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What editors talk about when they talk about editors? A public discourse analysis of market and aesthetic logics

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Abstract

In this paper, we address the topic of the changing relationships between market and aesthetic logics in fields of cultural production with a focus on public discourse. We explore the contemporary Italian literary field and examine editors' public discursive reconstructions of their work related to the media to understand the particular shape of market and aesthetic logics in their public discourse and explain the influencing factors.

Using a text analysis of 87 media interviews combining topic modeling and multiple correspondence analysis, we inductively explore how editors narrate their work. Far from incorporating a market discourse, editors mostly maintain an idiosyncratic discourse focusing on aesthetic values, experience with books and publishers, intellectual status and skills. Surprisingly, publishers' sizes and geographical locations, but not the industry structure or professional role within the field, are organizational factors that account for the balance between market and aesthetic discourses as editors working for medium-sized publishers are more prone to address aesthetic issues, while editors working for large publishers are more prone to refer to personal experience, and only editors working for small publishers explicitly refer to the market logic.

Keywords:

literary field, aesthetic logic, market logic, institutional logics, discourse analysis, topic modeling, multiple correspondence analysis, media analysis, acquisition editor

Word count: 12.632, abstract and keywords excluded (11.297 without footnotes).

1. Introduction

According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1983; 1991a; 1993; 1996), cultural production is polarized between fields of restricted production, i.e., niche markets animated by aesthetic logics and fields of large-scale production of more commercial cultural goods that respond to market logics (Sapiro, 2010; Craig and Dubois, 2010; Verboord, 2011). This logics' divide corresponding to different cultural production types has long been taken for granted (Hadida, 2015), but since at least the mid-20th century, it has been profoundly challenged (Verboord et al. 2015). In recent decades, scholars who explored the practices of how people work in cultural fields found a more nuanced picture. For some scholars, a shift from an aesthetic to a market logic has been going on in different fields of cultural production, not without struggles (Eikhof and Haunschild 2007; Thompson et al., 2007). However, other scholars suggest that a blend of logics has rather been occurring (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Verboord, 2011; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013; Kersten and Verboord, 2014) as these seemingly opposing logics coexist and complement each other (Throsby, 2010). Either way, there has been an institutional change going on in cultural fields, one in which the market logic gained more prominence and started interplaying with the aesthetic logic in many ways.

We pinpoint two elements that remain under-investigated in the literature. First, these scholars showed how aesthetic and market logics inform practices at the individual, organizational and industry levels, but a discourse analysis is lacking. For example, in the literary field, researchers explored how these logics materialize in books' properties (Pouly, 2016), authors' actions (Craig and Dubois, 2010; Dubois, 2012), or book selection decisions (Thompson, 2010; Verboord, 2011; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). However, our knowledge regarding the prevalence of logics in actors' public discourse in cultural fields is limited. This issue is important because institutional change is essentially constituted by discourse in processes of influence and struggles over meaning (Phillips et al., 2004; Meyer and Höllerer, 2010; Cornellissen and Werner, 2014), and the way actors define themselves in relation to the new institutional arrangement is important for understanding the extent of a change in institutional logics. Second, scholars agree regarding overcoming the presupposed divide but fail to explain the factors influencing the shape of the shifting and blending of logics that they find, e.g., whether and how organizational characteristics influence logics' prevalence or interplay.

Therefore, in this paper we ask: *which manifestations of market and aesthetic logics are found in actors' public discursive reconstructions of their work in a cultural field today? And how are these discursive reconstructions related to field characteristics?*

To answer these questions, we focused on the Italian literary field, namely on the work of a specific type of actors, acquisition editors, and we performed a text analysis of 87 interviews with editors discussing their work (released online in literary magazines between 2007 and 2014). We used topic modeling (TM) (Blei et al., 2003) to elicit the discourses used by editors and, thus, explore the discursive manifestations of market and aesthetic logics and address our first research question. Through this analysis, we found that rather than incorporating a market discourse, editors mostly maintain an idiosyncratic discourse focusing on aesthetic values, experience with books and publishers, intellectual status and skills. Despite the strong marketization of the Italian publishing industry and in contrast to the recent literature, among acquisition editors, aesthetic logics hardly disappear or even blend with market logics. Thus, at the public discourse level, we do not find the shifting or blending of market and aesthetic logics that others found when work practices are concerned. Next, we used multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) (Greenacre and Blasius, 2006) to grasp the latent meaning structure (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010) and investigate potential correspondences between editors' discourses and individual or organizational characteristics that might explain the factors affecting logics' shape to address our second research question. We found that publishers' sizes account for different discourses as editors working for medium-sized publishers are more prone to address aesthetic issues, while editors working for large publishers are more prone to refer to personal experience, and only editors working for small publishers explicitly refer to the market logic. Thus, the found divide is surprisingly inverted compared to Bourdieu's argument of fields of large and restricted production at least at the public discourse level. Moreover, we found that the geographical location is important because editors working for publishing houses located in the same area tend to mobilize the same topics in their public discourses. These findings are relevant because they signal that the balance between art and market logics can also be shaped by organizational-level characteristics (namely, publishers' size and location, in our case) in addition to industry-level or individual-level characteristics, such as the type of creative industry or one's professional role within a cultural field.

Thus, our results are conducive for reflecting upon the role of public discourse in processes of institutional change. The mismatch between the evidence of hybrid aesthetic and market logics in practice found by previous research and the evidence of the relative impermeability of the aesthetic logic in public discourse found by this research suggest that in the media, actors may activate discursive strategies, such as silencing and amplifying the elements with which one desires to be the least or most associated.

2. Marketization of the Italian literary field

In the literary field in virtually all Western countries, publishers, authors, editors and other intermediaries face increasing commercial pressures (Sapiro, 2003; Thompson, 2010; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013; Verboord, 2011; Verbord et al., 2015; Childress, 2017). The Italian publishing industry is no exception as it underwent this type of marketization process beginning in the nineteen-eighties when all ‘pioneer’ publishers, i.e., the publishers who founded book publishing houses during the first decades of the century, died, and several of these publishers experienced severe economic crises. Similarly to what has been described in other countries (e.g., Thompson, 2010), the structure of the industry changed; some publishers merged, while other publishers were acquired by financial holdings. By the end of the process, the five most important groups accounted for almost half of the production of books. Overall, new management that was not educated in literary studies replaced the previous management (Ferretti, 2004; Cadioli and Vignini, 2005). The production of books rose quickly (Pareschi, 2014), and as the literary field became larger, processes became more complex with more agents involved (Pareschi, 2015). Between 1984 and 2009, an overflow of published books fostered a shorter shelf-life for books, lower circulation, and obstructed distribution channels (Dubini, 2013).

Within this landscape, we focus on acquisition editors, who are the professionals responsible for selecting books for publication and working on these manuscripts (performing *editing*) before publication. Their role is very important in Anglo-Saxon literary fields, as they engage in different tasks within publishing houses, including selecting titles for publication (Markert, 1985; Greco, 2005; Childress, 2012). Following the institutional change in the Italian literary field described above, acquisition editors continue to play a key role in publishing firms. However, editors are less independent, as they must select books in accordance with other functions (see also Childress, 2012; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). They are paid less, generally have fixed-term contracts, and have to cope with the pressure of selecting marketable books every day. This decreasing importance is highlighted by the fact that *readers*¹, who help editors cope with new manuscript proposals, were central for publishers until the nineteen-seventies; in fact, several editors started their career as *readers*. Now, the work of the *readers* is usually outsourced (Ferretti, 2004; Moretti, 2005; Dubini, 2013). Moreover, in the past, editors had to meet a break-even point for the annual editorial plan as a whole; therefore, editors were able to

¹ ‘Professional readers’, or most commonly ‘readers’, are professional figures that draft reports regarding manuscripts under evaluation by request from acquisition editors. In this paper, these professional figures are denoted using *italic* to distinguish them from the readers of a book or this journal

leverage bestsellers to fund other less commercial books in which they believed. Currently, editors must meet strict circulation targets for each book they propose to publish, exactly as occurs in other countries (Le Theule and Lupu, 2015). In addition, although editors used to have the final word on the publication of a novel, they now only have a vote within the editorial board, which groups together editors, marketers and publisher's top management in order to decide which books are going to be published. This major change in the structure of the literary field in Italy and elsewhere can be understood from an institutional logics perspective, which is presented in the following section.

