsible for enforcing and perpetuating it.

Thus far, I have shown how a model of the publishing industry, or indeed other cultural industries, can be constructed by utilising and merging theories from several different fields of the humanities. I have demonstrated that even though the different theories covered so far differ in important respects, their approaches to the study of cultural industries nevertheless have much in common. Perhaps most essential among the shared ideas is a notion of systemicity and it is around this concept that the present theoretical framework has been constructed. The result is a model that emphasises the importance of interactions and the evaluative, deliberate behaviour of its agents as well as a non-essentialist approach to those agents. The model is careful to stress the dynamism of the system in question, rejecting outright a static understanding of any level of the object of study. As it currently stands, the framework is thus well positioned to describe a particular industry synchronically as well as diachronically with reference both to local and global levels. However, the framework could justly be described as overly broad for its purpose in this thesis. Broadness is a useful quality inasmuch as it allows the same approach to be applied to a wide range of cultural fields but it does not, perhaps, provide the specificity and focus needed for a narrowly defined empirical study of Swedish literature in translation on the British market.

Consequently, in order to describe the specific area of study relevant to this thesis, the model therefore needs to be able to do two additional things. First, it needs to enable us to justify the selection of a particular part of the literary field and a particular set of agents for study by demonstrating how such a subfield can be rigorously delineated; if the scope of a field cannot be satisfactorily set out even the most thorough empirical study will inevitably be undermined. Second, it needs to help us understand how systems act within systems so that we can approach the study of our subfield with confidence.

The theory that will provide the final strand to the conceptual framework constructed in this chapter is Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. Polysystem theory was originally proposed as a framework for textual study, but soon outgrew these confines and laid claim to gradually larger entities such as the study of literary models and eventually entire cultural systems. As a model of cultural systems, polysystem theory aims to explain the non-static complexity of cultural communities as well as the interactive, dynamic, exchanges that occur between cultural communities. While polysystem theory can be usefully applied to the functioning and evolution of any literary system, its application to the field of translation studies has proved its most fecund area of use. The theory's most central concept is the *system*, a term which has often been used in formalist studies, but in Even-Zohar's work takes on new meaning, becoming practically synonymous with his new term *polysystem*, which he prefers as it underlines the inherent openness and dynamic nature of any system. Though much dynamic interaction occurs within polysystems, which are stratified, hierarchical multivalent sites of struggle, crucial interactions also occur in the meeting of polysystems, and it is in these interactions that fundamental changes are likely to occur and where central influences are likely to be encountered. This is also, as it happens, where translation occurs; the act of translation is conceived as the very site of interaction between polysystems and thus as a central activity for a community's literary system. Moreover, translation itself is construed by Even-Zohar (1990) as a polysystem in its own right, with its own internal structure, its own sites of struggle and its own dynamic trajectory. Since polysystem theory grants translated literature full status as a literary system, it also predicts that translated literature will behave in a structured manner, and that it is able to significantly impact on the polysystems of national literatures. Through the addition of the insights of polysystem theory to the theoretical framework of this thesis, I can ensure that the specific complexities of the study of translated literature are accounted for.

Though they are all products of different periods, and of different scholarly disciplines, polysystem theory, field theory and assemblage theory can be said to be conceptually close because they share many foundational features, features that can already be discerned in the more simplistic circuit theories discussed in the first

section of this chapter. Chief among these is the systemicity that underpins each theory. It is this systemicity that forms the innermost core of the model constructed in this thesis. Moreover, like Bourdieu's fields, Even-Zohar's systems are hierarchical, heterogeneous, dynamic and capable of, indeed compelled to engage in, interaction with other fields. Moreover, the behaviour of agents within Even-Zohar's system is shaped to a great degree by the power relations obtaining within the system, just as Bourdieu's agents' behaviour is within the field. Polysystem theory also shares some important notions with assemblage theory. Most crucially, polysystem theory reinforces our view of the complex nature of entities. DeLanda posits that agents and systems consist of a concatenation of other systems in dynamic interaction; this is also how Even-Zohar conceives of systems; each is a polysystem consisting of a number of other systems and each in turns form a part of other, larger polysystems. By remaining committed to this understanding of the open and interactive character of entities in our model we are, as has been noted above, able to transition easily between large and small systems, since there is no material difference between the structures of different systems, irrespective of their size.

Polysystem theory further shares with all theoretical models considered in this thesis an overarching empirical intention; the purpose of building a conceptual framework is to enable applied study, both in order to produce concrete results and to validate the model. It is worth repeating that an inbuilt intention to apply a theoretical model does not automatically imply that the object of study is predefined or naturally given by the structure of the model. Indeed, Even-Zohar assures us repeatedly that "there is no *a priori* set of 'observables' that necessarily 'is' part of [a] 'system'" (Even Zohar 1990: 28). Rather, these have to be identified and included on a case by case basis according to how successfully they can be shown to have systemic function.

Yet, even though polysystem theory shares many characteristics with the other theories drawn upon for my model, its chosen level of focus differs from theirs. Broadly speaking, this is a consequence of polysystem theory's linguistic roots; where Darnton studies individual texts and their producers, where Bourdieu focuses on the behaviour of individuals and DeLanda looks at relations between agents, Even-Zohar takes as his fundamental object of study the repertoire, which can best

be described as a literary model or mode.

The central position Even-Zohar gives repertoires can be problematic for my model, indeed, shifting the emphasis so decisively to the level of semiotics ignores the influence of power relations within a society as well as the tangible actions and behaviours of individuals, companies and institutions. However, we need not be alarmed by this limitation in polysystem theory; the other models help make our model more flexible and inclusive in this regard. Indeed, by utilising Darnton's material sensitivity, Bourdieu's focus on systemic power relations and Even-Zohar's contemplation of semiotic content, we can achieve a holistic view of a text, specifically, a text that exists in a translated state. This holistic view encompasses individuals, companies, institutions, political contexts, physical texts and literary models, all crucial to a full understanding of how and why texts journey across national and linguistic borders.

Considering Even-Zohar's semiotic level further allows us to address the first shortcoming of the present model, that it does not easily lend itself to delineating a narrow field of inquiry. To put it another way: what is the reason for identifying translated literature as a distinct system or field, separate and separable from the larger field of literature and distinguishable from literature in the original language? In the words of Even-Zohar, translated texts belong to a distinct system because of

> the way their source texts are selected by the target literature, the principles of selection never being uncorrelatable with the home co-systems of the target literature (to put it in the most cautious way); and […] the way they adopt specific norms, behaviors, and policies – in short, in their use of the literary repertoire – which results from their relations with the other home co-systems. These are not confined to the linguistic level only, but are manifest on any selection level as well. Thus, translated literature may possess a repertoire of its own (Even-Zohar 1990: 46).

Put another way, translated literature will inevitably contain within it at the very least one extra layer of meaning, conferred upon it by its journey from one language to

another, one culture to another, one writer to another. This layer of meaning is furthermore, and importantly, determined to some extent by those very processes that are unique to the production of translated literature. Thus the answer to why translated literature, and by extension Swedish literature translated to English in the UK, constitutes a system is that it is possible to hypothesise that the activities that produce and shape it are governed by constraints of a systemic nature, i.e. by the process of translation, cultural and textual, itself. The case studies presented in Part II of this thesis give ample validation to this claim. Chapter 3 in particular examines the ways in which border-crossing literature can be dramatically affected by insertion into a new market context.

While this insight can be accommodated within the framework of field theory, its focus on literature as a unified system does not encourage its inclusion. Indeed, Bourdieu has on occasion met with criticism for his nationally centred perspective, which does not seem to admit any special function for foreign literature, whether in translation or not. Polysystem theory is predicated on the existence of a difference between translated literature and its non-translated counterpart, making them two separate but interacting systems within the overarching polysystem of literature. Moreover, the semiotic emphasis of polysystem theory strengthens us in our conviction that there is reason to isolate not only literature in translation but also specific segments of this production. It is, after all, perfectly conceivable that meaning and signs are ascribed to texts differently depending on their language and country of origin and the relationship between these and the target culture. Furthermore, the fundamental insistence of polysystem theory that each polysystem consists of other systems in interaction convinces us that the polysystem of translated literature can be further divided and that the narrow focus of Swedish fiction in English translation in the UK may produce fruitful empirical results.

The introduction of polysystem theory into our model also highlights the specific strata of production that are unique to translated literature without forcing us to abandon the general framework set up thus far. These involve additional agents such as translators and foreign rights agents and the additional stages of production linked

to their functions, to say nothing of the duplication of right holders, licensees, publishers, editors, marketing campaigns and so forth that will be linked to and shape the product in several distinct national cultures. The combination of a semiotic approach and one based on the identification of the parts of which a system consists and which make it a distinct entity will help us circumvent the shortcomings of field theory, which is much too simplistic in this regard and prone to considering literature as a field largely delineated by national borders, the crossing of which by texts, and the consequences of this, are almost entirely ignored.

Conclusion

It is my hope that the framework I have constructed in this chapter can successfully synthesise the models used in previous research and thus provide a comprehensive framework for studying the market for Swedish literature in translation in the UK. A central argument of this thesis is that translated literature, like all literature, is produced, or not, under the influence of market conditions which are the result of complex and dynamic interactions between agents of the book market and between this market and the wider social and economic contexts in which it is situated.

As the thesis develops an empirical perspective in Part II, this theoretical framework will help identify the agents of the British book market for contemporary Swedish fiction in translation and reveal how these agents, ranging from authors and publishers via distributors and book sellers to readers, critics and texts, interact with each other and the world, on a range of levels, to create and shape the demand and supply of books generally and translated foreign literature specifically.

In order to conceptualise the nature of the model advocated in this thesis, which relies so heavily on dynamic identification and description of both the actants, nodes, of the network and their interactions, linkages, it is helpful to look beyond the more static models that are often used in literary sociological study and think, rather, in terms of neurobiology. In other words, it is helpful to think of the system of international literary production in terms of the artificial neural network models that have been used with remarkable success in other areas of social research, such

as linguistics. Neural networks are primarily used in the cognitive sciences to approximate or estimate functions that depend on very large, generally unknown inputs, which clearly resonates with the complex social situation of the international literary system. The nodes in a neural network are affected by input generated by the actions of other nodes, which are transmitted as messages through the links they share, which are in turn strengthened or weakened by that interaction. Neither nodes nor links are thus statically defined, but rather evolve together in constant interaction that continually ripples through the entire system. New nodes can be added, existing nodes can be removed as circumstances change. While it is not, for obvious reasons, possible directly to extrapolate from a model of neurons in mammalian nervous systems to a social system consisting of complex individual, corporate, and national actants, the insights offered by the study of the functionality of neural networks may nevertheless be illuminating. For a more detailed introduction to neural networks and many useful suggestions for further reading, cf. Gurney, 1997.

By elucidating the special conditions that apply to the category of literary production considered in this thesis and how it differs from the rest of the book market this study will provide useful evidence in the debate regarding cultural resistance in Anglophone countries. I hope also to show, moreover, how new technologies are affecting the book market and how they, along with globalisation, are likely to impact on the publishing, buying and reading of minority literatures. I believe that these conclusions will furthermore enable me to understand in more detail the impact of cultural policy on the book market, which will in turn allow me to make predictions concerning the felicitousness of various types of interventionist actions available to actors with an interest in this field. Due to the nature of the scope of my research, what follows will necessarily focus on the context of Swedish literature in translation on the British book market but I believe that the model I propose will be applicable, with necessary local adjustments, to other situations of a similar kind; the model is constructed to be flexible enough to accommodate different data while still remaining sufficiently theoretically robust to allow firm, specific conclusions to be drawn. A more detailed discussion of how the model can be applied to situations other than the one scrutinised in this thesis can be found in the final section of the thesis.

Part II

Case Studies

The first part of this thesis outlined the context of contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market in some detail, and presented a theoretical approach and model by means of which it can be analysed. Part II consists of a series of four case studies, each of which illustrates different aspects of the system of production, circulation and reception of contemporary Swedish fiction in the United Kingdom. The case studies do not pretend to provide a full accounting of the highly complex system of literary production. Indeed, as is firmly asserted in Chapter 2, such a holistic comprehension is impossible to achieve due to the dynamic nature of the system and the high degree of complexity it possesses. The aim of the case studies included herein is, rather, to provide detailed snapshots of parts of the system. These snapshots are valuable, both as a basis for understanding the particularities of the system, its rules, processes and constrictions, and because each by itself exemplifies the interaction of systemic pressures and beautiful, often random, idiosyncrasy. Each case study can be thought of as a window onto the system, through which a great deal can be seen, but which nevertheless suffers from obscured vision and blind spots. The hope is that the case studies, each revealing the system from a slightly different angle, will begin to give a cumulative picture of the entire system. Thus, its shapes, pathways and peculiarities can begin to be traced and understood.

It is worth pointing out, before delving into the particulars of the case studies themselves, that the motivation behind the selection of these particular case studies does imply that they are in anyway standard cases from which a general picture can be extrapolated. Indeed, this type of generalising about a standard path of transmission or a standard map of a book's production, dissemination and reception context is what the present model is explicitly trying to avoid. The very notion that there is a standard path, or that some standardised map can be generated contradicts the model developed in Chapter 2. Studies that have availed themselves of such models, I may refer again here to Robert Darnton's communication circuit, to take

but one example, quickly get mired in reductionism and artificial static state. I posit, instead, that there is no standardised route to border-crossing in the world of books. Every literary work is unique and so is its life cycle and the network context with which it is associated. The case studies presented in Part II are characterised by idiosyncrasy and their journeys to a new cultural and linguistic context are marked by chance and haphazardness to a not insignificant degree. Each is more of an exception than a rule. This is partly so because an examination of less eventful border-crossings would reveal less about the processes that underlie cultural and linguistic transfer and book production. Partly, however, my choice of case studies are a matter of necessity. As has been shown in Chapter 1, very few books are translated from Swedish into English each year, and only a handful have a meaningful impact. Most are published by small, specialised presses, or by enthusiasts who burn for the specific title in question. Of these, most sell no more than a handful of copies and fail to engage with important sectors of the publishing industry, such as literary agents, the media and even readers. Thus, I have had to work with cases I believed able to illustrate a variety of aspects of the network model. This does not mean that the model does not apply to all Swedish books in the UK, which is, of course, the purpose of designing it. Rather, due to the fact that the model in some respects needs to be demonstrated through empirical application, rather than theoretical description, unilluminating examples of border-crossing fiction would not serve a purpose in this thesis.

Having said this, it is not, as emphasised in Chapter 2, my intention to imply that systematic study of border-crossing books is impossible. Crucially, while each book is unique, in content as in network, they are all nevertheless subject to the same range of forces, which inevitably shape their transcultural journey. Some of these forces are inherent in the network structure of the field of literary production. These include, for example, the reciprocal interactivity that constitutes and characterises networks, the unavoidable interaction of the literary field with other fields of cultural production, and the necessity of cultural translation of such aspects as a book's peritext when entering a new field. Other forces stem from the concrete organisational structure of the publishing industry, which naturally shape, constrain and inhibit book production. The organisational structure of the publishing industry

is what to a large extent determines the identity of the nodes present in the network of books. In the UK, these tend to include authors, editors, designers publishing companies, literary agents, translators, reviewers, booksellers and readers, but not all are necessarily present in every network, nor are these groups to be understood as internally homogenous. By studying the similarities and differences found in the processes of border-crossing books through the application of the model developed in Chapter 2, it will be possible to draw a number of conclusions about the workings of the network system, which can be broadly generalised not just to the study of Swedish literature in the UK, but to the field of literary production in general and to border-crossing literature in particular.

The first case study takes as its subject the genre of Scandinavian crime fiction. The tracing of the origins and formation of this relatively new subgenre affords a wonderful opportunity to investigate actant information within the production, circulation and reception network of books. The case study reveals how the position-takings of actants involved in production, circulation and reception mutually impact on one another. It also demonstrates how such mutual impact can, over time, be instrumental in the way we categorise, and ultimately analyse and understand books. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the formation of genre from a sociological point of view, resisting the tradition of reading genre as inherent in the content of a text. The case study illustrates how network processes can in fact override considerable textual diversity to generate a generic identity based almost exclusively on elements of the material book, i.e., its paratext.

The second case study "zooms out" from the field of literary production. Rather than limit the perspective to actants actively involved in the production, circulation and reception context of books, this case study examines the role and function of the network of literary production within the superordinate network of cultural production more broadly. The model that in the first case study was used to analyse the literary network is here extended to a multimodal context. By taking this wider context into account two things are shown. Firstly, the model is able to accommodate a local network's interaction with other networks within its theoretical framework, which means that the study of book production does not have to be artificially

isolated from the bigger cultural sphere. Secondly, the significant findings of this case study confirm that the study of books in isolation risks ignoring factors that can have a profound influence on the life cycle of a book. Using the present model, such factors can identified and accounted for.

The third case study "zooms out" even further, taking as its object of study the interaction of national networks of production, dissemination and reception of literature. Detailed examination of Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party* reveals this interaction to be a site of tension, even struggle, caused by the difference in capital possessed by each system. The differences in positioning vis-à-vis the heteronymous pole of economic capital and the autonomous pole of cultural capital in different networks creates radically different position-taking spaces in each for a border-crossing book. This third case study illustrates this by demonstrating the difference in fortune enjoyed and reception received by *The Hurricane Party* in the UK and Sweden and trace these differences to the systemic interaction of national networks and types of cultural capital.

Having thus investigated the context within which border-crossing literature operates from three different angles, and on three different levels, loosely related to the three levels of context presented in Chapter 1, the fourth and final case study reverses the movement of Part II by "zooming in" to the micro-level of the network system. In this chapter, a diachronic study of one individual actant, the Swedish state, is undertaken. Consideration of the role played by the Swedish state in the promotion of Swedish literature abroad gives fascinating insight into the gradual evolution of an actant's position-taking space under the influence of its continuous, dynamic, ever-changing interaction with the actants that enable, inhibit and shape it.

Chapter 3

The power of networks: the rise of Scandinavian crime fiction

As outlined in Chapter 2, the production, circulation and reception context of books can be analysed as a system using a network model. The basic tenets of such a network model are that it consists of nodes, or actants, whose position-takings, which are constrained and enabled by their associated position-taking spaces, affect the other actants with which they are linked. Furthermore, the interactivity between different actants, of which the linkages consist, is inherently reciprocal. In other words, as the position-takings of an actant affects surrounding actants, their position-taking spaces are altered, which in turn affects the actant with which the action originated. Thus, the system, understood as a network, is never static, but always exists in a state of flux, dynamically responding to the position-takings of its actants. The first case study in this thesis will serve to outline the ways in which books' production, circulation and reception contexts can concretely be understood using a systems framework. It will thus provide more detailed and contextualised analysis of some of the most prominent actants in the networks and illustrate the ways in which they interact with each other. A mapping of the interactive processes of the network will also reveal the types of effects these interactions can have, and what the results of those effects may be for the titles that are published.

The context of the present study is Swedish crime fiction. Aside from being an obvious example of contemporary Swedish literature that has done well in terms of sales and accolades on the British market, Swedish crime fiction also provides the literary sociologist a wonderful opportunity to study systemic effects. The particular focus of the study is the emergence of Scandinavian crime fiction as a distinct sub-genre with an identifiable generic identity. Careful consideration of the emergence of the genre Scandinavian crime fiction on the British market can help identify a number of important actants in the network and demonstrate the ways in which their position- takings and interactions have shaped the way Scandinavian crime fiction is

read (both in the concrete and abstract sense of the word) today. The core argument of this chapter is that the term Scandinavian crime fiction does not, in fact, denote a traditional genre at all. Put differently, it will be posited that the purported genre's generic identity is the product of material, socially contextual interaction, rather than the similarity of a set of formalist features inherent in the titles designate by the moniker Scandinavian crime. It follows, then, that generic identity is not, in the case of Scandinavian crime fiction, construed as fixed or static, as an intrinsic characteristic of certain books, sprung from their narrative content and/or formal-aesthetic characteristics. Rather, this case study will highlight the dynamic and malleable qualities of a generic identity in a permanent state of flux, continuously reinventing itself under the influence of market conditions and the actions of important actants in the network of its production, circulation and reception.

Scandinavian crime fiction in the UK is, of course, of considerable interest in and of itself, given the genre's recent ascendency there and elsewhere. The subject also provides an opportunity to illustrate some of the basic workings of the model developed in Chapter 2. Thus, the present chapter aims to outline some of the agents that feature prominently in the context of contemporary Swedish fiction in the UK and describe their individual behaviour and the network effects that cause and are affected by them. The mapping of the emergence of Scandinavian crime as a genre will reveal the power of network interactivity and following its gradual transformation will underscore the dynamic nature of the book market and demonstrate the present model's ability to both accommodate and describe it.

A brief history of Swedish crime at home and abroad

Swedish crime has a long and varied history. The first example of a Swedish crime novel is usually taken to be Prins Pierre's *Stockholms-detektiven* (The Stockholm Detective, 1893). During the twentieth century, the genre developed under the influence of international impulses. American hard-boiled novels and British armchair detective stories, such as Agatha Christie's, were particularly important inspirations (Bergman and Kärrholm, 2011). Of the many popular crime writers active in the first half of the century, Maria Lang, the pseudonym of Dagmar Lange, deserves special

mention on account of her popularity and the fact that her books have been rediscovered by a domestic and international audience today, particularly through the film adaptations that are, at the time of writing, being broadcast in the United Kingdom on BBC4.

Though crime fiction had thus long been in plentiful supply, and had proved popular with the Swedish reading audience, crime fiction only got its real breakthrough in Sweden with the publication of Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's seminal decalogy *Roman om ett brott* (*The History of a Crime* 1965-1975). It was Sjöwall and Wahlöö who introduced many of the parameters that are still associated with Swedish crime today, including the police procedural format, a political stance manifest in clear social criticism and, not least, the type of disillusioned, down-trodden anti-hero detective that trudges through the pages of crime fiction everywhere to this day. Sjöwall and Wahlöö's books were all translated into a number foreign languages and adapted for the screen. This intermodal quality of Swedish crime fiction, which is still very much in evidence today will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

In more recent years, a number of other developments have impacted heavily on the crime genre in Sweden. The first is the marked increase in number of titles published annually. Karl Berglund, whose excellent and very thorough quantitative study of the crime genre in Sweden between 1977 and 2010, *Deckarboomen under lupp: statistiska perspektiv på svensk kriminallitteratur 1977-2010* (The Crime Boom Under the Microscope: Statistical Perspectives on Swedish Crime Fiction 1977-2010, 2012) provides much needed statistics on the genre, informing us that during both 2009 and 2010, more than one hundred Swedish-language titles were published in Sweden. In the period between 1977 and 1998, when the acceleration began, the comparable number was between thirty and forty. Put a different way, one hundred and ten crime novels were published in 2010, but in the five years between 1985 and 1989, the total sum was no greater than 149 (Berglund 2012). Berglund's numbers are striking and demonstrate that at least in terms of domestic production, "talk of a boom for Swedish crime fiction during the first decade of the twenty-first century is exceedingly justified" [[det är] mycket befogat att tala om en boom för svensk kriminallitteratur under 2000-talets första decennium] (*ibid.*: 21). Moreover,

Berglund's data illustrates the suddenness with which the increase in number of crime titles published occurred; many of the large Swedish publishers more or less doubled their output over the course of no more than a few years.

Other trends that have come to the fore in the new millennium, following Berglund's data, is the notable participation of women in Swedish crime, both as writers and as protagonists. This positive trend, from the perspective of gender equality, is, unfortunately, undermined by the continued disproportionate accordance of status and consecration to male writers. The explosive success of crime fiction at the turn of the century also inspired another noteworthy trend: defections from other genres. The writers flocking to crime from other genres, such as literary fiction, may have had mercenary motives (Berglund 2012), but their influence helped broaden the genre and introduce a number of innovations. Well-known examples include Arne Dahl (the pen name of Jan Arnald), Henning Mankell and Håkan Nesser, all of whom have climbed to the upper echelons of recognition and commercial success, at home and abroad. The third and final recent trend worth mentioning at this point is the rise of the literary agent. In other parts of the world, literary agents have long functioned as intermediaries in the publishing industry. In Sweden, however, they only established a significant presence in the last few years of the twentieth century (*ibid.*). The introduction of literary agents has had a profound impact on the Swedish publishing industry, contributing to the ratcheting up of the pace of publishing, the size of advances and the probability of selling translation rights to foreign publishers. It is necessary to concede at this point, that this final trend will not be discussed here, other than in passing. The reason for this is not that literary agents are not a deserving object of study; indeed, the rise of the literary agent in Sweden and the UK and the associated effects on the network would indubitably be of great interest. Rather, the reason for this unfortunate lacuna in the present work is due to lack of access I have had to said literary agents. As a group, literary agents have a reputation for secrecy, and some, such as heavyweight Salomonsson Agency, which represents a slew of Sweden's most prominent writers, especially within the crime genre (including Liza Marklund, whose books will be discussed in some detail below), take this taciturnity to extremes. My inability to gain direct access to the actants involved in this part of the network

regrettably made closer study of literary agents unfeasible. A discussion of how the matter may be approached in future studies can be found at the end of the thesis.

Contemporary Swedish crime on the British market

The domestic crime fiction boom experienced in Sweden has been complemented by similar developments abroad. Thus, even though Swedish crime writers have been widely available in English since at least the 1960s, when Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's *Martin Beck*-decalogy was first translated, it was not until the first years of the twenty-first century that the trickle of Swedish crime novels translated and published in the English language suddenly turned into a flood. In the United Kingdom, the vast majority of successful Swedish books in recent years have belonged to the crime genre. The works of such authors as Stieg Larsson, Henning Mankell, Håkan Nesser and Camilla Läckberg have contributed significantly to the visibility and sales numbers of Swedish fiction since the turn of the twenty-first century. Figure 6 shows the acceleration in number of titles published in recent years. The data are based on the holdings of the British Library, and should, given the limitations of the database and its search function, discussed in Chapter 1, be used with due caution. It is wise not to give full credence to the absolute numbers presented; significant omissions are known to exist in the material. The relative trend shown, however, can be accepted with a degree of confidence since the limitations of the data should affect all years equally.

Figure 6 Total number of Swedish crime titles published in English between 1970 and 2009, British Library holdings

Today, Sweden's many crime authors and novels are ubiquitous. Many crime titles receive extensive media attention upon publication, in the form of reviews in both mainstream and specialised print media, radio and television, not to mention the internet. Crime titles are also typically the objects of particularly lavish marketing campaigns that often include costly advertising on public transport and prominent display in bookshops, occasionally alongside additional marketing materials and display bays.

As Swedish and Scandinavian crime fiction has become increasingly well-represented and popular in the UK, a curious development has taken place. The industry, and readers, no longer seem to assess each Swedish writer individually and ascribe a subgeneric identity to his or her work based on the formal-aesthetic characteristics of those works. Rather, where the works of a Swedish crime writer was previously described as hard-boiled or armchair detective or feminist, they are now first and foremost identified by their nationality, as Scandinavian crime fiction.[5] Thus, Jens Lapidus is not thought of in terms of the hard-boiled sub-genre of crime. Jan

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[5] Although 'Scandinavia' in most contexts refers only to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, within the realms of crime fiction 'Scandinavian crime' has become one of the most commonly accepted terms for crime fiction originating in the Nordic region more broadly, and it is in this sense the term is used in this article.

Guillou is not above all a writer of spy thrillers. Little difference is made between more literary writers such as Henning Mankell and Håkan Nesser and considerably more low-brow contributors such as Liza Marklund. Instead, a large number of remarkably heterogeneous writers and works have been subsumed under the one heading of Scandinavian crime fiction.

This shift is meaningful, because the way books are categorised can have a profound impact on the way they are produced, circulated, consecrated, marketed, purchased and read. In this chapter, the moniker "Scandinavian crime fiction" will be examined from a systems perspective. A network analysis of the context in which this particular sub-genre arose will demonstrate that Scandinavian crime fiction is to a large degree a material genre, not a formal-aesthetic one. By that logic, the generic identity of Scandinavian crime fiction will be shown to reside in material aspects of the book and not in the characteristics of the text. As such, Scandinavian crime fiction is a genre of convenience, a categorising tool developed by the markets and used by others in the network for convenience, perceived accuracy or other reasons. This notion of generic identity has also been discussed elsewhere, in relation to other types of divisions within the crime genre (Walukiewicz 2011).

Positing that Scandinavian crime is a genre based on market interaction and pressures is not, however, to argue that the rise of Scandinavian crime fiction as a genre is a commercialist conspiracy, designed to trick unwary, trusting consumers. On the contrary, the formation of a distinct sub-genre based on the material book rather than formal-aesthetic characteristics is more akin to the fascinating results of self-organisation. Like a termite nest or a beehive, the sub- genre appears to be meaningful and designed by a sentient agent. Like these structures, however, Scandinavian crime is the tangible outcome of actants in a highly complex interactive network. Put differently, no actant on the British book market, no matter how wily a marketing department they possessed, could have willed the sub-genre of Scandinavian crime fiction into existence. Through the cumulative effects of interactive position-takings, however, a sub-genre can crystallise as if by its own accord. Because it is the product of market logics, such a sub-genre is likely, moreover, to be perceived as "natural", as having inherent meaning.

The nature of Scandinavian crime fiction's generic identity

Since the moniker became ubiquitous on the book market, it has been the unavoidable identifier of all works of Scandinavian crime fiction. Journalists, academics and readers, who intuitively feel that Scandinavian crime fiction titles and writers form a coherent group, have struggled to define the genre. Their attempts are, with very few exceptions, focused exclusively on formal-aesthetic characteristics. The reason for this is, of course, that generic identity is usually the product of formal-aesthetic similarity. Thus, the crime genre is usually considered to have a small subset of primary sub-genres, such as the armchair detective story, the thriller, the police procedural and so on. The identity of these sub-genres is localised in the immaterial text; it is contained in certain plot conventions, types of characters, styles of writing, environments, political content and so on (Scaggs 2005).

If genrehood is a function of textual features, then the question becomes, simply: do Scandinavian crime fiction titles, as a group, share significant literary features, which not only make them a cohesive whole, but also distinguish them from other types of crime literature? This particular investigative path is already well-travelled; attempts to make Scandinavian crime books fit together in a textually defined group are legion and range from the most informal of enquiries, such as in the short Wikipedia entry for Scandinavian Noir, which vaguely defines Scandinavian crime fiction as "a genre comprising crime fiction written in Scandinavia with *certain common characteristics, typically in a realistic style with a dark, morally complex mood [and] direct writing style without metaphor*" (Scandinavian Noir 2014, my emphasis), to lengthier examinations by well-established print media such as *The Economist*, which, in one of its several articles on the subject, informs us that '[t]hree factors underpin the success of Scandinavian crime fiction: 'language, heroes and setting' (*The Economist* 2012). The emphasis placed on textual style and/or content seen in these quotes is typical of the many articles, books and talks available on the subject of what makes

Scandinavian crime fiction special, or, to speak plainly, what makes it a genre at all, and it demonstrates the perceived centrality of the text in genre formation.

The academic study of Scandinavian crime fiction is a growing research field, and here too, the struggle for a meaningful formal-aesthetic definition of the genre is a source of ongoing anxiety. Thus, Andrew Nestingen and Paula Arvas' (2011: 2) definition of the genre rests on its allegiance to the "police procedural sub-genre", the fact that Scandinavian crime novels "often articulate social criticism" and that they are "frequently gloomy, pensive and pessimistic in tone". Gunhild Agger (2010a: 20) posits that:

The unique pan-Nordic brand has in terms of aesthetics become a particular type of realism, grounded in a concrete, regional milieu, and in thematic terms a particular type of concern for the future of the welfare state. The social preoccupation can be seen both in the themes employed […] and the deep social involvement of the protagonists. […] *Crime fiction with a social conscience*, you might call it for short"

[Det specielle fælles-nordiske varemærke er æstetiskt blevet en særlig slags realisme, forankret i et konkret, regionalt miljø, og tematiskt en særlig slags bekymring for velfærdssamfundets udvikling. Det sociale engagement ses både I de valgte temaer […] kombineret med en dyb social anfægtelse hos protagonisterne. […] *Krimi med social samvittighed* kan man i kort formulering kalde dett varemærke].

As Agger immediately acknowledges, however, all Scandinavian crime novels do not conform to this definition. On the contrary, as Agger (2008) herself has shown, "one of the characteristics of Scandinavian crime is its great genre diversity" [et af kendetegnene for den skandinaviske krimi [er] dens store genrevariation] (Agger 2010a: 20). Nestingen and Arvas (2011: 6), too, are left wondering, at the end of their enumeration of defining characteristics, if "there [is] such a thing as a Scandinavian crime novel, or a Swedish crime novel?". Journalistic commentators, too, often end up prevaricating when asked to offer a definition. The discrepancies arising between the diverse reality acknowledged by Agger, above, and overly rigid formal-aesthetic

genre criteria tend to simply be left unexplained as writers choose not to overlook the problem.

That the type of nebulous and vague criteria used to define the sub-genre of Scandinavian crime fiction could be considered necessary and sufficient is difficult to concede to; it requires us to forget what we know about the varied output of Sweden's crime writers. Clearly, for example, not all heroes of Scandinavian crime fiction fit the stereotypical description of a depressed, lonely, middle-aged man with substance abuse problems, or the scrappy, slightly alternative young woman with a chip on her shoulder and a work ethic that conflicts with her home life. Nor are all Scandinavian crime novels set in exotically snow-covered forests or the dependably corrupt cradle-to-grave welfare society. They are also not all set in the same time period, they do not all belong to the police-procedural subgenre and they do not all refrain from using metaphor. They do not all engage with social criticism. Thus, attempts to pin down the generic identity of Scandinavian crime fiction often amount to little more than strained efforts to make sense of a corpus too formally and aesthetically diverse to truly be considered a genre in the traditional sense. Ultimately, any formal-aesthetic criteria proposed would inevitably exclude many Scandinavian crime titles and include the works of a host of writers from other countries. Ultimately, purely in terms of formal-aesthetic criteria, Jens Lapidus' *Snabba Cash* (2006, *Easy Money*, 2011) has more in common with the works of fellow hard-boiled, but American writer James Ellroy than with, say Kerstin Ekman. And Kerstin Ekman may, in turn, have more in common with Briton Patricia Highsmith, whose works, like Ekman's, are often considered to occupy a unique space between genre fiction and belles-lettres.

Formal-aesthetic arguments for the generic status of Scandinavian crime fiction, based on the properties of the texts per se are, then, at heart unconvincing. Nevertheless, the unrelenting insistence of readers, writers, critics and scholars to engage with the concept of Scandinavian crime fiction strongly suggests that there are reasons to nevertheless consider it a productive category. Another definition, based on criteria other than those pertaining to the characteristics of the texts, is needed. It may be that the above-cited Wikipedia entry, before its position was qualified, put its finger on the heart of the matter, by locating the sub-genre's generic identity not in

the text but in its immediate production context: "Scandinavian crime fiction is a genre comprising crime fiction written in Scandinavia" (Scandinavian Noir 2014). In a similar vein, generic identity could be considered an attribute of authorial criteria. Put differently, Scandinavian crime fiction could be crime fiction written by Scandinavian authors (though an individual's national identity is of course a problematic concept in itself, as discussed in previous chapters) or, better still, perhaps, the definition could be linguistic; Scandinavian crime fiction is crime fiction written in one of the Scandinavian languages. To define a genre according to its place of origin is fundamentally different from the traditional, text-based approach outlined above, since it relies on characteristics external to the text.

Locating generic identity in the nationality of writers or the language in which works are written is, however, problematic, as discussed in Chapter 1. Consider, for example, the case of writers such as Stig Granfors and Marianne Peltomaa. Both write crime fiction in Swedish, but neither is Swedish nor lives in Sweden. They are two of Finland's Finland Swedish crime fiction writers. Or take Håkan Nesser, one of the most successful writers of Scandinavian crime fiction. He is Swedish and writes in the Swedish language, but he is a permanent resident of the United Kingdom. Interestingly, his most famous crime novels, the *van Veeteren*-series, are not set in Scandinavia but rather in a fictitious country that closely resembles the Netherlands. A writer could also conceivably live in Sweden but write in a language other than Swedish, the reverse of Nesser's situation. Do works written by these authors fall under the category of Swedish crime or not? Even if an unequivocal answer to this question could be found, a generic identity based solely on the nationality or language of a writer would have very limited explanatory power. The application of such a model for the study of Scandinavian crime would yield few, if any, stimulating results.

