Revisiting the World Republic of Letters: Status competition in the global literary field

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The world of letters is in fact something quite different from the received view of literature as a peaceful domain. Its history is one of incessant struggle and competition over the very nature of literature itself. (Casanova 2007)

1 Explanandum

Literature is exchanged on a global scale. There is a world-canon of authors whose books are discussed around the world. Some books reach the status of international bestsellers that attract translations into dozens of languages. But not all books and authors have the same chance to succeed on the global stage (Heilbron 1999). The global exchange of literature is marked by strong status hierarchies between languages. Books from a handful of central languages frequently find wide circulation and global recognition, whereas books from peripheral languages usually attract very few translations and are largely ignored by foreign audiences.

Direct blockmodeling (Nordlund 2020) of the network of book translation flows (edges) between languages (nodes) (Figure 1) confirms that global literary exchange is organized into a center-periphery structure. Table 1 presents the results of the blockmodel for seven time periods. A small number of languages (English, French, German, and Spanish) are consistently categorized as central. These languages are strongly connected to each other and have a pronounced export-surplus in relation to peripheral languages. The peripheral languages, in contrast, are not connected to each other. They have a pronounced export-deficit, importing more from the center than they export. The distribution of eigenvector centrality (Bonacich 1972) across languages (Figure 2) paints a similar picture: Centrality is concentrated on a handful of languages (English, French, and German). The Gini-coefficient for the distribution of the eigenvector centrality varies between 0.84 and 0.86. Details about the data and the blockmodels are provided in the Appendix.

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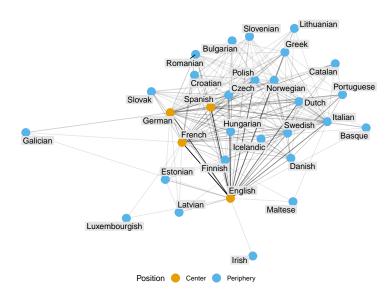


Figure 1: Translation network (2018-2020)

Table 1: Central languages (based on blockmodel)

| Period | 1979-84 | 1985-89 | 1990-94 | 1995-99 | 2000-04 | 2005-08 | 2018-20 |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Central | English, |
| lan- | German, | German, | French, | German, | French, | French, | French, |
| guages | Russian, | Russian, | German, | Spanish | Spanish | German, | German, |
| | Spanish | Spanish | Spanish, | | | Spanish | Spanish |
| | | | Swedish | | | | |
| Model | .336 | .361 | .394 | .452 | .403 | .403 | .479 |
| fit | | | | | | | |

2 A model of status competition

Background. Which social dynamics underlie the emergence and reproduction of status hierarchies between languages and their literatures? Existing explanations, inspired by world-systems theory (Wallerstein 2004), view the unequal status of languages as a direct consequence of the unequal economic, political, and symbolic power relations between nation states at the macro-level (Casanova 2007; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007; Sapiro 2016b). In her book The World Republic of Letters, Casanova (2007) develops a comprehensive model of the unequal status of literatures. The World Republic of Letters is conceptualized as a global field of power (Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel 2017) in which representatives of national literary fields compete over the relative value of their national literatures. The weapon in this competition is the status (called literary capital) that a literature accumulated in the past via processes of consecration. Besides international awards (e.g., the Nobel Prize for Literature), translations are the main vehicle for consecration: Whenever language A translates a book from language B, it confirms the value of B's literature. Representatives of the dominant literatures leverage their accumulated status to perpetuate the very value hierarchies (i.e.,

definitions of legitimate literature) that ensure the continued consecration of their own literary products.

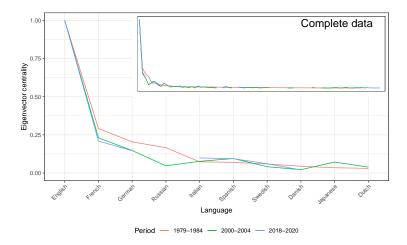


Figure 2: Eigenvector centrality distribution of translation networks

This project. The model of Casanova (2007) accounts for the reproduction of established status hierarchies between languages. It is not capable to explain how such hierarchies emerge and under which conditions they change. This project addresses the shortcomings of the Casanova model by (1) clarifying its microlevel assumptions and (2) developing a formal generative model (Epstein 1999) to explore the emergent macro-level implications of the micro-level assumptions.