3. Changing relationship between aesthetic and market logics in cultural production

Institutional logics are higher order belief systems that shape cognition and action in a field (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Bourdieu, 1990; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Fields can be informed by multiple logics in a dynamic relationship with one another. Logics' changing relationships constitute ongoing institutional change.

It is widely acknowledged that cultural production is informed by two main logics: an aesthetic logic and a market logic (Lampel et al., 2000); several studies have unravelled the fascinating contrast between the identities, practices, and values associated with these two logics (i.e., Caves, 2000; Townley, 2002; Glynn, 2000; Hirsch, 1972; 2000). While traditionally considered opposing poles, aesthetic and market logics are increasingly viewed as either shifting (one logic dominating over the other) or blending. Either way, research investigating the changing relationship between these two main logics suggests that an institutional change has occurred in all cultural fields.

3.1 The divide: aesthetic logic vs. market logic

According to Bourdieu (1983; 1984; 1991a; 1993; 1996), artistic creation occurs within fields of cultural production characterized by a dual structure: fields of restricted production and fields of large-scale production. Fields of restricted production have the privilege of imposing their own form of cultural capital as the dominant capital, and economic capital is less important than cultural capital. Thus, these field internally control their values, processes and criteria, and agents in these field have substantial autonomy. Cultural production is organized in niche markets for elite audiences and responds primarily to an aesthetic logic ('arts for art's sake' and cultural consecration). In contrast, in fields of large-scale production, economic capital is dominant, and values, processes and evaluation criteria depend less on internal rules. Cultural production is organized to exploit economies of scale and commercial appeal to mass markets

regardless of the artistic potential, according to broadly shared conventions in response to a market logic ('art for money', short term success, and profitability).

The opposition between art and commerce is central to the theoretical understanding of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993), and indeed, aesthetic and market logics have long been considered opposing, antithetical and radically incompatible (Bourdieu, 1993; Sapiro 2010; Craig and Dubois, 2010; Verboord, 2011; Pouly, 2016). In the literary field, this opposition resulted in a historic polarization between books, authors, publishers, and intermediaries specialized in 'highbrow' literature for a niche elite, and others specialized in literature with more commercial appeal.

3.2 Overcoming the divide: shifting and blending logics

This divisive view has been challenged by research streams noting that either a *shift* of market logics upon aesthetic logics or a *blend* of market and aesthetic logics occurred in practice.

Shifting logics: At the societal level, market forces have an increasing impact that decreases the distinction between highbrow and popular culture (Thornton, 2004, Verboord, 2011). Specifically, in the literary field, market logic has come to dominate the global publishing industry at the expense of aesthetic logic (Greco, 2005). Evidence of such a shift abounds in bestsellers' contents (Verboord, 2011), in publishers' work that relies more heavily on market-driven data (Childress, 2012) and short-term profits (Thornton, 2002; 2004; Thornton et al., 2005), in the growth of retail chains and literary agents, and the emergence of publishing corporations (Thompson, 2010). This shift has been reshaping the literary field for decades. For example, Childress (2017) described how such marketization dates back to the 1940s in the US context.

Blending logics: Scholars increasingly acknowledge that aesthetic and market logics are fluid and interweave in a single blend in contemporary cultural production. At the level of single art works, a blend of aesthetic and market logics has been found in Pouly's (2016) analysis of how a book 'can have it both ways', i.e., gaining literature recognition (symbolic capital) and being a bestseller (economic capital) simultaneously; in Kersten and Verboord's (2014) analysis of film blockbusters spanning between conventionality and innovation and combining small and large production logics; and in Glynn and Lounsbury's (2005) analysis of orchestras' repertoires, which increasingly draw from 'mainstream' interpretations of classical music (Glynn, 2000). The same blending of logics has been noted at the level of single authors in Dubois's research investigating how poets in restricted production fields manage to gain mass markets by creating a sort of a hybrid space (Dubois, 2010; Craig and Dubois, 2010). This

blending of logics has also been found at the level of publishers' decision-making processes in which emotional judgements do not rule out feelings related to commercial potential and *vice versa* (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013). Additionally, artistic and commercial logics can inform acquisition editors' decision-making without too much struggle, as small publishers cannot be autonomous from the market, while large publishers can diversify their production with niche works (Verboord, 2011). Furthermore, this blending of aesthetic and market logics in cultural production is expected to be more applicable in large-scale fields of cultural production than restricted fields (Craig and Dubois, 2010).

In contrast to Bourdieu, these scholars do not find a polarization between aesthetic and market logics in cultural production but have yet not investigated how organizational conditions affect the shape of shifting or blending, or whether this shifting or blending occurs at the level of actors' public discourse in the field.

4. Discursive perspectives on institutional logics and the role of the media

4.1 Discursive construction of institutional change

All institutional change is also a discursive change because 'institutions are not just social constructions but social constructions constituted through discourse' (Phillips et al., 2004:638). This view can be considered from the following two perspectives: one perspective considers agency based on field discourses, while the other perspective considers agency based on actors' skilful use of discursive strategies to either promote or resist change in a field.

The first perspective views institutional change as the emergence of a powerful new discourse (e.g., market discourse in a cultural field) that is or becomes capable of influencing cognitions, while actors' behaviour tends to be adapted throughout although unconsciously (Hardy et al., 2000). For example, Oakes and colleagues (1998) showed how professional cultural managers in Alberta's public sector increasingly, although somewhat inadvertently, adopted 'business planning' language in their work as a result of a process of new public management reforms. The authors depicted this change as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991b) that operates through pedagogic action involving the exclusion of some ideas as unthinkable through the use of a technical discourse, such as business planning, while also involving the positive inculcation of legitimate and 'right' ideas (Jenkins, 1992) as the new meaning horizon and space for action.

The second perspective views institutional change as a struggle over meanings (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010) in which skilful actors manipulate discourses and conduct 'politics of signification' (Benford and Snow, 2000: 625) to force or resist a change (Fligstein, 1997; Rao,

1998; Garud et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004). Here, the power lies in the actors' ability to gain legitimacy to speak (Suchman, 1995; Maguire et al., 2004), create storytelling and legitimize accounts (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Creed et al., 2002), or frame contested issues (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Tracey et al., 2011). In the cultural field, Childress' (2012) analysis of how acquisition editors strategically used BookScan's legitimacy or illegitimacy to support their personal choices regarding the most valuable books can be considered an example of a discursive strategy used to partially protect the aesthetic logic from the marketization of their field.

