

Women of Words: Gender Equality in 21st Century Scottish Book Publishing

Christina Neuwirth

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Publishing Studies**

**University of Stirling
August 2022**

Abstract

The UK publishing industry has an equality problem. Recent research reveals systemic gender, ethnicity and class bias (Ramdarshan Bold 2021; Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018; Saha and van Lente 2020; Marsden 2019). Focusing on gender, this thesis shows that Scotland is not exempt from inequality, despite ranking third in the world for female political empowerment (Paterson 2018).

As such, this thesis examines the quantifiable difference between men's literary sector output and that of women and non-binary people. It asks how gender inequality manifests in the contemporary Scottish literary sector, and explores whether a new literary prize could effectively address these issues.

Working as part of ROAR, a literary advocacy group, this thesis employs a multimodal methodology of semi-structured interviews with tastemakers in the Scottish literary sector, and statistical analysis of gender distribution in publishing, reviewing, festivals (2017-2019) and prizes (1919-2021).

Findings indicate continued gender inequality, with women and non-binary authors rarely exceeding 40% of authors published, reviewed, platformed or awarded with prizes. The data further suggest that gender inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector through closed networks, the devaluing of women's creative and administrative labour, and workplace discrimination and harassment. This persists through tastemakers' narrowed scope of agency, whose self-perception includes having good intentions, being only small parts of complex interconnected agents, and who see the Scottish literary sector as not having enough resources to achieve change. Together, these factors generate a tacit acceptance of the status quo, allowing for inaction.

Finally, this thesis demonstrates that Scottish literary prizes are enmeshed in existing knowledge hierarchies and that a new literary prize would not sufficiently address issues of gender inequality. The thesis then offers recommendations to the Scottish literary sector for effective change through internal monitoring, pay transparency, valuing equalities skills in hiring practices, and addressing sexual harassment.

Keywords: gender, Scotland, publishing, equality, feminism, queer methods, embedded, 2010s

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible without the kind guidance and support of my supervisors, Professor Claire Squires, Dr Elizabeth Reeder, and Caitrin Armstrong. Many thanks to Amina Shah for supervision in my first year. Thank you so much, for everything.

Many thanks also to my funders, the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities (SGSAH) and Arts and Humanities Research Council, who supported this research project with a Creative Economies Studentship. Thank you to the Division of Literature and Languages in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Stirling, who supported my research through enabling conference attendance at By the Book in Florence, Italy (2018), CAMEo Conference at University of Leicester (2018, 2019), SHARP Conference in Amherst, Massachusetts (2019), and the Women in Publishing Conference at University of Reading (2019). My attendance at SHARP in Amherst, Massachusetts was also supported by a SHARP travel grant – thank you. I am grateful to SGSAH for their cohort development funding, which enabled my colleagues Dr Katey Warran, Dr Grant Barclay and myself to hold a workshop on the topic of bringing together arts methods and science research (2018). Finally, huge thank you to SGSAH for funding my internship with the Stella Prize in Melbourne, Australia, which gave me invaluable insight into the workings of a literary prize.

Thank you to Clara, Lenny (and family), Jaclyn, Conner and all at the Stella Prize for their openness and kindness.

It is my pleasure and privilege to get to work, think and play alongside Stevie Marsden, Melanie Ramdarshan Bold, Dimitrios Meletis, Alexandra Dane, Eloise Faichney, Millicent Weber, Rachel Lyn Noorda, Claire Parnell, Olivia Danso, Will Smith, James McKean and Kenna MacTavish.

Thank you to the members of ROAR for trusting me with this project. I am honoured to have had the chance to work with you.

Thank you to Scottish Book Trust for welcoming me so warmly, and for encouraging me to be playful and bold in my research and in how I share its findings: thank you to Caitrin Armstrong, Kayleigh Bohan, Lynsey Rogers, Lynsey May, Nyla Ahmad, Philippa Cochrane, Andrew Blair, Alan Lynch, Katherine Wilkinson, Keava McMillan, Sally Lewis, Danny Scott, Keara Donnachie, Nicole Brandon, Éadaoin Lynch, Rosemary Ward and Amina Shah.

Thank you to Helena Markou for invaluable help with Nielsen BookScan. Thank you to Chiara Bullen for talking me through my anxiety when I caught COVID for the first time. Thank you to the engineers at Apple Princes Street who recovered my data when my laptop broke halfway through this project in 2019. Thank you to the staff at the National Library of Scotland.

Thank you for writing space to Matthias and Clara in Vienna, Jen (and Samson) in Leeds, Veronika and Fernando in Recoleta, Buenos Aires, and Lisa in Graz. I conducted a surprising amount of my quantitative data collection while dog-sitting for my friends Marianne and Richard – thank you!

I could not have done this without my friends: Thank you to Alice Tarbuck, Maria Stoian, Dave Coates, Sasha de Buyl-Pisco, Sim Bajwa, Anahit Behrooz, Bethany Thomson, Kat Heinrichs, Paul Facio, Bren Frederick, Fernando Gabriel Campioni, Ingrid Bruchmann, Matthias Mayer, Levin Wotke, Nadine Aisha Jassat, Lisa Wagner, Natasha Dyer, Craig Smith, Amy Hussain and Stephen Rodger Benson, and the Games Night gamers (with whom I will happily climb every mountain). Thank you to Anne and Louis Collins, Beth and Rhys Wynne-Jones, and Georgi, Dave and Isla Gates. Thank you to Gisela Kubasa, and my entire extended family. Thank you to K., my therapist. I could not have done this research or finished this thesis without the help and encouragement of Ellie Macdonald.

Thank you for conversations and support to Nyla Ahmad, Jenny Kumar, Josie Giles, Nat Raha, Alycia Pirmohamed, Melinda Harvey, Julieanne Lamond and Kirsty Alexander.

Thank you to Armin Gerger and Elisabeth Andritsch at LKH-Univ. Klinikum Graz.

Thank you to Lorna, Morven, Louisa, Helena, Sonali, Sarah, and all at University of Stirling.

Thank you to my husband Ardie Collins for his unwavering love and support and care, and to our cat Jones.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Burgi and Christian Neuwirth, and to my sister, Veronika Neuwirth.

COVID-19 Impact Statement

This statement is intended to acknowledge the material impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on this thesis. Alongside substantial impact to my physical and mental wellbeing (anxiety, COVID-19 illness, self-isolation and recovery, fatigue, sciatica, stress), there have been three major material difficulties arising from the pandemic: these are lack of adequate working space, lack of access to library books and journals, and reorientation of research due to the pandemic.

I received financial support from SGSAH for a 6-month funding extension (application in May 2020) and a 2-month funding extension (application in July 2021).

Lack of adequate working space

In 2020 and 2021, my working from home setup was disrupted through noise issues through ongoing building works in neighbouring buildings, impacting my ability to focus on my work. I also experienced occasional issues of internet speed, making it difficult to access materials online or use web-based services such as transcription software. Some of these issues were resolved through a home move in mid-2021, and I had better working space and internet speeds in the second half of 2021 and in 2022.

Lack of access to library books and journals

In 2020, as I was writing up analysis chapters from primary data, I found that there were many books which did not have remote access options at the libraries to which I had access (University of Stirling, National Library of Scotland (NLS), and alumni access to University of Edinburgh). When University of Stirling and University of Edinburgh opened their libraries again to students later in 2020, I was unable to use these work spaces. In the case of Stirling, this was due to advice to stay at home or within local authorities (I live in Edinburgh); unfortunately my alumni access to University of Edinburgh library was revoked in mid-2020 due to a focus on allowing current students to return to work. I was, however, able to visit the NLS when it reopened: its guidelines stated that visitors could use the reading room once per week. Following three visits in Nov and Dec 2020, the NLS closed during the Winter & Spring lockdown and did not reopen until 27 April 2021. However, while extensive, I found that the electronic and physical holdings of NLS were not entirely sufficient to meet my

needs as a researcher, and due to the above issues about travelling to Stirling, I was not able to visit the library at my home university. My mitigation plan from my funding extension requests relied on extended periods of work spent at the library to fill in literature gaps in my thesis; as at July 2021, NLS allowed two weekly visits. I visited as much as I was able to, and have now been able to visit multiple days per week in 2022.

Reorientation in my research

My doctoral research project was conducted in collaboration with an advisory group of literary industry professionals in a feminist community-based participatory research design where I co-create knowledge with and for the participants in my research. This group's purpose and goals have also shifted through the drastically altered funding landscape during the pandemic, as the sector's responsibilities and priorities changed to meet the needs of its workers during widespread uncertainty, loss, and unemployment. The full group met in May 2020 and in November 2021. This shift in the participation element of my research has meant more time working on my own than I had initially intended. To mitigate this change, I drew more on my interview data and my core advisory group (i.e. my supervisory team). Over the course of 2020-2021, I also had more one-on-one points of contact with the wider membership of ROAR, and have sought feedback on my research through sharing it with interviewees, individual members of the literary industry, and other researchers. While my project was still collaborative, and I am still an embedded member of the literary sector, this facet of my thesis unfortunately took on a secondary role due to reduced contact with ROAR.

Confirmation of ethical approval



Christina Neuwirth
Arts & Humanities
University of Stirling
FK9 4LA

General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland UK
E: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Christina.neuwirth1@stir.ac.uk

3 April 2018

Dear Christina

Re: Ethics Application: *Women of Words: Gender Equality in Contemporary Scottish Writing and Publishing* – GUEP341(R)

Thank you for your submission of the above to the General University Ethics Panel.

I am pleased to confirm that GUEP has approved your application, and you can now proceed with your research.

While the committee has approved the proposal and has also suggested, that in relation to the consent form, one more point should be added:

– “I consent to participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher” as the third point.

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Yours sincerely,

Pp

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "W. Munro".

On behalf of GUEP
Professor William Munro
Deputy Chair of GUEP



Christina Neuwirth
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
University of Stirling
FK9 4LA

General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland UK

E: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

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If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,
Pp

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dr W. Munro".

On behalf of GUEP
Dr William Munro
Deputy Chair of GUEP

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List of abbreviations

The following table describes abbreviations and acronyms used in this thesis, including the page where these are first used and defined.

Abbreviation	Meaning	Page where first used and defined
BotY	Book of the Year (in reference to Saltire Society Literary Awards)	20
BPOC	Black people, People of Colour	21
CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research	73
EIBF	Edinburgh International Book Festival	85
GRA	Gender Recognition Act	104
GWL	Glasgow Women's Library	106
IASH	Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh	17
IWD	International Women's Day	17
JBM	Jaipur BookMark	55
JLF	Jaipur Literature Festival	38
JTBP	James Tait Black Prize	86
Mcllvanney Prize	Mcllvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year	20
PBF	Portland Book Festival	38
ROAR	Group advocating for equality in Scottish literary sector, acronym standing for Represent, Object, Advocate, Rewrite	17
SBT	Scottish Book Trust	73
StAnza	StAnza Poetry Festival	200
VIDA	US-based non-profit literary organisation VIDA (Women in Literary Arts)	20, 52

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research project has its origins in that classic forum of feminist consciousness-raising: the roundtable discussion. Specifically, this research project's roots lie in a roundtable following a day of panel discussions to mark International Women's Day (IWD) 2016, which took place on Friday 11 March 2016 at the Scottish Storytelling Centre on Edinburgh's Royal Mile and was run by Scottish PEN (Scottish branch of PEN International) and the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh. The event featured writers Karen Campbell, Regi Claire, Magi Gibson, Jean Rafferty, and Lesley Riddoch, and free lunch, tea and biscuits ('IASH/Scottish PEN International Women's Day Symposium: "Dangerous Women"' 2016). At the closing roundtable, the literary agent Judy Moir¹ suggested that there should be a women's writing prize in Scotland, since the Women's Prize for Fiction did not include many Scottish writers on its shortlists (Calder 2018; Moir 2018; Armstrong 2018; Shah 2018).² This suggestion led to a group of women, many in leadership positions in Scottish literary organisations (now constituted informally as the group ROAR³), coming together and pursuing funding for a doctoral research project⁴ which would investigate issues of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector, advise on whether a new literary prize for women's writers could sufficiently address these issues, and suggest how this prize could be organised.

This is that research project and I am working as the doctoral researcher, and as a member of the group ROAR and the Scottish literary industry. In fact, I was there on that 11 March 2016, because I was Scottish PEN's Project Manager, and I had co-organised the event, line-managed the person who had advertised it on social media, and helped keep track of dietary requirements for the event's attendees. I have, in my

¹ Judy Moir's previous roles in publishing include: "previously Director of the Scottish Publishers Association (now Publishing Scotland), lecturer in Publishing at Napier University, Editorial Director of Canongate Books, Editor at Large for Penguin UK, commissioning for Hamish Hamilton and Viking" ('Tutored Retreat: Fiction Janice Galloway & Kerry Hudson, Guest: Judy Moir' 2019)

² Six Scottish writers had been shortlisted for the Women's Prize for Fiction in the 20 years between its inception in 1996 and the year of this event 2016: Manda Scott (1997), Ali Smith (shortlisted 2001, 2006, winning 2015), Anne Donovan (2003), Shena Mackay (2003), Aminatta Forna (2011) and Kate Atkinson (2013).

³ Acronym standing for Represent, Object, Advocate, Rewrite, www.roar.scot

⁴ Creative Economies Studentship "Women of Words", Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities/Arts and Humanities Research Council

desk drawer, a notebook with doodles from the day, which reads: “*Scottish women’s writing prize?*” I remember particularly that Lesley Riddoch, who had two years previously been hyper-visible as one of the few women making the case for Scottish independence in a field dominated by male commentators, had spoken at the roundtable discussion about how women often come together to discuss issues – but that words weren’t enough, and action was needed. I felt Riddoch’s statement tapped into a kind of collective energy in the room. And while it has been over six years since that day, it is my hope that this research – although its scope has shifted and its calls to action are perhaps different from what we imagined in 2016 – can nevertheless be a tool for action towards greater gender equality in Scotland’s literary sector.

This thesis aims to identify sites of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector and to provide evidence of why this inequality persists. The following sections introduce the context of contemporary Scottish literature, the broader research problem and a brief overview of existing literature in this area, followed by an outline of the research questions and limitations, and a guide to the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Context

It could be argued that contemporary Scotland sees itself as a progressive nation. Hames describes “the value ascribed to higher education and liberal democracy” in devolved Scotland as “ha[ving] never been higher, more hopeful, or more ‘national’” (Hames 2022). Seven years prior, a newspaper article in *The Herald* from 2015, entitled “Scotland is now a progressive nation, so get over it”, referred to “free prescriptions and lack of university tuition” as well as the high expectations of equality in Scotland: “we’ve raised the bar in our political expectations in Scotland and nothing less than full gender equality deserves praise” (Left Foot Forward 2015).

Indeed, women appear to be excelling in the political sphere in Scotland. Laura Paterson reported in *The Scotsman* in February 2018 that Scotland is ranked third in the world for female political empowerment: “Research by the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) found Scotland follows Iceland and Nicaragua in terms of female political empowerment while the UK is ranked 13th.” The article goes on to cite findings that “Scotland would be placed at 27th in the world in terms of the number of

women in parliament, with a female to male MSP ratio of 0.55. The UK is placed 38th” (Paterson 2018). This shows that, even in contemporary politics reporting, Scotland can be considered independently from the United Kingdom context. This is clearly also related to Scotland’s status within the United Kingdom: Scotland has had its own parliament in Edinburgh since 1999 (following a vote in 1997), and it holds power “over the majority of public services in Scotland”, including power over matters related to the arts (‘Devolution in Scotland – UK and Scottish Governments Working Together’ n.d.). Arts funding from the Scottish Government, where not awarded directly, is distributed via bodies such as Creative Scotland (‘What We Do’ n.d.). There have been several studies focusing on Scotland’s national literature, many of which refer to this literature existing alongside or outside of the literature of the wider United Kingdom; these are described further in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

There has been much scholarship showing that women have been historically written out of the Scottish national literature. In 1995, Christopher Whyte writes in *Gendering the Nation*: “Scottish literature has succeeded, against all the odds, in emerging from under the shadow of English literature and establishing its own tentative canon. The texts in question are almost exclusively by male authors.” (Whyte 1995, x).

Glenda Norquay describes the history of women’s writing in Scotland as “a story both of bold declarations of self and of the, at times, secret and strategic infiltrations of walled areas of literary production” (Norquay 2012c, 1). While histories of Scottish women’s writing published in the last 25 years have identified and addressed the lack of historic representation of women writers in Scottish literature (Christianson and Lumsden 2000; Gifford and McMillan 1997a; Norquay 2012d), they also share a cautious optimism for better representation in contemporary literature.

Scottish women writers long ignored are seemingly now – in this “progressive nation” – having their moment in the spotlight: the new Scottish £5 note sports Nan Shepherd’s portrait (Flood 2016), and 2018 focused on Muriel Spark’s work in what would have been the year of her 100th birthday, which included the re-naming of streets and pathways in her honour, a year-long programme of celebrations, and the re-publication of her back catalogue of novels (Newsroom 2018; ‘Muriel Spark 100: Centenary Celebrations’ 2017; ‘Muriel Spark Centenary Editions’ 2018). Aligning with this focus on female writers, Marie-Odile Pittin-Hédon describes the 21st century Scottish canon as female:

...in the last decade or so, [...] the new Scottish canon has increasingly come to be referred to as made up of women writers such as [Janice] Galloway herself, Kathleen Jamie, Liz Lochhead, Jackie Kay, Louise Welsh and A. L. Kennedy, but also as including new names which are far too numerous all to be mentioned here – Jenni Fagan, Alice Thompson or Kirstin Innes to name but a few. (Pittin-Hédon 2022, 37)

In 2022, Publishing Scotland, a network for trade, training and development for the book publishing sector in Scotland, reports that 50% of Scottish publishing companies are run by women ('Market Insights' 2022).

However, quantitative research indicates that the visibility of, and value assigned to women writing in and about Scotland have yet to achieve historical equity: Stevie Marsden's analysis of the Saltire Society Book of the Year (BotY) and First BotY winners, shortlists and submissions between 1988-2014 shows that, "despite the fact that critics argued that there was a change in tide in the late 1980s and early 1990s regarding the gender balance in Scottish literature more broadly, [...] Scotland's literary culture, and in turn, book award culture, was dominated by men" (Marsden 2019, 62). Analysis of the Saltire Society First BotY Award, Saltire Society BotY Award, Bloody Scotland's Scottish Crime Book of the Year (now called McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year (McIlvanney Prize)), and Dundee International Book Prize (2005-2015) published on *A Novel Bookblog* shows that "35% of prize-winning novels in Scotland have been written by women", and that "books *about* women" seem to fare worse (ANovelBookblog 2015), in line with findings by Nicola Griffith on UK and US literary awards (Griffith 2015a; 2015b).

One of the central tensions towards understanding how gender inequality manifests in publishing is that publishing is a field that is overwhelmingly staffed by women: In 2017, bookcareers' survey of workers in UK publishing found that 84.6% of respondents were female, and 15.2% were male ('Bookcareers.Com Salary Survey Results 2017' n.d.). Other studies, including scholarly examinations, surveys undertaken by collectives such as VIDA (Women in Literary Arts), or literary prize The Stella Prize, have investigated gender inequality in contemporary literature in the UK and Australian literary market and found that women and gender minorities' participation is disproportionately low in reviewing and literary prizes, despite the above cited high percentage of women among literary sector workers (Dane 2018; 2020b; Lamond 2011; Harvey and Lamond 2019; 2016; Griffith 2015a; 2015b; 'The 2017 VIDA Count' 2018; 'The 2018 VIDA Count – VIDA: Women in Literary Arts' n.d.; '2017 Stella Count · The Stella Prize' n.d.).

Contemporary research in creative economies research, book history and publishing studies frequently investigates structural inequalities present in the publishing industry at large, for example in studies of the creative economy sectors in the UK (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018; 2020), the UK publishing sector ('In Full Colour: Cultural Diversity in Publishing Today' 2004; Kean 2019; Squires 2017a; Saha and van Lente 2020), the history of feminist publishing (S. Murray 2004; Withers 2021), young adult publishing in the UK (Ramdarshan Bold 2018; 2021), poetry reviewing and publishing in the UK and Ireland (Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics 2019), literary sector output in Australia (Dane 2020b), literary reviewing in Australia (Harvey and Lamond 2019; 2016; Lamond 2011) and literary prizes in the UK and USA (Griffith 2015a; 2015b). While VIDA (2018) and the recent Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics report have shown biases in UK and Irish reviewing (Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics 2019), their work's scope does not include Scottish national newspapers; while Griffith (Griffith 2015a; 2015b) has shown gender bias in UK and US literary awards, the dataset does not include Scottish awards; and although gender pay gap reporting in the UK showed stark average differences in pay between men and women "ranging from 11.3% to 29.69%" (Flood 2018), Scottish publishers were exempt from reporting as they comprise mostly small and medium enterprises (Ramdarshan Bold 2012).

While these scholars have presented evidence of deep-rooted racism and sexism in the contemporary literary sector in many national contexts, the Scottish literary sector has, until recently, lacked comprehensive quantitative evidence and qualitative interrogation of structural inequalities related to gender. This study follows existing scholarly work focusing on individual women writers (Norquay 2012d; Gifford and McMillan 1997a), gender inequality in Scotland's Saltire Society Literary Awards (Marsden 2019), experiences of Black writers and writers of colour (BPOC writers) in the contemporary Scottish literary landscape (Guyan 2020; 2021), and industry reports on the Scottish publishing industry, and diversity in the Scottish arts sector (Nordicity in association with Drew Wylie 2015; Creative Scotland 2017).

While the above studies of gender inequality in the literary sector – summarised in greater detail in Chapter 2 – have established evidence for institutional sexism, few focus on Scotland. And while the previous studies of sexism in Scottish literature discussed the value discrepancy between women's and men's writing, they did not use quantitative and qualitative mixed methods, or a feminist framework, nor did they include gender minorities in their considerations. Further, recent reports about the

Scottish literature or arts sector either did not include a gender breakdown of findings or did not include significant responses from the literary sector.

As a result, it is arguable that the Scottish literary sector, and its constituent agents – writers and publishers, as well as people who assert the most influence, defined by Beth Driscoll as “prize administrators, TV producers, educators, reviewers, and festival organizers” (2014: 4) – do not have sufficient evidence to highlight sites of inequality which would enable them to take action themselves or hold others to account. There is a high level of personal knowledge about discrimination in the sector, especially within groups who experience discrimination on a daily basis: experiences of discrimination are shared in professional and personal networks, and this informally shared knowledge is valuable and important both to the consciousness-raising of those who are party to the conversation, and also as foundational understanding of barriers and difficulties for organisations (whose members may be party to the conversation). However, comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data addressing the whole sector is missing.

1.3 Research aims, objectives and questions

Given the gap in existing research, this thesis aims to identify sites of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector and provide evidence of why this inequality persists.

To achieve this aim, this thesis quantitatively examines literary sector output in four areas: publishing, reviewing, festivals and prizes. It underpins this quantitative evidence with broad-ranging qualitative evidence from semi-structured interviews with people in positions of power within the Scottish literary sector. It then draws together examples of ongoing activities for addressing gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector, and analyses why this inequality persists, to identify where fruitful difference could be made in the future.

Therefore, the research questions for this thesis are:

- What is the quantifiable difference between men’s contemporary literary production in Scotland and that of women and non-binary people? (RQ1)
- How does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and why does it persist? (RQ2)

- Could a new literary prize sufficiently address this issue? (RQ3)

1.4 Structural outline

To address the above research questions, subsequent chapters of this thesis are structured as follows:

Chapter Two reviews existing literature in publishing studies, creative economies research, feminism and gender studies, structured using a thematic approach.

Chapter Three details the conceptual framework underpinning this research project. The methodology and specific methods are then discussed, alongside their limitations.

Chapter Four summarises contextual information about the Scottish literary sector 2017-2019, including highlighting significant events; it introduces the literary review outlets and book festivals examined in subsequent chapters; and provides important background on the twelve literary awards examined in subsequent chapters. It also touches on the political context of gender equality in Scotland in the late 2010s, and introduces existing initiatives for addressing sexism in Scottish literature.

Chapter Five presents quantitative findings in Scottish publishing (2017-2019), Scottish literary reviewing (2017-2019), Scottish book festivals (2017-2019) and Scottish literary prizes (1919-2021). This chapter answers the research question “what is the quantifiable difference between men’s contemporary literary production in Scotland and that of women and non-binary people?”

Chapter Six presents qualitative findings, using a thematic analysis of data from semi-structured interviews with members of ROAR – the group which instigated this research project – and other tastemakers in the Scottish literary sector (for a definition of ‘tastemakers’, please turn to 2.2). These findings answer the research question “how does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and why does it persist?”

Chapter Seven qualitatively analyses the hierarchies which form the foundation of existing literary prizes in Scotland, before giving recommendations as to whether a new literary prize could sufficiently address existing issues (RQ3),

Chapter Eight synthesises this project’s research findings, defines its contribution to knowledge, and gives recommendations for future research.

1.5 Limitations

Every study comes with necessary limitations, both pragmatic and thematic in nature. In conversation with my supervisors, I set temporal boundaries on the quantitative data collection within this study, as I collected data by hand. The quantitative study spans the years 2017-2019 (publishing, reviewing, festivals) and 1919-2021 (literary prizes), examining the gender of authors and reviewers. The time scale of this study is limited, beginning with the year in which I embarked on this project and finishing with the year before the COVID-19 pandemic took hold across the world. I followed the year-on-year data collection model for raising consciousness of gender inequality in the literary sector, used by regularly published counts such as VIDA and the Stella Count ('The 2017 VIDA Count' 2018; '2017 Stella Count · The Stella Prize' n.d.).

This project seeks to understand attitudes and experiences of literary sector workers in positions of power within their organisations (workers who I refer to as 'tastemakers', as defined in section 2.2). It is therefore outwith its scope to investigate experiences other literature professionals have had of sexism and other forms of discrimination and structural inequality.

My personal involvement in the Scottish literary sector has inevitably influenced my positioning towards research findings and analysis. I elaborate on my personal bias and the limitations of my mixed methodology in Chapter 3.

1.6 Significance

This study contributes to knowledge in publishing studies through a case study of gender inequality in a small nation. It quantitatively and qualitatively highlights sites of inequality to enable industry professionals to make strategic decisions to further gender equality, using evidence which had not been available until now. In the hands of writers, activists and industry professionals, this research has the potential to be a tool for real lasting change to create a more equal literary sector which better supports and celebrates the diversity of its writers.

Chapter 2: Conceptual foundation and existing research

2.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter to this thesis briefly presented an overview of the scholarly context in which this study takes place and introduced the collaborative and contemporaneous element of this study, my continuous involvement with a group of activists seeking to find remedies for gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector. This chapter focuses on synthesising existing studies on the role of women in Scottish literature, and gender inequality in literature and the creative economies to further situate this thesis in its scholarly context. Following this, Chapter 3 draws on selected studies to build the research project's conceptual framework, which determines its methodology and methods.

I began my project by seeking out scholarly literature to inform myself about publishing studies, get a grasp of foundational texts, and develop my thinking on the research questions. The main disciplinary areas within which I read were book studies; cultural studies, including work on the creative economies; feminist theory; and work on gender inequality.

This chapter is organised by theme, beginning with ideas of cultural capital, as much of the subsequently discussed research draws on this theory. This is followed by a review of relevant work on creative economies and taste, before focusing on the literary sector and existing scholarly work on publishing, literary prizes, literary festivals, writers, and literary reviews. An overview of relevant research in feminism follows these sections, turning to nation-based explorations of gender inequality, and research into diversity in literature more broadly, organised by research on racism and gender inequality.

2.2 Cultural capital

Embarking on my scholarly work after having worked in the literary sector, I needed a conceptual framework to allow me to situate my experience in scholarly vocabulary. I had a strong sense that there were power relations in the industry which I, and others, were aware of, and I sought a basis for expressing and working with this concept in my research. Like much other scholarship in 21st century book studies, the concepts I

use draw on the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu theorises about the material and symbolic production of artworks:

Given that works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such, the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the *symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work* (Bourdieu 1993b, 37, my emphasis)

“Symbolic production” is a useful concept for my study, as it suggests that the material creation of an artwork is not enough, but that the artwork also needs to be valued (by “spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such”) to be symbolically recognisable as an artwork. Bourdieu suggests that, in addition to “the direct producers of the work in its materiality (artist, writer, etc.)” scholars ought to also consider “the producers of the meaning and value of the work – critics, publishers, gallery directors and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such, in particular teachers (but also families, etc.)” (Bourdieu 1993b, 37). I use this idea to define “tastemakers” for my study as “producers of the meaning and value of the [art]work.”

In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu also lays out the three fundamental forms of capital:

economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money [...]; [...] *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital [...]; [...] *social capital*, made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital [...]. (Bourdieu 1986, 243)

To add to these forms of capital, James F. English describes *journalistic capital* as “an instrument for converting “heteronomous capital” (money from the mass market) into specific symbolic capital (stature in the legitimate art world) by way of journalistic capital (visibility, celebrity, scandal)” (English 2002, 123). Claire Squires later describes journalistic capital as the “mediating – and transforming – force between economic and cultural capital in the late twentieth century” (Squires 2004, 39).

These concepts of capital as convertible and mediated form an underlying framework to support my existing understanding of organisations within the literary sector as being active in this exchange of capital.

Scholars who have applied Bourdieu’s ideas of the forms of capital to publishing studies have done so, for example, with regard to literary prizes (such as English and Squires above). In this realm, the idea of economic capital most closely aligns with the

prize's cash purse, and more widely with the increase in sales that sometimes results from the increase in visibility and association with a prestigious entity. Sharon Norris writes that "[The Booker Prize] guarantees a greater increase in sales of the winning novel and of the others on the shortlist than any other prize, and boosts sales of the winning novelist's back catalogue" (Norris 2006c, 139).

Building on English's idea of journalistic capital, Squires writes in 'Book Marketing and the Booker Prize': "The choices of winning books reflect not only on the books themselves, then, but also back on the Prize, affecting its reputation and creating journalistic capital which is vital for the Prize to achieve its prominence and impact" (Squires 2007, 96).

Bourdieu writes that the value of recognition depends on "the very position" of the prize-giver etc. "in the hierarchy of consecration":

All forms of recognition – prizes, rewards and honours, election to an academy, a university, a scientific committee, invitation to a congress or to a university, publication in a scientific review or by a consecrated publishing house, in anthologies, mentions in the work of contemporaries, works on art history or the history of science, in encyclopaedias and dictionaries, etc. – are just so many forms of *co-optation*, whose value depends on the very position of the co-optants in the hierarchy of consecration. (Bourdieu 1993b, 291 n. 18)

This also suggests that, just as there is a hierarchy of prize-givers, there is a hierarchy of tastemakers, i.e., the cultural capital of a reviewer or review outlet, publisher or imprint, book festival etc. impacts the form of recognition or value which this tastemaker can bestow on an author or book.

Bourdieu's idea of 'symbolic violence' is used frequently by scholars to examine structures of power within the field of publishing. In the editor's introduction to a collection of Bourdieu's essays on art and literature, 'symbolic violence' is defined as "[the] gaining [of] legitimacy by misrecognizing the underlying power relations which serve, in part, to guarantee the continued reproduction of the legitimacy of those who produce or defend" hierarchies within literature, such as the legitimacy of the canon (Johnson 1993, 20). Bourdieu describes 'misrecognition' as "the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, p. xiii)" (quoted in Norris 2006c, 141). In other words, it is when power relations are naturalised to seem legitimate; when tastes of the dominant societal class are legitimised and reproduced. Allan and Driscoll write that symbolic violence, "which denotes the subordination of the art of a non-dominant group (Bourdieu 1993, 121;

137, cited in Allan and Driscoll 2013, 131)” is a useful tool for the examination of gender and literary prizes (Allan and Driscoll 2013, 131). Utilising this idea, Norris (2006) “conclud[es] that a rigid Bourdieusian study of the Booker and other prizes “allows us to see it as a site of symbolic violence, and to assess the possibilities for resistance” (Norris 2006c, 157). Norris concludes that “it is evident that [Bourdieu] views corporate sponsorship as a form of symbolic violence” (Norris 2006c, 141). Norris shows that the Booker Prize reproduces the values of fractions of the dominant social group, further adding to the conclusion that The Booker Prize is a site of symbolic violence (Norris 2006c, 157).

Dane, like Norris above, also uses the Bourdieusian idea of symbolic violence. Dane’s analysis shows a “higher percentage of shortlisted titles by women than [...] winning titles by women” in the Miles Franklin Literary Award (1987-2015), the Christina Stead Prize for Fiction (2000-2015) and the Victorian Premier Literary Award for Fiction (1995-2015), concluding that this proportional discrepancy is the “strongest indicator of the symbolic violence associated with literary prizes” as it shows that the proportion of male authors winning these prizes is higher than the proportion of shortlisted male authors (Dane 2020b, 160). My analysis of literary prizes and book festivals in Chapter 5 follows this work, and my methodological application of these concepts is explored in Chapter 3.

2.3 Creative economy

Scholarly work interrogating contemporary publishing practices is often situated in studies about creative industries (e.g. Eikhof and Haunschild 2006; Eikhof and Warhurst 2013). Brook et al. describe the rise of the term ‘creative industries’ in their book *Culture Is Bad For You*: “In government policies, especially in British and American cities, cultural activity came to be seen as an economic activity that could replace other, declining, industries. We can see the rise of creative industries [...] in these government policy approaches, along with academic work on economic measurement and classification” (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 11). At times, publishing can be examined as one sector within the creative economy, as is the case in *Culture Is Bad For You* (2020), and Brook et al.’s earlier report, “Panic! It’s an Arts Emergency. Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries”. There is also scholarly work within book history and publishing studies which describes the

position of publishing studies within creative industries and argues for publishing studies scholars to forge more clear links to creative economy scholarship (Marsden 2017). Here, Marsden describes the equivalences for which creative economy scholarship allows, in recalling a Cultural Economy research workshop at CAMEo Research Institute for Cultural and Media Economies at University of Leicester:

One paper in particular, about the independent music industry in the Northwest of England, struck a chord with me since the analysis paralleled so precisely developments in regional independent book publishing, particularly in relation to deliberate disassociations with London, which is traditionally (and erroneously) considered to be the centre of cultural production (publishing included) in the UK. (Marsden 2017)

Similarly, Sarah Brouillette's *Literature and the Creative Economy* examines the impact of the creative economy on contemporary literature through a hybrid cultural studies/literary studies approach of examining both the production and the content of books (Brouillette 2014).

The aforementioned *Culture is Bad For You* and the "Panic!" report examine inequalities in industries including publishing, film, radio, music, museums, and theatre, with the latter study finding clear differences between publishing and other creative sectors: firstly, publishing (alongside museums) has a majority female workforce, whereas women are under-represented in almost every other occupational sector (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018, 13). Secondly, although "every sector apart from Crafts [...] has an over-representation of those from upper middle class social origins", the situation in publishing is described as "especially grave, with over a third of the workers from the upper middle class social origins and only about an eighth from working class origins" (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018, 13). Brook et al. also found a "class pay gap of up to £23,000 a year" in publishing (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018, 15).

Anamik Saha has also examined publishing in his work on creative industries, including in *Race and the Cultural Industries* (Saha 2018). Saha has also written specifically on diversity initiatives, suggesting these should pay "attention to how inequalities are produced" and that these inequalities "need to be challenged at both the structural and symbolic levels", rather than focusing mainly on demographic numbers within a cultural sector (Saha 2017). Saha examined publishing as part of cultural production in his analysis of technologically mediated racism and Orientalism inherent in book classification in a study of BookScan and the experiences of British

South Asian authors (Saha 2016). Saha's latest work with Sandra van Lente concerns ideas of diversity within the publishing industry and is explored in section 2.2.8.

The above studies on creative economies have been a vital foundation for this thesis, as they provide equivalences to other creative sectors (as Marsden notes above). Rather than viewing the literary sector as exceptional, they present templates for examining it as part of the cultural economy, containing sectors as varied as craft, dance, and film. There is a sense of demystification inherent in all this scholarship: that these types of labour are not inherently exempt from structural inequalities by virtue of their being engaged in creating culture. I draw specifically on concepts of 'inequality talk' within *Culture is Bad For You* (2020) in my chapter examining qualitative data.

2.4 Taste

Taste emerged from my reading as an important facet of conceptualising (often exclusionary) decision-making in cultural industries. Brook et al.'s report on social class and inequalities finds that "cultural and creative workers have very different tastes from the rest of the population" (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018, 33), which they argue is significant because cultural tastes are "another important and subtle barrier for those seeking to work in the sector" (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018, 33). In "Taste and/or Big Data?: Post-Digital Editorial Selection" (2017), Squires analyses editorial decision-making and how this is or isn't supported by data-driven solutions (which, as Saha (2016) above finds, are themselves exclusionary and replicate the biases of those who programmed them). In her interviews, Squires found that "editors needed to fit their editorial taste-making and selection to their company environment. Gut reactions were, in actuality, learned business decisions, in constant negotiation with that environment" (Squires 2017b, 31).

Driscoll's *The New Literary Middlebrow: Tastemakers and Reading in the Twenty-First Century* (2014) examines tastemakers and their influence on reading in contemporary society (Driscoll 2014, 194). Driscoll emphasises taste as a facet of the middle class, in particular an emphasis on "good taste", which she links to "a diffuse middle-class anxiety about social hierarchies. Consequently, the middlebrow looks upwards to elite culture for legitimation" (Driscoll 2014, 21). Driscoll also notes that "upper-middle-class tastes and values [...] being imposed upon the whole of society"

is an example of symbolic violence (Driscoll 2014, 128). This idea links to Brook et al.'s findings of the substantial taste difference between cultural and creative workers and the rest of society; arguably, cultural and creative workers also impose their tastes on the rest of society, as they produce creative and cultural work for a supposedly broad audience.

Janice Radway's *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* also focuses on taste and the middle class, specifically through the lens of Radway's own reading taste and its evolution. Radway describes her "voracious taste for bestsellers, mysteries, cookbooks, and popular nature books" (Radway 1997, 13) which she sought to keep a secret throughout her time studying at university, as the curriculum and those around her expressed that these weren't 'high literature'. Radway suggests that "middlebrow culture and the particular configuration of taste it cultivated developed as a kind of social pedagogy for a growing class fraction of professionals, managers, and information and culture workers as well as for those who aspired to the status of this class, to its work routines, and to its privileges" (Radway 1997, 23). Radway finds that the Book-of-the-Month Club "foregrounded the connections between culture and the market" and, according to critics, "threatened to obliterate the distinction between those who were cultured and those who were not", as anyone who had the means could subscribe to the book club and receive cultural knowledge (Radway 1997, 209). This obliteration of distinction and function of social pedagogy echo Driscoll's conceptual analysis of middlebrow taste as imposed on society at large, and Brook et al.'s findings about the 'creative class' and its taste differences. However, while contemporary publishing arguably thrives from this imposition of taste on larger society, in Radway's study, critics who maintained that they alone had 'refined taste' found the Book-of-the-Month Club threatening precisely for its function of social pedagogy, as it might lead to social mobility and more people being admitted into their closely guarded sphere of 'superior' taste (Radway 1997, 209).

Finally, Squires' "Sensing the Novel/Seeing the Book/Selling the Goods" (2020) also describes taste, in particular the taste of tastemakers or gatekeepers in publishing, such as commissioning editors. Squires' interviewees described the process of selecting books for publication through various phases, from seeing a first manuscript and selecting it for publication, to working on the book, and finally into marketing the book for consumption. Taste, here, is identified as a practical part of

gatekeeping practices. In addition to taste, Squires also found interviewees describing their taste as a love for the books they select (which also need to be economically viable), which Squires analyses as “emotional attachment to books and an ideological belief in their importance, meeting marketplace behaviour” (Squires 2020, 261). Squires describes editorial decision-making as a “challenge of emotional labour, as the editor seeks to align his or her feelings, taste, and market judgement to company positioning and market environment” (Squires 2020, 262). In the context of Brook et al., Driscoll, and Radway, Squires’ study adds vital insight into the application of taste hierarchies into labour practices within publishing – and shows that decisions based on individual taste are complicated by the commercial outcomes of taste decisions. These concepts are foundational to my understanding of programming, publishing, reviewing and prizing decisions, as is explored in Chapter 6 of this thesis. At the core lie tensions between market forces, individual tastes of structurally powerful individuals and the tastes of imagined audiences. Who are books produced for? How is their cultural, social or economic value created or constructed?

2.5 Literary sector

Next, of great relevance to my research topic are scholarly examinations of the literary sector’s working practices and outputs. The literary sector comprises a wide variety of working environments, from jobs relating to writing books (writing, teaching, agents) to publishing (editorial), production (design, typesetting, printing, warehousing), distribution (sales, transport), promotion (marketing, publicity, literary reviewing, literary festivals, literary prizes), and sales (bookselling). My work follows that of Dane in its examination of gender equality, in that it quantitatively and qualitatively examines several distinct areas of the literary sector. Dane’s *Gender and Prestige in Literature: Contemporary Australian Book Culture* (2020) examines Australian literary reviewing, literary prizes and literary festivals. My study, too, examines these areas, with the addition of publishing. Consequently, this sub-section follows these thematic areas, beginning with publishing, moving on to literary prizes, literary festivals, and reviews.

2.5.1 Publishing

I have already described how publishing is conceptualised as part of scholarship on creative industries. Publishing studies, within book history, describes perspectives

examining the 20th and 21st century, for example John B. Thompson's *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century* (2012), which draws on interviews with publishing professionals to describe how publishing functions in the 21st century.

Scholars have developed historical understanding of feminist presses, for example Simone Murray's *Mixed Media: Feminist Presses and Publishing Politics* (2004), which surveys the feminist press movement internationally and includes perspectives on its long-term impact. More recently, D-M Withers' *Virago Reprints & Modern Classics: the Timely Business of Feminist Publishing* (2021) focuses on reprint publishing by British feminist press Virago between 1973-1989. Withers writes that Virago's reprinting of older texts was "a cost- and time-effective way" of "[e]stablishing a profitable backlist at appropriate speed and scale" (Withers 2021, 10). This occurred in the post-war period, where the United Kingdom was "responsive to the call of the past and increasingly adept at decoding the cultural value of recirculated goods" (Withers 2021, 5). These reprint publishing practices "recover[ed] women writers and centre[d] women's stories" and framed the idea of 'heritage' as "the possibility of intractability, endurance and presence" (Withers 2021, 85). While the women's liberation movement (WLM) criticised Virago for a sense that it "failed to support new writers from within the WLM – that the past was being recovered at the expense of nurturing the present" (Withers 2021, 34), the reprinting of feminist history was a vital step for the publisher's commercial viability and its ability to reach a broad audience even beyond "the women-centred movement that were the publisher's initial readers" (Withers 2021, 4). These lessons have deep resonance for this thesis, as commercial sensibility, balancing canonicity and novelty, and a significant reprint event (the republication of 22 of Muriel Spark's novels, 2017-2018) are important pillars of my analysis in chapters 5 and 6.

Murray's "Publishing Studies: Critically Mapping Research in Search of a Discipline" points out that cultural policy studies "provides additional methodological lenses" for literary prizes, book subsidies, festivals, book weeks, etc. (S. Murray 2007, 13). Murray emphasizes that cultural studies " [provide] extraordinarily rich tools for conceptualising print culture as indelibly imprinted with hierarchies of gender, racial, ethnic and sexual difference" (S. Murray 2007, 13). Squires' *Marketing Literature: The Making of Contemporary Writing in Britain* (2009) explores, through a series of case studies, how marketing practices shape conceptions of genre. Parnell et al. examine

labour practices in the publishing business by focusing on the little-explored role of publicists (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020) (see also 2.9.2 and 2.9.2.1). These studies form the conceptual environment of this thesis, and much of the interview data presented in Chapter 6 draws on understandings gleaned from these studies about working practices in publishing.