Acknowledging, then, that the formal-aesthetic criteria commonly called upon to define Scandinavian crime fiction cannot, in fact, provide a particularly satisfactory description of the sub-genre and that attempts to assign generic identity based on the nationality or language of writers are both problematic and limiting, the question arises: what do such attempts reveal? The answer is, as Agger (2010a) intimates, that generic intuitions about Scandinavian crime fiction actually pertain to the brand of

Scandinavian crime fiction, not the novels themselves. The distinction is crucial. Formal-aesthetic criteria apply directly to the text, but criteria pertaining to branding transcend the textual level to include the material aspects of the book, and all the systemic processes discussed in this thesis. Following this reasoning, it can be argued that Scandinavian crime fiction is not, in fact, a sub-genre in the traditional, structuralist sense. Rather, it is a sub- genre whose identity is found in the material book and its production, circulation and reception contexts, or, in other words, in the interactivity of the network in which it is imbedded.

The notion of defining a genre on the basis of these types of sociological criteria is not, perhaps, common, but it has been convincingly shown to be productive in several recent studies. Ramon Lobato and Mark D. Ryan (2011: 188), for example, have in their thought-provoking study *Rethinking genre studies through distribution analysis: issues in international horror movie circuits* set out a method for defining film genre through "an analysis of distributive circuits rather than film texts or generic categories". Diane Barthel-Bouchier (2012: 75) also engages with the problem of defining border-crossing cultural products on the basis of cultural expectations in the target country, calling for a new approach that focuses on the "strategies available to different players and relationships formed among producers".

As these brief examples illustrate, the strictures of formal-aesthetic definitions of genre can work to undermine our conventional understanding of genre products. In view of this, this case study proposes a more sociology-inspired approach to genre. Following Rick Altman (1999: 85), "we may fruitfully recognize the extent to which genres appear to be initiated, stabilized and protected by a series of institutions essential to the very existence of genres". These institutions include publishing companies, critics, literary agents, designers and booksellers, all of whom influence and shape the way we read and understand books. The existence of a link between generic identity and market pressures has, furthermore, found recent support in Ann Steiner's *Den litterära genren som marknadskoncept-klassiker och fantasy hos bokhandlare, läsare och litteraturvetare* [Literary Genre as a Market Concept – Classics and Fantasy in the context of booksellers, readers and literature scholars] (2013); the parallels with the model used in this thesis are obvious.

In brief, this case study posits that Scandinavian crime fiction is a genre not defined through textual similarity but through the processes of production, circulation and reception that pertain to Scandinavian crime fiction books on the British market. In other words, it is the actants in a book's network that collectively, through their position-takings and interaction, give rise to the category of Scandinavian crime. Viewed from this systemic perspective, the category is both meaningful and analysable.

The suggestion is, thus, that Scandinavian crime fiction represents a new type of genre, the defining characteristics of which are to a significant degree located outside the text. While this redefinition of the nature of the sub-genre opens it up to more consistent systems analysis, however, it also entails the same limitations that have been discussed at some length in connection with the study of complex systems. Briefly put, a researcher cannot hope exhaustively to map or analyse the entirety of a complex, dynamic system. It would be impossible to trace all the interactions that potentially affect the formation and maintenance of a generic identity such as Scandinavian crime fiction. In what follows, the inquiry will therefore be limited to one particular aspect of the system from which the genre arises, the paratext of the books perceived to belong to it.

The term paratext denotes, following Gerard Genette (1997), who coined the word, the material that accompanies the naked text. It consists of two related concepts: peritext and epitext. The peritext is the material included within the confines of the bound book: the dust jacket, the paper, illustrations, typeface, blurbs and so on. The epitext is its external complement, i.e. elements located outside the bound volume, such as marketing materials, interviews and any other context that impacts on the book. Put a different way, paratexts are socially and materially defined, they are the means by which a text becomes a book and makes itself accessible and even alluring to its readers, and more generally to the public (Genette 1991: 261). Significantly, a book's paratext need not stand in very direct relation to its text. Paratextual signals ought to be as useable for genre formation as their textual counterparts, even more, potentially, because they do not even require the reader to read the text before forming

an opinion. Indeed, as Claire Squires (2009: 89) notes, "[c]over design […] indicates branding strategies in the publishing industry". Nicci Gerrard (1989: 116), similarly, posits that "the movement towards categorising works of fiction in order to package and market them more appealingly has been one of the major changes in the publishing world over the last two decades". To take paratextual cues into consideration seems then, in view of this, especially apropos in today's intensely commodified publishing world, where market emphasis shifts ever more firmly from text to the more easily marketable paratext. It also helps us to think of genre formation as a more socially inclusive process, no longer the exclusive domain of the author, but belonging to the entire concatenation of actants involved in shaping a book's production, circulation and reception context. Mindful of the unfeasibility of including a whole system in any empirical analysis, this study will focus in particular on a subset of those actants who through their position-takings and interaction can be shown to have contributed significantly to the formation of the sub-genre known as Scandinavian crime fiction. They include publishers, literary agents, translators, designers, critics and to some extent book sellers and consumers/readers.

The study of the paratexts of Scandinavian crime fiction titles opens up a number of productive research avenues. Firstly, it provides a striking complement to studies of Scandinavian crime fiction based on textual characteristics and can thus make a strong argument for the extrication of generic identity from its close association with formal-aesthetics. Secondly, it allows for an understanding of genre as a material and social concept, in keeping with the systemic understanding of the book market advocated in this thesis. Thirdly, it helps explain the dual mutability of generic identity, i.e., the fluid and changing nature of genres as entities per se, and the shifting generic identity of any one work over time and in different contexts.

The generic identity of a work is never fixed. Not only can it shift over time, as prevalent formal-aesthetic mores and theories evolve, it can be a site of multiple simultaneous categorisations. Texts can, consequently, "be subject to different genre explanations without compromising its integrity" (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010:22). Finally, a study of the influence of paratextual factors on generic identity does not in any way preclude the existence of complementary, or, indeed, conflicting, formal-

aesthetic influences. Engagement with the social and material context of production, circulation and reception should be seen as a complement to textual studies, not a rival approach.

In the case of Scandinavian crime fiction, where genre analyses based on formal-aesthetic characteristics have been unable to account for the coherence of the group's generic identity, systemic paratextual analysis can potentially reveal much that was previously hidden. This chapter will demonstrate the ways in which the position-takings and position-taking spaces of actants within a books network interactively shaped and over time reinforce, maintain and alter the genre of Scandinavian crime literature.

Peritext

The peritext is largely the domain of the publisher. It is the publisher, rather than, say, the author, who has ultimate control of the physical aspects of a literary product, from cover design to typeface. As such, the peritext not only reveals the thinking and intentions of the publisher, but it does so in an accessible, concrete form. Its visual nature also makes the peritext very suitable as the transmitter of generic signals, allowing the publisher to communicate directly and clearly with the consumer for whose custom it is vying. Thus, an investigation of peritextual similarities can reveal whether publishers consider Scandinavian crime fiction a coherent genre and whether they use the peritexts of their titles as generic signalling tools to communicate this to other actants in the field. I propose to take two specific peritextual aspects as the focus of this investigation: cover design and the endorsements selected to grace the cover of Scandinavian crime novels. Not only are these aspects the most visible, and therefore accessible to other actants, but each also possesses an intriguing assemblage nature, both in terms of actants involved in its production and in terms of features represented, which deserves and rewards a more thorough examination.

When studying the cover art of Scandinavian crime titles quantitatively, it is tempting to take a fairly cynical position, because the way publishers design covers for their Scandinavian crime titles seems so blatantly commercialising.[6] Even the most casual observer will soon spot the dominant trends: cold, subdued colour schemes, often with more or less prominent use of the colour red as an eye-catching contrast; large, blocky, clean-looking typefaces; and, most importantly, a narrow range of motifs drawing on the snowy emptiness of the imagined Scandinavian landscape.[7] It would be a Sisyphean task to list the Scandinavian crime titles on the British market that fit this description, and it would make this chapter twice as long, but suffice it to say that this powerful design dogma affects crime writers from all Scandinavian countries, in all sub-genres. A small selection of titles, illustrating this can be found in Figure 7.

Figure 7 A selection of Swedish crime fiction titles in English translation

Because the design dogma associated with Scandinavian crime fiction is so dominant in the UK, it routinely transforms the image projected by individual titles during the process of border-crossing. Indeed, it has become so pervasive and well-known to the public that it can be said to constitute a necessary localisation practise for Scandinavian crime novels. Thus we see, for example, Håkan Nesser's covers

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[6] cf. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) on the commodification of culture.

[7] This is a description of the most common look for Scandinavian crime novels, but there are several others that issues of space prevent me from considering here. Two prominent examples are the covers that show one object, usually white or red, in stark colour contrast to an otherwise entirely black (or on occasion bright red) background, restricted to the most successful writers, such as Jo Nesbø and Henning Mankell, and the 'Millenium look' popularised by the Stieg Larsson novels, in which a close-up of a woman against a red, green or blue background is offset by white and yellow text.

radically transformed in the border-crossing, from individual, varied literary works to stereotypical, easily identifiable examples of Scandinavian crime. *Kvinna med födelsemärke* (1996, *Woman with Birthmark* 2009), to take but one example, is in the original represented by a fairly confusing photograph of a European-looking building and lamp post seen through window glass, in which can also be seen the slightly blurred reflection of a young woman, as seen in Figure 8.

Figure 3 The visual transformation of Håkan Nesser's Kvinna med födelsemärke

Its British cover, far from being confusing or individual, give us some insight into the rationale of the British publisher, Pan Macmillan: when *Woman with Birthmark* was first published in 2009, the Scandinavian peritext described above was, perhaps, at its most influential. Consequently, the cover of the first edition of *Woman with Birthmark* shows a snow covered, picturesque yet vaguely threatening scene. A wintry road leads into the unknown distance and there is no trace of colour in the frozen whiteness, no life apart from a small black silhouette in the distance. The writing is in a large, blocky font, its colour scheme subdued; only the title stands out with its yellow hue. It draws on all the generic markers of Scandinavian crime available at the time. Simultaneously with the publishing of *Woman with Birthmark*, however, the astronomical success of Stieg Larsson's Millennium-trilogy introduced a new way of signalling Scandinavian crime identity. Due to the ubiquity of the Millennium titles, their cover design offered an additional, updated, edgier way of communicating with consumers and other actants. A second edition of *Woman with Birthmark,* shown in Figure 9, was released in 2012, with a slightly altered title, *Woman with a Birthmark*, as part of a revamp of Nesser's van Veeteren-series, and it can be seen to be heavily inspired by Larsson's covers.
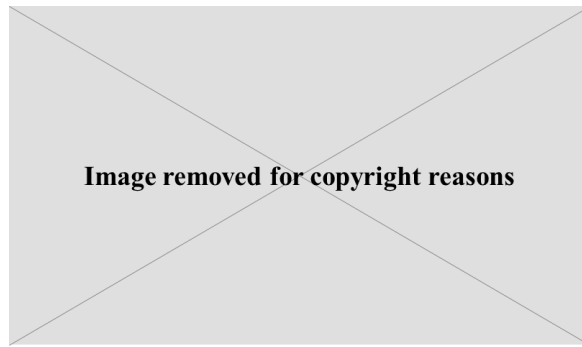
Figure 9 The three Millennium titles and the revamped Woman with a Birthmark

Even less idiosyncratic original covers, which could easily have signalled a book's belonging to the crime genre to a UK audience, had they been left unaltered, are routinely replaced with covers that prominently signal that the books underneath are not simply crime, but *Scandinavian* crime. One example of this is Åke Edwardson's *Himlen är en plats på jorden* [the literal translation of which would be Heaven is a Place on Earth], which in its Swedish edition features a cover seemingly tailor-made for Anglo-Saxon ideas of crime fiction: the picture is an unsettlingly diagonally framed shot of an ominously empty, bleak field in which the only object in sight is a desolate child's swing in the foreground. It is heavily sepia toned. The typeface used is blocky and uses a bright, contrastive red, see Figure 10.

Figure 10 Himlen är en plats på jorden *and* Frozen Tracks

But this apparently perfect fit with the Anglo-Saxon peritextual crime tradition was evidently not what Edwardson's British publisher sought; the cover of the UK edition is a conspicuously blue-tinted, out-of focus photo of a cold Scandinavian winter night, showing nothing but an empty, snow-covered landscape set against a black sky and

an even blacker forest. The only distinguishable feature is in the foreground, where tracks in the snow lead away from the observer, into the dark, barren distance. To really get the point across, the publisher has also changed the title to *Frozen Tracks*, further emphasising the characteristics associated with Scandinavian crime over those signalling crime more generally.[8]

These examples show that publishers consider Scandinavian crime a genre with identifiable visual markers. The covers considered above also reveal that publishers' understanding of such markers is dynamic rather than fixed; there is room for invention, creativity and adjustments to the formula used, especially under the influence of the examples of other actants' behaviour. In other words, the position-taking space of publishers is not fixed but responds to the position-takings of other actants in the network. We may also conclude that a book's peritextual appearance does not necessarily stand in a very direct relation to its textual content. In other words, while the text is more or less fixed, setting to one side the effects of for example editing and retranslation from edition to edition, the peritext can take on a range of appearances.[9] The moment of border-crossing is one example of a threshold moment when the peritext is often renegotiated to suit a new publishing and consumer context, but it can also happen at other times when developments in the field have made updated editions possible and/or desirable for the publisher. The Stieg Larsson-inspired Nesser cover is a clear example of this; a more detailed discussion of the phenomenon will be undertaken in Chapter 4.

Further examples of peritextual generic signalling can be seen in the use publishers make of endorsements on book covers. This marketing tool, ostensibly employed simply to advertise the outstanding quality of the book, also fulfils the function of generic signalling. As with cover designs, the unique identity of *Scandinavian* crime

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[8] Though in all likelihood a complete coincidence, it is amusing, in light of the title change in English, that Edwardsson's detective is called Winter.

[9] In theory, the options for cover design are virtually unlimited, allowing a book's peritext to morph endlessly, but in practice, the positions productively available to a title are constrained by convention.

fiction is routinely emphasised. Examples include: "THE #1 BESTSELLING SCANDINAVIAN THRILLER" (on *The Boy in the Suitcase* by Lene Kaaberbøl and Agnete Friis, 2011); "She is entitled to join the front rank of Nordic crime writers" - The Times (on *Ashes to Dust* by Yrsa Sigurðardóttir, 2010); "Another Scandinavian wonder" - Entertainment Weekly (on *The Caller* by Karin Fossum, 2011); "If you like JO NESBO you'll love this!" (on *The Stone Cutter* by Camilla Läckberg, 2010); and 'Eriksson's crime novels are among the very best' - Henning Mankell, author of the *Wallander* series (on *The Hand that Trembles* by Kjell Eriksson, 2011).

Each of these endorsements indicates how publishers see the genre of Scandinavian crime fiction. We note that they often make explicit use of the term 'Scandinavian crime', or its equivalents, indicating that Scandinavian crime novels possess a shared, and, by implication, superior, identity and therefore do not belong in the more general crime genre. The third and fourth quotes make no overt mention of Scandinavia but nevertheless unquestionably send clear generic signals. In the penultimate quote, Jo Nesbø's name is invoked to indicate that Camilla Läckberg is not only as good as, or even better than, the Norwegian crime titan, but that *The Stone Cutter* is similar to his books, that they share the ineffable qualities of genre mates. In the last quote, Henning Mankell, rivalled among Scandinavian crime writers only by Stieg Larsson in terms of influence and sales, gives Eriksson his seal of approval.

The peritext of a book, exemplified in this chapter by two particular elements, cover design and cover endorsements, have been shown to clearly encode the generic identity of Scandinavian crime. The homogenous appearance of Scandinavian crime titles reinforces the impression that they constitute a distinct literary grouping. In addition, the examination of the ways in which the covers of Scandinavian crime titles develop over time strongly suggests that the actants involved in the production of Scandinavian crime books, i.e. publishers and the designers who work for them, are part of the same network. This is so because innovations and changes within one part of the network triggers changes in other parts. Thus, the introduction of a new design paradigm, such as the Stieg Larsson Millenium-look quickly spreads to other Scandinavian crime titles. This demonstrates that in terms of production networks, Scandinavian crime does, indeed, function as a genre.

Epitext

Epitext is a complex and amorphous concept, "comprising those liminal devices and conventions […] outside [the book], that mediate the book to the reader" (Genette, 1997: xviii). A book-length study would be needed to even begin to cover all the epitextual material associated with Scandinavian, or even just Swedish, crime fiction in the UK. I propose therefore to limit the present discussion to three central concepts: critical reception and treatment, consecration and reader response. Though this will give no more than a simplified snapshot of the system at work, it will at least serve to illustrate the ways in which a set of relevant actants choose their positions, how their choices are affected by the activity of other actants and how their position-takings affect the field in turn.

We have already seen some evidence of how Scandinavian crime has been received by the media; as in the case of Yrsa Sigurðardóttir's *Ashes to Dust*, cover endorsements are often excerpts from newspaper, magazine or online reviews. Reviews in national newspapers, which draw enormous attention to the books selected, and which often also publicly and authoritatively classify those books according to genre, indicate not only that editors perceive Scandinavian crime as a generic entity, but that they believe the Scandinavian crime genre to be a category that is intelligible and meaningful to their readership. In addition to such reviews, directly prompted by the publishing of specific titles, there is also a cornucopia of longer articles on the subject of Scandinavian crime more generally. This is another persuasive indicator that Scandinavian crime is seen to possess a strong generic identity. Article titles such as 'Can Scandinavian crime fiction teach socialism?' in *The Guardian* (Orr, 2011); 'The A-Z of Scandinavian crime drama Part One: Knit one, purl one, stab one in the back' in the *Daily Mail* (Brown, 2012); and 'Joan Smith: Peculiar case of Inspector Norse: Our writer hunts for clues for the popularity of Nordic writers' in the *Independent* (Smith, 2011), which represent a massive corpus of journalistic writing, show that Scandinavian crime fiction is without question analysed as a genre by critics. In their position-takings, Scandinavian crime functions as a legitimate and valuable, albeit elusive, categorising tool with its own set of

generic signals, such as, for example, the aforementioned socialist settings and an obsession with textile crafts.

The number and frequency of articles such as the ones discussed above also suggest that there is something about Scandinavian crime that makes it a suitable subject for closer scrutiny. Part of the explanation for their ubiquity is no doubt that journalists are eager to write about things their readers find interesting. It is clear, therefore, that journalists perceive Scandinavian crime fiction to be popular among broad swaths of their readership. Another part of the explanation, however, seems to be the dearth of authoritative accounts of the nature of the genre's identity. There is a noticeable urge to define the genre, usually in textual terms, whether openly or obliquely. A reason for this may be the fact, noted earlier in the chapter, that the titles included in the term Scandinavian crime fiction resist straightforward, traditional, generic classification. This resistance breeds insecurity, both among journalists, who feel the compulsion to be informative to their readers, and among the reading public, who are faced with the challenging task of identifying books they may enjoy in a saturated market of almost endless choice. Be that as it may, the very existence of these articles, not to mention their explicit, but relatively unsuccessful, search for a definition of the genre, suggests that Scandinavian crime fiction is intuitively felt by critics and journalists to constitute a generic, if loosely defined, unit. Indisputable is also that the epitextual activities of critics and journalists contribute to the fortification, diversification and retransmission of Scandinavian crime fiction's generic signals. The legitimisation of Scandinavian crime fiction as a genre is further supported by its coverage in other media, such as radio and television. BBC4 has broadcast the documentary 'Nordic Noir: The Story of Scandinavian Crime Fiction', an hour-long programme billed to "[d]raw the curtains and dim the lights for a chilling trip north for a documentary which investigates the success of Scandinavian crime fiction and why it exerts such a powerful hold on our imagination" (BBC 2011). The fruitful interaction of different media forms has had a significant impact on the popularity of Scandinavian crime fiction in the UK, as so thoroughly demonstrated by Steven Peacock (2014) in his book *Swedish Crime Fiction: Novel, Film, Television*. The influence and functioning of such cross-media effects will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Another road to consecration, canonisation and thereby to the legitimisation of a genre, is academic attention. Today, Scandinavian crime fiction is not only the subject of academic writing, such as Barry Forshaw's *Death in a Cold Climate* (2012), Andrew Nestingen and Paula Arvas's anthology *Scandinavian Crime Fiction* (2011) or Kerstin Bergman's *Swedish Crime Fiction: The Making of Nordic Noir* (2014) but it is the topic of countless public engagement and outreach events from University College London's Nordic Noir book club to the Scandinavian Crime Fiction blog funded by Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota, the subject of university courses such as SCAND315: Scandinavian Crime Fiction at the University of Washington in the US, and even one of the letters in a recent British Library exhibition: "Murder in the Library: An A-Z of Crime Fiction" (where N was for Nordic Noir) (British Library, 2013). Indeed, this thesis is another legitimising example of academic writing on the subject of Scandinavian crime fiction, another node in the network that reinforces its generic identity. There can be no question that Scandinavian crime fiction is firmly established as a genre in the eyes of scholars and that they, too, are busy confirming and reinforcing its generic signalling potential vis-à-vis both the reading public and posterity. It is interesting to note that although academic examinations of Scandinavian crime have tended to focus, conventionally, on justifying the genre's existence on textual grounds, they have been no more successful than the critics in this regard. We have already seen some examples of this in the first section of this chapter, but examples abound. Other instances include, for example, Anna Paterson's review (2012) of Forshaw's *Death in a Cold Climate* and Rosemary Erickson Johnsen's review (2012) of Nestingen and Arvas' *Scandinavian Crime Fiction*.

The final group of actants to be considered in this section is the readers/consumers, who are a primary targets of the generic signalling outlined above. Before considering the readers' role in the network of Scandinavian crime fiction, it is necessary to emphasise that this group is not only vast but highly complex. Readers must not be construed simply as passive consumers of the paratext various professional actants in the literary field see fit to serve them, but, rather, as actants capable of being both discerning in their consumption and active contributors to the paratext of the titles they choose to buy and/or read. This is especially true today, when technology has

widened the available selection consumers can choose from, and multiplied the ways in which they can seek information about literary products, and when that same technology has enabled the participation of consumers in the creation of literary epitexts through blogs, online fora, fan fiction and expos. Sadly, the scope of this thesis prevents me from doing more than scratch the surface of this vast material, but even a cursory glance can help reveal how consumers/readers parse the generic signals of the received paratexts of Scandinavian crime titles and how their activities in turn influence the network in which those signals originated.

The strongest indication that Scandinavian crime is not only passively understood as a genre by readers, but actively used as such, is the ubiquity of the term in reader-generated materials available online and its demonstrable use as a tool for simultaneously defining the books that belong to the genre and excluding those that do not. Thus, the blog scandinaviancrimefiction.com, to take but one example from a lively blogosphere, provides information and recommendations about Scandinavian crime writers and novels, and nothing else. Similarly, popular literature and reading forum goodreads.com features a reading group exclusively dedicated to the communal reading of Scandinavian crime fiction. Impressively, the United Kingdom now hosts an annual two-day convention, Nordicana, which celebrates Scandinavian crime, leaving other genres to more generalist events such as Crimefest, which covers all kinds of crime but has, tellingly, been known to feature panels exclusively dedicated to Scandinavian crime.

Readers have also recently stepped in to plug a perceived gap in the field of consecration; apart from occasionally winning the CWA International Dagger, the UK's most prestigious award for crime fiction in translation, Scandinavian crime novels can now win the more specialised Petrona Award. This award, bestowed upon the best Scandinavian crime novel of the year, is affiliated with petronaremembered.com, a Scandinavian crime fiction blog open to everyone who wants to contribute, set up in remembrance of Maxine Clarke, who blogged and reviewed the genre prolifically under the screen name Petrona until her death in 2012. To be eligible for the award, a book must be set in Scandinavia or have been written by an author born in Scandinavia. Apart from revealing the interesting overlap

and interaction between different agents and different life stages of the book, these examples demonstrate that readers strongly feel that Scandinavian crime fiction is a genre. However, the same lack of generic definition can be observed in reader-generated epitext as in publisher-produced peritext and critical consecration. Indeed, when a definition is provided, as in the case of the Petrona Award, it tends to support the argument made in this chapter, that what unites Scandinavian crime fiction, and sets it apart from other crime literature, is external to the texts themselves. The genre is not textual but paratextual. It draws its justification not from the texts per se, but from the activity and position-taking that is associated with them in the literary field.

Thus far, this chapter has shown the ways in which Scandinavian crime has formed as a genre; its genesis stems from the interaction of actants involved in the production, circulation and reception contexts of the books and its identity is located in their paratexts than in the formal-aesthetic characteristics of their texts. Since the generic identity of Scandinavian crime fiction is thus seen to be decoupled from the texts in question to a significant degree, Scandinavian crime provides an opportunity to study the interactions, and the outcome of those interactions, of the actants of the field, who collectively and reciprocally create, alter and maintain the generic identity of Scandinavian crime. The next section of this chapter will engage with such a study in detail by examining the English-language publishing history of Liza Marklund.

The construction of generic identity: the case of Liza Marklund

The discussion in this chapter has, up until this point, been deliberately abstract, considering the upper level literary category of genre rather broadly. The purpose of this has been to indicate generally how actants behave and the ways in which their actions and position-takings affect the actants around them in ever-changing, dynamic and reciprocal ways, and how this in turn influences the end products offered to consumers and their perceptions of those products. In what follows, however, focus will be redirected from the larger system to a specific example. The study of one particular authorship will serve to localise and concretise the discussion concerning the generic identity of Scandinavian crime fiction. The authorship in question is that of Swedish writer and journalist Liza Marklund. Aside from being a useful guide to

branding and generic identity endowment, Marklund's oeuvre, both in the original Swedish and in English translation, is interesting because it demonstrates that a work's generic identity is, at least at the point of sale, decoupled from the actual text to a significant degree. Indeed, Marklund's *Annika Bengtzon*-series and stand-alone crime novel *Postcard Killers* (*The Postcard Killers*, 2010) show that genre, in the paratextual sense, far from being a fixed, textually inherent characteristic, behaves rather like an assigned, constructed value, a garment that can be donned or discarded according to the demands of the situation at hand. Put differently, Marklund's publishing history reveals genre to be a performed identity, which can be shaped and adjusted to suit the publishing context, in order to attract a specific readership and, crucially, in order to maximise sales.

The Annika Bengtzon-series

Still relatively unknown in the UK, in her native Sweden, Liza Marklund has held a dominant position within crime writing since her crime debut in 1998. Her first crime novel, *Sprängaren* (1998, *The Bomber*, 2011) was a runaway success, selling so many copies it became known as "the Swedish bestseller of the century" (Berlin 2006:5). *Sprängaren* also won several awards and established Marklund as the undisputed queen of Swedish crime fiction. The *Annika Bengtzon*-series, which at the time of writing consists of ten novels, including *Sprängaren*, has, together with Marklund's four standalone novels, sold over 15 million copies worldwide, been translated into thirty languages and won a range of Swedish and international awards (Piratförlaget 2014). In Sweden, the books in the *Bengtzon*-series, published by independent publisher Piratförlaget, which Marklund co-founded, have a very distinctive look that makes them instantly recognisable both as the works of Marklund and as components of a cohesive series. Each book cover, in concord with the design of the first, produced by Fredrik Hjerling and Mi Johansson, is dominated by a different colour and features a picture of the author herself as its most prominent graphic element. The titles of the books are very small compared to the name of the author, which is orthographically designed to emphasise the 'Z' in 'Liza', making it a distinctive graphic element in itself. This highly recognisable style, illustrated in Figure 11, has become Marklund's calling card, her visual brand.

Figure 11 The first nine titles in the Annika Bengtzon-series

In more recent Swedish paperback editions of the Bengtzon-series, the covers have been revised, though we note that the designer, Eric Thunfors, has taken conspicuous care to preserve the strong branding elements of the original covers, as shown in Figure 12. The orthographic representation of Marklund's name, with its emphatic "Z" has thus been retained, as have the relative prominence and size of it in relation to other graphic elements. The idea of working with one strong colour still forms a key part of the design, but the previously obligatory picture of the author has been retired. The covers of Marklund's *Bengtzon*-series cannot be said to draw heavily on any one generic trope; rather, they seem designed as a unique branding tool for the author and the series. The distinctive look signals that the first allegiance of the books' paratexts is to Marklund herself; she is the genre and brand with which they align.

Figure 12 The Annika Bengtzon-series in Eric Thunfors' design

The translation and English-language publishing history of Marklund's oeuvre has not been as straightforward as its Swedish counterpart. Simon & Schuster acquired the rights and published Marklund's first four crime novels, *The Bomber* (*Sprängaren*,

trans. Kajsa von Hofsten), *Studio 69* (*Studio sex*, trans. Kajsa von Hofsten), *Paradise* (*Paradiset*, trans. Ingrid Eng-Rundlow) and *Prime Time* (*Prime Time*, trans. Ingrid Eng-Rundlow) between 2000 and 2006, the first three under the dedicated paperback imprint Pocket Books, the fourth under first-tier imprint Simon & Schuster. The series was then discontinued and languished until it was picked back up by Corgi, a Random House imprint, which bought the rights and commissioned Neil Smith to do a translation of the series, including the titles that had already been translated. Beginning with *The Red Wolf* (*Röd varg*) in 2010, Corgi has published seven of the *Bengtzon* novels to date, with the next, Borderline, scheduled for publication in 2014. Neither the Pocket Books nor the Corgi translations have sought to preserve the trademark look of the Swedish editions. Given that the paratextual strategy of the Swedish series was essentially self-referential, and acknowledging that Liza Marklund does not function as a recognisable brand in the UK, due to her lack of name-recognition, the decision to adjust the paratextual strategy for the UK context is hardly surprising. In order to appeal to consumers in the UK, Marklund's books needed to be endowed with a recognisable identity that could resonate with book buyers and critics.

Pocket Books' Marklund covers cannot be said to form any coherent entity. The first two are dark, using architectural imagery to create a sense of confinement and suspense. The third and fourth are almost entirely white. The third, *Paradise*, retains an architectural element at its core, but the scene, a street in what looks like the old centre of an attractive European city, which evokes a sense of endlessness and space through the use of perspective, stands in stark contrast to the atmosphere of the first two covers. By the fourth book, *Prime Time*, the cover design conforms entirely to what had by this time – 2006 – become a fixed Scandinavian crime fiction trope, discussed at length in the first part of the present chapter: a slightly blue-tinted, white, snowy landscape, flat and empty as far as the eye can see but for the dark silhouette of a lone person in the distance, the title announced in big, bold, red letters. The only element retained from any of the previous books is the typeface and size of Marklund's name, which is consistent with the cover of *Paradise*. Interestingly, Simon & Schuster released a new edition of *Prime Time* in 2011, with a new cover. For this edition, the snowy, deserted Scandinavian crime trope of the first edition,

which was so popular back in 2006, has been abandoned in favour of the Scandinavian crime trope that was the height of fashion in 2011, the Stieg Larsson *Millennium* trope, discussed above in connection with Håkan Nesser's *Woman with Birthmark*.

In terms of paratextual design, Corgi picked up right where Pocket Books left off, firmly aligning Marklund's books with the Scandinavian crime genre, as shown in Figure 13, which had only been gaining in popularity since Pocket Books' final venture in 2006. The first title published by Corgi was *The Red Wolf*. The striking red cover of the Swedish book, with its evocations of Maoist China (a pivotal plot element) and prominent photograph of Marklund front and centre, gave way to a cover which by this time must be considered blandly cliché: the blue-tinted, bleak, deserted landscape, falling snow blurring the focus, bold red lettering. *Exposed*, the second title to be published by Corgi, was given a more threatening, but only very slightly more imaginative cover: here the colour scheme centres on the rich orange of sunset, but the overall design concept, built around an empty but threatening, wintry rural landscape, remains unaltered. The third title, *The Bomber*, reverts entirely to type with a cover that is barely distinguishable from that of The Red Wolf.

Figure 13 The Annika Bengtzon-series as published by Corgi

By the fourth title, *Vanished*, however, Corgi decided to take the series' paratext in a new direction. They did away with the frosty, flat, deserted Swedish landscape and replaced it with the backlit outline of a woman. In terms of cover design, *Vanished* occupies an interesting transitional space within the Corgi series. Though the motif is a radical departure from the empty landscapes of the first three books, Corgi has clearly been keen to make the transition smooth for book buyers conditioned to

identify conventional Scandinavian crime covers. Thus, the feeling of openness and endlessness are retained, as is the characteristic snowy foreground and the white blurriness it inevitably entails. Likewise, the orthography used conforms to Scandinavian crime convention and the previous three books with its big, bold, crimson letters. The transition initiated with the cover of *Vanished* is then completed with the cover of book five, *Last Will*, which in compositional terms is almost identical to its immediate predecessor but bears little resemblance to the first three books. Like *Vanished*, it features a fairly nondescript background and a backlit woman front and centre. Where *Vanished* was bright white and deliberately blurred, however, *Last Will* plays with sharp, straight lines and the stark contrast between harsh white light and pressing darkness. The one feature retained from the previous *Bengtzon* books is the prominent red orthography. This fairly drastic design change has a profound effect on the identity of the *Bengtzon*-series and signals a conscious attempt to shift the series, and Marklund's authorship, from run-of-the-mill Scandinavian crime to something altogether more literary. In order to achieve that effect, the publisher draws on a familiar paratextual trope belonging to the realm of literary fiction, rather than on tropes of Scandinavian crime. The trope in question is a woman's back. Traditionally reserved for pulp fiction and chick-lit, this motif has become so ubiquitous on the covers of literary titles of all persuasions in the last few years that it has even occasioned trend studies in *The New York Times* (Schama, 2013). By using such a motif on the cover of *Last Will*, the book comes to describes and advertises itself to consumers as literary fiction first and Scandinavian crime second; it has visually adopted a new generic identity.

Marklund's *Bengtzon*-series thus demonstrates how visual aspects of the paratext can be used by a publisher to strongly and obviously signal the generic identity of a book and an authorship. In the Swedish context the most important genre, or brand, to refer to is Marklund herself. The cover design of the Swedish editions of her books are unapologetically self-referential, establishing Marklund's oeuvre as a strong, recognisable brand that consumers are familiar with and can base purchasing decisions on. In the British context, the paratexts of the Pocket Books editions show that the British publisher did not believe the Marklund-focused marketing pitch would work in the UK, presumably because of her lack of name- recognition in that country.

Instead, the first three books seem geared toward a general, rather under-defined and therefore flexible, non-prescriptive crime style. By the end of Pocket Books' Marklund venture, however, Scandinavian crime had begun to crystallise as a sub-genre of crime fiction, giving publishers access to a suddenly widely recognisable visual language that communicated the identity of a new sub-genre. This broad literary and market development finds concrete expression in the cover design of Pocket Books' final Marklund title, *Prime Time*.

Corgi, in turn, took full advantage of the new visual language of Scandinavian crime when publishing the first three *Bengtzon* books, tapping into the Scandinavian crime fiction fever which had, by 2010, completely swept the UK. The two books that followed, however, reveal a change of strategy. No longer satisfied to brand Marklund simply as a Scandinavian crime author, Corgi chose to adjust the generic signals broadcast by the paratexts of *Vanished* and *Last Will*, drawing more heavily on literary paratextual cues. One may speculate about the reasoning behind such a change of course, but whatever the rationale, the change of course reveals that generic identity, in so far as it is signalled by paratextual elements, is fluid, not fixed, the result of detachable extra-textual factors rather than inherent textual characteristics. The visual paratext cannot only be used to define a text, but to redefine it, cast it in a different generic light. Thus, a textually coherent series of novels, such as Marklund's *Bengtzon*-series, can pledge allegiance to a number of genres by changing its visual generic markers, allowing it to seek out a range of audiences.

The Postcard Killers

An even more remarkable example of paratextual adaptation can be found in the covers of one of Marklund's standalone crime novels, *Postcard Killers* (*The Postcard Killers*)[10]. The *Postcard Killers* is unique among Marklund's works because it was co-authored with American crime and thriller titan James Patterson. The paratexts of

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[10] The naming conventions of this particular title are confusing at best, with both the Swedish and the English-language version being referred to interchangeably as *Postcard Killers* and *The Postcard Killers*. In attempt to achieve some clarity and consistency in this thesis, I will reserve *Postcard Killers* for the Swedish-language version and *The Postcard Killers* for the English-language.

the different editions of the book are of particular interest to this discussion because they illustrate very clearly the ways in which paratextual cues can be adapted to signal a generic identity deemed desirable by the publisher. Moreover, they reveal the extent to which publishers seek to align their titles with established, familiar tropes that facilitate clear and direct identity communication with consumers. Close examination of the transcultural publishing history of this title therefore affords an excellent opportunity to observe how genre is something that can be created through the social interaction of actants within a book's production network. It demonstrates, furthermore, the ways in which such actants interact through their position-takings, as well as the profound effects such position-takings can have on the network as a whole and on individual nodes within it.