4.2 Role of the media in the discursive construction of institutional change

In discursive processes of institutional change, the media play a paramount role. The media influence the formation of elite and public opinion (DiMaggio et al., 2013) and serve as a platform that gives both resonance to new field discourses and space for actors' discursive strategies. In the literary field, in particular, literary magazines are 'privileged places for dialogue between peers' (Sapiro, 2003:451). Discussion regarding an issue in the media, more than simply reflecting an objective truth, gives agents in the field the possibility to engage in specific representations of reality, thus giving particular meanings to events (Hall, 1982) or framing an issue strategically according to expectations. The role of the media is relevant for the institutional logics approach as these struggles can shape the diffusion of collective understandings and meanings by creating new associations among them (Price and Tewksbury, 1997) that may connect to broader logics (Feldman, 2003) and that can be repeated and reinforced by target readers in their daily communication (Bird, 2011). One relevant example is the work by Khaire and Wadhvani (2010), who show how field agents in the Indian art market discursively reinterpreted categories of meaning and were able to set new market valuation criteria based on these meanings.

Therefore, public discourse is a locus in which change in dominant logics may be manifest, echoed, or strategically resisted, but it has yet to be explored, when the issue of changing institutional logics in cultural production is considered.

5. Methods and data

We focus on editors' public discourse regarding the media and consider interviews as narrations actively constructed by those interviewed (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). We analysed interviews by relying on the concept of vocabularies, i.e., systems of words and their meanings

in given social collectives (Ocasio and Joseph, 2005), as vocabularies shape how individuals think and communicate (Loewenstein et al., 2012).

As our aim was to address editors' discursive public reconstruction of their work, we originally focused on the following two different available sources: major generalist newspapers and on-line literary magazines. Regarding the former, we focused on the three newspapers with the highest circulation (*La Repubblica*, *Il Sole 24 Ore*, and *Il Corriere della Sera*). Regarding the literary magazines, we relied on an available on-line ranking of online literary magazines with a high number of visitors² and focused on the ten most important magazines. Indeed, we did not take this ranking for granted, and we validated the ranking based on our knowledge of Italian literary magazines derived from previous qualitative inquiries of the Italian literary field. From both sources, we downloaded all articles mentioning the keyword 'intervista editor' (editor interview). We analysed all collected articles and discarded all interviews that did not focus on the work of editors within the literary field. Therefore, we did not retain the articles collected from generalist newspapers as these articles focused on descriptions/promotions of recently published books or literary prizes or asked editors about mundane issues. In contrast, the on-line literary magazines proved to be valuable sources as they presented several relevant interviews addressing the work of editors. In addition, during this stage, we were able to perform snowball addition, adding to our sample new on-line magazines, when these magazines were mentioned as relevant outlets, in the already downloaded interviews. We repeated the described process of collection for these new sources. Finally, we retained 87 interviews published between 2007 and 2014 from the following nine online literary magazines: *Affari Italiani* (12 interviews), *Sul Romanzo* (28), *Vita da Editor* (19), *Nazione Indiana* (4), *Nuovi Argomenti* (18), *Doppiozero* (2), *Oblique* (1), *Carmilla online* (1), *Minima et Moralia* (1), and *Linkiesta* (1). Most analysed magazines had a specific section focusing of the work of editors; here, editors were interviewed through standardized questions, and these documents represent the core of our sample. Appendix A presents more data regarding our sources and the interviews collected. Our sample covers editors working for publishers of different sizes and locations according to the classifications employed in previous surveys in the field (Pareschi, 2014).

To understand the particular shape of market and aesthetic logics in editors' public discourse and explain the factors affecting this shape, we combined topic modeling (Blei et al.,

² The ranking was available at <http://it.labs.teads.tv/top-blogs/letteratura>, which was accessed at the beginning of 2016 and has been discontinued. However, the original content is still accessible through websites, such as the Web Archive (<https://web.archive.org/>).

2003) and multiple correspondence analysis (Greenacre and Blasius, 2006). Topic modeling (TM) provides a semi-automated way to code the content of a corpus of texts into a set of ‘topics’, which are repositories of meaningful words (Mohr and Bogdanov, 2013). Each word in the corpus is coded to a certain topic, and each topic consists of words that co-occur and constitute discourses (DiMaggio et al., 2013). Then, the meaning of each topic is subjectively induced by the researcher without the imposition of *a priori* categories. Topic modeling has been increasingly used for several purposes, such as detecting novelties, developing inductive classification systems, understanding online audiences, analysing frames, and understanding cultural dynamics, starting from words (Hannigan et al., 2019) and widely employed in cultural sociology (e.g., DiMaggio et al., 2013; McFarland et al., 2013; Jockers and Mimno 2013, Marshall, 2013; Tangherlini and Leonard, 2013).

Technically, we performed TM through the state-of-the art software Mallet, which implements the algorithm Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA, Blei et al., 2003). Before performing the TM, we pre-processed our data to render our corpus (Schmiedel et al., 2018; Hannigan, 2019) and created a stopword list, which is a list of words that are not meaningful and can be excluded from the analysis (e.g., articles, prepositions, and adverbs). We made a more sensitive decision to remove the questions from the interviews because our aim was to analyse only words actually used by editors and not words used by the interviewer. As the constellations of words used represent cultural structures (Mohr, 1998) and the vocabularies used are linked to the meanings conveyed (Loewenstein et al., 2012), we considered the questions ‘noise’ that needed to be removed. However, this decision can create the following problem: if the questions forced and constricted the answer, removing the questions would prevent an understanding of the context? To address this (possible) problem, we made the interviews’ questions explicit (Appendix A³). Additionally and more importantly, we analysed sources through MCA (see below): we came to the conclusion that there are not relevant differences in the interviews that can be explained by the source from which they were retrieved. Finally, after cleaning the data, our corpus comprises 178,395 words.

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is a descriptive technique often used in sociology of culture to relate meanings to the social space in which they were created (e.g Bourdieu, 1984) or, more generally, to elicit latent meaning structures (Breiger, 2000; Meyer and Höllerer, 2010). We used MCA to analyse the relationships between the editors’ discourses

³ We thank an anonymous reviewer for highlighting the relevance of the structure of the interviews, which lead to this reflection.

and the structuring features of the literary field; in particular, to perform the MCA, we coded each of the 87 interviews to the following five categorical variables⁴:

- *Size* of the publisher for whom the editor works: large, medium, small. To assess the size, we updated the categories provided by the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), as those categories are now outdated (Pareschi, 2015). We consider publishers small if they publish fewer than 30 books per year, medium if they publish between 30 and 130 books, and large otherwise. Our sample includes 23 interviews with large publisher editors, 28 with medium, and 36 with small.
- *Location* of the publisher has a traditional meaning in Italy, where the oldest publishers are based in Turin and Milan, and a generation of young and very culturally active publishers is based in Rome. We had 32 interviews with editors working for publishers based in Milan, 6 based in Turin, 25 based in Rome, and 24 with editors based in ‘other’ cities.
- *Source* refers to the magazine from which the interview was retrieved. We used five codes, i.e., four codes for the magazines from which we retrieved at least four interviews and an ‘other’ category.
- *Gender* of the editor interviewed: there were 31 female and 56 male editors.
- *Topic*: as each interview is composed of different percentages of each topic, we coded each interview to the three most important topics used. This decision is arbitrary, but we thought that characterizing each interview with less than three topics would have retained only part of the meaning of that interview, whereas considering more than three topics would have made discrimination between different interviews impossible. Indeed, on average, the three most important topics constitute 66% of each interview.