2.5.2 Literary prizes

Within publishing studies, several scholars have examined literary prizes, such as Squires, whose article “A Common Ground? Book Prize Culture in Europe” (2004) discusses literary prizes in a European geographical context, summarising findings in the field to argue that studying literary prizes is an important, if underrepresented, endeavour, as literary prizes can illuminate many of the intersections of the fields that comprise publishing studies, and they are a factor in the five phases of the book (publication, manufacture, distribution, reception, survival – Adams and Barker’s revised model) (Squires 2004, 42). Squires writes:

The specific impact of literary prizes can be measured in the four categories described earlier: reception, distribution (or marketing in a broader sense), survival (or canonisation) and production (or literary development). These four categories cover all of the ways in which literary prizes affect the transmission of texts, and so are usefully incorporated into book history and publishing studies. (Squires 2004, 44)

Squires suggests that studying literary prizes ought to be of vital interest to book historians and publishing scholars, in contrast to the “general attitude of mocking condescension” prizes are normally afforded by journalists of culture, as English writes in “Winning the Culture Game: Prizes, Awards and the Rules of Art” (English 2002, 112). English’s *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Value* (2005) examines cultural prizes, including literary prizes, and their role in cultural production and the circulation of prestige, or cultural capital. I have already discussed English’s coining of the term “journalistic capital” to add to Bourdieu’s three major forms of capital in part 2.2 above. Squires discusses literary prizes as being engaged in the survival of books too, through their impact on canonicity: “Literary prizes – notably the (Man) Booker, but also a legion of others including the Whitbread (latterly Costa) Awards and the Orange Prize – have promoted writing and also contributed to mid-term canon formation” (Squires 2009, 2).

Squires describes prize givers in Bourdieu's model as tastemakers, included in "the manifold agencies which create symbolic value, such as prize givers and critics (without forgetting their place in the field as a whole)" (Squires 2009, 56). Squires writes that prizes "influence notions of cultural value and literariness" by not only recognising value, but successfully constructing and conferring it (Squires 2009, 97). Prizes may claim to recognise an inherent value within a book, but they are structurally subjective, drawing on the expertise and prestige of their judges to legitimise this. English puts this relationship between judges and prizes as follows: "The stature of the judges guarantees the stature of the prize [...], and the stature of the prize guarantees the honor associated with judging it" (English 2005, 123).

Squires further states that organisational features, such as entry requirements, can serve to reveal how prizes "contribute to genre definition and literary categorisation" (Squires 2009, 97). As is shown in Chapter 4, entry requirements for the Saltire Society Literary Awards and the McIlvanney Prize contribute to genre definition and categorisation by constructing ideas around Scottish national and cultural identity.

Marsden describes that the conferring of prestige through prizes is not a unidirectional process, but that "this exchange is reciprocal, with an awarding institution acquiring cultural kudos from the authors they reward" (Marsden 200). While being asked to serve as a judge of a prize is described by James English as a "structurally primary honour" (while being symbolically subsidiary to the honour of being a prize-winner) (English 2002, 116), Marsden writes that this isn't a one-way process either: "[...] an awarding institution can accrue social status through an association with judges who are well-known or well-respected in their fields" (Marsden 2016b, 201). More generally, it could be argued that even being in a position to make a judgement is a kind of legitimisation. On the subject of the search for legitimate voices to speak on the state of power in art, Bourdieu writes that this search "pre-determines the hierarchy by determining the population deemed worthy of helping to establish it" (Bourdieu 1993a, 100). In other words, by selecting a judging panel a pre-selection is already made of a group of people which is 'deemed worthy' of helping to establish another hierarchy (shortlisted/winning books). Bourdieu continues, defining people in positions of power as "the ones who ha[ve] the power to consecrate and to win assent when he or she consecrates an author or a work – with a preface, a

favourable review, a prize, etc” (Bourdieu 1993a, 100). Therefore, judges themselves win assent (and social standing) when they consecrate an author or book with a prize.

Norris considers the Booker Prize in relation to Scotland, finding that Scottish authors are comparatively more frequently represented than Welsh or Irish authors. Norris applies Bourdieusian frameworks of symbolic violence to investigate the Booker Prize’s colonial legacy and continued cultural dominance (Norris 2006b; 2006a; 2006c). Further examination of the Man Booker Prize and literary criticism and discussions in the wider context of the novel in the UK can be found in Anna Auguscik’s *Prizing Debate* (Auguscik 2017). Marsden has produced a cultural history, and gender equality analysis, of the Saltire Society Literary Awards (Marsden 2016b; 2019; 2021) and Marsden and Squires’ autoethnographic account of the Saltire Society Literary Awards interrogates judging practices and embeddedness (Marsden and Squires 2019).

Dane discusses how literary prizes are often used as tools for political resistance, using the example of Behrouz Boochani’s win of the Victorian Premier’s Literary Award and the overall Victorian Prize for Literature for his work *No Friend But the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* (Dane 2019). Emmet Stinson describes literary prizes as failing at the function they supposedly fulfil: literary taste-making; Stinson argues that this is because literary prizes are “locked into [a] problematic system of value” and a “top-down manner of assessing literary merit” while not distributing income effectively, encouraging new and diverse voices, supporting innovation, or serving reading and writing communities (Stinson 2019).

Finally, Melinda Harvey and Julieanne Lamond examined literary reviews and prizes in Australia since 2014, finding “that the relationship between literary prizes and book reviews is one of interdependence and amplification”, that authors winning prizes “implicitly and explicitly evidence responses to reviews” and that “success in prizes usually leads to better review coverage for the author’s subsequent publications” (Harvey and Lamond 2019, 231), particularly with regard to prizes for unpublished manuscripts, which “experience a ‘headstart’ effect, with a high level of attention in the reviews pages that sometimes parlays into a subsequent prize” (Harvey and Lamond 2019, 262). Lamond has elsewhere written on women’s representation in Australian literary awards, and ideas of masculinity in Australian writing (Lamond 2011).

These ideas about literary prizes and their construction form the basis of my analysis of literary prizes in chapters 5 and 7. In particular, I return to Dane and Norris’

use of Bourdieusian symbolic violence in my proportional comparison of the gender of prize winners and shortlisted authors.

2.5.3 Literary festivals

Millicent Weber has conceptualised the literary festival in *Literary Festivals and Contemporary Book Culture*. Weber writes, “Literary festivals are necessarily implicated in the power structures of contemporary society, but they also demonstrably and actively work to reveal and critique them” (Weber 2018, 232). Subsequent chapters of this thesis present quantitative evidence of bias in programming in the Scottish contemporary literary sector –Scottish literary festivals are implicated in the power structures of contemporary society and replicate bias based on gender, but also demonstrate less of this bias than the rest of the field 2017-2019.

Literary festivals can be understood as part of the ‘new middlebrow structures of book production and circulations’ (Driscoll 2014, 4) with festival organisers forming part of the contemporary book culture’s most influential players (cf. Driscoll 2014b, 4). This role as influential players and tastemakers led me to interviewing former and current festival directors and senior staff for this thesis.

Adding to Driscoll’s assertion of festival organisers as influential, the space on the podium is also a site of influence. Michael Meehan writes concerning Australian literature and book festivals: “Most novels, in Australia, slip into remainder almost as their writers leave the podium. In Australia we live, one of our most distinguished writers has often lamented, in a ‘culture without a backlist’. Carnality implies aging and death. What we truly risk, in these new forums of carnal literacy, is deep cultural putrescence” (Meehan 2005, para. 14). Meehan’s implication that writers who do not appear at the festival do not exist suggests serious consequences of literary festival programming for writers’ careers and livelihoods. The space on the podium is, in Meehan’s conception, lifeblood for authors.

Dane writes on the literary festival as an ideal space to interrogate the interactions of gender, prestige, and power. Studying Adelaide Writers’ Week and the Melbourne Writers Festival, Dane found that, “just like the field more broadly, when it comes to programming a literary festival, men are commonly afforded access to the positions that denote prestige and power” (Dane 2018, 148–49). Dane describes these literary festivals as ‘a synecdoche for the relationship between gender and prestige in

the broader contemporary Australian literary field.’ Dane elsewhere further examines how attendees of book festivals demonstrate their cultural capital through their wearing of branded tote bags (Dane 2020a).

Literary festivals give audiences direct access to authors. Meehan describes this as “giv[ing] back to the commodity the ‘rarity’, the sense of ‘singularity of performance’ that is lost in commercial mass production” (Meehan 2005, para. 5). The literary festival therefore provides the value of direct access and uniqueness, which adds to the reading experience, which Meehan describes here as ‘having lost’ the sense of rarity through the readers’ awareness of literary mass production.

Cori Stewart describes that ‘the status of an individual festival – in what is a hotly contested hierarchy of writers’ festivals – is traditionally pegged against the festival bill’s most prestigious literary author” (Stewart 2013, 263). The processes of consecration are therefore comparable to those of a literary prize, which stands to gain in cultural capital from working with a prestigious judge, or awarding an author who is already famous, as described above in 2.2.4.2.

Writing about the Jaipur Literature Festival (JLF), Arpita Das begins by citing the premise that the festival “represents a microcosm of the ‘literary field’ that is the Indian book and publishing industry” (Das 2020, para. 2). Das describes that JLF appearances “add [...] to the credibility and potential sales of any author’s work”, but notes that those authors “backed by brands have a head-start over authors representing themselves or those represented by smaller or independent authors”, and that this difference and disadvantage is replicated in the programming of the festival and in the JLF bookstore (Das 2020, para. 15).

Driscoll and Squires’ posit the lens of the carnivalesque, or radical inversion, to investigate book festivals. While book festivals themselves may be reminiscent of a carnival, Driscoll and Squires suggest they do not have the revolutionary potential of a true carnivalesque: “The central role that book fairs and festivals occupy in creative economies means they do not turn the world upside down: rather, they keep neoliberal publishing economies running” (Driscoll and Squires 2020a, para. 6).

Rachel Noorda and Kathi Berens call Portland Book Festival (PBF) a ‘legitimizing event’ for authors, particularly small or local authors (R. Noorda and Berens 2020, para. 31). For example, Noorda and Berens write about teenage writers given the opportunity to “publicly perform their identities as writers by giving readings at the PBF” (R. Noorda and Berens 2020, para. 29), and cite Portland-based debut

author Tabitha Blankenbiller, “who saw the ‘real badge’ she was given at the festival as a legitimizing symbol of her ‘true writer’ status” (R. Noorda and Berens 2020, paras 36–37). Noorda and Berens go on to describe how the legitimising force of the literary festival functions: it is by virtue of its being “a performative experience in which agents play their roles—roles such as author, moderator, volunteer, reader, and so on” (R. Noorda and Berens 2020, para. 32). This informs my study of literary festivals and of their authors because their participation in literary festivals is a performance of legitimation – so it is vital to uncover whether access to this platform is equitably distributed.

2.5.4 Writers

Several studies within publishing studies examine writers, overlapping significantly with creative writing and literary studies scholarship. Marsden’s “Writing about Writers: Mapping the Field and Moving Forward” (2018) situates scholarship about writers as it relates to publishing studies and book history, suggesting that the wide range of academic research about writers “from how-to guides for aspiring writers to psychoanalyses of writing in practice” ought to be viewed as “a distinct field of scholarship in its own right” (Marsden 2018, para. 56). Gifford and McMillan’s *A History of Scottish Women’s Writing* (1997a), and Norquay’s *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women’s Writing* (2012d), examine the history of Scottish women writers in their edited collections (more on these two sources can be found in section 2.8 on Scotland-specific scholarship). While this thesis does not focus specifically on the writing process, the experiences of writers, or the content and criticism of individual writers’ works, the above studies added to my understanding of how authorship is conceptualised in publishing studies and book history. Some of my interviewees are authors and their perspectives are included in Chapter 6.

2.5.5 Reviews

In “The Legitimacy of Book Critics in the Age of the Internet and Omnivorousness: Expert Critics, Internet Critics and Peer Critics in Flanders and the Netherlands”, Marc Verboord writes that criticism “functions as mediator between cultural producers and participants by selecting, describing, labelling and evaluating products” (Verboord 2010, 623). Verboord draws on Bourdieu and other scholars who have written about

cultural critics. Bourdieu, as noted in 2.2, writes that critics are among the population engaged in “the symbolic production of the [art]work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work” (Bourdieu 1993b, 37). Put differently, C.J. Van Rees writes that “literary critics can be considered as the co-producers of a text as a literary text: what is decisive in text’s valorisation and in its being awarded more or less quality is the number of critical discourses written on this text and not [...] its allegedly intrinsic properties” (Van Rees 1983, 398). Literary critics, therefore, are defined as “tastemakers” in my study, i.e. as “producers of the meaning and value of the [art]work” (Bourdieu 1993b, 37) and the co-producers of a “text’s valorisation” (Van Rees 1983, 398).

Based on the relationship between an artwork’s cultural capital and its valorisation by literary critics, Harvey and Lamond qualitatively and quantitatively investigate Australian book reviewing, comparing the years 1985 and 2013. They find that, “[o]n top of the reduction in the number of books being reviewed each year in the Australian print media, the focus of reviews has shifted from coverage or reportage of the field to longer-form discussion”, and that “gender disparity across time has remained fairly constant” – however, in 2013 “men are more likely to be author and subject of the most prestigious and increasingly dominant form of review: the feature review” (Harvey and Lamond 2016, 104).

Beth Driscoll and DeNel Rehberg Sedo’s sentiment analysis of Goodreads reviews shows that contemporary publishing studies has both print and digital, grassroots and professionalised avenues for research (Driscoll and Rehberg Sedo 2018).

Dane describes that, in contemporary Australian literary reviewing, the “process of putting together the book review pages is fairly consistent across [*Australian Book Review, The Australian, Sydney Morning Herald*]: [books] are sent to the editors of publications or literary sections, most commonly by the book publishing house’s publicity staff” (Dane 2020b, 44) and that, “[o]nce titles for review are chosen, they are then matched with a reviewer” (Dane 2020b, 45). Dane writes further that reviews are matched according to expertise, and that “while commissioning reviews still remains the dominant practice in Australian reviewing publications, some editors and reviewers report that the practice of freelance reviewers ‘pitching reviews’ is increasingly common” (Dane 2020b, 45).

A landmark study by the UK organisation Women in Publishing, published as *Reviewing the Reviews: A Woman's Place on the Book Page* (1987), systematically surveyed book reviews in UK publications in the year 1985, paying special attention to the space the reviews took up on the review pages, the gender of reviewer and author, genre, and type of magazine or publication. The study's methodology is meticulously explained. While I do not follow the survey parameters exactly, my examination of book reviews in Scottish national newspapers 2017-2019 in Chapter 5 owes a debt of gratitude to this study.

2.5.6 Curriculum

Dane's thesis on gender and prestige in Australian book publishing examines school curricula as part of its analysis of agents of consecration, valorising books and canonising them (Dane 2018, 73–106). Sophie Allan and Beth Driscoll write about educational reading lists and their links with literary prizes in their 2013 chapter "Making the List" (Allan and Driscoll 2013), finding that, firstly, the Australian "education system is imbalanced in favour of men" and secondly, that "the annual production of a female prizewinner, who can enter into the circuit of festivals, be reviewed and discussed, and benefit from the discussion around literary merit provoked by prizes, could contribute to more female-authored books being adopted into the syllabus" (Allan and Driscoll 2013, 140). While these studies have supported my understanding of gender inequality as pervasive and as reproducing through canonisation, an examination of school curricula in Scotland is outwith the scope for my study.

2.5.7 Reading

Several studies in contemporary book history investigate the role of the reader, rather than the agents mentioned elsewhere in this literature review (such as writers, publishers, reviewers, etc) (Driscoll and Rehberg Sedo 2018; Driscoll 2014; Fuller, Rehberg Sedo, and Squires 2011; Rehberg Sedo 2011). For example, in the introduction to *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace* (2011), Rehberg Sedo writes about reading practices and their place in creating communities, making reference to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*:

According to Anderson, an imagined community is created, in part, through the ritual of reading the daily newspaper. He argues that readers know that the act

of reading the newspaper is being replicated by hundreds or thousands of other readers, leading to shared but imagined identities, lifestyles and interests. In this collection, we show that not only does the *act* of reading function as a community-building exercise, but also that exchanges of letters, books and interpretations serve as both real and imagined community building blocks, taking their place as markers of membership of a community but also acting as barriers. (Rehberg Sedo 2011, 5)

Rehberg Sedo argues that the shared experience of reading, including exchanges of interpretations, build shared community and simultaneously create barriers to that community; they can signify who is 'inside' and who is 'outside'. This suggests that how we interpret, for example, Scottish national literature creates a bordered community.

Later in *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, Danielle Fuller, DeNel Rehberg Sedo and Claire Squires examine the relationship between publishers and book club readers, writing that publishers hold databases of readers, "contain[ing] information on readers' reading preferences – both personal and book club picks – in addition to age, gender, education level, marital status and number of children living in the home" (Fuller, Rehberg Sedo, and Squires 2011, 191). Rather than marketing to an imagined consumer, publishers therefore hold demographic information on target consumers. Fuller et al. write that publisher HarperCollins directly collects information on "those readers who have access to and are most likely to be respected by other readers inside and outside their own clubs. [...] [T]he publisher has identified a person who may spark the fire of a new best-seller book club book" (Fuller, Rehberg Sedo, and Squires 2011, 191). Publishers put considerable market research into targeting book clubs and tailoring their offering:

From promoting only contemporary fiction and classics, publishers have moved to highlighting books that might be considered obscure in order to capture those readers who do not, in their own words, want to 'read what everybody else is reading'. Other lucrative markets that have been identified are African American and religious book clubs. (Fuller, Rehberg Sedo, and Squires 2011, 191)

Fuller et al.'s research illuminates how publishers conceptualise their readers through databases and market research, identifying a route to effective and, ultimately, lucrative publishing. This focus on marketability and audience informs my examination of tastemakers and how they imagine their audiences.

While some of the above studies cited inform my understanding of (women's) reading practices, working on reading practices is outwith the scope of my study, as I focus on Scottish literary sector output and tastemakers' ideas about this sector.

2.6 Feminism

This is a brief introduction to the scholarly texts which have been foundational to my understanding of being a feminist researcher. I expand on this topic in detail in Chapter 3, where I explore the postmodern feminist conceptual framework of this study. Section 2.9.2 investigates research on gender inequality, gender, and women's writing.

Firstly, bell hooks' *Feminism is for Everybody* (2000) introduced me to concepts of consciousness-raising, and defines feminism as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (hooks 2000, 1). This definition has been foundational to my thesis, and my positioning as a feminist researcher.

Ann Oakley's "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms" (1981) introduced me to ideas of sharing power in interview situations, and disrupting existing sociological interview practices, which Oakley conceptualises as extractive rather than collaborative. (Oakley 1981) I also gained great insight into feminist interviewing from the work of Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber (Hesse-Biber 2007; 2013; 2012).⁵

Bernadette Barton's work on being a feminist researcher in "My Auto/Ethnographic Dilemma: Who Owns the Story?" (2011) and Nirmal Puwar's "Reflections on Interviewing Women MPs" (Puwar 1997) were vital to my understanding of ethics and rapport in interview situations.

Sara Ahmed's ideas in *Living a Feminist Life* (2017) including "diversity work" within institutions, being a feminist killjoy, and "sensing" wrongs as data, as well as her radical political citational praxis, have inspired and guided this project.

Finally, Patricia Leavy and Anne Harris' *Contemporary Feminist Research from Theory to Practice* (2018) and its overview of feminist research practices as they align with philosophical foundations has been a useful introduction to feminist research practice, and helped define a clear conceptual framework for my thesis.

I elaborate on how the above works have informed my methodology in Chapter 3.

⁵ Many thanks to the organisers and leaders of the SGSSS/SGSAH Spring Into Methods: Feminist Research in Action 2018 workshop series at University of Strathclyde and Glasgow Women's Library, in particular Karen Boyle, Kirsty Alexander, Maddie Breeze, Catherine Eschle, Claire Goodfellow and Yvette Taylor, who introduced me to these concepts and specific texts, and whose workshops have been instrumental to my understanding of my research project, and myself as a researcher.

2.7 Publishing studies research as activism

Some scholarship in publishing studies points to direct action and/or is chiefly concerned with activism, for example Driscoll's "Take Bookish Action!" (2019), which describes literary sector action towards social justice. Driscoll concludes with a call-to-action: "All these different kinds of activism involve risk and need support. We can start by reading widely – books, literary journalism, websites and social media – to stay attuned and informed of the diverse struggles facing women and marginalized genders in book culture. And then, I suppose, we should act: by writing, by purchasing, by supporting, by attending, by tweeting" (Driscoll 2019). Driscoll's recent work with Squires has included and/or encouraged activist engagement with issues of inequality in the contemporary literary sector, in line with Ullapoolism. Ullapoolism, Driscoll and Squires' epistemology for contemporary book culture studies has a tenet of Scholarly Direct Action, and calls others to "embrace knowledge-getting as a mode for producing change in the world" ('Manifesto' 2017; Driscoll and Squires 2020c, 146). These examples of publishing studies research as activism affirm my decision to take a transformative view of my research – that is, an orientation towards social justice and bringing about greater gender equality in the Scottish literary sector. This orientation towards my research is led by the principles of Donna Mertens' 'transformative paradigm' (2005, 2009), which is explored in depth in 3.1.4.

2.8 Nation-specific studies: Scotland, UK and Australia

Much of my initial reading was focused on Scotland, I also examined studies which analysed the literary sector in the United Kingdom. I then further extended my focus to including research on the Australian literary sector, and used research findings from this national literary context in comparison to my findings from the Scottish context.

A 2008 article on the Scottish publishing industry noted that it "consists of some 90 publishers, 69 of which are members of the SPA [Scottish Publishers' Association, now Publishing Scotland, n.b.], and 50 have fewer than 100 titles in print" (McCleery, Sinclair, and Gunn 2008, 88). McCleery et al. note that the number of medium-sized publishers had diminished greatly in comparison to 1992. "What is now left in 2007 is a small number of large, in Scottish terms, publishers and a relatively large number of small and very small companies. The latter contains a significant proportion of single-

book publishers, self-publishers, and occasional or lifestyle publishers” (McCleery, Sinclair, and Gunn 2008, 89). Ramdarshan Bold echoes this assessment in a 2012 article, noting that there are two groups of publishers in Scotland:

The first group are a larger, more commercial type of publisher with larger turnover and employment. The second group are smaller publishers who are less commercially motivated and produce products of cultural value. The second group of publishers rely on the domestic Scottish market for their sales because their products are aimed, specifically, for this market. Conversely, the first group, of larger publishers, have a more international outlook and do not rely solely on the domestic Scottish market. (Ramdarshan Bold 2012, 347)

In *Transnational Scottish Book Marketing to a Diasporic Audience 1995-2015*, Noorda writes about independent publishing houses established in the latter half of the twentieth century.⁶ Noorda continues, highlighting that the Scottish independence referendum of 2014 “[l]ike the influence of the 1997 devolution’s national fervour, the 2014 independence vote impacted the Scottish book industry” (R. L. Noorda 2016, 54). This is the immediate background to the period 2017-2019 discussed in this thesis. As a result of these referenda, publishing around issues of nationhood increased, and publishers “Saint Andrew Press (SAP), Luath, Freight, Black and White and Cargo produced titles and held events in 2014 that concerned the referendum” (R. L. Noorda 2016, 54). Noorda concludes that these “moments in Scotland’s political history can be extremely influential on the publishing industry” (R. L. Noorda 2016, 54–55).

Another important event impacting civic conversations around nationhood in the late 2010s is the European Union membership referendum about the United Kingdom leaving the European Union, which was held on 23 June 2016, and finalised with the official withdrawal at 11pm GMT on 31 January 2020. Publishing Scotland created a special website about Brexit and its impact on Scottish publishing with resources, noting that, “[a]s well as changes to the free movement of people, trading conditions, exports, copyright and selling rights and sub-licences to titles will be affected” (‘Publishers and Brexit’ 2021). However, as more recent material changes to the publishing industry brought on by Brexit, such as the end to VAT exemption for the importation of goods to the EU on 1 July 2021 (‘EU VAT E-Commerce Package’ 2021), fall outside the scope of the 2017-2019 timeframe of this research project, these are

⁶ These include Canongate (1973), Acair (1977), Floris (1978), Luath (1981), Neil Wilson Publishing (1992), Birlinn (1992), Ringwood Publishing (1997), Waverley (1997) and Black and White Publishing (1999) (R. L. Noorda 2016, 54).

not discussed in the below data analysis. However, interesting research exists on how Brexit impacts the UK literary industry, such as Mari Mittelhaus' thesis "Brexit and the Arts – Augmenting Barriers or Bridging Divides?" on the "[p]otential impacts of Brexit on efforts to promote social inclusion at UK literature festivals" (2017).

In addition to the above scholarship, Marsden's work on the Saltire Society Literary Awards, and Marsden and Squires' work on the same awards, necessarily focuses on Scotland as these awards are nation-bound Scottish literary awards (Marsden 2016b; 2019; 2021; Marsden and Squires 2019).

A History of Scottish Women's Writing (1997a) was, according to Norquay, "the first major attempt to address the absence of a recognised history and canon of women's writing for Scottish literature" (Norquay 2012c, 2). Its editors Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan highlight the notable absence of women in other collections up to this point (Gifford and McMillan 1997b, ix). Norquay's *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing* (2012d) is also specifically focused on Scotland. In it, Norquay posits that Scottish women's "contribution to intellectual culture" has been impactful, despite their "relative silence [...] in published work" (Norquay 2012c, 8).

Noorda's work cited above makes reference to Scottish national identity as vital to Scottish literature: "Identity, particularly national identity, is a concept at the heart of marketing Scottish-interest books because a discussion of Scottish literature requires an exploration of what it means to be Scottish" (R. L. Noorda 2016, 47). Noorda here refers to Benedict Anderson and his term 'imagined communities' (1982). Noorda also draws on Dinnie (2001) when she writes that "literature is a form of cultural expression that can be both a determinant and manifestation of national identity" (R. L. Noorda 2016, 102).

Other studies focusing on Scotland specifically include Whyte's *Gendering the Nation: Studies in Modern Scottish Literature* (1995), which analyses the role of gender in Scottish literary texts. Whyte writes: "Scottish literature has succeeded, against all the odds, in emerging from under the shadow of English literature and establishing its own tentative canon. The texts in question are almost exclusively by male authors. Alexander Moffat's group portrait of seven Scottish poets, men to a man, is emblematic" (Whyte 1995, x). This quotation shows a central tension in writing about Scottish literature, and Scottish publishing – that it is always oppressed *and* oppressive; succeeding to "emerge from under the shadow of English literature", yet still containing mainly works by (white) male authors. Whyte is here referring to a

famous painting of Scottish poets, entitled *Poets' Pub*, by painter Alexander Moffat, which depicts ten men, including seven prominent Scottish poets.⁷

Many poets depicted in the painting are mentioned in *The Literature of Scotland* (2007), where Roderick Watson writes that “many of the writers of the early twentieth-century renaissance aimed to reimagine a Scotland that could contribute something unique and valuable to the world at large” and describes the agenda behind works by writers such as Hugh MacDiarmid, Neil Gunn, Edwin Muir, George Mackay Brown, Lewis Grassie Gibbon, Sorley MacLean and George Campbell. Watson goes on to state that the “socio-political focus of Alasdair Gray and James Kelman can be seen to belong to the same tradition”, but that, “as a general rule the Scottish writers of the second half of the century have been less persuaded of such system-building ambitions” and have instead focused on “personal identity” and “psychological interrogation related to issues of class, race, sexuality and gender”. As examples of this type of writing, Watson lists Liz Lochhead, Janice Galloway, A. L. Kennedy, Jackie Kay and Ali Smith, explaining that “[i]t is no accident that such a shift of focus should have come from women writers, inspired or irritated by those founding fathers, but in either case finally free of their shadow” (Watson 2007, Volume 1: Middle ages to nineteenth century, 4). It is interesting to note that the authors whose focus is named as nothing less than a global agenda for Scotland’s contribution are all male, and that the authors whose focus is personal and psychological are all female.

In “The invisible women of Scotland – coming into their own at last”, Joy Hendry summarises a theory voiced in her lecture “The Double Knot in the Peeny”, later published by Hutchison in *In Other Words* (1987): “that Scottish women are at a two-fold disadvantage, because they are at two removes from the handles of power [...] [w]omen, being subservient to and dependent on men, certainly socially if not on a personal level, had also to cope with the psychological impact of the loss of social independence in 1603 and political independence in 1707” (Hendry 2008, 152–53). The ‘doubling’ effect of Scottishness and femaleness is mentioned in other works on Scottish women as well, such as in “Gender and nation: debatable lands and passable boundaries” (2002), where Aileen Christianson writes:

⁷ This painting, entitled *Poet's Pub* by Alexander Moffat (1980) has been described as such: “Gathered around the central figure of Hugh MacDiarmid are, from left to right, Norman MacCaig, Sorley Maclean, Iain Crichton Smith, George Mackay Brown, Sydney Goodsir Smith, Edwin Morgan and Robert Garioch. In the foreground is Alan Bold and, on the steps behind, the art critic John Tonge” (‘Artist Sandy Moffat Reflects on “Poets” Pub’ 2019)

'Scottish' is tempered or altered by 'woman'. And if Scottish is the 'other' to English, with England used as the dominant reference point, and woman the 'other' to man, Scotswomen have felt a double otherness, a double marginality [...]. The dominant ideology for us has been both Anglocentric and male (the latter clearly having its own complicated inherent conflicts and contradictions). (Christianson 2002, 70)

More recently, Monica Germanà also refers to this 'doubling' effect in the introduction to *Scottish Women's Gothic and Fantastic Writing. Fiction since 1978* (2010). Germanà writes that "[t]he question of gender shifts the emphasis on the effects that double marginalisation would have on the concept of nation: if women are to be accounted for within the centre of 'national' culture, their inclusion would simultaneously challenge the patriarchal foundations of Scottish identity" (Germanà 2010, 5). Christianson argues that "it is not surprising that women may feel excluded from the full sense of being part of *this* imagined nation", taking nationhood as having a civic base; Christianson refers to women's full participation in "the civic institutions that constitute our nationness" as having been an achievement of the preceding 25 years, i.e. the mid-1970s to the 1990s (Christianson 2002, 71). "As long as this maleness is central to the political/national structures, the acceptance of maleness as 'universal-male', with female categorised as 'particular-female', continues" (Christianson 2002, 72). Interestingly, these political/civic national structures have changed significantly since Christianson's work, with Scotland ranking third in the world for female political empowerment, and with the female to male MSP ratio being 0.55 (Paterson 2018), as noted in Chapter 1.

Book history has a long tradition in Scotland, as exemplified, for example, by the book series *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, published in four volumes, with 4 focusing on Professionalism and Diversity 1880-2000 (D. Finkelstein and McCleery 2007). However, this work was outside the scope of my research, which focused mainly on 21st century publishing practices.

Also focusing on Scotland, Meghan McAvoy's 2016 doctoral thesis *Critical Nationalism: Scottish Literary Culture since 1989* (McAvoy 2016) interrogates Scotland's cultural nationalism through a literary studies lens.

Further, there has been much recent vital work on diversity in Scottish literature, including a report commissioned by Creative Scotland (Creative Scotland 2017). Focusing specifically on ethnic diversity, Churnjeet Mahn's "Black Scottish Writing and the Fiction of Diversity" (2019), and the recent reports on perceptions and experiences of writers of colour in Scotland's literary sector carried out by Scottish BPOC Writers

Network (Guyan 2020; 2021), which found that “79% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that people of colour and white Scottish people have equal opportunities to succeed in Scotland’s literary sector” (Guyan 2021). Focusing on disability, Arianna Introna’s “Avoiding disability in Scottish literary studies? Scottish studies, ablenationalism, and beyond” (2017) argues for a disability studies approach to Scottish studies, specifically for culture and literature.

The above studies show the scholarly knowledge which already exists specifically about the *Scottish* literary sector. As noted, several of these studies examine equalities, but none have yet examined, quantitatively or qualitatively, the state of gender equality in the Scottish literary sector in the 2010s.

Several other studies took the UK literary sector as their focus (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2018; 2020; Saha 2016; Saha and van Lente 2020; Squires 2009; Auguscik 2017; Ramdarshan Bold 2018; ‘In Full Colour: Cultural Diversity in Publishing Today’ 2004; Kean 2019; Squires 2017a; Bookseller news team 2017). I discuss their content elsewhere in this chapter, in sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.9 and 2.9.1.

Several of the studies mentioned in previous sections of this chapter focus on the Australian literary sector, although their concepts, findings, and implications are often found echoed elsewhere – as with Dane and Harvey and Lamond’s findings on literary prizes and literary reviews, which describe processes of gender inequality and the distribution of prestige which are similar to those found in, for example, the Scottish literary sector (Dane 2018; 2020b; Lamond 2011; Harvey and Lamond 2019; 2016; *Books + Publishing* 2017). I chose to focus on gender equality in Australian literature as the scholars working there use similar conceptual frames to my study (e.g. Bourdieusian research like that of Alexandra Dane (2020b)) and methodological approaches (e.g. counting of literary sector output, cf. Harvey and Lamond (2016; 2019)). Australia has a lively publishing studies scene, and inhabits a post-colonial connection to UK publishing, with a blend of independent publishers and multi-national conglomerates. Furthermore, ROAR looked to Australia’s Stella Prize (for female and non-binary authors) when discussing a potential new women’s literary prize for Scotland, a prize which, alongside awarding literature, also carries out advocacy in schools and a count of literary reviewing in Australia.

I did not use other national literary contexts as comparison points, although doing so would be an interesting area for further investigation. Studies on women’s experiences in publishing and the literary sector beyond those noted in this section

include works like *Courage and Consequence: Women Publishing in Africa* (Jay and Kelly 2002) which includes perspectives of publishers and booksellers working in Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Studies on the relationship between a small nation publishing in close proximity and close relationship to a larger nation (mirroring the relationship between Scotland and England) are also interesting, such as Anna Klamet's work on Austrian publishing in relationship to German publishing (Klamet 2020).

2.9 Diversity

Contemporary publishing studies frequently focuses on participation in publishing activities, including explorations of the workforce within publishing and its related industries, to researching authors, analysis of texts and their content, and investigation of promotional activities and readership reception. Broadly speaking, research into participation is often described with the words “diversity” and “representation”, because it seeks to investigate whether workers in publishing have a plurality of backgrounds and equal access to career progression; and because it often seeks to analyse whether the population of the UK is adequately and equally represented within writing, either in the content of books or through the workers who are involved in their creation. This research is important to my thesis as it investigates gender distribution in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. However, oppression is not sufficiently or usefully characterised as a single-axis process (i.e., based only on gender), but functions intersectionally (Crenshaw 1989, 148–49) and interacts with racialisation, class, disability, and other characteristics; further, gender inequality is not the only issue present in the literary sector, and although my study does focus on gender, it is important to be cognizant of the full picture of exclusion and discrimination within the publishing sector (cf. limitations noted in 3.3.6).

Studies focused on diversity can take a wide focus, such as Saha and van Lente, who explore ideas of “diversity” in publishing through an analysis of interviews with publishing professionals, finding that respondents perceived “the core publishing audience” in the UK to be “a sort of 50-something middle class to upper middle-class white woman who reads a lot because she has time, and she has resources to spend on books”, (Saha and van Lente 2020, 20) quoting a respondent in Saha and van Lente's study who worked in sales. A key finding of the report is that “the publishing

industry is set up to cater for just one white, middle-class audience” (Saha and van Lente 2020, 23).

Other reports include UK publishing sector reviews such as “In Full Colour: Cultural Diversity in Publishing Today” (‘In Full Colour: Cultural Diversity in Publishing Today’ 2004), and reports focused specifically on Scotland, such as “Understanding Diversity in the Arts 2016” (Creative Scotland 2017), as well as Squires’ 2017 publication “Publishing’s Diversity Deficit” (Squires 2017a), which reflects on and expands earlier studies.

Saha has also interrogated the function of “diversity” discourse elsewhere, such as in “Diversity Initiatives Don’t Work, They Just Make Things Worse: The Ideological Function of Diversity in the Cultural Industries” (Saha 2017) and in *Race and the Cultural Industries* (Saha 2018). In the latter, Saha makes reference to Mellinger (2003, 140) on the subject of diversity schemes:

In other words, diversity schemes are paradoxically a way of keeping minorities in their place. For Mellinger, the promotion of disproportionately small number of minority employees does not effectively challenge white hegemony but resecures its dominance; and, moreover, the lure of inclusion produces division among groups that are excluded from the privileges of whiteness. In other words, recruitment and retention discourses, which purport to promote inclusion, are in fact technologies of exclusion. (Saha 2018, 92)

This assessment of diversity initiatives also chimes with Harry Josephine Giles’ analysis of access initiatives in “Access Means It’s Not For You”, where she describes them as structurally reproducing exclusion (Giles 2018). In Giles’ work, she describes that access initiatives imagine marginalised individuals as ‘other’ and the institution itself as ‘providing access’ to a sphere built around the needs of hegemonically powerful individuals, noting that true accessibility would centre marginalised individuals.

Other studies on diversity in publishing focus more specifically on issues of racism, sexism, and classism in the publishing industry.

2.9.1 Racism in the publishing industry

Some of the studies on the topic of racist exclusion from participation in the publishing sector (Squires 2017a; Guyan 2020; 2021; Saha and van Lente 2020; Saha 2017), or which include this topic (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2018; 2020), or, on pigeonholing

and limiting the work of authors of colour (Saha 2016), have already been examined earlier in this chapter, in 2.3. and 2.9. A further study, concerning author participation, was carried out by Melanie Ramdarshan Bold, which examines young adult publishing in the UK. Ramdarshan Bold specifically analyses the proportion of authors of colour who are active in this sphere, finding that on average between 2006 and 2016, only 8% of authors writing young adult published in the UK were authors of colour (Ramdarshan Bold 2018). In a subsequent study, Ramdarshan Bold finds that there has been “a yearly increase in the percentage of authors of colour being published and appearing on bestseller lists” from 2016 to 2019 (Ramdarshan Bold 2021). Also honing in on a particular form of writing is the work of the Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics, which produces reports on poetry criticism, including work on poetry publishing, in the UK and Ireland, and found that, from 2011-2018, 8.33% of poems published were by BAME poets, and 5.03% of articles published in poetry criticism were by BAME critics (Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics 2019).

In addition to these quantitative and qualitative studies, the work of Ahmed on “nonperformativity”, by which Ahmed describes supposedly anti-racist utterances which are intended to not create change (Ahmed 2006), has moved my understanding of diversity discourse forward, and has been a foundation to my understanding of change-making discourse.

2.9.2 Researching gender inequality

There is a growing body of research on gender inequality in the publishing industry. I define gender inequality as a disadvantage due to a gender’s dominance; under patriarchy, this is generally men being dominant over women and gender minorities.

US-based non-profit literary organisation VIDA (Women in Literary Arts) has conducted annual counts of literary reviewing and publishing since 2009, “compil[ing] over 2,000 data points from the journals, publications, and press outlets by which the literary community defines and rewards its most valued arts workers, the ‘feeders’ for grants, teaching positions, residencies, fellowships, further publication, and ultimately, propagation of artists’ work within the literary community” (‘FAQs’ 2022). VIDA’s definition of literary reviewing and publishing in journals etc as “‘feeders’ for grants” aligns with Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of agents of consecration who have the power to legitimise works of art as works of art, as discussed in section 2.2. In 2019,

VIDA found that only three of 15 publications surveyed published 50% or more women and nonbinary writers, including, for the first time in ten years of surveying, *The New York Times Book Review*, which had previously always published less than 50% women and, in 2019, saw women make up 53.78% of published writers. VIDA write: “Their slow increases over the decade keep us hopeful that this is the start of a new era” (‘The 2019 VIDA Count • VIDA: Women in Literary Arts’ 2020). VIDA’s surveying includes only a handful of UK-based publications (*Granta*, *London Review of Books*, *Times Literary Supplement*), and from 2020 their focus will narrow to only include US-based publications due to the new initiative of PEN Centres around the world conducting their own VIDA counts (Heath 2018). VIDA has been continually transparent about its methodology, and its public advocacy against gender disparity has been an influence on and inspiration for my own counting and advocacy.

Harvey and Lamond examine gender disparity in Australian book reviewing in the years 1985 and 2013 and find that “gender disparity across time has remained fairly constant” in a “recurring 60-70:40-30 ratio of gender disparity”; they also add that the changing review landscape, which has seen a “reduction in the number of books being reviewed each year in the Australian print media” and a shift towards longer-form discussion means that this gender disparity is, as noted in 2.5.5, “in some respects [...] more problematic now than in 1985 because of the fact that men are more likely to be author and subject of the most prestigious and increasingly dominant form of review: the feature review” (Harvey and Lamond 2016, pt. VIII).

In “Why Women Don’t Win Literary Awards: The Saltire Society Literary Awards and Implicit Stereotyping”, Marsden examines gender equality with regard to the authors of books submitted, shortlisted for, and winning the Saltire Society BotY and First BotY Award between 1988-2014. Marsden finds that “[...] even though women writers comprised 32% of all shortlisted entries for the Book of the Year Award between 1988 and 2014, they represented just 12% of winners” (Marsden 2019, 54). When it comes to the category for debut books, women fared slightly better, but the disparity between shortlisting and winning was persistent: “[...] women writers have historically been better represented in the First Book of the Year shortlists – accounting for a near equal 48% of the books shortlisted for the award – similarly to the Society’s Book of the Year Award, when it comes to the selection of winners, there is a 10% drop in women writers” (Marsden 2019, 54).

Writer Nicola Griffith counted the gender of authors and protagonists of literary awards 2000-2015, finding that “[w]hen women win literary awards for fiction it’s usually for writing from a male perspective and/or about men. The more prestigious the award, the more likely the subject of the narrative will be male” (Griffith 2015a).⁸

The above studies observed a stark gender disparity between male and female authors in the fields of literary reviewing and literary prizes. Turning to pay issues, Creative Scotland’s “Understanding Diversity in the Arts” report found that the median total income of male arts workers in Scotland was £23,000, compared to £20,000 as the median total income of female arts workers. The median income for male artists (where art production was their main role) was £18,000, and for women artists it was £13,000 (Creative Scotland 2017). However, as only 14% of respondents to this survey worked in the literary sector, this gender pay gap reporting is not necessarily representative of the Scottish literary sector.

Dane’s *Gender and Prestige in Literature: Contemporary Australian Book Culture* examines gender in relation to the power conferred by literary prestige in the areas of literary reviewing, book festivals and literary prizes, which also relates to legitimacy and authority (Dane 2020b, 218). Dane finds that male reviewers are “much less likely to review books by women and women are much more likely to review books by both men and women” (Dane 2020b, 218), which she relates to a broader gender reviewing gap. Further, Dane found that book festival events continue to be dominated by men, especially with regard to keynote events (Dane 2020b, 217–18), and that “women are much more likely than men to be placed in the supporting roles as panel moderators”, which, Dane argues, both “signal[s] to the perceived power and authority of men” and also “contributes to the perpetuation of this perception” (Dane 2020b, 218). Dane’s work also draws on Bourdieusian theories such as symbolic violence, as described above in section 2.2.

The Emilia Report considers gender in newspaper coverage in the UK in the first year of a book’s publication.⁹ The report found that “[n]ew books by men received 56% of review coverage – 12% more than their female counterparts” (Kean 2019, 4)

⁸ Griffith’s study includes the Pulitzer Prize, Man Booker Prize, National Book Award, National Book Critics’ Circle Award, and Newbery Medal

⁹ The Emilia Report compares five books written by men and five books written by women, in five categories (literary fiction, prize winners, debut novelists, commercial fiction, fantasy fiction).

and that “[w]omen were twice as likely to have their age referenced as part of a review” (Kean 2019, 5). Section 2.9.2.1 discusses this report’s other findings.

In *Culture Is Bad For You*, Brook et al. describe that groups missing from the creative industries are often misrepresented in the products of these industries:

[...] who works in cultural occupations reflects social inequalities. In turn, who works in cultural occupations shapes social inequalities too. The people who get to make and commission culture are not a diverse group. Certain groups are systematically excluded. The outcomes and products of cultural occupations are thus only a partial reflection and representation of our society.

Worse, the groups missing from cultural occupations are often misrepresented and caricatured, if they are seen at all. Women may only be the wives or mothers in male stories. People of colour may be presented in clichéd and racist ways. Working-class origin individuals may only ever be one-dimensional, in contrast to the complexity and depth offered to middle-class representations. (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 14–15)

Brook et al.’s quantitative population study also reveals that women leave cultural occupations in higher numbers between the ages of 20 and 30 than men. Brook et al. connect this partly to child rearing, and the disproportionate amount of childcare labour which often falls to women. Brook et al.’s interviewees also highlight that while cultural occupations are arguably more flexible than some traditional office jobs, it is more difficult to have a child while in these occupations as they frequently rely on temporary or freelance contracts without maternity pay. Brook et al. also show that the proportion of women who cited that having children has been a barrier for their careers is stratified along class lines, with middle-class women being least likely to cite having children as a barrier (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 226–33).