Figure 14 The Swedish edition of Postcard Killers

The Swedish editions of Postcard Killers (the hardback and paperback editions are practically identical), are strikingly dark; the larger part of each is black, as can be seen in Figure 14. Only in the middle of the covers is there some light; an isolated old-fashioned lantern seems to defy the darkness that has engulfed the rest of the cover, illuminating a small patch of the ochre stone wall on which it is mounted. The title of the book is remarkably minute and the colour of the letters is fairly similar to that of the background graphics, making it unobtrusive to the point of being obscure, while the names of Marklund and Patterson, in that order, Marklund at the top, Patterson at the bottom, loom very large. It is a sedate cover that seems not to want to signal much other than a fairly highbrow crime identity, the cousin of P.D. James or Elizabeth George, perhaps. It is interesting to note that the cover design makes no reference at all to Marklund's distinctive Swedish oeuvre even though it deliberately

attempts to harness her fame and brand recognition by billing her over Patterson, who is, despite his international success, relatively unknown in Sweden.

The English-language hardback edition of *The Postcard Killers* is also dark, though the general impression is livelier than the Swedish cover, as shown in Figure 15. The lit part of the cover is no longer centrally placed, but occupies instead the top quarter of the cover. The image retains the colour scheme of the Swedish editions, but rather than a stationary lantern on a wall, the illustration is of two people running, backlit, up a narrow cobbled alley, away from the camera, toward light and infinity. Similarly to the Swedish editions, the main feature of the English-language front cover is the text. Here, though, the most prominent text is that of the title, which is centrally placed, very large and bright red. James Patterson's name is displayed above the title and Liza Marklund's below. A cursory investigation of Patterson's other titles, especially the ones which were co-authored with other writers, reveals that the design concept, and the orthography in particular, corresponds closely to other Patterson titles, such as *NYPD Red* (2013) *Confessions of a Murder Suspect* (2013) *Kill Me if You Can* (2013) *Honeymoon* (2011) *Private London* (2012) *Private Games* (2012) *4th of July* (2009) *Judge and Jury* (2011). In brief, though some small concessions to the Swedish edition have been made, *The Postcard Killers* looks remarkably like a James Patterson novel. It should be noted, of course, that the English-language edition of The Postcard Killers was first published by Little, Brown and Company, which also publishes the rest of Patterson's literary output, a fact likely to have had some impact on design choices.

Figure 15 The English-language edition of Postcard Killers and a selection of other English-language James Patterson titles

The impression that Liza Marklund is relatively incidental to the marketing of *The Postcard Killers*, that the book is treated, paratextually, as part of Patterson's production, is reinforced by an examination of the English-language paperback edition. Here, any reference to Sweden, where *Postcard Killers* is in fact set and which has provided Marklund's other English-language books with their most obvious paratextual identity, has been completely erased. While the photograph on the cover of the hardback edition looks as though it may have been shot in Stockholm, the image on the paperback edition features as its most prominent element the Eiffel Tower and Champ de Mars. A blonde woman occupies the foreground and most of the cover is overlaid with orthography; the title is the most dominant feature and Patterson's name is once again listed at the top, adjacent to the title, and Marklund's at the bottom, below the image. The font is identical to the one used on the hardback edition, which is to say identical to the one used on many of Patterson's other books. At first, we might be fooled into assuming that the blonde woman recalls Marklund's habit of appearing on her Swedish book covers, but we soon realise that this is coincidental; the blonde woman in the foreground is in fact a Patterson trope. Indeed, the paperback edition of *The Postcard Killers* is very nearly identical to other paperback Patterson covers published under the Arrow imprint of Random House, particularly *Now You See Her* (2012). So similar, indeed, is it to The Postcard Killers that it is difficult to tell them apart at all, as Figure 16 shows.

Figure 16 English-language, paperback edition of The Postcard Killers and James Patterson's Now You See Her

It is clear that the English-language editions of *The Postcard Killers* take practically no notice of Marklund's authorship or unique branding and that the visual language habitually used to signal Scandinavian crime is entirely absent as well. While "Liza Marklund" is the identity appealed to by the Swedish editions of the *Bengtzon*-series,

and "Scandinavian crime" the identity most obviously clung to by their English-language counterparts, *The Postcard Killers* cleaves to the "James Patterson" identity. What this demonstrates is that publishers are able to choose from a range of genre, trope and branding cues when designing the graphic elements of the paratext. The paratext is not directly or inflexibly dictated by the text. Because book covers are the most immediate and direct channel of communication with consumers, who have presumably learnt to judge books by their covers, they are used to align individual titles, series or whole authorships with the genre, trope or brand the publisher deems most likely to maximise sales. Thus, Marklund's fame and name-recognition is exploited in Sweden but the popularity and visual distinctiveness of Scandinavian crime is appealed to in the UK, unless, of course, an even stronger brand is available. With English-language book sales that exceed the combined efforts of John Grisham, Stephen King and Dan Brown, and with 14 million copies sold annually worldwide (Mahler 2010), James Patterson is just such a brand.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a first indication of how the conceptual model developed in Chapter 2 can be applied to the study of contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market. The examination of the process of genre construction undertaken herein yielded a number of interesting results and insights. Chief among these is the practical understanding of how a cultural product is shaped and moulded under the influence of effects attributable to the network of its production, circulation and reception. It was shown in this first case study that something as central as generic identity can be an attribute assigned through network interaction associated with the material book, rather than spring from formal-aesthetic qualities inherent in the text. Tracing the ways in which the sub-generic category Scandinavian crime emerged from the interaction of actants such as publishers, critics and readers, demonstrated how powerful the effects of cumulative position-takings can be. The example of Liza Marklund's English-language publishing history, in particular, allowed us to observe not only how a writer's books are assigned new generic identities upon entry into a new network, which is to say at the time of initial border- crossing, but also how such a generic identity is in a state of constant potential mutation, ever in a state of

productive interaction with the actants surrounding it. In other words, the positions Liza Marklund's crime novels were and are able to occupy on the British market were determined by the interactive behaviours of the actants in that network. The increased interest in Scandinavian crime fiction paved the way for their initial selection and the continual evolution of the network, through interactivity taking place within it and the adding and removal of nodes has since continued to modify that position-taking space, opening and closing doors of opportunity, defining and redefining their genre, aspirations, physical form and, not least, the perceived meaning of the signals emitted by their paratexts. Thus, a seemingly straightforward publishing history reveals the ways in which the researcher must allow for a shifting context and the impact of decisions made and positions taken outside of the immediate context of the book or authorship studied.

This study has illustrated many of the central aspects of the model outlined in Chapter 2. First, it has given a sense of what type of actants constitute the production, dissemination and reception network of a book and how they can interact. This interaction can be direct, as when a publisher employs a graphic designer create a cover design for a book, or indirect, through the mediated reciprocity of the network. Examples of mediated interactivity, which ripple through the network like rings on water, only much less consistently, include, for example, the effect on the peritext of Håkan Nesser's crime novels of the peritextual design of Stieg Larssons' *Millennium* trilogy, or effect on university course offerings of the genre identification performed by reviewers, journalists and booksellers.

The case of Scandinavian crime has also illustrated how powerful network processes can be by demonstrating how they override considerations of textual content and aesthetics to establish a new generic identity encompassing a very diverse group of works. Their power could also be sensed in the extraordinary uniformity they created in terms of Scandinavian crime paratexts. It is important to note two things about that uniformity. The first is that although it looked like it had been deliberately agreed, it was merely a synergy effect of the self-organisation that is an unalienable characteristic of a distributed network. In other words, no one actant made an active decision that all Scandinavian crime novels should look the same; it was just an effect

of network forces. The second is that even though the uniformity was at one point overwhelming, this did not represent a static state. When circumstances changed within the network, through the position-takings of certain actants, the effects of that position-taking spread through the network. In other words, though the network may at times look static it does, in fact always retain its dynamic quality.

The present chapter has, thus, given us the first snapshot of a part of the system within which contemporary Swedish fiction is located. The picture is still very much a partial one, and it is still difficult to sense the outline of the system. The perspective offered in this case study, limited though it is, will, however, be complemented by the additional angles offered in the case studies that follow in the rest of Part II of this thesis. Together, they will paint a significantly fuller and more three-dimensional picture of a highly complex, ever shifting, ever evolving literary system.

Chapter 4

Beyond literary production: multimodal polynetworks

The first case study in this thesis, presented in the previous chapter, showed that significant aspects of the production, circulation and reception context of books can be traced to systemic network effects. The example of Scandinavian crime fiction was used to demonstrate concretely some of the ways in which such network effects may manifest themselves. Specifically, the case study revealed that the very generic identity of Scandinavian crime fiction was determined not by the formal-aesthetic nature of the texts themselves, but rather emerged as a product of the cumulative effects of interaction between actants within the network surrounding those texts.

Following the insights gained through assemblage theory, we know that a network is always more than the mere sum of its parts. The very connectivity of which the network consists is, as suggested by the findings in the previous chapter, a site of potential and creativity. To phrase things slightly differently, networks, by virtue of their interactive nature, generate synergistic effects. These synergistic effects are the equivalent of the emerging properties generated by the interaction of parts in Manuel DeLanda's framework. In other words, a network is more than the sum of its parts. The behaviours engaged in by actants in the network may be straightforward, even simple, but since those actants, and their behaviours, are part of a complex, dynamic network which they both shape and are shaped by, the cumulative effect of simple behaviours as parts of a complex, dynamic network, such behaviour cumulatively give rise to effects and properties that resides precisely in the interactive links between actants, i.e., to the network proper. They are systemic effects and properties. The genre formation process outlined in the previous chapter is one example of a systemic, synergistic effect of this kind. It is not the creation of any one node in the network; rather, Scandinavian crime fiction emerged as a sub-genre of crime fiction through the cumulative, mutually influencing behaviour of a range of actants.

In the present chapter, further examination of the effects of the systemic synergy of networks will be undertaken. The focus, however, will shift from the immediate production, circulation and reception context of books per se, to the wider field of cultural production. This field can be conceptualised as a superordinate assemblage, a polynetwork comprising the smaller polynetworks of more specialised cultural production, such as those pertaining to the production and dissemination of books or films or visual art. Because the network of book production and dissemination is a part of this superordinate network, its behaviours, position-taking space and position-takings will both influence and be influenced by it. Books are, in other words, not produced, circulated and received in isolation from other forms of cultural expression. Films, video and computer games, music and drama, to mention but a few of the more prominent, all form part of a multivalent, cross-fertilising field of cultural production and consumption.

That these different media really do interact is well-documented. The advent of online streaming of audio-visual content (through sites like Netflix, Hulu or Amazon Prime), for example, has been shown to boost television ratings (Waldfogel: 2009), while the introduction of television was once responsible for declining cinema ticket sales (Belson, 1958). Books too, are subject to the impact of these cross-media interactions. It can be traced both on a broad publishing industry level, i.e., on the network as a whole, and on the level of individual titles, which is to say on the position-taking space available to individual nodes in that network. In order fully to understand a specific book, or group of books, it is therefore necessary to take the effects on books of activity in other networks of cultural production into account. The discussion that follows in this chapter consequently constitutes a "zooming out" from literary production to consider the influence of other networks with which the literary network interacts within the superordinate network of cultural production. It will demonstrate that the systemic model proposed in this thesis is flexible enough to accommodate analysis on different levels of connectivity while also providing another angle from which to understand border-crossing literature.

Confronted with the Sisyphean task of mapping and analysing the entire field of culture and identifying the actants that directly or indirectly impact on the production, circulation and reception of a literary work, the only reasonable response might be to throw one's hands up in despair. As noted in Chapter 2, a model that strives to include everything inevitably loses its concrete explanatory power. Indeed, the intrinsic purpose of a conceptual model is to simplify the object of study to enable analysis and organisation of data. Acknowledging, then, that what may be termed an "analysis of everything" is impossible to achieve, I have limited the inquiry presented in this chapter to the investigation of the specific synergies that arise from the multimodal networks created through content adaptation.

At this point, it may, perhaps, be useful to consider more closely how the network model used in this thesis enables the study of such multimodal media contexts. As previously discussed, the systemic model I have proposed posits that a network consists of dynamically interconnected nodes and that the position-takings of each node influences – potentially to the point of near-determination of behaviour – the position-taking space of other nodes, while simultaneously being influenced by the position-takings of all other surrounding nodes in an ever-shifting, ever-adjusting interactional process. Moreover, as outlined in Chapter 2, each node in a network is in itself a complex assemblage and may function as a network. By the same token, every network may function as a node in a larger network. Thus, the network surrounding a cultural product, such as a book, can be understood as a node interacting with other nodes, which may in turn be local networks of other cultural products. This type of network of networks will henceforth be termed polynetworks, recalling Itamar Even Zohar's term "polysystem", discussed at some length in Chapter 2. Through the interaction of networks primarily located in one field of cultural production, such as the literary one, within larger polynetwork structures, actants belonging to different cultural fields of production establish reciprocal relationships that ultimately affect their position-takings and position-taking spaces. Consequently, the effects of position-takings within one local network ripple inexorably through the superordinate polynetwork, crossing local network boundaries. Polynetworks can be multimodal, which is to say that they contain cultural products from different media, intramodal, which is to say that the cultural products are adaptations within the same media, such

as translations of a book into a new language or remakes of existing motion pictures, or, indeed, both multimodal and intramodal simultaneously.

To reduce the level of abstraction of this idea, we may consider a comic book that gets adapted for the big screen, a common enough occurrence. The two cultural products, the comic and the film, may likely be produced and circulated in largely independent contexts, involving very different types of agents. There could, thus, be very little overlap between their networks of actants. By that thinking, there is no way of accounting for or explaining the effects that one product may have on the other. That such effects do exist is, however, felt intuitively; it would be preposterous to suggest that there is no meaningful or significant interaction between, say, a comic book and the film adaptation based on it. On the contrary, to mention but two possible cross-media effects, the film version may likely be influenced by the visual appearance and plot of the comic book and it may rely on the comic book's established fan base to ensure financial success. The comic book, on the other hand, may adjust its marketing strategies to exploit the film version's audience, thus attracting a category of people who would not have considered purchasing a comic had it not been for the film.

Acknowledging the existence of a superordinate polynetwork, within which products based on the same creative content can interact, is vastly helpful to understanding the production, circulation and reception of cultural products that exist in different versions. One of the strengths of the network model proposed in this thesis is that it is able to collapse the dichotomisation of macro and micro levels by focusing on the interactivity that shapes all social interaction. This makes it possible to apply the same logic and conduct the same type of analysis on networks of every magnitude and level of complexity, even those that are decidedly multimodal.

Cross-platform media synergy: a polynetwork effect

The recycling and reuse of creative content, within and across media platforms, has a long history. Indeed, intramodal adaptation, such as the retelling of staple mythological material, is as old as cultural production itself – and every translated work of fiction is, by default, situated within an intramodal network. Intramodal adaptation can, according to Espen Aarseth (2006), be traced as far back as Greek antiquity and the publication of dramatic scripts for off-stage reading. In our modern media landscape, adaptations are legion. The archetypal adaptation may well be works translated from novels into film, which is also the title of what is often identified as the "inaugural" work of adaptation studies, by George Bluestone (2003, originally published 1957). However, as Linda Hutcheon's inspired book *A theory of Adaptation* (2006) has so persuasively shown, adaptation is a broad cultural process and to understand it we must look beyond books and films. Indeed, content is routinely transposed from painting to book, from book to film, from film to television, from television to the stage, from the stage to music album and so forth. There are many reasons why adaptations have been and continue to be so ubiquitous, including the limited imagination of cultural producers and the creative urge to draw inspiration from familiar content in a different medium. It is not my intention to expound on these reasons here, but the topic is a familiar one within adaptation studies. Suffice it at the present time to say that in a time of commercialisation, when cultural production is becoming increasingly commodified, one central motivation for undertaking an adaptation is that adaptation from existing content has been shown to increase a work's chances of success, thus reducing financial risk.

Amit Joshi and Huifang Mao's (2012) study of over 700 motion pictures demonstrates that films based on books perform better at the box office than films based on an original screenplay. Similarly, Megan R. Hendershot (2007) concludes that film adaptations of books boost library loans of the titles in question. Whether one chooses to call this the effect of brand equity leveraging, following Joshi and Mao, or brand extension, to borrow David A. Aaker and Kevin Lane Keller's (1990) term, what is at work in these examples is cross-platform media synergy. Simply put, different versions of the same content serve to boost each other's visibility and success.

Choosing to work with an adaptation of a product that has already been successful in another medium, and that is thus familiar and appreciated by the target-audience makes sense (ibid. p. 206). Cross-platform media synergy benefits are especially important in high-cost industries such as film-making, where the stakes are high and money must often be made back very quickly (De Vany 2004).

In academic discourse, and in the industry's own narrative, synergy arising from cross-platform media production is most commonly discussed in relation to conglomeratisation. It may therefore be helpful to consider the connections between cross-platform media synergy and conglomerates in some detail before moving on to discuss how this type of synergy impacts on Swedish literature on the British market.

Conglomeratisation is a process by which independent companies are incorporated, through mergers or acquisitions, as subsidiaries into large, heterogenic, and often transnational companies. Since the 1980s, the pace of conglomeratisation within the media industry, including the publishing sphere, has been considerable. The consequence is a field in which a small number of giant players have subsumed what was once a much more diverse set of small, independent actors whose assets and interests were generally confined to specific industries. The ways in which this development unfolded during the last few decades of the twentieth century, and the consequences it has had for the publishing industry as a whole, have been eloquently outlined by André Schiffrin in his 2001 book *The Business of Books: How International Conglomerates Took over Publishing and Changed the Way We Read* (Schiffrin: 2001). Though it is difficult to estimate the current rate of conglomeratisation in the publishing realm with any accuracy, it is clear that it is still proceeding apace. Most recently, in 2013, the Penguin Group, owned by Pearson PLC, and Random House, owned by Bertelsmann, both media giants, agreed a merger, which saw the two combine to form the world's largest trade publishing venture. The new company has almost 12 000 employees and annual revenues of over €2.6 billion (Bertelsmann 2013), on par with the Republic of Armenia (Central Intelligence Agency 2014)). Quercus, an independent publisher that will be examined in more detail in this chapter, is currently being acquired by Hodder Headline, which is in turn owned by conglomerate Hachette Livre. The complexity of ownership

within the publishing industry, hinted at here, is underscored by the demand for such publications as Who Owns Whom in British Publishing (Gasson: 2002). At the time of writing, the so-called "Big Five" of trade publishing – which until last year's Penguin Random House merger were known as the "Big Six" – i.e., Hachette Book Group, HarperCollins, Macmillan Publishers, Penguin Random House and Simon & Schuster, are all in the hands of transnational conglomerates, whose holdings include a range of media and other companies around the world (Moran: 1997). The conglomerates in question are, respectively, the Lagardère Group, Rupert Murdoch's News Corp, the Georg von Holtzbrink Publishing Group, Pearson PLC, Bertelsmann and the CBS Corporation. The consolidation is, moreover, predicted by many to continue. Tim Hely-Hutchinson, Chief Executive of Hachette Livre and named as fifth most influential individual in the British publishing industry in the Guardian's 2011 Books Power 100 list (The Guardian: 2011) expects to "see the number of major players becoming fewer over the next few years, down to about three or four" (Hely-Hutchinson: 2005).

One consequence of increased conglomeratisation is the preponderance of corporate structures in which most big publishing companies are part of large media concerns. These colossal concerns typically hold diverse assets, including television and radio channels, newspapers, magazines and new media producers and outlets. In terms of content production, the diversified media corporation structure has obvious potential for cross-platform media production and systemic synergy. Conglomerates may now own not only the publishing company that publishes a book, but production companies that can turn it into a film or television series, online content, physical merchandise, software for computers and mobile phones and so forth. The broad capabilities of a conglomerate can therefore significantly increase the chances of a multimodal existence for a work. Conversely, multimodal works can contribute significantly to the profitability of conglomerates by virtue of the cross-platform synergy they generate, and the increased financial success with which that tends to be associated. A number of studies have been conducted on the utilisation made by the world's big media conglomerates of their synergistic potential, such as Schulze's (2008) investigation of synergy within Bertelsmann or Terry Flew and Callum Gilmour's (2003) comparative study of News Corp. and AOL-Time Warner.

Integrated conglomerate structures are, however, by no means a prerequisite for media synergy. To be specific, the type of synergy most often considered in relation to the multimodal production potential of media conglomerates is of a specific kind, often called synchronous synergy. This type of synergy arises when content producers, such as a conglomerate, "produce [different] media versions in parallel" (Aarseth 2006: 205).

Examples of this might include *The Matrix* trilogy (1999-2003), which was produced in a range of media formats, including the core feature films, animated short films, graphic novels and video games. The FOX television series *24* (2001-2008) is another example of a media product that proliferated into a mobile-exclusive broadcast, an online series of feature and animated webisodes, graphic novels, video games and ten novels, not to mention merchandise, including trading cards, a soundtrack and action figures (Scolari 2009). Any content produced by the Walt Disney Company, from Beauty and the Beast (1991) to High School Musical (2006) typically comes with an army of cross-platform versions, spin-offs and even theme park rides. In the words of Jay Lemke (2004; 3ff): "[f]rom the viewpoint of those controlling the commercial interests of such 'intellectual property', profits are maximised by cross-marketing across as many media as possible".

In addition to this highly visual and well-researched synchronous synergy, however, there is also sequential synergy. Sequential synergy refers to synergy effects arising within the networks of cross-platform products created diachronically, often by different producers. It is, thus, more readily associated with distributed networks, in which no central authority, such as a conglomerate, dominates. Book to film adaptations are often of this kind; the time lapse between versions can be as short as a year or as long as millennia, as in the case of the Homeric Hollywood blockbuster Troy (2004) or the many screen adaptations of stories culled from the Bible.

In terms of the benefits of the audience's pre-awareness of the creative content – both in terms of marketing and eventual financial return – sequential synergy functions in a similar way to synchronic synergy. The fundamental idea is to leverage existing

brand equity. Unlike synchronous cross-platform production, however, sequential production is rarely discussed in terms of synergy. Rather, it falls under the academic heading of Adaptation Studies. Within this field, adaptation has too often been understood as "one-directional; adaptation is defined as the transport of form and/or content from and source to a result", as Jørgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen (2013: 9, emphasis in the original) lament. Moreover, research has traditionally focused on "novels transferred to film, 'text to cinema' or 'literature on screen'" (ibid.: 6). Both these tendencies run counter to the network approach taken in this thesis, which stipulates the existence and centrality of reciprocal interaction and mutual influence. In recent years, however, this has begun to change. The discipline has, in the words of Simone Murray (2011: 3), begin to shed its "long-standing and increasingly theoretically uncomfortable privileging of a specific subset of print texts in favour of an inclusivist conception of adaptation as a freewheeling cultural process: flagrantly transgressing cultural and media hierarchies, wilfully cross-cultural, and more weblike than straightforwardly linear in its creative dynamic". Indeed, Murray has herself done much to aid this revolution with her excellent book *The Adaptation Industry: The Cultural Economy of Contemporary Literary Adaptation* (2011), which attempts to rethink adaptation sociologically. Her focus is on the impact of the institutional structures of the media environment, through which the "traffic of content […] is facilitated, inhibited and everywhere subtly shaped" (*ibid*.: 103). Like the present study, Murray's approach is constructed on a Bourdieusian foundation and is structured around the identification of important agents in the field of adaptation, which comprise both human and non-human agents, such as film festivals. Murray's sociological focus and her rejection of a one-way understanding of adaption resonates with the approach taken in this thesis and confirms the importance of a revaluation of how the different expressions of multimodal products interact with one another within the confines of their production, dissemination and reception networks. This thesis contends that a cultural product, such as a book, which has been adapted into additional versions, will not only exert influence over those subsequent versions but will, in turn, be affected by them. In other words, some of the factors that affect the production, circulation and reception context of a cultural product within a multimodal polynetwork will derive from that

polynetwork, not from the product's local network. These effects are examples of cross-media synergy and they will be discussed in detail below.

Cross-platform media synergy in the context of Swedish cultural production

Swedish cultural producers have long been familiar with the siren call of cross-media synergy. Because Sweden's media market is relatively small, with only a few companies that could be considered conglomerates – chief among them the Bonnier Group, discussed in some detail in Chapter 1 – synchronous adaptation has traditionally been less common than sequential adaptation. Swedish book to film adaptations, likely the most common route for adaptations, are as old as the medium of film itself. Indeed, almost all early Swedish feature films are based on literary sources, including many of the most famous examples of the golden age of Swedish film-making, including Victor Sjöström's iconic classic *Körkarlen* (1921, *The Phantom Carriage*), an adaptation of Selma Lagerlöf's book of the same name. More recently, the reverse, book adaptations of films, have also started becoming more common (Palmaer 2006). Content also regularly flows between other media, notably the performance arts, music, graphic novels and online content. Intramodal adaptations, such as new versions of films, also occur.

What is interesting, particularly in the context of this thesis, is that cross-platform media synergy often seems to accompany the international success of Swedish books. Many of the titles that get widely translated and circulate internationally have also been adapted for the cinema or television. Though this is not the place for an exhaustive enumeration of such cases, such an enumeration would include Swedish literary giants Selma Lagerlöf and August Strindberg as well as more recent success stories, for example Jan Guillou, whose internationally successful novels, including the recent *Crusades* trilogy (*Vägen till Jerusalem*, 1998; *Tempelriddaren*, 1999 and *Riket vid vägens slut*, 2000), have been adapted to television as well as the stage and the big screen, and even been nominated for an Academy Award, in 2004. The works of Astrid Lindgren, whose international success is, as outlined in Chapter 1, virtually

unparalleled in the world, have also been adapted for the screen, both in Sweden and abroad.

Nowhere, however, has the synergetic symbiosis between screen and book been more pronounced and more successful than in the field of Swedish crime. Despite less than fortunate beginnings – what has sometimes been called the first Swedish crime film, Tystnadens hus (1933, House of Silence), which was based on the novel *Fredag den 13de* by Øvre Richter Frich (1933), was "the biggest flop in the history of Swedish cinema" [det största fiaskot i svensk filmhistoria] (Donner 1979) – Swedish crime films based on literature have been a staple of Swedish cinema since the 1940s.

In more recent years, the Scandinavian, and Swedish, crime boom, which has drawn so much international attention and was discussed at some length in the previous chapter, has continued to be characterised by a notable multimodality. Gunhild Agger calls this "a constant chain of communication and exchange between different media, enhancing the permanent public interest of [sic] crime fiction", a "solid part [of which] is based on adaptation" (Agger, 2010b: 3, emphasis in original).

Chief among the adaptations, at least as far as numbers go, are crime writers Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö. Sales of the pair's ten Martin Beck novels, which "defined the shape of Scandinavian crime fiction" (Nestingen and Arvas 2011: 2), have been boosted, at home and abroad, by popular film adaptations, including the American 1973 film The Laughing Policeman. At the time of writing, no less than 38 films about Sjöwall and Wahlöö's detective Martin Beck have been made. Several of these are examples of what Agger defines as "cross-cultural adaptations" (2010b: 4, emphasis in original), which is to say that they were produced in countries other than Sweden the source texts country of origin. Today, the disillusioned Swedish police detective is more prolific than even James Bond. Production is, moreover, still ongoing, with eight more Beck films currently in development (Dunerfors 2013).

In the years since Sjöwall and Wahlöö penned their Martin Beck decalogy, the adaptation process within crime fiction has accelerated in Sweden. Transnational co-productions have also become more common as interest in Swedish crime fiction has

grown internationally (Agger, 2010a). In the UK, BBC4's regular international crime slot on Saturday evenings, home of Wallander, Arne Dahl, Maria Lang, The Bridge and many others, have done much to promote Scandinavian television in general and crime in particular. In the new millennium, large numbers of crime fiction writers have seen their books adapted for the screen and distributed abroad as well as within Sweden. Examples include, for example, Jens Lapidus, Maria Lang, Åsa Larsson, Håkan Nesser, Helene Tursten and, as discussed in the preceding chapter, Liza Marklund. The crime novels written by the giants of the genre, in particular Henning Mankell and Stieg Larsson, have also been adapted, domestically and internationally, for film and television and have seen striking cross-platform success. Mankell's anti-hero Wallander is the star of no less than forty-one Swedish films and television episodes, as well as a three-season English-language version on the BBC starring Kenneth Branagh (a fourth and final season of which is scheduled to air in 2015). With viewer ratings between 5.5 and 6.5 million per episode for Branagh's Wallander (Broadcaster Audience Research Board), it would be reckless indeed to assume that Mankell's literary fortunes have not benefitted from significant synergy generated by what Agger terms the "collective Wallander-complex" (Agger 2010: 4). Swedish crime fiction has managed to penetrate foreign markets like no other genre of contemporary Swedish literature. I contend that this success is in no small part due to the synergy generated by their multimodal forms. Further research into the cross-platform synergy effects of the Scandinavian crime genre, which unfortunately lies outside the scope of this thesis, would likely produce a wealth of knowledge of how different media versions of creative content interact in transnational contexts.

A closer look at cross-platform media synergy: the case of *Låt den rätte komma in*

Having thus outlined the concept of multimodal polynetworks, their synergistic properties and the effects of these on the production, circulation and reception of literary works, and hinted at the importance of these for Swedish literature's success abroad, the remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to a more detailed study of a non-crime text, John Ajvide Lindqvist's vampire novel *Låt den rätte komma in/Let the Right One In*. *Let the Right One In* was first published in Swedish in 2004 and has

since become one of the greatest non-crime success stories of contemporary Swedish fiction abroad. A close examination of the work's publishing history in the UK helps illustrate the processes of multimodal network synergy and serves to demonstrate the very tangible and profound effects such synergy can have on the life cycle of book. Thus, this case study will show that it is often necessary for the literary sociologist to extend the parameters of empirical study and theoretical frameworks to include factors located well outside the field of literary production and the realms of the publishing industry. Consideration of *Let the Right One In* will, furthermore, underscore the importance of constructing a network model flexible enough to enable analysis of a different levels of connectivity, from the micro-level to the macro-level and everything in between. A model that is too restricted, suitable, for example, for application on the publishing industry exclusively, would not allow for the consideration of synergy effects stemming from interactivity with actants located in other production contexts. A model of this type, one example of which is Robert Darnton's communication circuit, discussed in Chapter 2, would be liable to overlook or misconstrue aspects of a literary work's production, circulation and reception context, when these are fundamentally influenced by relationships pertaining to the multimodal polynetwork, rather than the local, literary network.

In what follows, the example of *Let the Right One In* will be used to demonstrate three central things. Firstly, that there is significant reciprocal and dynamic interaction between the different versions of the text. In other words, I will show that the position-takings and position-taking spaces of actants in one production context can impact on the position-taking spaces of actants in another production context. Conversely, I will demonstrate that the position-takings and position-taking spaces of actants in a local network cannot necessarily be fully explained if the network's intermodal interactivity is not accounted for. Thus, neither the paratext of the book *Let the Right One In* nor the patterns of its marketing and eventual success can be understood without reference to the novel's adaptation to other media, including film. Identifying the existence of intermodal effects underlines that the inclusion of cross-platform level analysis is crucial to any systemic model of book production, circulation and reception.

Secondly, the study will show that the intermodal effects to which the cross-platform interaction within a multimodal polynetwork gives rise generate synergy. This process is what may be termed brand extension, in which the identity, familiarity and ultimately success of a brand, in this case equivalent to specific creative content, can be increased through media diversification. Put another way, synergy accumulates in polynetworks, which may lead to further diversification within the polynetwork, which in turn increases the synergistic potential and so on. Adaptation begets adaptation. It is possible, in the case of *Let the Right One In*, to show how that adaptation has spurred further adaptation, particularly in the case of the American remake of the Swedish film version.

Finally, the example of *Let the Right One In* reveals that polynetworks provide an arena in which local actants can extend their interactive connections to other production contexts. Thoughtful analysis of this expansion or altering of the position-taking space available to actants can help us understand how it is possible for actants located in one production context to transcend that context, and even come to migrate and permanently inhabit another network within the polynetwork. There are several examples of such transcending and migration in the case of *Let the Right One In*, where individual actants have been able to move into a new production context, from literary production to film production for example, or from one national production context to another.

Before embarking on a discussion of these three central points, however, it is important to set out the background of the cultural product in question. What follows first is therefore a brief prelusive description of the publishing history of the novel, with particular focus on the publishing history of the British version, and the production and international distribution history of the Swedish film.

The novel

That *Låt den rätte komma in* would eventually achieve widespread international success and acclaim was by no means a foregone conclusion from the outset. A Swedish horror story, by a previously unpublished author, set in the 1980s in the Stockholm suburb of Blackberg, featuring a vampire, dark themes such as paedophilia and occasional gruesome violence, was not, understandably, universally considered a safe bet by publishers. Predictably, perhaps, the novel, which in the early stages of writing was called *Den enda vännen*, [The One and Only Friend] was rejected by six Swedish publishers before meeting with the approval of Ordfront Förlag, which is also the Swedish home of aforementioned crime writers Henning Mankell, Åke Edwardsson and Stieg Larsson, in 2004. Ajvide Lindqvist has stated that his only ambition was to "sell one thousand copies so I would get to write another [book] [sälja tusen ex, så att jag skulle få skriva en till] (Redvall 2005).

Exceeding those ambitions by a wide margin, *Låt den rätte komma in* went on to sell over 100 000 copies in Sweden (Helmersont 2008). In the wake of this unexpected success, Ajvide Lindqvist signed on with Danish literary agency Leonhardt and Høier, which also represents Henning Mankell.[11] To date, international rights have been sold to over thirty countries. In the UK, the rights were sold to independent publisher Quercus, which published an English-language version in 2007 under the title *Let the Right One In*. It has since become one of the company's biggest earners, surpassed only by Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* trilogy. In the first five years following its publication, Quercus sold over 150 000 copies of *Let the Right One In* in the UK (Ron Beard, personal communication, 26 January 2012)

This kind of success was not, however, either immediate or expected on part of the publisher. Having been founded only three years before *Let the Right One In* was published, coincidentally the same year that *Låt den rätte komma in* was published in Sweden, Quercus was in an expansive phase at the time of purchasing the rights to Ajvide Lindqvist's debut. The company was actively looking for titles to build a solid,

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[11] Unlike bigger Swedish publishers like Bonnier and Norstedt, Ordfront does not have its own associated literary agency.

substantial backlist. A publisher's backlist is instrumental not only in securing the company's financial prospects but also in defining the company's profile; Quercus was looking to acquire high-quality domestic and foreign literary titles as well as crime, horror and sci-fi.[12] *Låt den rätte komma in* certainly conforms to many, if not most, of the desiderata identified by Quercus; it is a high-quality, literary horror novel; it was written in a foreign language and it had been very successful in terms of both sales and acclaim in its domestic market. Moreover, the Swedish film rights had already been sold when Quercus acquired the UK rights to the novel, and though editor Charlotte Clay insists that this was not an important factor in Quercus' decision to invest in *Låt den rätte komma in*, she does concede that a film adaptation, even one likely to be of only local importance in the novel's home market, can never be a bad thing for a publisher (personal communication, 20 January 2012).

Given that the level of success *Let the Right One In* has achieved was largely unforeseeable at the time of publishing, it is not surprising that Quercus proceeded on the assumption that *Let the Right One In* would appeal to a narrow, specialised readership, rather than to a more mainstream audience. Consequently, the company's marketing strategy was heavily focused on specific fora and even specific individuals. It aimed to reach fans of horror, and to some extent crime, by seeking out the websites and blogs where they are active, or by targeting early adopters within the fan group. The ultimate aim was to establish something of a cult following, which would generate modest but respectable sales and a steady income for Quercus. A targeted approach of this kind was deemed to be the best way of maximising sale success and visibility, for the book and the publisher (Charlotte Clay, personal communication, 20 January 2012). This calculation may, of course, also have been influenced by the fact that Quercus, an independent publisher still in its infancy, did not necessarily have the means or inclination to take big risks in terms of financial investments in marketing.