6. ‘What do editors talk about when they talk about editors?’ – exploring logics

To explore which logics manifest in public discourse, we explored the meanings used by editors in their discursive reconstructions of their work in public interviews by means of topic

⁴ Notably, we considered including a sixth variable in the MCA that could potentially explain the variance in the editors’ discourses: the genre of the books published by the publishers for which these editors work. We eventually discarded this option because it would have created rather than solved issues. We found it impossible to categorize editors based on the genres of the products on which they worked because editors could only be univocally linked to genres in the case of very small publishers, e.g., only the publisher *Minimum Fax* provides this information in the ‘end credits’ of each book. For example, *Mondadori* (a large publisher) publishes with the same editorial label (although within different editorial series) books by Nobel prize winners and books by so-called *influencers* or TV stars. Another example is the case of *Feltrinelli*, whose literary and political identity faded away over time (Ferretti, 2004), together with its association to any specific genre. Overall, we believe that including such a variable would have introduced an excessive level of subjective evaluation.

modeling. The first step in TM is defining the number of topics that the algorithm must produce based on the analytical purposes of the research. While some researchers rely on statistics to define the ‘right’ number of topics (i.e., Mimno et al., 2011), other researchers note that quantitative metrics can produce topics less meaningful for human experts (Chang et al., 2009). Following standard methodology, we elicited different models and finally selected a six topic model.

It is paramount to reflect upon our interpretive process before presenting the topics. The software produces the following three main outputs, which fed our interpretation: i) *a list of the most important words per topic* based on their adjusted prevalence, ii) *a matrix describing the percentage composition* of each interview by different topics, and iii) *a list describing the actual coding of each word in each interview*. We complemented these data with a qualitative analysis based on our in-depth reading of all interviews to combine the semi-automatic features of TM with its inductive nature; by gaining a real understanding of the text, we were able to understand the topics. The interviews were re-read against the TM results to assess the coding of each word. In particular, we analysed the five interviews composed with the higher percentage by each topic.

Topic ID and label	1 - Newness		2 - Market		3 - Experience with books		4 - Experience with publishers		5 - Intellectual status		6 - Editorial skills	
Average use	17.2%		15.5%		16.5%		17.8%		16.8%		16.2%	
20 most important words per topic (original words are in Italian. The translation in English of each word in was performed by the authors)	Italian	English	Italian	English	Italian	English	Italian	English	Italian	English	Italian	English
	romanzo	novel	anni	years	lavoro	work	editrice	publishing house	autore	author	editor	editor
	narrativa	storytelling	mercato	market	tempo	time	casa	home	testo	text	letteratura	literature
	anni	years	caso	case	credo	I think	editoriale	editorial	editore	publisher	mondo	world
	anno	year	lettori	readers	leggere	to read	editoria	publishing	scrittore	writer	storia	history
	autori	authors	collana	series of books	autori	authors	lavorare	to work	letture	reader	pubblicare	to publish
	grande	great	momento	moment	scrittura	writing	editrici	publishing houses	testi	texts	senso	sense
	italiana	Italian	romanzi	novels	lettura	reading	case	publishers	qualit	quality	casa	publisher
	nuovo	new	successo	success	persone	people	persona	person	generale	general	molti	lot of
	poco	little	fine	aim	editing	editing	percorso	route	progetto	project	penso	I think
	grandi	great	pubblico	audience	scritto	written	piccola	small	opera	oeuvre	storie	stories
	italia	Italy	attenzione	attention	editor	editor	merito	merit	letteraria	literary	lingua	voice
	editori	publishers	giorno	day	casi	cases	cercare	search for	manoscritti	manuscripts	punto	point
	pubblicato	published	idee	ideas	scrivere	to write	titoli	titles	possibile	possible	seconda	second
	esordienti	first-time author	piace	like it	domanda	question	realt	actually	letterario	literary	parole	words
	scrittori	writers	genere	genre	esperienza	experience	capacit	capacity	ruolo	role	pensare	to think
	davvero	really	idea	idea	testi	texts	trovare	to find	vedere	to see	difficile	hard
	nuovi	new	stessa	itself	pubblicazione	publication	editoriali	editorial	grado	degree	credo	I think
	nuove	new	libreria	library	fortuna	luck	redazione	editorial staff	capire	to understand	lavoro	work
	italiani	Italian	particolare	particular	mestiere	craft	commerciale	commercial	pagine	pages	passato	past

Table 1 – Topics and 20 most important words per topic

Table 1 presents a description of the selected Topic Model in which each column is a topic, and the order of the topics has no meaning. Each topic is described by its average use in our sample⁵, the 20 most important words and a descriptive label inductively developed as previously explained. The remainder of this section describes in detail the inductively developed descriptions of each topic.

Topic 1, which we labelled *newness*, focuses on the idea of ‘new’, which refers to new editorial trends, new books and, most importantly, new authors. This issue is reflected in several of the central words for this topic: *nuovo*, *nuovi*, *nuove* (new⁶). The third and fourth most important words are *anni* and *anno* (years and year), which reflect the temporality of newness, requesting something new to be published each year. This topic focuses on novels and fiction (*romanzo*, *narrativa*) and is deeply centred on the Italian literary field (*italiana*, *italia*, *italiani*). To induce the topics’ meanings, we analysed quotes coded to a topic; indeed, the first meaning of ‘newness’ refers to new literary genres that are gaining importance and editors’ ability to pursue new trends without abandoning tradition. For example, a new brand by an established publisher is defined as a ‘new branch, from a living and solid trunk⁷’. The second dimension of newness refers to the importance of the editor who is able to find new books to be published and edit them to elicit the strengths of each manuscript. An editor says that ‘Einaudi Stile Libero [name of the publisher] always conducted literary research⁸’, highlighting the search for new books and new voices performed by the publisher. ‘New generations of authors abandoned the excessive minimalism characterizing previous books to describe the Italy of today through the sharp irony inherited by Italian comedy⁹’. Indeed, the presence of the word *esordienti* (debutant) highlights the most important dimension of newness, which is the search for talented debutant authors who have characterized the Italian literary field in recent years (Pareschi,

⁵ All words within the corpus are coded to a topic, and the topics are constituted by the same number of words, but words occur in a different way; thus, the topics have different average uses.

⁶ Here, the linguistic issue becomes complicated from a typographic point of view. Italian words and sentences will be in *italics*, whereas the English translation follows or anticipates Italian words.

⁷ “*Dal tronco vivo e robusto nascono insomma rami nuovi*” From an interview with Severino Cesari e Paolo Repetti, *Affari Italiani*. When quoting Italian original excerpts, we adopt the following convention: words highlighted in grey are coded to the topic under scrutiny (here Topic 1), words underlined are coded to a different topic, and other words pertain to the stopword list and are not coded.

⁸ “*Einaudi Stile Libero ha sempre fatto ricerca letteraria*”, from an interview with Severino Cesari e Paolo Repetti, *Affari Italiani*. As an example of the coding rule, here the whole sentence is constituted by Topic 0 except the word “*letteraria*”, which was actually coded to Topic 4. This topic, as we will explain, addresses aesthetic values and the intellectual status of the editor.

⁹ “*penso [...] al tentativo [...] di raccontare l’Italia di oggi attraverso l’ironia tagliente della migliore commedia all’italiana, rispetto al minimalismo esasperato delle generazioni precedenti*” from an interview with Jacopo de Michelis, *Affari Italiani*

2015). ‘These days, publishers focus on young authors¹⁰’, and ‘today, there are readers who want to discover new authors, and the publishing industry tries to please them¹¹’. Several quotes highlight how finding debutant authors is a difficult task, as editors are overwhelmed by new proposals and attempt to deploy ‘banks to filter the flood¹²’. Nonetheless, good editors are able to find good new authors, and several recent bestsellers were books by debutant authors.