In “Jaipur Literature Festival, the Gendered Literary Field, and the #MeToo Movement in India”, Das examines gender of panellists and audiences at JLF and Jaipur BookMark (JBM, a business platform for publishers and other stakeholders).¹⁰ Das finds that the division of women and men participants was “fairly equitable” (Das 2020, para. 21), and explores the effect of the #MeToo movement in India at JLF, for example by highlighting criticisms of mansplaining at panels which were intended to discuss misogyny (Das 2020, paras 24–25).

¹⁰ Das reports that, in 2019, 46.3% of attendees at Jaipur Literature Festival were women (Das 2020, para. 18). In 2018, 43% of JLF panellists and 47% of JBM panellists were women, and in 2019 41% of JLF panellists and 57% of JBM panellists were women. Indian women made up 28% of all JLF panellists in 2018 and 2019, and 64% of women panellists at JLF in 2018 and 69% of women panellists in 2019. As for JBM, Indian women made up 26% of all panellists at the business stakeholder platform in 2018, and 41% in 2019; with Indian women making up 56% of women panellists at JBM in 2018 and 72% of women panellists in 2019 (Table with figures from Jaipur Literature Festival, 2019, cited in Das 2020).

Gender inequality – especially quantifiable inequality, unequal proportions of genders represented in culture – is often tacitly understood as remediable through equalising proportions. However, increased visibility is not always a simple solution, as Reina Gossett, Eric A. Stanley and Johanna Burton write in their introduction to *Trap Door: Trans Cultural Production and the Politics of Visibility*:

We are living in a time of trans visibility. Yet we are also living in a time of anti-trans violence. [...] we know that when produced within the cosmology of racial capitalism, the promise of ‘positive representation’ ultimately gives little support or protection to many, if not most, trans and gender non-conforming people, particularly those who are low-income and/or of colour – the very people whose lives and labor constitute the ground for the figuration of this moment of visibility. This is the trap of the visual: it offers – or, more accurately, it is frequently offered to us as – the primary path through which trans people might have access to liveable lives. Representation is said to remedy broader acute social crises ranging from poverty to murder to police violence, particularly when representation is taken up as a ‘teaching tool’ that allows those outside our immediate social worlds and identities to glimpse some notion of a shared humanity. To the degree that anyone might consider such potential to exist within representation, one must also grapple and reckon with racial incongruities – as when, for example, our ‘transgender tipping point’ comes to pass at precisely the same political moment when women of color, and trans women of color in particular, are experiencing markedly increased instances of physical violence” (Gossett, Stanley, and Burton 2017, xv–xvi)

Gossett, Stanley and Burton describe here the fundamental contradiction of visibility; that being visible, while offered as “the primary path through which trans people might have access to liveable lives”, also opens the door to increased violence. Often, the representation offered to trans people “accommodat[e] trans bodies, histories, and culture only insofar as they can be forced to hew to hegemonic modalities. This isn’t a new story; various kinds of ‘outsider art’ have historically been called upon by an art market or academic cadre that utilize them to advance dominant narratives before pushing them back out” (Gossett, Stanley, and Burton 2017, xxiii). Therefore, it is not straightforward to view all art made by or about trans and/or non-binary people as a positive force, as the context within which this art is ‘utilize[d] to advance dominant narratives’ by hegemonic agents within any given artform impacts its liberatory potential. While this thesis does ‘count genders’ and compare to a ‘representative population’ (i.e., census levels of genders), it is important to bear in mind that visibility or increased representation alone is not a universally liberatory tool. More on counting genders can be found in section 3.3.2.1.

In their article exploring publicists and affective labour, Parnell, Dane and Weber write that “publicists experience higher rates of sexual harassment than other

professions within the industry” (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 649), summarising findings from studies carried out by British publishing trade magazine *The Bookseller* and Australian publishing trade magazine *Books + Publishing*. They further highlight that the myth of publishing, and the media industry, as artistic, young and cool conceals issues of inequality and risk, and that “publicists, who are often young women, are regarded by many in the field (authors, editors, publishers) as ‘party girls’”, a stereotype which suggests that they are perhaps “complicit in the potentially risky working practices that define their vocation” (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 655). Parnell et al. make reference to sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild’s work on affective labour (called emotional labour by Hochschild), and note that, like the flight attendants Hochschild studied, “publicists [...] are expected to enact femininity as a major part of their employment, and as a result are often viewed within many industries and in popular culture as vapid, pretty, party girls” (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 656). This strong link between job types and gendered expectations (and resultant belittling) is foundational to my analysis of gendered jobs in the publishing industry in Chapter 6.

2.9.2.1 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment is a major factor impacting gender inequality in the publishing industry. Although this is not a new issue, there has been renewed focus on sexual harassment catalysed through the cultural significance of the #MeToo movement. The phrase was coined by activist Tarana Burke in 2006, and gained widespread visibility when the *New York Times* and *New Yorker* published an investigation into the sexual misconduct of Harvey Weinstein in October 2017 (Nicolaou and Smith 2019). Beginning as a reckoning within the film industry, with survivors of sexual violence speaking out publicly against their abusers and the widespread acceptance and normalisation of this abuse in this industry, disclosure from other industries followed. *The Bookseller*, the UK trade magazine for the publishing industry, reported that over half of survey respondents reported having been sexually harassed (Bookseller news team 2017). An Australian survey conducted by *Books + Publishing* found similar figures (*Books + Publishing* 2017).

Additionally, Parnell et al. write about the blurred boundaries between work and social life in the creative industries, which further put women in danger of sexual

harassment. In their work on sexual harassment at the Frankfurt Book Fair, Squires and Driscoll write that the publishing industry's "conviviality [...] is tied to its abusive behaviours":

Literary festivals and other book-based events away from the office are often constructed as an attractive aspect of the job, but for one correspondent [the article links to the report on sexual harassment by *Books + Publishing*], "event settings are where harassment is most likely to occur [...] Book publishing, as a social industry with lots of launches and public readings lends itself to these kinds of abuse with little accountability" (Squires and Driscoll 2018)

Discrimination and sexual harassment are rife within the publishing industry at large, with a 2017 survey conducted in the UK finding that 54% of women and 34% of men had experienced sexual harassment (Bookseller news team 2017).

In addition to the statistical examination of newspaper coverage cited in 2.9.2, the Emilia Report also interviewed writers about their experiences. Many respondents cited that interviewers for magazine or newspaper features asked personal questions of them, which sometimes veered into "seedy [...]" especially from male interviewers asking about sex scenes in their work" (Kean 2019, 14). The report quotes one author's response about getting published in their early 20s: "A tabloid journalist asked for a kiss after an interview and more than one male journalist asked if I wanted to go for a drink at the end of an interview" (Kean 2019, 14). Interview evidence from my data collection (in Chapter 6) shows how sexual harassment and its impact on the work environment manifest in Scottish contemporary literature.

2.9.2.2 *Working with gender*

It is important to me that this thesis engages with ideas around gender as a construct, particularly because its quantitative method relies on 'recognising gender from the outside' to record the gender of named individuals in a list of authors or reviewers. I contend with issues around this methodology further in 3.3.2.1. My understanding of gender, for the purpose of this thesis, is informed by Judith Butler's idea of gender as performed (Butler 2006, 34), and Julia Serano's idea of gender as perceived, interpreted (Serano 2016, 193) and experiential (Serano 2016, 215).

This study does not have scope to investigate fully the "gendering" of Scottish literature, including themes of Scottish literature or close readings of texts; however, it does engage with ideas of gendered genres. Ana Alacovska's work on gendering genres in Scandinavian crime fiction refers to Gledhill in writing that "all genres are

already always ideologically gendered” (Gledhill 2012, quoted in Alacovska 2017, 378). Genre fiction, loaded with its unique set of (gendered) rules, is also “characterised by its consistent appeal to a regular audience” (Radway 1987, 29). This makes it profitable: Steven Connor writes about “period[s] of inflation and overproduction” and the resulting need to “shorten turnover time” (Connor 1996, 16). One way to do this is to “shorten the time of circulation” and “[print] only as many copies as the market can bear”; in fact, to print “titles that can be guaranteed to make money” (Connor 1996, 16). This led to aggressive marketing of “romance, crime and science fiction”, which Connor calls “formula” and “category” fiction (Connor 1996, 17) and which we would call “genre” today; in effect, the focus on these genres stemmed from “desire to homogenise and make predictable” (Connor 1996, 17). To put this more succinctly, Radway writes that “[s]uccess, in effect, became a function of accurate prediction” (Radway 1987, 29).

Knowing the economics behind genre fiction, the act of using popular writing to “challeng[e] gender boundaries” and to “finely explor[e] geographical delineations of existence” (Norquay 2012a, 130) feels doubly subversive: not only are writers entering a genre that is expected to be formulaic and experimenting within it, but they are also using this form – usually marketed with a goal of predictability – with a view to “address[ing] [...] significant social concerns” (Norquay 2012b, 130) and thus disrupting what is predictable about societal norms. Challenging the “*gendered* conventions of plot, character and fictional universe” (Alacovska 2017, 379, emphasis in original) inherent in a genre could therefore be seen as a representation of challenging these gendered conventions in society at large. Alacovska’s work engages with issues of gender inequality by focusing on gender and gendering, and to some extent with gender stereotypes and the different values work is allocated according to which gender it is associated with. This is also the basis of analysis in Parnell et al.’s article on publicists (2020), which is detailed in section 2.9.2 and 2.9.2.1. I draw on Alacovska’s analysis in 5.2.

2.9.2.3 *Women and women’s writing*

In contrast to work focusing on gender(ing), there is a broad-ranging body of work, including historical explorations of gender inequality in Scottish writing, which focuses on women, such as *A History of Scottish Women’s Writing* (Gifford and McMillan

1997a) and *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing* (Norquay 2012d) and other works cited in section 2.8. While this is vital work, it is interesting that there is less emphasis on researching the history of men's writing and tracking its apparent supremacy. This is likely for a good reason – general work on Scottish writing included more men than women, and therefore these edited collections focusing on women were an important counterbalance. However, to understand fully the picture of Scottish literary production and gender inequality, it is important to also examine the work of men and *how and where* they dominate the field. Additionally, gender minorities such as trans and/or non-binary authors also face gendered discrimination, and by framing gender inequality solely through the lens of women these approaches risk missing vital clues to mechanisms that impact all who experience gendered discrimination. For example, Serano argues convincingly in *Whipping Girl* for how understanding discrimination against trans people (specifically discrimination against trans women in *Whipping Girl*) has the potential to galvanise the whole feminist movement (Serano 2016). Therefore, my thesis examines gender inequality as a broad concept, rather than focusing specifically on women's literary production.

2.10 Conclusion

My thesis exists in a rich and varied conceptual environment; I write into a landscape of thoughtful quantitative research on systemic inequality in the literary sector, qualitative discussions of reading and writing, editorial decision-making and taste, historical examinations of publishing, and conceptual work on constructing the social and cultural capital of artwork, gender and visibility, and labour in the creative economy in the 21st century.

These works have enabled me to gain a more comprehensive contextualised understanding of the literary sector and power structures within it: contemporary publishing forms part of the creative economy, a sector which is characterised by precarious work conditions and a glamorisation of media work as “worthy” (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2020). There is a clear taste difference between workers in the creative economies and the rest of the population, exacerbating barriers to entry (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018). Contemporary publishing is also characterised by conglomeratisation and a strong commercial focus, which can be seen particularly in fiction publishing of genre works and literary fiction (Connor 1996; Squires 2009).

Literary prizes offer a route into studying prestige relations as they are engaged with all life stages of a book (Squires 2004), and they have been used by publishing studies scholars to evidence gender inequality (Griffith 2015a; 2015b; Lamond 2011; Harvey and Lamond 2019; Dane 2018; 2020b; Marsden 2016b; 2019), but investigation into Scottish literary prizes has been limited to one set of prizes. Literary festivals as a field are a site of middlebrow taste-making (Weber 2018; Driscoll 2014), and a site for legitimisation of status for authors and publishers and audiences (R. Noorda and Berens 2020; Dane 2020a). Book reviews, too, have been used to investigate and evidence gender inequality (Harvey and Lamond 2019; 2016; Dane 2018; 2020b), but this type of study has never been undertaken in the Scottish literary sector.

Other scholars' works have provided a foundational conceptual framework for assessing and understanding how prestige is distributed in this sector: as this literature review has noted, contemporary book history scholarship often draws on the work of Bourdieu and his ideas of cultural, social and economic capital (Bourdieu 1986), to which English adds the notion of journalistic capital as an intermediary force (English 2002); scholars also draw on Bourdieu's ideas to investigate how hegemonic tastes are transmitted to a larger population, often through using 'symbolic violence', which is when hegemonic taste hierarchy is presented as naturalised (Norris 2006c; Dane 2018; 2020b).

Rich knowledge already exists about the Scottish literary sector, evidencing the historical lack of women writers in the Scottish literary canon and interrogating the gendering of Scottish literature (Whyte 1995; Norquay 2012d; Gifford and McMillan 1997a; Christianson 2002; Hendry 2008), often focusing on individual women writers and taking a literary studies approach to the analysis and preservation of their work. Taking a publishing studies approach, Marsden's work examining the cultural history of the Saltire Society Literary Awards (Marsden 2021; 2016b), and analysing gender inequality within these awards (Marsden 2019), has been a vital foundation for my understanding of Scottish literary award culture, has provided vital evidence that women fare worse than men in these awards, and has been the basis for the development of my methodology, as is shown in Chapter 3. A publishing studies analysis to the interconnected ecosystem of the Scottish literary sector has not been undertaken before.

There are deeply entrenched diversity issues in UK publishing, in particular when it comes to ethnicity (Saha and van Lente 2020; Ramdarshan Bold 2018; 2021;

Squires 2017a). When it comes to gender inequality, studies by scholars such as Griffith, Marsden, and Dane (cited above) have provided much-needed quantitative evidence for inequality, and the publishing industry has also seen recent studies on author reception (Kean 2019) and gender disparity in literary journals internationally ('The 2017 VIDA Count' 2018; 'The 2018 VIDA Count – VIDA: Women in Literary Arts' n.d.), as well as studies on sexual harassment in publishing and the ripple effect of this harassment into the wider industry (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020; Squires and Driscoll 2018; *Books + Publishing* 2017; Bookseller news team 2017; Das 2020).

This thesis is empirically and conceptually underpinned by the scholarship reviewed in this chapter, and this rich existing scholarship provides a fertile environment for my own unique contribution: providing new knowledge on gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector in the late 2010s, and presenting a new methodological discussion for collaborative, equality-focused research.

Chapter 3: Researching gender and the literary sector from the inside and outside

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in chapter 1, this project began with a discussion about what practical steps could be taken to address gender inequality in contemporary Scottish literature, articulated at an event for IWD. This is not a neutral or objective position: the inequality was identified by women writers, whose lived experience of being a writer in Scotland and the ways this intersected with their gender told them there was something wrong. The project is therefore positioned with a particular ideological perspective.

This methodology chapter builds on this context, whose feminist activist aims necessitate a specific set of feminist research paradigms and methods.

Part 3.1 of this chapter explains the epistemological foundation of this project. Part 3.2 applies these concepts by defining the specific characteristics of the project design. Part 3.3 explains the specific application of the mixed methods used in this study and lay out the process of analysis, ending with a note on the limitations of the study.

3.1.1 Approach and project design: feminist theory

This project's aim is to address gender-based inequality. I use a mixed-methods community-based participatory research framework with a foundation in postmodern feminist research methods and the transformative paradigm. At its core, this project's philosophy and impetus lie in feminist thought. As noted in 2.6, hooks defines feminism as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (hooks 2000, 1). Although this project was begun by a group of women, this project is not focused on women's inequality alone. On feminist research of gender beyond the binary, Maureen C. McHugh writes, "our conceptions of gender have moved beyond a biological binary, necessitating more complex measures of gender and innovative research on gender subjectivity" (McHugh 2020, 210). In line with this suggestion of more complex measures of gender, this project takes a non-binary view of gender; it acknowledges and highlights gender diversity, and examines discrimination experienced by non-binary writers as part of its analysis of gender-based discrimination and sexism.

I began this project with a clear purpose that my work would be in service of those experiencing sexist oppression in the Scottish literary sector. Contributing to gaps in knowledge in my field of study is an additional aim for my thesis as noted in 2.10, but the production of knowledge as a tool for women, trans and/or non-binary people is my key focus.

3.1.2 Mixed-methods research

The gender-based discrimination and exploitation which this thesis explores is situated within the field of publishing (more on definitions of publishing, and research within this field, in Chapter 2). Research in publishing often uses empirical quantitative and qualitative methods to explore and address issues of gender inequality (Marsden 2019; Dane 2020b), frequently through a mixed methods methodology. For example, Marsden (2019) blends quantitative content analysis, qualitative content analysis and interviewing, and Dane (2020b) uses new literary empiricism (Bode and Dixon 2009) with a mixed-methods approach and a Bourdieusian lens. Like Marsden's and Dane's work, this thesis also uses empirical quantitative and qualitative methods, and its mixed methods approach is grounded in a community-based participatory research praxis (cf. 3.2.1). Mixed methods research involves blending methods with distinct epistemology, ontology and axiology. Valerie R. Anderson reviews the history of mixed methods research, writing that quantitative and qualitative methods have historically been used exclusively, which has led to an idea that they are opposed to each other or contradictory: "For example, quantitative research methods are born out of a positivistic/postpositivistic paradigm, whereas qualitative research methods belong to an interpretivist or constructivist paradigm" (V. R. Anderson 2016, 233). Anderson argues that "there is still not a consensus among methodological camps as to whether or not mixed methods research can—or should—utilize multiple world-views or a single paradigm in a study (Creswell & Creswell, 2005)" (V. R. Anderson 2016, 234). In this study, I have decided to use the transformative paradigm – an orientation to research seeking to create social justice – as my single unifying paradigm (cf. 3.1.4). Also on this subject, Cram and Mertens write that "[mixed methods research] allows for exchanges between the findings gathered from different methods. These methods will often approach a research question from different angles, and their integration will

allow for both consistencies and contradictions to exist within the knowledge accumulated” (Cram and Mertens 2015, 106).

This study deliberately wishes to move the underlying paradigm away from postpositivism, through its use of community-based participatory research and its activist aim. Postpositivism is based on the positivist idea that there is an objectively measurable world. While recognising that “our knowledge of this world is socially constructed”, it focuses on removing or reducing bias in the “subjectivity of the researcher” (Spencer, Pryce, and Walsh 2020, 117), requiring the researcher to “remain as neutral as possible” and encourages them not to “engage in research in the service or advocacy for any particular position” (Spencer, Pryce, and Walsh 2020, 117). This is not possible in a research project which directly engages with oppression which originated from a call for action from the affected community, and which I have experienced myself (I elaborate on my embeddedness in this community in 3.1.5).

Further, West and Zimmerman (1987) write that empirical research is structurally insufficient to measure the sociological – and social – practices and theories of gender (quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 79). This insufficiency is important to consider when it comes to how methods are mixed and how analysis is carried out, and it is the reason I decided on a single guiding principle of transformation rather than blending positivist and transformative paradigms.

As a feminist researcher, I can use my ‘bias’ and my subjectivity to inform my research; my lived experience of ‘sensing wrongs’ is a source of knowledge, as Ahmed discusses: “A sensation that begins at the back of your mind, an uneasy sense of something amiss, gradually comes forward, as things come up; then receding, as you try to get on with things; as you try to get on despite things” (Ahmed 2017, 27).

Feminist standpoint theory situates knowledge in perspective; specifically in the perspective of people who share an identity category, such as ‘women’. Leavy and Harris describe this as an opposition to postpositivism through adding the perspective of women, and valuing the knowledge produced through this perspective. Sandra Harding writes, “Standpoint theories map how a social and political disadvantage can be turned into an epistemological, scientific and political advantage” (S. Harding 2004, 7, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 38). This element of feminist standpoint theory has been crucial to my understanding of my embeddedness within this project and its research context, because it highlights how a perceived ‘bias’ can be a strength in knowledge production.

3.1.3 Postmodern feminism and/or feminist standpoint theory

If mixed methods research is the mechanism of this project's methodology, then feminist thought, specifically a postmodern feminist framework, is its underlying core principle. A postmodern feminist framework underlines knowledge as "subjective, culturally situated, and interpersonally constituted" (Leavy and Harris 2018, 68) and rejects the idea of objectivity or static identity in favour of recognising subjectivity (cf. Leavy and Harris 2018, 65).

In *Contemporary Feminist Research from Theory to Practice*, Leavy and Harris (2018) include a comparative table for 'feminisms' created by Stacy Holman Jones, which categorises Liberal Feminism (First Wave), Radical/Cultural Feminism (Second Wave), Materialist/Socialist Feminism (Second Wave) and Poststructural/Postmodern Feminism (Third Wave and Beyond) by various variables. The variables most relevant to this study are the source of oppression and response to that oppression, as conceived by each wave/type of feminism. Jones notes that Poststructural/Postmodern Feminism broadly identifies "Symbolic order (language/discursive structures/institutions) and the material consequences it creates" as the source of oppression, and notes that the response to this oppression is the "[b]reak[ing] down/into and challeng[ing] this symbolic order and the very real material consequences it creates (via deconstruction and other forms of critique/reimagining); question "woman" (a singular, foundational subjectivity) as the foundation of feminist politics" (Stacy Holman Jones, in: Leavy and Harris 2018, 31). Although this study also includes 'equal access politics' which, in Jones' framework, would fit more closely into a Liberal Feminism (First Wave) context, the questioning of the symbolic order of the publishing industry and the non-binary gender construction which form the grounding of this thesis mean that Poststructural/Postmodern Feminism is the most appropriate feminist context. The postmodern feminist scholars I draw on most for this thesis are Butler, in particular *Gender Trouble* (2006), building on their idea of gender as performed (Butler 2006, 34), and Serano and her idea of gender as perceived, interpreted (Serano 2016, 193) and experiential (Serano 2016, 215). This is explored further in section 3.3.2.1.

As its activist feminist context requires, my research has transformative aims. This is a further reason why using a postmodern approach is suitable, because

according to this, “the transformation of society begins with a transformation of our understanding of how and what we can know” (McHugh 2020, 231). This emphasises principles of postmodern approaches: (a) new methods, and valorising sites of knowledge production, and (b) the aim of transforming society. McHugh’s quote emphasises the connection between knowledge production and societal transformation; rather than striving to stay ‘neutral’ and ‘objective’, this approach has transformation built in.

My approach to including qualitative data through interviewing and qualitative content analysis is based on highlighting the knowledge gained through an individual’s standpoint as distinct and important. This is inspired by feminist standpoint theory:

In feminist standpoint theory, knowledge is mediated by the individual’s position in a sociopolitical system at a particular point in time (Hawkesworth, 2006). In feminist standpoint perspectives, an oppressed individual can see through ideologies and obfuscations of the oppressor class and more correctly “know” the world (Hawkesworth, 2006). (McHugh 2020, 207)

However, my use of feminist standpoint theory creates a tension for my grounding in postmodern feminism:

Postmodern feminists view empiricist and standpoint feminists as reverting to essentialist claims, viewing women as an identity. [...] the essentialism inherent in empirical and standpoint positions does not acknowledge the diversity and complexity of women’s perspectives and voices and does not attend to the way that gender is produced through socialization, context, roles, policies, and interactions. (McHugh 2020, 208)

Postmodern feminism highlights knowledge as situated and relational, and focuses on subjectivity rather than identity, as noted in the following quotation. This is particularly relevant to my work as it is not an essentialising of interviewee’s identity (as women, for example), but rather their subjective experiences and perspectives that informs my work:

In particular, postmodern feminist research explores the power of “multiple relative truths of personal construction” (Frost & Elichao, 2014, p. 43). It most often takes into consideration a sociocultural or socially constructivist approach to subjectivity; that is, postmodernism is more concerned with individual perspectives (subjectivities) than a fixed notion of identity (“man,” “woman,” etc.). (Leavy and Harris 2018, 62)

McHugh quotes Cosgrove (2002; 2003) to explain essentialism as “viewing women as a group, as having a single point of view, or as sharing a trait, for example, that all women are caring” (McHugh 2020, 208). The privileging of subjectivity over identity is particularly important in my use of interview data, where rather than aggregating findings as ‘experiences of women’ I foreground the subjectivity, specific experience

and expertise of each interviewee rather than grouping their experiences together. This is also important to my non-binary approach to working with gender, because experiences of gender-based discrimination and exploitation are shared among women and gender minorities, but experiences also differ significantly based on factors such as actual or perceived gender presentation, sexuality, ethnicity, disability, class background, etc. However, while avoiding essentialism in this way, my work does engage in essentialising women and non-binary people as categories in my quantitative work. It could be argued that counting gender in this way is not possible, and I think it is vital for the discipline to move beyond counting occurrences of gender. I discuss the tension between this method and my conceptual framework further in part 3.2.4 on avoiding methodological appropriation, and 3.3.2.1 where I describe specifically how this impacts “counting gender”.

3.1.4 Transformative paradigm

The transformative paradigm is the driving engine of my methodology, as my research is engaged in bringing about change. Leavy & Harris (2018) lay out how Mertens (2005, 2009) developed the transformative paradigm. “This is a human rights and social justice approach to research in which those historically forced to the margins of the research process are actively included in the entire process” (Mertens 2009 quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 159). The major tenets of the transformative paradigm are: human rights; social justice; empowering, emancipatory, transformative; participatory; power-reflexive; action-oriented (Leavy (2017) quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, fig. 6.2).

The transformative aim, or the change this project wishes to bring about, is to provide tools for combating gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector: “Nyden and Wiewel (1992) stated, “Research is a political resource that can be used as ammunition” (quoted in Boyd 2020, 747). The “ammunition” created by this research is that it provides evidence of gender inequality in the literary sector; and it provides this evidence in quantitative as well as qualitative forms.

The transformative paradigm also provides a bridge between the contradictory ontological assumptions of postmodernism and postpositivism underlying the qualitative and quantitative methods of my mixed methods design:

[The transformative ontological assumption] recognizes that there are different opinions about what is real, but it does not take a definitive stance on whether there is one reality (Mertens, 2014). Rather, it recognizes the multifaceted nature of what we consider to be real and explores the sources of those diverse perceptions in terms of the values and social positions that lead to privileging one version of reality over another. (Cram and Mertens 2015, 97)

In the context of my thesis, this bridging position of the transformative paradigm allows me to mix methods in ways that span contradictory epistemological positions.

3.1.5 Embeddedness and positionality

I have so far explored the, at times, contradictory and complementary conceptual frameworks used in this thesis. The final part of this framework is my embeddedness within my research context, which is an enactment of all previously mentioned core concepts. However, before exploring how I am embedded in my research context, a brief note on my positioning. Since moving to Scotland from Austria in 2013 to study Creative Writing, I have worked as a bookseller, writer, editor, equalities consultant and event organiser; pre-COVID-19 pandemic I frequently attended literary industry events. I have also experienced sexism as a woman in the Scottish literary industry, although over the course of the five years of this research project I have come to understand my gender as non-binary (and I use she/they pronouns), and being white, middle-class and university-educated has meant that I experience sexism differently, and without the compounding and intersecting factors of racism, classism, and other structural inequalities.

I am embedded in my research through my work within the industry (i.e. currently, in 2022, as a writer, bookseller and equalities consultant), and as a member of the community group I work with. Yet undertaking this research has also made me an outsider, looking from the outside in. In many ways my early work on this project has felt like trying to ‘discover’ with research methods things I already know to be true through ‘sensing’ wrongs and injustices (cf. Ahmed 2017, 22).

Feminist research approaches allow me to use this perspective as a strength rather than a weakness, by letting go of any idea that this study – or any study – could uncover objective truth. Through employing the perspective of people who have experienced oppression under patriarchy, this thesis builds on their specific situated knowledge.

One way I have used my embeddedness has been in co-creating knowledge with my research participants. For example, when conducting my semi-structured interviews, I frequently found myself sharing my own experiences of sexism and inequality in the industry. In this, I followed the process of what Ahmed describes as Feminist Consciousness: “Becoming feminist: how we redescribe the world we are in. We begin to identify how what happens to me, happens to others. We begin to identify patterns and regularities” (Ahmed 2017, 27). This co-creation of patterns required my input too as interviewer and insider, rather than from the position of disinterested outsider: “Ultimately, [feminist] theories adopt a dialogic, collaborative approach to stimulate the process of turning thought into action (Marshall & Rossman, 2010)” (quoted in Spencer, Pryce, and Walsh 2020, 131).

This project is designed to provide evidence which will be useful for its research subjects and collaborators, changing and reframing the role of the methods “from being [...] data-collecting instrument[s] for researchers to being [...] data-collecting instrument[s] for those whose lives are being researched” (Oakley 1981, 49). This quote relates to Oakley’s reflection on interviewing women as a woman; specifically, on interviewing women about their transition to motherhood. In “Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms”, Oakley speaks of the distance required from interviewers; that interviewers in social science are often intended to be instruments for extracting information from interviewees. In Oakley’s interviews, she broke with the axiom of not responding to direct questions, and of seeing the interaction as a one-way extraction; instead, she shared her own experiences of pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood with her interviewees. (More on Oakley and how I use these tenets in my interviewing can be found in part 3.3.3 of this chapter on semi-structured interviewing.) This necessitates a shift in the relationship between researcher and researched, made possible by working with the community as stakeholders, co-authors, and collaborators: “For many engaged scholars, ethical research requires working *with* and *for* individuals and groups, not doing research *on* or *about* subjects” (M. R. Boyd 2020, 747).

Following the four questions for designing mixed methods research laid out by Palinkas et al (2011) (quoted in Anderson 2016, 234), this chapter continues by exploring the rationale behind the research design (part 3.2). Palinkas et al’s four questions are:

(1) What is the rationale? Is the study dictated by data, by objectives, by research questions, and/or to complement the strengths/weaknesses of the various methods utilized? (2) What is the structure? How are the methods integrated together? (3) What is the function? Is the goal convergence of findings, providing complementary explanations, expanding upon previous findings, the development of an instrument, or for sampling purposes? (4) What is the process? Will data sets be merged together, connected in some type of sequence, or is one data set embedded within another? (Palinkas et al (2011), quoted in Anderson 2016, 234)

Addressing question (1), the rationale for the study is dictated by a transformative conceptual framework, section 3.2.1 shows as applied to my work with a community group. The structure and integration of methods (question 2) is explained in section 3.3.1, and the function of this integration (question 3) and process of analysis (question 4) is explored in 3.3.5.

The contemporary nature of this study adds an additional element to the positioning of this work. This contemporariness presents potential difficulties, as relevance and longevity cannot be assessed – neither of the publishers, review outlets, festivals or prizes studied, nor that of the authors valorised by them. For example, several of the literary prizes analysed in this thesis have not existed for more than 10 years, and their long-term upholding or subversion of the patriarchal status quo remains to be seen.

However, contemporaneity need not be a barrier to research: Writing about Adams and Barker's 'A New Model for the Study of the Book' (1986), Squires notes that it has an "assumption [...] that only in the future can the present be studied, insisting on a temporal distance between the historian and his or her period of study" (Squires 2009, 7). Squires continues: "The dust has not settled, canons are still in formation, and the marketing of each novel – which includes the agencies of canonisation and books such as this one – is an ongoing process" (Squires 2009, 7f). For this thesis, and its contemporary study, Squires' work encourages a recognition of the limitations and possibilities that come with contemporaneity and with processes that are ongoing; contemporary study requires a subversion of "the perceived need for 'posterity'" (Squires 2009, 7). In my article on being a speculative archivist, I explore the tension of anticipating posterity through a review of record formation scholarship, concluding that this thesis requires me, and 'speculative archivists' like me, to "resist the urge to narrativise the documents they have access to, resist the desire to set a key starting or end date to the formation of their records, and embrace a fluid, porous, shifting set of temporalities inherent in their work" (Neuwirth 2019). Squires and

Marsden explore the relationship of a researcher engaged directly with the subject of their enquiry in “The First Rule of Judging Club...: Inside the Saltire Society Literary Awards”. Marsden’s reflections in this include highlighting the simultaneous, contemporaneous roles of being a researcher and prize administrator: “[...] I felt like I was part of the greater narrative of the Society’s history. In other words, I was piecing together a history that I was also helping to shape in the present” (Marsden and Squires 2019, 6).

Dane’s work on the Stella Prize in Australia provides an example about the short-term impact of the Stella Prize, which highlights the difficulty of successfully concluding that a particular change was the result of an action, and how long-lasting this change is going to be.

Further research is required to assess the medium-to-long-term effects of the Stella Prize. There are signs, especially when considering the Miles Franklin, that the prize is having a positive effect on the relationship between gender and literary prizes; however, it is unclear whether there will be *lasting* change. As we have seen with the activist research around gender and book reviews conducted in the 1980s (see Cooter et al. 1987; spender, 1989), long-term transformation of the attitudes that inform ideas around literary excellence is difficult to bring about. (Dane 2018, 219f)

Dane describes the introduction of the Stella Prize as a “shot in the arm”, further suggesting the image of a short-term intervention to a longer-term problem: “Moreover, as the result of this analysis [shows], the Miles [Franklin] may have revised the way women’s writing is considered in the process of naming a winner, but it is unclear whether this ‘shot in the arm’ has been felt by the other influential prizes” (Dane 2018, 200).

3.2 Applying conceptual frameworks

3.2.1 Community-based participatory research

In the context of working with a community-based project, a community-based approach offers a framework for engaging ethically with the community. As the project is grounded in a call for change, a transformative approach allows me to focus on contributing to political and intellectual action. While concepts such as “community-based” and “transformative” are flexible and have a number of different possible meanings, in this project I specifically draw on Mertens’ idea of the “transformative paradigm” and action-driven research (2005, 2009, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018,

159). As detailed in 3.1.4, this concept is focused on human rights, social justice, and societal transformation through participatory, power-reflexive and action-oriented research and research methods (Leavy (2017) quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, fig. 6.2). Alongside a feminist orientation, the transformative paradigm is one of the grounding principles of my work.

I understand Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) as “an orientation to inquiry” (Reason and Bradbury, 2008, quoted in Boyd 2020, 748) rather than a methodology or a set of methods (M. R. Boyd 2020, 748; Leavy and Harris 2018, 163). Leavy and Harris define CBPR as involving “forming research partnerships with non-academic stakeholders” to carry out a research project “based on a particular community-identified problem or issue”. This is significant in two ways: it involves a *partnership* with the stakeholders, and the central research questions are based on an issue that was identified *by the stakeholders*. My project fits this description: the issue was raised by members of the literary community, and the resulting decisions led to this research project and my work in partnership with/as a member of ROAR.¹¹

Leavy and Harris further stress that CBPR “values collaboration, power sharing, and different knowledges”. Margaret Boyd cites various researchers whose work has defined core principles of community-based research, for example Atalay (2010), whose five core principles include “community driven, participatory, reciprocal, sharing, and action oriented” (quoted in Boyd 2020, 749). My work with ROAR can be described as *driven by members of the Scottish literary community*; members of ROAR *participate in my research* as interviewees, advisors, and sounding boards, and I *participate in their meetings* as administrator and a full member of the group; the group *shares knowledge*, experiences, and planning responsibilities; and was started with a *focus on creating positive action through a potential new literary prize*. I describe my work with ROAR further in part 3.2.2 of this chapter.

Since the beginning of the project, I have been cautious to avoid dominating the activities of ROAR, while also appreciating that it is my role to organise meetings and set meeting agendas, and that my research forms the basis of the group’s press output. All press communications are run by ROAR for approval, and decisions are

¹¹ For the avoidance of doubt, the community I work in is the literary community in Scotland, in particular the group ROAR who led to the inception of this project.

made democratically. What is most important to me about the above values is the value of different knowledges, as the members of ROAR, having worked in Scottish literature for 10-40 years, have a deep understanding of issues of gender inequality in the sector. The value of power sharing is important to understanding relational ethics (see section 3.2.2) and informs how I approach my interviews, which I describe at greater length in section 3.3.3 of this chapter.

Leavy and Harris further assert that CBPR develops a project from the ground up with those whose lives are impacted by the problem to create change, and that CBPR is necessarily social justice-driven. Creating change through being informed by those whose lives are impacted is a major characteristic of my project, and it is the reason I chose to undertake interviews with ROAR as the first step of building my research design, to ensure the experience of those whose lives are impacted by the problem would lead my line of inquiry, before expanding my interview pool to include other tastemakers in the Scottish literary sector. My own lived experience of the problem also informs my research design, which is in line with this value. I define “those whose lives are impacted by the problem” as the broader literary community in Scotland, specifically working with ROAR as the group whose call for change led to this project.

3.2.2 Working with ROAR

For the purpose of this project, and in line with the views of ROAR, I also consider the wider literary community in Scotland, and gender equality activists in Scotland and further afield, as related stakeholders. Further stakeholders include the institutions where I am based (University of Stirling, University of Glasgow, Scottish Book Trust (SBT)), as well as my funders (Arts and Humanities Research Council and Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities).

Salinas Mulder and Amariles (2014) suggest mapping “stakeholders’ roles, interests, and relationships, including [one’s] own [...] in order to better understand the data” (Salinas Mulder and Amariles 2014, 231– 243, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 192), which they describe as a key step towards attaining true participation. I undertake this mapping in the following diagrams and descriptions.

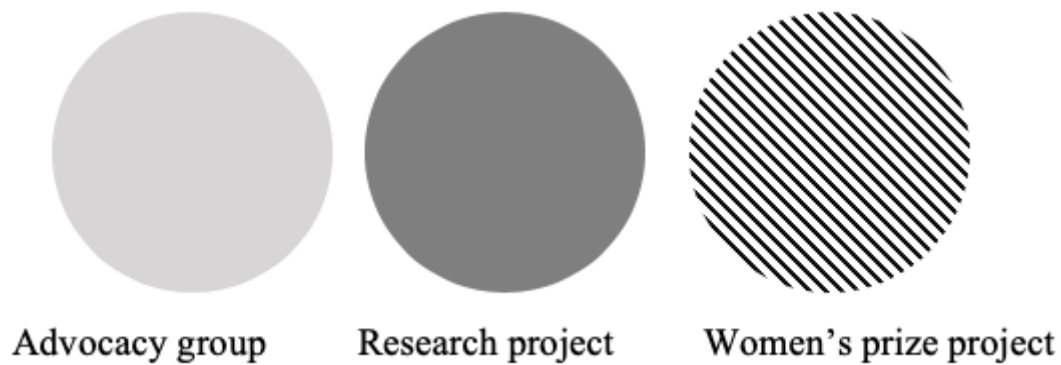


Figure 1 Components of the collaboration model

When I first began this project, I saw it as three entirely overlapping circles in a Venn diagram (as shown in Figure 2). The research project and the women's prize project were one and the same; my research would steer the direction of the advocacy group (ROAR), and I would project-manage the collection of evidence for and eventual set-up of a new prize. This echoes the funding application for this research project, intending the doctoral researcher to “develop, implement and evaluate a programme of activities and advocacy around women writers and women's writing in Scotland [...]” (Squires et al., 2017: 4).

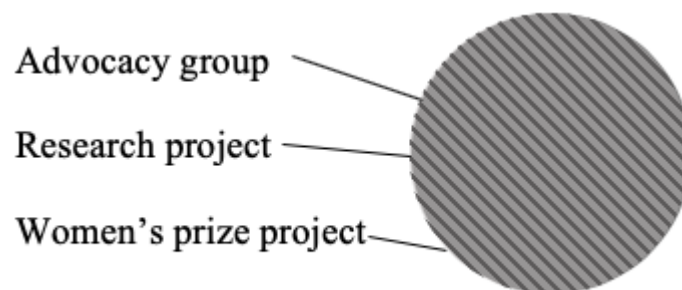


Figure 2 Collaboration model I

As the project developed, I began to perceive my research as part of a larger project within the advocacy group, which was shifting its focus into broader advocacy (partially outsourcing the evidence creation and investigation of gender inequality to me as the researcher). I also began perceiving the prize as only a portion of my project.

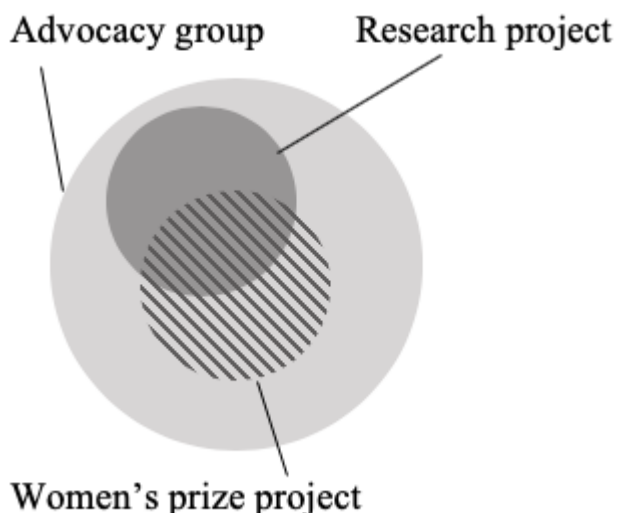


Figure 3 Collaboration model II

Figure 3 shows one project sitting within another project, implying the broadening scope of both the group and the research project. The advocacy group defines the potential new prize loosely as one or several prizes but has not yet narrowed down what genre the prize would be for. This and all other elements of the prize await advice based on the finished research project. Advocacy group meetings form part of the research process, yet there are many moments where the conversation is brought back to awaiting results of the research, which situates the group *outside* that process; that is to say, in these moments the research project is seen as a separate process from ROAR. The process is also temporally and casually delineated, as the research provides data with which ROAR can later take their work forward.

My involvement signalled a key shift in the focus of the advocacy group. Interviewees described this development of the group's aims: 'it just kind of got going from [the call for a women's prize] and it's now developed into something which is much more ambitious in a way, more broadly based' (Calder 2018) and as 'moving away from this just being about a women's prize it's now [...] a group of activists' (Armstrong 2018). The prize project's instigator Moir said: 'it's been really slow to get going and that's great, it's been very consultative, and it's great that you're involved too, but we need to ... firm things up a bit' (Moir 2018). These quotes indicate the change and broadening in ROAR's focus resulting from the development of the research project. However, there is also an indication that the scope and length of the

investigation through the research project has slowed down the *firming up* of what the prize is intended to do, or whether there should be a prize at all.

In the final year of the project, I came to understand the project as existing alongside and partially overlapping with the advocacy group, with the prize existing in the overlapping area of the two circles, but also in an invisible space outside the circles – my research, and indeed the work of the advocacy group, were not the only factors or groups that could potentially lead to the creation of a new prize. As a ‘speculative archivist’ I also recorded activities of the advocacy group in which I was not actively involved; the scope of the advocacy group’s activities therefore goes beyond the scope of my doctoral research project. The term ‘speculative archivist’ refers to my sense of being involved with and impacting a literary prize formation process which has the potential of becoming a subject in an archive in the future. It represents the temporal dimension of the overlap of the advocacy group, the prize project, and the research project, which is not represented in the Venn diagram. As a speculative archivist, I hold an additional responsibility for curating and protecting ephemeral artifacts for an uncertain future point of remembering or reflecting.¹²

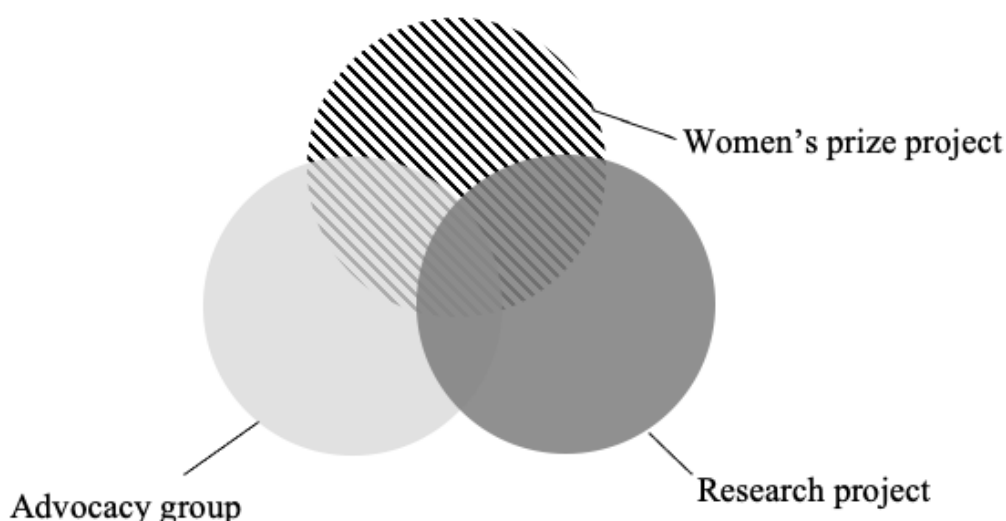


Figure 4 Collaboration model III

ROAR already existed when I joined, and its aim is not solely to advise on my project or be part of my research. It therefore does not work exactly like the Community Advisory Boards suggested by literature on CBPR (Israel, Eng, Schultz, & Parker

¹² I explore this term in my article published in 2019, ‘Speculative Archiving of a Potential Future Literary Award: Embedded Publishing Studies Research’. *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change* 4 (2): 11. <https://doi.org/10.20897/jcasc/6355>.