The marketing strategy of targeting horror and crime fans is echoed in the peritext of

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[12] An interest reflected in the imprints Quercus has founded, the two most well-known of which are Maclehose Press, which focuses on crime and translated fiction, and Jo Fletcher Books which focuses on sci-fi, fantasy and horror.

Let the Right One In. The cover designs of horror books are often similar to the type of crime covers that were discussed at length in Chapter 3. Both types draw on dark colour palettes, a propensity for red accents and a relish for referring visually to women and children whenever possible, juxtaposing their perceived innocence with darkness and threat. The broad genre of contemporary horror does not, however, abide by the type of strict norms that were outlined in relation to the narrow subgenre of Scandinavian crime. On the contrary, the cover designs of contemporary horror books range as widely as do the genre's various subgenres. Depending on their subgeneric identities, horror books may resemble romance fiction, science fiction, fantasy, literary fiction, crime fiction and so on.

There was, then, potentially more room for Quercus to manoeuvre in terms of the cover design for *Let the Right One In*, than for a publisher working with a Swedish crime title. To put it a different way, the position-taking space available was more flexible for *Let the Right One In* than it would, perhaps, have been for a conventional Swedish crime novel.[13] Interestingly, Quercus nevertheless chose to position *Let the Right One In* close to the Scandinavian crime genre in terms of cover design, relying on the "snowy, desolate" style which was at the peak of its ubiquity at the time of the book's publication. Thus, as Figure 17 illustrates, the cover of the hardback edition of Ajvide Lindqvist's novel incorporates many of the elements with which we are already familiar. It shows a photograph of a bleak, wintry forest in dark, virtually monochrome colours, lit up only by the vivid red of the blurred jacket worn by an indistinct person who seems to be moving rapidly across the foreground. Though the title and author name are not printed in the blocky typeface we have come to associate with crime covers, the title is, as would be expected, very large and prominent. A buyer in a book shop could certainly be forgiven for thinking that *Let the Right One In* was Scandinavian crime.

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[13] It is worth noting, however, that Quercus boldly broke with the snowy desolation tradition of Scandinavian crime when publishing Stieg Larsson, in a move that made the distinctive look of the *Millennium* trilogy the new norm for Scandinavian crime novels, cf. Chapter 3.
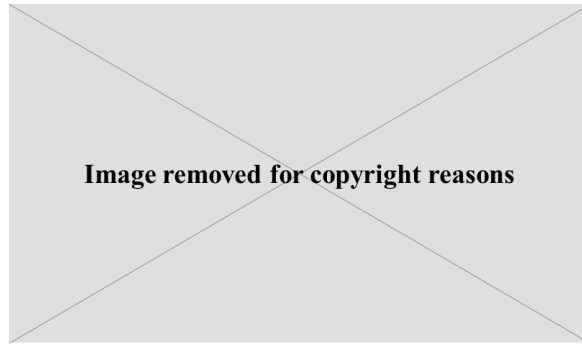
Figure 17 First English-language edition of Let the Right One In

During the months after its publication, *Let the Right One In* did well for itself, relatively speaking. As Figure 18 shows, however, it was hardly a bestseller. Nor had it come to the attention of the big major media outlets. Reviews and mentions remained restricted to niche, predominantly online, fora. A success within a narrow context, then. Even if circumstances had not eventually changed, *Let the Right One In* would still have been considered a successful Swedish non-crime novel on the British market and would still have met the expectations of its publisher. As it turned out, however, things outside of Quercus' control and the production network of the novel *Let the Right One In* would soon change the book's fortunes.

Figure 18 Total number of copies sold in the UK of the first edition of Let the Right One In between July 2007 and July 2008

A new modality: *Let the Right One In* on the silver screen

The initially reluctant response to *Låt den rätte komma in* by Swedish publishers was in no way mirrored in that of Swedish film makers. Following the novel's domestic success, Ajvide Lindqvist and Ordfront soon found themselves at the centre of a small bidding war with a large number of production companies wooing them for the film rights (Ivarsson 2007). Ult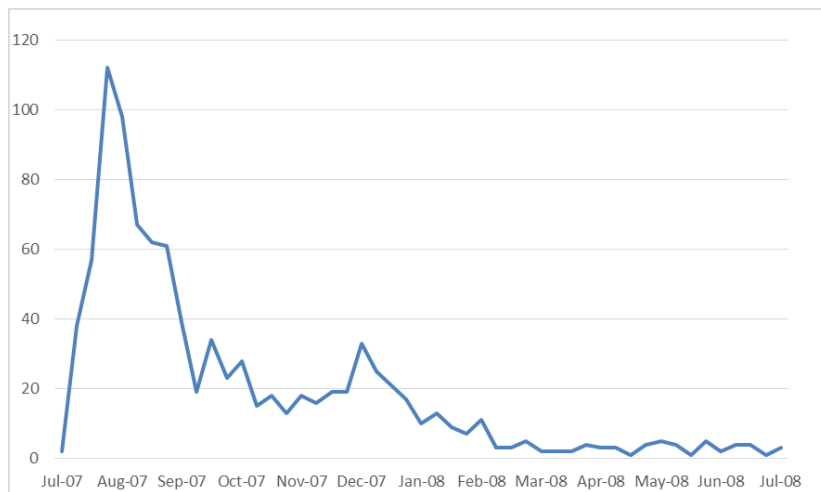imately, EFTI, a small independent production company primarily focused on television programming and advertising, and with little experience of making feature films, was chosen for the adaptation. Ajvide Lindqvist, interestingly, migrated from his original literary production context, joining the film team to author the screenplay. Tomas Alfredson, who had previously worked on a number of successful television productions and gained some status and feature film experience in Sweden through his work with seminal comedy group Killinggänget, was selected to direct after a heated selection process he himself has described as "fairly scrimmage-like" [lite slagsmålsbetonat] (Melin 2008). The film was co-produced by several Swedish companies, including, as is so often the way, Swedish pubcaster Sveriges Television, as well as one of Sweden's regional production centres, Filmpool Nord in Luleå. It was also the recipient of advance allocation of funding from the Swedish Film Institute and Nordisk Film- & TV Fond (Svensk Filmdatabas 2014). It is clear from the amount bestowed by the Swedish Film Institute, an impressive SEK7 million, that the Swedish film establishment anticipated *Låt den rätte komma in* to be one of the heavy hitters of that year (ibid.). In total, the budget of *Låt den rätte komma in* was around £2.5 million (International Movie Database 2014). It was a large production, more or less as large as the Swedish context permits, with 400 people permanently or temporarily employed over the course of four years of development and production (Olsson 2008).

Låt den rätte komma in premiered at the Gothenburg Film Festival on 26th January 2008 and went on to win the festival's Nordic Film Prize. It then toured the international film festival circuit extensively, and was very successful. To my count, it is the recipient of over 50 awards, including five Swedish Guldbaggar, Best Narrative Feature at the Tribeca Film Festival, Best Feature Film at Toronto After Dark, Foreign Film of the Year at the London Film Critics Circle Awards and Best

Foreign Film at the British Independent Film Awards, not to mention a nomination for Best Film not in the English Language at the British Academy Film Awards. Whether *Låt den rätte komma in* could also have won an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film for Sweden – the first since Ingmar Bergman's triumph with Fanny and Alexander in 1983,[14] will, however, remain a mystery, because certain eligibility criteria pertaining to release date prevented the film from being nominated to either the 81st or 82nd Academy Awards.[15] The unexpected success of the film on the festival circuit caused its Swedish distributor, Sandrews Metronome, to reschedule its wide release.[16] This had originally been planned for April 2008, but was pushed back to October of the same year, since an autumn premier is considered more likely to attract a large mainstream audience and to secure a longer run in theatres.

Låt den rätte komma in finally premiered on 24 October in Sweden as well as the US, where it went by the English title *Let the Right One In*, but it took another six months for the film to achieve wide release in the UK, where it reached cinemas in April 2009, after successful screenings at the Edinburgh Film Festival and the London Film Festival, to mention but two. The UK distributor, Momentum, an independent British

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[14] Indeed, Ingmar Bergman is the only Swedish film maker to have had the honour of this particular award, and no less than three times, for Jungfrukällan (another horror film) in 1960 and Så som en spegel in 1961 as well as for Fanny and Alexander.

[15] Following the initial postponement, *Låt den rätte komma in* was scheduled for a seven-day run in Luleå in September 2008, which would have made it eligible for the 81st Academy Awards. When it became clear, however, that Jan Troell's Everlasting Moments was being put forward instead, the early run was cancelled and the film premiered as previsouly planned, in October. While that would normally have made it eligible for the 82nd Academy Awards, one of the rules regulating the Swedish selection prevents any film from being considered twice. Since *Låt den rätte komma in* had already been nominated for the previous years' awards it was deemed potentially ineligible and passed over for Ruben Östllund's Involuntary.

[16] A closer examination of the central, and long under-researched, role of film festivals in the context of film production, circulation and reception unfortunately falls outside the scope of this study but cf., for example, Iordanova (2013), Mezias et al. (2011) and Murray (2012).

company, which has since been acquired by international conglomerate eOne, was a major player, handling many successful motion pictures, such as Lost in Translation (2003), Oh Brother, Where Art Thou (2000), and The King's Speech (2010), the associated, and eponymous, book version of which is also, incidentally, published by Quercus. *Let the Right One In* was initially screened in sixty-eight theatres nationwide and grossed a respectable £224 154 during its opening weekend, making it the eleventh most successful film that weekend. Its run was subsequently expanded to 95 theatres, a number that then dwindled gradually until regular screenings ceased in August, almost exactly four months after the film's opening night. By then, it had grossed over £1 100 000, making it the third most successful foreign language film in 2009 (Box Office Mojo 2014), beaten only by Bollywood blockbuster Kambakkht Ishq (2009) and Pedro Almodovar's Los Abrazos Rotos (2009). This remarkable success made the UK the film's most significant sales territory outside Sweden, responsible for generating more than a fifth of the film's total international gross revenue (ibid.).

Let the Right One In indisputably managed to charm British cinema goers and critics were no less ensorcelled. The silence with which the major national outlets met Ajvide Lindqvist's novel contrasted starkly with the plentiful coverage afforded Alfredson's film. The reviews were overwhelmingly positive. Among the mainstream media, prominent publications including The *Guardian* (Bradshaw 2009), the *Telegraph* (Sandhu 2009), the *Independent* (Barber 2009), the *Daily Mail* (Tookey, 2009), the *Mirror* (Edwards 2009) and *Time Out* (Jenkins 2009) weighed in, often with lengthy articles. More specialist film news outlets as well as niche horror and vampire forums were equally keen to laud *Let the Right One In*.

Without dwelling unduly on the underlying, and virtually unprovable, reasons for a particular cultural product's success, it is worth briefly outlining a few contenders that are of relevance to this study. Reviews identify three prominent features, which I posit are directly connected to the film's appeal in the UK. The first is an insistence that *Let the Right One In* offers a new twist on the perennial vampire film. Inevitably, such musings tend to go hand in hand with parallels with the ubiquitous teen romance vampire films in the *Twilight* series (2008-2012), which were being released around

the same time as the film version of *Låt den rätte komma in*. The parallels are frequently explicit, but on occasion the reader is assumed to understand that *Twilight* represents the polar opposite to original; it is the conservative Hollywood blockbuster to *Låt den rätte komma in*'s gutsy European art house film, praised in sentiments such as Time Out's David Jenkin's (2009) "one of the year's true originals". Or, more on the nose, for the perhaps slightly more snobbish readership of the *Telegraph*: "Yes, but don't worry: this isn't a rehashed cash-in on [Twilight's] success. In fact, it's everything Twilight wanted to be but wasn't" (Sandhu 2009). Two things are worth noting in this context. The first is that the rise of vampires in popular culture was at its peak around the time of *Let the Right One In*'s release. The Twilight references are therefore more than apt; it is highly likely that the mainstream penchant for horror in general and vampires in particular contributed to the successful dissemination of *Let the Right One In*. Secondly, one of the conventions of vampire films is deliberate breaks with convention; it is an inherently border-crossing genre. As Jeffrey Weinstock puts it in his book *The Vampire Film: Undead Cinema*:

> The sheer number and diversity of vampire films makes it impossible to talk about any kind of coherent vampire film genre'. Indeed, […] a fundamental characteristic of the vampire film tradition has been its tendency to morph and colonise other genres. (2012: 17).

This means, of course, that a film within the vampire genre typically occupies a flexible position-taking space in which genre crossing, transculturalism and so on play important roles and are expected and valued by the audience.

Reviews also report a feeling of surprise, brought on by an impression that the film's provenance is unexpected: "Some movies, while never quite attaining masterpiece status, nonetheless have a monumental WTF-factor" (Bradshaw 2009). Or, less irreverently, "Like many memorable films, *Let the Right One In* seems to have appeared from nowhere" (Sandhu 2009). Or, perhaps most tellingly of all, from the *Daily Mail*, hardly a paper known for its enthusiasm for or coverage of low-budget art house cinema: "The other unexpected pleasure of the week is, of all things, a Swedish vampire movie" (Tookey 2009). I would argue that these statements reflect,

at least in part, firm expectations of what type of cultural products to expect from a Swedish filmmaker. This is no doubt a result of both unfamiliarity with Swedish cultural production and the fixation on the crime genre across media platforms that has been discussed above. It is possible that, paradoxically, both enthusiasm at having those crime expectations subverted, and the film's generic closeness to the crime genre contributed to the appeal of *Let the Right One In*. What is clear is that reviewers had an idea of what could be expected from a Swedish film, not unlikely on account of the rise of the Scandinavian crime genre in both literature and audio-visual media.

Finally, there is in the mainstream reviews a strong sense of bewilderment, sometimes framed as delightful, other times as vexing, caused by the film's perceived unwillingness to define itself generically: "One of the spine-tingling pleasures of *Let the Right One In* is that it takes a while to reveal what sort of film it is. […] So is *Let the Right One In* a drama, a thriller or a horror film? The answer is d) all of the above. But primarily it's a sensitive portrait of two lonely children's delicate friendship."(Barber 2009). As has already been mentioned, this type of generic irreverence is the calling card of vampire films generally, but I would suggest that another factor is also at work here, which may confuse non-Scandinavian viewers in particular. The notion of "double storytelling", in which the narrative plot layer is complemented by an interwoven ethical or social dimension, springs from the public service roots of most Scandinavian audio-visual production. *Let the Right One In* is a prime example of this technique. On the surface the film is a horror story about a vampire moving into a community, befriending a little boy and preying on the local population. Underneath this narrative, however, there is a layer of social critique centring on bullying, loneliness, neglect, alcoholism and destitution in Swedish society. Double storytelling has proven popular with foreign audiences (Novrup Redvall 2013) and its deployment outside the more familiar realm of crime has clearly benefitted *Let the Right One In*, by making it a more complex, thoughtful, artistic film.

Identifying the multimodal polynetwork

So far, I have outlined the production, distribution and reception contexts of the novel *Låt den rätte komma in* and its eponymous Swedish-language film adaptation. In so doing, each cultural product has largely been considered separately, though traces of reciprocal effects may, naturally be discerned in my outline. I have, for example noted local effects impacting on a separate local network: the domestic sales success of the Swedish book spurred interest in making and funding a film adaptation. New internetwork relations have also been noted: Ajvide Lindqvist has become a bridging node between the two networks, present both as author in the book's network and as screenwriter in the film's. In order further to investigate the nature and impact of polynetwork effects in the case of *Låt den rätte komma in*, I will now proceed to consider in greater detail the ways in which the local networks of the novel and the film impact on each other. Taken together, these effects are very significant and support the argument for using a polynetwork model as an essential explanatory tool for the understanding of border-crossing, transcultural and multimodal works.

To posit that an "original" version, which in the case of *Let the Right One In* is to say the novel, has a profound impact on the "adaptation", in other words the film, is hardly controversial. As the source of the narrative, the original is a strong determinant for the ultimate form of the new version. Moreover, as has been intimated above, the success of a source text is often central to any decision to make an adaptation. A text's journey from book to film is well documented, if not uncontroversial, and will not be the focus of this study.[17] Rather, I will focus on the influences working in the opposite direction, from the adaptation back to the source. In terms of the actual words on the page, for example, this influence is, of course, non-existent in the vast majority of cases, but that should not lead us to conclude that there is no effect at all. As in the previous chapter, looking beyond the textual to the paratextual can reveal much that is missed when focusing too narrowly on the narrative alone.

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[17] For more information on this subject, cf. for example MacCabe, Warner and Murray (2011), Cartmell and Whelehan (1999), McFarlane (1996) and Geraghty (2008)

Being already familiar with the paratextual aspects of books from the previous chapter, the cover design of *Let the Right One In* is a suitable place to begin an examination of the influences of the film on the book. I have already touched briefly on the appearance of the first British edition of *Let the Right One In* above. That first edition, designed narrowly to focus on a readership conversant in, and actively searching for horror and to some extent crime fiction, was succeeded by a second, paperback edition six months after first publication, shown in Figure 19 together with the first Swedish hardback edition of *Låt den rätte komma in*.

Figure 19 First UK paperback edition of Let the Right One In and

first Swedish hardback edition of Låt den rätte komma in

In terms of visual style, this second edition shares many features with its predecessor, most obviously the monochrome colour palette, the use of a red blur for contrast and the focus on a lone person in the foreground. In other respects, the design can be said to recall the cover of the original Swedish book, through the use of a child as main visual focus, the suggestion of blood on the cover and the quiet but threatening atmosphere.

Interestingly, the cover design of the American version, renamed Let Me In (2007), signals the horror identity of the book in a more typical way, through its choice of typeface, its starker colour contrasts and use of a less conventional-looking, more deliberately goth-like cover model.
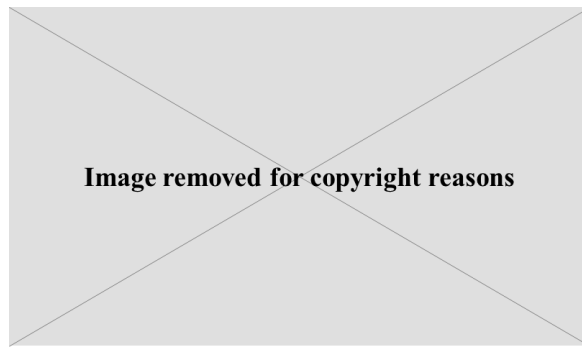
Figure 20 First US edition of Let me In

One might speculate that this is either the effect of the much smaller impact on American cover design of the snowy, desolate Scandinavian crime trope – the use of such motifs have been and is less ubiquitous there than on these shores – or of American publishers' desire and/or habit to play more on genre in general. Such a desire would naturally lead them to downplay the more high-brow, literary ambitions of the novel, which resist overly simple classification and which are hinted at by the more literary British and Swedish covers. The same process can be discerned in the American publisher's insistence that the original title was too long.

Had the film version not come out after the publishing of these editions, it is by no means certain that there would ever have been any other covers. As it happened, however, the low-budget (by international standards) Swedish film version became an unexpected blockbuster. Enthralling the festival circuit, including such influential gatherings as the Tribeca Film Festival, Fright Fest and the London Film Festival, the film quickly secured subsequent wide theatrical release in the UK and the US. In January 2009, Quercus published a new edition of the novel, an explicit tie-in with the film, as reflected in the new cover design, as seen in Figure 21.
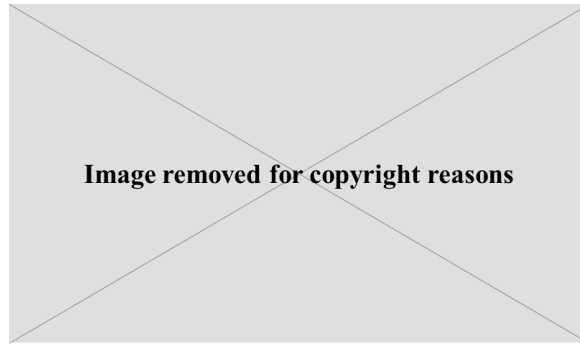
Figure 21 Film poster and second UK paperback edition of Let the Right One In

The visual appearance of the tie-in edition is a dramatic change of course from the two previous editions. The colour palette has changed from monochrome and red to a dark blue and white with yellow accents. The peritextual features more commonly linked with literary fiction, such as the choice of serif typeface, have been erased in favour of a more genre based approach, with a typeface more typical of horror publications now the central design feature. The silhouette standing on the threshold of the door formed by the letter "I" is recognisable as Lina Leandersson, the girl who plays the vampire Eli in the film. Moreover, in the bottom right hand corner this edition proudly announces: "Now a major film". The British film poster is the obvious inspiration, indeed, they are nearly identical. This cross-network influence is a clear instance of polynetwork interaction.

Following Quercus' example, St. Martin's Press in the US and Text Publishing in Australia also released new film tie-in paperback editions of the book. Both publishers used versions of the film's local promotional posters for their cover designs. Both books have, as shown in Figure 22, prominent front cover announcements advertising their connection with the film.
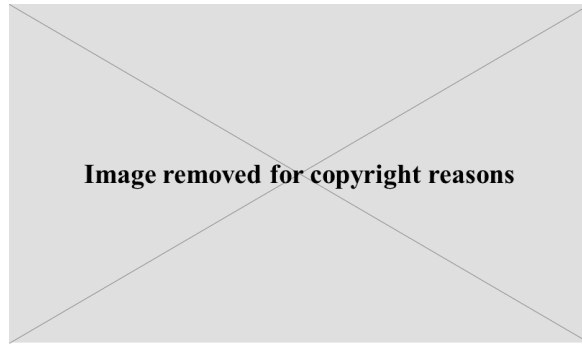
Figure 22 US and Australian film posters and tie-in editions with the Swedish film

It is clear that the publisher in each territory believed that an explicit connection with the film would serve to boost sales of the book, and that peritextual signalling was one of the ways to achieve such a connection. The strategy of using film tie-in covers is both old and well tried.

The notion that publishers are eager to link their titles with films is reinforced by the publication of one more edition in each country on the occasion of the release of the American remake of *Let the Right One In*, *Let Me In* (2010). I will discuss the remake in more detail below, but suffice it to say at this point that the same strategy for redesign was used once more. In each territory, the book cover of the new edition makes explicit reference to the film poster and promotional materials. Each announces explicitly that it is connected with the successful film. As an extra twist caused by the American title change, the British and Australian publishers have also had to add a line making explicit mention of the American title – to the obvious aesthetic detriment of the design – since it is different from the one used domestically.

Figure 23 Film posters for American film adaptation Let Me In *and the British, Australian and American tie-in editions*

From this paratextual survey, it is already clear that effects exist which are not associated with local networks alone. The impact on the book covers of the American film demonstrates that the film, i.e., ostensible "adaptation", is able to influence its "source" across medial and network boundaries. In other words, the position-taking space of actants in one local network, that pertaining to book producion, was radically modified by the interactions in another network, that of the film.

The effects of polynetwork interaction can also be clearly observed in relation to direct commercial success, i.e. sales. As was discussed in the first section of the present chapter, multimodal polynetworks generate cross-platform media synergy. One of the most important characteristics of such synergy is its propensity to boost sales, so persuasively shown by Joshi and Mao (2012) in their quantitative study of the effect on profits of adapted content. In the case of *Let the Right One In*, we have already seen that the Swedish novel's domestic commercial success impacted powerfully on the possibility of creating a film adaptation, as well as on the forms and level of investment available to the producers. Conversely, the commercial success of the film version of *Let the Right One In* should, given the reciprocal nature of network interaction on which the systemic model used in this thesis is predicated, have a discernible impact not only on the physical expression of the book's identity but on its commercial success.

It was noted above that the editors at Quercus were aware that the film rights for *Låt den rätte komma in* had been sold in Sweden when they acquired the UK rights to the book. It was also reported that although this was seen as potentially beneficial, because a film adaptation is unlikely to hurt a book's prospects, Quercus' interest in the adaptation was low, since its impact was expected to be marginal at bests. In other words, the film project was not seen as a significant reason for buying the book rights. Typically, the calculation that a low-budget film in a minority language would have very little impact on the success of a book published in the UK would have been entirely correct. In this particular case, however, the impact of the Swedish film on book sales was pronounced.
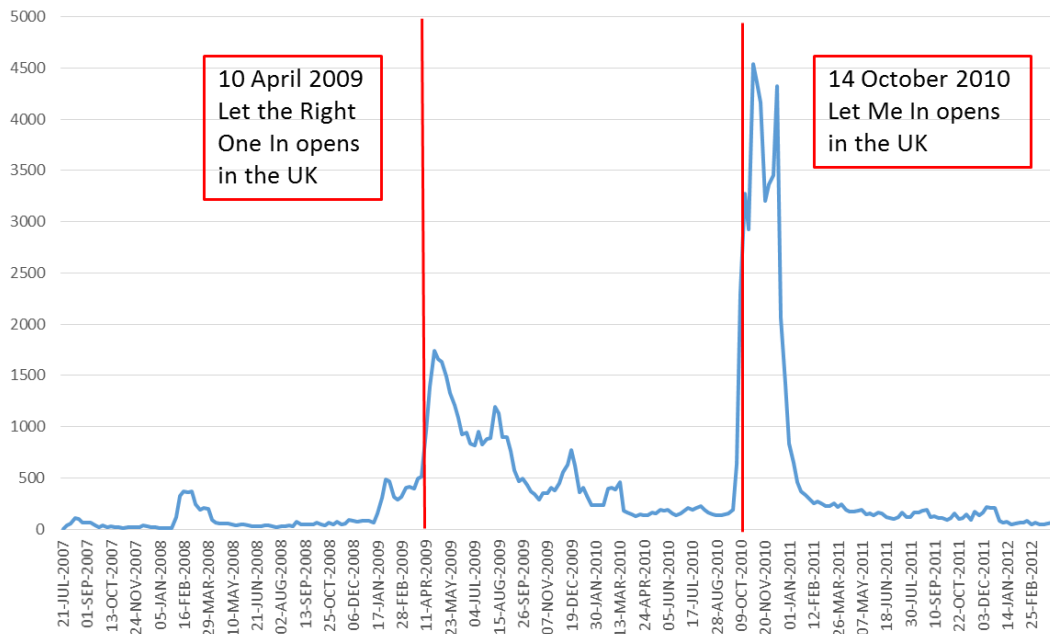
Figure 24 Total number of sold volumes of Let the Right One In (UK, all editions)

As is clear from Figure 24, sales of the book, which had been moderate but steady since publication, rose markedly after the release of the Swedish film. The second, even more notable peak in the graph represents the period immediately following the release of the American remake *Let Me In*, which generated renewed interest in the book. This demonstrates the influence of synergistic cross-platform polynetwork effects on one of the most fundamental aspects of publishing, the bottom line.

Aside from economic capital, the success of the film also impacted dramatically on the cultural capital of the book. Its sudden visibility, an effect of its association with the film, as well as its improving sales numbers drew the attention of the major news outlets. Having, as outlined above, previously been reviewed almost exclusively in niche contexts, the book now, following the release of the Swedish film, received attention in all the major newspapers, two years after its initial publication.

The productive potential of cross-platform media synergy in multimodal polynetworks

The previous section of this chapter indicated the existence of a multimodal polynetwork, through which local network effects can be transmitted to other local networks, and showed that this type of transmission is reciprocal and present on a number of levels. It also demonstrated that both the causes of such internetwork transmission and its effects are dynamic, changing in response to the non-static nature of the networks in question. The first of the three phenomena this case study seeks to demonstrate has thus been addressed in some detail. In what follows, focus will therefore shift more explicitly to the other two phenomena, namely the propensity of multimodal networks to give rise to further brand extension through additional adaptation and opportunities for actants to expand their position-taking spaces through interactive linkage with additional networks.

Multimodal polynetworks are not simply aggregates of local networks, relay systems that allow local effects to travel. On the contrary, the creation of a superordinate multimodal polynetwork through the interaction of several single-mode polynetworks gives rise to new phenomena, new zones of interaction, new synergies, new actants even. Moreover, the very act of becoming a part of a superordinate network has the potential to alter the characteristics of a polynetwork, following DeLanda. Behaviours and linkages may change and previously latent functions may be awakened. Inclusion in a superordinate network changes the relationships that obtain between local networks and between actants in those networks, modifying gatekeeping and catalyst functions, affecting decision-making chains. Specifically, by endowing cultural products with inescapable referents in the form of other versions of the same text, multimodal polynetworks have a profound impact on the products themselves. In this section, the wider *Let the Right One In*-ecology of networks, extending beyond the novel and the Swedish film, will be considered. This will help illustrate one of the properties of the polynetwork: the productive border zones that exist within it. In these zones, spaces can arise that permit, or even encourage, the inclusion, or creation, of further networks. To put it another way, the accumulation of local networks, and the concomitant accumulation of interactions that results from the addition of

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internetwork effects to the intranetwork effects of the local networks, can help stimulate new connections between existent actants, altered actant behaviour, the introduction of new actants and ultimately new cultural products and thus, new local networks. In other words, multimodal polynetworks are fundamentally and creatively synergistic, in that effects arise within them that are not reducible to any of their individual parts. This is the same process that was discussed in the context of the initially considered novel-to-film adaptation. The synergy of a network is amplified by multimodal expansion. Thus, it becomes easier to produce new versions of the central text the more versions that are already present in the polynetwork. This process is helpfully exemplified by the life cycle of *Let the Right One In*, which has since its first publication moved into a particularly rich transcultural and multimodal state. The text now exists on a number of platforms, which will be outlined below.

After the Swedish film, the first new adaptation of *Låt den rätte komma in*, Let Me In, a Hollywood remake of the Swedish film, was less intermedial than intercultural. American remakes of non-American films have become ubiquitous, and Scandinavian cinema has been no exception, as noted in the first section of the present chapter. Hollywood's appetite for international films stems in part from the practical fact that the rapid turn-over in production requires a lot of source material. Another important factor is that Hollywood financiers of all kinds count proven success a good indicator of respectable future performance. If a film has excelled in its home market it is likelier to be a good investment. The reasoning is similar to that governing the process of adapting successful novels for the big screen; the success and visibility, the capital accrued in the network, help make additional cultural production more feasible in the fertile border zones of the network. *Let Me In*, though predictably disparaged by many critics and viewers in Europe, outpaced the Swedish version by a wide margin in absolute terms with respect to budget, marketing and box office receipts. Relatively speaking, however, *Let Me In* did not do as well as expected, despite a budget of $20 million and an enthusiastic critical reception domestically.[18] It earned only $12.1 million during its ten-week run in the US and Canada, making it

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[18] *Let Me In* was included in the ten best-reviewed films of 2010, according to both Rotten Tomatoes (http://www.rottentomatoes.com/) and Metacritic (http://www.metacritic.com/).

the fifth lowest-grossing film by a major studio in those territories in 2010 (Snider 2010).

The American remake was, interestingly, accompanied by a marketing strategy especially characterised by cross-platform synergy thinking, a viral campaign. Viral marketing campaigns are relatively common today, but still retain an association with *Let Me In*-director Matt Reeves, whose earlier film Cloverfield featured a particularly successful early instance of the phenomenon. Viral campaigns advertise films by inviting potential ticket buyers and important early adopters and trendsetters, such as influential bloggers and reviewers, to participate in the film's universe, aiming thereby to create anticipatory buzz in the run-up to the theatrical release. *Let Me In*'s viral campaign combined a modern online presence, through a dedicated website and social network presence, with concrete physicality, sending targeted early adopters real items, such as bloody funnels, Rubik's cubes and postcards written in Morse code, in the post. Though a viral campaign can hardly be considered a new version of the text as such, it nevertheless gives interesting insight into the potential power of multimodal synergy and the creativity and new connections it can generate.

Let Me In also helped to facilitate the creation of a new version of *Let the Right One In* in a new modality. Hammer Films, the studio that bought the rights for the American film adaptation, paired up with Dark Horse Comics to commission a four-issue series of comic books from writer Marc Andreyko. *Let Me In: Crossroads 1-4* (2010-2011) together function as a prequel to the plot of the film. The network of *Låt den rätte komma in* was thus expanded into a new form of literature. Interestingly, this new version caused friction in a previously largely harmonious polynetwork; John Ajvide Lindqvist was outraged by the liberties taken with "his" characters and considered taking legal action against Hammer Films. Subsequently, however, he discovered that the company had in fact acquired full character rights, allowing them, through their transcultural purchase and production, to further expand the *Låt den rätte komma in*-polynetwork as they saw fit (Stockholm TT Spektra 2010).

By now a bestselling novel, a European art house cult film, a Hollywood remake and a comic book series, not to mention a film soundtrack, *Låt den rätte komma in* had by 2010 developed from a simple novel into a highly complex ecosystem of versions, each situated in a local network of actants, situated, in turn, within a larger polynetwork spanning linguistic areas, cultures, continents and media platforms. All these connections and interactions, far from overcrowding and suffocating the network, however, were in fact still enabling further growth, further cross-platform creativity. The network seems not to have been saturated by the inclusion of more local networks and product versions; rather, as I have argued above, these factors appear to have worked to keep the space for new versions open and productive. Or, as Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* phrased it: "John Ajvide Lindqvists '*Låt den rätte komma in*' fortsätter att yngla av sig" [John Ajvide Lindqvist's '*Låt den rätte komma in*' won't stop multiplying] Dagens Nyheter/TT Spektra 2013). In 2011, Uppsala Stadsteater performed a stage version of *Låt den rätte komma in*. This was followed by another, unrelated stage version in 2013, given by the National Theatre of Scotland, in an adaptation by Jack Thorne. The play, which is based on the Swedish film, rather than the American remake or the Swedish play, ran in Dundee, at the Dundee Rep Theatre, from 5th June to 29 June 2013. It was then picked up by producers Marla Rubin and Bill Kenwright for performance at The Royal Court in London, where it graced the stage from 29th November to 21st December 2013. The play then reopened at the Apollo Theatre for an extended run from 26th March to 27th September. It was the first time a National Theatre of Scotland play made it to London's West End.

The National Theatre of Scotland version of *Let the Right One In* also lead to yet another expansion of the text's modality, an iPhone sound game developed by Quartic Llama in partnership with the National Theatre of Scotland called *Other*, which takes players on a walking tour of Dundee. The physical space of the city was augmented with virtual input, and, during the launch weekend, with live performances along the route. *Other* was the vehicle of many networking ambitions. Not only did it seek to bring together a range of working partners, to forge relationships across various industry and media boundaries, such as between games companies and other media industries, but, as one component of a wider community project, it was also an explicit

attempt to engage the local residents and to promote the production at the Dundee Rep. In the words of the game's creative director Philippa Tomlin: "We're really excited to be working on a project supporting Let The Right One In. It's such a wonderfully dark and beautiful story and this has inspired our stories for the *Other* game" (National Theater of Scotland, 2013). Thus, although *Other* does not explicitly engage with the characters or plot of *Let the Right One In*, it "inspired by, and created to support, Let the Right One In, a stage adaptation by Jack Thorne" (*ibid*.), released in conjunction with the play's premier and promoted alongside both to the press and the play's audience.

Polynetworks and the individual actant

The discussion thus far has been centred on textual products, on the different versions of *Låt den rätte komma in*. In order further to illustrate the fecundity and centrality of the cross-platform synergy effects of multimodal polynetworks, i.e. of the interactions and relationships that must be ascribed to the superordinate structure rather than the local networks, in what follow the focus shifts to some of the other actants, to the producers of cultural products rather than the cultural products themselves. I will demonstrate the ways in which the transcultural and multimodal effects of the polynetwork has altered the position-taking spaces available to these actants. Owing to the interconnected, multivalent nature of networks, it should be noted that all nodes in all networks in a polynetwork feel and respond to changes in that polynetwork. The actants singled out for scrutiny below are therefore to be understood as particularly dramatic examples, rather than as remarkable exceptions. The four actants to which I will pay particular attention are: Swedish author John Ajvide Lindqvist, Swedish director Tomas Alfredson, British independent publisher Quercus and Swedish production company EFTI.