Topic 2 - market is the only topic that explicitly encompasses a market discourse, using words such as *mercato* (market) and *successo* (success). Emphasis is placed on the reception of the books, highlighted by the words *lettori* (readers), *pubblico* (audience) and *piace* (to like). This topic is also constituted by other words pointing to the sale of books, such as *libreria* (bookstore), *caso* (case), which is used to describe successful ‘literary cases’, and *collana* (series of books), which is the traditional way to offer the market a subset of books by one publisher¹³. Market is explicitly referred to as a benchmark: ‘We definitively can follow trends in the market¹⁴’ in order to forecast the genres that are going to be more successful. Of course, foreign markets are important as well: ‘we pay attention to the UK market first and then the US market. We pay attention to selling classifications and to the foreign rights’ market¹⁵’. However, beyond the market as a positive force, this topic also deals with the market as a force that must be decoupled from the peculiar editorial work, which should follow an aesthetic and literary canon: *[speaking of a book they published:] it’s a way of thinking about the world and describing it that excites us, as it’s completely independent from market or audience considerations [...] we feel like considering a target [when publishing] would be a sort of blackmail of our freedom [...] after a meeting with professional marketers, you feel like you saw a science fiction movie¹⁶*. Indeed this topic is used to address both contrasts and complementarities between the literary field and the market.

¹⁰ “*Gli editori in questi mesi stanno insistendo molto sui giovani*”, from an interview with Jacopo de Michelis, Affari Italiani

¹¹ “*Oggi c’è un pubblico che ama scoprire nuovi autori e l’editoria si adegua*”, from an interview with Michele Rossi, Affari Italiani

¹² “*Cerchiamo di porre un argine alla valanga di manoscritti che invade le case editrici*” from an interview with Jacopo de Michelis, Affari Italiani

¹³ Book series are traditionally not very important in the Anglophone book publishing industry but are fundamental for the Italian one (Ferretti, 2004). Each *collana* tended to have a peculiar identity, contained only books with certain traits in common, and was characterized by peculiar tangible features such as size, grammage and kind of paper, design and cover image.

¹⁴ “*Si possono certamente individuare alcune tendenze del mercato*”, from an interview with Chiara Ferrari, Doppiozero

¹⁵ “*[Seguiamo] il mercato inglese, seguito da quello americano. Seguiamo con attenzione le classifiche, le vendite dei diritti in altri Paesi*”, from an interview with Chiara Ferrari, Doppiozero

¹⁶ “[parlando di un libro che hanno pubblicato:] è un modo di pensare e raccontare il mondo che ci appassiona proprio perché radicalmente indipendente da considerazioni relative al mercato e al pubblico. [...] consideriamo un modello ricattatorio il considerare preventivamente un target di riferimento [...] Da certi incontri con esperti

Topic 3 - experience with books, is about the importance of editors' personal experience (*esperienza*), defined as *tempo* (time) spent working (*lavoro*) to develop a profession (*mestiere*). This experience is defined as the work on texts (*testi*) in all of its possible meanings: time spent on book reading (*leggere, lettura*), writing (*scrittura, scritto, scrivere*) and editing texts (*editing, editor*) to finally publish (*pubblicare*) them. This topic is used especially in interviews with editors who are also literary authors, as it highlights the need to develop writing skills and literary sensitivity: *'It's not only a professional path [...] I was educated in reading and writing by my parents'¹⁷*. Working experience is also relevant: *'you must be careful when choosing where to take an internship because an internship can be the opportunity of your life'¹⁸*, as it leads to joining important editors and learning from them. Time spent reading, writing, and reading and writing allows editors to 'develop a flexible sensitivity'¹⁹ to texts. A long quote by an editor, completely coded to this topic, describes his daily routine, which is deeply intertwined with manuscripts; his point is that as professional courses are virtually non-existent, the only path to becoming a good editor is learning by working with manuscripts daily.

Topic 4 - experience with publishers, involves working one's way up through collaborations with small publishers. This topic, which was mostly used by editors working for small publishers, defines experience as a career performed in specific working contexts, whereas the previous topic 3, i.e., experience with books, treats experience as work on texts without concern for specific job positions with a publisher. Therefore, among the words that constitute this topic, we find *percorso* (path), which leads to working (*lavorare*) for a small (*piccola*) publisher (*casa, editrice, case, editrici*). Emphasis on the working contexts is highlighted by several editorial-related words (*editoriale, editoria, editoriali*) that refer to work in different publishers' divisions, such as editorial staff (*redazione*) or the marketing division (*commerciale*). This is the only reference to the market, and it is used to refer to a division within publishers in which an editor may need to work before moving to the editorial staff. This point also brings to the discourse the issue of the personal social networks developed through experience that are useful in obtaining a job position: *'as we say, I had to rise through the ranks.*

di *marketing* si esce come da un film di fantascienza", from an interview with Marco Federici Solari e Lorenzo Flabbi, Doppiozero

¹⁷ "Non è solo un percorso professionale [...] sono stato educato al ragionamento logico e coerente (i genitori sono biologi); sono stato educato alla lettura (e a buone letture)", from an interview to Giulio Mozzi, Sul Romanzo

¹⁸ "Bisogna stare attenti nel momento in cui si sceglie dove fare il tirocinio [...] può essere l'occasione della vita", from an interview with Giulio Mozzi, Sul Romanzo

¹⁹ "formarsi una sensibilità duttile", from an interview with Evelina Santangelo, Sul Romanzo

I have collaborated with small publishers since I was young²⁰. 'A standard path does not exist, but today [...] you have to try to work for a small publisher with the necessary humility to walk through all the steps'²¹. Also 'the literary field is a small world consisting of contacts, relations, and acquaintances with certain people, which require the skill of being able to get to know someone. It is clear that the ability to develop a broad personal social network increases your chances of finding a job, even if you start as an outsider'²². An editor said that 'I met people who got a job because they had friends in high places, but those cases were rare'²³; indeed, having a position depends '30% on intercession and 70% on personal merit'²⁴.

Topic 5 - intellectual status, emphasizes the intellectual role of the editor, who must be able to interact with authors as a 'sparring partner'²⁵, a counterpart that needs to be endowed with aesthetic and literary authority to problematize aesthetic decision by the author. In addition, editors must be able to manage relationships with authors from a personal point of view, as long-lasting relationships with authors are very important for publishers. The most important words for this topic refer to the editor as the first reader (*lettore*) for the publisher (*editore*) and the role (*ruolo*) of the editor in managing the relationship with authors (*autore, scrittore*). The editor must be able to analyse manuscripts (*manoscritto, testo, testi*) in order to see (*vedere*) and understand (*capire*) their strengths and weaknesses to elicit literary quality (*qualità, progetto, opera, letteraria, letterario*). A long quote highlights what the final book must be and thus the role of the editor in developing the project: *'A book is like a building, and you deal with the construction, that is, the number of pages actually written. You need to read the project against the light and try to see the planimetry sought by the author while he was writing, the more or less accurate study of weights and counterweights meant to hold the structure. What I search for in a book is a building that must be as similar as possible to its project even before I try to understand how appropriate, and decent, and peculiar the project*

²⁰ "Provengo, come si usa dire, dalla gavetta. Collaborazioni giovanili con piccole case editrici", from an interview with Emanuele Romeres, Sul Romanzo

²¹ "Non credo in realtà esista un percorso standard. Oggi sicuramente è necessaria una laurea [...] E poi provare a inserirsi in una casa editrice di piccole dimensioni con l'umiltà di percorrere tutti i passi, a partire dal gradino più basso", from an interview with Emanuele Romeres, Sul Romanzo

²² "L'editoria è un mondo tutto sommato piccolo, fatto di contatti, di relazioni, di "conoscenze" intese nel senso "non doloso" del termine: è chiaro che la capacità di tessere un network ampio aumenta le possibilità di proporsi, di farsi conoscere... anche per chi non parte da una posizione di privilegio", from an interview with Andrea Canzanella, Sul Romanzo

²³ "Ho visto [...] elementi che si trovavano su un posto di lavoro grazie ad un "santo in paradiso", ma oggettivamente erano pochi esempi", from an interview with Francesco Bordi, Sul Romanzo

²⁴ "direi 70 merito e 30 raccomandazione", from an interview with Andrea Canzanella, Sul Romanzo

²⁵ Interview with Nicola Lagioia, Nuovi Argomenti

was. *If the project and execution persuade me, I try to work on the text*²⁶. Editors are characterized thus *'by working on manuscripts in terms exquisitely and tautologically literary*²⁷, establishing *'a relationship with the author based on frankness and confidence*²⁸. To create this type of relationship, the *'pact between author and producer [must be clear:] the editor is the first reader of a manuscript, or at least the first one not among friends and loved ones [...] the editor must share the aim of the author, but at the same time, he must be a foreign reader with no emotional ties*²⁹.