2005; Letiecq & Schmalzbauer 2012, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 161), which are described as “established” by the researcher or research team for the purpose of advising on the project.

I hold my state of insider and outsider simultaneously, and experience them as related, linked, and oppositional (more on my insider-outsider status in 3.1.5). In this, my work as an insider-outsider researcher functions similarly to the work of Driscoll and Squires: “insiderness and outsiderness are integral dynamics of contemporary book cultures [...] in autoethnographic research there is a need to move between these states while keeping both in mind” (Driscoll and Squires 2020b, para. 16).

I employ relational ethics as my relationship to ROAR, and ROAR’s relationship to me, changes. Carolyn Ellis defines relational ethics as follows:

Relational ethics recognizes and values mutual respect, dignity, and connectedness between the researcher and research, and between researchers and the communities in which they live and work. . . Act from our hearts and minds, to acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others. (2007, p. 4) (quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 113)

Members of ROAR disclose personal and sensitive information to each other while discussing issues of discrimination; some of the research participants are my friends, acquaintances, or work colleagues. It is difficult to know where the project begins and ends as it is so closely tied to my work in the literary sector. As shown above, I perceive a distinct overlap between my project and other activities. I also further feel an overlap of my awareness of issues of gender equality from my personal perspective as a literary industry professional, and an awareness through my research.

Relational ethics require cultivating an awareness of this overlap, and being actively cognisant of power dynamics and relational threads between research participants and the researcher. The praxis of reflexivity is a helpful tool for this awareness. Hesse-Biber writes on this:

As a feminist interviewer, I am aware of the nature of my relationship to those whom I interview, careful to understand my particular personal and research standpoints and what role I play in the interview process in terms of my power and authority over the interview situation. (Hesse-Biber 2007, 113f)

It is this awareness of my own ‘particular personal and research standpoints’ which I employ to assert where the power in a particular research situation lies. For example, with interview participants whom I know very well in my personal life, I take care to clarify that I do not want my research participants to disclose too much, where that disclosure is based on our close personal relationship. This is in line with Barton’s understanding of insider-research as likely to lead to over-disclosure. “My

Auto/Ethnographic Dilemma: Who Owns the Story?" (2011) contains reflections on Barton's experience of researching gay lives in the Bible Belt and her positioning as an insider in the community she was investigating. Barton writes, on being a feminist researcher: "the ease with which I, like other feminist researchers, can establish rapport with subjects can also potentially exacerbate a subject's experience of betrayal and deception should the published work reveal secrets" (Barton 2011, 432). Through her positioning, Barton gained access to information and rapport that would not have been available in the same way to a straight researcher.

While I seek rapport and trust in the interview situation, I also want to ensure the context of this project as *research* is in view, lest participants become overly comfortable and disclose what they may later wish they had not disclosed. This is particularly important as several interview participants gave permission to attribute their quotes to them by name, making their contributions immediately identifiable.

Continuing the reflexivity and awareness of my positioning that I feel is required by feminist scholarship, I want to take this opportunity to reflect on my embeddedness with ROAR. I joined the group ROAR when I began my PhD project, and soon became a de-facto administrator for the group, organising meetings and venues, taking minutes, and presenting work. Producing my quantitative data and sharing it with the group became a regular part of my updates at the meetings of the group. I was actively involved in discussions around approaching new members for the group and deciding the name of the group. I also edited the group's website and wrote and disseminated its first press release in July 2019.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the group met every four to six months, either in Glasgow or in Edinburgh, where most of the group's members are based. Due to the restrictions on meeting in person, and the changes caused by COVID-19 to advisory group members' personal and working lives, meetings were delayed and took place annually, rather than every four to six months (the group met once in May 2020 and in September 2021). This meant that feedback, planning and action-taking sessions were delayed and could not feed into my research as planned. ROAR's purpose and goals have also shifted through the drastically altered funding landscape during the pandemic, as the sector's responsibilities and priorities changed to meet the needs of its workers during widespread uncertainty, loss, and unemployment. Working with the group allows me to immediately take my findings to part of the affected demographic, while being conscious that members of ROAR are also in

tastemaking positions. Working with the group has also enabled me to present my work at other industry meetings and conferences via the group's networks. My emerging work therefore has the potential to be consecrated through its association with the group members. Rather than being an early career researcher who has yet to establish themselves as credible, I sometimes feel like an inhouse researcher for the group, whose members already hold significant cultural capital.

My feelings about my work with ROAR are complicated. I feel a deep sense of responsibility which also makes me fear disappointing them. My reporting to ROAR has at times been emotionally difficult. This is because I have often seen my reporting to them as being commissioned to undertake a piece of work and receiving feedback, and finding out I had misinterpreted the brief and failed to deliver. However, to mitigate my negative emotional reaction, it has been helpful to remind myself that the PhD is not a consultancy job that I was hired for, but instead a learning process.

I have impacted the direction of ROAR to a degree, while holding consciousness of power sharing and collective action. An example of this was a meeting in mid-2019, where one of the members asked me for my input, referring directly to my research experiences and asking me to suggest possible interventions to address gender inequality in the sector. The question she posed was one of the central questions of my research project. I did not have a clear answer.

3.2.3 Distanced and collaborative

While this project uses the orientation of CBPR, part of my work is undertaken using data accessed remotely, such as printed programmes of literary festivals and digital records of newspaper articles. This means that the mixing of methods and approaches is not only a mixing of post-positivist empiricist feminism and postmodern feminism (as noted in 3.1), but also a mixing of distanced and collaborative relationship between researcher and the researched.

Leavy and Harris describe a "continuum of researcher participant level and depth of interaction" (2018, 129), ranging from 'low interaction/distanced relationship' to 'high interaction/collaborative relationship' (Leavy and Harris 2018, 6.1). However, in my case it is true to say that my researcher participant level is very high, yet my methods still move along this continuum of distance and collaboration, as is explored further in 3.3.

3.2.4 Avoiding methodological appropriation

This thesis mixes methodological traditions grounded in various epistemological approaches. As noted in 3.1.2, Valerie R. Anderson (2016) explores that mixing methods is inherently difficult, as quantitative and qualitative research methods are grounded in distinct and different paradigms: “quantitative research methods are born out of a positivistic/postpositivistic paradigm, whereas qualitative research methods belong to an interpretivist or constructivist paradigm” (V. R. Anderson 2016, 233). However, despite this difficulty, “mixed methods can provide a more nuanced understanding of research questions than a single method can accomplish on its own (Molina Azorin & Cameron, 2010)” (V. R. Anderson 2016, 234).

It is vital that the project’s methodology has a single grounding principle at its core to avoid methodological appropriation. Anderson cites Wiggins (2011) as noting that

methodological appropriation often occurs, deliberately and unintentionally, via blending the two methods within a single worldview. For example, methodological appropriation occurs in a postpositivistic paradigm where researchers transform qualitative data into numbers for statistical analysis or only use qualitative methods to lay the groundwork for a quantitative study. (Wiggins (2011) quoted in Anderson 2016, 235)

To avoid this, the quantitative findings in this thesis are explicitly intended to serve as a tool for the community who this research is for/conducted with. Qualitative findings are not used simply to lay the groundwork for a quantitative study, but are woven throughout the analysis of data, with the lived experience of inequality as a touchstone.

Part of my quantitative method involves the counting of authors and their gender. Although the conceptual grounding of this project rejects essentialism and focuses – in line with postmodern feminism – on subjectivity rather than identity, this counting of gender in categories is possible through what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak terms “strategic or operational essentialism” (Leavy and Harris 2018, 69), by ‘counting gender’ to uncover gender inequality in Scottish literary production. Strategic essentialism “recognizes that the way gender continues to function socially and culturally is often essentialized and so must be fought at times along essentializing lines” (Leavy and Harris 2018, 69). This is an additional conceptual contradiction, which works productively to achieve transformative aims.

To summarise the broader conceptual framework that underpins my methodological approach, the epistemological and ontological grounding of this project lies in postmodern feminist theory and the transformative paradigm, leading me to adopt a CBPR practice, as discussed in 3.2.1. In my version of CBPR, I use an approach that is at once distanced and embedded through its relationship with stakeholders. My existing embeddedness in the field, and the resulting strong subjective perspective, is a further key characteristic of the research design.

3.3 Methods

Using the conceptual framework laid out in 3.1 and 3.2, part 3.3 of this chapter explains how I combine qualitative and quantitative methods. It details which methods I use, how I apply them, and how I analyse findings. This project uses quantitative content analysis of printed text (3.3.2) and semi-structured interviews (3.3.3) which are analysed using qualitative content analysis (3.3.4). The chapter finishes by highlighting limitations and issues arising from using these methods (3.3.6).

3.3.1 Qualitative and quantitative methods

Anderson explains Morse's typology (Morse 1991, in Anderson 2016, 235), which can be used to express the way mixed methods are integrated with each other. According to Morse's system, a method complementary to a dominant method would be expressed using lowercase letters (with the dominant method expressed in all capital letters). Expressing the integration of my methods in Morse's typology, I am using a QUAL+QUANT approach. This means I collect and analyse qualitative and quantitative data equivalently and simultaneously (Morse 1991, quoted in Anderson 2016, 235).

My application of these methods is simultaneous; I collected and analysed primary data – qualitative and quantitative – during each of the years of my doctoral research project, and switched modes from interviewing, transcribing, analysing, to statistical data collection and analysis throughout. This allows for the meaning-making processes to mingle through achieving immersion in the data (cf. part 3.3.4 of this chapter on conventional qualitative content analysis).

This mixing of methods is in line with the transformative paradigm, as described by Cram and Mertens:

[Mixed] methods will often approach a research question from different angles, and their integration will allow for both consistencies and contradictions to exist within the knowledge accumulated. This is important, as no marginalized, colonized, or vulnerable group is homogenous. (Cram and Mertens 2015, 106)

The postmodern feminist approach of privileging experience and subjectivity over identity (cf. (Leavy and Harris 2018, 62)) chimes with the transformative mixed methods aim of “allow[ing] for consistencies and contradiction [...] within the knowledge accumulated” (Cram and Mertens 2015, 106). Mixing methods in this way also mirrors the tensions raised by using postpositivist empiricist methods in a project grounded in transformation and feminism; I am valuing lived experience as data while also engaging in strategic essentialism – in this way I am ‘proving’ something in numbers which also exists in experience, to provide tools to those affected by the issues. This mixing of methods embodies the role of the transformative paradigm as situated between postpositivism and constructivism (cf. Cram and Mertens 2015, 97).

3.3.2 Quantitative content analysis

The quantitative method used is descriptive statistical content analysis using printed text through remote digital access. Content analysis is defined as “a method for studying cultural materials” (Leavy and Harris 2018, 171) which are “created by human beings” (Reinharz and Kulick 2007, 258, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 171), “exist independent of the research and are thus naturalistic” (Reinharz 1992, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 171) and are non-living and thus noninteractive (Reinharz 1992, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 171).

I analysed lists of books published per calendar year by Scottish publishers and imprints, reviews published in Scottish national newspapers, authors platformed at Scottish literary festivals, and authors shortlisted for and winning Scottish literary awards. This data is presented by calendar year, from 2017-2019 (and 1919-2021 in the case of the literary awards). It was analysed primarily for gender of the author, counted in three gender categories, but information on other variables was also collected where available.

I counted books published in Scotland from 2017-2019, and categorised findings by year and broad genre classification, focusing on the proportions of men, women, and non-binary authors published. For genre, I used product classes specified by Nielsen BookScan, and made the decision to include all books published in the

following categories: F for Adult Fiction, T for Adult Non-Fiction: Trade, Y1 for Pre-School & Picture Books, Y2 for Children's & Young Adult Fiction, Y4.0 for Children's General Non-Fiction, Y4.1 for Children's General Interest & Leisure, Y4.4 for Young Adult General Interest & Leisure. This ensures the data collection is focused on trade books.

After running a Nielsen BookScan query to find books published by Publishing Scotland members between 1 Jan 2017 and 31 Dec 2019, I removed all genres not within the scope of my study. I further removed books published by academic presses or educational books which had erroneously been logged by Nielsen as Trade Non-Fiction titles (such as books published by Bright Red Publishing and Edinburgh University Press). I also removed 46 titles which had no author listed, or listed the publisher as the author, and for which I could find no additional author information online. Following this, I added gender data to the authors listed, which I found using publicly available information (for more information on my gender data method, as detailed in section 3.3.2.1). Where a book had more than one author or editor, I counted that book multiple times: e.g., *She Said He Said I Said: New Writing Scotland 35* edited by Diana Hendry and Susie Maguire published in 2017 by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, was counted twice for both female authors, rather than counting once as a female-authored book. Although the authors of an anthology or an edited collection make up its content, it is the editors whose names are printed on the cover of the book, included in online databases, and arguably who gain more prestige from editing a book than being included in it. This method therefore does not produce an accurate representation of a book's inclusion of writers of various genders. However, I chose not to count each book as 'authored' by its contributors, i.e., if it had 20 contributors, to count it 20 times as a male- or female- or non-binary-authored book, because the contributors only make up a small portion of the book, and are not universally present in the book's epitext, so may not be visible to readers in bookshops or libraries, etc.

Many of Scotland's most prominent and most successful authors are not published by these Scotland-based publishers and are therefore not recorded as part of this data set or this study. Internationally successful Scottish authors such as Ali Smith, Ian Rankin and Jackie Kay are not recorded in the category of Scottish publishing, or their oeuvre is not wholly recorded, as their primary publisher has not been based in Scotland. This is not unusual or new: *A Review of Publishing* report

from 2004 lists as one of the characteristics of the sector, “proximity to London, one of the world’s major publishing centres, leading to a ‘drain’ of successful authors” (Sinclair, McCleery, and Graham 2004, 9). Ramdarshan Bold also explores this: “[...] the proximity of London to Scotland has proved to be a bit of hindrance because successful Scottish authors are often lured to London publishers as a result of better marketing deals and larger advances, and consequently many of Scotland’s most successful authors were published outside Scotland” (Ramdarshan Bold 2012, 347). Ramdarshan Bold further points out that “[t]his is not solely a contemporary issue: Scottish authors have been leaving to be published in London since the decline of the Scottish publishing industry in the nineteenth century” (Ramdarshan Bold 2012, n. 4).

For reviewing, this study examines book reviews in two national Scottish newspapers, *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*. The study records the title of the book, the name/s of the author/s, and the name/s of the reviewer/s, as well as the name of the publisher and whether the review was a short paperback review or a feature review (where those categories existed within the newspaper).

I examined three festivals in depth: the Edinburgh International Book Festival (EIBF, founded in 1983), Aye Write (Glasgow, founded in 2005), and Bloody Scotland (Stirling, founded in 2012). I chose these three festivals because I wanted to understand whether gender differences in how authors were programmed would be different in a large, medium-sized, or genre-focused context. Using the printed programmes of these festivals or PDFs thereof, I recorded the name of the author, the time and date and weekday of the event, the venue, the price point of the ticket, and how many speakers there were in total for each event. I also recorded the type of event, as some festivals had themed strands of programming. I also recorded, where available, the name of the event chair.

For literary prizes, I closely followed the work of Dane (Dane 2018; 2020b) and Marsden (Marsden 2016b) and their method of collecting and recording information about shortlisted and winning authors. I examined thirteen selected prizes (see full list in Figure 5 below). The prizes selected include two genre prizes (historical fiction, crime fiction), some recently set-up prizes (as late as 2015) and the UK’s oldest prizes (James Tait Black Prizes (JTBP) for Fiction and for Biography, founded in 1919). The prizes also have a range of prize purses, ranging from Scotland’s wealthiest prize at £25,000 (Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction) to prizes with a comparatively small prize purse (McIlvanney Prize, £1,000). Similar to my reasoning for selecting festivals,

I chose these prizes to give a broad overview of gender issues and prestige in various contexts. While the quantitative data from publishing, reviewing and literary festivals span the years 2017-2019, my data from prizes are more longitudinal, spanning 1919-2021.

Further to counting genders of authors published, reviewed, platformed at book festivals and shortlisted/winning literary awards, I also compared the proportions of shortlisted women, men and non-binary authors to the proportions of winners, and authors platformed at all book festival events to authors platformed at solo events, following Dane (2020b) and Marsden (Marsden 2019), which is explained in more detail in 5.4 and 5.5. This proportional comparison allows the reframing of awards and book festivals as sites of symbolic violence (cf. 2.2). I also counted instances where authors were reviewed, published, platformed and/or shortlisted or winning more than once. This follows Dane's work, which found significance in the repeated valorisation of an author's work. "Analysis of prescribed text lists, book reviews and literary festivals has revealed that the power – and economic viability – of an author in the field is not only related to an author's interaction with agents of consecration, but also their *repeated* and ongoing selection and engagement" (Dane 2018, 203).

My use of this counting method has clear limitations. As noted above, this study counts information about selected prizes, festivals, reviews and publishers, and leaves aside the rest of the agents in the Scottish literary landscape. The study also does not count literary journals such as *New Writing Scotland*; prizes and bursaries for individual writers; or live literature events outside of literary festivals, nor does it quantify responses to writing beyond printed reviews in *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*. All of these could be an extremely fruitful area for further investigation. A list of elements counted in this quantitative study can be found summarised in Figure 5.

	What is counted?	Counting gender of	Additionally counted elements
Publishing	404 Ink, Acair, Ailsapress, Association for Scottish Literary Studies (ASLS), BHP Comics, Black Wolf, Barrington Stoke, Black and White Publishing, Blue Fox, Brown & Whittaker, Brown, Son & Ferguson, Charco Press, Clan Books, Bright Red Publishing, Canongate, Cranachan, Curly Tale, Dalen, Dionysia,	Authors, illustrators	Title of book, genre of book

	Dunedin Academic Press, DC Thomson Media, Fiction & Feeling, Fledgling, Forestry Commission, Frontline Noir, Glasgow Museums Publications, Hallexwell Publications, Floris Books, Handsel, Handspring, Historic Environment Scotland, Kate Davies Designs, Kessock Books, Kitchen Press, Leckie & Leckie, Hodder Gibson, Edinburgh University Press, National Galleries of Scotland, Little Door Books, Luath Press, Luna Press, Monstrous Regiment, Moonlight, Muddy Pearl, Neil Wilson, National Museums Scotland, Polaris, Quality Chess, Ringwood, Royal Botanic Gardens Edinburgh, Sainted Media, Saltire Society, Scotland Street, Scottish Book Trust, Scottish Text Society, Serafina Press, Sandstone, Saraband, Society of Antiquaries, Sparsile Books, Squaw Pies, Stewed Rhubarb, Strident, Swan & Horn, Thunderpoint, Tippermuir, Vagabond Voices, Wee Book Company, Whittles Publishing, Wild Goose, Whiterby, Zertex, Waverley Books. I also counted books published by Birlinn, a Scottish publisher who is not a member of Publishing Scotland.		
Reviewing	The Herald, The Scotsman	Authors reviewed, reviewers	Title of book, publisher
Literary festivals	Edinburgh International Book Festival, Aye Write, Bloody Scotland	Authors	Date, weekday, time of event, event venue, event type (where available), number of speakers, chairperson (where event available)
Literary prizes	James Tait Black Prizes (3x prizes) Saltire Society Literary Awards (7x prizes), Walter Scott Prize for Historical	Longlisted, shortlisted, winning authors	Title of book, prize purse

	Fiction, McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year		
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Figure 5 Details on elements counted in quantitative study

3.3.2.1 On counting gender

To count the genders of authors appearing in the datasets gained through the method explored in 3.3.2, I used publicly available information about authors: this means I used author bios as they appeared on publisher websites, author websites, in festival programmes, and as authors were described on by review outlets and by prizes. I prioritised self-identification of authors for recording their gender: for example, where an author might write “as a man, it was difficult for me to...”, “I was the first woman to win this prize”, or where they listed membership of, for example, a non-binary authors’ writing circle. Where this information was not available directly from the author, I used similar descriptions available from reviewers, publishers or programmers (e.g., through programming as part of a “female perspectives in genre fiction” panel). Where this information was not available from authors or other sources, I relied on pronouns to determine gender. This means that, unless I had other information available, where an author was described using the pronoun “he”, I recorded him as a man; where an author was described using the pronoun “she”, I recorded her as a woman; and where an author was described using other pronouns (such as “they”, “ze” etc) I recorded them as non-binary. There are several practical and theoretical issues arising from this method, and from the idea of ‘counting gender’ in general, which I explore in this sub-section.

My method of counting authors and their gender using three broad categories (male, female, non-binary) employs Spivak’s ‘strategic essentialism’ (cf. 3.2.4) and often relies, as stated, on recognising gender through gendered pronouns. I did not count gender based on the perceived gender of their first name, as this perception varies by context of culture, ethnicity, and often externally imposes a binary. Using a person’s pronouns as the basis of recording their gender is an improvement as it allows for agency and moves to self-identification, however it is not a perfect system. Recording all authors who do not use he/him or she/her in a broad non-binary author category simplifies and equivocates a broad spectrum of genders that cannot be simplified or equivocated. This system foregrounds binary genders and effectively

creates a section of ‘other genders’, (or, more accurately, ‘other pronouns’). Furthermore, many non-binary authors use gendered pronouns (she/her and he/him) in addition to or instead of other pronouns (they/them, ze/hir, and others). The method therefore runs the risk of misgendering authors as binary when they are in fact non-binary. I use the term ‘non-binary’ as an umbrella term to mean people who are “both male and female, neither male nor female, in between genders, on a continuum, or outside the binary gender system altogether” (Simmons and White 2014, 13), and I use this term to encompass varied and distinctive identities such as genderqueer, pangender, genderfluid, agender, and the Native American term Two-Spirit. Where referring to a specific author, I will use their specific gender (e.g., “the author who won this award is agender”); however, when referring to multiple authors of varying non-binary and/or gender non-conforming identities I will use the term ‘non-binary’ (e.g., “four non-binary authors spoke at this book festival”).

This method allows for a seamless folding-in of trans women and cis women into the same statistic. As my method does not record whether a person is trans or not, it records trans women as women and therefore exposes gender bias based on sexism, which trans women experience. However, it does not contain tools for exposing transphobia. As this method similarly folds trans men into the same category as cis men, it fails to expose how trans men experience transphobia.

In addition to recording gender based on pronouns, the method always prefers self-identification by the author. Therefore, if an author uses she/her pronouns and has stated that she is non-binary, the method records her as non-binary.

In *Queer Data*, Kevin Guyan writes about issues with distanced data collection:

External-identification approaches encounter problems when there is a mismatch between how an individual self-identifies and how they are perceived by an external ‘expert’. Individuals are often mismatched when they do not ‘pass’, and are therefore perceived in ways that differ from how they identify, or do not wish to ‘pass’ but subvert normative assumptions about gender, sex or sexuality. In these examples, the classification of people’s identity characteristics (by ‘experts’ who may never meet the person in question) denies individuals the opportunity to identify in ways that authentically reflect how they wish to live their lives. (Guyan 2022, 137–38)

Recording gender from public sources presupposes that a person feels comfortable with this information being public, especially where a source has been directly written by this person (e.g. author website, social media profile), or by an agent who is acting on their behalf or working closely with them (e.g. author biography on publisher

website, author interview); in this way, my method of perceiving somebody's gender is as close as it can be to their authentic expression without speaking to them.

Most data points in this study, however, have been created with reliance on pronouns alone, without explicit self-identification (i.e., without an author stating their gender explicitly), as cis people have less of a social imperative to declare their gender. In a cisnormative society, it is expected that one is cis until proven otherwise (socially prescribing 'coming out' as trans rather than 'coming out' as cis). Again, this means that this method centres hegemonic (cisgender) identities and marginalises other identities. The phenomenon of lack of identification with identity categories of people whose identity aligns with the societal 'imagined neutral'/hegemonic norm is explored, for example, in Kath Browne's chapter on the Census for England and Wales, where Browne describes that in the second trial to create a sexual identity question, the category 'heterosexual' was changed to 'heterosexual/straight', which reduced the responses in the category 'prefer not to say'. Browne notes that "it is perhaps unsurprising that heterosexuals failed to recognise themselves on classifications of sexual identities" (Browne 2010, 242). As in the description above about the social prescription of 'coming out' as 'other', in Browne's example, heterosexuals failed to recognise themselves in a list of sexual identities as their sexual identity is hegemonically naturalised.

The recognition that a person's gender is complex also affects my decision against using non-public information from private conversations or private social media feeds. The danger of 'outing' someone without their consent must be weighed up against the danger of misgendering them in the data. My data therefore may deliberately misgender an author who may be trans and/or non-binary but has not publicly stated this in relation to their professional profile. While most of my output does not name individual authors, with the relatively small percentage of non-binary authors in my data set it may be possible for readers to guess who they are. My decision is not to record a person's actual gender, but their public gender.

As mentioned in 2.9.2, VIDA conducts an annual count of gender equality in literary reviewing and publishing. In 2018, VIDA wrote the following on the issue of recording 'public' gender:

[...] we survey individuals based on the basic gender information associated with their published story, poem, or essay: author name, pronouns in author bio, and information on author website. In other words, we survey according to a writer's professional gender identity, not their non-professional gender

identity because we tally by using names and pronouns that authors use in their bios. If they are professionally “he/him” and sometimes “she/her” in their personal life, we would not include them because we are only looking at their publication credit/bio/byline” (‘FAQ | VIDA: Women in Literary Arts’ 2018)

While VIDA’s response to the issue of public gender has changed since this statement to include a broader acknowledgement of issues with using pronouns to count gender, and of the range of non-binary gender identities, I chose to follow their basic key argument, which has not changed: VIDA uses publicly available information because the basis of its study is not a person’s actual gender but instead the gender bias in the industry, and I have adopted this stance in my method.

I used gender data which was available at the time of recording (i.e., throughout 2018-2021, the period during which I conducted my data collection and analysis), sometimes adjusting gender data retrospectively where new, updated information had become available (no later than 2021). For example, my own book *Amphibian* (Speculative Books 2018) was shortlisted for the Saltire Society First BotY Award in 2018, and while I had initially recorded my own gender as ‘female’ in my data set, I updated this to ‘non-binary’ when I added information about my gender identity to my website as part of coming out as non-binary to my peers. Of course, this example relies on my own first-hand knowledge of this information about my publicly available gender having changed on my author website; where I was not aware of such an update on another author’s public presence, I may have failed to retrospectively change this information in my data collection. Where an author’s gender in one part of the data set was recorded differently than in another part, I updated all records to the most recently available information.

Butler describes gender as performatively constituted: “In an application that Nietzsche himself would not have anticipated or condoned, we might state as a corollary: There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its result” (Butler 2006, 34). For my counting exercise, this means that gender performance through self-description is what I use to assign a gender to an author, rather than assuming their gender separate from their performance of it. Butler asks: “Is the construction of the category of women as a coherent and stable subject an unwitting regulation and reification of gender relations?” (Butler 2006, 7). Butler suggests that a new feminist politics ought to “take the variable construction of identity as both a methodological and normative prerequisite, if not a political goal” (Butler 2006, 8). It is

precisely this variable construction that requires self-identification as the ‘verification’ for this data collection exercise.

My method, as stated, does not count all trans writers as gender minorities, but instead counts trans men and women as men and women, and people of other genders under a non-binary category umbrella. This method does not enable quantitative discussion of trans authors’ experiences in Scotland. However, there is qualitative indication that it is difficult for trans writers to get ahead in Scottish literature: in early 2021, the writer Harry Josephine Giles writes that she “know[s] of around ten trans people in Scotland who have ever published a book. I know of around five trans people who have a job in Scottish literature, across journalism, academia and literary NGOs. Most of those people are not on permanent contracts. I’m one of only two trans poets I know of who has published a full-length collection with a Scottish press” (Giles 2021b) (more on this subject in 4.1). Although trans writers exist in Scottish literature, they do not appear very frequently in my analysis in the subsequent chapters.

The lack of census information about non-binary writers makes comparisons from my data to the Scottish population difficult. I frequently compare gender distribution in the literary sector with census levels of the Scottish population to show how close, or how far, the Scottish literary sector is to being representative of its national context; however, there is no census data for trans and/or non-binary people. The 2022 census included a question on trans status, and the census confirmed that trans people should reply to the ‘sex’ question with their lived sex (i.e. regardless of information on their birth certificate) (Brown 2022), yet non-binary people were still forced to make a binary choice on the question of their sex before stating that they were non-binary later in the census:

The Census organisers had initially planned to include a third, non-binary, option to the sex question, that would have allowed non-binary people to respond in the same way that trans men and trans women are able to – in a way that reflects how they live their lives. But members of a Scottish Parliament Committee objected, and they returned to only providing ‘Female’ or ‘Male’ as options (Cuthbertson 2022)

It is therefore not possible, at present, to assess whether representation of non-binary writers is proportional to the population of non-binary people in Scotland.

Alongside these practical considerations, limitations and difficulties, there are also theoretical issues with counting gender. Firstly, does counting publicly available gender accurately reflect the gender-based discrimination authors experience?

Serano argues that rather than being produced or propagated by the way an individual performs their gender, social gender lies in perception and interpretation. In *Whipping Girl*, Serano writes that social gender “lies in the perceptions and interpretations of others” which are distorted by “cissexual and heterosexual assumption” (Serano 2016, 193). In other words, the gender an individual is treated as having is not necessarily the gender they are, but the gender assigned to them by others. Therefore, counting ‘publicly available gender’ (rather than actual gender) goes some way towards recording the gender which impacts how a person is treated. In *Queer Data*, Guyan writes about this problematic succinctly as a

tension between ‘being counted’ and ‘being beyond counting’, which exposes the strained relationship between queer theory’s disavowal of categories and the requirements of data to classify, arrange and make judgements based on these results. There is no simple solution to the push and pull that exists between understanding identity characteristics as something disparate and fluid versus something that you can tick on a diversity monitoring form. (Guyan 2022, 23–24)

Secondly, is it even possible to count gender? Understanding gender as a spectrum and as something that is fluid and changing means that the recording of gender in this way *at all* should be called into question. Part of the foundational assumption of this work is identity as a social construct, and experience over identity (as noted in my use of postmodern feminism in 3.1.3). This is broadly in line with queer theory, which, however,

emphasizes the importance of understanding categories more fluidly, an approach that lends itself more toward qualitative methods, which seek to explore social phenomena with an eye toward complexity rather than standardization. (Spencer, Pryce, and Walsh 2020, 134)

What is the purpose of recording and categorising gender in this way? Specifically, what is the purpose of showing a numerical disparity between women, men, and non-binary people, given that not only do these categories not contain absolutes (as they themselves contain multiple genders, multiple ways of gender presentation, and flatten other identity categories which also impact on the ways in which individuals experience sexism), but even if they did they would only serve to show a difference or a sameness of numerical distribution, and not in themselves show any value disparity.

In *Gender Trouble*, Butler writes: “What relations of domination and exclusion are inadvertently sustained when representation becomes the sole focus of politics?” (Butler 2006, 8). Is there a better way of unearthing sexism that does not rely on externally and numerically recording a fixed gender of an author? Is gender

countable/recognisable? Brown and Nash describe this issue in their introduction to *Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research*:

Given how queer approaches undermine the once stable sexual (and gendered) subject now conceived as fluid, blurred and contingent, the prevalence of qualitative methods in queer scholarship is perhaps unsurprising. (Gamson 2003, Plummer 2005). Arguably, it is illogical to ‘count’ subjects once one has argued that a ‘countable subject’ does not exist [...]. This obviously becomes increasingly complicated with more nuanced and non-normative understandings of gender and sexuality, particularly in relation to queer identities (see Browne, this volume). (Browne and Nash 2010, 11–12)

Taking this argument further, Browne argues later in the same volume that “the normative categorisations required of quantitative tools that rely on social norms for their formation and the adherence to such norms for their ‘reliable’ and ‘valid’ completion” are problematic for queer researchers, and queer research (Browne 2010, 248–49). However, Browne concludes that, “[w]here ticking the boxes, and the interpretation of data, contest objectionable and exclusionary social norms, they can also offer anti-normative (and thus in some ways queer) politics and potentials” (Browne 2010, 249). I argue that using self-identification to make visible the existence and participation of non-binary writers in Scottish literature fulfils the purpose of ‘contesting exclusionary social norms’; and that, while uncomfortable and imperfect, the use of this method – of counting the uncountable, fluid, personal, shifting – is justified for the study of gender inequality, and can be one of many tools for researchers and activists to challenge hegemonic sexism.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

As noted in sections 3.1.5 and 3.2.2, one of my qualitative methods is the use of semi-structured interviews. My interviews loosely followed an interview guide, giving the interviewer, as Hesse-Biber explains, a degree of control “in how the interview is constructed and how [the interviewer] would like [their] respondents to respond, but [the interviewer is] still open to asking new questions throughout the interview” (Hesse-Biber 2007, 115f).

I conducted 26 semi-structured interviews ranging from 30-90 min in length. Most of these 26 interviewees were women. I also interviewed six men: a publisher, a reviewer, a researcher, the director of a live events venue, and two book festival directors. I usually met interviewees in their place of work or office space provided by

SBT or University of Glasgow, and, for interviews conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, I met interviewees on Zoom.

During the four interviews which took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, interviewees touched on the pandemic's impact on the literary sector. My work is not specific to sexism in the literary sector during the COVID-19 pandemic; much academic research remains to be done on the division of domestic caring and educational labour, and the pandemic's impact on working conditions and domestic violence, to name just a few subjects where gender inequality has potentially shifted further.

I recorded my interviews on a digital audio recording device and took keyword notes throughout. While following a loose guide as mentioned above, I let the interviews be led by the direction the interviewees chose to take, which meant that I also asked follow-up questions on topics they raised.

When conducting my interviews with women, as noted in 3.1.5 on embeddedness and in 2.6 on feminism, I drew on Oakley's ideas (1981), theorising interviews as replicating a hierarchy. Here, Oakley paraphrases Jean Baker Miller's work (Miller, 1976: 6-8):

Interviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of interviewer-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees. (Oakley 1981, 40)

Feminist interviewers can counteract this power imbalance through creating a non-hierarchical interview setting, Oakley argues:

when a feminist interviews women [...] it becomes clear that, in most cases, finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship (Oakley 1981, 41)

Oakley goes into detail about her reasons for going against the recommended 'textbook' techniques such as avoiding answering questions by the interviewees: Oakley "regarded sociological research as an essential way of giving the subjective situation of women greater visibility not only in sociology, but, more importantly, in society, than it has traditionally had. Interviewing women was, then, a strategy for documenting women's own accounts of their lives" (Oakley 1981, 48). This changes and reframes the role of the researcher and interviewer "from being a data-collecting instrument for researchers to being a data-collecting instruments for those whose lives are being researched" (Oakley 1981, 49).

This hierarchy suggests that the interviewer is a position of relative power, and that a feminist researcher's task and aim is to level out that hierarchy in favour of the interviewee to put them on the same level.

While Oakley speaks to levelling the playing field in favour of the interviewee, my task for levelling the playing field is slightly different. Hesse-Biber puts this into further context: "The researcher [...] has the power to analyze and interpret the respondents' stories in a way that renders them with little or no voice in this process" (Hesse-Biber 2007, 128). Therefore, even if the interviewer's aim is to create a comfortable *situation* of the interview, they still retain the power to take away their findings and interpret them. Even sharing findings with research participants (cf. part 3.3.5 of this chapter) does not allow them the same amount of authority over the way the findings are presented or interpreted as is afforded to the researcher. Hesse-Biber goes on:

Daphne Patai (1991) argues that giving back one's research findings to respondents as a way to address any power imbalances in the researcher-researched relationship may serve only as a 'feel good measure.' In doing so, the researcher may forgo his or her intellectual responsibility of interpretation to gain rapport and approval from the respondent. (Hesse-Biber 2007, 128)

I share my findings with my interviewees, and I am conscious of balancing the impact that managing an ongoing relationship has on my ability to faithfully and rigorously analyse interview data. This consciousness is more fully explored in part 3.2.2. of this chapter, where I go into more detail on the concept of "relational ethics" as defined by Ellis (2007, p. 4) (quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 113).

Puwar's "Reflections on Interviewing Women MPs" (1997) analyses the power relations in her research, which involved interviewing female MPs. This is relevant to my situation because, although my interviewees are not MPs, they are, as tastemakers, in positions of power in the literary ecology I am researching. I find myself being both in a position of power over my interviewees – as the researcher who has the power to interpret and analyse the findings resulting from our interviews – *and* in a position where they assert power over me, because I am a writer at the beginning of their career and may now or in the future come to apply for opportunities, ask for guidance, or rely on positive references from my interviewees to advance in my writing career. Puwar also writes about interviewing elite participants (by "elite participants" I mean people "who are chosen because of who they are or what position they occupy." As Jennifer Hochschild puts it, "the term indicates a person who is chosen by name or

position for a particular reason, rather than randomly or anonymously” (J. Hochschild 2009.):

[...] the collection of field notes within elite studies quite often portray the researcher as having to spend a lot of energy on trying to maintain some control over the interview as the management of the whole interview can become quite slippery and problematic. (Puwar 1997, para. 1.1)

This is different from the rebalancing Hesse-Biber and Oakley describe. Puwar notes this: “Whilst in elite studies many of the research encounters reflect an imbalance of power in favour of the interviewee in most feminist research relations the power asymmetry is usually reversed, with the researcher having much of the control” (Puwar 1997, para. 2.1). Puwar goes on:

Instead of pulling back the research space from the interviewees, the researchers have attempted to give away the maximum level of the space to the interviewee. The interview space has been orientated towards making it an empowering experience for the researched. (Puwar 1997, para. 2.1)

While I strive to make our interviews an empowering experience, and while most of my interviewees are discussing a situation in which they are in a structurally disadvantaged position (due to being women in a patriarchal society), it is also important for me to reflect on what effect the positions of power which my interviewees inhabit may have on the research process.

3.3.4 Qualitative content analysis

I use a combination of conventional and directed content analysis to analyse semi-structured interviews. Qualitative content analysis can be defined as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1278). Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon (2005) describe conventional content analysis as follows:

Researchers [using conventional content analysis] avoid using preconceived categories (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002), instead allowing the categories and names for categories to flow from the data. Researchers immerse themselves in the data to allow new insights to emerge (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002), also described as inductive category development (Mayring, 2000). (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1279)

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) also define a directed approach, which uses existing theory to guide analysis.

The main strength of a directed approach to content analysis is that existing theory can be supported and extended. In addition, as research in an area

grows, a directed approach makes explicit the reality that researchers are unlikely to be working from the naive [sic] perspective that is often viewed as the hallmark of naturalistic designs. (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1283)

I transcribed most of the interviews myself to achieve an additional element of immersion in the data (cf. conventional approach as above); for some interviews I used the software otter.ai to preliminarily transcribe interviews. I then coded the interviews in NVivo using open coding, which involves reading the transcripts and coding from the data using nouns or short phrases to summarise the phenomenon at hand. The question leading my qualitative content analysis was “how does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector”. I repeated this coding process with all interviews, reviewing the codes after each interview and grouping together similar codes to create themes. Following the coding process and emerging themes, although all interviews informed my thinking, not all 26 interviews are quoted in this thesis.

While this coding process closely resembles the process of a conventional approach to content analysis as described above, I would term this a “conventional and directed approach”. Adding the term ‘directed’ highlights my prior knowledge or assumptions about issues from my own lived experience, and my prior reading of secondary literature, which may have impacted the codes I used. This bias is the central issue with directed content analysis, but as described in the introduction to this chapter, my subjectivity as an insider researcher is unavoidable (see also 3.1.2 and 3.1.5). I have a preconceived perspective because I have an expectation to see a sexist industry reflected. This could lead to confirmation bias – seeing in every piece of data a confirmation of what I already believed to be the case. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) lay out the challenges this bias presents:

Using theory has some inherent limitations in that researchers approach the data with an informed but, nonetheless, strong bias. Hence, researchers might be more likely to find evidence that is supportive rather than nonsupportive of a theory. Second, in answering the probe questions, some participants might get cues to answer in a certain way or agree with the questions to please researchers. (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1283)

My subjectivity means I begin my questioning with a presupposition of gender inequality. I am therefore more likely to find evidence that is supportive of this theory. In addition to this, I have found that I am also more likely to assume that gender inequality is the source of a given phenomenon. I mitigate against confirmation bias by making myself aware of what I was expecting to see, and asking myself in my analysis to back up every claim I am making with other scholars’ work or interview data, and to be cautious about attributing causality. However, my lived experience of

'sensing wrongs' is also a source of knowledge (Ahmed 2017, 27), as discussed further in 3.1.2.

3.3.5 Process of analysis

Mixing quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis, this thesis presents lived experience of inequality alongside statistical gender inequality to aid an understanding of the specific nature of gender-based inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. V. R. Anderson (2016) cites "four key questions researchers can ask themselves when designing a mixed method study", as outlined by Palinkas et al (2011), the fourth being: "What is the process? Will data sets be merged together, connected in some type of sequence, or is one data set embedded within another?" (Palinkas et al (2011) quoted in Anderson 2016, 234). As part of exploring how I have mixed these methods, I lay out how the findings are presented in the analysis.

By foregrounding the individual voices and subjectivities of women, this thesis therefore engages in postmodern feminist understanding of knowledge as "subjective, culturally situated and interpersonally constituted" (cf. Gannon & Davies 2012, quoted in Leavy and Harris 2018, 68). This iterative analysis embeds one type of knowledge in another, engaging with a recentring of lived experience and challenging positivism. In my analysis, foregrounding subjectivity means understanding my interview data in the context of the specific position inhabited by the interview subject – my interviewees are not randomly selected participants, but instead they are participants whom I have selected specifically for their experience of tastemaking and/or their involvement with ROAR.

An important part of the process of analysing data and interpreting findings for this study is involving the community I work with, as necessitated by my use of CBPR (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Leavy and Harris describe sharing data with participants, and having participants assist with analysis and interpretation, as some strategies of 'doing' feminist ethics throughout the research process. (Leavy and Harris 2018, 122) By feminist ethics I mean the ethics of feminist research; as feminist research employs reflexivity, power-sharing, and holds a consciousness of research as political and activist; it is engaged. In section 3.2.2, I describe in more detail how I apply Ellis' term 'relational ethics' to my work within a community. Reflexivity, power-sharing etc.

impact how research ethics are understood and practiced (Leavy and Harris 2018, 95–127).

My first exploratory quantitative study of literary output in Scotland in 2017 provides an example of data sharing with the community. I shared my findings with ROAR, who sent me feedback by email. One person pointed out two publishers' imprints I had missed in my data collection; another person asked whether I could collect information on children's events at book festivals and present this alongside the overall festival numbers. I amended my data collection accordingly as a response to this feedback. This chimes with the collaboration principle in CBPR as stated here by Boyd: "Involving community stakeholders in all stages of the research process [...] increases the chances that solutions will be relevant and meaningful to community members" (M. R. Boyd 2020, 748). My aim in sharing my data with ROAR is to find out what feels meaningful to them as my central stakeholders and co-creators of knowledge.

3.3.6 Limitations & issues arising: on counting ethnicity

As I embarked on this study, I recorded ethnicity alongside gender as a binary category, noting whether an author was an Author of Colour or a White Author. To get this information, I used self-identification of the author in their author biography on their website, in interviews, or by their publisher, as ethnicity and racial identity are not objectively observable facts but socially constructed and complex (using the same method I used for counting gender, described in 3.3.2.1). In so doing I followed in the footsteps of Caroline Howarth (2009), who, citing Fuss (1989, 91) advises that researchers need to "work with 'race' as a political concept knowing it is a biological fiction' in the process of designing, analysing and disseminating research on 'race'" (Howarth 2009, 423).