Being translated into English and published on the British market is a privilege only a limited number of Swedish writers ever experience. That John Ajvide Lindqvist was one of the lucky ones was the result of a confluence of events, ranging from his domestic success to the specific agenda of recently founded publishing company Quercus and, of course, the quality of his writing. That his novel *Let the Right One In*

would hardly have become the English-language bestseller it is today without the success of the film version has already been discussed above, but the impact of polynetwork effects has also been significant on Ajvide Lindqvist himself, on his position-taking space within both the local literary network and the multimodal polynetwork. As has already been touched upon above, Ajvide Lindqvist expanded his interactive network connections from the field of literary production to that of film production when he was tasked with writing the screenplay for the Swedish film version. Following the successful, and what we must take to have been enjoyable, experience of working together on *Let the Right One In*, the connection between Ajvide Lindqvist and director Tomas Alfredson has been strengthened. In 2012, the pair collaborated to produce a stage play, *Ett informellt samtal om den nuvarande situationen* (An Informal Conversation About the Current Situation). At present, they are in the process of producing a remake of Swedish 1977 children's classic *Bröderna Lejonhjärta*/*The Brothers Lionheart*, based on Astrid Lindgren's novel of the same name. The new version in this multimodal polynetwork seems, moreover, to enjoy some of the effects of the capital Ajvide Lindqvist and Tomas Alfredson accumulated within the *Let the Right One In* polynetwork. Not only is the new film an international co-production, rather than an outright Swedish product, it will also be filmed in English, with an international audience in mind. With a budget of over £28 million, it will be the most expensive film ever made in Scandinavia (Domellöf-Wik 2014). The actant known as John Ajvide Lindqvist can thus be seen to have migrated across the boundaries of local production networks, to a new space within the polynetwork. His position-taking space has unquestionably been altered through his inclusion in a multimodal polynetwork.

Ajvide Lindqvist's position-taking space within the field of literary production has also been altered by the synergy generated in the polynetwork. First and foremost, the success of *Let the Right One In*, which, as we know, was fuelled by the success of the text in other modal forms, has led to the publishing of all of Ajvide Lindqvist's books in English. In addition, however, it has also, as hinted at above, had the effect of limiting his influence as the creative producer of his own texts in certain circumstances. Thus, as the text mutates into new modalities, the original author is undermined in his role. The position-taking space, which at first included full control

over the narrative contents of the text (leaving to one side, of course, the contextual influence of editors, potential censors and so forth) is restricted in the multimodal polynetwork. Consequently, Ajvide Lindqvist was not able to prevent the release of the comic book expansions of *Let the Right One In*. In the multimodal network created around Ajvide Lindqvist's text, he is no longer the sole author. On a more positive note, Ajvide Lindqvist's substantial international exposure, an effect of the polynetwork, has also expanded his authorial position-taking space. Not only is he now a respected writer for the big screen, he has also debuted as an English-language writer with the publication of his first-ever short-story written directly for the English-language market, 'The Music of Bengt Karlsson, Murderer' part of horror anthology *A Book of Horrors* (2012).

Tomas Alfredson's position-taking space has also been altered through his inclusion in the *Let the Right One In* polynetwork. A relative unknown in the Swedish context, and unheard of internationally, Alfredson attests to being propositioned with some "pretty meaty offers" (Andersson 2008) following the international interest in *Let the Right One In*. Almost immediately after the film's wide release in America, he accepted the directorship of the film adaptation of John le Carré's *Tinker, Tailor Soldier, Spy* (1974), another polynetwork of multimodal adaptations. Suddenly, Alfredson had a budget of approximately £13 million, compared to the not-quite £2.5 million of *Let the Right One In*, and the backing of a major production company, Working Title, which, incidentally, is owned by Universal Studios and Magnolia, the company responsible for the US distribution of *Let the Right One In*. *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011) met with great success, receiving three BAFTAs, three Academy Award nominations and many other accolades. *The Brother's Lionheart* project confirms that the options available to Alfredson have permanently changed because of his involvement with *Let the Right One In*.

The effect on production company EFTI of inclusion in the *Let the Right One In* polynetwork has been just as dramatic. Before acquiring the rights to *Låt den rätte komma in*, EFTI, a small independent company, primarily worked with television advertisements and programming in the Swedish context. Following the international success of *Låt den rätte komma in*, however, the two men behind EFTI, John Nordling

and Carl Molinder, have, like Alfredson, crossed over into the international domain. As producers of the Swedish version of *Låt den rätte komma in*, they decided early on to attempt to get an American remake made and invested a lot of time and effort advocating for that in Hollywood. As producers of *Let Me In*, Nordling and Molinder were involved at every stage of development, from selecting a production partner to settling on a director, building transcultural relationships and amassing experience in a new production context. Aside from migrating trans-culturally, to a new production context, Nordling and Molinder's position-taking space within the Swedish context also changed. The success of their ventures in the field of film-making strongly contributed to making new position-takings possible. As a direct consequence, they made the decision to cease all EFTI's television activities in order to refocus on feature film production exclusively.

The effect on British publisher Quercus of the *Let the Right One In* polynetwork is easier to miss, primarily because it has been overshadowed by the impact on the company of its role in the Stieg Larsson polynetwork. That is not to say that *Let the Right One In* has not been successful; indeed, it is often quoted as one of the company's big generators of capital, both cultural and financial (Charles Stanley Securities 2011). In the year following the theatrical release of the film *Let the Right One In*, The Bookseller reported that Quercus was the fastest-growing trade publisher in the UK, climbing to eighteenth biggest in the country from a previous position as forty-second (Neilan 2010). While it is clear that much of this was a result of Larsson's success, the other book consistently mentioned in the context of this remarkable success is *Let the Right One In*. Indeed, in September 2010, it was reported that non-Larsson revenue (the very fact that this is an accepted accounting category illustrates the impact of the *Millenium* trilogy) had risen by 24% in the first half of that year, and that *Let the Right One In* was a notable contributor (Charles Stanley Securities 2011). The success of *Let the Right One In*, which, as has been demonstrated, was the result of polynetwork effects, has helped Quercus grow into a well-known, well-renowned £20 million revenue company, occupying a radically altered position-taking space within the publishing field.[19]

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[19] More recently, Quercus' inability to replicate the successes of Larsson and Ajvide Lindqvist, and the dwindling sales of these two authors, has forced the company to seek a buy-out. It was

Conclusion

This case study has shown that the factors that impact on the production, circulation and reception context of books are not limited to the immediate field of literary production. On the contrary, the life cycles of books are often, and in the case of border-crossing books always, part of larger networks that span national, linguistic and modal spheres. These larger network, which I have termed polynetworks, are, in essence, of the same nature as local networks, and function in similar ways. That is to say, they are made up of actants, which are themselves complex local networks, that interact with each other in a continuous, multi-dimensional, dynamic way. Effects of position-takings in one local network can, through the mediation of the polynetwork, be transferred to local networks belonging to a wholly separate field of production. One of the strengths of the model used herein is its ability to "zoom out" from local production contexts, and apply an explanatory framework to systems of a higher order of complexity. It enables a more holistic understanding of the book market and individual publishing histories by making possible the mapping cross-platform effects on books.

The examination of John Ajvide Lindqvist's novel *Låt den rätte komma in*/*Let the Right One In* and its associated adaptations has provided another snapshot of how contemporary Swedish fiction functions on the British market. By focusing on a larger context than a traditional book industry study it has provided a different angle from which to view the complex, and essentially unmappable system of literary production, thereby enriching our understanding of the material book.

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announced on 25th March 2014 that Hodder would buy Quercus, pending negotiations to be completed in May 2014.

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Chapter 5

Core and periphery: asymmetries in the global network

The case study of Swedish author Liza Marklund presented in Chapter 3 showed some of the ways in which books and authorships must be understood in relation to their context, to the network of agents that enable and shape their production and dissemination. It also demonstrated some of the ways in which the act of border-crossing, and the concomitant migration to a new network of production, circulation and reception, can impact on a work.

The study of John Ajvide Lindqvist's *Let the Right One In* widened the scope beyond the national level and beyond the level of the book. Though some aspects of *Let the Right One In* can be understood in the context of its migration to a new network of production, circulation and reception, many important effects on the work's position-taking space could demonstrably be traced to the influence and impact of other networks, transcending both national context and medium. These networks were understood as complex constructs surrounding other versions of Ajvide Lindqvist's text. The concatenation of networks, which I term polynetworks, following Itamar Even-Zohar, were shown to interact on a superordinate, multi-platform level, forming, thus, a network of networks, within which each reciprocally acted on and interacted with the others.

In this third case study I wish to "zoom out" out even further, recalling sociologist Randall Collins' advice that "whatever is large and widely connected can be brought into focus within no perspective but one larger still" (Collins, 1999: 1). The focus of this third case study is the interaction between two national networks, that of British production, dissemination, capital allocation and reception and the Swedish equivalent. In order to concretise the interactions of these enormous polynetworks,

the present chapter will consider the unique lifecycle of Klas Östergren's literary novel *The Hurricane Party*.

In the context of the framework used in this thesis, *The Hurricane Party* represents a unique entity, owing to its double national genesis and production context as part of a uniquely international publishing venture. Being a product of both the UK and Sweden, rather than a book that has travelled from a national network of origin to another through cultural transfer, makes *The Hurricane Party* a site where the tensions of border-crossing become manifest in interesting and illuminating ways. In the Swedish context in particular, these tensions come to the fore through a heated debate, ostensibly on the subject of national heritage and the status of commissioned literature generally. Lurking underneath this debate, however, is a conflict within the network that is ultimately caused by a conflict over the balance of relative capitals, in the Bourdieusian sense of the word. This case study will tease out this conflict and demonstrate its origins in the tensions that arise between the two national networks occupied by *The Hurricane Party*. Put differently, what this case study provides is, then, a chance to study network connections and interaction as sites of friction, rather than unproblematic loci of harmonious exchange. Belonging to two contexts entails a struggle for Klas Östergren, not just an opportunity for seamless international expansion.

In the context of the previous case studies, on the other hand, *The Hurricane Party* is a much more typical example of contemporary Swedish fiction in the UK simply because it has not achieved outstanding success. Thus far, the examples considered, i.e., titles within the Scandinavian crime genre and John Ajvide Lindqvist's *Låt den rätte komma in*, have all been cases of commercial success, but it is important to remember that this an exception rather than a rule for any book, and certainly for a translated book on the UK market. A study of *The Hurricane Party* therefore provides an opportunity to study the more typical outcome of border-crossing: obscurity and unimpressive sales. This is a chance to explore the vexed question of why translated fiction is so often unsuccessful in the UK and whether there is something that can be done within the relevant network to address this unfortunate situation.

It is worth noting at the outset that in studying Klas Östergren and *The Hurricane Party*, I am not alone within the broad field of literary sociology. Malin Nauwerck of Uppsala University has completed her licentiate thesis about Canongate's *Myth* series and is currently finishing her doctoral thesis on the same subject (2013, forthcoming). Though the focus of Nauwerck's study differs from mine in several respects, most obviously in that her focus is the *Myth* series as a whole, while mine is restricted to *The Hurricane Party*, and in that her approach centres on the investigation of the imbalances of the world literary network as conceptualised by Pascale Casanova and, especially, Franco Moretti and illustrated by the workings of the *Myth* series across the world, while my purpose in considering Östergren is firmly focused on the cultural transfer of Swedish fiction from one national, linguistic and cultural network to another, as outlined above and throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, Nauwerck's research and mine touch substantially at certain points, owing to our similar fields of study and the overlap in material that is the inevitable result of studying the same literary work. In what follows I will draw attention to sections of overlap as the need arises.[20]

The Hurricane Party

Klas Östergren debuted in Sweden in 1975 with the novel *Attila*, after a failed attempt to find a publisher for a collection of poetry entitled *Ögonblick* (Moments). After publishing several more novels during the 1970s, Östergren had his popular breakthrough in 1980 with his novel *Gentlemen*, which became something of a cult classic and which has recently been revived as a Swedish feature film. Östergren wrote the screenplay for the screen adaptation, which was nominated for a Golden Beetle, Sweden's most prestigious film award, in 2014. He is a prolific translator from English, French and the Scandinavian languages and has worked extensively with writing original content and adaptations for both film and television. On 27 February 2014 he was elected to join the Swedish Academy; he will be inducted on 20

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[20] I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Malin Nauwerck for her grace in scholarly rivalry and for her unstinting generosity in terms of sharing her work and findings; without her willing cooperation, I could not have proceeded in my study of Klas Östergren.

December 2014, thereby joining the uppermost echelons of the Swedish literary sphere.

In October 2005, it was announced that Klas Östergren, whose books had never been translated into English, though a number exist in French, German and other languages, had been selected to contribute a novel to a publishing venture entitled the *Myth*-series. The series, which was launched that same month, was the brainchild of Jamie Byng of Canongate Books; the concept was, and still is, to publish short novels on the subject of a myth, penned by writers from all over the world. In this venture, Canongate was joined by a large number of publishers from different countries and language areas, making the *Myth*-series, in the words of its main publisher, which greet visitors to the website dedicated to the *Myth* series, "the most ambitious simultaneous worldwide publication ever undertaken" (themyths.co.uk). The resulting book was *Orkanpartyt/The Hurricane Party*.

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, *The Hurricane Party* has, by virtue of its inception as a commissioned component of an international series of novels headquartered in the UK, an unusual dual genesis and nature. Rather than being written in Swedish by its Swedish author and published domestically in the original language and only subsequently transferred to a different national context, as is the case with most translated books, *The Hurricane Party*, began life, conceptually speaking, in the UK and was jointly realised in two national contexts. An exploration and comparison of the novel's fate, role and function in each of these two contexts will reveal much about how the position-taking space of a book is determined, both enabled and constrained, by the network in which it is embedded. Thus, *Orkanpartyt* and *The Hurricane Party* are, constitute mutual test cases, identical entities realised in different national contexts (and thus, of course, not at all identical in practice), which makes it possible for the sociological researcher to identify the interactions between national context and the book.

In some respect, this way of approaching the comparative study of national networks evokes the sociological practices of world literary studies. Malin Nauwerck's (2013) licentiate thesis addresses this scholarly paradigm in considerable detail, both

generally and as applied to *The Hurricane Party* specifically, but it is worth restating some the insights from this field in conjunction with the present study.

The global system, within which all literature operates and interacts, can be conceptualised in a variety of ways. One such way, which is the ultimate foundation upon which my analysis builds, is the core/periphery model. This conceptualises a space structured according the logic of relative domination. A famous iteration of the core/periphery model was famously outlined by Immanuel Wallerstein, in his 1974 book *The Modern World System*. Wallerstein's model, which concerns itself with the rise of economic modernity, posits a tripartite world order, in which the core economically subjugates the periphery, with an intermediate level designated semi-peripheral. The model has been adapted to areas closer to the literary field by, among others, Abram de Swaan (1993, 2001). de Swaan, who applied the trichotomous model to language communities, demonstrated, as discussed in Chapter 1, that English holds what he termed 'hypercentral' position in the system. Swedish, on the other hand, is, according to de Swaan's model, merely semi-peripheral. Johan Heilbron further refined the area of application of the core/periphery model by using it to examine translation flows. His results were discussed in some detail in Chapter 1. Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, which my model draws heavily upon, as discussed in Chapter 2, is also an example of a core-periphery model, one that applies directly to the field of translated literature.

Most influential in recent times, however, have, perhaps, been the systems models proposed by Pascale Casanova and Franco Moretti. Both Casanova and Moretti forwarded their models around the turn of the millennium, Pascale in the 1999 *World Republic of Letters* (Eng. trans. 2004) and Moretti in a 2000 article entitled 'Conjectures on World Literature' in the *New Left Review*. Both are worth outlining further as they can help to shed light on the fortunes of Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party*.

Casanova's seminal book draws heavily on Bourdieu's ideas of the literary field, which also provide the basis for this thesis. In Casanova's view, national literatures are situated in a world system structured by the rivalries and competition of said

literatures. At any one time, national literatures possess unequal degrees of capital, the relative levels of which determine their distribution in a core-periphery framework. The amount of capital – which Casanova terms "literary" capital – a literature possesses is directly linked to the historical, political and linguistic context to which it is tied. In other words, nations, and languages, that have accrued a great deal of cultural capital are associated with 'high' culture. Individual authors leverage such capital and use it to play in the world literary system. Authors belonging to a well-endowed nations and language area have, as a result, a substantial advantage over authors that cannot claim the same amount of capital on the "bourse of literary values" (Casanova 2003: 12). The core of Casanova's approach is, then, that the dynamics of the world of literature are profoundly shaped by mechanisms that allow globally powerful literatures – which are frequently, though not inevitably – associated with politically powerful nations, to influence, even dominate, the processes of inclusion, reception, distribution and consecration. Casanova thus posits that it is these types of processes, not the literary merits of texts, whatever they may be deemed to be, that determine the shape and content of the world literature system, or, as she prefers to call it: the world republic of letters. In other words, what circulates beyond its original context, on the international rather than the national market, is not the best examples of humankind's writing, it is those texts that are sanctioned by a world system of literature shaped by an inherently uneven power struggle in which powerful actors dominate weaker ones.

Inspired by Marxism and, in particular, the work of Wallerstein, Franco Moretti argues that the system of literature can be approached in a similar way to the world's economic system. Wallerstein's world-systems theory takes as its basis that this economic system is unified and consists of a core, taken to be Western Europe and the United States of America, a semi-periphery, i.e. the rest of Europe, and a periphery, which is to say everyone else. The core, semi-periphery and periphery relate to each other through a process of exchange, which is quantifiably measurable, rather than qualitatively discerned. The tripartite division of the world into areas of relative centrality clearly indicates the important role in the system played by inequality. Moreover, Moretti postulates that the inequality intrinsic to the modern system of literature has, since its emergence in the eighteenth century, driven a

homogenisation of global literary output. In Moretti's own words, the "world literary system is unified by the international literary market; it shows a growing, and at times stunning amount of sameness; its main mechanism of change is convergence; and is best explained by (some version of) world-systems analysis" (Moretti 2006; 120). The growing sameness of the international literary market is caused by what Moretti refers to metaphorically as a "wave", i.e. "uniformity engulfing an initial diversity: Hollywood films conquering one market after another (or English swallowing language after language) […] waves are what markets do" (Moretti 2000: 67). The wave is thus associated with market forces radiating out from the core to the periphery, laying waste to what used to be a mosaic of separate literatures and replacing it with the homogenous cultural products of the imperialist core.

Though the differences of Casanova's and Moretti's approaches are in some ways substantial – particularly, perhaps, in terms of how close a parallel they see between the world of economics and the world of literature and how much emphasis they place on economic capital – they undeniably have a lot in common too. Both are essentially materialist in nature, taking the material book and its circulation as their starting point. Both also base their understanding of the world literary system on a Bourdieuan notion of a field of cultural interaction, which in turn interacts with fields of power. Both, furthermore, incorporate Even-Zohar's insights into the essentially unequal relationships that obtain between core and periphery, though they do not necessarily agree on what that core is, and acknowledge the skewed processes that result from this fundamental inequality. To put it differently, literary works exist in a literary space defined by competing norms and the logics of a market place defined by the inherently unequal relation between core and periphery.

As has already been made clear in previous chapters of this thesis, these approaches resonate strongly with the theoretical framework upon which I have built my own model. Chapter 1 outlined in some detail the types of quantitatively measurable pressures that shape global translation flows, as well as where Swedish is currently positioned, both in a general international context and vis-à-vis the United Kingdom in particular. The case studies in Chapters 4 and 5 have also implicitly hinted at how international and literary power relations have impacted on border-crossing Swedish

books. It is already broadly clear, therefore, that within the world literary system, the English language dominates the Swedish and the United Kingdom is in a much stronger position than Sweden. It would be well to recall the vast differences in literary output, the discrepancy in import/export ratios and the level of international consecration, presented in Chapter 1, that separate the two national systems, and which inevitably reflected in their relative centrality in the world literary system.

In what follows, I will seek to explore how the insights of world literature theory can be applied to the interaction of the Swedish and British national literary networks, and how each interacts with the book *Orkanpartyt/The Hurricane Party*. Before doing so, however, it is important to pause here and set out a detailed description of the peculiarities of the UK production and dissemination context in which Klas Östergren's novel is embedded.

The crucial point to recognise is that *The Hurricane Party* is not simply a stand-alone text from a Swedish fiction writer. It is, on the contrary, part of a series of books collectively called the *Myth* series, which is published by the Scottish publisher Canongate Books. Canongate occupies an interesting position within the British publishing network, simultaneously occupying a position at its very core, as a renowned and successful independent publishing house with offices in London and New York, and at the semi-periphery, on account of its Scottish roots and headquarters and the problematic relationship Scotland has had, and still has, with England and the United Kingdom. Before we begin to map and analyse the position of *The Hurricane Party*, then, it is crucially important to fully understand the position of Canongate and the nature of its project the *Myth* series. What follows is therefore a short history of Canongate books; I would once more refer readers to Nauwerck's (2013) licentiate thesis for further information about Canongate and about the *Myth* series more broadly.

Canongate Books

Canongate Books was founded under the name Canongate Publishing in Edinburgh in 1973 by husband and wife Angus and Stephanie Wolfe Murray. In the years that followed, Canongate published an eclectic range of books, old and new, by authors unknown and already famous, fiction and non-fiction drawn from a variety of genres. The common denominator, which profiled an otherwise fairly catholic list, was a focus on Scotland. Canongate's strategy seems to have been to establish itself as a local actor.

It took the company eight years to catch their big break, which came with the launch of Alasdair Gray's *Lanark*, a portrait of Glasgow that took the city's native son over thirty years to complete. The novel, which has become "synonymous with the 'new Scottish Renaissance'" (March 2002: 328), was a formative text for a generation of Scottish writers, including Iain Banks, A. L. Kennedy and Janice Galloway, who sought to renegotiate their relationship with literary constructions of Scottish identity. The critical and commercial success of *Lanark*, as well as its remarkable cultural significance helped define Canongate as a champion of new Scottish writers, and of resistance against English hegemony in the literary world. It had thus taken its first steps toward leaving a real mark in the industry, and was, furthermore, able to increase its output from around 10-15 titles per year to 15-20. The final years of the 1980s were troubled ones for Canongate, which was sold in 1987 to Phaidon Press, part of the Musterlin Group, which in turn went into receivership only three years later, taking Canongate with it. It was rescued by Stephanie Wolfe Murray who bought the company back, only to sell it shortly afterwards to Albany Books. Unfortunately Canongate continued to report losses under Albany's stewardship and no more than eighteen months later Canongate was back in receivership. The turn-around came only three weeks later, however, when Canongate was bought from the receiver for a reported £100 000 (Morrison, 2013), by two employees, Jamie Byng, then the company's publicity manager, and Hugh Andrew, its Scottish sales representative. Andrew and Byng, now two of eight shareholders in the company, seized Canongate's operational helm as well, as joint managing directors. Andrew subsequently left

Canongate to work full-time with the Scottish-interest publishing company he had founded in 1992, Birlinn Books.

Andrew and Byng's buyout of Canongate was a turning point for the company. Intent on overhauling the business, and, not unimportantly, revamping its image, the new leadership set out to make big changes, while still remaining firmly committed to the Scottish identity that had defined Canongate from the outset. In the *Scottish Book Collector* (1995: 11), Byng underlined a desire to become "a publisher with a strongly outward perspective". This philosophy apparently applied to both the company's business model and to its literary output. Canongate established distribution links and marketing agreements with American publisher Interlink Books, and began broadening its search for writing talent. Aside from these new directions, Canongate also wanted to capitalise on the position it had established as a champion of Scottish innovation and resistance. It sought to expand its counter-culture stance, which so defined the 1990s in Scottish culture, and Canongate's position within the world literary system, to other areas as well. The aim was, according to Byng, to establish "an alternative canon" (Murphy, no date).

To that end, Canongate proceeded in two ways, by subverting the existing canon and by facilitating the birth of a new one. Instrumental in the subversive endeavour was the creation of the Pocket Canons in 1998. The Pocket Canons are a selection of individual books from the King James Bible, published with introductions by well-known, predominantly secular, writers and thinkers such as P. D. James and Nick Cave, which create a "new canon from an old canon" (Byng 2009). The books, which were typeset according to modern fiction norms, rather than established biblical tradition (with chapters and verses) were packaged to be attractive to collectors, and priced at £1 each in the UK, proved to be as popular as they were provocative. With introductions replete with less-than-favourable assessments of God and Jesus and every kind of blasphemy, the Pocket Canons courted Christian outrage and were rewarded with both sales success and an incredible amount of media attention. To date, the series has sold over one million copies in eleven languages and is now also available in e-book form (Page 2010).

In addition to the efforts to generate controversy through the main Canongate list, the company also began spawning more niche imprints, including African-American focused Payback Press and the incorporation of *Rebel Inc.*, a counter-culture magazine known for its slogan "Fuck the mainstream!", its stated aim to "[to take] the sledgehammer to the literary establishment", for publishing decidedly dark Scottish writers such as Irvine Welsh and Alan Warner before they had book deals and for the infamous "Ecstasy Interview," an unedited transcript of a conversation between *Rebel Inc.* founder Kevin Williamson and Irvine Welsh while both were under the influence of MDMA. Byng has identified the starting such imprints as a way of defining the company in relation to London-based publishers, the core to Canongate's periphery, so that London literary editors would not be able to dismiss Canongate with "this is local, parochial, and only of Scottish interest". Canongate was, in other words, taking steps to broaden its position-taking space by expanding its identity, which had until that point, as outlined above, been predominantly locally focused.

By the turn of the third millennium, Canongate changed course in three respects. Most important, perhaps, is that a decision was made to discontinue all imprints, publishing solely under the name Canongate Books. This followed a particularly acrimonious and litigious rift with head of Rebel Inc. Kevin Williamson in 2001 (Innes 2001). Second, a conscious effort to control the company's list accompanied the decision to get rid of imprints. The careful cultivation of the company's list manifested itself in two ways. The first was a contraction of the list in terms of numbers. As then-Director David Graham put it: "Our strategy of publishing fewer books, better paid off in 2002" (The Publishing News Digital Archive 2003). The second was an editorial shift toward the mainstream. Though the company was still invested in the counter-culture, Scottish identity it had worked hard to establish, they were now turning more decidedly to mainstream fiction, leveraging the cultural capital accrued in search of increased financial success and growth on the publishing market, in a move reminiscent of James F English's (2006) "intraconversion" through which one form of capital is transformed into another, as outlined in Chapter 2. Finally, Canongate sought to position itself more strongly on the international publishing market. Negotiations were initiated with American independent publisher Grove/Atlantic,

which resulted in the joint venture Canongate US. Canongate US is housed in Grove/Atlantic's offices in New York and publishes books from Canongate in the United States, including the Myth series. Canongate also bought a controlling 70% share of Australian independent publisher Text Publishing, which has since been sold. Canongate and Text remain close associates, however, under a joint venture agreement.

All three course changes have been more or less unqualified successes to date. Canongate has managed to consolidate its output under what has become a well-known central imprint, Canongate Books, while successfully transferring the counter-culture and Scottish avant-garde credibility from its discontinued imprints to itself. The decision to move closer to the middle of the publishing road also reaped instant and lasting rewards. In 2001-2002, Canongate published Michel Faber's *The Crimson Petal and the White*, Louise Welsh's *The Cutting Room* and Yann Martel's *The Life of Pi*, which went on to win the Man Booker Prize and has been Canongate's seemingly inexhaustible cash-cow ever since. Canongate's international undertakings have also paid off; the Canongate US venture with Grove/Atlantic saw a doubling of its output between 2004 and 2006, with revenues growing 248% in the same period (Andriani 2006).

Today Canongate publish the authors on their list in forty-five countries. Since the anomalous year of 2011, the company has returned to healthy growth; in 2013 turnover was up 8.3% on the year before, to £10.4 million, and pre-tax profits grew by 21% to £1.2 million (Farrington 2014). The Canongate list is a star-studded one that includes, aside from already-mentioned Yann Martel and Michel Faber, mainstream fiction heavy-hitters like Scarlett Thomas and Carol Birch, indie darlings like Miranda July and Noel Fielding, and non-fiction celebrities like Barack Obama and Julian Assange. It has established a presence in London and New York and is one of the UK's most well-known and well-respected independent publishing companies, known for its cultural edge, its grand and daring publishing schemes and its international outlook.

Before the story of Canongate can be considered fully-told, however, at least in the context of the Myth series, two important and salient aspects of the company's output and image should be noted especially. Both have been touched upon or implied above but nonetheless deserve more elaborate engagement before moving on to explore the context of the Myth series.

Firstly, Canongate Books has since it was started been characterised by a distinctive dual geographic focus. Its connection to Scotland and its investment in Scottish writers and literature has been constant as has its desire to look beyond the confines of the British Isles, to the wider literary system.[21] This simultaneously local and international outlook manifests itself on several levels: geographical location – Canongate has offices in Edinburgh, London and New York; list of titles – Scottish talent remains prominent even as Canongate has expanded its stable of writers considerably. Within the system of world literature, this places Canongate in an interesting position; following Moretti, it is at once a local and international actor, a dominant publisher in the semi-peripheral Scottish context and a small publisher in the core context of British publishing and the English-language.

Secondly, there is a long tradition of series publishing at Canongate. Canongate's first series, Canongate Classics, started in 1987 and publication is still ongoing. The Classics showcase a Scottish canon of poetry, art, biography, fiction, history and folklore. The series is still growing and many titles have in recent years been made available as e-books and via print on demand. Since the establishment of the Canongate Classics, series publishing and canon-making (and remaking) have gone hand in hand at Canongate – an aptly named publisher indeed. The subversive Pocket Canons, mentioned above, were joined by the Rebel Inc. Classics, a repackaging of a number of seminal Rebel Inc. titles, which were thus presented as a counter-culture, alternative canon. These have since been complemented by a more staid, eclectic series, simply, and ever so modestly, called The Canons, which showcases Canongate's most successful and important works to date. Interestingly, Canongate's

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[21] Indeed, both titles published in 1973, Robert Shure's *Monk* and *Comic Tales of Edgar Allan Poe* were by American writers.

canon-making ambitions now stretch into the future as well as the past. With the announcement of The Future 40, a list of 40 Scottish "storytellers" of the future, the company has attempted to pre-empt the future Scottish canon, before it is even written (Farrington 2013).

It is clear from the outline given here that Canongate has worked hard since its founding, and especially since the buyout in 1994, to grow, both in reach and importance. The company has made full use of the position-taking space available to it, drawing both on its position as an English-language publisher on the important UK market and cultivating the gritty edge and local flavour that its peripheral, independent status allows it. Hard work and innovative projects have gradually reshaped the positions available to Canongate, turning it into an important independent with considerable cultural capital and business relationships around the world.

The Myth series

Having thus described Canongate's history in some detail, to illuminate a number of aspects of the company's background that will impact on the analysis that will follow, the time has come to turn to Canongate's most ambitious project yet, the *Myth* series, of which Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party* is part. Malin Nauwerck (2013) has in her licentiate thesis provided a much more extensive outline of the series than there is room or justification for in the present study and reader interested to know more about the other titles in the series or the other national publishing contexts of the novels will find additional information there.

The Myth series was conceived by Jamie Byng as an aspirational and inspirational international project in which authors would reimagine and rewrite a myth of their choice. The aim was to produce literature that would represent and be published all over the world. The Myth series was to be a new canon, in the deepest sense, a new take on our global cultural heritage, built on material perceived to underlie all human storytelling, myths, literary refractions of humanity's soul. To date, twenty-five titles

have been published in total; forty-eight publishers in thirty-eight countries have participated in the project thus far.

Figure 25. The seventeen Myth titles published in English to date.

In many ways, the Myth series is a recognisable Canongate idea; in many respects the series is a logical next step along a well-trodden path, as well as an extension of the companies conflicted position within the UK publishing industry. It represents an intensification of the international ambition Canongate has nourished since its founding, which has also manifested in the company's bilateral joint ventures and its concerted efforts to publish books written in languages other than English. It is, of course, yet another series, which, as was outlined above, is a Canongate speciality. Moreover, it is a series with canon-building ambitions, a natural sibling to the Pocket Canons, the Rebel Inc. Classics and the Canons. As will be discussed further below, the series is also, or was, at least, at first, the recipient of lavish material care. Each title was designed with an eye on collectors and middle-brow buyers.

In other ways, however, the Myth series is both qualitatively and quantitatively different from Canongate's other series. Qualitatively because its scope is so much wider and quantitatively because of its considerable size and complexity. Clearly, the Myth series amounts to something more than Canongate's other series. It goes beyond the national into the realm of world literature, seeking to establish a canon of texts belonging to humanity, not to nations. And who, as Bjarne Thorup Thomsen puts it in his introduction to *Centring on the Peripheries: Studies in Scandinaivan, Scottish, Gaelic and Greenlandic Literature* (2007: 26), can escape from the orders of the nation, either core or peripheral, to achieve a contrapuntal elevation? The answer is,

quite literally, those who have left their nation behind but not yet acquired a new one: the utopian vision of a new humanity belongs to the migrant and the exile.

It can, of course, be argued that Canongate, a highly successful and well-established publisher hardly qualifies as an exile or a migrant. Given the companies convoluted history as a semi-peripheral Scottish entity in the core context of the United Kingdom, however, and as a relative core entity in the context of other peripheral, non-English speaking nations, Canongate may well fit the part of migrant. We have seen, above, how Canongate has, time and again, moved back and forth across the interstice between Scottish and British, using its different identities as circumstances and opportunity allowed.

The Myth series was ostensibly conceived as a wholly original approach to publishing, even to literature. The project was to link authors, publishers and readers in countries around the globe, in the creation of an unprecedented literary event, a series of texts that would be, from its birth, truly international. The universal cultural heritage of humanity was at the centre of the project and worldly things such as national and linguistic borders, history and politics would finally be left behind. The first title in the Myth series was launched with great fanfare on 21st October 2005, with simultaneous release in thirty-three countries and twenty-eight languages. Canongate called it, in its accompanying press statement, "one of the most ambitious publishing projects ever undertaken," adding that "the fact that so many publishers are going to launch the series on the same day is, as far as we are aware, unprecedented on such a scale" (Frankfurt press release, document from Canongate).

The desire to be representative of the whole world literary system is evident in the project's mission statement, committed to paper under the heading "concept" in "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction", a steering document produced by Byng at some point after the publication of the first five titles, in 2006. It reads: "The Concept: Commission a diverse range of international writers to retell over 25000-30000 words a myth of their choice, be it Greek, Hindu, African, Native American, Islamic, Celtic, Aztec, Norse, biblical or whatever" (Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction, document

from Canongate, emphasis in original).[22] We note that every continent is represented in the list of mythologies enumerated, and any inadvertent omission is covered by the word "whatever". Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction also reveal that authors were to be chosen without reference to their nationality or native language. The central criterion used for selection was, as Norah Perkins informs us, that the authors "have some real contribution to make to the dialogue" (Perkins 2009: 17).

Further emphasising this equality, stemming from a notion of depoliticised meritocratic selection, is a clause in the Notes that states that Canongate will insist on a "[f]avoured nation clause in each contract so each author is offered identical terms". We see from the two selection processes, of myths and of authors, that Canongate's focus was partly on ensuring balanced geographical representation and equality and partly on ensuring literary quality, by paying no heed to historical or political boundaries.

The importance of literary quality is further emphasised in the basic guidelines outlined by Perkins, whose MA dissertation on the *Myth* series gives invaluable insight into the inner workings of Canongate, where Perkins was employed for a time. The guidelines inform us that authors were to be approached "well in advance, so as to give them enough time to write their piece, and to ensure excellence" (Perkins 2009: 18). The sentiment is reinforced by a section in Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction, not only by the very title of the document,[23] but also by a reluctance to formulate a specific author brief, which according to Byng would risk limiting authors' creativity. Moreover, the crucial importance of achieving excellence is emphasised in a section entitled "crucial", which states that "[t]he key thing is not to hurry this [the Myth series] as if we make the right approaches to the right authors and they have plenty of time to write then we should be able to produce a series that is going to endure and continue to be read in say 100 years."

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[22] I am greatly indebted to Malin Nauwerck for her generous sharing of this and other unpublished documents obtained from Canongate.

[23] Byng borrowed the title from the famous Wallace Stevens poem of the same name, which sketches a modernist roadmap to the creation of supreme fiction.

What we can discern in this stress on quality and longevity, is Canongate's desire not only to cultivate its list, but to create yet another canon. This canon-making tendency has been noted previously in this chapter. It is embodied in the Pocket Canons, the Canons, and the Scottish Classics, espoused in quotes indicating a wish to "create a new canon from an old canon" (Byng 2009) and spelled out in the company's self-identification as a publisher responsible for "retaining the essence of the Scottish Canon" (meetatthegate quoted in Perkins 2009: 9). It is tempting, given this, to read "100 years", in the quote above, as something more akin to the Biblical "40 years", i.e. as a number that signifies an untold number, umpteen, if you will. Canongate claims to aim to create books that will continue to shape literature, and humanity, for eternity, weaving the *Myth* series into the fabric of world literature, ensconcing it securely in a hypothesised canon of universal works.