Topic 6 - editorial skills, emphasizes the narrative's importance both for the literary field and for society as a whole, focusing on the skills needed by editors to select manuscripts and perform the editing. Storytelling is depicted as a traditional way for mankind to understand reality, and editors working on texts permit the publishing of new books. Editors have other annoying tasks within publishers, but it is the time spent (*passato*) working with words (*parole*) that leads to the publication (*pubblicare*) of manuscripts. Indeed, this topic highlights the flair and natural insightfulness with which editors are endowed and that permit them to find and give shape to stories. This skill depends on gut feeling more than a checklist, and editors, who are the shepherds of stories within publishers, must be regarded as very important professionals. The work (*lavoro*) of editors (*editor*) involves the worlds (*mondo*) that can be created through literature (*letteratura*) and stories (*storie*). Gut feeling (*senso*) and editors' judgement (*penso, pensare, credo*) are fundamental for discovering narratives characterized by interesting stories and plots (*storia*) or by an idiosyncratic voice (*lingua*). Indeed, *'in the stories, there is the air, there is our oxygen. Without stories, we would be machines, but we are not machines, so we need stories. Stories are the way we have a relation with the world*³⁰. A good editor is someone who is able to find interesting stories: *'very pragmatically, we can say that a book gets my attention when I completely forget that I am reading it to earn money for my work. When I feel*

²⁶ *"Un libro è un edificio di cui, avendo a che fare con l'esecuzione (la mole delle pagine effettivamente scritte), si intravede in controluce il progetto, la planimetria inseguita dall'autore nel mentre costruiva, lo studio più o meno attento dei pesi e contrappesi che avrebbero retto i muri. Quel che cerco in un libro è dunque che l'edificio sia quanto più vicino possibile al progetto che c'era alla base, e ancor prima tento di valutare quanto opportuno e sano e peculiare fosse quel progetto. Se progetto e prossimità dell'esecuzione al progetto mi convincono, tento di avere a che fare con quel testo"*, from an interview with Gabriele Dadati, Nuovi Argomenti

²⁷ *"E tra le responsabilità dovrebbe esserci, e molto spesso è così, quella di lavorare sul testo letterario in termini squisitamente, tautologicamente letterari"*, from an interview with Nicola Lagioia, Nazione Indiana.

²⁸ *"instaurare un rapporto di schiettezza e di fiducia"*, from an interview with Nicola Lagioia, Nazione Indiana.

²⁹ *"L'editor è spesso il primo lettore dell'opera, o il primo al di fuori della cerchia degli affetti [...] deve condividere lo scopo dell'autore e, nel contempo, deve essere un lettore del tutto estraneo e non condizionato da affetti"*, from an interview with Giulio Mozzi, Nazione Indiana.

³⁰ *"nelle storie c'è l'aria, c'è il nostro ossigeno. Senza storie saremmo macchine, e non siamo macchine, quindi delle storie abbiamo bisogno. Le storie sono il modo in cui stiamo al mondo"*, from an interview with Giuseppe Catozzella, Nuovi Argomenti

like that, definitively, (if I did not have that book between my hands) I would buy and start reading that book just for the sake of my own pleasure³¹'. Compared to topic 1, i.e., newness, topic 6 focuses on the relation between literature and narratives as *'the hardest part [of my job], which is also the most frustrating, is everything that does not have to do with literature³²'*.

7. The meaning structure – exploring the factors affecting logics' manifestations

While Topic Modeling permitted us to elicit meanings deployed by editors in the description of their work, we used MCA to relate these meanings to the following structuring features of the field: size of the publisher for which an editor works, geographical location, gender of the editor, and source of the interview. This analysis allowed us to explore the factors affecting the particular manifestations of market and aesthetic logics in editors' public discourses.

These data take the form of a contingency table in which the rows are the interviews and the columns are the categorical data listed above. MCA proceeds inductively by matching rows (units of analysis) and columns (categorical variables) and projecting this multidimensional space into a bi-dimensional space, which is graphically described by a principal and a secondary axis as follows: categories that frequently co-occur are plotted close together, while those that do not co-occur are plotted separately. Together with the graphical representation, a statistical output is provided that allows the meaning and quality of the representation to be understood. The model is characterized by an explained inertia (or variance), which is an index of how well the bi-dimensional model accounts for the description of the multidimensional space. We performed the MCA with the software XLSTAT.

To determine which variables better explained the latent meaning space, we performed several MCAs by combining different variables. We found that the model with the highest explained variance was the one considering topics, size of the publishers, and geographic location as variables. Adding the gender of the editor did not improve the results. The discourse regarding the sources of the interviews deserves more attention; adding this variable to the model drastically lowered the explained variance (to 49.9%) while simultaneously causing several categories to be very poorly depicted in the bi-dimensional model. Even more interestingly, if we used as principal variables for the MCA topics and source only, we obtained

³¹ *"Diciamo che, molto pragmaticamente, capisco che il libro sta colpendo la mia attenzione quando inizio a leggerlo dimenticandomi del tutto che si tratta di una prestazione di lavoro contro denaro. Quando, in definitiva, quel libro (se non lo avessi tra le mani) me lo andrei a comprare e inizierei a leggerlo indipendentemente dal fatto di trarne altro vantaggio che non sia la lettura in sé"*, from an interview with Nicola Lagioia, Nuovi Argomenti

³² *"La parte più difficile è anche la più frustrante. Tutto ciò che non ha a che fare con la letteratura"*, from an interview with Nicola Lagioia, Nuovi Argomenti

very poor results both in terms of explained inertia and quality of representation. Our interpretation is that the content of the interviews, i.e., the words used to answer the questions, does not depend on the question. In other words, if the questions forced the answers, we would expect the source to explain the topics used with some sources clustering near well-depicted topics. As adding the source to the model sensibly worsens the results, we conclude that the sources are not related to the meaning structure we describe.