This method relies on an author's disclosure of their ethnic or racial identity, which is more frequently socially 'required' of authors of colour than it is of white authors (due to the violent hegemonic framing of whiteness as an imagined neutral position). Disclosure of ethnicity is not without issue, as Carol A. Adams and Ken J. McPhail (2004) explore in their work on corporate social disclosure in the UK. They write:

If Foucault and Goldberg are correct, and the managerialist reorientation of equal opportunities is related to a broader (re)production and surveillance of racialized minorities, then the fragments of disclosure we discovered, the ethnic monitoring used by companies and discussed in their annual reports, the labels used and the knowledge these programs generated about specific categories of individuals, may reflect, and in some measure contribute towards, the establishment of differences between ethnic minorities and the prevailing culture. (Adams and McPhail 2004, 430)

In other words, the monitoring of individuals' ethnicities may in fact co-constitute differences rather than eradicate them. The two-category approach I had taken also co-constituted an artificial binary centring whiteness and marking any author who was not white as 'other', as it categorised authors into white and not-white authors. I have since decided to remove ethnicity data from my counting dataset, as it became clear to me that I was unable within the time constraints to record this in sufficient detail beyond a binary.

Ethnicity is nevertheless visible in this thesis. The overwhelming majority of my interviewees were white; and I learned that authors who were published by a large Scottish publisher and platformed at the largest book festival and reviewed in the Scottish press and shortlisted for or winning prizes, in other words, authors whose "Scottish prestige" was multiply compounded, were all white, and most of them were men (see findings in 5.6). These assertions are possible to make because they are about individuals for whom there was sufficient biographical information available. I also included some data on ethnicity in 5.5 in about literary prizes, wherever ethnicity information was reliably available for most shortlisted or winning authors.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the methodology used by this research project. The project uses an orientation of postmodern feminist transformative CBPR, with elements of post-positivist empiricist feminism, and combining a distanced and a collaborative relationship between researcher and the researched. It employs quantitative content analysis of text material to produce statistical evidence of gender inequality, and a combination of conventional and directed qualitative content analysis of semi-structured interviews.

The next chapter addresses historical gender inequality in Scottish literature, to prepare the context for my research findings.

Chapter 4: Context: the contemporary Scottish literary sector

My research questions refer to the “Scottish literary sector”, which I have organised into four areas for the purpose of this study: publishing, reviewing, book festivals and prizes. This chapter provides context about these areas, to enable clearer understanding of the following three chapters which present quantitative and qualitative findings on gender equality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. Therefore, this chapter focuses mainly on providing background on the publishers, reviewers, literary festivals and literary prizes which comprise the sample examined quantitatively and qualitatively in the following three chapters. In addition to providing this necessary context, this chapter also introduces the political context within which this thesis has been produced, and describes examples of existing infrastructure to support women and non-binary writers, highlighting existing potential for change.

4.1 Political context on gender equality

Chapters 1 and 2 have introduced scholarly examinations of historical gender inequality in Scottish literature. Scholars such as Norquay and Whyte write about women being historically “written out” of Scottish literature. As noted in the introductory chapter, there appears to have been a shift towards greater equality for women in public life and Scottish culture, not least exemplified by Scotland’s First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, who has been the first woman to hold this post, and whose involvement in cultural life, particularly literary life, is notable: as Hames writes, “[i]t’s hard to recall a leading politician whose personal brand is more strongly invested in bookishness and reading. [...] Sturgeon’s kind of reading represents moral attentiveness and curiosity” (Hames 2022). This sub-section seeks to add to the initial explorations of Scottish literary history and gender inequality therein by reflecting on the political context of the late 2010s regarding gender, to enable discussions of the industry context within which this study takes place.

Is Scotland an equitable place? The early 2010s were characterised by the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, as mentioned in 2.8. In *Scottish Independence: A Feminist Response* (2014), Cat Boyd and Jenny Morrison write in warning about myths of Scotland being “intrinsically more enlightened than elsewhere in Britain” when it comes to gender inequality:

Only a highly selective reading of history suggests a particularly egalitarian Scottish tradition for women. It asks us to forget Scottish women’s conspicuous

absence from key events, even in progressive accounts. The Scottish Enlightenment was even more male than the French, and Scotland never experienced a blossoming of women's debating societies as in France, or a Scottish version of Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*. We *can* uncover the strength and agency displayed by Scottish women in history, but not by denying Scotland's misogynistic legacy. (C. Boyd and Morrison 2014, 12)

Boyd and Morrison here note that "denying Scotland's misogynistic legacy" is not an effective way of bringing about gender equality in the present or future. Instead, it can be concluded from their recommendation that any movement towards greater gender equality ought to actively discuss and reckon with Scotland's misogynistic legacy. Boyd and Morrison continue, adding that "[...] simply adding women does not address the gendered nature of national history. We need to develop a women's identity in Scotland, based not on nationalism but one with an international reach and transformative potential" (C. Boyd and Morrison 2014, 14). This encouragement to not rely on 'adding women' sharpens Boyd and Morrison's suggestions for a truly egalitarian Scotland, one where "women's identity in Scotland" has an "international reach and transformative potential." Scholars cited in section 2.8 have examined Scotland's gendered literature further, bringing this suggestion into its historical context.

Another factor significantly impacting gender equality in the late 2010s is a renewed focus on sexual harassment, following the revelations catalysed through the cultural significance of the #MeToo movement, which has been described in more detail in section 2.9.2.1. As noted in this section, there has not been a specific study on sexual harassment in the Scottish publishing industry; however, *The Bookseller*, the UK trade magazine for the publishing industry, reported that over half of survey respondents reported having been sexually harassed (Bookseller news team 2017).

The late 2010s also saw significant public focus on trans people, animated by two consultations to update the Gender Recognition Act (GRA) to de-pathologise and simplify the transistion process. "The GRA enables transgender people to achieve legal recognition in their acquired gender and change their recorded sex on their birth certificate from male to female or vice versa" (Balogun, Fairbairn, and Pyper 2022). While the GRA is a UK-wide act, "gender recognition is a devolved matter, meaning that legislation in this area may be made by the Scottish government," (Balogun, Fairbairn, and Pyper 2022) who consulted with the public from November 2017 to March 2018; following largely positive feedback from the public and from special

interest groups, the Scottish Government then ran another consultation on a draft bill (“Gender Recognition Reform (Scotland) Bill”), running from December 2019 to March 2020.

Existing transphobia was organised into clearer groups spurred on by these public consultations, as explained by Harry Josephine Giles: “Groups such as Women’s Place UK were founded [...] specifically to oppose” proposed reforms to the GRA (Giles 2021a), consultation for which began in Scotland in 2018 (and in England and Wales, also in 2018, although this legislation is devolved in Scotland). These “early transphobic organisations quickly found powerful allies in far right social movements, American evangelical funding, conservative commentators and party factions, gaining a pace of support which outstripped trans solidarity organising” (Giles 2021a). This rise in transphobia was publicly visible: I remember the early days of my PhD, in 2017 and 2018, when transphobic stickers began appearing on bus stops, lamp posts and pedestrian crossings. I started carrying disposable nail polish remover wipes with me as I knew these would help dissolve the paper and glue in the early transphobic stickers (before the organisers switched to vinyl stickers). Although I came out as non-binary in 2020, I must have had an inkling of this earlier, as the spread and persistence of these stickers made me profoundly anxious and angry even years before.

In the aforementioned pamphlet on feminist views on Scottish independence, Boyd and Morrison highlight that feminists also ought to fight for trans rights: “Even on conservative estimates, there are probably tens of thousands of Scots who don’t fit the gender binary, and we need to include this in our debate on feminism if we are to create an inclusive independence” (C. Boyd and Morrison 2014, 49).

Considering the above, it is not an exaggeration to say that discussions about gender equality in Scottish literature are permeated by transphobia. The UK, and in particularly UK media, is frequently hostile towards trans people (John 2021; De La Cretaz 2021); in 2017, a British trans woman was granted “residency in New Zealand under exceptional humanitarian grounds” as the tribunal found “it would be ‘unduly harsh’ for the woman to be forced to return to the UK” where she had suffered years of harassment and persecution (Roy 2017).

This climate of transphobia has profound effects on Scotland’s trans writers. The writer Harry Josephine Giles has detailed her experiences of receiving abuse:

When a woman with a position in Scottish public life says anything nice about my work in public, I don't think "Aw, thanks!" — I think "Oh, shit." I have learned to dread what's coming. It is now impossible for her to talk about my work without both her and me being attacked. It doesn't matter whether or not the work has anything to do with trans life, or with feminism. Just my name is enough to attract abuse. I cannot write anything without attracting abuse. They will not let me just write. That is the reality I live in now. (Giles 2021b)

She adds that "[n]o-one in a position of authority at a Scottish literature organisation has ever offered to help" despite her openness about the abuse she has received and its effects: "I have been open and public about the abuse I've received and what it has done to my life, my livelihood, my safety, and my mental health" (Giles 2021b). Giles' experiences illustrate the severe negative impact of wider cultural transphobia on individual trans writers' ability to write, live, make a living, be safe and well.

The 2010s were characterised by many and varied discussions of gender inequality in Scotland. I have touched briefly, as space has allowed, on the Scottish independence referendum and critique of oft-cited views of Scotland being an inherently more equitable place; on #MeToo; and on transphobia in Scotland.

4.2 Existing initiatives

Following the above overview of the political context for gender equality in Scotland in the late 2010s, this section briefly introduces some of the existing initiatives and interventions in the Scottish literary sector, focusing specifically on those which take gender inequality as their principal issue. Women and gender minorities including non-binary people are also supported by organisations based on other intersecting identities, for example writing workshops at LGBT Youth Scotland, Readers of Colour (based at Glasgow Women's Library (GWL)), Scottish BPOC Writers Network, and more: Silke Stroh describes initiatives supporting authors of colour in Scotland in the first two decades of the 21st century, including membership bodies such as Scottish BPOC Writers Network, special issues of literary magazines dedicated to authors of colour (e.g. *Gutter* (no. 21, February 2020), *Dark Horse* (no. 43, summer 2021)), festivals (Fringe of Colour), and literary anthologies focusing on writers of colour in Scotland (e.g. *Wish I Was Here: A Scottish Multicultural Anthology* (2000, eds. Kevin MacNeil and Alec Finlay), *Out of Bounds: British Black & Asian Poets* (2012, eds. Jackie Kay, James Procter and Gemma Robinson), *Thali Katori: An Anthology of Scottish & South Asian Poetry* (2017, eds. Bashabi Fraser and Alan Riach), *Ceremony* (2019, ed. Alycia Pirmohamed)) (Stroh 2022, 108–11).

Scotland has many organisations which are already addressing gender-based discrimination in the literary sector. This is the context within which this thesis works; it is also the context for the work of the advocacy group ROAR, whom I work with as part of my CBPR orientation (more on my work with ROAR and my position as an embedded researcher can be found in 3.1.5 and 3.2.2). There are various points at which interventions are made to support women writers: specific targeted publishing of feminist works or works related to women's place in society (404 Ink's *Nasty Women* anthology (2017), Sara Sheridan's *Where are the women? A Guide to an imagined Scotland* (Historic Environment Scotland, 2019)), awards for excellence ringfenced for women (Bold Types, poetry and prose competition run by GWL; Saltire Society Outstanding Women of Scotland community), event programming (e.g. IWD event run by Scottish PEN's Women Writers Committee, Open the Door festival run by Glasgow Women's Library), and gender consciousness in commercial business practices (e.g. bookshelf curation through booksellers).

There are also several symbolic interventions, such as the image of Scottish writer Nan Shepherd on the Royal Bank of Scotland £5 note (Flood 2016), and the visibility of women in appointments to Scots Makar. The Scots Makar – the national poet of Scotland – is a role which is intended to “advance the use of poetry in the lives of the people of Scotland”, created by the Scottish Government and Creative Scotland in 2004 ('The Story of the Makar - National Poet of Scotland' 2016). Since then, this position has been held by one man (Edwin Morgan, 2004-2010) and three women (Liz Lochhead (2011-2016), Jackie Kay (2016-2021) and Kathleen Jamie (2021-present)).¹³ These public interventions at state level (Makar) and from a Scottish bank (Nan Shepherd banknote) make women writers visible, and bring their work into the public sphere (visibility in “the lives of the people of Scotland” in the Makar's role; circulation through bank note), with the potential to impact public perception of Scottish writing. Section 6.3.1 further discusses perceptions of Scottish writing through interview data and scholarly references.

This section introduces five projects and initiatives: Bold Types (run by GWL), Outstanding Women of Scotland (run by Saltire Society), the Women Writers Committee's work (Scottish PEN), programming Open the Door festival (GWL), and

¹³ The tenure for the Makar has previously been a lifetime appointment, changed to a five-year tenure in 2011 ('The Story of the Makar - National Poet of Scotland' 2016) and to three years in 2021 (*BBC News* 2021).

active gender-balance conscious bookshelf curation (Lighthouse Bookshop). The interventions listed here are not intended to be fully representative of the interventions happening in Scotland in the late 2010s; instead, they were selected and are introduced here to provide the background of interventions which interviewees, who are in the position of cultural intermediaries in the Scottish literary sector, spoke of in our conversations. These interventions are particularly interesting as they show the context of interventions for the areas of this project's central quantitative and qualitative investigation, i.e., publishing, festivals, reviews and prizes. They show examples of existing counterprogramming.

Firstly, GWL run a writing competition for short stories called Bold Types. According to the GWL website, "This competition is open to women born in Scotland or who live or have lived in Scotland [...] inclusive of Trans and Intersex women, as well as non-binary and gender fluid people" (J 2021). Bold Types offers writing workshops too to get pieces ready for submission. Its winners read their work out loud at an event, and the work is published on the GWL website, and prizes "include a one-to-one mentoring session with one of our judges and a selection of covetable books" ('Bold Types Creative Writing Showcase' 2021). The competition established in 2013 was initially called Dragon's Pen (Jones 2013) and renamed Bold Types in 2015 (Reid 2015). Ethyl Smith, "three-time finalist and previous winner of our Bold Types Writing Competition", writes on the GWL website that the workshops offered to support writers to complete a work for submission have been vital for her success in the competition, and for her subsequent career as a writer:

I'd often thought about writing in Scots but always chickened out. At one of the workshops I tried this then read out my wee attempt at dialect. The others in the group liked it so I gave it a proper go, was a finalist in the competition, and had the opportunity to read before an audience. It was daunting but encouraging. They liked the Scots too. After that each time I entered I went for what was steadily becoming my voice. Now as a published author of Scottish Historical Fiction my dialogue is always in Scots. Would I have done this without that first workshop experience? I doubt it. (Wright 2016)

Wendy Kirk, Librarian at GWL, said in interview that several of the winners or finalists of Bold Types have gone on to publish books, including one woman who came to writing in her seventies. Kirk also highlighted that the participants found the competition environment "encouraging and supportive and a safe space" (Kirk 2018).

Outstanding Women of Scotland, run by the Saltire Society, is a project created to "recognis[e] and celebrat[e] Scottish women from all walks of life and the inspiration

their achievements gives the next generation” (‘About the Outstanding Women of Scotland [2021]’ n.d.). The project annually “invites members of the public to nominate living contemporary examples of Scottish women who have made a significant contribution to Scottish culture and society” (‘About the Outstanding Women of Scotland [2021]’ n.d.). I spoke with Saltire Society Director Sarah Mason about this project and its aims: “[e]ach year we induct ten outstanding women and we try to make that as diverse as possible in all ways; it’s about recognising those women, bringing them to the forefront of Scotland and people realising that there are these amazing women who are sometimes doing it behind the scenes, this amazing work” (Mason 2019). Outstanding Women of Scotland is not an award, but a growing community of inductees. Beth Morrison, Founder of Positive and Active Behaviour Support Scotland, is quoted on the Saltire Society website as saying: “It’s probably the biggest achievement to me – apart from all my campaigning – to be recognized as one of Scotland’s Outstanding Women” (‘About the Outstanding Women of Scotland [2021]’ n.d.). As at June 2022, 14 of the 50 Outstanding Women of Scotland Inductees have been writers, or work in the literary sector.¹⁴

Scottish PEN’s Women Writers committee created a poster “commemorat[ing] 100 Scottish women writers” (Calder 2018; ‘Jenni Calder: “Ninety Years of Scottish PEN”’ 2017), with 12 of these writers featured as part of the *Dangerous Women Project* (Pullin 2016). This Women Writers committee also runs annual free public symposia to mark IWD, supported by IASH, with particular support by Susan Manning (Calder 2018). In particular the 100 Writers Poster, alongside the annual Naomi Mitchison Memorial Lecture (with University of Glasgow) appears to be a way of re-canonising women writers “most neglected and some forgotten” (‘Jenni Calder: “Ninety Years of Scottish PEN”’ 2017).

This re-canonising work also inspired Open the Door, a women’s writing festival organised by GWL. The organisers write: “Scotland’s literary heritage has been passed from father to son, from Burns to Hogg and Stevenson, to Kelman and Gray. In this new age dominated by so much excellence in women’s writing, when women are being published internationally, to great acclaim and to great popularity, we want to celebrate a new canon” (‘Open the Door’ n.d.). GWL highlights the link between

¹⁴ Bashabi Fraser, Jackie Kay, Liz Lochhead, Dr. Anne Lorne Gillies, Lesley Riddoch, J.K. Rowling, Joyce McMillan, Professor Dame Sue Black, Jo Clifford, Remzije Sherifi, Jenny Brown, Joy Hendry, Rosemary Ward, Margaret Bennett

past and present women writers even in the naming of the festival for the writer Catherine Carswell's 1920 novel of the same name. GWL explain: "in spite of women writers' achievements, there are still doors to be opened. And so we will commemorate those literary mothers of the past as we celebrate the daughters of the present" ('Open the Door' n.d.).

Finally, another existing way of supporting gender equality is bookshelf curation, as highlighted by my interview with Mairi Oliver, owner of independent bookshop Lighthouse Bookshop. Oliver spoke of the shop's effort, at times against the grain of what is receiving review coverage or prize nominations, to have "at least 50% women on the shelves, across a range of subjects – which is harder in some than in others – to have that visibility, so that each display is 50% women" (Oliver 2018)

There are many organisations who are already taking charge to create change, focusing on gender equality specifically. Of course, this list is not exhaustive, and other initiatives focused on, for example, increasing the diversity of voices in literature event chairs ('Shaping the Narrative: A Development Program for Literature Chairs' 2020) and supporting mid-career literature professionals ('Next Level Programme' 2021) also support gender equality.

4.3 Publishing

After introducing the political context for gender equality in Scotland in the late 2010s, within which this thesis is situated, and a brief overview of existing initiatives to support gender equality in the Scottish literary sector, the following four sections focus on providing context for the quantitative and qualitative data analysed in the subsequent three chapters, which examine publishers, review outlets, festivals and prizes. Each of these areas is discussed in turn in these brief sub-sections, which are intended as introductions, and reference points for analysis in subsequent chapters.

Before introducing the scope of the context related to Scottish publishing, I will briefly introduce other organisations in Scotland related to literature. These are, for example, Creative Scotland, SBT, Scottish PEN, Publishing Scotland, Literature Alliance Scotland, Saltire Society, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Society of Authors, Scottish BPOC Writers Network, Scottish Book Festivals Network, and Gaelic Books Council. Some of these also act as publishers (SBT publishes public participation anthologies, Scottish PEN has published several anthologies, Saltire

Society publishes occasional pamphlets, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies publishes educational content and pamphlets such as a Writer's Guide to Scotland in partnership with VisitScotland). Some also act as event organisers (Scottish PEN organises events such as the International Women's Day symposium, in collaboration with IASH, and the Naomi Mitchison lecture, Publishing Scotland runs the Scottish Book Publishing Conference, Saltire Society has run the online book festival #ScotLitFest in 2016). Creative Scotland is one avenue for the Scottish government to distribute funding to the arts and creative sector, and Saltire Society also runs bursary schemes (in addition to distributing prize money in its wide variety of prizes, including the Saltire Society Literary Awards, cf. 4.6.2). Many of these organisations are membership organisations, unions or networks, which bring together or represent constituencies of organisations, businesses or individuals (e.g. Publishing Scotland, Literature Alliance Scotland, Scottish PEN, Saltire Society, Society of Authors, Scottish BPOC Writers Network, Scottish Book Festivals Network).

Scottish publishing, then, works within this context of membership, funding, and support bodies. Scottish publishing is distinct from Scottish writing, and Scottish literature. For the purpose of this thesis, I define Scottish publishing as publishing by publishers based in Scotland, specifically those who are members of Publishing Scotland, with the notable addition of Birlinn, an independent publishing house based in Edinburgh (for more on how I collected quantitative data on these publishers, please see section 3.3.2). This is by no means to suggest that only books published by these publishers belong to Scottish literature, or that authors published elsewhere are producing works that are any less part of Scotland's literary production.

As described in section 2.2.8, the Scottish publishing landscape is relatively small, yet it has many reciprocal links with global publishing networks. My aim in studying the output of Scottish publishers is to show the gender inequality issues in the literary production of a small nation, as the starting point to giving an overview of a larger interconnected network (quantitatively examined in chapter 5).

According to Publishing Scotland, a network for trade, training and development for the book publishing sector in Scotland, "Scotland is home to over 100 active publishers, varying greatly in both size and focus", made up by "a large number of small independents, all established in the past five decades" as well as "offices of larger conglomerates." The website goes on to describe that Scottish publishers "have an increasingly global outlook, both in exporting their products and in welcoming

writing from all over the world”, and that 50% of Scottish publishing companies are run by women (‘Market Insights’ 2022).

Canongate Books, one of our largest trade publishers, is known for amplifying vital international voices, from Black Lives Matter co-founder Patrisse Khan-Cullors to Guantanamo detainee Mohamedou Ould Slahi. Sandstone Press, an independent based in the Scottish Highlands, has recently won the Man Booker International Prize for *Celestial Bodies* by Jokha Alharthi, and was named Publisher of the Year in 2019. Edinburgh-based Charco Press is scooping up awards and nominations for its brilliant work in uncovering the best of contemporary Latin American literature; Glasgow indie, Vagabond Voices, is committed to new Scottish writing as well as to translated fiction from other languages, calling itself ‘both Scottish and fervently European in its aims’ and Gresham/Waverley have been exporting reference books and gift titles all over the world for years. (‘Market Insights’ 2022)

The website goes on to explore how publishers such as Acair, Luath Press and Itchy Co (imprint of Black & White Publishing) celebrate Scotland’s “national languages, Gaelic and Scots” in their publishing, as well as highlighting the children’s publishing by publishers Floris Books, Barrington Stoke, Little Door Books and Cranachan Publishing, and specialist and academic presses such as Witherby Publishing Group and Edinburgh University Press (‘Market Insights’ 2022).

The period 2017-2019 saw several significant events which impacted Scottish publishing. One such event was the folding of independent publisher Freight Books (Flood 2017; Swindon 2017), leaving over 80 authors without royalties, with “thousands of copies of their books” in danger of being pulped “if they don’t reach a deal to buy them back” in 2017 (Swindon 2017) – and, in fact, up to 30,000 books were pulped in early 2018, according to *The Herald* columnist Iain Macwhirter (Iain Macwhirter [@iainmacwhirter] 2018). A closer examination of the data I collected shows several titles published by Freight in 2017 subsequently republished by other Scottish publishers in 2018 and 2019.

Also in 2017, small publisher 404 Ink, which was founded in 2016, published the anthology *Nasty Women*, using a crowdfunding model. This was their first book, following the publication of their literary magazine in 2016. Crowdfunding for *Nasty Women* was a breakout success and at 369% funding far exceeded their goal (‘Nasty Women - The Book’ 2017), and publishers Heather McDaid and Laura Jones were hailed as “the ‘nasty women’ shaking up the book industry” (K. Smith 2017). This publication, and events related to it, rippled through the Scottish literary industry and resulted in several discussion events at book festivals, showing the interconnection of publishing with other parts of the sector. More on this connection, and other ways

publishing, reviewing, festivals and prizes overlap, can be found in the cross-cutting analysis in Chapter 5 of this thesis. In addition to 404 Ink, several new independent publishers were founded during the period, including Monstrous Regiment (2017) and Knight Errant (2017), both of whom followed in 404 Ink's footsteps and published anthologies focused on marginalised identities, expanding into literary magazine publishing (404 Ink, Monstrous Regiment), poetry publishing (404 Ink, Knight Errant) and fiction publishing (404 Ink, Monstrous Regiment).

Following much conglomeration in the late 20th and early 21st century as described by Noorda, Ramdarshan Bold and McCleery and Finkelstein (D. Finkelstein and McCleery 2007, 89, 261), the period 2017-2019 saw one purchase, by Edinburgh- and London-based independent publisher Canongate, of Severn House Publishers, a "specialist fiction publisher focusing on the U.S. library market (founded) in 1974" (Maher 2017).

Another significant event during this time period which impacted publishing was the centenary celebrations for Scottish author Muriel Spark, which ran from November 2017 – November 2018 ('Muriel Spark 100: Centenary Celebrations' 2017). Among other activities, these celebrations saw Polygon, an imprint of Edinburgh-based publisher Birlinn, republish "all 22 of her novels in beautiful hardback editions" ('Muriel Spark Centenary Editions' 2018). Due to this significant increase in titles by a single female author, I present the figures of 2017 and 2018 with and without these titles in Chapter 5.

4.4 Reviewing

Book reviewing in Scotland is conducted in many outlets, in print and online. For example, newspapers regularly feature book reviews; monthly arts magazines such as *The Skinny* and *The List* also include book reviews, as do literary journals such as *Gutter*. In addition to the print outlets, there are several online arts and culture magazines which regularly publish book reviews, such as *The Wee Review* and *Scots Whay Hae!* Another established reviewing space is the *Scottish Review of Books*, which, "established in 2004 [...] published a quarterly print version via the *Herald*", and which ceased production of its print run due to a rejection of a funding bid on the part of its funder Creative Scotland in 2019 (Squires 2019). Following this decision, *Scottish Review of Books* published an editorial which railed against the imposition of

diversity targets by its funder, stating that its own foremost considerations are “quality and originality [...] after which all others must join the queue”, and called the “ethnic profile” of Scotland “at best patchy and in some cases negligible” (Goring 2019). This phrasing, as Squires argues, “whitewash[ed] Scotland’s general population, and [...] its literary sector, aspirant writers, and readers” (Squires 2019). The persistent whiteness (and reluctance to change) of the Scottish literary sector is a topic which was raised by several interviewees and is discussed further in 6.3.2.

Of the above review spaces, this thesis examines literary reviewing in two national daily newspapers, *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*. *The Herald* was founded in 1783 and, as at December 2018, sells 22,901 copies a day (Brooks and Waterson 2019). It is based in Glasgow. *The Scotsman* was founded in 1817 and, as at December 2018, sells 14,938 copies a day (Brooks and Waterson 2019), and is based in Edinburgh. This research was conducted using Access U.K. & Scotland Newspapers (aka NewsBank Access U.K. and Scotland Newspapers) through National Library of Scotland.

The Scottish newspapers which I surveyed for this study cut staff drastically in the 2010s, for example at *The Scotsman*, whose “newsroom [...] more than halved over the past decade to about a dozen reporters” (Brooks and Waterson 2019), which may suggest that freelance reviewers are becoming more important in Scotland as numbers of salaried full-time staff decline (mirroring movement towards this in Australian literary reviewing, as noted in 2.5.4). In early 2022, Editor-in-Chief of *The Skinny* Rosamund West said in an interview that “[t]he Scottish market, particularly the newspapers, have cut their arts coverage hugely in the past 10 years” (Mondon 2022).

The review outlets I chose to analyse are based in Glasgow and Edinburgh, in the Central Belt of Scotland. The Central Belt refers to “Clydeside, the Lothians, Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire”, is the “most densely populated area in the country” and “house[s] many of the country’s major bases” (B. Murray 2020). My selection of these two review outlets follows the Central Belt-focused configuration of aspects of the literary ecology of Scotland, which sees many literary organisations and businesses clustered around the Central Belt, and with organisations in the rest of Scotland receiving less attention. By analysing these two Central Belt-based review outlets, my methodology risks replicating a Central Belt bias in my research.

4.5 Literary festivals

The website of Literature Alliance Scotland, “a collective voice for literature and languages in Scotland”, notes that Scotland is home to over 60 book festivals, “from Stornoway to the Borders and from Skye to Aberdeen.” These take place from January to December, on a variety of subjects and genres, such as children’s books, poetry, crime, women’s writing, and fantasy (‘Find a Book Festival’ 2022). This thesis examines three of these book festivals as ‘microcosms of a literary field’ (cf. Das 2020) to examine whether, and how, male authors are privileged over women and non-binary authors in this ‘legitimizing sphere’ (cf. Noorda and Berens 2020). This section introduces the three festivals I chose to examine, EIBF, Aye Write, and Bloody Scotland, to provide contextual information for their quantitative and qualitative examination in the following chapters.

I chose to study these specific three festivals because I wanted to understand gender differences in large, medium-sized, and genre festivals. Again, as in section 4.4 on literary reviewing, these choices focus on the Central Belt of Scotland and therefore this method risks replicating a Central Belt bias. However, as the above quotation from Literature Alliance Scotland shows, there is a vibrant literary festival ecology all across the length and breadth of Scotland, and it would be a fruitful area for future investigation to examine additional literary festivals. EIBF is the largest of the three festivals examined in this chapter. “From August 1983, the Edinburgh International Book Festival became the first regular event in Scotland to be dedicated solely to books and their creators” (David Finkelstein and Squires 2019, 675). The average number of author appearances in the 2017-2019 programmes were 1,036 per year, speaking at events which took place all day every day for 2-3 weeks in August.

Founded in 2005, Aye Write is a book festival in Glasgow which takes place in March over the course of two weeks, with evening events on weekdays and all-day event programming on the weekend and an average number of annual author appearances of 267 (2017-2019).

Founded in 2012, Bloody Scotland is a crime writing festival, making it distinct from the other two festivals in this study, which are ‘general’ festivals without a specific genre focus. Bloody Scotland takes place in Stirling over a weekend in September, with an average number of annual author appearances of 91 (2017-2019). From 2017-2019, EIBF and Aye Write both had children’s programmes running alongside their

general audience programming. In addition to this, in 2017, Bloody Scotland had a free fringe programme running alongside the paid programme; EIBF has had this kind of additional free programming since 2010 in its Unbound programme of free ‘cabaret style’ events in the evening. In 2017-2019, EIBF took place in a temporary structure of tents in a private garden in central Edinburgh; Bloody Scotland made use of various venues in central Stirling, and Aye Write used rooms at the Mitchell Library and at the Royal Concert Hall in Glasgow.

4.6 Literary prizes

While the other areas of the literary sector examined in this thesis analyse publishing, reviewing, and literary festivals from 2017-2019, the scope of the analysis of literary prizes extends over the course of a prize’s lifetime, beginning at 1919 with the JTBP and including the Saltire Society Literary Awards (first awarded in 1937), the Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction (established 2010) and the McIlvanney Prize (established 2012). As such, this area constitutes the most long-term part of this thesis, showing a longitudinal analysis of the Scottish literary sector and what it values.

To provide a cross-section of the sector I have selected the above four (suites of) literary prizes, comprising 12 prizes, which each illuminate different genres, time frames, judging practices, and sponsorship relationships. Their prize purses range from £2,000-£25,000, and they are awarded by different cultural and educational institutions. I use the term ‘literary prize’ or ‘prize’ to refer to these prizes. These prizes follow a model of shortlisting and announcing a winner, which allows for an analysis of shortlists and winners, comparing proportions of genders represented in either lists, as in the work of Marsden (2019) and Dane (2020b) discussed in 2.9.2 and 2.2.

This thesis does not have scope to include discussion of the following:

- SBT career development awards, as these are not awarded to an author for a particular book (SBT New Writers Awards, Robert Louis Stevenson Fellowship, Ignite Fellowship)
- Scottish literary prizes which have now closed, as this thesis aims to record the current prize landscape as at 2022 (e.g. Scottish Mortgage and Investment

Trust Book Awards (1972-2013)¹⁵ or Dundee International Book Prize (2000-2016)¹⁶)

- Scotland's only current publication prizes (whose winner gains a publication contract as well as a cash prize), the Nan Shepherd Prize and the Kelpies Prize. The Nan Shepherd Prize was launched in 2019 and therefore there is not sufficient longitudinal data to compare with these other prizes.¹⁷ The Kelpies Prize deals with writing for children.¹⁸ While the prizes discussed in this chapter differ in the genre and form of the books they award, they all share a focus on writing for adults, which makes them comparable.
- As is the case with the Nan Shepherd Prize, there are several other prizes which were set up during the course of this research project (2017-2022), for which there is not sufficient longitudinal data to compare with the other selected prizes. One such prize is the Kavya Prize which was first awarded in 2022 and "seeks to recognise and encourage writers of colour who are Scottish by birth, residence or formation" (School of Critical Studies 2022).¹⁹ Another recently established prize is the Highland Book Prize, which, founded in 2017, awards fiction, poetry and non-fiction.²⁰

The twelve contemporary Scottish literary prizes discussed in chapter 5, along with following a shortlisting and winning model and including a cash prize for winners, also

¹⁵ These prizes were discontinued in 2014 and funding reallocated by Creative Scotland to the Saltire Society Literary Awards (cf. Marsden 2016, 108)

¹⁶ This prize stopped when the principal partner of the prize, Freight Books, ceased operation in 2017, which meant the prize could no longer guarantee publication of the winning book (BBC News. 10 October 2017.)

¹⁷ Run by publisher Canongate, the Nan Shepherd Prize intends "to find the next voice in nature writing. It aims not only to celebrate nature writing but provide an inclusive platform for new and emerging nature writers from underrepresented backgrounds." The prize, which runs every two years, includes "a book deal with Canongate— including editorial mentoring and an advance of £10,000" ('The Nan Shepherd Prize – About the Prize' 2021)

¹⁸ The Kelpies Prize was "launched in 2005 to find the best new Scottish writing for children" ('The Kelpies Prize' n.d.). The Kelpies Prize 'prize package' which the website describes as having been "designed to help you grow and develop as a children's writer", includes a "£1,000 cash prize, one year of mentoring by an experienced editorial team, a publishing contract with Floris Books and a week-long writing retreat at Moniac Mhor, plus £100 towards expenses" ('The Kelpies Prize' n.d.).

¹⁹ The Kavya Prize was "founded by Indian-born Scottish author Leela Soma" and is run in "association with the Creative Writing Programme at the University of Glasgow" (School of Critical Studies 2022). The prize "alternate[s] annually between honouring full-length published works and promoting new writing", includes a cash prize of £1,000, and a "residency at Moniac Mhor, Scotland's National Writing Centre" (School of Critical Studies 2022).

²⁰ The Highland Book Prize, presented by the Highland Society of London, "celebrates the finest published work that recognises the rich talent, landscape and cultural diversity of the Highlands" ('About the Highland Book Prize [2021]' n.d.). Winners receive £2,000 "and a week's writing retreat at Moniac Mhor Creative Writing Centre" ('About the Highland Book Prize [2021]' n.d.).

share the characteristic of not charging a fee for entering a book for consideration. However, the McIlvanney Prize does require publishers to pay a charge in case their entered title is longlisted (£300 + VAT) and shortlisted (£250 + VAT) “to cover promotion and marketing of the prize” (‘Bloody Scotland | Bloody Scotland Prizes – Entry Rules’ 2022). The Booker Prize and the Women’s Prize both have long required co-promotion contributions for shortlisting and winning books, and the Women’s Prize has gained media attention when it required publisher contribution for longlisted books (Cowdrey 2018b); in addition to a financial barrier, the Booker Prize further has quota for entering books based on whether a publisher has been previously successful in being longlisted.²¹ These four Scottish prizes do not have conditional publisher quotas for entry, and in fact the Saltire Society entry form for 2019 states that “each publisher may submit two titles” (Submittable [2019] n.d.), levelling the playing field for publisher submissions by allowing equal numbers of submissions regardless of whether the publisher has previously been successful in having one of its books included in a prize shortlist.²²

Following Squires, who states that examining prize characteristics might be “a solid starting point” (Squires 2004, 45) for comparing literary awards, the following sections briefly describe each prize’s founding history, judging criteria and panels, categories, prize purse and sponsorship. The function of including this context is to create an impression of similarity and difference between these prizes, laying the foundations for a closer qualitative and quantitative analysis in chapters 5 and 7.

4.6.1 James Tait Black Prizes

The UK’s oldest literary prizes, the JTBP’s were founded in 1919 by Janet Coats Black in the name of her husband (‘The Legacy of Janet Coats Black’ 2019). Janet Coats Black described the judging criteria: “Judged from a literary standpoint but taking the word in its fullest and widest meaning” (‘The Legacy of Janet Coats Black’ 2019). Eligible works must be “written in English, and first published or co-published in the UK during the calendar year of the award” (‘Book Submissions’ 2019). While the prizes

²¹ This is described in “The 2021 Booker Rules” as follows: “The number of works a publisher can submit will depend on that publisher’s inclusion in longlists from 2016-2020, as follows: 1 submission – publishers with no longlisting, 2 submissions – publishers with 1 or 2 longlisting(s) [...]” (www.thebookerprizes.com 2020)

²² The entry form does not specify whether this means two titles per publisher *per category* or two titles per publisher *overall*.

are based in Scotland and awarded by the University of Edinburgh's School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures ('Book Prizes' 2019), the eligibility criteria state that "[t]he nationality of the writer is irrelevant" ('Book Submissions' 2019). Unlike the Saltire Society Literary Awards, this prize gives no indication that eligible books should discuss a Scottish theme or be related in another way to Scotland.

There are three prize categories: Fiction and Biography (from 1919), and Drama (from 2012). The prize purse for each of these prizes is £10,000.

The prize is judged by student readers and academic staff. This aspect of the JTBP is discussed further in chapter 7.

The JTBP for Drama differs from the JTBP for Fiction and JTBP for Biography in various ways. It was established in 2012 and first awarded in August 2013. ('Book Prizes' 2019) Its eligibility criteria are more elaborate than those of the Fiction and Biography Prizes: "The Prize is presented annually for the best original play written in English, Scots or Gaelic and first performed by a professional company in the previous year. The £10,000 prize is open to any new work by playwrights from any country, and at any stage in their career" ('Drama Prize' 2019). The criteria are further expanded: "Judges award the prize to a play that makes a significant and unique contribution to the art form and displays an original voice in theatre" ('Drama Prize' 2019).

Secondly, the judging process also differs from the process used for the other two JTBP: while also including students and academics from the University of Edinburgh, the panel further includes "representatives from the Traverse Theatre, Playwrights' Studio, Scotland, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Schaubühne Theatre, Berlin, and a freelance theatre director" ('Drama Prize' 2019).

4.6.2 Saltire Society Literary Awards

The Saltire Society Literary Awards granted the first BotY *commendation* in 1936, the year the Society was founded (Marsden 2021, 37). The first award described as an *award* was made in 1957 (Marsden 2021, 42). This section briefly outlines characteristics of seven of the Society's prizes: the Book of the Year Award, First Book of the Year Award, History Book of the Year Award, Research Book of the Year Award, Non-Fiction Book of the Year Award, Fiction Book of the Year Award and Poetry Book of the Year Award.

The JTBP's above do not draw on their Scottishness in their eligibility criteria or in their self-understanding; they draw on the academy, and on their status as the UK's oldest book prizes. In contrast to this, the Saltire Society explicitly aligns itself with the country of Scotland in its self-description as "Scotland's National Book Awards" ('Saltire Society Literary Awards [2019]' n.d.), which these prizes assumed as their official title in 2021 ('Scotland's National Book Awards 2022' n.d.).

In the Saltire Society's literary prizes, Scottish national identity is imagined²³ and constructed in various ways. The Saltire Society Literary Awards construct Scottish nationhood in their prize entry guidelines. To be eligible to be submitted for the Saltire Society Literary Awards, a book must either be written by a person born in Scotland or currently living in Scotland, or the nominated book must "deal with the work or life of a Scot, a Scottish question, event or situation" ('Scotland's National Book Awards 2022' n.d.). This is more or less the same definition of eligibility which the Saltire Society adopted in 1981 and held until 2018, as cited in Marsden's book *Prizing Scottish Literature* (Marsden 2021, 100), with one notable change: the 2022 eligibility criteria exclude the characteristic of "Scottish descent", which was included in previous definitions. Marsden shows that the First Book Award and the Scottish Book of the Year Award indicates "a propensity by the Society's literary awards panel to shortlist Scottish-born authors writing Scottish content" (Marsden 2021, 108) and "the dominance of authors who are Scottish-born, live in Scotland or write about Scotland is evident in the award shortlist and continues through to the winner" (Marsden 2021, 109). Therefore, the entry criteria which determine whether a book is eligible are not just that; they also show that, when assessing an explicitly national prize, a book that meets the above stated requirements of nationhood is more likely to win.

The individual prizes also have additional judging criteria according to their categories. The prizes are judged by judging panels, which have a panel chair.

There is a difference in prize purse between the Book of the Year Award (the 'overall' umbrella prize whose shortlist is made up of the winners of the other categories) and the category prizes, in that the category prize purse is smaller. This is mirrored by how the Society has described the Book of the Year Award in private

²³ In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson defines the term nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (B. Anderson 2016, 6)

meeting minutes and correspondence with sponsors, as noted by Marsden. Marsden concludes that “the [First Book of the Year Award] has often been considered as ‘minor’ in comparison to the slightly older, and historically more affluent, Book of the Year Award” (Marsden 2021, 77).

The prize purse of the BotY Award has varied from £1,000 when it was initiated (1982), going up to £5,000 in 1990, and briefly rising to £10,000 in 2009 and 2014. The current prize purse is £5-6,000 (£6,000 according to the submission forms for individual category prizes (Submittable [2019] n.d.; n.d.); the website inviting submissions states that the prize purse is £5,000 (‘Saltire Society Literary Awards [2019]’ n.d.)).

The prize purse for the First BotY, Research BotY, Non-Fiction Book of the Year, Fiction BotY and Poetry BotY Award is £2,000 (according to the submission forms for prize entries, as at 31 July 2019).

The entry requirements for individual Saltire Society Literary Awards (beyond the nationhood requirements) contribute to genre creation. For example, the Saltire Society Non-Fiction BotY Award specifies what ‘non-fiction’ is;²⁴ implicit in this definition is also that books for this category may not be eligible for other categories (as books may only be submitted for one category (‘*Saltire Society Literary Awards [2019]*’ n.d.), although judges may contact the publisher if they “feel a book should be considered for a different category” (Submittable [2019] n.d.; n.d.; n.d.; n.d.)). The Saltire Society Non-Fiction BotY, therefore, is a book that is neither ‘Research’ nor ‘History’. There is considerable overlap between these genre categories. There is also overlap between the Non-Fiction BotY and First BotY categories, as the First BotY Award also invites submissions of non-fiction books.

A related but different contribution to categorisation is at play for the Saltire Society Poetry BotY Award, which participates in specification as to what constitutes a ‘collection of poetry’. This is described in further detail in the section on the Poetry BotY Award below.

4.6.2.1 *Saltire Society Book of the Year Award*

²⁴ This prize is “[o]pen to all non-fiction books, such as autobiography, biography, travel and journalism.” (Submittable [2019] n.d.)

This prize has historically had two different functions. Marsden states that the original intention at the time of setting up the “Scottish Book of the Year Award” was that it would be conferred to a work of any of the five categories: “History and biography, drama, fiction, poetry and belles lettres” (‘Saltire Scheme’, *Scotsman*, 19 October 1955. Cited in Marsden 2021, 42). The prize was then re-launched in 1981 with sponsorship from the Royal Bank of Scotland (cf. Marsden 2021, 44) and has run with various sponsors ever since.²⁵ In 2014, an additional prize for Poetry was introduced. Rather than remaining one of the many categories of awards the Society administrated, in 2015 the BotY Award was reframed as the ‘overall’ award hierarchically superior to the other category prizes. Winners in the prize categories Poetry (established 2014), Non-Fiction (established 2015), Fiction (established 2015), Research (established 1998), History (established 1955), and First Book (established 1988) would go on to be eligible for the BotY Award (Marsden 2021, 71–72). In both guises, this prize has therefore had a function of selecting a winner from a variety of genres.