The selection of myths as the source material out of which to build the new series is a logical extension of Canongate's own canonical endeavours, particularly the Pocket Canons. It also fits well with an understanding of world literature as a canon of the most important and celebrated works of literature in the world. For as Byng puts it: "I had […] come to realize how [myths] underpinned all storytelling". This thought is taken further in the frontispiece that adorns all Myth books published by Canongate (and present in some form in the majority of books worldwide), which also heads the series' dedicated website, themyths.co.uk:

> Myths are universal and timeless stories that reflect and shape our lives – they explore our desires, our fears, our longings, and provide narratives that remind us what it means to be human (Östergren 2009: frontispiece).

The terminology is indicative of why myths were chosen and how they are thought to fit into the framework of world literature. Put briefly, myths are the literary embodiment of world literature. The most primordial of 'classics' they are, to speak with Casanova, "the very notion of literary legitimacy" (Casanova 2004: 15). Furthermore, many motifs and plots are widespread and border-crossing, hinting at the primordial nature of myths, their pre-Babelian quality that hints at the possibility that they may be something fundamentally human.

The asymmetrical *Myth*-series

Though the verging-on-grandiloquent claims of the *Myth* series may indeed be seductive and not a little inspiring, it would be a mistake to take them at face value. Closer examination of the nature of the series and its titles quickly reveal that the series is firmly shaped by known pressures of the world literary system. Thus, even though the number of participating countries is often used to laud the project, both by its participants and the media, using words such as "global", "worldwide" and "international", the international distribution is, in fact, limited in significant respects.

Figure 26 Map of global participation in the Myth series (Nauwerck, 2013)

Figure 26 presents the situation clearly. Large swathes of the world are unrepresented and non-participatory. It would not be expected, of course, for the *Myth* series to include every country on Earth, but the complete exclusion of Africa, the near-exclusion of South America, Central America and the Middle East (where non-Arab Israel is the only participating country), along with the very selective participation in Asia, makes the map look conspicuously Eurocentric, or, more accurately, Western-centric. The participating countries from outside the Western world, China, Russia, India, South Korea, Japan, Israel and Brazil are all big players on the world scene, either already developed nations or part of the BRIC group of big developing countries. That the rest of the global south is excluded must inevitably impact on the Myth series' legitimacy as a universal canon of humanity, or even as a truly international publishing project. The ease with which the developing world is passed over, and the implicit claim that their exclusion is unimportant to the *Myth* series'

identity, is indicative of a system structured around a core-periphery inequality. I will return to discuss this point in more detail below.

The selection of authors for the series reveals a similar bias toward the developed world and the semi-periphery of the BRICs. Though the *Myth* project's international angle was much touted from the start, as evidenced by Canongate's initial press release, the first three books released were in fact all written in English, by English or American writers. More translated titles have complemented the series over time, but one third of the Myth series as a whole still consists of English-language titles. Given that only approximately 335 million people worldwide count English as their first language (Lewis 2009) – or in other words less than five percent of the world's total population – English-language writers must be considered grossly over-represented in the Myth series, see Figure 27.
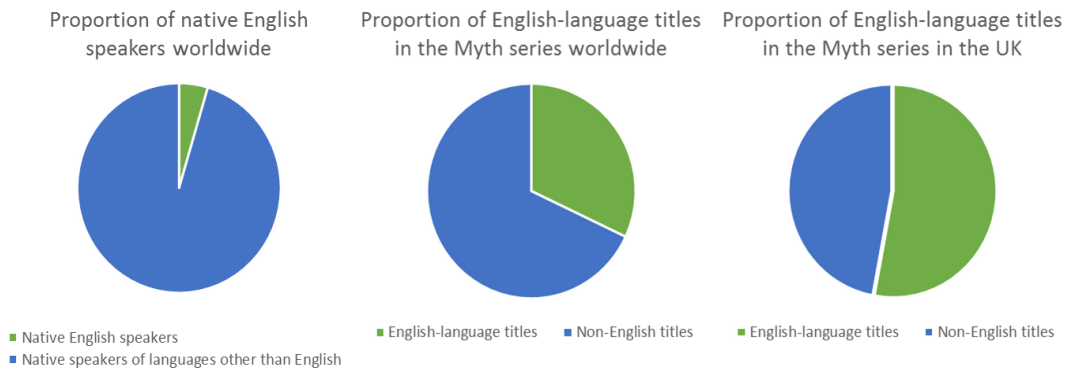
Figure 27 Prevalence of the English language in the Myth series and the world

For titles published by Canongate in the UK, the proportion is even bigger; nine out of seventeen titles were originally written in English. The number of translated titles released in any one year has only significantly outpaced that of English-language titles in years when no English-language titles at all were ready for publication (see Figure 28).
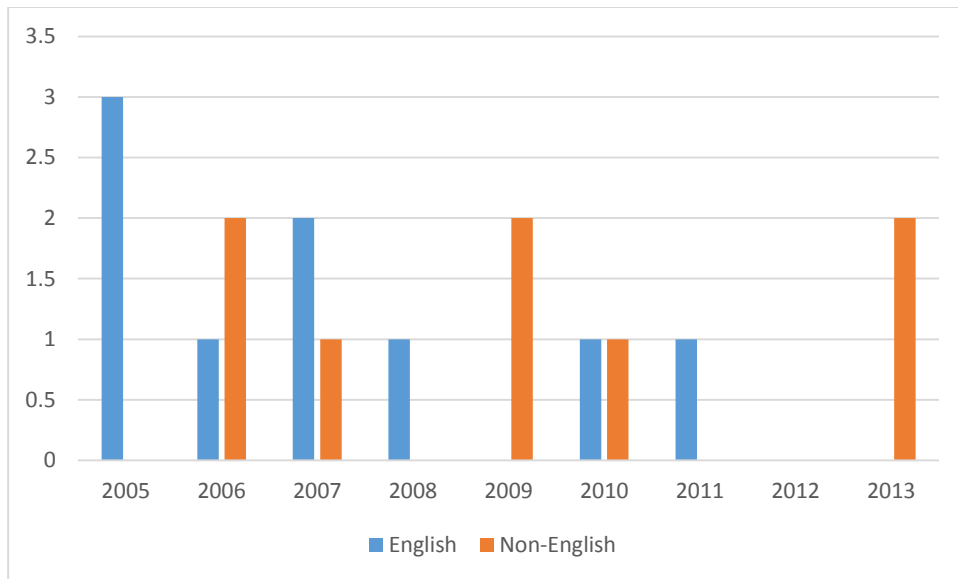
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Figure 28 Number of titles published in the Myth series year by year in English and other languages

These discrepancies in selection demonstrate that although Canongate's intention may indeed have been to create a global series that represented all cultures, a sort of post-national counter-narrative to the core/periphery based world literary system, the *Myth* series has since its inception been influenced by the power relationships that obtain in that system. The imbalance between the core, represented by English and the UK, and the periphery, i.e. everyone else, is significant, in both senses of that word. This matters because it makes visible the uneven playing field on which authors and texts compete. The bias toward centrally produced works is self-evident. It also matters because access to the core of the system is not just a vanity; as I have shown throughout this thesis, it has a number of very tangible effects on literature from the periphery. The two most important of these is the consecrational effect of moving from periphery to core and the effect on translation.

The consecrational effect is an extension of the power imbalance between core and periphery. Since the core possesses so much more cultural and literary capital than the periphery, indeed, since it largely controls of what counts as cultural and literary capital, it alone bestows legitimacy on works within the system. To be recognised by the core is therefore to be exalted. Recognition in this case, in the form of being included in the *Myth* series or even published as one of the titles in the English-language series, has the power of placing a peripheral writer in the company of international giants such as Margret Atwood and Philip Pullman. Furthermore, in its

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self-appointed position as canon-maker, Canongate wields the power of inclusion in the world literature canon, to be bestowed where the company deems appropriate. It may seem incongruous, of course, to inscribe Canongate, whose position is, as outlined above, itself a conflicted one within the world literary system. In relation to other countries included in, or indeed excluded from, the *Myth* series, however, it typically holds a dominant position. This is both due to the relative general centrality of Canongate, which has also been discussed above, and its specific centrality within the *Myth* project, which will be discussed in more detail below.

We saw above that the criterion used for selecting on whom to bestow such consecration was not just the stature of the writer in question, but also that he or she had "some real contribution to make to the dialogue" (Perkins 2009: 17). The criterion seems well placed to cancel out the advantages English-language writers have on the world stage, and thus promises more plentiful inclusion of peripheral writers. This first criterion is, however, followed by another: "Consider each prospective author in terms of their likelihood of selling well in at least three territories, including the U.K." (*ibid.*: 18). A pivotal characteristic of a work deserving to belong to the canon, to the *Myth* series, is thus that they are likely to sell well in the UK, in the core market. To further underscore this inequality of opportunity, we note that of the eight titles translated to English to date (less than half of the total, as we remind ourselves), more than half were recipients of specific institutional support from their home countries (Nauwerck, forthcoming). The implications of this are significant; without the support of a cultural institution, typically located in the writer's home country, a peripheral work stands very little chance of being translated into English, even within the framework of a project such as the *Myth* series.

The effects on translation of being accepted by the core are also important. English is the modern world's lingua franca and it functions as a literary transit language. Being translated into English is therefore not only an act of consecration, it also increases a work's chances of being translated to other languages and thus circulated more widely. That this is so for the titles in the *Myth* series is clear. The number of translations generated varies a lot between Myth titles, from over thirty (*The Penelopiad*) to none (*The Hurricane Party* languishes at the lower end with only two

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translations). The firm rule that applies across the board, however, seems to be that if a peripheral work is not translated into English, or in other words, selected by Canongate, it will not be translated at all, and thus confined to a national, peripheral existence. To put it another way, translation of Myth series titles does not seem to happen between, say Portuguese and Czech, or Chinese and Italian, but once a title exists in English it can be picked up by publishers across the globe.[22]

Another core premise of the *Myth* series' claim to be post-national is its source material. We recall the words and phrases associated with myths, such as "universal" and "underpinning all storytelling". But the distribution of mythic material within the *Myth* series does not reflect the implicit equality and freedom suggested by Canongate's descriptions. By and large, the English-speaking writers have appropriated the classic and Judeo-Christian myths, traditionally associated with core of the system, while peripheral writers have tackled more 'exotic' material associated with their specific cultural context. Thus, Jesus is rewritten by Philip Pullman and Odysseus by Margaret Atwood, while Shinto legend is tackled by Natsuo Kirino and Slavic myth is retold by Dubravka Ugrešič. This is to some extent a generalisation, and there are exceptions, such as Russian Victor Pelevin re-framing the myth of the Minotaur or British Alexander McCall-Smith choosing as his subject the Celtic god of dreams, but as a general tendency it is clear to see. What this means is that writers from the core see the most well-known and central – at least to Western civilisation – myths as their domain. Peripheral writers, on the other hand, are limited to concerning themselves with their native peripheral mythological material.

There was, moreover, in the selection of myths as the material of the Myth series, a fairly explicit implication that this choice would resist the core/periphery relations

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[22] A certain amount of translation between culturally and linguistically close neighbours does, however, seem to occur. The Danish translation of *The Hurricane Party* is one such example.

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that structure the world literary system. Because all peoples and cultures have myths, and because they are all ancient and equally valid in an ontological and narratological

sense, there would be no biased preferences in terms of source material. This is not borne out by the titles published so far. Excluding *A Short History of Myth*, which is a general, non-fiction text, eleven of the series twenty-four titles retell Classical or Judeo-Christian myths. Three of the remainder are Northern European and another three Eastern European. This leaves only seven titles dealing with the rest of the world's mythology, and four of these are Chinese. The idea that myths exist outside of fields of power, that moving sufficiently far back in time in search of source material would liberate modern works of literature from the historical and political context in which they are created and circulated can consequently be seen to be a fantasy. It rested on what Casanova has scathingly called "a fiction accepted by all who take part in the game: the fable of an enchanted world, a kingdom of pure creation, the best of all possible worlds where universality reigns through liberty and equality" (Casanova 1999: 12).

The business side of the Myth series does not, on closer inspection, transcend the divisions and power relationships of the world literature system either. As with the selection of mythological source material for the books, the international collaboration between publishers may give the impression of a project that has successfully bypassed the core-periphery problematic. An examination of the terms of that collaboration reveals a different picture. The core bias was evident from the very start; the *Myth* series is the brainchild (to use inherently mythological language) of Byng, but was first discussed more widely and concretely during a meeting at the 2005 Frankfurt Book Fair. The publishers represented at the meeting were Knopf Canada, Grove Atlantic and Berlin Verlag, all companies firmly ensconced in the Western core of publishing. The circle of participating publishers eventually widened, though, as Figure 26 showed, they are still heavily concentrated in the developed, and especially Western, world. To make the impact of the relationship between the core, i.e. Canongate, and the periphery, i.e. everyone else, particularly publishers in non-English speaking markets, even clearer, Canongate's central position was enshrined in both steering documents and rights contracts. Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction states that "Canongate will draw up head contracts for world, clear book club, serial, hbk, pbk, audio and electronic rights and then sublicense the relevant rights to each publisher in his/her territory" (Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction). In practice this

means that Canongate owns the world rights to all *Myth* titles, which are then licensed to other publishers for a specified amount of years for a specified licensing fee. The underlying agreement of such an arrangement is clear; Canongate leases the *Myth* series brand – as well as, indirectly, its own company brand – to more peripheral publishers. This gives the peripheral publishers an opportunity to publish well-known international writers for a much smaller sum than would otherwise be the case. It also allows them to partake in and leverage the cultural capital generated by Canongate and the Myth series. In some cases it also allows them to elevate one of their national authors to core status. In return for this, Canongate can appropriate, and incorporate into its own backlist, the literary production of both well-known English-language writers, who normally publish with other companies, and international authors, who sign their works over to Canongate in perpetuity. Thus, despite what are indubitable noble intentions on the part of Canongate and the other three original paticipants, the effects of the world literary system are still seen to be brought to bear on production. Put differently, translation flows still move from the core, i.e. English, to the periphery and economic control is still in the hands of core actants.

The world – and Sweden

Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party* is an interesting contribution to the Myth series because it helps concretely to illustrate the nature of the struggles between different national systems. In the meeting between such systems, through the mediating node that is *The Hurricane Party* some of the complex interactions at work within each and between both are revealed. The most prominent of these interactions have to do with the relative balance between different types of capital and the tension that can arise through the process of intraconversion, both within and between national networks. In what follows, I will attempt to examine how the stages of *The Hurricane Party*'s life cycle were enabled and constrained by this tension, both in the UK context and in the Swedish, both of which constitute a home network and site of cultural transfer for the strangely dual work that is *The Hurricane Party*.

The consecrational power enjoyed by the *Myth* project specifically and an English-language publisher with international reach more generally was extensively

commented on in the Swedish media's response to the publication of *The Hurricane Party*. Swedish news agency TT's article, which was syndicated in several papers, sets the tone most clearly: "Klas Östergren now joins the fine company of David Grossman, Margret Atwood, Donna Tartt and Jeanette Winterson […] To be translated and published by 34 publishers around the world is a big opportunity for a Swedish author" [I fint sällskap med David Grossman, Margret Atwood, Donna Tartt och Jeanette Winterson kan nu också Klas Östergen räknas in. […] Att bli översatt och utgiven av 34 förlag runtom i världen är en stor möjlighet för en svensk författare] (TT Spektra). Other articles were somewhat more oblique but the use of words and phrases such as "chosen" (Nilsson 2005),[24] "offered an opportunity to contribute to the big international book series" (Sköld 2005), "be given the honour of participating" (Sveriges Radio 2005) nevertheless hint strongly at a power balance where the Swedish writer is demoted to junior partner.

Apart from bestowing prestige, thus endowing Östergren with increased international fame and cultural capital, it was also in Canongate's gift to provide more tangible benefits. The year before *The Hurricane Party* was released, the company published Östergren's Swedish breakthrough book *Gentlemen* (Östergren 1980). The significance of this should not be understated. Östergren is a narrow, literary author – in the financial year preceding the Myth series announcement on 25th October 2005, his total income was only SEK304 300, compared to an international heavy-weight such as Henning Mankell who earned SEK9 574 200 (Carlsson, Hellberg and Wallqvist 2005). His chances of being translated to English, which as we remind ourselves functions as the world's literary transit language par excellence, would have been slim outside the framework of the Myth series – as evidenced by the fact that it took *Gentlemen* a full eighteen years to make the journey.

It is important at this juncture to note, however, that actants at the core of a network such as the world literature system do not enjoy unlimited freedom to shape reality. Their position-taking spaces are constrained, like those of other actants, and their central positions are rarely, upon closer examination, unconflicted. Canongate is, on

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[24] The Swedish word used, "utvald", carries even stronger connotations of consecration.

the one hand, an English-language publisher situated at the epicentres of international literary publishing with offices in New York and London. It is also, on the other hand, a medium-sized independent in a fierce domestic market, in which its Scottish identity makes it at least semi-peripheral. It was noted above that Canongate has done much to maximise its use of its position-taking space, but despite admirable gumption, it should not be assumed, of course, that it can freely consecrate whatever writer and whatever work it desires. The constraints to Canongate's consecrating powers are illustrated by the case of Östergren. *The Hurricane Party* sold poorly, and *Gentlemen* performed even worse. The cultural capital held by Canongate, and that generated by the Myth series, could either not be levied sufficiently efficiently or were never truly accessible as a spring board for the Swedish writer. Following the unequivocal commercial disappointments of *Gentlemen* and *The Hurricane Party*, Canongate decided to sell the rights to *Gangsters*, Östergren's 2005 sequel to *Gentlemen*, which the company had bought along with those of *Gentlemen*, to Vintage for publication in late 2014.

The tension between the British and the Swedish context, and the underlying power imbalance at its root, were also manifest in the business arrangements surrounding *The Hurricane Party*. As has already been discussed, Canongate holds world rights to all Myth titles, and they are published under sub-licence by publishers in countries outside the UK. This means, of course that Albert Bonniers Förlag, which was Östergren's Swedish publisher from his debut until March 2014, when he followed his editor to rival publisher Natur & Kultur, has been obliged to pay both a licensing fee and royalties on sales for publishing their own author. In Sweden, there have been three print runs of *The Hurricane Party*. In the UK, sales have not exceeded 400 copies in total. In a sense, then, the reality of the collaboration in the case of *The Hurricane Party* is that the periphery provided the core with both material and economic returns, in return for the legitimacy and access to wider markets the core was thought to provide, but which turns out to have been largely chimerical.[25]

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[25] It should be noted, however, that Canongate made an initial investment in *The Hurricane Party*, in the form of an advance. Though the size of this advance was fairly modest in international terms (Perkins 2009), Canongate were likely aware that income generated by sales of the book were unlikely to earn this advance back.

The Hurricane Party also gives us occasion to examine even more closely the idea of myths as universal literary material, common to all humankind. We have already seen in the wider context of the whole Myth series that peripheral mythological material is statistically disadvantaged among the so-called 'myth-makers'. It has also been established that core writers, i.e. those writing in the English language, are to a larger extent than their peripheral colleagues free to rewrite the myths of their choice, including examples drawn from the most central canons, the Classical and Judeo-Christian ones. Both statistical tendencies come to the fore more concretely in the Swedish case. In the first reports on Östergren's selection to contribute to the myth series, some major news outlets claimed that he had chosen to retell the story of Don Juan (Persson, 2005). In the event, the myth chosen was in fact from Norse mythology. Any speculation regarding the truth of the Don Juan rumours or the reason for choosing a Scandinavian myth must, naturally, remain just speculation. It is interesting to note, however, that Östergren has verbally signalled that there was a certain amount of pressure from Canongate to engage with local mythology representative of his Swedish nationality (Malin Nauwerck, personal communication, 2 May 2013, cf. Nauwerck, forthcoming). The change of heart, if such did in fact occur, indicates a move from Western European, relatively modern legend, to more exotic, quainter (just think of the associations with the Marvel comics) and more local mythology in the form of Loki. This hints at a familiar logic, in which the peripheral writer is defined through his otherness and his lack of access to the core. Swedishness is understood to be the fundament of Östergren's identity and writing, the characteristic that defines him. And since he initially seemed inclined to disagree with this assessment, he was persuaded that the contribution he was meant to make to the Myth series was, as it was for all other peripheral writers, to provide local colour and global legitimacy to a series which would, without its peripheral writers, look starkly skewed.

The pressure on peripheral writers to engage with local mythology is thus central in the case of *The Hurricane Party*. Moreover, as if to underscore the uneven playing field on which authors act, A.S. Byatt, a well-known English-language writer, also chose Norse mythology for her retelling. Byatt's work, *Ragnarok, the End of Gods*

(Canongate 2011) takes the Old Norse apocalypse as its subject. In a universalist world, the choice could not possibly draw any criticism, but in the severely constrained context of the Myth series, where peripheral authors seem to have been encouraged not to stray outside their own exotic mythological contexts – as defined ethnically and linguistically– whether explicitly by Canongate or implicitly by their position in the world literature system, Byatt's freedom to select a peripheral myth gives the impression of cultural appropriation by the core. The fact that the appropriation was successful arguably makes the case more aggravating. Where *The Hurricane Party* sold only 346 copies in the UK in the first six months after publishing, *Ragnarok* sold 6029, even though interest in the Myth project, and sales, have generally diminished over time. *Ragnarok* was published in hardback and paperback, while *The Hurricane Party* was only released in Demy paperback. The subjugation stemming from Östergren's peripheral status is thus manifest in the very materiality of *The Hurricane Party*.[26]

Figure 29 The more expensive hardback Swedish first edition and the Demy paperback available in the UK

The difference in critical reception was also noteworthy, Byatt's Myth title was reviewed in every major newspaper in the UK and featured on the BBC's The Culture Show and Radio 4. Much less attention was lavished on Östergren at the time of publication in 2009, with only brief reviews in the Guardian, the Independent and the Financial Times, all three of which dedicated much more space to Byatt in 2011. The difference in reception and sales success both indicate that the *Myth* project has not

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[26] The less exclusive packaging of *The Hurricane Party*, and some of the other translated titles, such as Milton Hatoum's *Orphans of Eldorado*, itself the result of low sales expectations, may, of course, lead to further decreased sales numbers, which in turn makes investment in the packaging of translated fiction even less attractive, and so on, in a classic vicious circle.

been entirely successful in counteracting or subverting the pressures that inhibit the success of translated fiction in the UK, despite considerable effort.

The response in Sweden to Östergren's Myth title further indicates the presence of internetwork tensions, and the impression in the more peripheral Swedish context that the relationship between the two, in terms of how it manifests in the Myth series, is potentially exploitative and can have a direct impact on literary production in the periphery. The commissioned nature of Östergren's contribution was noted with particular hostility in Sweden, as will be demonstrated below: an example of the inequality inherent in the relationship between a core language, English and core market, the British one, on the one hand, and a semi-peripheral language like Swedish and a semi-peripheral market such as the Swedish one on the other. In the case of *The Hurricane Party* this inequality was perceived by Swedish actants to take the form of a deliberate intraconversion by Canongate, intended to transform the cultural capital of a consecrated local writer into economic capital belonging to the publisher. What the Swedish reception of *The Hurricane Party* shows is the co-existence of an anxiety that the control the dominant system, exercised through the leveraging of economic capital, and indeed, of the heteronomous pole of economic capital within the Swedish system, conceived by many of the cited critics as a place where cultural capital is considered more important.

The anxiety about the dominant force of economic capital and the risks of interaction with a more endowed national literary system on local production is obvious in the response of the Swedish media to *The Hurricane Party*. The initial triumph at being represented in a prestigious core project, loaded with cultural capital, outlined above, had by the time the finished book was being reviewed morphed into suspicion of what effects the pull of the heteronomous pole might have had on Klas Östergren, who, as we recall is a well-established, well-respected, culturally endowed author in Sweden. Stefan Spjut formulates this scepticism most poignantly in his review in the national morning paper *Svenska Dagbladet* which opens with the following paragraph:

> I have no love for literary campaigns and projects, and for that reason I hold
> *The Hurricane Party*, the first Nordic contribution to the so-called Myth series

(famous authors from different parts of the world retell myths) at telescopically extended arms' length. Had this book come out of Klas Östergren had it not been coaxed out by the rustle of money only a "unique and worldwide publishing project, possibly the most ambitious ever" can generate? Hardly.

[Om litterära kampanjer och projekteringar tycker jag inte, och av det skälet håller jag *Orkanpartyt*, det första nordiska bidraget i den så kallade Mytserien (berömda författare från olika delar av världen återberättar en myt), på teleskopiskt utsträckta armar. Hade den här boken kommit ut ur Klas Östergren om den inte lockats fram av det sedelprassel som bara ett "unikt och världsomspännande utgivningsprojekt, kanske det mest ambitiösa någonsin" (förlagets presentation) kan uppbåda? Sällan. Boken är beställningsvara, en produktens plastighet vidhäftar omslaget, borde slängas i väggen] (Spjut 2007).

Björn Waller agrees, in slightly less flamboyant prose, in his review for *dagensbok.com*, an influential blog: "the self-imposed requirement to weave ancient myth into a modern (or postmodern) worldview makes this feel like too much of a commissioned piece, something that has to be crammed in with a chisel and sledgehammer" [det självpåtagna tvånget att väva in de uråldriga myterna i den moderna (eller postmoderna) föreställningsvärlden gör att det känns för mycket som ett beställningsjobb, något som måste jämkas in med stämjärn och slägga] (Waller 2007). Other critics were more subtle; Carin Ståhlberg is an excellent example of the less direct critical approach. Rather than voicing any concerns of her own, Ståhlberg lets Östergren himself undermine the project in a reported interview. After a brief outline of the Myth series concept, Ståhlberg cuts to Östergren saying: "[t]he Myth project may seem like something apart in one's production, and I had reservations but said that I would like to give it a go. I had to locate my own heart within the story" [Mytprojektet kan tyckas som något apart i ens produktion, och jag hade förbehåll men jag sa att jag gärna ville göra ett försök. Det gällde att hitta var mitt hjärta låg i historien] (Ståhlberg 2007).

Specific aspects of the work are brought up as examples of the detrimental influence of being enmeshed in the Myth series network. These include literary characteristics,

such as Östergren's language. Ståhlberg writes that "time pressures made him [Östergren] skip the intense linguistic tweaking and polishing he would normally indulge in" [det också var tidspressen som denna gång fick honom att slopa de intensiva språkliga finputsningarna som han annars brukar ägna sig åt] (*ibid.*). Spjut declares, in his inimitable fashion, that "it [the text] plods along at a steady pace, only to stop abruptly whenever the author squeezes in some god-nonsense and well-known Eddic episodes; the average bit of exposition is as obstructive as an obese person in a stairwell [det knallar på bra, för att avstanna abrupt, då författaren trycker in lite gudakäbbel och välbekanta episoder ur eddorna; den genomsnittliga tillbakablicken är bredarslad som ett fetto i en trapp] (Spjut 2007).

But the unease is not only directed at *The Hurricane Party*, and its perceived deficiencies in craft and intent, it is also felt in relation to the Myth project's ability to appropriate local cultural capital, in other words mythological material. Spjut is once more the critic who puts this most memorably: "I wonder how Egil, grandson of Kveld-Ulf and son of Skallagrim, would have welcomed a person approaching him with talk of some unique and worldwide publishing project, possibly the most ambitious ever; I think he would have reached for his axe." [Jag undrar hur Egil, sonson till Kveld-Ulf och son till Skallagrim, skulle ha bemött den som kom till honom med tal om ett unikt och världsomspännande utgivningsprojekt, kanske det mest ambitiösa någonsin, jag tror han hade fingrat på yxan] (*ibid.*). Barbro Westling makes implications along the same lines: It is, naturally, an honour to be counted among the exclusive group of writers selected to throw new light on these ancient stories. But then it's not an easy task." [Det är så klart hedrande att ingå i den exklusiva krets av författare som utsetts att kasta nytt ljus över de uråldriga berättelserna. Uppgiften är heller inte enkel] (Westling 2007).

As has been noted, however, the potential damage to peripheral literary networks and their unique expression by the Morettian wave of core-controlled hegemony can to some degree be mitigated by the resistance inherent in hybridity. Some Swedish critics appear to pick up on this possibility, and to note the ways in which *The Hurricane Party* attempts to stay afloat in the deluge, to torture Moretti's wave metaphor just a little. Critical identification of this type of resistance is sometimes

surprisingly optimistic. In his review in local paper *Kristianstadsbladet*, Johan Malmberg lets Östergren himself frame his choice of Norse mythology as an act of resistance. "'I actually did not accept unconditionally. If I were to participate I really wanted to make it my own project,' Klas Östergren says. Since he – correctly – assumed that everyone else would come to write about Mediterrenean mythology, he turned elsewhere" [Jag tackade faktiskt ja med förbehåll. Om jag skulle delta ville jag verkligen göra det till mitt eget projekt, säger Klas Östergren. Eftersom han – med rätta – antog att alla andra skulle komma att skriva om Medelhavsmytologin vände han blicken åt andra hållet. Hela 2006 plöjde han Eddan och högvis med litteratur om nordisk mytologi] (Malmberg 2007). I am, obviously, based on the information outlined in this study, inclined to disagree with Malmberg's assessment in this case. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the critic is searching for signs of active resistance against hegemonic influence. Spjut also underscores the possibility of resistance in *The Hurricane Party*, as encapsulated in his insistence that "Östergren is still Östergren, after all" [Östergren är ändå Östergren] (Spjut 2007). In other words, Spjut seems to imply that being entangled in the suspect web of conflicting national networks, and thus under the influence of the heteronymous pole and the sway of economic capital, does not entirely define Östergren, who has the ability to keep his autonomous position intact and untainted. The larger network, felt by Spjut to exert so much negative influence, can be shaped by mitigating local form and capital, both possessed by Östergren, to create something with at least a few redeeming qualities. It is interesting in this context to speculate about how the brand identity of the *Myth* series, contractually stipulated and thus inescapable, limits hybrid responses in local, peripheral markets. If *The Hurricane Party* could have been marketed as a stand-alone Östergren title, would it have received a warmer reception in Sweden? It will of course never be possible to investigate such a scenario fully, but for a broader examination of the Swedish reception of the *Myth* series as a whole and Östergren's position within the wider world literary system, see Nauwerck (2013; forthcoming).

Conclusion

In 2007, the French newspaper *Le Monde* published a manifesto signed by forty-four Francophone writers, which claimed that Francophone literature was finally being

transformed into world literature, by means of a "Copernican revolution". Copernican because the rise in popularity and critical acclaim of writers born outside of France had finally revealed that "the center, from which supposedly radiated a franco-French literature, is no longer the center" (Barbery et al. 2007). The signatories claimed that a true so-called French world literature" had emerged because the core-periphery dichotomy, in which France dominated all other Francophone countries, had dissolved. Discussions of whether or not that is an accurate assessment are, of course, not the subject of this study, but the idea of a "Copernican revolution" is a compelling and instructive one.

What this case study has shown, however, through its examination of Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party* and its place in two separate national networks of production, dissemination and reception, is that the global world literature system, which turns on an English-language axis, has not undergone a Copernican revolution. The answer to comparatist Djelal Kadir's "compelling question", i.e. "the inevitable issue [of where] the locus where the fixed foot of the compass that describes the globalizing circumscription is placed" (Kadir 2004: 2) has been shown to be English, the UK and Canongate, in that order. The core still exerts "subterranean forces of institutionalized power structures, masquerading as centres of liberalism" (Bassnett 1993: 9). In the universe of world literature, and the solar system of the Myth series, Sweden remains a distant planet, its writers able to access global markets and international acclaim only by the consent of actants occupying central positions in the vast network.

The present study has also revealed, however, that distance from the core of the system also entails an at least perceived distance from the heteronymous pole of economic capital and a concomitant proximity to the autonomous pole of cultural capital. It is not my intention here to revert to a dichotomised view of capital, rejected and modified in Chapter 2 through consideration of accounts that deal with the concept of capital in a more nuanced way. The crucial point of findings from this chapter is, however, that there exists substantial tensions between different types of capital which though differentiable nevertheless cluster closer to either the heteronymous pole of economic capital and power, associated with dominant systems

within the world literature system, or the autonomous pole more associated with lack of economic power and peripheral status.

The indifferent reception *The Hurricane Party* received in the UK is indicative of the struggle between to differently endowed national networks. Its lack of success, both in terms of sales and media attention typifies the fate of the majority of translated books that are introduced on the British market. It is not possible to conclude from the isolated case of Klas Östergren what the reasons for this are. Suffice it to say here that the interaction of two national publishing and reception networks is inherently and unavoidably a site of friction and even struggle, owing to their different levels of endowment, or, put differently, their unequal positions in the world literary system.

Chapter 6

Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad

Having come, now, to the final case study of this thesis, some patterns and tendencies of the British market for Swedish literature are already emerging. Recurring themes, which will be highlighted and discussed at more length in the conclusion, include the dynamic potential of brand identity within networks; the very tangible impact on production, circulation and reception of the position-takings of individual actants; the complex relationship between core and periphery that seems to obtain in highly complex interactional networks and the profound, but unpredictable, impact position-takings and reciprocal connections can have on outcomes. The market place, and the actants associated with it, many of which have been identified in the first three case studies of this thesis, is the obvious place to conduct a study of how Swedish literature is faring abroad, and the case studies presented thus far have been drawn from the private sector. Limiting the inquiry to the private sector alone, however, will give a skewed picture of how the market for Swedish literature abroad functions. This is so partly because it entails ignoring the complex nature of books, which, as we remind ourselves are simultaneously tradable goods, cultural works of art and political entities, which in some respects transcend commodification.

Moreover, a restricted view of the system as being limited to private actants active in the market place assumes that a clear distinction can even be made between private and public. This conceptualisation of the system goes squarely against the systemic network approach of this thesis, which resists strict dichotomies and insists that networks, and their actants, are complex assemblage structures. Thus, an actant can consist of both public and private elements and impulses. A publishing company, for example, functions like any other for-profit company in most respects, but may still be the active pursuer, and recipient, of financial support from the state or the charity sector. Similarly, an author may make a living through advances and royalties from sales, but may also in effect be sponsored by the state through various grant schemes. The blending of private and public in the literary system pervades every level of the

network. Thus, although the case studies presented thus far have concerned themselves mainly with private actants and their interactions, there has been at the very least tangential public involvement in the networks studied. The Swedish film version of *Let the Right One In*, for example, received, as outlined in Chapter 2, substantial support from the Swedish Film Institute and the Nordic Film and Television Fund. Similarly, many titles in Canongate's Myth series, including a clear majority of the non-English titles, and *The Hurricane Party*, were in receipt of support from government agencies in their home countries, to help pay the cost of translation into English.

Thirdly, conceiving of the network as coinciding completely with and being limited to the market place runs counter to the insights gleaned from for example Pascale Casanova (2004), who has demonstrated that the literary system does not entirely coincide with economic systems. Finally, considering only private actants in the network means ignoring at least one important, heavy-weight actant, the Swedish state. The state is of course in no position to control liberalised markets, especially not markets located outside its own borders. Nevertheless, the Swedish state has an inherent interest, the nature and motivations of which will be discussed at some length below, in the promotion of Swedish literature abroad, and both money and time to spend in pursuit of its goals. What those interests are and how they manifest in policy and public debate will be discussed in detail below, but suffice it to say at this point that in the context of a minor nation with a minor language, the state is often a central actant, whose supportive role makes a national literature possible at all. Though the strength and diversity of the Swedish publishing industry, outlined in Chapter 1, makes it less dependent on the state than a number of other small nation publishing industries, overlooking the role played by the Swedish government could be severely detrimental to any systemic study of Swedish literature, particularly Swedish border-crossing literature, which occupies a much less secure position than its domestic, Swedish-language counterpart.