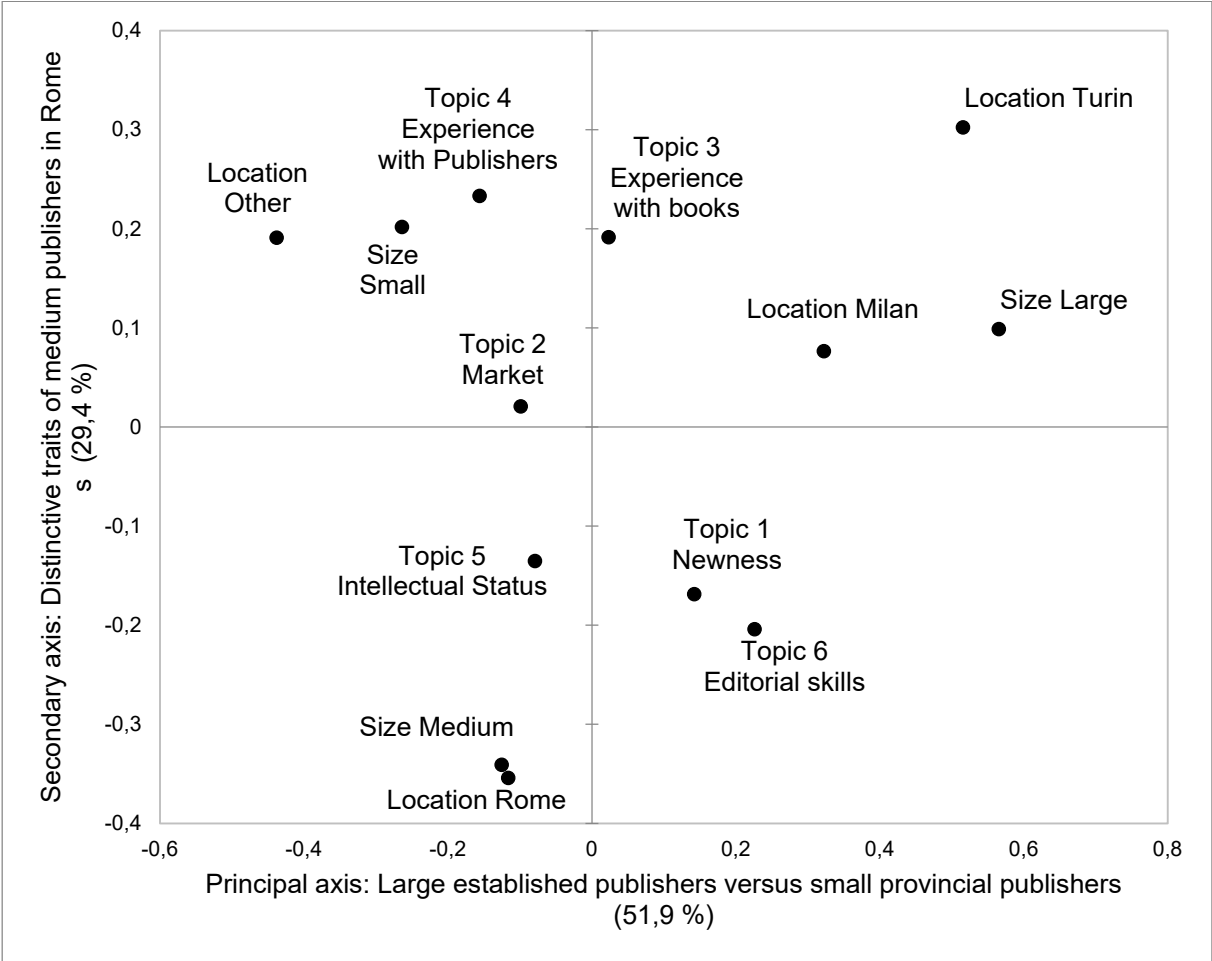


Figure 1 - MCA relating topics, size and geographic location

Figure 1 is the graphical representation of the final analysis. The principal axis (X) accounts for 51.9% of the explained inertia, whereas the secondary axis (Y) accounts for 29.4%. Overall, this model explains 81.3% of the variance of the multidimensional space, which is a good result. The meaning of an axis can be interpreted by relying on the categories with higher contributions to its definition, then the meaning of the other categories depends on their position on the map. The categories describing the principal axis X are, on the right of the map, the cities *Milan* and *Turin* and the size *Large*. On the left of the map, we have the location *Other* near the

size *Small*. These categories account for 89.1% of the variance of this axis, which we labelled ‘Large established publishers vs. small provincial publishers’, as this axis portrays a polarization in the use of topics that depends on the geographic location and size. The Y-axis can be interpreted by the opposition of *Medium* publishers based in *Roma*, in the lower part of the map, and the categories *Small* publishers, *Other* cities, and Topic 4, i.e., experience with publishers, in the upper part of the map; these categories accounts for 78% of the inertia of this axis. As the shape of this axis depends especially on the contribution of *Rome* and *Medium*, we labelled it ‘Distinctive traits of medium publishers in Rome’.

All categories are well-depicted. Overall, topics do not contribute to explaining the axes, but they are particularly well-depicted on the map; thus, their position can be interpreted by relying on the meaning of the axis. Therefore, the topics in a quadrant are more often used by editors described by the categorical variables defining that quadrant. The map depicts three clusters of topics, publishers’ sizes and geographic locations. The upper right quadrant of the map shows interviews with editors working for large publishers located in Milan or Turin. These are cities in which traditional and old publishers are based, and their structure is more industrial. In the same quadrant, we find Topic 3, experience with books, which specifically characterizes interviews with editors working for large publishers in Milan and Turin.

In the upper left quadrant of the map, we find editors working for *Small* publishers mostly located in provincial cities whose interviews are mostly constituted by topic 4, experience with publishers, and topic 2, market. The latter is the only topic that focuses on market forces. Interestingly, this topic is paramount in constituting the utterances of editors working for small publishers located in provincial cities. In the lower left quadrant of the map, we find the categories *Medium* publishers and *Rome* and Topic 5, intellectual status. Thus, medium-sized publishers’ editors define themselves as champions of literary quality. Notably, Topic 5 emphasizes the importance of long-lasting relationships between publishers and authors, which is especially important for medium-sized publishers (Pareschi, 2015). Topic 1, newness, and Topic 6, editorial skills, are located in the lower right quadrant of the map between *Medium* and *Large* publishers, suggesting that editors working for both types of publishers speak of both newness and their editorial skills.

8. Discussion

Motivated by the willingness to understand contemporary cultural production in terms of changing institutional logics, we focused on the Italian literary field and explored market and

aesthetic logics in editors' public discursive reconstructions of their work and explored the characteristics of the field related to these discursive reconstructions.

Our first main finding (from TM) is that, despite the undoubted marketization of the Italian publishing industry, editors' discursive reconstruction of their own work today is relatively impermeable to the market logic. Only Topic 2, market, explicitly engages with the description of the market as either an enemy of the book publishing industry or an institution to be positively considered while selecting which books to publish. Market is absent from all other topics constituting editors' discourses. In fact, all other topics used (strategically or unwillingly) by editors mainly refer to the symbolic sphere, which is closely related to aesthetic reasoning, literary norms, and humanistic education.

We could have expected more market logic acting through market discourse, because previous research showed that the work of editors has changed and became more prone to commerciality over time (Verboord, 2011; Childress, 2012; Franssen and Kuipers, 2013), which could have been mirrored in how editors speak about their work in the media. Arguably, instead, editors avoid speaking about the market in their public reconstruction of their work to protect the aesthetic values that inform their editorial work. In other words, the market logic undoubtedly exists and acts in this field as extensively shown in previous descriptions of the changed Italian publishing industry (Ferretti, 2004; Cadioli and Vignini, 2005; Dubini 2013; Pareschi, 2014; 2015), but it is silenced in most actors' public discourses as they speak about their own work in the media. *Vice versa*, the editorial (aesthetic) logic exists and continues to inform editors' work, but it is amplified in editors' public discourses. These practices of silencing or amplifying certain discourses are discursive strategies that constitute a potential outcome of institutional change.

Our second main finding (from MCA) is that the impermeability to a market discourse is clearer in large-scale productions (editors working for large and medium publishers) and less so for restricted productions (editors working for small publishers). The use of words differs according to the size of the publishers for which the editors work and their geographic position. In particular, a market discourse permeated interviews by editors working for smaller publishers, while medium publishers' editors mainly referred to linguistic and literary aspects of their work, and editors from large publishers emphasized the importance of expertise in terms of work on texts. Editors from both medium and large publishers focused on both the importance of finding new authors and on the editorial skills and gut feeling needed to find the right stories.