Definitions. The model builds upon two constructs and their interrelation: status and translation. Status is defined as the "position in a social hierarchy that results from accumulated acts of deference" (Sauder, Lynn, and Podolny 2012, p268). Status is a relational construct. It results from the position of an actor in a network of deference-relations between status-senders and status-receivers. The higher the status of the sender, the higher the contribution to the status of the receiver. Accordingly, status corresponds to the eigenvector centrality in the deference-network. Translation refers to the act by which mediators (like publishers, translators, literary reviewers) transport a text from one national literary field to another. Translations are acts of deference. Status is sent from the importing literary field to the exporting literary field. But translation is risky: Translation only contributes to the status of all involved parties (mediator, text, and exporting field) if it finds recognition (e.g., positive reviews or commercial success) in the importing field. Otherwise, translation harms the status of all involved parties. Status hierarchies emerge as the aggregated outcome of the interdependent choices of mediators who decide which texts receive a chance for consecration via translation.

Building blocks and model steps. Let f_k be the k-th national field with $k \in \{1, ..., r\}$. Let m_{ik} and b_{jk} be the i-th mediator and j-th book from the k-th field, with $i \in \{1, ..., n\}$ and $j \in \{1, ..., q\}$. Let MS_{ik}^t , BS_{jk}^t , and $FS_k^t \in [0, 1]$ be the status of the i-th mediator, j-th author, and k-th field at time point t. The model repeatedly iterates through the following steps:

- 1. Randomly select one field f_{k*}
- 2. The mediators m_{ik*} from the selected field evaluate all books $b_{j,k\neq k*}$ from all other fields $f_{k\neq k*}$
- 3. In order of their current status MS_{ik*}^t (sorted from highest to lowest), each mediator selects $s \in \mathbb{N}_+$ books, where the probability that book b_{jk} is selected is proportional to its evaluation value

- 4. Determine success of translation
- 5. Increase (decrease) status of the mediators and selected books if translation is (un)successful
- 6. After each field was chosen twice: Calculate field status as the average status of the books from the field; replace each book with a new one from the same field, where the status of the new books $BS_{ik}^t \sim N(\mu = FS_k^t, \sigma = 0.1)$ is drawn from a normal distribution around the field status

Micro-level assumptions. Mediators draw on an evaluation function $\eta(\cdot)$ that assigns an evaluation value to each book. The probability that a book is chosen by a mediator is proportional to the evaluation value that the mediator assigns to the book. The following assumptions are made about the evaluation function (see Appendix for formalization):

- Evaluations depend on the success probability p of the translation and the status payoff δ if the translation is successful (Assumption 1).
- Success probability p depends on the combined status of mediator and book. The higher the combined status, the higher the success probability (Assumption 2).
- Status payoff δ is a u-shaped function of book status such that the payoff increases at the two extremes of the book status distribution (Assumption 3).

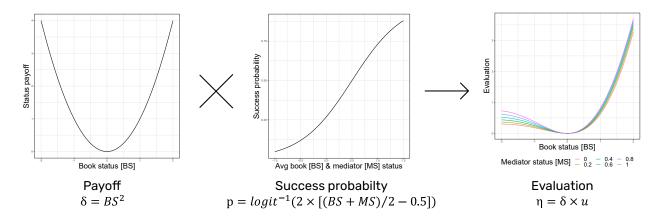


Figure 3: Mediators' Evaluation function

Figure 3 presents the formalization of the model assumptions. In line with Assumption 3, the status payoff δ (left panel) of a translation project is a u-shaped function of book status. The highest status payoff is associated with the successful introduction of books at the top and at the bottom of the status distribution. Books at the top of the status distribution are likely books from the highest-status fields that already received some measure of commercial recognition (e.g., international bestsellers) and/or artistic recognition (e.g., prestigious awards). The mediators involved in the introduction of such books into their respective fields can partake in the book's exceptional success and, thereby, raise their own status. There are, however, only very few such high-status books and mediators must constantly be on the look-out for the next discovery. Such unexpected discoveries, especially if they come from the long-tail of the status distribution, are extraordinary marks of positive distinction for the mediators involved in the discovery. The discoverers showcase their mastery of the field and, as they are the first to arrive at the scene, can reap the lion's share of the discovery's

eventual success. The stakes are lower for books in the middle of the status distribution. These books constitute the majority and, while they do not carry the glamour of high-profile books or the adventurousness of "heroic discoveries" (Bourdieu 2008), these books can provide a steady stream of small status gains to mediators.