In light of this, the final case study in this thesis will outline and examine the role and function of Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad, with particular focus on the British market. It is worth reiterating, perhaps, at this point, that any complex,

interactional network is essentially unmappable; just like the three previous case studies were only able to cut a small, but hopefully illustrative, slice out of a vast and nebulous system, this case study will only be able to provide one specific angle on Swedish state support for literature. Although many interesting aspects of this fairly under-researched, rapidly developing area necessarily fall outside the scope of the present chapter, it can nevertheless contribute to a more holistic understanding of how the British book market for Swedish literature functions by adding a description of one of the network's biggest players, the Swedish state. A closer look at Swedish cultural policy in this area also provides a rare opportunity to trace the development of an actant's position-takings and position-taking space over a longer period of time. The state is ideally suited for such a diachronic study, not only because it is a stable and fairly inert entity compared to other actants, such as individuals, authorships or even publishing houses, but because the deliberations, reflection and decision-making processes that underlie the policies and behaviour of a democratic state are recorded and available to interested scholars. Moreover, as answerable to its citizens, a state's policies are the subject of public debate, which gives further insight into the dynamic formation of its position-taking space and position-takings.

In what follows, therefore, the focus of the thesis will narrow to the micro-level, in a detailed diachronic study of one particular actant in the network of contemporary Swedish fiction on the British market. It will trace the history of Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad since its instatement and show how the government's thinking has gradually become more attuned to a systems understanding of the field of literary production, and how it has, in response to this, gradually become more sophisticated in its approaches to market participation. Simultaneously, this final case study represents a further "zooming out", in that it investigates one of the most complex nodes in the network of Swedish literature on the British market. The state is a vast network with uniquely complex, and at times haphazard and contradictory, motivations, constraints, abilities and organisational structure. This tension between the micro and macro context is inherent in the state's position in the network and can be accommodated within the framework used here, as outlined in Chapter 2, because all levels of any network are understood to be structured according to the same principles.

State support unpacked

In terms of actant analysis, the state is unquestionably one of, if not the most, complex ones in the network. Even by limiting our inquiry to the part of the state that sets and executes cultural policy, the actant in question is a massive assemblage, subject to complex internal network processes and with considerable reach. It is necessary, therefore, to attempt to create a certain degree of structure, by delineating the most important types of processes for this study and suggesting some explicit definitions. In what follows, only a small subsection of the Swedish state's cultural policy work will be discussed. This is the part that relates to the promotion of Swedish literature abroad. Conceptually, following Ann Steiner (2012), differentiation will also be made between distinct levels of that work. The first level is one of what Jeremy Ahearne (2009: 144) has termed "explicit" cultural policy. This term denotes "what [a state] proclaims it is doing for culture through its official cultural administration". It encompasses the frameworks and policy documents produced by the state, primarily, though not exclusively, by the Ministry for Culture or an equivalent government agency, outlining and steering the state's involvement in the cultural sphere. This explicit level can be further divided into three separate sub-parts. The first part consists of the state's rationale for involvement in the cultural sector. It answers the question of why the state should intervene in the arts. State involvement is not a given, though it is certainly more or less a rule in the developed world, and the reasons administrations offer for their actions have the potential of being very illuminating.

The second part of a state's explicit cultural policy framework is its understanding of the cultural sector. Here, understanding is not meant to imply an assessment of a state's knowledge of the workings of the cultural sector, though this may, of course, vary from state to state and over time, but rather a tracing of the ways in which it conceptualises and analyses the cultural sector. The nature of this conceptualisation is affected by the state's motivations, and affects them in turn. Both the state's understanding of the cultural sector and its motivations are also in a mutually constitutive relationship with the third level of explicit policy, which is the set of concrete strategies and frameworks formulated for the state's active participation. Among these may be counted directives to state agencies, the structure of those

agencies, the amount of money allocated to their work and the appropriation directions that accompany funds given. All three levels will be examined and discussed below.

Aside from the three levels of explicit cultural policy formulation, which, following Ahearne's definition, consists of proclaimed aims and efforts, this case study will also examine the executive cultural policy activity that is the tangible result of such proclamative activity. In terms of the scope of this thesis, this means the work that is done on behalf of the Swedish state, using the funds allocated by the Swedish government to promote and disseminate Swedish literature abroad. It is in terms of this tangible work that it will be possible to home in further on the specific context with which this study is primarily concerned, i.e., Swedish literature on the British market. For while policy is, by its nature, more abstract, concrete action is narrowly directed and formulated. It is also the practical extension of the state's cultural policy thinking. As such, the nature of it changes as a result of evolving understanding and the occasional introduction of new tools. Moreover, the practical application of policy need not, as we shall see further on in this chapter, operate in seamless lockstep with that policy. The mismatch between explicit policy and practical efforts on the ground can illuminate much about network effects, both within the organisation that is the state and in the network as a whole. The competing, often contradictory position-takings of actants in networks create contending pressures that are revealed in the gaps and tensions between motivations, understanding, strategies and concrete support work. To illustrate this, this chapter will proceed to outline the history and current state of these four areas, as they relate to the Swedish state's support scheme for Swedish literature abroad.

State involvement in the cultural sphere

Before delving into the details of the Swedish state's motivations for intervening in the international market on behalf of Swedish literature, it may be instructive to take a moment to review the rationale for a state to get involved in the arts more generally. A number of reasons have been outlined by researchers in the fields of cultural policy and cultural economics and they will serve as a useful backdrop against which to

examine the motivations of the Swedish state. Following cultural economist John O'Hagan, reasons justifying state involvement in the arts draw on three distinct lines of argument, "non-private benefits, information failures and distributional issues" (1998: 21). We will look at each in turn, and in some detail, because a full understanding of the state's rationale for intervention will be crucial for the study of the Swedish state's support scheme for Swedish literature abroad.

At the core of non-private benefits arguments for state involvement in the arts lies the assumption that the arts are of benefit to society, not just to the individual who pays to consume it directly. An individual may derive private benefits of various kinds from attending a theatre performance or reading a book, and for this they may justifiably be charged admission or the price of the book. The non-private benefits that accrue with each such act of private consumption, however, cannot be charged to anyone and must therefore be paid, or as O'Hagan puts it, "captured" by the state (*ibid.*). A large number or non-private benefits can be proposed generally, but not all are relevant to the study of support for literature or for the even more specific area of non-domestic literary promotion. A significant number, however, are and will be dealt with in turn below.

The most obvious non-private benefit of promoting Swedish literature abroad is national prestige. A country wants to be admired for its culture and can reap benefits and advantages from being so. National cultural prestige may be especially important to nations that are less able to compete in other fields due to their smaller economies or relatively less significant military might. Sweden has a head start in the area of literary prestige because it is the country that awards the Noble Prize for Literature, the world's most prestigious literary prize, but Swedish literature is less well-known and less consecrated than that of larger neighbours such as Germany or France.

Another oft-cited reason for the state to get involved in supporting the arts is national identity. Art, it is argued, defines "those elements of national life which characterise a country and distinguish its attitudes, institutions, behaviour, way of life from those of other countries'" (Throsby and Withers, 1979: 177). Thus, the cultural identity of a country must be protected and projected. The "communications of a nation", as

Canada's 1976 Royal Commission on Publications opines, "are as vital to its life as its defences, and should receive at least as great a measure of national protection" (quoted in Globerman, 1983: 41). It is important to note that many scholars have suggested problems associated with arguments linking cultural production and national identity, questioning whether such a link can be made at all, whether it is inherently essentialist (cf. Zolberg, 1996) and, more fundamentally, whether national identity is truly of any real relevance, especially compared to other values, such as social cohesion (Weil, 1991). In the context of cultural diplomacy, however, the value of national identity is obvious. In this context, national identity is conceived more as a national brand than as the product of social cohesion. It is a concatenation of images, values and evoked feelings that together constitute the idea of a nation. Literature, its quality, genre distribution, perceived value content and settings form an important component of that national brand. Swedish literature is an important element of the self-image Sweden projects. In terms of state support schemes for Swedish literature abroad, the self-image projected is shaped through a grant allocation process. How this occurs will be discussed in more detail below.

Another important, and potentially more tangible, non-private benefit of state support of cultural production and dissemination is economic spill-over. Economic spill-over can manifest itself in various ways. State support for literature can not only lead directly to employment opportunities for agents of the book market, it can also entail lucrative spin-off production, as we saw in the case of John Ajvide Lindqvist's *Let the Right One In*. Especially in terms of support for international promotion, economic spill-over can also come in the shape of increased awareness of a country and increased tourism revenues. A concrete example of this is the *Wallander* tourism that has sparked a whole industry in the fictive detective's home town of Ystad in the south of Sweden, which is outlined in Carina Sjöholm's (2008) informative article 'Wallanderland: Film-och litteraturturism i Ystad'.

The final non-private benefit to be considered here is the role the arts, including literature, play in social criticism and innovation. As Weil (1991: 158) puts it: "Just as the arts, in some instances, may be used to embody, reinforce, and celebrate the values of their society, in other instances they may come to function as the vehicle by

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which those values are confronted and questioned". In the context of the Swedish state's international cultural work, this benefit exists both in terms of outflow, because Swedish values can challenge those of other cultures and help shape debates there, and inflow, because external impulses can challenge Swedish ideas and preconceptions. The scope of this study does not, of course, encompass the Swedish state's efforts to disseminate foreign literature in Sweden, but the exchange activities that form part of the support scheme for Swedish literature abroad have the potential to expose Swedish authors to new influences, perspectives and critical angles.

Aside from non-private benefits accruing from the production and consumption of cultural products, O'Hagan also identifies rationales for state funding of the arts that relate to distribution failures and information issues. "The main function of government intervention in a market economy", he states, "is to ameliorate the distributional consequences that would result from sole reliance on the market system" (1998: 48). Put differently, this is to say that the market is not necessarily able to distribute goods effectively or adequately inform the buying public about the goods available for consumption. In O'Hagan usage, both distributional failures and information issues are broad terms, comprising wider issues of distribution and information, including arts education in schools, multicultural participation in the arts and associated institutions and so forth. In the context of this study, however, the terms will be used in a more precise manner. For Swedish literature on the British market, where Swedish literature is in a decidedly weak position, as outlined throughout this thesis, distributional failures manifest as, for example, the lack of availability of translations of Swedish literary works, which makes it impossible for a British book buyer to purchase a Swedish title. Information issues, such as lack of awareness of Swedish authors, make it impossible for book buyers to make an informed choice, even when translations are available. It can, thus, be argued that the state has some responsibility to attempt to rectify such problems, both in terms of the balance of the international literary marketplace and for the sake of Sweden's national culture.

A history of direct financial state support for Swedish literature abroad

Having outlined the most central theoretical reasons for state involvement in the arts more generally, we can now proceed to examine in more detail the particular history of Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad. It will be well to bear in mind the three levels of cultural policy activity identified at the outset of this chapter, because the outline of Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad set out below draws on all of them. Thus, this section of Chapter 6 will trace the development of the Swedish state's rationale for being involved in the cultural sphere, the increasing sophistication of its analysis of how that cultural sphere, and the market for cultural goods, functions, and the resulting evolution of its concrete strategies for participation.

The Swedish state has a long history of offering targeted financial support to practitioners and disseminators of its national culture; specific support for Swedish literature has always been an important component of that. Authors of especially important and meritorious works were first given grants from the public purse in 1864. Since then, and especially since the establishment of the welfare state after the Second World War, the support available has grown in value and proliferated to include dedicated support for Swedish children's literature, high-quality translations of foreign literature to Swedish, minority language literature and literacy skills among the wider population, to mention but a few. For the most part, however, the state's involvement in Swedish culture stopped at the water's edge.

Limited experiments with support for Swedish literature beyond the country's borders did occur, but were without exception small and of limited longevity. Thus, the Swedish Institute, which was at that time co-funded by the Swedish state and Swedish industry (Glover, 2011), initiated Sweden's first direct support effort for literature abroad in 1949. The scheme was a collaboration with the London-based Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation (SOU 1967:56: 33). The result was the production of Swedish issues of a number of literary journals as well as English-language translations of several Swedish classics, including August Strindberg's *Hemsöborna*

(1887). From 1967 onwards, the Swedish Institute conducted a limited experiment in choosing appropriate titles for translation (SOU 1967:56).

The idea of a regularised support scheme aimed exclusively at promoting Swedish literature abroad was first introduced in the remit of the government report commissioned to review the state of Swedish literature in 1968. The report was the first of its kind in Sweden and the provisions it made for the investigation of Swedish literature abroad were modest. The relative section in the directive reads, "[t]he appointed experts should also consider which means are most appropriate to the task […] of promoting translation and the dissemination of Swedish literature abroad" (SOU 1974:5: 420). It is half a sentence at the very end of a detailed mission statement more than six pages long. The directive outlines the abundance of bills presented to parliament in the years preceding the commissioning of the literature review, bills that had included proposals regarding the level of Sweden's public lending right scheme for authors, literary activities in education, the possibility of exempting books from sales tax and the state's support scheme for journal publication. No mention, however, is made of international concerns. Nor did the authors of the review spend much time on considering the issue. Its conclusion on the matter, which is given within a paragraph labelled "miscellaneous" on page 370 out of a total of 376, is that "issues relating to the dissemination of Swedish literature abroad should essentially be considered within the framework of normal relations between publishers and authors on the one hand and foreign publishers on the other" (*ibid.*: 370). The authors of the report conceded that the facilitating function of the Swedish Institute, which was already responsible for promoting Sweden abroad in its public policy capacity, was helpful and could be bolstered. The idea of a direct grant scheme for translations was, however, cautioned against explicitly. The one-off, non-continuous nature of such a support scheme was considered vulnerable to selection bias and unconducive to generating sustained interest in Swedish titles from publishers. "It would therefore seem most meaningful for the institute to, aside from working to establish contacts, focuses on providing appropriately designed, continuous information regarding new Swedish titles, leaving the actual publishing decisions to the parties involved" (*ibid.*). In other words, the authors of the 1968 literature review could see very little reason to allocate public funds to the promotion of Swedish literature abroad.

It is important at this point to note that the 1974 Government Report on Literature Policy emphasised strongly that its general unwillingness to make clear-cut and potentially overly rigid recommendations was, to a large extent, caused by the fact that the cultural sphere was a policy "area where previous experience [was] lacking" (SOU 1974:5 §10.9). This is a clear example of how an actant's understanding of the network and its processes directly impacts on its position-taking space and position-takings. Put differently, because cultural policy, particularly the kind that sought to influence foreign markets, was under-developed and the level of knowledge and experience within the Swedish political establishment was low, active participation in the field of border-crossing literature was considered ill-advised.

As the original directive laid down for the literature report intimates, however, the state took a different view of the urgency of international cultural outreach. The 1970s was a decade during which both the wider world and the publishing industry were undergoing rapid change in response to globalisation, technological innovation and increased commercialisation. There was a powerful political imperative to engage across national borders. Moreover, though the L68 report was not enthusiastic about international cultural policy, it did begin the work of truly demarcating the cultural policy area in Sweden for the first time, formulating explicit frameworks and aims for the state's cultural policy work. This was certainly a first step towards developing an understanding of the literary sphere that would eventually make support for Swedish literature abroad seem more palatable and justified, as we shall see in a moment.

Interestingly, although the L68 report failed to engage with ideas of Swedish literature abroad, it was the more concerned with foreign literature in Sweden. The report shows that there was unanimous agreement among Sweden's political parties that Swedish literature was in great need of support, in the face of a rapidly changing world, and protection from the perceived onslaught of mass market fiction, often translated from English. Mass market literature, which had become increasingly ubiquitous on the Swedish market was widely despised in political circles; the government report was blunt in its criticism of it, describing it as "crap literature" ["skräplitteratur"] (SOU

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1974:5). The prevalent political mood is neatly, if bellicosely, summed up in the reports section on mass market literature:

> Mass market literature is an international phenomenon. The organisations behind the output are, to a great degree, global syndicates, whose resources grant them a hefty advantage on the market. […] It hardly need be stated in this context that the syndicates behind the mass market literature cannot possibly be guided by any feeling of responsibility vis-à-vis individual cultural regions.

> [Massmarknadslitteraturen är en internationell företeelse. Bakom utgivningen står i stor utsträckning världsomspännande syndikat, vilkas resurser ger dem ett kraftigt övertag i konkurrensen […] Det behöver i sammanhanget knappast påpekas att de syndikat som står bakom utgivningen omöjligt kan ledas av någon ansvarskänsla gentemot det enskilda kulturområdet] (*ibid.*: 122).

Thus, though most of the L68 report focused squarely on culture within Sweden's borders, and particularly on how the state could support so-called quality, narrow literature, it also signalled a new-found concern for the interaction of different literatures on the international book market.

This concern for international interaction was reflected in one of the most important outcomes of the commission's final report, SOU1974:5: the formulation of a set of cultural policy aims, known in Swedish as *de kulturpolitiska målen 74*. These aims, which would come to shape Sweden's cultural policy for over two decades, were designed to guide all aspects of the government's cultural policy development. They were, consequently, broadly conceived, encouraging freedom of speech, the ability to practice creativity, equality and non-discrimination, innovation and the protection of traditional cultural expression. With regards to this study, the third and eighth aims are of particular interest. The third is a famous declaration that Swedish cultural policy shall work to "counter the negative impact of commercialism within the public sphere" [motverka kommersialismens negativa verkningar inom kulturområdet] (Government Proposition 1974:28). The eighth and final aim states that Swedish cultural policy should "promote the exchange of experiences and ideas within the

cultural sphere, across linguistic and national borders" (*ibid.*). That an emphasis on such border-crossing activity made it into the first set of cultural policy aims is significant, and provided the foundation for the work that subsequently took place to establish concrete channels of support. The choice of the word "exchange" is also telling; even in its infancy, Swedish state support for Swedish literature abroad took a relational approach to its dissemination. This reveals a nascent understanding of the interactive nature of the literature system, its network nature in other words, and an awareness that agency in a network is by definition reciprocal. Put differently, there can be no simple promotion of Swedish literature; such one way engagement with the system is not possible. Instead, any promotion is necessarily an exchange, a cultural outflow entails a concomitant cultural inflow and both sending and receiving nations will be altered by that cultural exchange. Thus, although plans for Swedish literature abroad were given short shrift in the final report of the L68 commission (SOU 1974:5), the internationalisation of culture was at the heart of policy work in the mid-1970s, and change was in the air.

Another important outcome of the L68 Government Report on Literature Policy, which set the stage for the Swedish state's increasing interest and participation in the cultural sphere, was the founding of the Swedish Arts Council. At the time of its founding, the Swedish Arts Council acted as a cultural counterpart, one might say, to the Swedish Institute, which was, and still is, primarily concerned with public diplomacy and nation branding, i.e. with disseminating information and projecting an image of Sweden abroad. This new agency, working under the Ministry of Education, which was the main home of cultural policy until the creation of a dedicated Ministry for Culture in 1991, was tasked with much of the administrative work that resulted from the proposals contained in the government report. These included then, and still do today, the centrally important support scheme for publication of Swedish fiction – which aims to help Swedish publishers bring worthy Swedish works to market – support schemes for improving the population's literacy skills and support for translation of literary works into Swedish (SFS 1974:644 1974). The Swedish Arts Council was not, however, put in charge of the support scheme that was established for translations of Swedish literature into other languages. This scheme was instead

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entrusted to the Swedish Institute, an organisation founded in 1945 and working under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

After 1974, Sweden's international cultural participation became the subject of several reviews and recurring debate. The so called SIK review, which examined Sweden's international culture and information exchange, delivered its final report only four years after SOU 1974:5. SOU1978:56 took a contrary view to SOU 1974:5 and called explicitly for an earmarked support scheme for Swedish literature abroad. The motivating reasons for this were many and explicitly stated. They relate both to non-private benefits and distributional and information imbalances. Thus, the central problem identified was the relatively peripheral status of Sweden and Swedish in Europe – which is identified as Sweden's most important cultural exchange context – and the wider world.

> Living behind a language barrier entails a number of problems in this context. It is inherently difficult for Swedish-speakers to understand a world that does not use the Swedish language. The teaching of foreign languages, especially English, in our schools seeks to overcome that barrier. But the wider world is also unable to partake of Swedish portrayals of developments in our country, for language reasons, other than indirectly. That barrier is considerably more difficult to overcome. That is, of course, a small nation problem that Sweden is not alone in experiencing. But in the Swedish case the challenges are exacerbated because the Swedish language does not belong to a larger cultural area shared with other countries, as is the case in for example Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, Switzerland and Austria. […] The need for Swedish state support for culture and information exchange should be viewed from this perspective. We are therefore faced with greater barriers and challenges than most other countries. Our desire to participate in the international exchange, to influence and be influenced, require a relatively greater effort from us than from many other countries. (SOU1978:56: 38).

[Att leva bakom en språkgräns innebär i detta sammanhang särskilda problem. Vi har i Sverige problem att förstå omvärlden som inte talar svenska. Vår undervisning i främmande språk, främst i engelska, syftar till att söka överbrygga den barriären. Men utlandet kan av språkskäl inte heller ta del av svenska framställningar av vad som sker i vårt land, annat än i andra hand. Den barriären är betydligt svårare att överbrygga. Det är givetvis också ett småstatsproblem som vi inte är ensamma om. Men i Sveriges fall accentueras svårigheterna av att svenska språket inte heller tillhör något större kulturområde som delas av andra länder som fallet är t.ex. med Belgien, Irland, Portugal, Schweiz och Österrike. […] Det är ur detta perspektiv som man måste se behovet av svenskt statligt stöd till vårt kultur- och informationsutbyte med utlandet. Vi möter här större barriärer och svårigheter än de flesta länder. Vårt intresse av att delta i det internationella utbytet, att påverka och påverkas, fordrar en proportionellt större kraftinsats av oss än vad som krävs av många andra länder.]

Put more succinctly, Sweden is a small country and other countries do not understand our language. Swedish products are, consequently, unable to achieve satisfactory market penetration without linguistic mediation, which restricts access for Swedish goods. Knowledge of Sweden in other countries must also be considered relatively low, which means that the Swedish products that are accessible in foreign markets are subject to informational failures. These are especially motivating reasons for the state to be an active supporter of Swedish culture abroad. Resonating through this argument is an acknowledgement, evocative of the insights presented by Abram de Swaan (1993, 2001) and Johan Heilbron (2000), of the asymmetries that characterise the world linguistic and literary systems, where countries compete on inherently unequal terms.

The non-private benefits for Swedish society of state support for culture are also highlighted in SOU1978:56. "Cooperation with other countries is crucial to our own country's development. We are the ones who need external stimulating impulses for our culture and research." [Samarbete med andra länder är avgörande för vårt eget lands utveckling. Det är vi som behöver stimulanser utifrån för vår kultur och

forskning.] (SOU1978:56: 38). Sweden is not, however, seen as only the beneficiary of cultural exchange. On the contrary, Sweden is considered able to contribute to the positive development of other countries and the world more generally:

> [m]ost small and large countries harbour hope that increased contact within the cultural sphere can contribute to peace and understanding between peoples. […] That increased knowledge leads to increased understanding is a notion we want to stand by. There is greater reason for the international discourse to contribute to realising this hope than to doubt it.

> [[det] finns hos de flesta små och stora länder en förhoppning att genom ökade kontakter inom kulturområdet bidra till fred och förståelse mellan folken. […] Att ökad kunskap leder till ökad förståelse är ändå en idé som vi vill hålla fast vid. Det finns större anledning för världsopinionen att försöka medverka till att förverkliga denna förhoppning än att betvivla den.] (*ibid.*: 36)

As the word exchange suggests, Sweden clearly perceived the promotion of Swedish culture abroad as something that would link Sweden to the wider world in a reciprocal way. In other words, if Sweden does not participate in international exchange, it will be excluded from the network of nations and thus be unable to make itself understood, to benefit from developments in other countries and to contribute to international developments. As SOU1978:56 neatly summarises it, "if the goal of exchange across language and national borders is not reached, our cultural building project risks becoming a house without windows" [Om inte målet om utbyte över språk- och nationsgränserna uppfylls kan hela det stora kulturbygget komma att bli ett hus utan fönster] (ibid: 38)

The government proposition that followed SOU1978:56, Prop1977/78:99, clarifies why no efforts had, thus far, been made by the state to bolster the position of Swedish literature abroad, despite a long-standing awareness of the factors outlined above.

This matter has been discussed on several occasions in a range of contexts but no agreement has been reached regarding the form such support would take. The central obstacle has been the reluctance of the authors themselves to consider a state directed selection of books to be disseminated abroad.

[Frågan har behandlats flera gånger i olika sammanhang utan att enighet har nåtts om formerna för ett sådant stöd. Det främsta hindret har varit författarnas egna [sic!] tveksamhet inför ett statsdirigerat urval av böcker att spridas utomlands.] (Government Proposition 1977/78:99: 35).

The proposition continues by elucidating the reason why the state's position could be seen to be significantly altered; the successful introduction of state support for Swedish literature published in Sweden had led to a more widespread acceptance of state support, and, consequently, also of state directed selection, among authors. In other words, the position-taking of the state in one area of support for Swedish literature, changed its position-taking space with regard to supporting Swedish literature abroad. It did so through interaction with other actants in the network, primarily authors who had previously been critical to state involvement in the arts, an illustrative example of reciprocal interactivity in the network.

As a result of this change, where the altered position-takings of Swedish authors significantly altered the possible position-taking space of the Swedish state, a direct support scheme for Swedish literature abroad was proposed and accepted by parliament. Instead of relying exclusively on the indirect work of the independent Swedish Institute, which had a long history of working to promote Swedish literature abroad, the state agreed to earmark money for the translation of Swedish literature. In the first instance the scheme was instated on a trial-basis: the amount of money allocated was projected to cover the translation of 10-15 titles annually. The translations thus financed were not intended for publication as such, rather, they were produced as promotional material, samples aimed at encouraging the interest of foreign publishers. The recommendation was that the selected books be "primarily translated into English" [böckerna bör i huvudsak översättas till engelska] (Government Proposition 1977/78:99: 88), a world language that would make

presentation of Swedish literature possible in a host of countries. This shows an emerging understanding, on the part of the state, of the role individual gatekeepers and transit languages play in the network of literary production, circulation and reception (Hedberg 2012), and also hints at a sensitivity to the asymmetrical international power balance discussed in Chapter 5.

Prop1978/79:147, which focused specifically on Sweden's information and cultural exchange with the wider world, complements the information given in Prop1977/78:99. It clarifies the state's view of the role of a support scheme for the spreading of Swedish literature abroad. It states, for example, that "the purpose of the state's efforts should be to facilitate and stimulate cooperation across borders by contributing to the surmounting of economic and technical hurdles" [Syftet med de statliga stödåtgärderna bör vara att underlätta och stimulera samarbetet över gränserna genom att bidra till att ekonomiska och tekniska hinder kan övervinnas] (Government Proposition 1978/79:147: 39).

The decades following the significant upheavals in the wake of the 1974 Government Report on Literature Policy were a stable time of consolidation, during which relatively few changes were made to the nation's cultural policy (Harding 2012). Not until 1993 did the Swedish government feel it necessary to commission a new report on cultural policy. The decision to review the area was motivated primarily by international developments, such as the increasing pace of globalisation, "in particular the increased movements of people, cultural products and cultural influences across national borders" (*ibid*.). In response to these trends, the explicit remit of the report was set as "cultural policy and internationalisation" (SOU 1994:35). The finished report, SOU 1994:35, was published the following year and resulted in a number of changes across the cultural field. The only change directly relevant to the state's support for Swedish literature abroad, however, was the overhaul of the national cultural policy aims.

Though the 1996 aims were, overall, very similar to those formulated in 1974, which they replaced, there was a subtle shift in terminology that is interesting from the perspective of a systemic network model. A new aim was introduced, which stated

that cultural policy should "enable culture to be a dynamic, critical and unbound force in society" [att ge kulturen förutsättningar att vara en dynamisk, utmanande och obunden kraft i samhället] (Government Proposition 1996/97:3). The important word to note is 'dynamic', used to describe the ideal state of culture and the arts. The dynamism of network models, including the one used in this thesis, has already been discussed at length elsewhere, but suffice it here to note that the Swedish state by this time officially embraced the ever-changing nature of the field and had begun redefining its own role accordingly.

Furthermore, rather than an exchange of experiences and ideas across borders, as the 1974 aims had phrased it, the 1996 aims called for "international cultural exchange and meetings between different cultures" (Government Proposition 1996/97:3). We note that the 'exchange' that is to be promoted through state supported action has changed. It is no longer defined in terms of 'experiences and ideas', indeed, it is not really defined at all. The word 'meetings', moreover, suggests an understanding of the nature of exchange that is more focused on connections and relationships. These slight modifications may seem insignificant, simple abstractions that have no real implications, but they marked the beginning of a period when the Swedish state's understanding of the world literary system and the international book market developed rapidly, shaping the support structure that is in place today.

The matter of culture and internationalisation was addressed again in 2003, when the International Culture Report (IKU, Internationella kulturutredningen) submitted its report (SOU 2003:121). The main tenet of the report was that the participation of the Swedish state in the cultural sphere was scattered and therefore ineffective. The report also lamented the lack of overview of the state's role that stemmed partly from the role's fragmented nature and partly from a failure to gather data and acquire knowledge about the field of international cultural production. To remedy these shortcomings, the report proposed a series of structural reorganisations. Most tended strongly toward a centralisation of specific functions and a concomitant specialisation among organisations active in the field. From the perspective of the present inquiry, the most interesting proposal was for the creation of a dedicated International Literature Centre, to be housed within the Swedish Arts Council. This idea was,

however, ultimately rejected and the status quo was largely preserved, with the support scheme for the translation of Swedish literature still administered by the Swedish Institute.

In 2005, the government once again broached the topic of internationalisation and culture, this time in a written communication addressed to parliament, entitled *The Internationalisation of Culture* (Government Written Communication 2005). Under the heading "Sweden in a new world" [Sverige i en ny omvärld] (Government Written Communication 2005: 21) the government outlined its understanding of a changing global context for Swedish culture. It reads:

> The increasing internationalisation grows very much from below. Cultural workers themselves contribute to the rapid establishment of vital international networks with diverse and competent participation. Simultaneously, the relative importance of public international channels has diminished.

> [Den ökande internationaliseringen växer i hög grad underifrån. Kulturarbetarna bidrar själva till att vitala internationella nätverk etableras snabbt och med kvalificerat deltagande från många håll. Samtidigt har den relativa betydelsen av officiella internationella kanaler minskat] (*ibid.*: 22)

And continues:

> Today, these types of networks are important initiators of artistic renewal, with activities that are often presented outside the established institutions, in new arenas and with new organisers, within Sweden as well as without. This aspect of internationalisation entails new demands on the competence and flexibility of those cultural institutions that are responsible for supporting this development.

[Sådana nätverk är i dag viktiga initiativtagare till den konstnärliga förnyelsen med verksamheter som ofta presenteras utanför de etablerade institutionerna, på nya arenor och med ny arrangörer, både i Sverige och utomlands. Denna del av internationaliseringen ställer nya krav på kompetens och flexibilitet hos de institutioner i kulturlivet som skall ge stöd till denna utveckling] (*ibid.*)

This is but one example of a rhetoric that had by this time become common. The emphasis is on the oft-recurring term 'network' and on the growing complexity of such networks, within which the state, by its own admission, plays a diminishing role. The state's acknowledgement of its own limited effectiveness in the area of the international book market echoes Gisèle Sapiro's (2008) assertion that the international book market "has become more autonomous from [nation state's] control […;] they now have to adapt to its rules]. The call for greater flexibility and a new emphasis on enabling the interaction and networking of others, are the trademarks of the Swedish state's modern strategy for cultural support abroad, and clearly recall the kind of systemic thinking that forms the basis of this thesis' approach.

Given the Swedish government's emphasis in 2005 on "acting forcefully […] in international forums" (Government Written Communication 2005: 21), and its demonstrable awareness of the significance of the international cultural context, one would have reason to expect the support scheme for the translation of Swedish literature to be both generous and robust. Both assumptions would be mistaken, however. In 2005, the support scheme, which had never constituted more than a very small part of the Swedish Institute's total budget, amounted to no more than SEK2 million (Svenska Institutet 2006), an all but negligible sum. As was often noted at the time, not least in the press, Sweden's much smaller Nordic neighbours habitually allocated up to five times this amount for the support of the international dissemination of their national literatures (Söderling 2007). Put differently, there was a considerable gap between Sweden's policy pronouncements and the practical application of those policies.

Nor was the scheme safe from cuts or even abolishment; in 2006, less than a years after publishing its 2005 written communication, the Swedish government allowed the support scheme for the translation of Swedish literature to be abruptly discontinued. The announcement came from the then-Director of the Swedish Institute, Olle Wästberg, who insisted that the scheme was no longer funded, due to the decision by the Social Democratic administration two years previous to discontinue the provision of earmarked funds from the Ministry for Culture, which came into force in 2006. Wästberg's logic was simple: no money, no translation grants. The government at the time, a coalition of the four conservative parties under the name Alliance for Sweden, had done nothing to mitigate the situation but nevertheless vehemently maintained that the remit and responsibility of the Swedish Institute remained unchanged and that discontinuing the support scheme for translations of Swedish literature was thus a breach of its duties. The Institute stood its ground, however, and so, by 2007, Sweden was left without any form of public funding for the translation of Swedish literature. And this at a time when other nations were working hard to ramp up the support provided for the international dissemination of their national literatures. And all because of the measly sum of less than SEK2 million.

The abrupt cessation of support from the Swedish Institute did not go unnoticed. Representatives from every corner of the Swedish cultural sphere clamoured for the scheme's reinstitution, and there was, furthermore, considerable international consternation at what was perceived as irresponsible behaviour on the government's part. Henk Pröpper, Director of the Dutch Foundation for Literature, for example, declared that "this will place Sweden outside an important international context" [Det här kommer kommer att placera Sverige utanför ett viktigt internationellt sammanhang] (quoted in Brandel and Holago 2007). Pröpper's insistence that Sweden's decision had disabled it internationally was echoed by many Swedish commentators, including translator and head of the Swedish-English Literary Translators' Association Eivor Martinus, who contended that it left "the field open to Norwegians, Danes and Finland Swedes" [Fritt fram för norrmän, danskar och finlandssvenskar] (Martinus 2007). Both these comments hint at a network understanding of the field of border-crossing literature. Moreover, they suggest that

the Swedish state's position-taking directly impacted Swedish literature abroad, radically curtailing its position-taking space, which in turns affected the relative competitiveness, i.e. position-taking space, of the national literatures of other nations. Literature scholar and author Stefan Jonsson considered the same process in reverse in his article 'A Golden and Wasted Opportunity' ('Ett gyllene och försuttet tillfälle'): "The Nordic countries could only stand to gain, in export revenues as well, from bolstering their support for their literatures abroad – each country by itself, but also through collective efforts" [De nordiska länderna skulle ha allt att vinna, även exportintäkter, på att stärka sin litteraturförmedling till utlandet – vart land för sig, men också med gemensamma krafter] (Jonsson 2007). In other words, by removing itself from the network, Sweden robbed other actants of connections that would have strengthened their respective positions through synergistic processes.

A very great number of commentators also underlined the impact the loss of the support scheme for the translation of Swedish literature would have on literature itself. Klas-Jürgen Liedtke, a literary translator, declared that the loss of the support would have "a very detrimental effect on the reach of serious Swedish literature" [en mycket skadlig effect på bredden av utgivningen av den seriösa svenska litteraturen], adding that "without the support scheme I would not have had the opportunity to take on challenging poetry […] This should be the role of the state" [Utan stödet hade jag inte haft möjligheten att ägna mig åt krävande poesiöversättningar […] Det här är en statlig uppgift] (Kalmteg 2007). Even the otherwise defiant director of the Swedish Institute, Wästberg, who staunchly defended his decision to cut the scheme in the face of what can only be called a media lynching, admitted that the loss of the support scheme was "deeply troubling for Sweden's literary presence in the world" [djupt bekymmersamt för den svenska litterära närvaron i världen] (Wästberg 2007). Put another way, as an important actant in the network of border-crossing Swedish literature, the Swedish state possessed the relative weight, to use the Einsteinian metaphor so neatly repurposed by Bourdieu, as discussed in Chapter 2, to fundamentally alter the position-taking space of Swedish literature abroad, or at least the more niche literary part of the output. What this heated and at times vitriolic debate shows is that the network view of the international literary system so recently

articulated by the Swedish government was, in fact shared with large parts of the cultural sector, in Sweden and abroad.