As editors working for larger publishers are increasingly stressed by quantitative performance targets, it is surprising that they do not use the market topic. Indeed, this finding contradicts Bourdieu's theorized dual structure, which proposes that we should expect a dominance of aesthetic logics in restricted production and market logics in large-scale production. This outcome also contradicts other scholars' claim that hybrid aesthetic-market logics are more prevalent in large-scale fields, rather than in restricted fields that remain 'purer' (Craig and Dubois, 2010).

Different factors could explain this unexpected finding. There might be a different division of labour in small and large publishing houses. Small publishers' editors are likely involved in both selecting new books and marketing them, performing simultaneously switch roles as literary and entrepreneurial experts. Large publishers' editors may play a more fixed role, which is mainly concerned with selecting new authors, while leaving the work of marketing to other departments within the publishing house. Additionally, publishing a very successful book can change the fate of a small publisher as a single book may make it or break it for a smaller publishing house; hence, the market logic is more deeply imbricated in their work and is less of a taboo in their public discursive reconstructions. Furthermore, Verboord (2011) affirmed that aesthetic and market logics are entangled in the literary field, and the degree of such entanglement may depend on the publishers' size (company type), the number of editors, number of marketing personnel (organizational characteristics), or even the focus on particular genres (product) or particular artists (individual characteristics). Nevertheless, it should be noted that this inversion of logics (large-aesthetic; small-market) is here captured at the level of public discourse; another potential explanation is that in the media, editors might tend to emphasize elements with which they are *not* generally associated.

Moreover, location matters: editors working for publishers in the same geographic location share the prevalent use of the same topics, thus creating discrete clusters of publishers. We argue that editors working within a geographic cluster of publishers are socialized to the dominant discourse within that cluster: several literary publishers are active in Rome (Ferretti, 2004), and here editors are socialized to the usage of Topic 5, which is intellectual status. In Milan and in Turin, where the oldest publishers are located (Ferretti, 2004), editors are socialized especially to Topic 3, which is experience with books. Thus, we found that different clusters of publishers within a field, located in different parts of Italy, experience a different balance among logics and among topics' use. This finding reinforces Childress's (2015) argument regarding the role of regionality and regional sub-fields as an important part of cultural fields.

9. Conclusion

In the literature on cultural production, the supposed traditional aesthetic/market logics' divide has been overcome as scholars increasingly report shifting or blending logics. However, our findings show that, instead, some divide still exists at least at the level of public discourse as we find the substantial impermeability of editors' discourses to market logic, which is simply silenced. Notably, our findings are limited to editors' public discourses in the media in specialized literary magazines, where we could expect that editors amplify editorial aspects and downplay market ones (strategic uses of discourse). However, even if it is a strategic use of discourse, this finding still softens the claimed level of the marketization of the industry, hence the depth of institutional change. The picture that emerges is that market logics tend to blend more with aesthetic logics in actors' practices (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013; Verboord, 2011; Childress, 2012; Pouly, 2016; Craig, 2010), but remain quite divided at the level of discourses when public appearance is at stake. This finding also implies that in this literature, it is important to examine public discursive reconstructions because they provide a picture of how actors represent themselves, what actors value or what actors want people to think that they value.

Our study presents some limitations. First, we relied on public interviews released for a specific audience (readers of literary magazines), which we could not control. However, control over questions and interview narratives needs to be sacrificed if the goal is to access actors' public discourse, more or less strategically targeted towards other agents in the field. Nevertheless, we analysed with MCA whether the use of topics depended on the sources, and we described the interview questions in the appendix to ensure that we truly captured the editors' discourses³³. Second, compared to other in-depth qualitative research techniques, TM offers limited insights. To mitigate this limitation, we complemented the analysis with an in-depth reading of our whole sample, which is composed of a manageable number of texts. Thus, we argue that we complemented the formalization of TM with the richness of qualitative interpretation.

Our results pave the way for future research. A possible idea is to further address the question of why smaller publishers relate more to the market than larger publishers. Ideally, qualitative case studies could be suitable to bridge the divide between public discourses and practice. This divide could also be bridged by triangulating editors' public discourse with interviews with other agents in the field, such as authors or literary agents. In general, future research could further explore the issue of the discursive representation of one's working self

³³ The full dataset of our data, including links to the interviews, and analysis is available online in an OpenAire compliant repository

in the media as opposed to private discourse and the reasons explaining the potential differences. This issue can of course be explored also in other fields of cultural production.

In conclusion, what do editors talk about when they talk about editors? Has their conceptualization of their own work in the media been domesticated to market discourses (dominance of a market logic) or do they struggle to resist this market pressure? Neither is true. Upon closer examination, as always, the situation is more articulated and has different nuances of soft resistance and permeability of discourses. Certainly, it is time to progress beyond the rigid dualisms of 'either/or' thinking in cultural fields (De Fillippi, 2007). While market and aesthetic logics inherently rely on rather incompatible premises, we must continue to analyse the various creative ways and different levels (including discourse and practice) in which they manage to coexist in cultural production.

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Appendix A: Details of our sources of data

Source	Description	Interviews	Description of Questions
Nuovi Argomenti	One of the most legitimate Italian literary magazines founded by Alberto Carocci and Alberto Moravia in 1953 following the example of 'Temps Modernes' by Sartre. Currently, the director is Dacia Maraini	18	Standardized questions regarding i) relevant features in a manuscript, ii) the role of the editor, iii) the editor and how she interact with authors, iv) cultural education and model of the profession of the editor, and v) how reading has changed
Nazione Indiana	A literary blog and magazine founded in 2003 by a group of literary authors, critics and artists, such as Giulio Mozzi, Tiziano Scarpa, Helena Janeczek, and Antonio Moresco. The name refers to the idea of combining freedom and cooperation.	4	Written standardized questions regarding the role of the editor and the relationship with authors
Sul Romanzo	On-line literary magazine linked to a literary agency founded in 2009 that specifically targets agents in the literary field.	28	Standardized questions regarding i) the past professional path; ii) whether standard professional paths exist; iii) the daily working routine of an editor; iv) the role of meritocracy in the book publishing field; v) opinions regarding first-time authors; vi) best features of the publisher for which the editor works; and vii) suggestions for those who aim to become editors.
Vita da Editor	A blog operated by one editor; Vita da Editor collects different sections aiming to uncover 'the backstage of book publishing' (e.g., conversations with publishers, interviews with editors, and focus on translators)	19	Standardized interviews regarding i) editor's professional path; ii) the selection of manuscripts; iii) typical mistakes by wannabe authors; iv) guiding criteria for the work of editors; v) general evaluation of the increasing number of titles published yearly in Italy; and vi) anecdotes related to the role of editors.
Affari Italiani	Generalistic digital newspaper founded in 1996	12	Unstructured interviews focusing on the role of editors.
Doppiozero	Literary magazine founded in 2011 that publishes in Italian and English	2	Unstructured interviews regarding the role of editors.
Minima et Moralia	Founded in 2009 within the publishing house Minimum Fax, Minima and Moralia; subsequently became an independent cultural on-line magazine. Nicola Lagioia and Christian Raimo serve on the editorial board	1	Interviews regarding the role of editors.
Carmilla Online	Literary magazine focusing on literature and literary critics founded in 2000 with a clear left-wing stance	1	Interviews regarding the role of editors.
Oblique	Literary blog of the literary agency Oblique; this site targets agents in the field and collects interviews with authors, editors, publishers, booksellers, translators, and journalists.	1	Interviews regarding the role of editors.
Linkiesta	Generalistic digital newspaper founded in 2010	1	Interviews regarding the role of editors