In line with Assumption 2, the success probability p (middle panel) of a translation project increases with the combined status of book and mediator. The status of book and mediator are combined because they are substitutes. The status of the mediator can partly compensate for the status of the book (and vice versa). That is, a high-status mediator is more likely to find recognition for selecting a low-status book than a low-status mediator. Substitution works because status affords mediators some measure of symbolic power, i.e., the power to secure recognition for their choices from professional (other mediators, authors, critics) and lay (readers) audiences.

Following Assumption 1, the evaluation function η (right panel) is calculated as the product of status payoff and success probability. It is clear that all mediators prefer the highest-status books. The number of these books is very limited, however, and only the highest-status mediators can usually compete for these books. In selecting from the large number of lower-status books, the mediators follow strategies of imitation and distinction.

- **Imitation:** The mediators attempt to reproduce the success of the highest-status books by selecting, from the remaining books, the "next-best thing" the books with the next-highest status. These books often originate from the same high-status fields as the prestigious award-winners and international bestsellers but did not (yet) achieve the same level of international success.
- **Distinction:** The mediators actively distance themselves from the dominating high-status books by selecting, from the remaining books, the "most-unlike thing" the books with the lowest status. These books often originate from low-status fields (where they might have had some local success) and/or are written by authors with no international reputation.

Taken together, the assumptions imply a trade-off between risky but rewarding distinction and safe but unrewarding imitation (Implication 1). The payoff for distinction is higher than that of imitation. At the same time, the probability of success is lower for distinction than for imitation. Such trade-offs are commonly observed in cultural fields (Nooy 1999; J. G. Foster, Rzhetsky, and Evans 2015; Janssen 1997). The status of mediators influences how they solve the trade-off. The higher the status of mediators, the more willing they are to select distinction (Implication 2). Higher status affords more symbolic power that mediators leverage to secure recognition and, thus, a higher success probability for their distinctive selections.

Macro-level implications. The model was run for 2,500 iterations with n=400 mediators, q=3,000 books, and r=50 fields. The initial status of mediators and books was drawn from a uniform distribution MS_{ik}^t , $BS_{ik}^t \sim U(min=0,max=1)$. The initial status of fields was calculated as the average status of the books from the field. Figure 4 shows the evolution of the Gini-coefficient of the field status distribution over the iterations. The Gini-coefficients stabilize after roughly the 500-th iteration at a high level. The Gini-coefficient for fields is particularly interesting because the fields in the model represent languages in the real-world. The Gini-coefficient of the simulated status distribution approximates the Gini-coefficient of the eigenvector centrality (a measure of status) distribution of languages (Figure 2) quite well. Direct blockmodels confirm that the simulated network of translation flows between fields is characterized by a center-periphery structure (model fit $r_w = .709$).

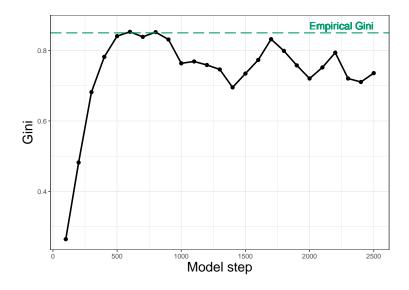


Figure 4: Gini-coefficient of simulated status distribution

3 Model validation

The close match between macro-level implications and the structure of the observed translation network demonstrates that the model possesses generative sufficiency (Epstein 1999): The model is able to generate the observed macro-level phenomenon. As there exists, in principle, an infinite set of models with exactly the same macro-level implications, the proposed model is only one among many candidates. In addition to generative sufficiency, it must be shown that the model is based on plausible assumptions, that is, assumptions that accord with existing knowledge about its area of application (Wilensky and Rand 2015, ch7). Here, two sources of information are used to establish the plausibility of the proposed model assumptions: Empirical analysis of German publishing houses and a review of (mostly) qualitative research on book translation and related cultural fields.

Empirical analysis. The empirical analysis draws on a collection of data for N = 1,202 German publishing houses. Collected data include: the number of reviews in leading German newspapers (in 2020), the number of weeks on the top-20 Spiegel bestseller list (in 2019), and the number of award-winning authors of the publishing house. Metadata on the published books (most notably their original language) and the total number of translations by each publishing house were obtained from the database of the German National Library (DNB). Exploratory factor analysis was used to create a measure of publisher status from the number of reviews, bestseller weeks, and award-winners that a publisher achieved with originally German-language books. Additional details about the data are presented in the Appendix.