In the light of the outrage, within and outside Sweden's borders, the government evidently felt it necessary quickly to find a way to reinstate public support for Swedish literature abroad. It was determined, however, that simply to turn the clock back and reinstate the Swedish Institute's earmarked provision was unacceptable. Rather, the crisis was framed as an opportunity to reform a support scheme that was outdated, undersized and burdened with the bureaucratic tensions arising between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Culture. At first, the government leaned toward an idea first suggested by the Swedish Publishers' Association, which proposed the creation of a new organisation, a Literature Centre, which would take the form of a joint-stock company, endowed by the public purse but owned and administered by the Swedish Publishers' Association. This followed the example of the Publishing Industry's Financing Institute, a joint-stock company created in 1974 for the purpose of assisting the Swedish book trade financially, to reduce its dependence on mass market literature and bestsellers and maintain diversity on the market (Öjestål, 2006). In the end, however, the government opted to locate the new support scheme for the translation of Swedish literature with the Swedish Arts Council, whose remit had, in 2006, been expanded considerably to include the mission of promoting the internationalisation of Swedish culture generally. The amount allocated to the funding of the translation support scheme was also increased dramatically, from less than SEK2 million to a sum in excess of SEK4 million (see Figure 30). This increase put Swedish support more in line with its neighbouring countries and helped raise the total number of titles supported each year to 180 (Kulturrådet 2009). Following two years of adjustment in 2008 and 2009, the support available for promotion of Swedish Literature abroad has stabilised, as seen in Figure 30.
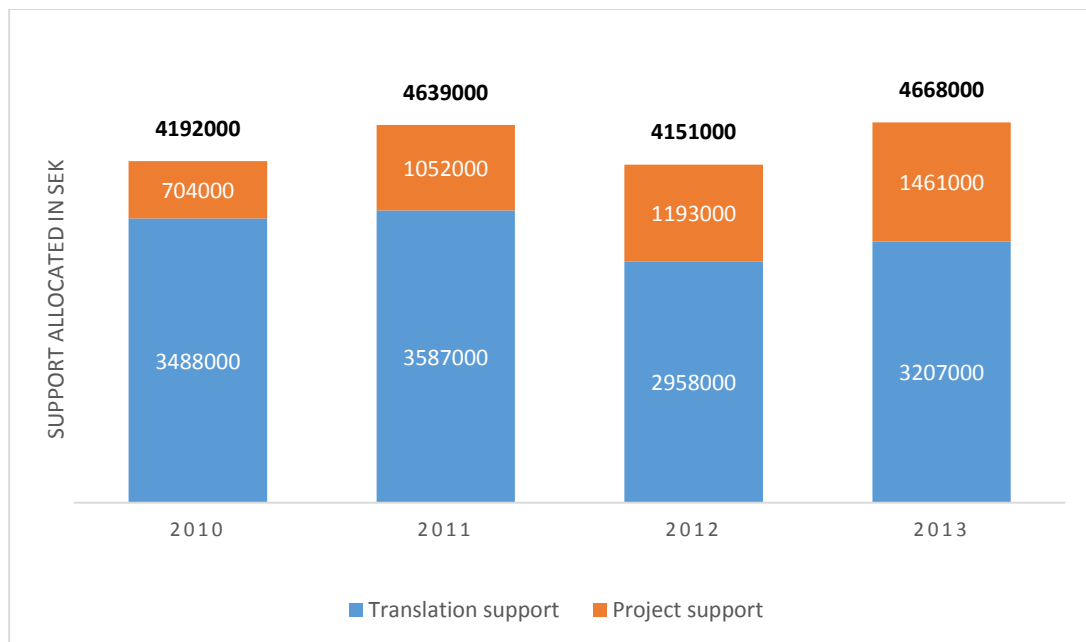
Figure 30 Grants allocated by the Swedish Arts Council since 2010 for the promotion of Swedish literature abroad (Source: Kulturrådet)

The relocation of the scheme from the Swedish Institute to the Swedish Arts Council also had the effect of gathering the vast majority of government funding schemes for Swedish literature under one roof, and one government department. This too was more in line with the state of affairs in Denmark, where the Danish Arts Council, which has since merged with Danish Arts Foundation and taken its name, was in charge of promoting national literature internationally. It may be noted, however, that in other Nordic countries, more specialised organisations were founded specifically for international promotion of national literature. Prime examples are Norway's NORLA (Norwegian Fiction and Non-Fiction Literature Abroad) and Finland's FILI (Finnish Literature Exchange). Iceland only consolidated a number of separate funds into the Icelandic Literature Fund in 2007, and has since undergone a further merger to become the Icelandic Literature Center, which is responsible for supporting Icelandic literature domestically and internationally.

State support for Swedish literature abroad today

For the last six years, then, since 2008, Sweden has had a new support scheme for the translation and dissemination of Swedish literature abroad, administered by the Swedish Arts Council. The process of annulling and reintroducing the support scheme

for translation of Swedish literature catalysed a great number of other changes that have helped shape the current iteration of state support for Swedish literature abroad.

A new law regulating state grants for international exchange and cooperation in the literary field was passed in 2007 (SFS 2007:1435), making the Swedish Arts Council responsible for the reinstated support scheme but also redefining what the support was intended to achieve. Rather than being restricted, as the scheme had been previously, to allocating grants for the translation of literary works, the remit was broadened to include grants for participation in international exchange. The scheme was also opened up to applications for support for sample translations. Both these changes are at heart enabling reforms. In other words, rather than serving up finished products, in the form of translated books, the scheme could now help empower other actants within the network. More recently, the support scheme's remit has been opened up even further. It is now possible to apply for support for non-fiction as well as fiction. Drama translation for the performance of Swedish plays abroad has been allocated its own funding stream. And most recently, at the start of 2014, the grant scheme catering to individuals, such as translators, was transferred from the Swedish writer's Union and integrated in the diverse web of support managed by the Swedish Arts Council.

Shortly after the reinstatement of the support scheme for translation of Swedish literature, another government report on cultural policy was published. Succinctly entitled 'The Culture Report' ('Kulturutredningen'), it was the first report in the cultural policy area ever commissioned by a right-wing government. The report highlighted the need for state organisations to expand and engage with networks in the private sector encouraging a more interconnected relationship with the marketplace. It also, significantly, overhauled the cultural policy aims once more. The aim relating to international activity today states that cultural policy should "promote diversity, cultural pluralism and international interaction" [främja mångfald, kulturell pluralism och internationellt samspel] (SOU 2009:16: 17). It is difficult to assess exactly what this means, since the phrase "promote international interaction" is so vague, but it is worth noting the choice of the word "interaction", which resonates with the network understanding advocated in this thesis.

What does send an unequivocal message, however, is what is not included in the cultural policy aims of 2009. The third aim from 1974, which enjoined cultural policy to counteract the negative impact of commercialism, has been removed. This signals a distinct shift in government policy and could have a significant impact on the work done to promote Swedish literature abroad in the years to come. Certainly, it opens the door to more direct engagement with the marketplace, both at home and in target countries. It also contributes to the erasing of the perceived division between literary works and works of genre fiction, thus enabling the Swedish Arts Council to expand its support beyond the narrower literary niche. To date, however, no such expansion has occurred and the Swedish Arts Council is still committed primarily to supporting works of "high literary quality" rather than works identified as having the potential for broad commercial success in the target culture (Kulturrådet 2014).

Following the relocation of the support scheme specifically aimed at translation to the Swedish Arts Council, the scheme is now managed in tandem with another funding stream focused on literature projects abroad. Today, around seventy-five projects are awarded a grant every year (Kulturrådet 2012). Unlike the support for translation, the grant scheme for literature projects seeks explicitly to establish new networks or help strengthen existing ones. The intention is to offer seed money to projects and networks that have the potential of then flourishing on their own (Helen Sigeland, personal communication, 14 June 2013). Put differently, rather than attempting to promote Swedish literature by itself, the Swedish Arts Council has partly refocused its efforts to promoting the growth of networks of otherwise unconnected actants, who will then be able to function independently within the literary field. The advantages of this approach are numerous; it not only enables the Swedish Arts Council to use its limited funds to greatest effect, it also ensures that actants with local knowledge of the target culture become the ones responsible for the activities supporting Swedish literature in their country or language area. In the UK, the magazine *Swedish Book Review*, published by Norvik Press, which is housed within UCL's Scandinavian Department and which plays regular host to this author's articles and book reviews, has long depended on the financial support from the literature project stream. Other

projects typically include international author tours, exhibitions and translation seminars.

In recent years, the Swedish Arts Council has given translators an increasing amount of attention. In 2011, Helen Sigeland, formerly in charge of the support scheme for translation of Swedish literature at the Swedish Institute and subsequently at the Swedish Arts Council, identified them, in language evocatively redolent of network models, as "one of the most important links in the dissemination of Swedish literature" [en av de viktigaste länkarna när det gäller att sprida svensk litteratur utomlands] (quoted in Raabe 2011). Following this analysis of the network, the Swedish Arts Council has singled out translators as indispensable and made bolstering their numbers and level of proficiency a central priority (Kulturrådet 2013). A recent effort, which also highlights the Swedish Arts Council's understanding of synergy effects, was the funding and organisation of a series of literature and translation events in Italy in conjunction with the Bologna Book Fair, at which Sweden was the guest of honour. In the context of the UK, there has since a few years back been an annual dinner in connection with the London Book Fair, attended by literary translators, representatives from The Swedish Arts Council and, in recent years, the Counsellor of Cultural Affairs in London. Representatives from the Swedish Arts Council have also attended the meetings of the Swedish-English Literary Translators Association and begun the work of assembling a database of active translators from Swedish.

The Swedish Arts Council has also intensified and expanded its presence at a range of literary events, such as the major book fairs in in Bologna, Frankfurt, London, Gothenburg (which it supports financially), Moscow and Beijing as well as more specialised events, such as the Angoulême International Comics Festival. In many cases, the presence of the Swedish Arts Council at a fair directly enables the active participation of Swedish publishers, particularly smaller publishers, who would not be in a position to pay for exhibition space on their own.

Conclusion

In this final case study, the focus has been on one single actant in the network of production, dissemination and reception of Swedish literature in the UK. Close study has been made of the behaviour of the Swedish state over time, rather than the interaction of many actants at a specific point in time.

By reflecting on the broad conditions under which the state participates in the promotion of cultural production this chapter first identified and defined the very general position-taking space that is associated with an actant such as a national state. It was seen that the set of motivations that may induce a state to enter the cultural field directly are rather different from those that drive private actants such as companies or individuals. Nevertheless, a number of justifications for participating could be identified, and it was shown that small, less influential states in particular stood to gain from getting involved, and to lose from not doing so. Having thus established the general motivations for participation, the chapter proceeded to outline the specific historical circumstances that pertain to the Swedish example. It was shown that the Swedish state's understanding of the world evolved gradually, informed by experiences won and moulded by developing pressures both domestic and international. It was also demonstrated that as the Swedish state's understanding of the system within which it acts changed, its frameworks for practical action was adjusted. The general direction of those adjustments, ever since the instatement of a support scheme for Swedish literature abroad in the 1970s, was revealed to be in the direction of a more sophisticated network awareness.

Today, the lion's share of Sweden's state support for Swedish literature abroad has been consolidated in the hands of the Swedish Arts Council. From being a minute post in the budget of the Swedish Institute, an organisation under the umbrella of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, it has become a fairly substantial component in the diverse, multimodal activities of the Swedish Arts Council, an agency specialising in the support of culture. In response to analyses that fit closely with the model used in this thesis, the support scheme, which was once simply money for promotional translations of a handful of Swedish works, intended primarily for the perusal of

editors, has grown into a diverse set of schemes and initiatives diverse enough to be flexible to the needs of the network, which are understood to be non-static. Focus has also shifted from participation in production to participation in the network, more broadly defined. One example of this is the Swedish Arts Council's strategy of allocating money to create local networks of actants, which they hope can persevere and flourish and fill an important promotional role in their local network.

Conclusion

> What we cannot produce in the end is a general and all-inclusive picture of such an ever-transient, ever-changing, ever-unbalanced situation. What we can do, with caution and good sense, is to build a good number of maps, showing some of the most interesting phenomena, with examples of some of the most permanent and some of the most transitional ones (Cesareni, 2006: 178).

The epigraph from Remo Cesareni's essay 'Drawing a Map of the Literary History of Europe' that prefaced this thesis is also a suitable note to end it on. For this is precisely what this thesis has attempted, the drawing of a good number of maps, showing some of the most interesting phenomena, in the knowledge that the system it studies cannot be exhaustively and permanently described. It is my conviction that it is in the ever-shifting sands of circumstance, randomness and idiosyncrasy, and only there, that the outline of processes can be discerned, systemic effects can be identified and general conclusions be drawn.

Central characteristics of the system

The theoretical framework constructed in this thesis was deliberately designed to accommodate an unmappable, complex, dynamic reality. They draw on a number of related disciplines in an effort to combine the insights and strengths of book history, field theory, assemblage theory and polysystems theory and simultaneously avoid the pitfalls of those frameworks. The systemic model that is the result of this merger is based on the concept of a network. It is not a linear circuit or flowchart but rather a decentralised web of actants, whose mutual connections and interactive behaviour are what constitutes the fabric of the network. It is instructive at this point to take stock of some of the more central characteristics of model used. Among the most important can be counted the nature of agency in a network; the processes of interactional, reciprocal effects within the network; the assemblage characteristics of agents within the network; the ability of networks to function as actants in larger polynetworks; the

distributed, centreless organisation of those agents; and the synergistic and self-organising effects associated with networks.

Agency is perhaps the most central concept to understanding and applying the model developed in this thesis, because it is agency that drives all processes in the system. It is agency that give the system its shape and it is continual actions that keep that shape fluid and ever-changing. In a network model, agency is located in the connection between agents, rather than in the agents themselves. Thus, agency is both dependent on the connections an agent possesses, because they determine the range of actions that are possible at any one time, and realised through those connections.

In other words, interactionality is the fundamental state of the system. What this entails is agency realised through one, or multiple, connections spread through the web of connections of which the system consists. The ripple effect thus created by each position-taking is decidedly non-linear; it does not proceed concentrically from a centre, the active actant, or, more accurately, the active connection, outwards, as do rings on water. Rather, it is a complex process, affected by various asymmetries and relations within the network, and it is reciprocal, capable of backpropagation through which the active actants, or connections, are affected by their own actions as well as those originating elsewhere in the network.

Like the networks they inhabit, actants are capable of possessing a high degree of complexity. This complexity stems from two distinct causes. First, actants can possess a high degree of complexity because they themselves are, in essence, network structures. To put it differently, agents are by nature assemblages, constructed of interconnected parts that through their interaction becomes more than the sum of the parts. Consider, for example a publishing company. At one extreme end of the scale, a publishing company can consist of over ten thousand individual employees and have operations in countries across the world, as does Penguin Random House, which was discussed in Chapter 1. The position-takings of such an actant are the result of exceedingly complex interactions between the humans, technologies and materials contained within the superordinate actant. Second, actants can be considered to possess a high level of complexity owing to the network connections they possess and

the position-space they occupy. Thus, an actant, such as John Ajvide Lindqvist, who transcends the network he or she inhabits and becomes part of other local networks, accumulates a highly complex set of connections, which in turn subjects him or her to highly complex network pressures. It can also, on the other hand, grant the actant in question a more complex position-taking network, that may ultimately lead to the accumulation of an ever more complex set of connections.

The act of transcending a local network of production is possible because of the interactive qualities of networks, which can come to inhabit more or less clearly defined polynetworks. Border-crossing literature is, by its nature, always the inhabitant of such polynetworks, because the act of border-crossing into a new cultural or linguistic context is to migrate to a new local network of production, circulation and reception. The inclusion of polynetworks in the systems model is a consequence of one of its core strengths, the ability to analyse networks on different levels without requiring a new set of tools. In the model used in this thesis, all actants in a network are themselves potential network constructs and networks can function as actants in larger networks. The micro-macro dichotomy which can plague systems approaches is thus avoided and the model acquires increased explanatory powers without becoming more complex. Moreover, the ability of networks to function as nodes in other networks makes it easier to look beyond d the immediate field of study, in this case the field of literary production, to other fields that may interact with, affect and be affected by the primary field of study. The model thus provides the tools to move beyond the study of literature in isolation, enabling scholars interested in multimodal research to utilise the same framework irrespective of whether one field of cultural production is studied or several. Thus, it was possible in Chapter 4 to include films in a discussion of a book's life cycle, without introducing additional theory. In a world where media convergence is on the rise, and where cross-platform effects have been shown, in this study and elsewhere, to be highly significant, this ability will become increasingly pivotal.

Another crucial characteristic of the system, as understood through this thesis' network model, is its distributed nature. In a distributed network, no actant can be considered central. On the contrary, all actants, or nodes, in the network are accorded

the same level of importance. As a consequence of this characteristic, the networks envisioned and analysed in this thesis are never under the sway of one actant or a small subset of actants. Asymmetries do exist in the network, of course, but these are the result of the relative "weight" of nodes, their degree of interconnectedness and the larger position-taking space that can be associated with that. Never can there be a situation, however, where an actant is in such a position as to be in control of the process of the network. The centreless, distributed nature of the network thus imbues it with an ability to resist determinative analysis of inter-actant relationships. Because the network is fully distributed, however, it is subject to self-organisational impulses. Consequently, any network may at times display characteristics that seem deliberately generated. One example encountered in Chapter 3 was the remarkable visual similarity of a great number of Scandinavian crime novels. Although the uniformity displayed may suggest that the look in question and its ubiquity were generated through rational, deliberate action, they were not. That is not to say that the editors and designers responsible for the look were not rationale in their choices, but the overall effect was the result of self-organisational processes, guided by the systemic pressures of the network.

As I have shown in this thesis, a network model of a system encompasses all the actants that have an impact on the system in question. In practice this means that the roster of active participants is not limited to one type of agent, such as individuals or companies or products, but incorporates them all within the same framework. This is possible because each agent is understood as a complex assemblage rather than a unitary entity. Put another way, agents, which function as nodes in the network, are themselves subject to network effects between their constituent parts. Thus, a book is no simple object; it is a material product with a production history that situates it in the social and political sphere; it is also a text, a vessel of communicative symbolic meaning formed through the interaction of many complex forces; it is part of a political context as representative of a range of values, such as being Swedish. Similarly, an individual or an organisation consist of assembled parts, the relationships of which are complex, interactional, and in a state of endless flux. Network effects impact on both connections in the network and on the complex, networked nodes of the network. By the same logic, networks can be projected

outwards too. That is, a network can become a node in a larger network. Witness how the network of a specific book can become constituent part of a multi-platform network of networks, as in the case of Ajvide Lindqvist's *Let the Right One In* (2007). A network is, in the light of these insights, always a network of networks, a polynetwork in which network effects function in a non-linear fashion on a multitude of levels simultaneously.

It is in the movement between the levels of the network that the shape of the system as a whole can begin to be discerned. Zooming in and out between the telescopic macro-level views of superordinate networks and the microscopic views of detailed studies of specific phenomena reveal the underlying structures of the system and the patterns that those structures give rise to in practice. Thus, engaging with different areas of the system and the different levels it contains not only helps confirm that the model developed in this thesis is suitable for application across the network but is also one of the ways we can reach an understanding of the shape, size and composition of the vast, unmappable system.

Summary of findings

The study of the formation of the Scandinavian crime fiction genre in the United Kingdom confirmed a number of assumptions made in the network model. The study showed that there is considerable interaction between a range of actants linked to the production, circulation and reception context, in this case, actants connected to the British publishing industry such as readers/consumers, critics and publishers. It also revealed the significant effect such network interaction can have on the life cycle of books by demonstrating how it helped shape what is now considered a literary subgenre. The detailed study of Liza Marklund's publishing history in the UK provided an example of the ways in which the process of border-crossing, which entails the construction of a whole new network which provides a whole new position-taking space, can radically alter the identity of a book or even a group of books. This alteration is both a re-evaluation of the nature and character of an agent as it enters its new network and a physical, material rebirth in a different form that reflects the position-taking space the agent occupies in the target network. These adaptations are

the result of powerful network effects and, importantly, they too become part of the behaviour and structure of the network, thus contributing to future network events and effects.

The formation of a poly-network of a superordinate order was studied in the case of Ajvide Lindqvist's *Let the Right One In*. Having already entered the British market, and thus its new network context, the reconstituted British novel *Let the Right One In* soon became just one part of a growing multimodal polynetwork, populated by other versions of the same text. Studied from a systems perspective, this example revealed that this was not a question of linear adaptation which left the original product unchanged. On the contrary, subsequent versions of *Let the Right One In/Let Me In* had profound effects on the publishing history of the British novel. Today, the British novel is unequivocally part of a plexus of concatenated network connections, inescapably connected with other cultural products, materially as well as symbolically. The incorporation of different forms of media products in the same model is a strength of the network approach used in this thesis. The significant results demonstrated in the case of *Let the Right One In* affirms the importance of not restricting one's model to consider only books and the literary field, even in a study of the book market. In a world of globalisation and media convergence, cultural fields can no longer, if, indeed they ever could, be so rigidly separated in scholarly inquiry. As Bourdieu's field theory has so persuasively shown, fields always exist in relation to other fields (Hesmondhalgh 2006). The literary field is not, by that same logic divorced from other fields of cultural production. Indeed, cultural fields of production are demonstrably interdependent and interconnected. Through a systems approach to production, circulation and reception, this study has begun showing how this interdependence and interconnection functions.

Klas Östergren's *The Hurricane Party* (2009), studied in Chapter 5, is an interesting example of border-crossing literature because it was not, unlike most Swedish literature on the British market, produced in one context, the Swedish, and then relocated to a foreign context, the British one. Instead, *The Hurricane Party* had a double genesis; it was commissioned in the United Kingdom but written in Sweden and produced concomitantly in both national contexts. In terms of the work's

network(s), then, there are added complications to consider. These complications arise chiefly from the asymmetrical power relationship that obtains in the polynetwork, between the Swedish network and the British network. The tension between the dominant, heavier node represented by the core British network, and the lighter, semi-peripheral Swedish one creates a site of struggle over definitions and evaluation. The concept of Swedishness, the relative reputation of Östergren and the status of national literary heritage became hotly contested. The site of struggle between the two networks can, as Chapter 5 demonstrates, be a productive object of study for the sociology scholar interested in uncovering details about the functioning and processes of the global world literature system. The case of the Myth series also provides a valuable reminder that networks are fully distributed structures. Nodes within them may be weighted unequally, giving some more heft and influence than others, but the network is nevertheless centreless. Thus, while asymmetrical power relationships within network can and most certainly do exist, and have tangible effects, there exist no agents that can exert virtually complete control over a dominated periphery. Consequently, though investing the *Myth* project with the considerable weight of its cultural and economic capital, core actant Canongate was unable to counteract the prevailing forces that shape the fields of literary production in the United Kingdom and Sweden.

The lesson learnt from the case of the *Myth* series about the distributed, self-organised nature of networks is a central tenet of the final case study in this thesis. My investigation of Swedish state support of Swedish literature abroad tracked the history of the support, revealing a policy tool in constant evolution. The direction of that evolution was, and still is, toward an increasingly sophisticated systemic understanding of the network nature of the field in question. Chapter 6 has shown the ways in which increased experience of distributing support for the promotion of Swedish literature abroad, and an ever more sophisticated understanding of the systemic nature of the field of literary production, has led to the development of guidelines and approaches ever more adapted to a networked reality. The study also confirmed, however, the difficulties involved in translating a sophisticated systemic understanding into tools for effecting systemic impact. Put another way, the Swedish state, through its executive agency the Swedish Arts Council, has discovered, as did

Canongate, that the distributive nature of networks and their constantly fluctuating shape and structure make them incredibly difficult to manipulate. What's more, the findings presented in Chapter 6 illustrate the difficulty inherent in altering the working methods of a complex organisation, which is, as discussed, in itself a complex, distributed network structure. Thus, the Swedish Arts Council's mission to promote Swedish literature abroad faces double inertia. Firstly, the organisation is not fully able to adjust to appropriate working methods based on its sophisticated analysis of the field of activity. Secondly, even when appropriate working methods are employed, the nature of the organisation's target networks are such that the result of any effort is unpredictable at best.

Each case study in this thesis is individually interesting; the objects of study have all undertaken fascinating journeys to get to where they are today. Individually, the case studies have also confirmed the existence and importance of network effects on the life cycle of Swedish books on the British market. Each study also represents a partial description of the system, a snapshot in time of one area of the system, the landscape seen from one particular angle, at one particular level of detail. A less systemic approach to the examination of the objects of this thesis' case studies would have failed to record many of the findings presented herein. Important and useful though each snapshot is, it is to a great extent collectively that they contribute to our understanding of the ways in which the whole system functions. From the summary of the individual findings above, some of the ways in which the cases in Part II complement each other will already be clear. Other aspects of their accumulative contribution require further, collective reflection.

These aspects include the social construction of Swedishness as an attribute possessed by a literary work; the importance of acknowledging the transnational networks in which Swedish literature exists and the interaction between human and non-human agents.

The first of these is a particularly interesting area of inquiry and has been touched upon in all of the case studies presented in this thesis. Thus, in Chapter 3, Swedishness was shown to be the site of intense negotiation within the network. The incentive to

market a work of crime fiction as Swedish, or Scandinavian, above all other aspects of the work that could have formed the basis of recognition or increased purchase intent among the book-buying audience, was shown to be very great. Only in the face of exceedingly strong counterweights, in this case the popularity of James Patterson, was the Swedish identity of Marklund's books suppressed. Moreover, this chapter touched upon the potentially problematic conflation of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and to some extent Icelandic and Finnish identities under the heading of "Scandinavian" crime fiction. In Chapter 4, the appearance of an American remake of the Swedish film *Låt den rätte komma in*, opens up for further discussion of what it means to be construed as Swedish within the field of cultural production. The two film versions of the novel could be seen to be a useful point of comparison of how nationality is assigned and assessed in a network. The notion of Swedishness was at the heart of Chapter 5, in which Klas Östergren's novel *The Hurricane Party* was caught in a quagmire of tension between core and periphery. The chapter afforded some thought-provoking information regarding how Swedishness can be constructed and used differently by different actants in a network and the type of heated conflict the discrepancy between versions can lead to. In terms of the final case study, the issue of constructing Swedishness was examined primarily through the difficult task of the Swedish Arts Council of selecting how to represent Swedish literature abroad. Together, the case studies reveal that national identity is the site of much creativity but also of fractious conflict within the field of border-crossing literature.

The importance of acknowledging transnational networks, particularly the ones Sweden share with their Scandinavian neighbours was underlined in several of the case studies, even if the subject was never scrutinised more closely. As a relatively small country in a friendly neighbourhood populated by even smaller neighbours, with which it shares a *sprachbund*, or linguistic convergence area, and deep historical roots of cultural cooperation, Sweden, and Swedish culture, gains much from association with the other Scandinavian and Nordic countries. The Nordic region abounds in transnational cultural institutions, such as the Nordic Council, the Nordic Film and TV Fund, the Nordic Culture Fund and the Norden Association, to mention but a few of the most prominent. Transnational funding for cultural projects is very common, as are co-productions of film and television. The impact of Sweden's close

association with the other Nordic countries ran like a thread through the case studies in Part II. The conflation of Swedish and Scandinavian in the context of crime fiction has already been discussed, but the influence of a Scandinavian identity was also manifest in Chapter 5, where Klas Östergren is, fittingly, as the sole Nordic contributor to the *Myth* series, represented by a story drawing on Nordic mythology.

The Nordic context was also important for the development of Swedish state support for literature abroad. In the development phase, considerable inspiration was drawn from similar work done by Sweden's neighbours. In the year of the crisis 2007, when the support scheme was discontinued, a common rallying cry for its reinstitution was that all foreign money would flow to other Nordic countries if Sweden would not subsidise the international dissemination of its books. Here too, we note a tendency, clearly not limited to foreign observers, to conflate the Nordic countries into one interchangeable entity. To ignore the strong network context of Scandinavian and Nordic culture is to risk missing significant effects stemming from it. The research presented in this thesis has not studied the Scandinavian effects explicitly but has been mindful of the impact of this network context throughout.

Finally, an aspect of the networks studied in Part II of this thesis that also deserves special mention for its ubiquity and analytical importance is the inclusion of both human and non-human actants in the network model used. Had the model developed in this thesis not been capable of considering both types of actants, the networks identified in each case study would have been a lot more sparsely populated. The most disabling consequence of the failure to include non-human actants in the network analysis would no doubt have been that the very books studied in this thesis would have been construed as outcomes rather than participants. In the face of the evidence of the case studies herein, it is hardly necessary to state how limiting such a construct would have been for this study. As a mere outcome, a book does not have agency and is thus not readily able to affect the actants in its production, circulation and reception context. Books would be something acted upon, not an entity with its own agency. The interplay between multimodal versions of *Let the Right One In* is a clear illustration of how cultural products impact on one another and on the position-taking spaces of human actants with whom they are connected. The impact of paratexts on

the way critics and readers behave, demonstrated in Chapter 3 is another clear example of why non-human actants must be allowed to participate in a network model of the field of literary production. Aside from this most striking and pivotal example, there are also many other non-human actants that have been shown to exert influence on networks. Chief among them are technologies, the introduction of which have the potential of causing radical change in a network context. Thus, technological advances have fundamentally altered the position-taking space of publishing companies, and through them those of many other actants in the field of literary production, circulation and reception. Similarly, the internet is a precondition for the increased consumer participation that has resulted in everything from fan-fiction to literary awards. It is my contention, therefore, that a model applied to studies of this kind must be able to account for the agency and impact of non-human as well as human actants.

A systemic model does not claim to predict the outcome of events and it does not offer a neat standardised process that can be applied to the life cycle of all border-crossing books. Rather, it acknowledges the complexity of the processes that shape such life cycles. It allows for the haphazard, the arbitrary and the unforeseeable nature of publishing histories, while also accounting for the systemic pressures that do exist. This is the strength of a systemic model, by recognising and allowing practically limitless interactionality and complexity, it does not force reductionist schemas onto a complex field. It is not a one-size-fits-all framework. This quality of a systemic model is, however, also its Achilles heel, because the other side of the coin of methodological flexibility can be a particular breed of relativism, which may ultimately tempt the researcher to throw her hands up and declare that the degree of complexity inevitably associated with fields of cultural production is just too high for any regularity or patterns to be discerned or accurately modelled, let alone understood. By this account, a systemic model becomes little more than an excuse for the inability to draw firm conclusions or for resorting to merely descriptive practice.

As I have shown in this thesis, however, such despondency is hardly warranted. It may be as impossible to describe the system of border-crossing book production, dissemination and reception as it is to tell someone what the Matrix is, but that does

not mean that that system is not as real, and as determinative for the processes we see in the world as the Matrix was in the eponymous 1999 sci-fi blockbuster. Instead of striving for a comprehensive view of the system, which its vastness, complexity and highly dynamic state will always prevent us from achieving, we must work on building a good number of maps and do what Donald Francis McKenzie enjoined literary sociologists to do in his seminal text *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*:

> At best perhaps we can acknowledge the intricacies of such a […] world and the almost insuperable problems of describing it adequately – and yet still travel imaginatively and responsibly within it. (McKenzie, 1999, p.4)

Focused, empirical study of products and processes of the system function as that kind of imaginative travel. Each case study in this thesis is a journey into the system, a cross-section from one, specific angle. Severally and together, they demonstrate how network effects pervade the field of border-crossing literature and shape the life cycles of individual works, authorships, genres, the position-taking spaces of individual actants. Together, they also begin to give us a sense of the shape of the system itself. To return to the metaphor of the landscape first discussed in the introduction, each case study reveals the landscape from a particular angle, at a particular level of observation. Each one is a potentially accurate description of the system, but not an exhaustive one. Together, the studies provide an accumulative picture, which enables the tracing of larger patterns and trends in the system. By so doing, an aggregation of detailed studies can hint at the processes that underpin the system itself, as well as the structures it contains.

Potential areas of future research

The research conducted in this thesis has brought to light a number of interesting insights into the ways contemporary Swedish fiction functions on the British market. Given the scarcity of research in this field, however, it has not been possible to address all promising avenues of research in this thesis. Many questions have, therefore inevitably been left unanswered, many areas left unstudied. Many of them would, indubitably, be productive areas of inquiry and yield interesting results. Moreover,

owing to the fundamental nature of the model used in this study, more empirical study will always serve to better illuminate the system. Though this may be a truism in the context of any model, it is specifically the case here, because every case study is another of Remo Cesareni's "good maps", and it is only through their accumulation that the system as a whole can be sensed. The four case studies presented in this thesis are not able to provide as clear a picture as would eight or twelve. If the case studies chosen here seem disparate it is mainly because an effort was made to cover a bigger area of the system with a small number of studies. It is worth listing here some of the areas that in an ideal world could have been studied in the present work and that warrant urgent attention.

Chief among these is, perhaps, an examination of the role within the network of translators. It need not be stated that translators are pivotal nodes in a network of translated fiction and that without knowledge of their behaviour the picture will inevitably remain incomplete. Thus, the omission of a case study focused on translators merits a few words of justification. The main reason for the exclusion of translators from this thesis is the professional affiliation of this scholar. An active literary translator from Swedish to English myself, and a member of the board of the Swedish-English Literary Translators' Association I am not well placed to undertake such study. My status as a fully involved participant in the community of translators puts me in an awkward position. The community is of Swedish translators in the UK is very small and intimate and the type of inquiry that would be necessary would inevitably compromise my position vis-à-vis the community of translators and the integrity of the research.

Another group of actants that has been neglected in this thesis is the literary agents. As outlined in Chapter 1, literary agents are common in the UK and becoming increasingly so in Sweden. It is true that Karl Berglund (2014) estimates that no more than 4% of Swedish authors are represented by an agent at present, but, crucially, among the ones likely to produce bestsellers and become translated to other languages, that figure is much higher. Literary agents have risen to a position where they can function as powerful gatekeepers for border-crossing books. The intention at the outset of my doctoral project, I intended to dedicate one of my case studies to the role and function of the literary agent. As time wore on, however, it became

increasingly clear that this research area was closed to me. Many agents in the publishing industry are secretive about aspects of their work, for obvious reasons. Literary agents, however, particularly in Sweden, are secretive enough to make my attempts at qualitative study fruitless. Most secretive of them all is Salomonsson Agency, which represents many of the most translated writers in Sweden, including Liza Marklund, Arne Dahl, Jan Guillou, Michael Hjort and Hans Rosenfeldt, Kristina Ohlsson, Jens Lapidus, and Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö. If their participation can be secured in the future, it would contribute greatly to our understanding of the system as a whole.

A study of the internal workings of publishers that work with border-crossing literature would also be a helpful complement to our understanding of the field. Publishers are highly complex actants and the impact of their position-takings ranges from the selection process through material production to marketing and even distribution. A more sophisticated understanding of the network that is the publishing company would make it possible to refine inquiries in other areas of the field, aside from being, in and of itself, a fascinating prospect. Of particular interest might be a publisher like Nordic Press, which resides within UCL's Department of Scandinavian Studies. Norvik exclusively publishes Nordic fiction and related non-fiction and is the recipient of support from the Swedish state. Moreover, it is responsible for the editing and dissemination of the publication *Swedish Book Review,* which promotes Swedish literature to an English speaking audience and is run by active Swedish-English translators. Norvik occupies a unique position in the network of contemporary Swedish fiction and would make for fascinating study.

It would also be interesting to investigate books that successfully circumvent many of the middlemen in the publishing industry by simply excluding them from their network. New technologies that make self-publishing and promotion easier should create the necessary circumstances for such books. Despite concerted effort, however, I have not to date been able to identify an example of such behaviour that has been successful enough to have any real impact on the system as a whole. As technological developments continue apace, however, I trust that such examples will soon emerge. When they do, they deserve to be studied for the insights they can give with regards

to network structure and unconventional position-taking in the face of strong structural pressure.

Finally, this thesis has concerned itself exclusively with the social, material approach that aligns it firmly with the academic discipline the history of the book. This decision was not, of course, prompted by an underestimation of the explanatory power of textual study, but rather by an inability satisfactorily to unite the two perspectives. Without an understanding of the symbolic content of a book's text to complement the understanding of its social and material context achieved through the research presented here, a full understanding of the book will be forever elusive. Textual study would, perhaps, be particularly useful in relation to the role of the translator and the processes of interlingual transposition, to which border-crossing literature is almost always subject. The role of the translator has been largely unexamined in this thesis, but a study of their function within the network, has the potential of yielding very interesting results with relevance to both textual and sociological study.

The list of possible future research direction could be made very long, because this field of inquiry is still so under-researched. It is my humble hope that this thesis has gone some ways to fill a few of the many lacunae that exist in our understanding of border-crossing literature generally and Swedish literature in an international context in particular. It is safe to say that the study of Swedish literature abroad is still in its infancy and that there is wealth of knowledge left to be uncovered.

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