4.6.2.2 *Saltire Society First Book of the Year Award*

This prize was established in 1988 and has had a variety of funders²⁶ and a variety of prize purses.²⁷ Its entry criteria, in addition to the nationhood criteria set for all books, specify that it is “[o]pen to fiction and non-fiction books. The First Book Award is open to first time authors who have not previously published a book (excluding publication in magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and anthologies). This category is not open to previously published work. When the book is a translated work, it must be the first book by the original author” (Submittable [2019] n.d.).

4.6.2.3 *Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award*

Established in 1955 in memory of Agnes Mure Mackenzie, an historian and supporter of the Saltire Society, this prize was first awarded in 1965. Its criteria, in addition to the

²⁵ Past sponsors for the Saltire Society BotY Award include Royal Bank of Scotland, The Scotsman, STV, Faculty of Advocates, Scottish Government, Homecoming Scotland, Creative Scotland, and the Saltire Society itself (Marsden 2016a, 3–13).

²⁶ Past sponsors for the Saltire Society First BotY Award include The Scotsman, STV, Gairm Publishers, Royal Mail/Post Office, Tamdhu Speyside Single Malt Whisky, Creative Scotland, and the Saltire Society itself (Marsden 2016a, 14–21)

²⁷ The prize purse for the Saltire Society First BotY Award was £1,000 from 1988-1989; £1,500 from 1990-2013; £2,000 from 2014-2019 (Marsden 2016a, 14–21)

basic criteria of the Saltire Society Awards, specify that it should be awarded for “published work of Scottish historical research” (Marsden 2021, 42). Marsden’s thesis uses a quotation from a judging decision to illustrate this prize’s de facto criteria: the judges wrote, justifying their award to Marjorie O. Anderson for *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, published in 1973: “While the volume is not likely to make much appeal to the general reader, it is, nevertheless, indispensable to anyone seriously interested in the history of Scotland in early centuries. [...] It seems unlikely that the ground will be covered again on this scale within the foreseeable future (9393/24)” (quoted in Marsden 2016, 119). This shows a specification of an intended audience as ‘seriously interested’ in Scottish history, posited as distinct from an audience of ‘general reader[s]’. The entry criteria for the 2019 History BotY Award specify that the prize is “[o]pen to historical non-fiction publications which add to the knowledge and understanding of Scotland” (Submittable [2019] n.d.). Both the quotation from the 1973 and the 2019 entry criteria show a redoubled focus on Scotland beyond the Saltire Society Literary Awards’ overall nationhood criteria which is not seen in most of the other categories, which tend to specify genre or publication record as their distinct additional criteria. In 2019 the History BotY was sponsored by the Scottish Historical Review Trust (Submittable [2019] n.d.).

4.6.2.4 Saltire Society Research Book of the Year

This prize was established in 1998, “evolv[ing] from a proposition made by a potential sponsor”, the National Library of Scotland (Marsden 2016b, 169). The National Library of Scotland have sponsored this prize ever since. The Saltire Society website specifies that this prize is for a book which “[adds] to the knowledge and understanding of Scotland and the Scots. [...] Books being entered should represent a significant body of research and offer new insight or dimension to the subject” (‘Scottish Research Book of the Year Award’ n.d.). The entry form echoes only the second part of this definition, stating that the prize is “[o]pen to books which represent a significant body of research and offer new insight or dimension to their subject” (Submittable [2019] n.d.). It is unclear whether this means that the prize (no longer) requires the subject to be Scotland; future research could be undertaken on analysing the topics of shortlisted and winning titles.

4.6.2.7 *Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year Award*

This prize was established in 2014 with the Scottish Poetry Library. Marsden explains this:

In its first year the award, which is awarded to new collections of poetry by Scottish born authors, authors of Scottish descent or authors living in Scotland, was adjudicated by Dr. Robyn Marsack, the former director of the Scottish Poetry Library (2000-2015) and poet, writer and Professor Emeritus at the University of Stirling, Rory Watson. In 2015, Dorothy McMillan, Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Glasgow, joined Marsack and Watson as the third member of the panel. Prior to 2014, poetry books nominated for the Society's BotY or First BotY Awards were judged alongside all other entries for these awards (Marsden 2016b, n. 195).

The entry criteria for this prize state that it is "[o]pen to collections of poetry by a single author. Poetry collections that contain work from previously published volumes must contain a sufficient number of new poems to qualify. Anthologies and pamphlets are not eligible" (Submittable n.d. [2019]). The entry criteria participate in specification as to what constitutes a 'collection of poetry', stating that 'pamphlets are not eligible' and that 'a sufficient number of new poems' must be included if the collection also includes previously published work. Interesting work might be done, for example on reviewing the number of new and previously published poems included in the poetry collections shortlisted and winning this prize, to establish what the criteria means by 'sufficient number'.

4.6.2.5 *Saltire Society Non-Fiction Book of the Year Award*

This prize was established in 2015 (Marsden 2016b, 109f): "With the addition of a Poetry Book of the Year Award in 2014, and the expansion of the Book of the Year Award into Fiction and Non-Fiction categories in 2015, the Society decided to restructure the organisation of the awards in order to effectively promote the awards as a defined 'family' of prizes" (Marsden 2016b, 108–9). Marsden describes what happened as an 'expansion' of the BotY Award. In fact, this award has always been an award that shortlisted books of varying genres alongside each other/against each other. In 2015, two new categories were created to allow the BotY Award to fulfil a more clearly delineated umbrella function. One such category is the Non-Fiction BotY Award.

The submission form for prize entries for this category from the prize year 2019 specifies that this prize is "[o]pen to all non-fiction books, such as autobiography,

biography, travel and journalism” (Submittable n.d. [2019]). This sees the Saltire Society Literary Awards judging criteria actively involved in genre creation, as it specifies what ‘non-fiction’ is. Implicit in this definition is also that books for this category may not be eligible for other categories (as books may only be submitted for one category (‘Saltire Society Literary Awards [2019]’ n.d.), although judges may contact the publisher if they “feel a book should be considered for a different category” (Submittable [2019] n.d.; n.d.; n.d.; n.d.)). The Saltire Society Non-Fiction BotY, therefore, is a book that is neither ‘Research’ nor ‘History’. There is considerable overlap between these genre categories. There is also overlap between the Non-Fiction BotY and First BotY categories, as the First BotY Award also invites submissions of non-fiction books.

4.6.2.6 Saltire Society Fiction Book of the Year Award

This prize was established in 2015 (Marsden 2016b, 109f), and it was briefly named “Literary Book of the Year” in 2014 (‘2014 Saltire Society Literary Awards Winners’ n.d.) before being renamed the “Fiction” BotY Award from 2015 to the present day. The entry criteria state that this prize is “[o]pen to all fiction, including short fiction” (Submittable [2019] n.d.). As with the Non-Fiction BotY Award, this prize participates in genre formation by including collections of short stories and novellas in the same category as novels; highlighting that the ‘Fiction’ in the prize’s title is the operative word and that the book itself can be varying lengths.

4.6.3 Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction

The Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction was established in 2010. It “rewards writing of exceptional quality which is set in the past” (‘About the Prize [2018]’ n.d.) which the prize website further narrows down: “the majority of the storyline must have taken place at least 60 years ago” (‘About the Prize [2018]’ n.d.).

Its sponsorship and funding model is distinct from the other prizes discussed in this chapter, as its prize purse is provided not by a company but instead by a wealthy individual. The Prize’s website describes this in a section entitled ‘Patrons’:

Richard, the 10th Duke of Buccleuch and 12th Duke of Queensberry, is a distant kinsman of Sir Walter Scott and his forebear, the 4th Duke, was Scott’s close personal friend and supporter. [...] His wife Elizabeth, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, is co-founder and co-patron of the Prize and has been a Judge since its inception. (‘Patrons -’ n.d.)

Describing the geographical scope of the prize, Richard, the 10th Duke of Buccleuch is quoted on the website: “[The prize’s] heart is in Scotland – as was Sir Walter’s – but its reach, appropriately for the first international bestselling author, now extends around the globe” (‘About the Prize [2018]’ n.d.).

The prize purse is £25,000, and each shortlisted author receives £1,000. The winner also receives a trophy. The prize is judged by a panel of judges, with a permanent chair (Alistair Moffat, chair of judges since the prize’s inception). Rather than rotating the judging panel, the panel builds up new members while retaining established members.²⁸

4.6.4 McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year

This prize was launched in 2012 as part of Bloody Scotland, an annual crime writing festival held in Scotland. It was initially called the Bloody Scotland Scottish Crime BotY Award and had, in its inaugural year, a prize purse of £3,000, and was run in partnership with British book retailer Waterstones (‘Crime Book of the Year 2012’ 2012). Sponsorship from Deanston Highland Single Malt whisky followed, and from 2013-2015 the prize was known also as the “Deanston Scottish Crime Book of the Year” (‘Scottish Crime Book of the Year’ 2013; ‘Deanston Shortlist Announced’ 2014; ‘Entry Island Wins Deanston Award’ 2014). The prize was re-named “McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year” in 2016 (‘McIlvanney Prize 2016 Longlist Announced’ 2016) “in memory of William McIlvanney, often described as the Godfather of Tartan Noir” (‘The McIlvanney Prize’ 2018). Its prize purse every year except its inaugural year has been £1,000. Winners are also awarded a “a bespoke crystal decanter of Deanston 12 YO Highland Single Malt Whisky” (‘Scottish Crime Book of the Year’ 2013).

The Bloody Scotland website describes the prize’s current entry criteria (2019): “Scottish roots are a must for competition applications: authors must either be born in Scotland, live there or set their books there” (‘The McIlvanney Prize’ 2018). This is specified further elsewhere: “For the purposes of this prize, a Scottish crime book is

²⁸ As stated in the above quotation, Elizabeth, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, has been a judge on the judging panel since the prize was set up. Elizabeth Laird, a children’s author, has been on the judging panel since the inception of the prize; Kirsty Wark, journalist and author, joined the judging panel in 2012. James Naughtie, a broadcaster, joined the judging panel in 2016. Katharine Grant, an author, and James Holloway, Director of Historic Environment Scotland, joined the judging panel in 2017. (‘2019 Judges -’ n.d.)

eligible if: The author was born or raised in Scotland, [t]he author lives in Scotland and has done so for at least six years, [t]he book submitted for the award is substantially set in Scotland. Other novels may be deemed eligible at the discretion of the organisers” (‘McIlvanney Prize Entry Rules’ n.d.). There is no explanation offered for the definition of ‘living in Scotland’ as ‘having done so for at least six years’.

The entry requirements for this prize construct nationhood in a much stricter way than the Saltire Society (see 4.6.2). While the Saltire Society Literary Awards’ entry criteria embrace a broad definition of Scottishness, the McIlvanney Prize criteria are related to an author’s country of birth, legal residency status, and a ‘substantial’ part of the book being set in Scotland. Interesting future research is possible here using Marsden’s method of comparing how many of these criteria previous shortlistees and winners have met (more on this can be found in 4.6.2).

A new prize for debuts, was launched in 2019. “[...] the winner of the Crime Debut [will take] home £500,” writes Mansfield in *The Bookseller*. “The Scottish Crime Debut of the Year will be selected from the highest scoring titles in the first round and judged by the board of Bloody Scotland including crime writers Lin Anderson, Craig Robertson, Gordon Brown and Abir Mukerjee” (Mansfield 2019). The involvement of the Bloody Scotland board appears to have continued, with judging described as being conducted “by members of the Bloody Scotland board and different participants each year” on the Bloody Scotland website in 2022 (‘Bloody Scotland | Bloody Scotland Scottish Crime Debut of the Year’ 2022). The website also specifies that “The Judges’ criteria for both prizes will include originality and innovation, quality of writing, and potential durability” (‘The McIlvanney Prize’ 2018), and noted that the shortlist for the debut prize “will be drawn from the McIlvanney Prize entries” (‘Bloody Scotland | Bloody Scotland Prizes – Entry Rules’ 2022). Winners of this prize are awarded the cash prize mentioned above, and “a trophy sponsored by The Glencairn Glass” (‘Bloody Scotland | Bloody Scotland Scottish Crime Debut of the Year’ 2022).

A ‘first round’ model for longlisting has been used by the McIlvanney Prize since 2015, as shown by the shortlist announcement from 2015 which introduces the list of books as having been “chosen by an independent panel of readers from a longlist of 55 books” (‘Bloody Scotland Crime Book of the Year Shortlist’ 2015). The ‘scoring’ referred to by Mansfield has been part of this model since 2016, as shown by a call for readers from that year, offering an opportunity to “[b]e part of the team responsible for uncovering the next gem of Scottish crime writing” by scoring five books (to be read

over a five-week period, delivered to readers in PDF format) numerically, “10 being excellent and 1 being very poor”. The call for applicants goes on: “After all the scores have been submitted the shortlist will be produced and from there judges will take over to finalise the award” (‘Bloody Scotland Crime Book of the Year 2016’ 2016). The judging panel is made up of three members, usually including a panel chair.

This sub-section has introduced the four suites of literary prizes examined in this thesis and underpins subsequent findings and discussions as these prizes are analysed quantitatively (Chapter 5) and qualitatively (Chapters 6 & 7).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has served two purposes: firstly, to contextualise this study in the political environment for gender equality in Scotland in the late 2010s, including providing an introduction to some of the existing initiatives working towards greater gender equality in the Scottish literary sector; and secondly to describe the publishing environment, literary review outlets, literary festivals and prizes which form the subjects of quantitative and qualitative analysis in the following three chapters. In so doing, this chapter provides reference points for the in-depth analysis in subsequent chapters and illustrates the specific context and time frame for this thesis’ research questions on the manifestation of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector. The following chapter, Chapter 5, will build on this chapter and address RQ1 in its quantitative investigation of literary sector output by the agents described in 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6.

Chapter 5: Stuck at 40%? Quantitative evidence of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector in the 20th and 21st century

5.1 Introduction

This chapter forms the quantitative part of my discussion of how sexism manifests in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. Chapter 3 has laid out both *why* I am using quantitative data in this way, and *how* I gathered and analysed this information.

I examined four distinct categories: publishing, reviewing, literary festivals, and literary prizes; Chapter 4 described the specific organisations and agents within these categories. The scope for this study was highlighted in chapter 1: for most of the above four areas, I examined the period 2017-2019; however, for literary prizes, the period stretches from 1919-2021. As these categories have significant overlap – authors whose work was both published in Scotland and reviewed by the Scottish national press, for example – this overlap is discussed after the individual categories.

5.2 Publishing in Scotland 2017-2019

This section uses statistical analysis of authors published in Scotland in 2017, 2018 and 2019 to identify whether men are more likely to be published: firstly, what is the proportion of men, women and non-binary authors who are published in Scotland? Secondly, is there a difference in publication frequency of men, women and non-binary authors, i.e., are individual male authors more likely to have multiple books published than female authors or non-binary authors? And thirdly, how does gender representation vary across genres?

This study of books published 2017-2019 encompasses books written by just over 2,000 authors, or just over 1,300 unique authors (some of whom had more than one book published in this time). This section presents headline findings overall over the period, and categorised by year and broad genre classification, focusing on the proportions of men, women, and non-binary authors published. Following the method set out in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), my data collection using Nielsen BookScan left me with 2,086 data points about authors. Of these data points, 67 were authors for whom gender data was not available (3% of all data points), which are subsequently excluded from the total number of authors. The authors for whom gender data was available are proportionally distributed as follows, 2017-2019: 1,238 male authors

(61.3%), 779 female authors (38.6%), and 2 non-binary authors (0.1%), as illustrated in Figure 6 below.

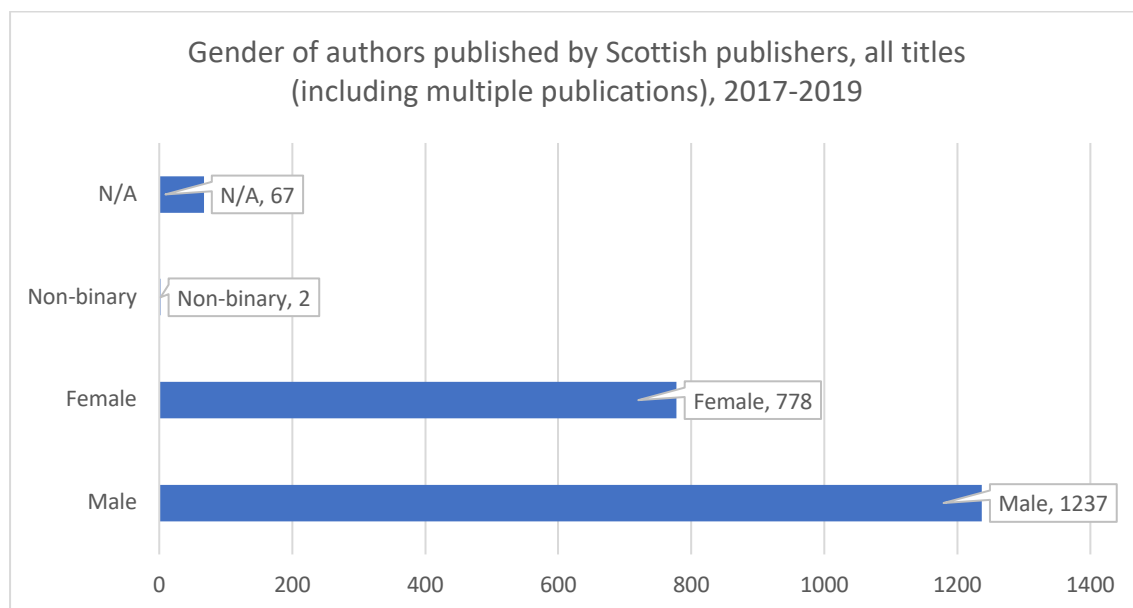


Figure 6 Gender of all authors published in trade titles in Scotland, 2017-2019

This means that titles published during this period were 1.5 times as likely to be written by a male author than a female author.

Removing duplicate authors, meaning authors who had more than one title published during this period, creates a remarkably similar picture: the 2,086 data points are made up of 1,321 individual unique authors, and for 96% of these authors there was gender data available (gender data was unavailable for 52 authors). 767 (60.4%) of the authors for whom gender data was available are male, 500 (39.4%) female, and 2 non-binary (0.2%). As illustrated by Figures 7 and 8 below, male authors had more multiple publications than female authors, explaining the slight percentage difference between unique authors and overall authors (60.4% unique male authors vs. 61.3% titles written by male authors). Each of the 767 unique male authors, on average, wrote 1.61 titles, while each of the 500 unique female authors wrote 1.56 titles. Each of the two non-binary authors wrote one book.

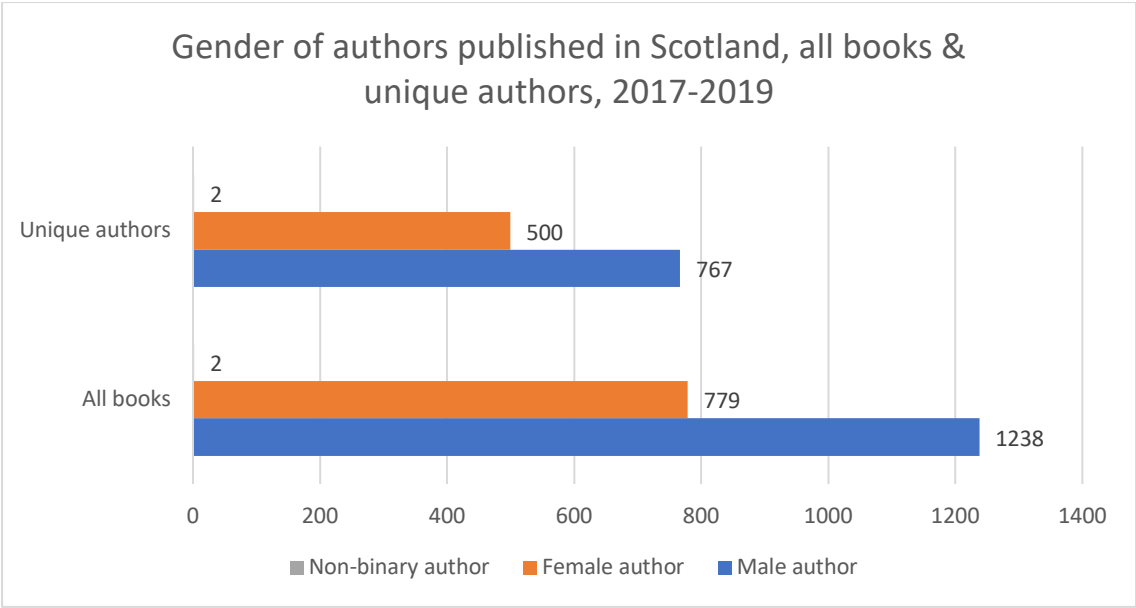


Figure 7 Gender of authors published in Scotland, all books & unique authors, 2017-2019

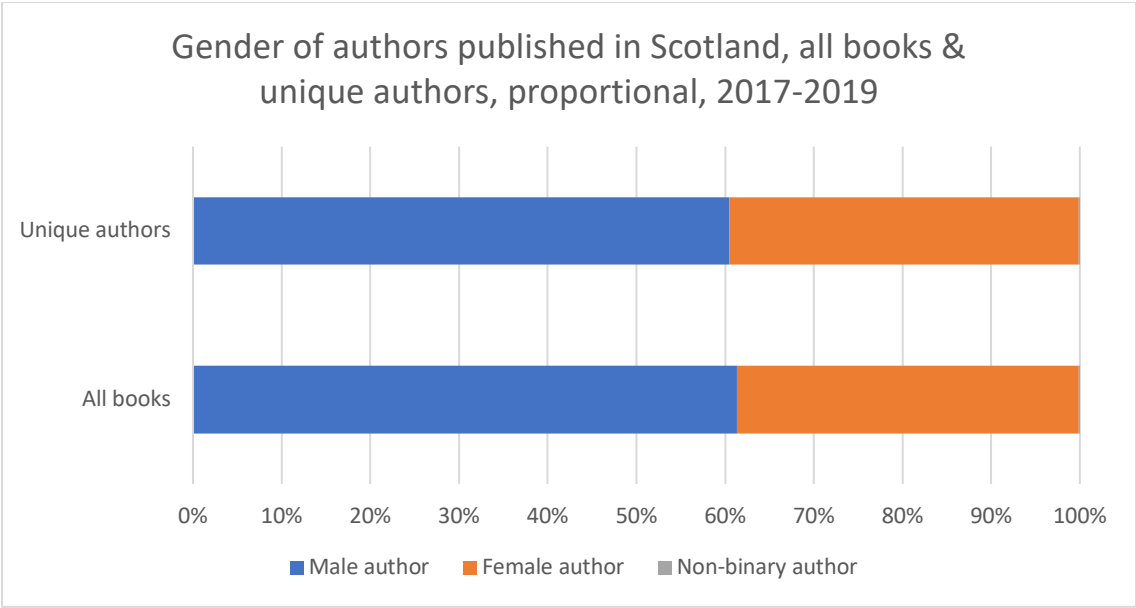


Figure 8 Gender of authors published in Scotland, all books & unique authors, proportional, 2017-2019

Overall, a trend is observable from 2017-2019, showing a slight movement towards more balanced publishing in this period of the late 2010s. On average, 695 authors were published every year, with the number being at its lowest in 2019 (679 authors) and highest in 2018 (704). The proportion of male authors published sank slowly but consistently, from 62.2% in 2017, to 61.6% in 2018, to 60.2% in 2019. Conversely, the proportion of female authors published rose, from 37.8% in 2017, to 38.1% in 2018 and 39.8% in 2019. However, with only three years of data it is impossible to tell whether these changes in proportion are statistically significant; further, even the

highest proportion of female writers observed – 39.8% in 2019 – is still well below 51.5%, the proportion of women in the Scottish population, according to Scotland's Census 2011 ('Scotland's Census: Population' 2011).

Interestingly, if the 22 Muriel Spark novels published in 2017 and 2018 are removed from the data set, the proportion of male authors published *rises* from 2017 to 2018, from 62.6% in 2017 to 63.2% in 2018, before dropping to 60.2% in 2019. The discrepancy between these figures is shown in Figure 9 below, and highlights how a single special publishing event can impact the overall figures. Without wanting to diminish the importance – particularly the symbolic value – of reissuing 22 novels of a single female author, it is interesting to note that the figures remaining of published authors (including reissued and translated works) does not support a neat 'trend towards equality' over this three-year period.

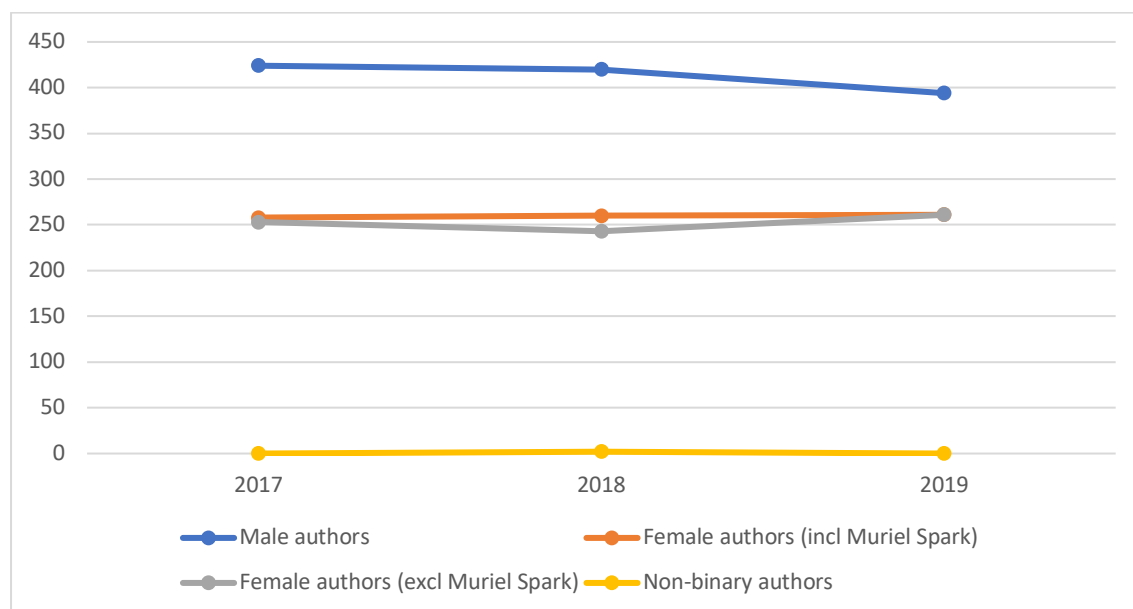


Figure 9 Authors published in Scotland, by gender, 2017-2019 (with and without Muriel Spark)

Removing all multiple mentions of authors per year, it is possible to surmise how many books per year authors of each gender had published. This figure, 'average books per author' of each gender, is represented below in Figure 10.

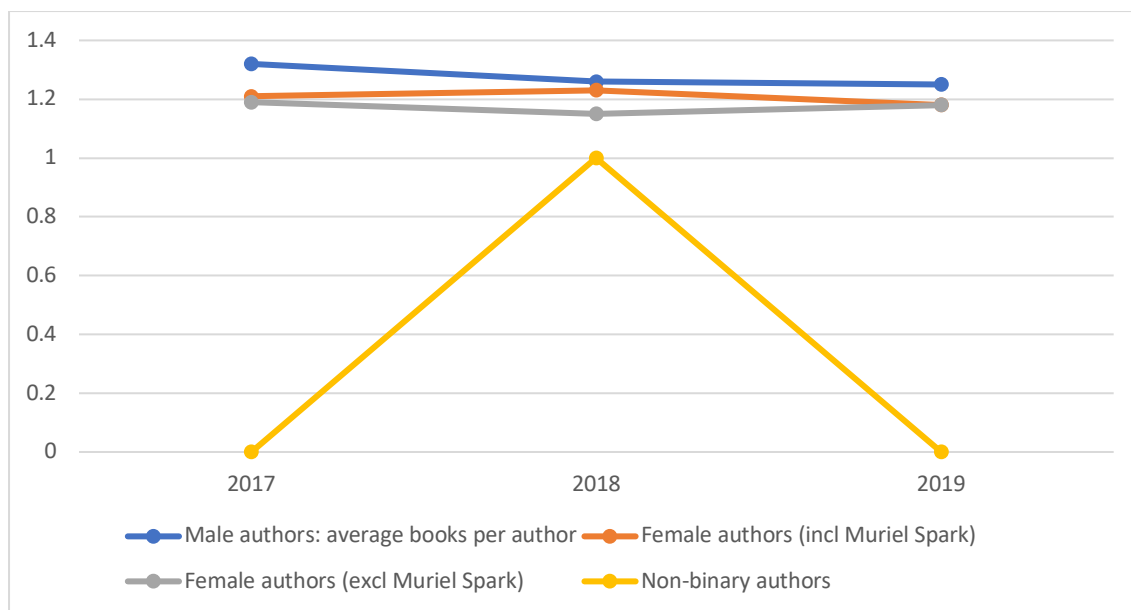


Figure 10 Average books-per-author of each gender, 2017-2019

This shows that, although the number and proportion of books authored by women was at its highest in 2019 (at 261 total titles authored by women, making up 39.8% of titles published), the number of average titles per female author was actually lower than in preceding years, at 1.18 titles per female author (compared to 1.21 in 2017 and 1.23 in 2018; or 1.19 and 1.15 if Muriel Spark is removed from the data set). In other words: individual female authors consistently make up a larger proportion of individual authors than they do of titles published; conversely, male authors are more likely to have multiple titles published, at 1.32 titles per author in 2017, 1.26 titles per author in 2018 and 1.25 titles per author in 2019. The exact proportions and numbers of authors, and individual authors, can be seen below in Figure 11, which shows that, from 2017-2019, individual female authors always proportionally exceeded all female authors, and individual male authors were always fewer, in proportion, than all male authors.

	Male authors (all)	Male authors (individual authors per year)	Female authors (all)	Female authors (individual authors, incl. Muriel Spark, per year)
2017	424 (62.2%)	322 (60.1%)	253 (37.8%)	214 (39.9%)

2018	420 (61.6%)	333 (60.9%)	243 (38.1%)	212 (38.8%)
2019	394 (60.2%)	314 (58.7%)	261 (39.8%)	221 (41.3%)

Figure 11 All authors and individual authors, per year, by gender 2017-2019

As can be seen in Figure 11, a proportionally smaller pool of male authors is drawn on to publish a proportionally larger number of male-authored titles – in other words, in each year male-authored books make up a larger proportion of books published in Scotland than male authors do. There are more individual male authors than individual female authors being published in Scotland, their books are also being published more frequently; each male author publishes more books-per-author than each female author. While the number of individual female authors has grown in proportion from 2017-2019 by 1.4 percentage points (39.9% in 2017 to 41.3% in 2019), the number of total titles by female authors has also grown by 2 percentage points (37.8% in 2017 to 39.8% in 2019). This explains the dip in titles-per-author for women, at 1.18 titles per author. It therefore appears that, to sustainably change the figures and achieve equality for female and non-binary authors, it is not only important to publish more individual authors, but also to publish more of their books; to issue them in multiple formats, to reprint them, and to invest in serial production.

From 2017-2019, the largest genre group of my sampled categories (using Nielsen's specifications) is trade non-fiction, making up 49% of titles, followed by fiction at 26%, children's and young adult writing at 22%, and poetry at 4%.

Within these genre groups, poetry, fiction and trade non-fiction were made up mostly by male authors. Only children's and young adult writing saw a majority of female writers.

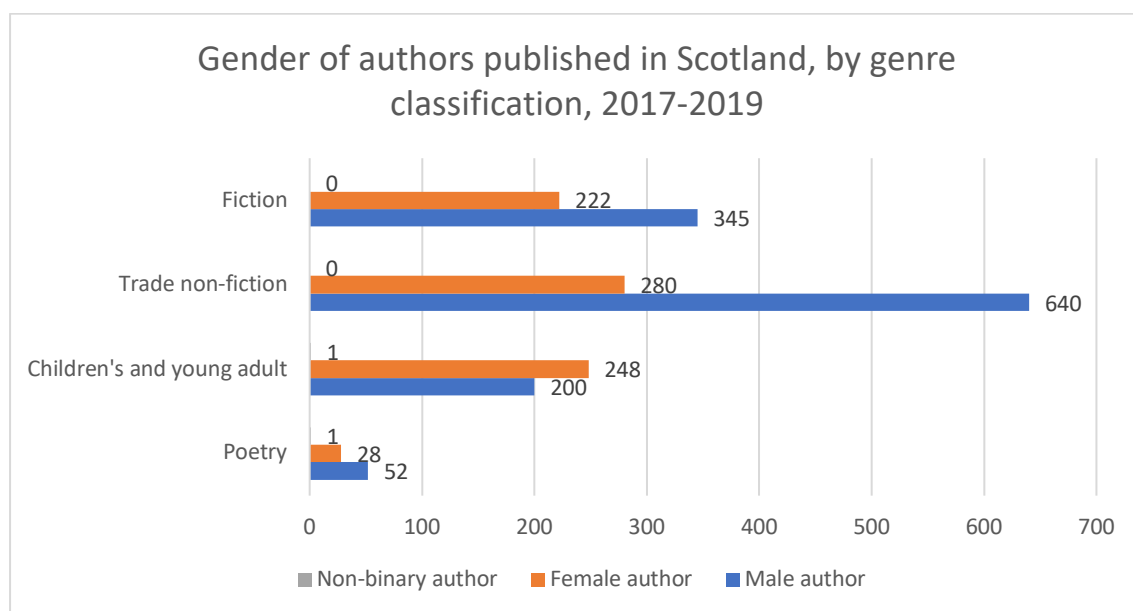


Figure 12 Gender of authors by genre classification, 2017-2019

Figure 12 shows that trade non-fiction represents both the largest type of publishing occurring in Scotland over the period, and the largest gender imbalance. With 692 male authors (69.6%) published between 2017-2019 and 308 (30.4%) female authors, and no non-binary authors, male authors writing trade non-fiction were published more than twice as much as female authors. The imbalance here is more pronounced (30.4% female authors) than in the overall publications (38.6%), making trade non-fiction a site of greater inequality.

Fiction publishing also saw a majority of male authors published, with 345 (60.8%) male authors and 222 (39.2%) female authors. However, this is a slight improvement on the overall publications figure of 38.6% female authors, meaning that fiction, while only making up less than a third of all books published, is a site of marginally less inequality than the overall figure.

Removing the 'special publication event', the republication of 22 Muriel Spark novels by Polygon (Birlinn, 2017 and 2018), the fiction publication statistic drops to 200 female authors, which is 36.7% of fiction, and now lower than the average overall figure of 37.9% (with Muriel Spark removed, the overall authors proportion tips to 62% male authors, 37.9% female authors, 0.1% non-binary authors). This is illustrated

below in Figure 13. Removing these republished books also results in fiction making up 27% of all books published (rather than 28% including Spark's republished books).

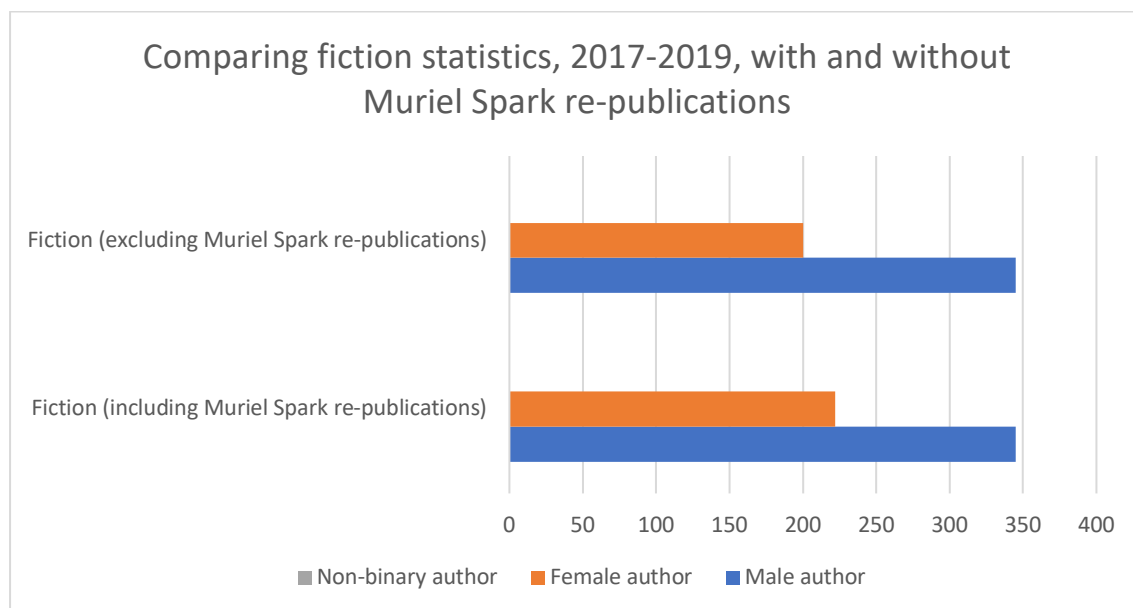


Figure 13 Comparing fiction publications 2017-2019, with and without Muriel Spark centenary re-publications

Fiction publishing during this period was made up of nine distinct categories, as logged in Nielsen BookScan. These are represented in Figure 14.

Sub-category (total authors)	Male authors, total (%)	Female authors, total (%)	Non-binary authors, total (%)
F1.1 General & Literary Fiction (266)²⁹	157 (59.7%)	106 (40.3%)	0
F2.1 Crime, Thriller & Adventure (165)	101 (62.3%)	61 (37.7%)	0
F2.3 Historical & Mythological Fiction (44)	22 (50%)	22 (50%)	0
F1.2 Short Stories & Fiction Anthologies (34)	19 (55.9%)	15 (44.1%)	0
F3.0 Graphic Novels: General (30)	26 (89.7%)	3 (10.3%)	0
F2.2 Science Fiction & Fantasy (17)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	0

²⁹ NB: Some of these total figures include authors for whom gender data was not available, so the total number of female, male and non-binary authors may not always add up to the total number of authors.

F2.5 Romance & Sagas (11)	0	11 (100%)	0
F2.4 Horror & Ghost Stories (6)	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0
F3.3 Graphic Novels: Non-fiction & Literary (1)	1 (100%)	0	0

Figure 14 Table showing distribution of authors among all sub-categories of fiction, by gender, shaded in grey to highlight the majority of authors

Of the genres shown in Figure 14, male authors made up the majority of authors in 7 of the 9 categories, apart from Historical & Mythological Fiction, where an equal number of male and female authored titles were published (22 each); and Romance & Sagas, where all 11 published titles were written by female authors. Compared to the overall Fiction proportion of women authors, 39.2%, two further sub-classifications exceeded this proportion, making General & Literary Fiction (40.3% female authors) and Short Stories & Fiction Anthologies (44.1% female authors) also marginally more likely to publish female authors than the overall fiction genre. The remaining five categories were dominated by male authors; for example, 101 male authors were published in Crime, Thriller and Adventure (62.3%) compared to 61 female authors (37.7%).

Trade non-fiction published during this period is made up of 102 distinct sub-categories. Of these 102 sub-categories, men made up the majority of authors in 74 cases. In 23 sub-categories, women were in the majority, and in a further 4 cases, men and women were equally represented. In one case, gender data was not available for the authors writing in the sub-category. In the interest of specificity, I focus on the 11 largest sub-category examples, defined as sub-categories where more than 20 authors were published between 2017-2019, although full figures will be made available as a database.

Sub-category (total authors)	Male authors, total (%)	Female authors, total (%)	Non-binary authors, total (%)
T4.0A Autobiography: General (86)	47 (54.7%)	39 (45.3%)	0
T5.2 Regional History (47)	37 (82.2%)	8 (17.8%)	0

T15.1 Ball Games: Field & Outdoor (35)³⁰	34 (100%)	0	0
T1.2 Individual Artists / Art Monographs (31)	15 (48.4%)	16 (51.6%)	0
T13.0 Humour: Collections & General (30)	22 (73.3%)	8 (26.7%)	0
T8.7 Popular Culture & Media: General Interest (28)	9 (36%)	16 (64%)	0
T8.5 Travel Writing (28)	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	0
T1.1 Fine Arts / Art History (26)	13 (56.5%)	10 (43.5%)	0
T5.6 Local History, Names & Genealogy (21)	12 (60%)	8 (40%)	0
T8.1 Natural History: General (21)	16 (76.2%)	5 (23.8%)	0

Figure 15 Table showing distribution of authors among largest sub-categories of trade non-fiction, shaded in grey to highlight the majority of authors

Between 2017-2019, the 12 largest sub-categories within Trade non-fiction were Autobiography (General), Regional History, Ball Games (Field & Outdoor), Individual Artists/Art Monographs, Humour (Collections & General), Popular Culture & Media (General Interest), Travel Writing, Fine Arts/Art History, Local History, Names and Genealogy and Natural History (General). On average over these 3 years, 32 books were published in each of these categories, with the largest being Autobiography (General), which saw over 80 books published. Only two of the 11 sub-categories published a majority of female authors: Individual Artists/Art Monographs, with 51.6% women (16 authors), and Popular Culture & Media (General Interest), with 64% women (16 authors). The remaining 9 sub-categories all published more male authors than female authors, with the highest imbalance in Ball Games (Field & Outdoor), where all 34 authors were male; and Travel Writing, with 92.3% (24) male authors. Six of the 11 largest sub-categories exceeded the overall Trade Non-fiction average for publishing female writers in 2017-2019, which is 30.4%, with three categories at or over 40% female writers, including the largest sub-category, Autobiography (General),

³⁰ NB: Some of these total figures include authors for whom gender data was not available, so the total number of female, male and non-binary authors may not always add up to the total number of authors.

with 47 male authors (54.7%) and 39 female authors (45.3%). However, while this may be a slightly positive observation, the remaining five categories were well below this figure, with three of these categories publishing less than 20% female authors (the two categories already noted, Ball Games and Travel Writing, as well as Regional History, with 37 male authors, making up 82.2%).

Children's and young adult writing (including picture books, non-fiction, and fiction) saw a majority of female writers, at 200 (44.5%) male authors and 248 (55.2%) female, and one non-binary author. This is not surprising, as young adult writing in the UK is generally dominated by (white) female authors (Ramdarshan Bold 2018). Further, children's writing has been undervalued and not seen as serious literature, perhaps due to the phenomenon that Alacovska describes, quoting Tuchman (1989) on 'novel' writing: "[w]hen women enter the field, the social and symbolic value of a genre further erodes, so men decamp and leave it to women" (Alacovska 2017, 387). What is at play here is traditional sexism, which describes the societal view of female and feminine coded things being valued less than male and masculine coded things (Serano 2016, 329); further, this mechanism, and the devaluing of a genre which is related to children, is likened to gender stereotyping – women are seen as more 'naturally' nurturing (A. R. Hochschild 1983, 175–76), and therefore labour related to children is valued less as it is seen as an extension of their 'natural' inclination and ability rather than a professional skill. Children's writing makes up less than a quarter of books published in the period, so the stark overrepresentation of female authors here does not impact the overall figure of male dominance in the publishing landscape. The nine sub-categories within children's and young adult writing are represented in Figure 16:

Sub-category (total authors)	Male authors, total (%)	Female authors, total (%)	Non-binary authors, total (%)
Y2.1 Children's Fiction (200)	113 (57.7%)	83 (42.3%)	0
Y1.3 Picture Books (117)³¹	34 (30.9%)	76 (69.1%)	0
Y2.2 Young Adult Fiction (68)	18 (26.9%)	48 (71.6%)	1 (1.5%)

³¹ Where author and illustrator were both named, both are listed; therefore, a book written by a male author and illustrated by a female author will show up twice in this statistic, once as a male-authored book and once as a female-authored book. Where only one name was listed, the book was counted only once.