Broadly speaking, the analysis supports the model assumptions. In line with Assumption 2, success probability increases with the status of the mediator. Each increase in the status of the publishing house is associated with additional reviews and bestseller weeks for its translations from peripheral languages, even after controlling for the total number of translations. In line with Implication 2, higher status tends to promote risk-taking. Each increase in the status of the publishing house is associated with an increase in the number of translations from the periphery, even after controlling for the total number of translations. Evidence for Assumption 3 is mixed. The status consequences of translations from central and peripheral

languages are shown in Figure 5. Among translated books that spend at least one week on the bestseller list, those from peripheral languages spend on average two more weeks on the list than those from central languages. In terms of bestseller weeks, successful distinction via translations from the periphery seems to pay off. Among translated books that receive at least one review, those from peripheral languages receive 0.26 fewer reviews than those from central languages – a substantively small but statistically significant difference (Welch two-sample t-test: t(561.32) = 2.41 with p = 0.016). In terms of the number of reviews, distinction does not seem to provide an advantage.

Literature review. In line with Assumption 1, existing research on literary fields (Franssen and Kuipers 2013) as well as other cultural fields (Bielby and Bielby 1994; P. Foster, Borgatti, and Jones 2011; Friedman 2014; Smits 2016) provides ample evidence that mediators are very aware of the risk of failure associated with the introduction of new cultural products into their markets. More importantly, and in line with Assumption 2, these studies identify reliance on status cues as an important organizational strategy to evaluate the quality of cultural products. Accordingly, the status of the author and book is an important consideration for mediators' decision to start a translation project. Domestic success – in terms of sales figures, positive reviews, and awards – is often cited by mediators as a quasi-necessary precondition for translation (Buitendach and Le Roux 2018; Es and Heilbron 2015). The reputation of the domestic publishing house provides an additional status cue to foreign mediators, as with the Parisian publishing House Gallimard whose authors are frequently translated into English (Sapiro 2015).

The status of the mediators (publishing houses, translators, and literary agents) in the target field contributes significantly to the success chances of the translation. High-status translators are often described as "champions of" or "advocates for" certain literatures and act as match-makers, gatekeepers, and taste-makers that bridge the cultural gap between source and target field. Examples include figures such as Howard Gold-blatt for Chinese fiction (SUN Huijun and LI Ying 2020), Ken Liu for Chinese science fiction (Wu 2020), and Peter Bush for Catalan fiction (Mansell 2019) (for additional examples, see Bergam (2013) and Diao (2022)). A similar function is fulfilled by literary agents who use their status and international connections to sell translation rights for their clients' works (McMartin and Gentile 2020). The ultimate reception in the importing literary field crucially depends on the status of the publishing house and its recognized expertise for a category of literature (as exemplified by its catalog) (Franssen and Kuipers 2013; Sapiro 2016a). High-status publishing houses have more leverage to request coverage in prestigious review outlets, recruit renowned preface writers, and use their brand-name recognition to mobilize an established customer base (Childress 2019).

As suggested by Assumption 2, the status of book and mediator are substitutes. High-status mediators partly compensate for low-status books (and vice versa). This idea is pointedly stated by Kershaw (2010): "whilst readers clearly buy a book such as Angels and Demons [international bestseller] because it is by Dan Brown [well-known author] and not because it is published by Corgi books [minor publishing house], they might plausibly buy a book by an unfamiliar woman author because it is published by Virago [prestigious UK publisher for feminist fiction]" (9).

Distinction, in the sense of deviating from the dominant evaluation criteria of the importing field, is indeed a risky business. Case studies demonstrate that the success of translations is a function of the fit between the translated material and the dominant definitions of legitimate literature. Kershaw (2010) attributes much of the success of *Suite fraincaise* (a novel about the Occupation of France during the Second World War written by the Russian-Jewish immigrant Irène Némirosky during the 1940s) to the fact that "the novel corresponds

quite closely to criteria of value already operative in the British literary field" (12). The disappointing reception of the Chinese novel Feidu, in contrast, is attributed to the fact that its traditional Chinese narrative style alienated US-American reviewers and readers (SUN Huijun and LI Ying 2020) whereas the resounding global success of Liu Cixin's Chinese science fiction is attributed to its similarity to the ideals of the Golden Age of Western science fiction (Wu 2020). Similarly, the successful introduction of the Serbian poet Vasko Popa into the post-war British literary field was facilitated by a domesticating translation strategy that adjusted his work to the standards and expectations of the British field while retaining an exotic flair distinct from British poetry that was perceived as stale and insular (Bergam 2013). Domestication strategies extent to the narratives constructed around authors, as in the case of the Chilean writer Roberto Bolaño whose reception in the US literary field was facilitated by a narrative that presented him as a "rebel, drug addict and poet" close in spirit to the North American avant-garde of the time (Bielsa 2013). These findings support the idea that mediators must balance the need to find a "differentiating factor" (something that sets the book apart from its competitors) with the need to meet the dominant criteria of legitimate fiction (Implication 1). Given the importance of high-status literary fields for the consecration of literary works, these findings highlight the exceptional symbolic power wielded by the mediators in these fields. They set the rules by which all others have to play

In line with Assumption 3, status does not flow in only one direction. The ultimate success of a translation feeds back into the status of all involved parties. Translations contribute to the consecration of authors and their works. The French translation of the Chinese novel Feidu (and the fact that it won the prestigious Femina Award in France), for instance, was used as a status signal to promote the subsequent English translation of the novel (SUN Huijun and LI Ying 2020). The promotion further highlights the subtle hierarchy between literary fields: The Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese translations of the novel that appeared in parallel to the French version were not mentioned in the promotion of the English translation. This lends support to the idea that high-status literary fields command more symbolic power to consecrate literature (Casanova 2007).

Translations also impact the status of mediators. The status of translators such as Howard Goldblatt (SUN Huijun and LI Ying 2020) and Peter Bush (Mansell 2019), the source of their symbolic power to secure recognition for their works, was built through a career of successful and well-received translations. It is, therefore, not surprising that mediators carefully and strategically curate their catalogs or portfolios to convey a consistent identity and status (Franssen and Kuipers 2013; Sela-Sheffy 2005).

Additional support for Assumption 3 comes from studies on the scientific field. In particular, it is shown that published research that deviates from established knowledge clusters (distinction) tends to garner more citations (status) than research that further explores established knowledge clusters (imitation) (J. G. Foster, Rzhetsky, and Evans 2015; Wang and Barabási 2021, ch.18). Distinction is a rewarding strategy if it finds recognition.

Summary. Taken together, the model assumptions do not seem to be at odds with existing knowledge about translations. The empirical analysis of German publishing houses as well as published research provide considerable support for Assumption 2. The argument that mediators take the risk of translations into account (Assumption 1) is also frequently reported in the research literature. The idea that mediators also take the status consequences of their decisions into account is addressed less frequently in the literature but generally in line with studies that highlight the embeddedness of publishers (Bourdieu 2008; Franssen and Kuipers 2013) and translators (Sela-Sheffy 2005) in status competitions. While research supports the argument that

(un)successful translation increases (decreases) the status of all involved parties, less is known about the link between the amount of status gain and the degree of distinctiveness in the literary field (Assumption 3). Some support for this assumption is gained from the empirical analysis of German publishing houses and from research on scientific fields.

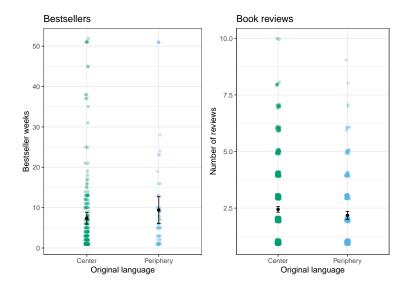


Figure 5: Status consequences of translations from center and periphery

4 Contributions

This projects makes two contributions. (1) The proposed model provides a mechanism-based explanation for the characteristic status hierarchy of languages in the global exchange of literature. The model possesses validity on both the macro-level (it replicates several stylized facts of the translation network) and the micro-level (its micro-level assumptions are supported by empirical evidence). (2) It translates key arguments of field-theoretical explanations for status hierarchies (Bourdieu 1996) into a formalized and testable model and, thereby, complements existing models of status hierarchy emergence that are grounded in small-group research (Gould 2002; Lynn, Podolny, and Tao 2009; Manzo and Baldassarri 2015). In the next step, the model will be generalized beyond global literary exchange to more precisely model the fundamental mechanisms of status, distinction, and imitation.

5 Appendix

Data sources. Translation networks are based on data from UNESCO's Index Translationum (link) (for the years 1979-2008) and from the N=32 national libraries of the EU-27, UK, and EFTA (for the years 2018-2020). The analysis of German publishing houses is based on several data sources: The weekly top-20 of the Spiegel bestseller list for 2019, winners of major German literary awards (collected from the website www.literaturpreisgewinner.de), and literary reviews in nation-wide German newspapers in 2020 (collected from the website www.perlentaucher.de). Information about the books translated by each publisher was obtained from the German National Library.