Y1.1 Pre-school & Early Learning (29)	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	0
Y4.0 Children's General Non-Fiction (27)	17 (73.9%)	6 (26.1%)	0
Y1.2 Novelty & Activity Books (10)	1 (10%)	9 (90%)	0
Y2.3 Children's Comic Strip Fiction & Graphic Novels (8)	8 (100%)	0	0
Y4.1 Children's General Interest & Leisure (6)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	0
Y4.4 Young Adult General Interest & Leisure (2)	0	2 (100%)	0

Figure 16 Table showing distribution of authors among selected sub-categories of children's and young adult writing, shaded in grey to highlight the majority of authors

Of these 9 categories, 5 saw more women published than men, including two of the three largest sub-categories, Picture Books, with 76 female authors (69.1%) and Young Adult Fiction, with 48 female authors (71.6%) and one non-binary author. Interestingly, all the sub-categories where women made up the majority of writers far exceeded the proportion of female authors in the overall Children's and Young Adult statistic, 55.2%. This comparatively low overall figure can be explained by the majority of male authors published in 3 sub-categories, including the single largest sub-category, Children's Fiction, where 113 male authors were published (57.7%) and 83 female authors (42.3%). Mirroring the majority male field of non-fiction publishing identified in the above section of this chapter, Children's General Non-Fiction was another area where male authors were more frequently represented, with 17 publications (73.9%) compared to 6 female authors' publications (26.1%). Men also made up 100% of authors published in Children's Comic Strips & Graphic Novels, but it should be noted that these were all reissued translations of the popular Asterix comics, rather than original new publications. In one additional category, Children's General Interest and Leisure, male and female authors made up 50% each of the published authors (3 male and 3 female authors).³²

³² In the Young Adult equivalent of this category, Young Adult General Interest & Leisure, however, two women were the only authors published in 2017-2019.

Despite being classified as Trade Non-fiction by Nielsen BookScan, I have decided to list findings on poetry publishing separately. Poetry is one of the two sub-categories where non-binary writers were published in this time frame, the other being a Young Adult Fiction author. Poetry saw 52 male authors published, 28 female authors, and 1 non-binary author, with male authors making up 64.2% of the overall published poetry books, female authors 34.6% and non-binary authors 1.2%. At 81 books published between 2017-2019, poetry is a large genre sub-section, and the significant gender imbalance observed is concerning.

The picture that emerges of the overall publishing landscape in Scotland during the late 2010s is one of male authorship, particularly in non-fiction. Of the 121 distinct sub-categories represented in this study over the course of publishing in Scotland from 2017-2019, male authors made up the majority of authors in 85 genre sub-categories, which is 70.2% of sub-categories; female authors made up the majority of authors in 29 sub-categories (23.9% of sub-categories). Of these, men made up 100% of the authors published in 29 sub-categories, compared to 100% women in 14 sub-categories (however, 36 of these 43 categories with 100% male or female authors encompassed fewer than 5 authors). There were 6 sub-categories which published an equal number of men and women (4.9% of sub-categories), and 1 sub-category which published an author for whom gender data was not available. Full details and figures will be made available as a database on University of Stirling's DataSTORRE.

Male authors not only make up the majority (61.3%) of all authors published in 2017-2019, but male-authored books also make up a larger proportion of books published in Scotland than male authors do – showing a further amplification of male voices. Only two books by non-binary authors were recorded in this data set. Another facet of women's writing which is particularly interesting for this period is the republication of Muriel Spark's novels by imprint Polygon (publisher Birlinn, 2017-2018). These novels represent 22 female-authored titles, making up 3.9% of all fiction titles published in this period – highlighting the impact on statistics which such a special publishing event can have, and also emphasising that granular examination is required to uncover publishing practices beyond this event.

Although this study does not include ethnicity information for Scottish book publishing in 2017-2019, there is a study which has examined ethnicity in two Scottish publications – specifically, poetry publications. One of the researchers working on the Ledbury Emerging Poetry Critics project, Dave Coates says that “the two major poetry

or poetry-featuring magazines in Scotland are *Gutter* and *The Dark Horse*, and they both between 2011 and 2018 have [published] around 40% women; [...] 5.2% of [*Gutter's*] poets are poets of colour; *The Dark Horse*, it's 3.1%, *The Dark Horse* published 13 poems by poets of colour in that period, eight of them by the same [poet]" (Coates 2019). Coates concluded that it was difficult to draw any conclusions from this small set of magazines, but that it was significant how similar these figures were. This is a vital area for further research.

5.3 Book reviews in Scotland

This section presents statistical analysis of authors reviewed in two Scottish national newspapers from 2017-2019. My aim was to find out whether there was gender equity among the books reviewed in the Scottish national press (in the newspapers *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*), and in participation in literary criticism, including discovering whether any individual reviewers appeared more frequently in the newspapers' pages. I was also interested in finding out whether there was any disparity in reviews assigned to reviewers – that is to say, whether, for example, men were more likely to review male authors' books. Finally, I sought to compare the two newspapers and their literary reviewing and find out which books were reviewed by both newspapers, therefore receiving additional promotion to more than one newspaper's readership. I counted book reviews, recording author of the book reviewed, reviewer, and gender of both.

First, to establish a baseline, I examined how many book reviews were published in these newspapers. As stated in my methodology, I counted the gender of the book's author(s), rather than assigning a gender to the book; I counted *how many authors' works* were published in the time span of the study, rather than *how many book reviews* or *how many books were reviewed*. In sum, *The Herald* and *The Scotsman* published reviews of 605 authors' books in 2017, 484 authors' work in 2018 and 574 authors' work in 2019. This means that there is a marked dip in authors' work reviewed from 2017 to 2018, lifting again slightly in 2019. As some books were written by multiple authors, the figure of books reviewed is slightly lower: 599 reviews published in 2017, 468 reviews in 2018 and 559 reviews in 2019. As noted above in 5.2, however, with three years of data the change between these years is not as

important as the overall picture which emerges of book reviewing in Scotland in the late 2010s.

Is there gender equity among books reviewed in *The Herald* and *The Scotsman* 2017-2019? To reflect the Scottish population, women would need to make up 51.5% of authors reviewed. ('Scotland's Census: Population' 2011) However, this was not the case – on average across these three years, male authors made up 62.7% of authors reviewed, with female authors making up 37% and non-binary authors making up 0.3% of all authors reviewed. Compared to the proportion of women living in Scotland, this is a difference of 14.5%. As was observable in publishing, there was a slight trend towards more equality, as representation of female authors improved from each year to the next, rising by a fraction of a percentage point from 34.2% of authors in 2017 to 34.4% of authors in 2018, and by 8.1 percentage points from 2018 to 2019, to 42.5% of authors. The absolute figures of authors reviewed by gender and by year can be seen illustrated in Figure 17.

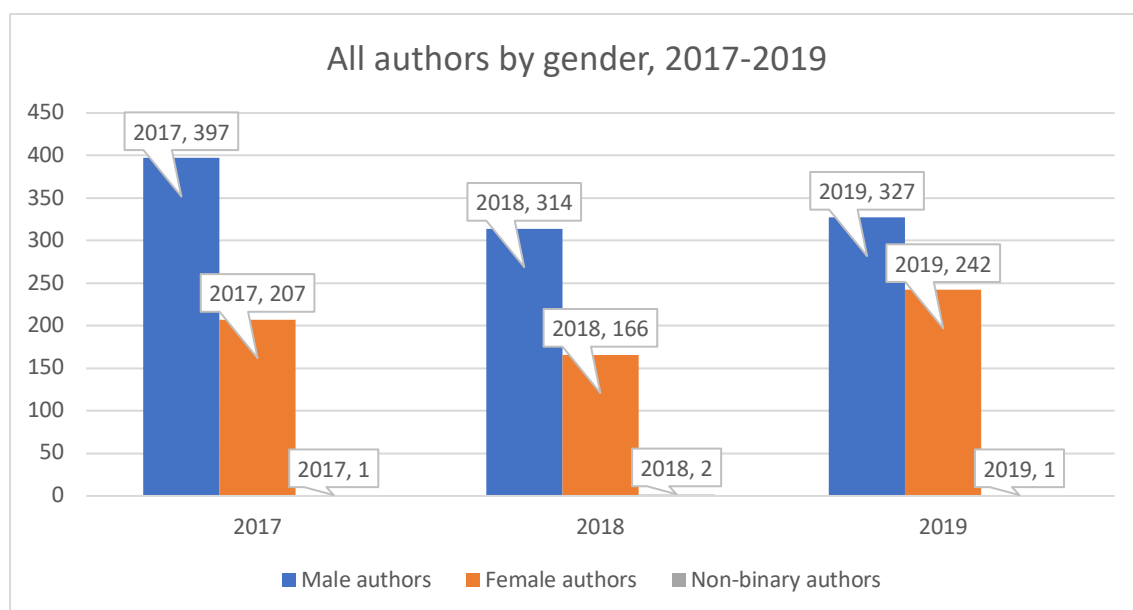


Figure 17 All authors reviewed in *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* 2017-2019 by gender, by year

On average across these three years, male reviewers made up 81.7% of reviewers, with female reviewers making up 18.3% of reviewers, and no non-binary reviewers. Compared to the slow improvement in the proportion of women whose books were reviewed in the Scottish national press in 2017-2019, the number and proportion of reviews written by female reviewers improved more swiftly across this three-year period. It rose from 10.7% in 2017 to 17.4% in 2018, and 26.7% in 2019. However,

this is still only a quarter of all reviews, leaving the vast majority of book reviews in this period in the late 2010s to be authored by men.

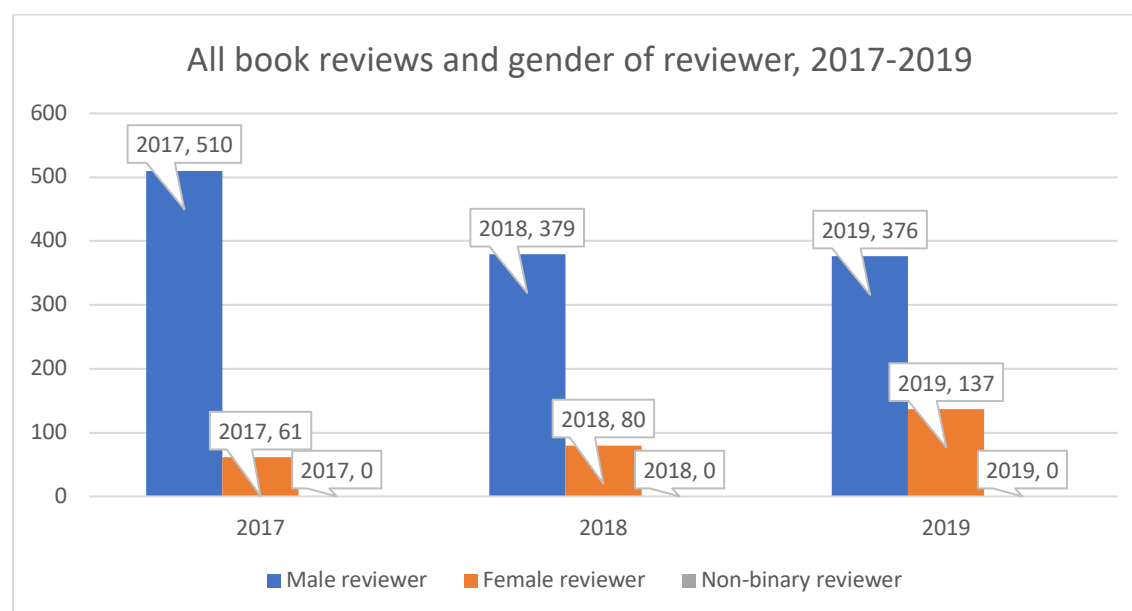


Figure 18 Book reviews in *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, 2017-2019, by gender of reviewer, by year

Further, the rate of reviews-per-reviewer remained static at roughly twice as many reviews written by male reviewers vs. female reviewers.³³ This means that while the number of individual female reviewers rose from 14 to 20 from 2017-2019 (14 individual female reviewers being equivalent to 23.7% of total individual reviewers, and 20 individual female reviewers amounting to 40.8% of total individual reviewers), female reviewers were consistently not assigned as many reviews as male reviewers. The specific figures for book reviews written by male and female reviewers, including the proportion of all reviews, number of individual reviewers, and reviews-per-reviewer can be seen in a table in Figure 19 and as a graph in Figure 20.

Reviewers	2017	2018	2019
Male reviewer (total, percentage of overall reviewers)	510 (89.3%)	379 (82.6%)	376 (73.3%)
Individual reviewers male	45	36	29
Books-per-male-reviewer	11	11	13

³³ 11 reviews per male reviewer vs. 4 reviews per female reviewer in 2017; 11 reviews per male reviewer vs. 5 reviews per female reviewer in 2018; 13 reviews per male reviewer and 7 reviews per female reviewer in 2019

Female reviewer (total, percentage of overall reviewers)	61 (10.7%)	80 (17.4%)	137 (26.7%)
Individual female reviewers	14	15	20
Books-per-female-reviewer	4	5	7

Figure 19 Reviews and gender of reviewer in *The Scotsman* and *The Herald*, by year, including number of individual reviewers and reviews-per-reviewer

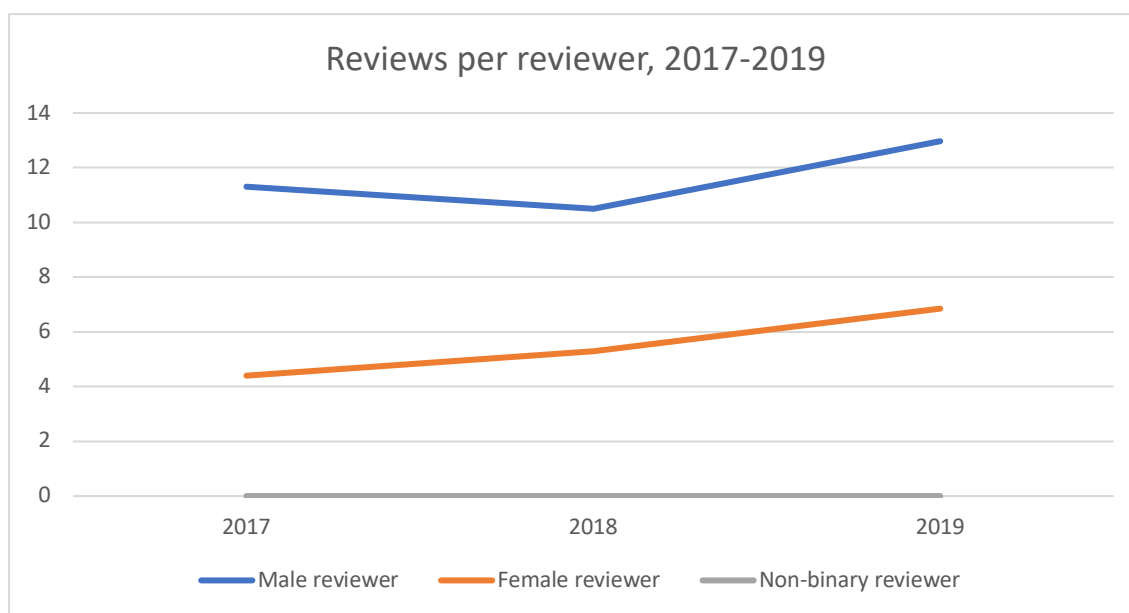


Figure 20 Average number of book reviews authored by reviewer in *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, 2017-2019, by gender of reviewer, by year

In 2017, most individual reviewers in *The Herald* wrote between 1-15 reviews. The three reviewers who wrote more than this are Nick Major (24), Graeme Smith (48), and Alastair Mabbott (180). In 2018, similarly, most individual reviewers wrote between 1-15 reviews. The three reviewers who wrote more than this are Nick Major (17), Gemma McLaughlin (17) and Alastair Mabbott (153). In 2019, most individual reviewers again wrote between 1-15 reviews. There are only three reviewers who wrote more reviews than 15: Rosemary Goring wrote 17 reviews, Gemma E McLaughlin wrote 34, and Alastair Mabbott wrote 173 reviews. This is interesting for several reasons: Alastair Mabbott is consistently the reviewer with the highest number of reviews per year, and it is important to note that many of his reviews are Paperback reviews, which are published as three short reviews in one segment. However, Mabbott's reviewing makes up a huge proportion of the reviews in this study: 180 in

2017, of 427 overall reviews (42.2%), 153 in 2018, of 318 overall reviews (48.1%), and 173 in 2019, of 397 overall reviews (43.6%). Gemma McLaughlin, who wrote many reviews in 2018 and 2019, began writing for *The Herald* when she was 13, and reviews young adult novels, many of which were not published during the year of reviewing. McLaughlin's reviewing is an unusual and exciting initiative, as it provides review space for a young person to review books targeted at their own demographic. However, *The Herald's* work with McLaughlin is not representative of *The Herald's* overall employment of female reviewers.

Reviewing in *The Scotsman* is very different than *The Herald*: there are fewer individual reviewers, and fewer reviews published overall, and no 'paperback review' segment. In 2017, most reviewers wrote between 1-8 reviews, with only three reviewers writing more than this: Roger Cox wrote 23, Stuart Kelly 45, and Allan Massie 47. In 2018, again, most reviewers wrote between 1-10 reviews, with only three reviewers writing more than this: Roger Cox wrote 20 reviews, Stuart Kelly 40, and Allan Massie 47. In 2019, most reviewers in *The Scotsman* wrote between 1-10 reviews, with only three reviewers writing more than this: Roger Cox wrote 24 reviews, Allan Massie 45 reviews and Stuart Kelly 47 reviews. While *The Herald* has one stand-out male reviewer over the three years of this study, *The Scotsman* has three male reviewers who consistently write the majority of reviews: between them, in 2017 Roger Cox, Stuart Kelly and Allan Massie wrote 115 reviews, making up 66.8% of the 172 overall published reviews, in 2018, 107 of 150 overall published reviews (71.3%), and in 2019, 116 of 162 overall published reviews (71.6%). It is important to note that Louise Fairbairn, a female reviewer, wrote 10 reviews in 2018 and 2019, the fourth-highest number of reviews per individual reviewer. Fairbairn wrote 5 reviews in 2017, but in that year, there was another female reviewer who took the fourth place: Kirsty McLuckie, at 8 reviews in 2017 (she also wrote 7 reviews in 2018 and 8 in 2019). While 8 or 10 reviews for an individual female reviewer are a lot compared to the average for female reviewers (average of 5 reviews in 2017, 5.8 in 2018 and 6 in 2019), this figure is minuscule in comparison to the consistent overrepresentation of three individual male reviewers.

Examining whether reviewers were likely to review authors of the same gender, I discovered that, on average across 2017-2019, male authors reviewed by male reviewers made up 55.6% of all authors reviewed, with female authors reviewed by male reviewers making up 25.8%, female authors reviewed by female reviewers at

10.5% and male authors reviewed by female reviewers at 7.8% of all authors reviewed. This means that from 2017-2019, male reviewers reviewed more than twice as many male authors as female authors.

In 2017, male authors reviewed by male reviewers made up 61.6% of all authors reviewed, and this figure dropped by more than 10 percentage points from 2017 to 2019 – male authors reviewed by male reviewers made up 58.3% in 2018 and 47.4% in 2019. However, male authors reviewed by male reviewers is still consistently the single largest sub-group of reviews – followed by female authors reviewed by male reviewers (unsurprisingly, as male reviewers wrote a majority of book reviews), female authors reviewed by female reviewers, and finally male authors reviewed by female reviewers. These figures can be seen in absolute terms in Figure 21.

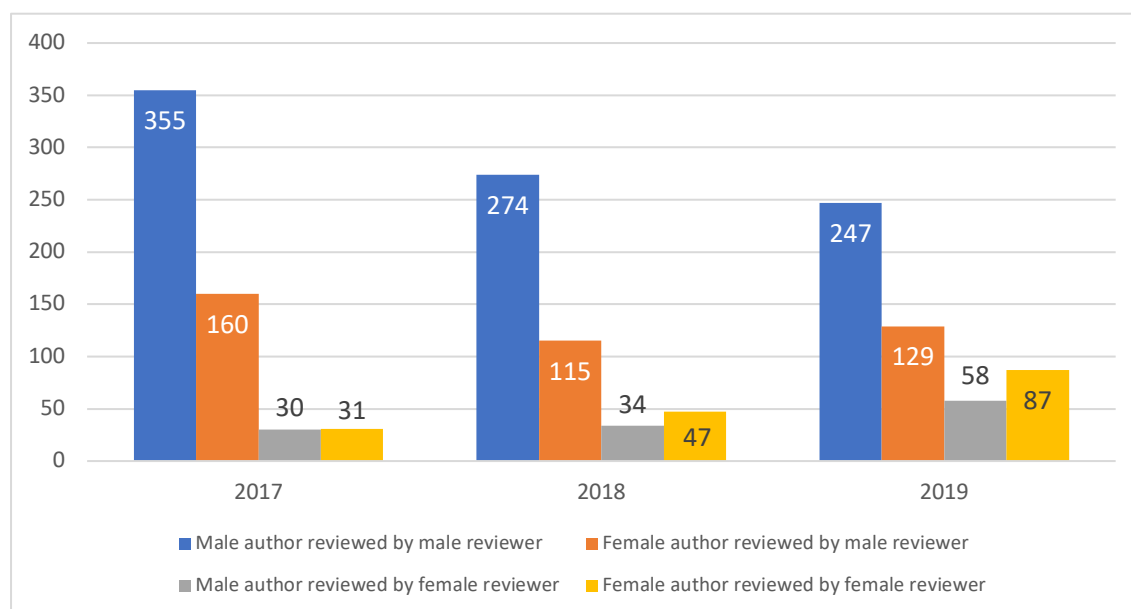


Figure 21 Reviewing by gender of author and gender of reviewer, 2017-2019, by year

Male reviewers were roughly twice as likely to review a male author than to review a female author, with men's reviews of male-authored books making up 62% of all reviews in 2017, and male reviewers reviewing female-authored books making up 28% of all reviews. In 2018, this proportion shifted slightly, to men-reviewing-men making up 58% and men-reviewing-women making up 25% of all reviews. In 2019, men-reviewing-men made up 47% of all reviews, and the proportion of men-reviewing-women remained static at 25% of all reviews. Female reviewers' reviews of female-authored books made up 5.4% of all reviews in 2017, and female reviewers reviewing male-authored books made up 5.2% of all reviews. In 2018, this proportion shifted in favour of female reviewers reviewing more female-authored books, which made up

10% of all reviews in 2018, with female reviewers reviewing male-authored books making up 7.2% of all reviews. In 2019, women-reviewing-women made up 16.7% of all reviews, and female reviewers reviewing male-authored books made up 11.1%. The proportions of reviewing by gender of reviewer and book author can be seen in Figures 22-24.

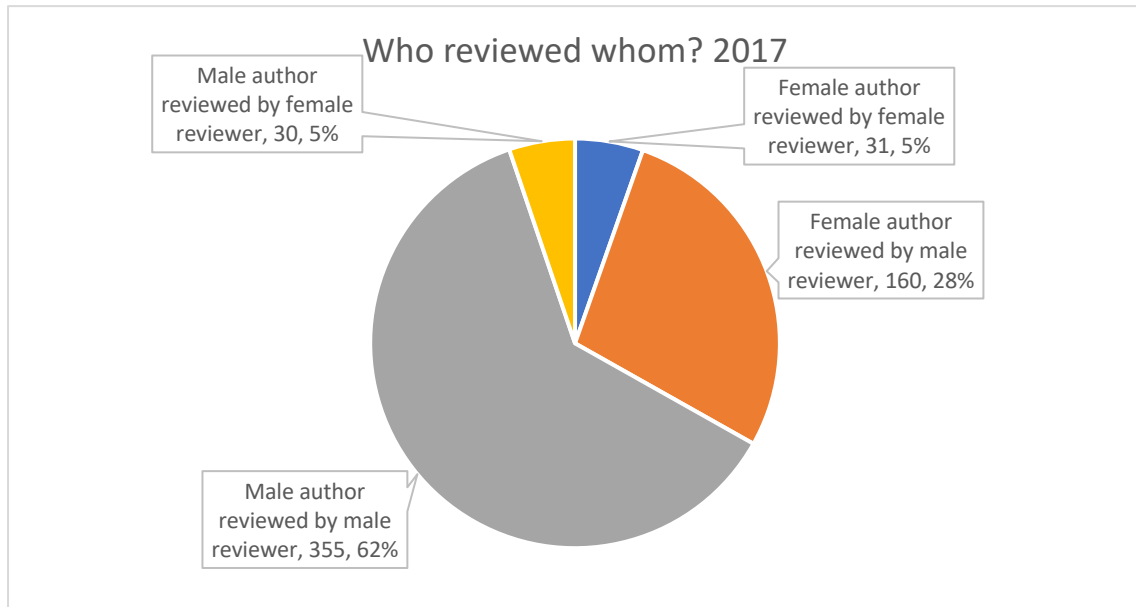


Figure 22 Reviews in *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* 2017, by gender of author and gender of reviewer

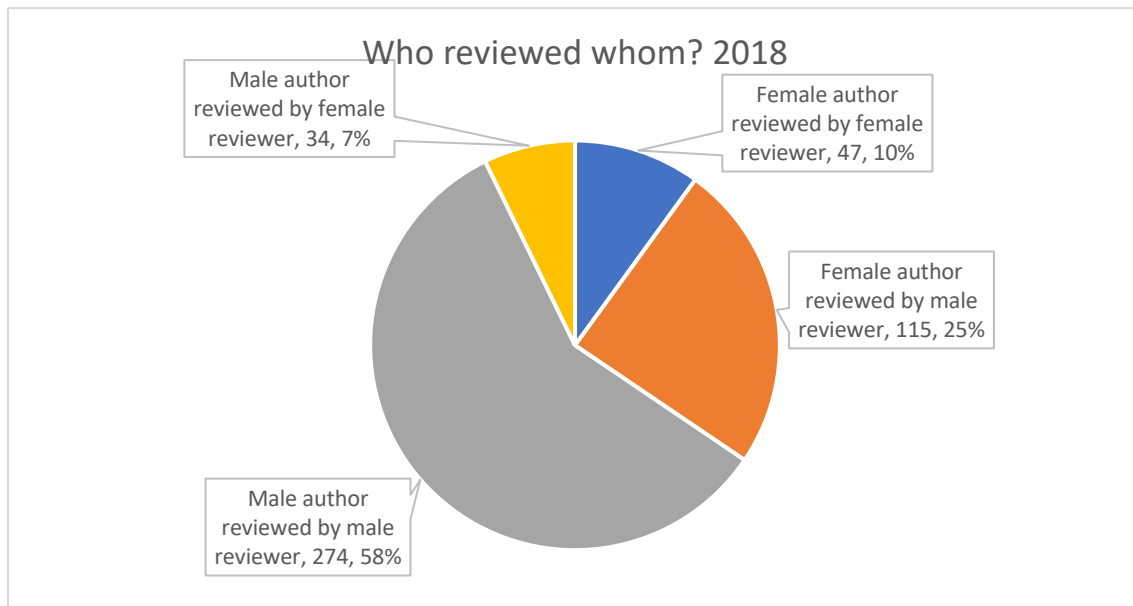


Figure 23 Reviews in *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* 2018, by gender of author and gender of reviewer

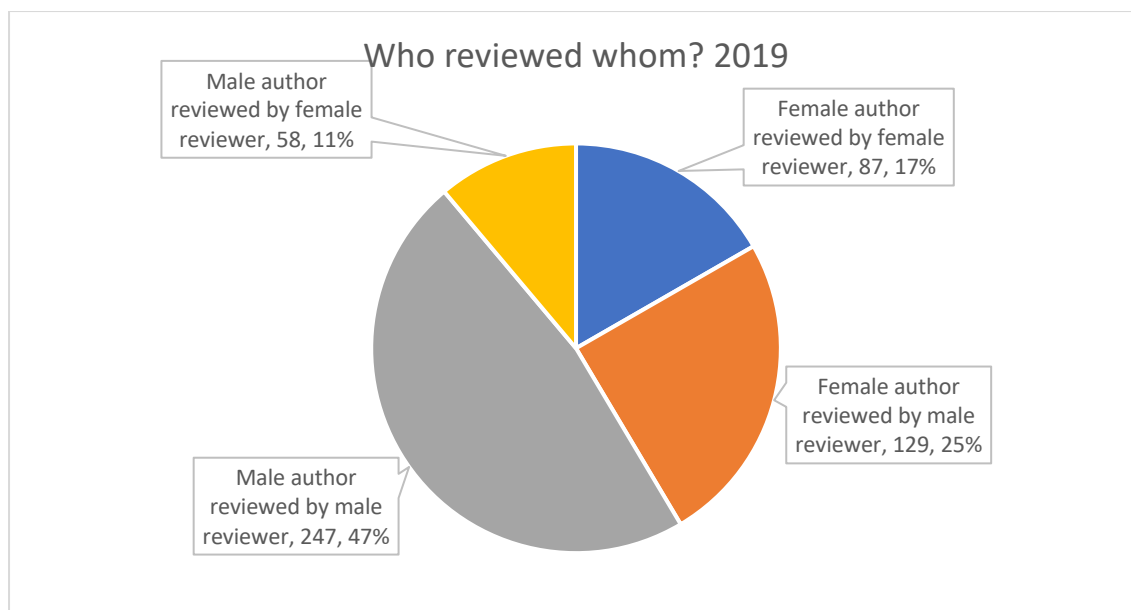


Figure 24 Reviews in *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* 2019, by gender of author and gender of reviewer

Female reviewers were more likely to review female authors than male authors, and this proportion increased steadily by about 10% from 2017 to 2019: Female authors made up 50.8% of female reviewers' reviews in 2017, 58% in 2018, and 60% in 2019. Meanwhile, female authors made up 31.1% of male reviewers' reviews in 2017, 29.6% in 2018 and 34.3% in 2019. Male reviewers' reviewing across author gender does not appear to have shifted as dramatically as female reviewers' reviewing, with male reviewers' reviews of male-authored books making up 68.9% of male reviewers' reviews in 2017, 70.4% in 2018 and 65.7% in 2019.

Book reviews of female authors' books increased by 1.3 percentage points from 2017 to 2018, and by 7 percentage points from 2018 to 2019.³⁴ However, the vast majority of this increase is due to female reviewers' coverage, which also increased by 4.6 percentage points from 2017 to 2018 (female reviewers reviewed 16 additional female authors), and increased by 6.7 percentage points from 2018 to 2019 (female reviewers reviewed 40 additional female authors), while the increase in female authors reviewed by male reviewers was 0.3 percentage points from 2018 to 2019 (representing 14 additional female authors reviewed by male reviewers), and actually decreased by 3.3 percentage points from 2017 to 2018 (representing 14 female authors less than the previous year). The other reason for a proportional shift is that

³⁴ This figure excludes reviews written by anonymous reviewers, or reviewers for whom gender data was not available. This explains why it is not the same as the figure quoted above, where 'all authors' data also includes these reviews.

male authors reviewed by male reviewers made up less of the overall reviews in 2018 than in 2017 (down by 3.3 percentage points, or 81 male authors), and in 2019 than in 2018 (down by 10.9 percentage points, or 27 male authors), which was only partially counteracted by an increase in male authors' books reviewed by female reviewers (increase by 2 percentage points, or 4 additional male authors 2017-2018, and increase by 3.9 percentage points, or 24 additional male authors 2018-2019). However, it should be noted that 2018 saw a significantly reduced number of book reviews published, at 485 authors reviewed, compared to 605 in 2017 and 574 in 2019 – so the increase or decrease of actual authors reviewed is less significant than the proportion. These figures show that female reviewers are mainly responsible for an increase in female author's books being reviewed across this period, and that male reviewers' behaviour has not changed as much as female reviewers' behaviour. I use the term 'reviewer behaviour' to refer to publication of reviews; this is not intended to mean that reviewers have complete autonomy over the choice as to which books to review, only that this is the observable reviewing behaviour which I was able to record. Describing review processes in Australian literary reviewing, Dane, as stated in 2.5.5, writes that books are commonly sent "to the editors of publications or literary sections" (Dane 2020b, 44) and that "[o]nce titles for review are chosen, they are then matched with a reviewer" according to expertise (Dane 2020b, 45). Critic, author and editor Lesley McDowell spoke about her experience of having books assigned to her by her editor in 6.4.2.2 and 6.4.2.3.

Finally, in each year there was a set of books which were reviewed in both *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*. *The Herald* published more reviews in each year, so these double reviews made up a smaller proportion of its overall reviewing than it did for *The Scotsman*. In 2017, 56 authors' books were reviewed in both *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, making up 31.5% of authors reviewed in *The Scotsman* and 13% of authors reviewed in *The Herald*. In 2018, 47 authors' books were reviewed in both *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, making up 30% of authors reviewed in *The Scotsman* and 14% of authors reviewed in *The Herald*. In 2019, 45 authors' books were reviewed in both *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, making up 28% of authors reviewed in *The Scotsman* and 12.6% of authors reviewed in *The Herald*.

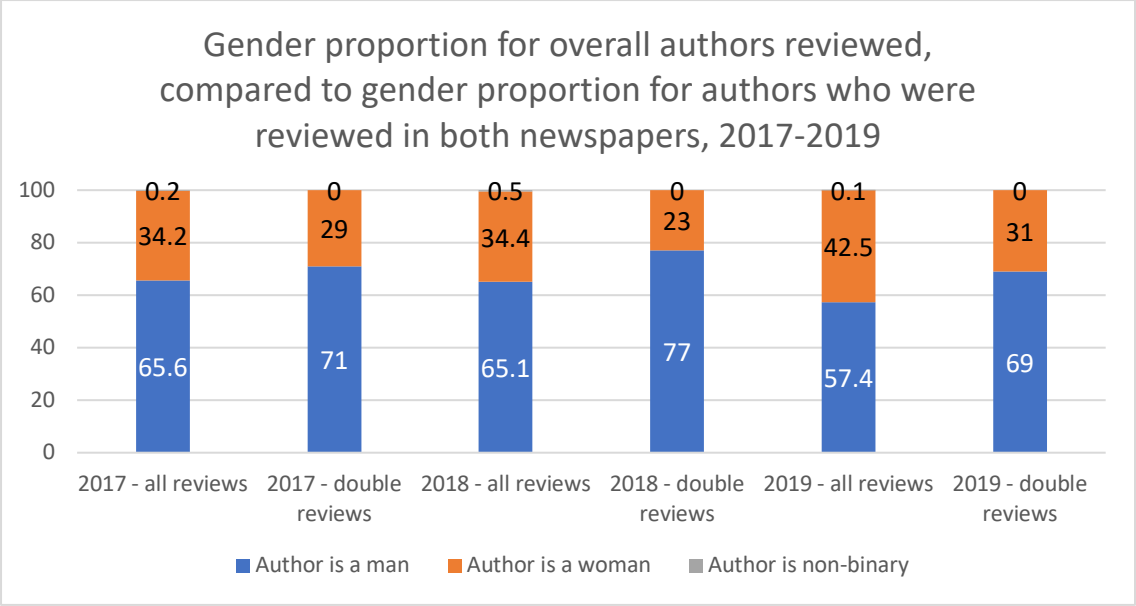


Figure 25 Gender proportion for overall authors reviewed, compared to gender proportion for authors who were reviewed in both newspapers, 2017-2019

The books reviewed by both newspapers in 2017-2019 were more likely to be written by male authors than female authors, as evidenced by the marked difference in proportion when compared to the overall authors reviewed – on average, there is a gap of 9.6 between the overall gender proportion found in books reviewed, and the gender proportion of doubly reviewed books. This is illustrated by bar graphs in Figure 25, and a table in Figure 26.

	Overall authors reviewed, proportion by gender	Authors whose books were reviewed by both newspapers, proportion by gender
2017	65.6% men, 34.2% women, 0.2% non-binary	71% men, 29% women
2018	65.1% men, 34.4% women, 0.5% non-binary	77% men, 23% women
2019	57.4% men, 42.5% women, 0.1% non-binary	69% men, 31% women

Figure 26 Table showing gender proportion for overall authors reviewed, compared to gender proportion for authors who were reviewed in both newspapers, 2017-2019

Individual books which were reviewed by both newspapers across the three years of this study are more likely to be written by male authors.

Overall, 2019 is the most gender equal year of this study; however, it should be noted that male authors reviewed by male reviewers still make up nearly 50% of all authors reviewed, and only a quarter of all reviews were written by female reviewers. A trend towards equality is visible in some of the areas of reviewing, but much work

remains to be done for the proportion of authors and the proportion of reviewers to be representative of the population of Scotland. Additionally, there is some indication that the improvement in the proportion of female authors reviewed is mainly down to female reviewers' increased reviewing of female authors' books, rather than a shift in male reviewers' work.

5.4 Book festivals in Scotland

This section uses statistical analysis of authors appearing at EIBF, Aye Write and Bloody Scotland, as described in 4.5, to identify whether men are more likely to be platformed, drawing on the methodology of Marsden and Dane to identify Bourdieusian symbolic violence: firstly, what is the proportion of men, women and non-binary authors who appear at these book festivals? Secondly, is there a difference in proportion of women and non-binary authors who appear at all events, compared to the proportion of women and non-binary authors who appear at solo events?

All the following figures refer to the percentage of authors compared to the overall number of authors for whom gender data was available.

My quantitative findings firstly compare the proportion of women authors appearing at EIBF, Aye Write, and Bloody Scotland, listed by year of festival in the below table.

Comparison of author appearances and proportion of women and non-binary authors programmed at three festivals, 2017-2019	2017	2018	2019
EIBF	1,057 total author appearances, 44.6% women, 0.5% non-binary authors	999 total author appearances, 45.9% women, 0.2% non-binary authors	1,053 total author appearances, 51.8% women, 0.8% non-binary authors

Aye Write	246 total author appearances, 42.7% women, 0% non-binary authors	280 total author appearances, 40.9% women, 0% non-binary authors	274 total author appearances, 41% women, 1.1% non-binary authors
Bloody Scotland	88 total author appearances, 39.8% women, 0% non-binary authors	95 total author appearances, 46.3% women, 0% non-binary authors	89 total author appearances, 48.3% women, 0% non-binary authors

Figure 27 Table showing total author appearances and proportion of female and non-binary author appearances at EIBF, Aye Write, Bloody Scotland, 2017-2019

While Figure 27 shows EIBF's proportion of women programmed rising with each year in the three-year sample, Aye Write's of women authors programmed dipped from 42.7% in 2017 to 40.9% in 2018 and lifting slightly to 41% in 2019. Aye Write also programmed non-binary writers in 2019 (3 writers). Like EIBF, Bloody Scotland's programme also saw a rise in the proportion of women programmed: while in 2017, 39.8% of the authors programmed were women, in 2018 this improved to 46.3%, and improving further in 2019 to 48.3%. Bloody Scotland programmed no non-binary writers.

Figure 27 shows that 2019 was the 'most gender equal' year of these three, and taking all three festivals together there is an indication of an improvement of gender equality across time, with 2017 seeing overall 43.9% of programmed authors being women, in 2018 44.9% and 2019 49.5%. It should be noted that EIBF accounts for 73-76% of the overall year-on-year data, and as such is disproportionately responsible for year-on-year improvements. An approach that adjusts for the EIBF's larger numbers would be to average the festivals rather than adding up their totals: This still shows an improvement across the three years, from 42.3% women and 0.2% non-binary people in 2017, to 44.4% women and 0.1% non-binary people in 2018, and to 47.1% women and 0.6% non-binary people in 2019.

Next, I examined events with one headline author, to find out whether there was a particular bias towards any gender in this type of programming. The assumption leading this line of inquiry is that these "solo events" represent a higher-prestige type of event than an event with multiple authors, particularly as the visibility and stage presence is not shared.

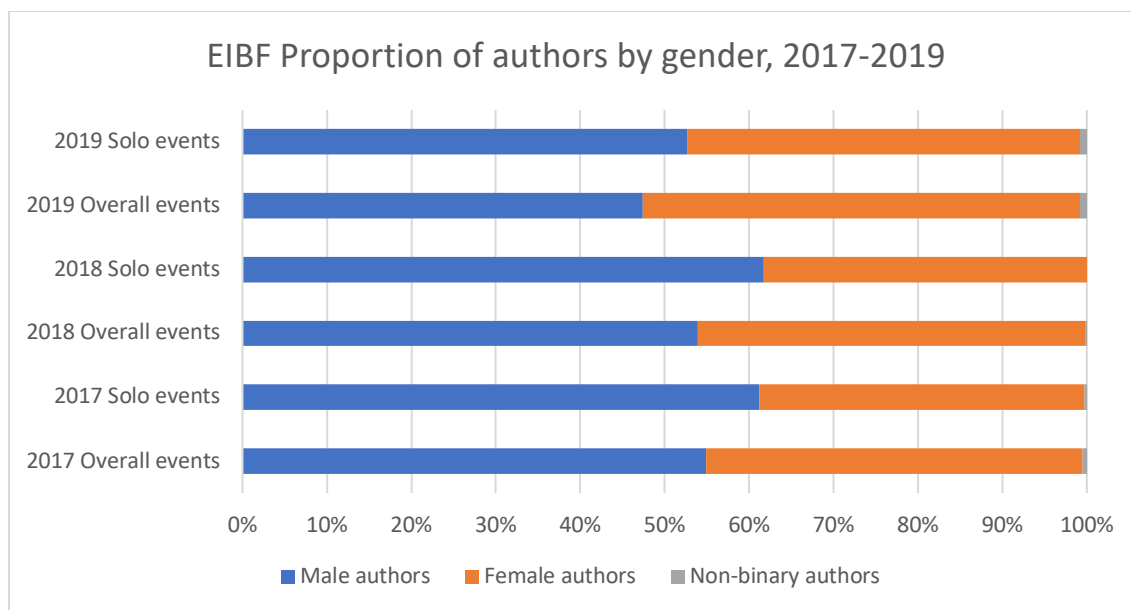


Figure 28 EIBF proportion of authors by gender, 2017-2019, overall events and solo events

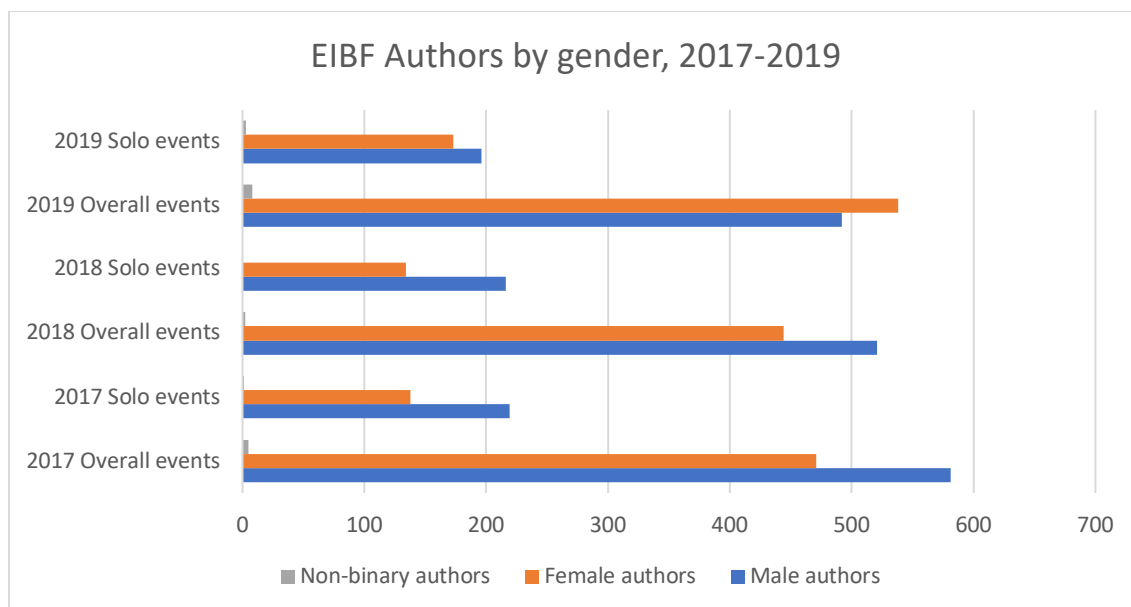


Figure 29 EIBF authors by gender, 2017-2019, overall events and solo events

Overall, EIBF's programming average from 2017-2019 was 52.1% men, 47.5% women and 0.5% non-binary authors. The representation of men in solo events is 58.5% over the three years (increase by 6.4 percentage points), 41.1% for women (decrease by 6.4 percentage points), and 0.4% for non-binary authors (decrease by 0.1 percentage points). As can be seen in the above figure, the year with the biggest disparity was 2018, where the difference between the general programme and the solo events for men is up by 7.6 percentage points, and the smallest difference is in 2019 (5.3-point difference).