Blockmodels. The blockmodels test the hypothesis that the network can be partitioned into a center and a periphery. Following the classical center-periphery definition (Galtung 1971), a language is central if (1) it exchanges translations with other central languages and (2) it exports more to the periphery than it imports from the periphery. A language is peripheral if (1) it imports more from the center than it exports to the center and (2) it does not exchange with other peripheral languages. Fit of the blockmodel is measured as the weighted point-biserial correlation $r_w \in [-1, 1]$ between the block image and the network partition. The model fits the data reasonably well.

Analysis of German publishers. For all N = 1,202 publishers, I counted how many weeks its books spent on the bestseller list (bestseller), how often it published an award-winning author (awards), how often its books were reviewed in major newspapers (reviews), how many books it translated (size), and how many books from peripheral languages it translated (periph). Weeks on the bestseller list and number of reviews were also counted for books from the periphery (per.best and per.rev). The status of each publisher was derived from bestseller, awards, and reviews via exploratory factor analysis. I estimated the following OLS-regressions (standard errors in parentheses):

$$E[periph|status, size] = 1.19(.14) + 3.67(.18) \times status + 0.09(.00) \times size$$
 (1)

$$E[per.best|status, size] = -0.90(.25) + 1.21(.22) \times status + 0.31(.03) \times size$$
(2)

$$E[per.rev|status, size] = 0.65(.13) + 2.57(.12) \times status + 0.02(.01) \times size$$
(3)

Equation 1 shows that, controlling for publisher size, each additional unit of status is associated with 3.67 additional translations from peripheral languages. Hence, higher-status publishers tend to be more risk-taking (supporting Implication 2). Equation 2 and Equation 3 suggest that, controlling for size, each additional unit of status is associated with 1.21 additional bestseller weeks and 2.57 additional reviews for translations from the periphery. Hence, higher-status publishers tend to find more recognition for their risky choices (supporting Assumption 2).

Model formalization. As above, let f_k be the k-th national field with $k \in \{1, ..., r\}$. Let m_{ik} and b_{jk} be the i-th mediator and j-th book from the k-th field, with $i \in \{1, ..., n\}$ and $j \in \{1, ..., q\}$. Let MS_{ik}^t , BS_{jk}^t , and $FS_k^t \in [0, 1]$ be the status of the i-th mediator, j-th author, and k-th field at time point t. The formalization is formulated (without loss of generality) for the case that a mediator m_{ik} from field f_k evaluates book $b_{jk'}$ from field f_k' at iteration t. Assumption 2 about success probability p is formalized in Equation 4, where $logit^{-1}(\cdot) = \frac{exp(\cdot)}{1 + exp(\cdot)}$ guarantees that $p \in [0, 1]$. The status of mediator and book are combined by calculating their average.

$$p(MS_{ik}^t, BS_{jk}^t) = logit^{-1}(2 \times (\frac{MS_{ik}^t + BS_{jk}^t}{2} - 0.5))$$
(4)

$$\delta(BS_{jk}^t) = (BS_{jk}^t)^2 \tag{5}$$

$$\eta(BS_{ik}^t, MS_{ik}^t) = p(MS_{ik}^t, BS_{ik}^t) \times \delta(BS_{ik}^t)$$

$$\tag{6}$$

$$MS_{ik}^{t+1} = MS_{ik}^{t} \pm \delta(\cdot)$$

$$BS_{jk}^{t+1} = BS_{jk}^{t} \pm FS_{k*}^{t}$$

$$FS_{k}^{t+1} = avg(BS_{jk}^{t+1})$$
(7)

Assumption 3 about status gain δ is formalized in Equation 5. Status gain is the quadratic book status. Assumption 1 about the evaluation function η is formalized in Equation 6. It is the status gain δ weighted by the success probability p. Equation 7 defines how status is updated. Mediators gain (lose) δ status units if the translation is (un)successful. For authors, the gain (loss) is the status of the field in which they are imported. The idea is that translation into high-status fields has a higher impact on author status than translation into low-status fields. Representatives of high-status fields possess more symbolic power to make universally recognized judgments about the quality of authors. The status of each field is the mean status of all authors from that field. To ensure that status remains in the [0,1] interval, it is normalized at the end of each iteration by dividing each status by the maximum status. The translation is successful if $p(\cdot) > q$, where $q \in [0,1]$ is a random draw from a uniform distribution. Otherwise, the translation is unsuccessful.

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