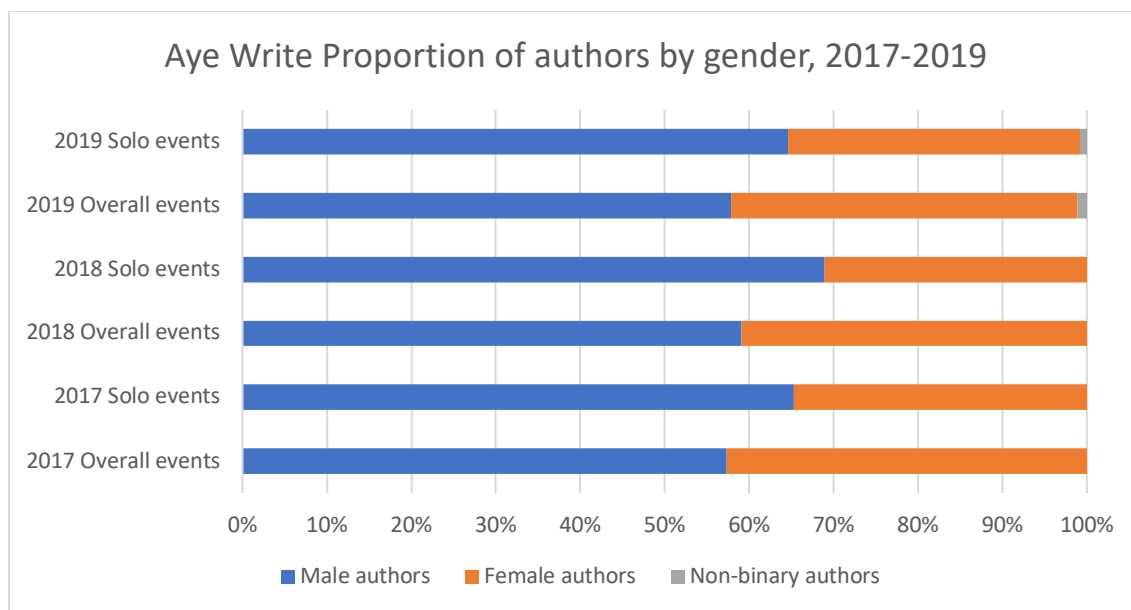


Figure 30 Aye Write proportion of authors by gender, 2017-2019, overall events and solo events

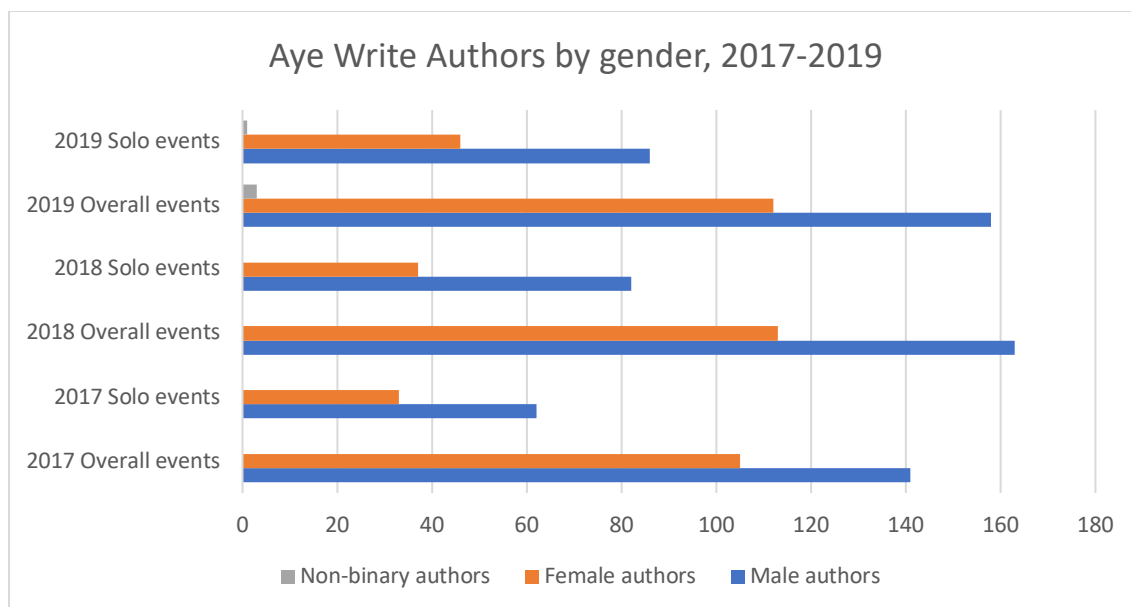


Figure 31 Aye Write authors by gender, 2017-2019, overall events and solo events

Overall, Aye Write's programming average from 2017-2019 was 58.1% men, 41.6% women and 0.4% non-binary authors. The representation of men in solo events is 66.3% over the three years (increase by 8.2 percentage points), 33.5% for women (decrease by 8.1 percentage points), and 0.3% for non-binary authors (decrease by 0.1 percentage points). As can be seen in the above figure, the year with the biggest disparity was 2018, where the difference between the general programme and the solo events for men is up by 9.8 percentage points, and the smallest difference is in 2019 (6.4-point difference). This drop in proportion of female authors/rise in proportion

of male authors for solo events (i.e., higher prestige situations) mirrors the overrepresentation of male authors as prize winners as compared to prize shortlistees, as shown in section 5.4 on literary prizes. Following Norris and Dane, this shift in proportional representation is evidence of symbolic violence, i.e., the naturalisation and reproduction of hegemonic hierarchies.

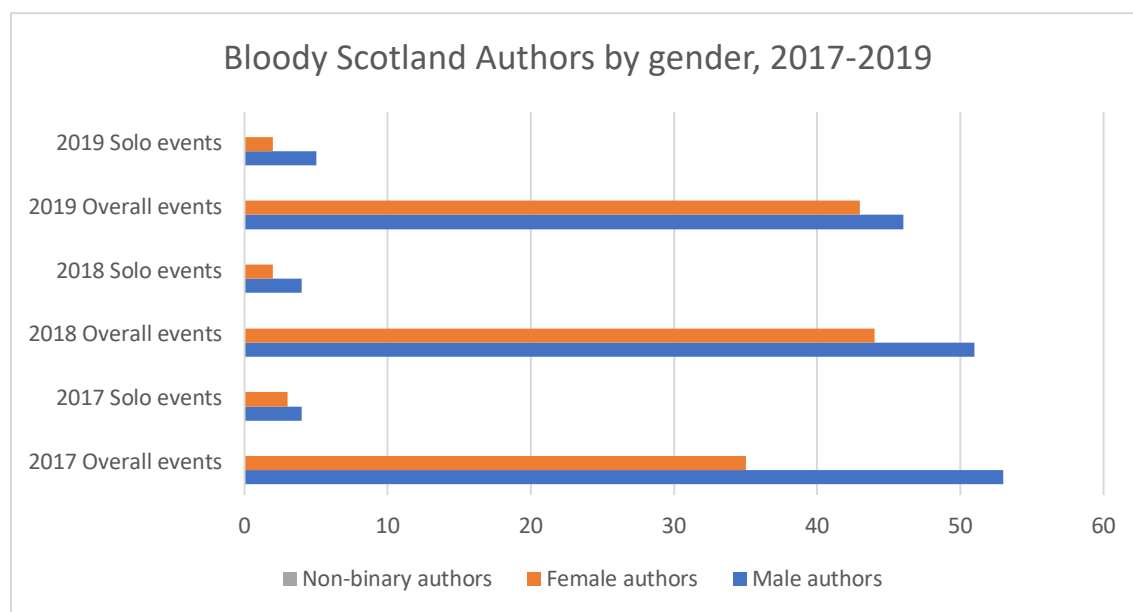


Figure 32 Bloody Scotland authors by gender, 2017-2019, overall events and solo events

Bloody Scotland does not programme many solo events. In 2017, it programmed seven such events, in 2018 six, and in 2019 seven. As stated above, on average EIBF's solo events make up 35% of its author programming, and for Aye Write it is 44% of its author programming. For Bloody Scotland such events make up just 7% of its programming. This is, therefore, too small a sample to compare significantly to the EIBF and Aye Write. It should be noted however that men still outnumber women in Bloody Scotland's solo programming in 2017, 2018 and 2019.

The above analysis shows that solo programming at EIBF, Aye Write and Bloody Scotland shows a proportional disparity for authors programmed in the overall programme as compared to the solo programme. Male authors outnumber female authors in all years surveyed of Bloody Scotland; solo events were more likely to feature male authors than the overall total in all years surveyed at Aye Write, by 8.2 percentage points; solo events were more likely to feature male authors than the overall total in all years surveyed at EIBF, by 6.4 percentage points. The proportions of female authors platformed at solo events decreased by 8.1 percentage points at Aye Write, and 6.2 percentage points at EIBF (comparing solo events to overall

events), and for non-binary authors the decrease was 0.1 percentage points respectively.

The findings detailed in 5.4 align with Dane's assessment of the literary festival as 'initially appear[ing] to be a space where women authors are almost equally represented' yet containing a more complex picture (Dane 2018, 172). While representation of women and non-binary people in literary festivals in Scotland may be high 'compared to other sites of prestige accumulation, such as book reviews and literary prizes' (Dane 2018, 173) (just as Dane reports for the Australian field), the Scottish case also reveals that inequality is heightened in situations that promise more exposure, more prestige, and that present a higher risk to the festival programme (i.e. solo events).

To summarise, I have had three major quantitative findings on book festivals: compared to sections 2, 3 and 5 of this chapter, which consider publishing, reviewing and prizes, book festivals present the most gender equal part of the Scottish literary sector in 2017-2019, with female authors comprising between 39.8-51.8% of authors platformed, and non-binary authors comprising up to 1.1% of authors platformed. Secondly, when compared to all events, "solo events" are more likely to feature male authors, even in instances where women make up more than half of authors platformed (e.g., EIBF's 2019 programme, 51.8% women in overall programme and 48.8% in solo programme). I define this overrepresentation of male authors as evidence of symbolic violence.

5.5 Literary prize culture in Scotland

This section uses statistical analysis of authors shortlisted for and winning the prizes described 4.6 to identify whether men are more likely to win these prizes, drawing on the methodology of Marsden and Dane to identify Bourdieusian symbolic violence: firstly, what is the proportion of men, women and non-binary authors who have won these prizes? Secondly, is there a difference in proportion of women shortlisted to women winning the prizes? Thirdly, are there instances where individual authors are multiply valued, i.e., shortlisted or winning multiple times? No data about book submissions to these prizes was used for this study; it focuses on information about shortlisted and winning books only. Without insight into the judging process itself or access to the adjudication discussions, it is difficult to tell how these prizes' entry

criteria (included in the prize descriptions in 4.6) are applied to create the winners. Therefore, this section first presents the absolute winners on shortlists (where available) and winners, and then compares the proportion of women shortlisted for prizes with the proportion of women winning these prizes, to give an empirical measure of whether women are ‘filtered out’ during the judging process.

Qualitative data from the contextual introduction of the literary prizes investigated in this thesis describes, in 4.6, the ways in which these prizes are organised, which is intended to be read alongside quantitative recording and analysis of shortlisted and winning authors. In this method, this section also follows Bourdieu’s idea of *recording exclusion of women* and *explaining the reproduction of hierarchies*:

[A history of women] cannot be content, for example, to record the exclusion of women from this or that occupation, this or that branch or discipline; it must also take note of and explain the reproduction both of the hierarchies (occupational, disciplinary, etc.) and of the hierarchical dispositions which they favour. (Bourdieu 2001, 83)

While analyses of other areas of the Scottish literary sector in this chapter (5.2, 5.3, 5.4) draw out a picture of the field of literary production in Scotland by aggregating numbers across organisations, this is less meaningful for literary prizes: these four suites of prizes have varying numbers of shortlisted writers, varying monetary values of prize money and varying genres, and often there is a stark difference in how long prizes have been running for.³⁵ In addition to this, each prize comes with its own set of characteristics, and engages with other parts of the sector in a variety of degrees (for a discussion of these prizes’ relationships with existing hierarchies, see 7.2). Therefore, analysis of gendered construction of literary value is more meaningful as each prize is discussed in turn. For example, if one were to aggregate winners for these prizes in 2017, it appears that women authors dominate the field. The four prizes discussed here are in fact twelve prizes, as the JTBP have three categories and the Saltire Society Literary Awards have seven categories.³⁶ Of these 12 prizes, 7 were won by women³⁷ and 4 were won by men.³⁸ However, one of the prize-winning women

³⁵ The longest running of these prizes, the James Tait Black Prizes for Fiction and Biography, have been awarded continuously since 1919, while the newest of these, the Saltire Society Fiction and Non-Fiction Book of the Year Awards were set up in their current form in 2015.

³⁶ However, only eleven prize winners are recorded here, as the Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award was not awarded in 2017.

³⁷ JTBP for Biography, JTBP for Fiction, Saltire Society Scottish Book of the Year, Saltire Society First Book of the Year, Saltire Society Non-Fiction Book of the Year, Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year, McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year

³⁸ Saltire Society Research Book of the Year, Saltire Society Fiction Book of the Year, Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction, JTBP for Drama

authors, Denise Mina, who won the McIlvanney Prize, was the first woman to win the prize since its inception in 2012; in addition to this, all other prizes won by women in 2017 had up until that point been won a majority of male authors.³⁹ This shows that analysing gender of prize winners by year does not provide sufficient information, as it obscures historical inequality.

The prizes in this section are presented chronologically from the foundation of the prize, beginning with the JTBP (established 1919) before moving on to the Saltire Society Literary Awards (first awarded in 1937), the Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction (established 2010) and the McIlvanney Prize (established 2012). The quantitative data analysis in this section on the Saltire Society Literary Awards is indebted heavily to the work of Marsden, and draws on tables from the additional materials submitted with Marsden's doctoral thesis (2016a) and appendix to Marsden's monograph (2021, 173–95). This section presents ethnicity information about individual authors, where this was available (cf. 3.3.6).

5.5.1 James Tait Black Prizes

While historical information about winners of the JTBP was available dating back to its first award in 1919, information about this prize's shortlists was not available before 2008 (using the University of Edinburgh website news archive). Consequently, this section will not compare shortlists to winners, but will instead focus on winners alone. Collecting information about the gender of winners of the JTBP for Fiction from 1919–2021 provides evidence of a significant gender bias in favour of men; men make up the majority of winners overall, and they also make up the majority of winners in all but two decades of the prize's history. Figure 33 shows the gender of the prize winners by decade for the JTBP for Fiction.⁴⁰

³⁹ JTBP for Biography winners 1919–2016: 67% male. JTBP for Fiction winners 1919–2016: 71% male. Saltire Society Scottish Book of the Year 1988–2016: 73% male. Saltire Society First Book of the Year 1988–2016: 51% male. Saltire Society Non-Fiction Book of the Year 2015–2016: 100% male. Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year 2014–2016: 67% male. A more detailed analysis of shortlists and winners of these prizes can be found in section 5.5 of this thesis.

⁴⁰ This information is up to date as at 6 April 2022. The prize is always awarded for the previous year – in 2022, the 2021 prize will be awarded.

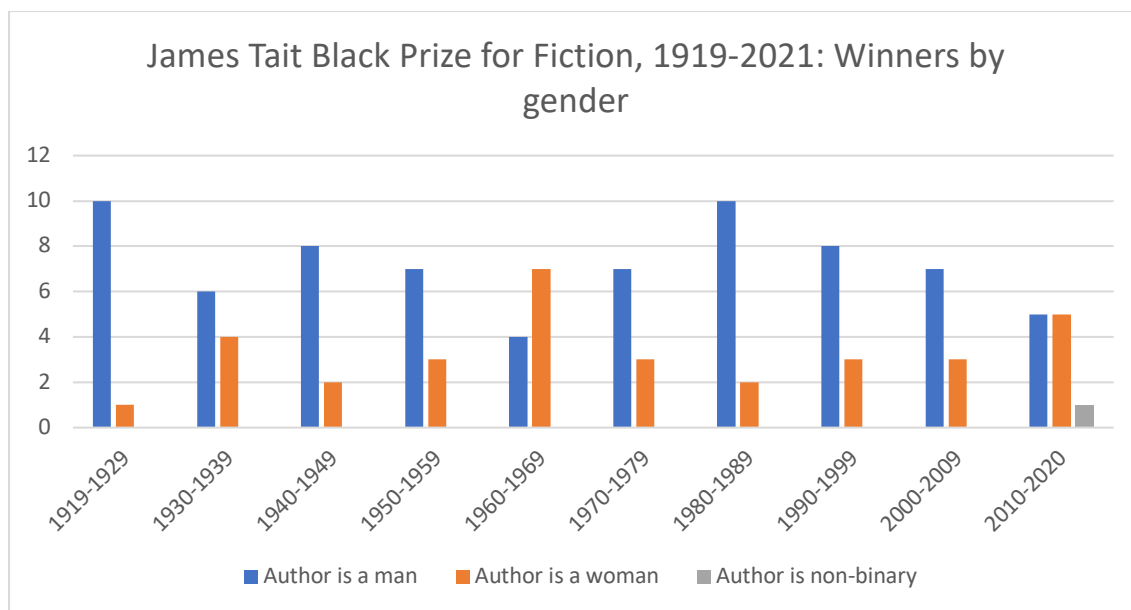


Figure 33 James Tait Black Prize for Fiction, 1919-2021. Gender of winners, by decade

The first woman to win the JTBP for Fiction was Radclyffe Hall in 1926. Men won the prize more frequently than women in every decade except the 1960s, which saw wins by seven women and four men (in 1966, the prize was given to two writers, as explained below).

Progress on authors of colour appears to be extremely slow, with the first author of colour winning in the 1980s. However, sexism and racism are entangled: while the first man of colour wins the prize in 1981 (Salman Rushdie), it would take another 19 years for a woman of colour to win (Zadie Smith, 2000).

Overall, the prize has been awarded to 105 authors. There were four years in which the award was given to two writers jointly; in 1966, the prize went to Aidan Higgins and Christine Brooke-Rose; in 1981 to Paul Theroux and Salman Rushdie; in 1984 to JG Ballard and Angela Carter; and in 1996 to Graham Swift and Alice Thompson. In each of these occasions, a white man was the joint winner of the prize; in three of four occasions, a white woman also won the prize, and, as mentioned above, in 1981 Salman Rushdie was the first author of colour to be awarded the prize, (awarded jointly with Paul Theroux).

Overall, from 1919-2021, of the 105 winners, 72 were men (67.9%), 33 were women (31.1%) and 1 was non-binary (0.9%).

Turning to the 103 authors who have won the JTBP for Biography since its inception in 1919, Figure 34 illustrates that men made up the majority of winners of this prize in every decade since its inception, with the exception of the 1960s (as is

the case for the JTBP for Fiction), which saw seven women and three men win this prize, and the most recent decade (2010-2021) in which seven women and four men won this prize.

The first woman to win this prize was Violet Clifton, who won it in 1933 for *The Book of Talbot*, which concerns Clifton's husband, Talbot Clifton. This came seven years after the JTBP for Fiction was first won by a woman.

Overall, of the 103 winners, 68 were men (66%) and 33 were women (32%). There were two instances where information about the author's gender was not available. Again, male authors make up a clear and overwhelming majority of the winners of the JTBP for Biography from 1919-2021.

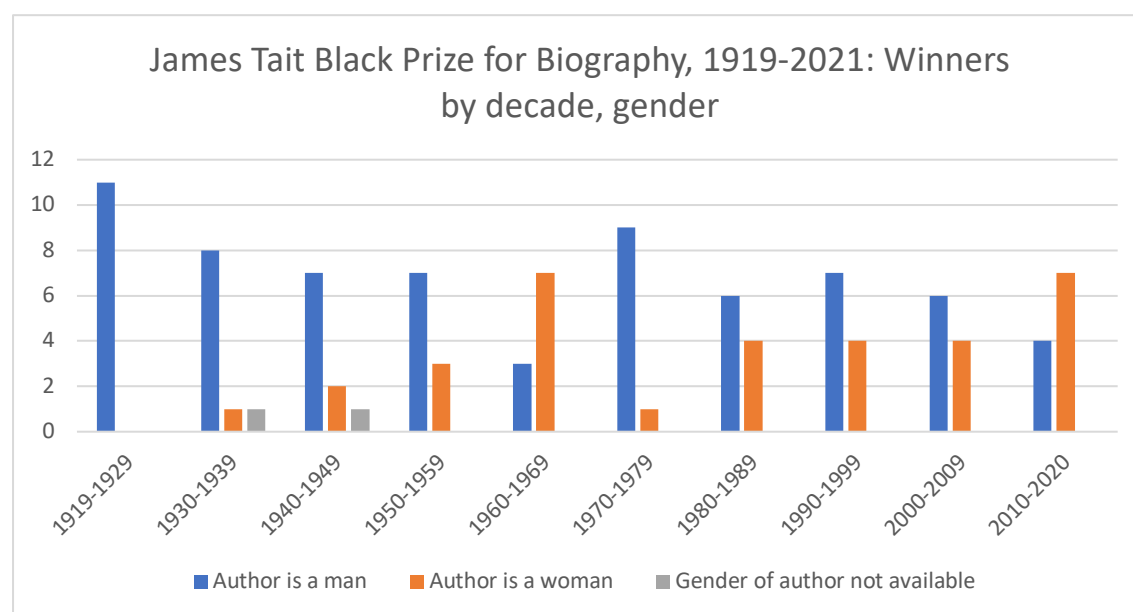


Figure 34 James Tait Black Prize for Biography, 1919-2021. Gender of winners, by decade

The JTBP for Drama has been won three times by a woman, in 2018, 2019 and 2020 (38%). Of its eight winners between 2012-2021, five are men (71%). This prize has been won twice by writers of colour, in 2018 and 2020 (Tanika Gupta and Yasmin Joseph respectively).

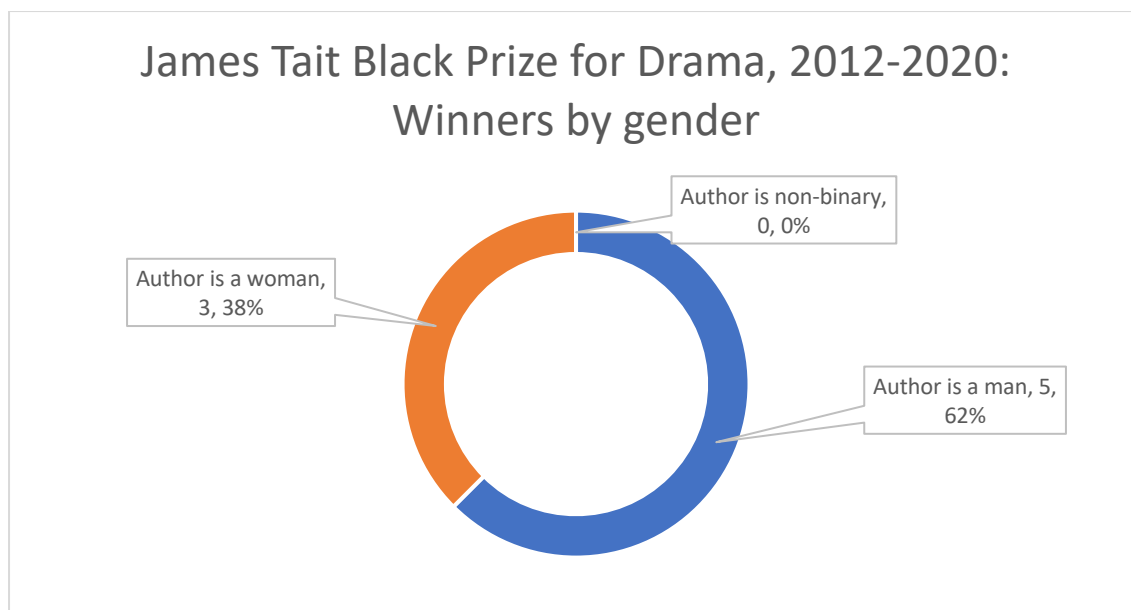


Figure 35 James Tait Black Prize for Drama, 2012-2021. Gender of winners

None of the JTBP's have been awarded multiple times to the same author. Comprehensive shortlist data was not available, so analysis of repeatedly shortlisted authors was not possible.

5.5.2 Saltire Society Literary Awards

5.5.2.1 Saltire Society Book of the Year Award

Marsden examined gender inequality in books submitted, shortlisted for, and winning the Saltire Society BotY and First BotY Award between 1988 and 2014 (Marsden 2016b; 2019). Marsden found that, out of over 2,026 books submitted for the Saltire Society BotY Award and First BotY Award, “just under a third – 640 entries – are authored, co-authored or edited by women” (Marsden 2016b, 261). 32% of the books shortlisted for the BotY Award between 1988 and 2014 were by women (Marsden 2016b, 262), however, only 23% of the winners in that time were women (Marsden 2016b, 263).

Building on Marsden's work and supplementing figures for the BotY Award for 2015-2021, the picture that emerges is similar, yet suggests that the overall gender imbalance may slowly be shifting due to some recent wins by women: 35% of shortlisted authors for 1988-2021 are women, and 31% of winners are women. This means that the drop-off in women writers winning the prize described by Marsden above, a drop in 9 percentage points between shortlist and winners, has reduced to 4

points when the period is extended to encompass 1988-2021. This increase in overall percentage of women writers winning this prize from 23% to 31% is due to four women winning the prize between 2015-2021; further, an agender writer won this prize in 2021, the first non-binary author to win any Saltire Society prize. However, Figure 36 and Figure 37 show the overwhelming majority of men shortlisted for and winning this prize.

Between 2015 and 2021, no authors were shortlisted more than once for this prize. More work could be done on analysing the shortlists data collected by Marsden 1988-2014 for authors who may have been repeatedly shortlisted.

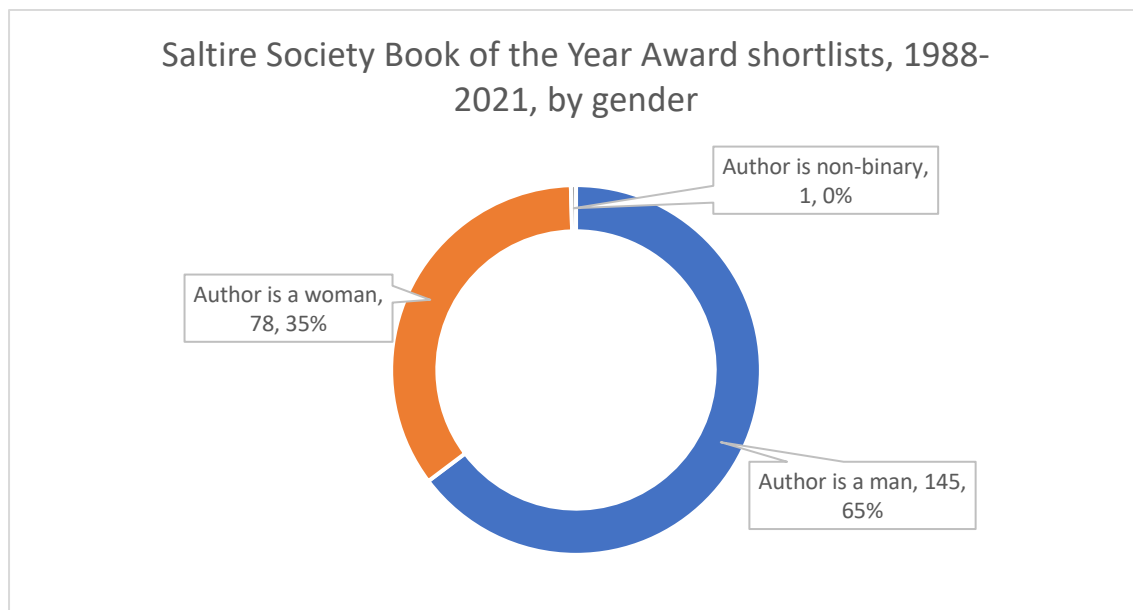


Figure 36 Saltire Society Book of the Year Award 1988-2021. Shortlists by gender

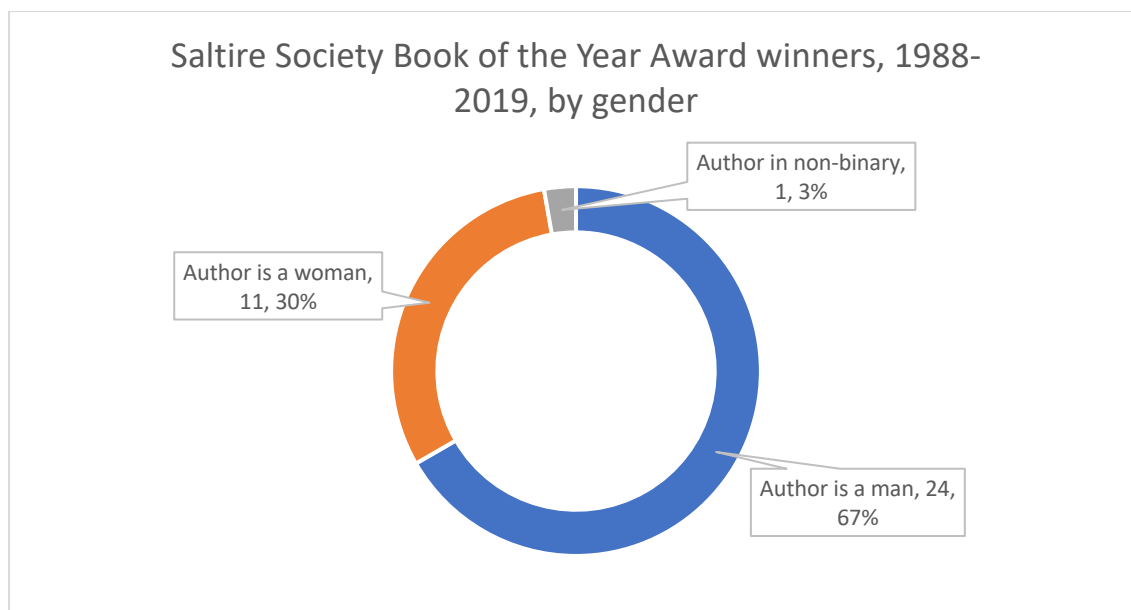


Figure 37 Saltire Society Book of the Year Award 1988-2021. Winners by gender

5.5.2.2 Saltire Society First Book of the Year Award

Further building on Marsden's work on the Saltire Society First BotY Award, this chapter extends Marsden's data set of 1988-2014 to include 2015-2021. Marsden found that, "around a third of [winners out of 32] (12) were women, meaning that men are nearly twice as likely to win the First BotY award as women; this is despite the fact that women make up nearly half of the total number of shortlisted entries for the award [48%]" (Marsden 2016b, 265).

From 1988-2021, 161 authors were shortlisted for the Saltire Society First Book Award. 83 of these (52%) were men, 77 of these (48%) were women, and 1 was non-binary. This is illustrated in Figure 38 below. In 13 of the 33 years, men made up the majority of the shortlisted authors (1988, 1989, 1990, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2008, 2013, 2018, 2019). In 12 years of 33, more women authors were shortlisted than men (1991, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2017). In six years, the number of shortlisted men was equal to the number of shortlisted women (1992, 2002, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2021). There were two years where no women were shortlisted at all, and the shortlists were all-male (1993, 1994). There were no years where no men were shortlisted and the shortlists were all-female.

No authors were shortlisted for this award more than once.

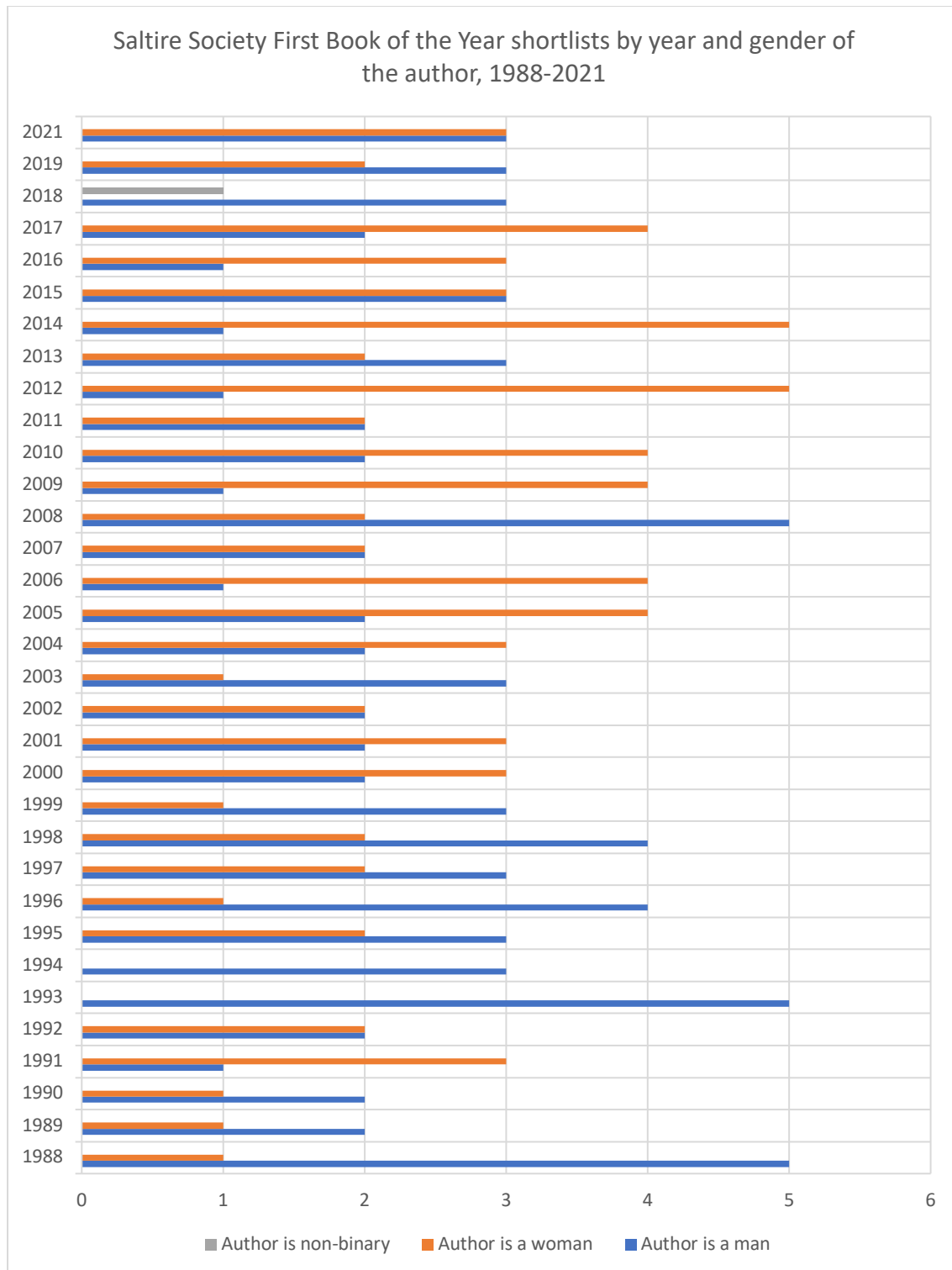


Figure 38 Saltire Society First Book of the Year Award 1988-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

As quoted above, examining the period 1988-2014, Marsden found that 48% of the shortlisted authors for the First BotY Award were women and 12 of 32 winners were women (37.5%) (Marsden 2016b, 265). This is a drop in proportion of women writers from shortlisting to winning of 10.5 percentage points. Expanding this data set to

include 2015-2021, a similar improvement in women's representation occurs as for the BotY Award described above: Of 161 shortlisted authors from 1988-2021, 83 were men (52%), 77 were women (48%) and 1 was non-binary (see Figure 39). Of the 40 authors who won the prize over this period, 23 were men (58%) and 17 were women (43%) (see Figure 40). This means the drop in representation is 5 percentage points between shortlist and winners (down from 10.5 as observed by Marsden). This change is due to five women winning the prize between 2015-2019. This suggests that the overall imbalance may slowly be shifting.

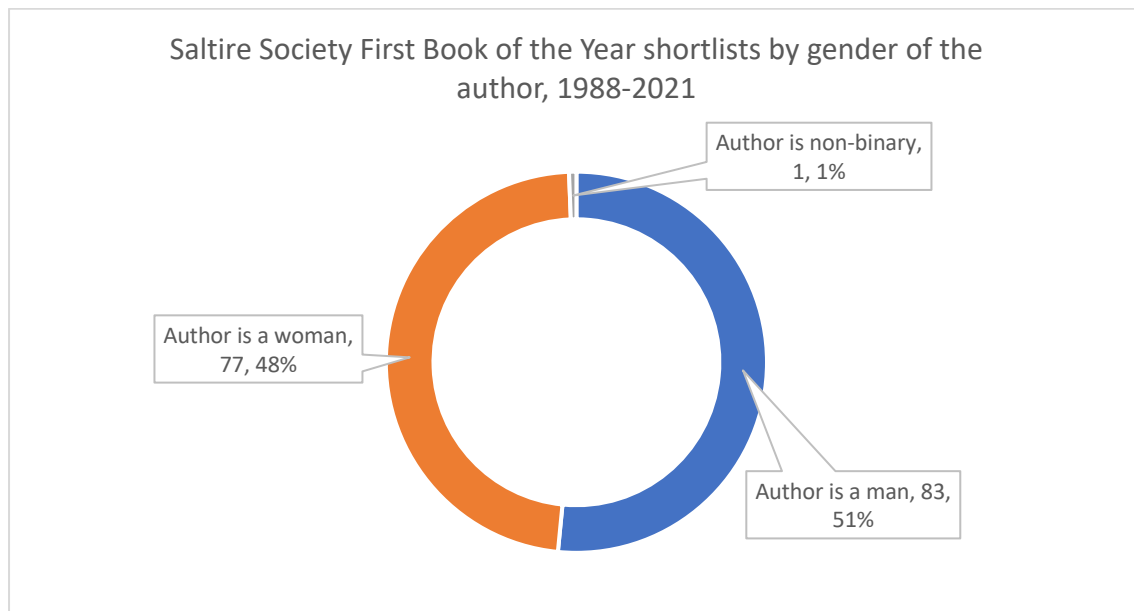


Figure 39 Saltire Society First Book of the Year Award 1988-2021. Shortlists by gender

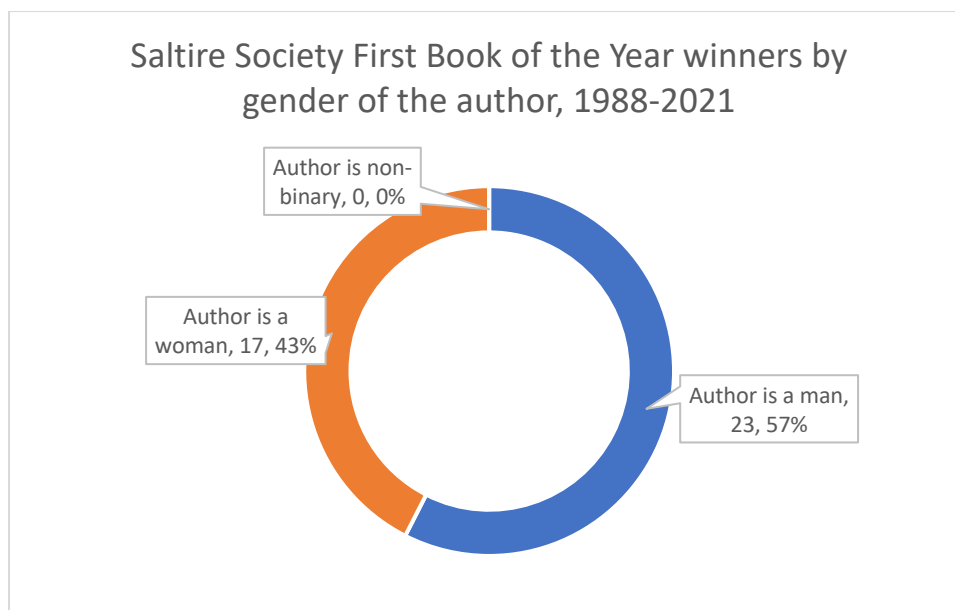


Figure 40 Saltire Society First Book of the Year Award 1988-2021. Winners by gender

5.5.2.3 Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award

From 1965-2021, 36 authors won this prize, 25 men (69%) and 11 women (31%). This is illustrated in Figure 43.

Continuing with a comparison of representation of women writers in shortlists and winners, the data set of shortlists available is smaller, 1997-2021. 118 authors were shortlisted during this period. Of these, 84 were men (71%) and 34 women (29%), as illustrated in Figure 42. 23 authors won the prize in this period, 17 men (73.9%) and 6 women (26.1%). This is a drop in the percentage of women between shortlisting and winning this prize from 1997-2021 by 2.9 percentage points.

Further examining the shortlists 1997-2021⁴¹ of the History BotY Award shows that there were four years where men and women made up the same number of shortlisted authors (2010, 2011, 2013, 2015). There were three years of all-male shortlists (2007, 2008, 2019). There were no all-female shortlists for this prize, but women did make up the majority of shortlistees in 2021. In the remaining 10 years where shortlists were available for this prize, men made up the majority of shortlisted authors. This also points to an interesting reversal: while representation in the BotY Award and First BotY Award has improved from 2010-2021, the History BotY has

⁴¹ Note that this award did not give out a prize in 2017; furthermore, all Saltire Society Literary Awards were paused in 2020.

decreased its shortlisting of women from 2012-2019, only to then shortlist more women than men for the first time in its history in 2021, as shown in Figure 41.

Six authors were shortlisted more than once between 1997-2021. These are: Catriona M.M. Macdonald (2000, 2010), Marjory Harper (2004, 2013), Michael Fry (2006, 2014), Christopher Whatley (2000, 2007), R Andrew McDonald (2004, 2019), and T.M. Devine (2004, and twice in 1997).⁴² Four of these six authors are men, and two are women. All six authors are white. Three of these authors, Christopher Whatley, Marjory Harper and Catriona M.M. Macdonald, went on to win the prize in 2000, 2004 and 2010 respectively.

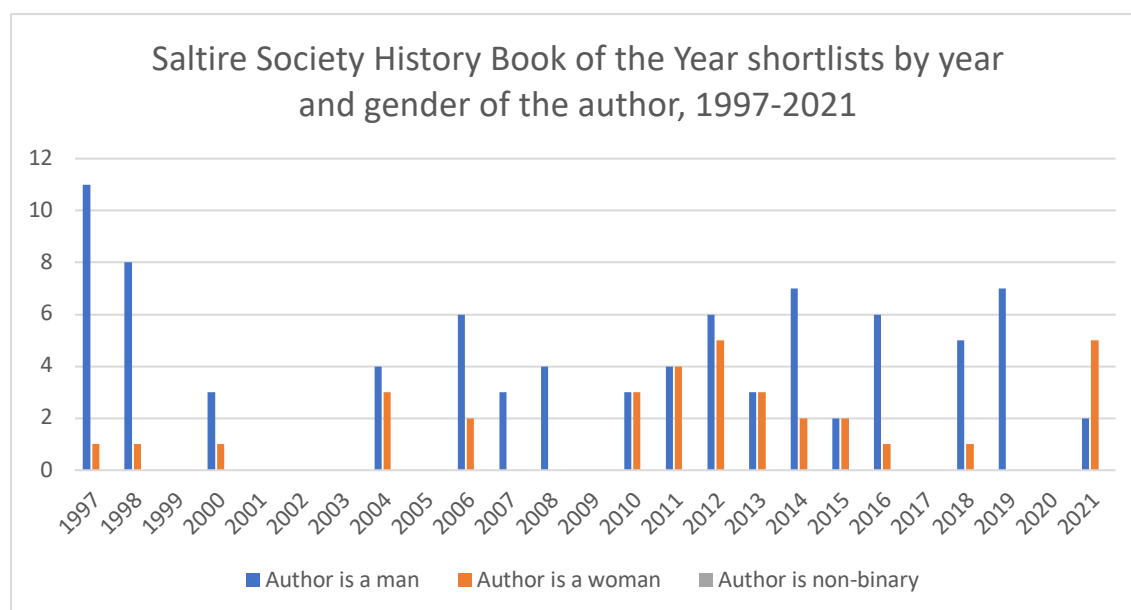


Figure 41 Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award 1997-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

⁴² In 1997, T.M. Devine was shortlisted for two books: *Glasgow Vol I, Beginnings to 1830*, co-written with Gordon Jackson, and *Scotland in the 20th Century*, co-edited with Richard J. Finaly. (Marsden 2016a)

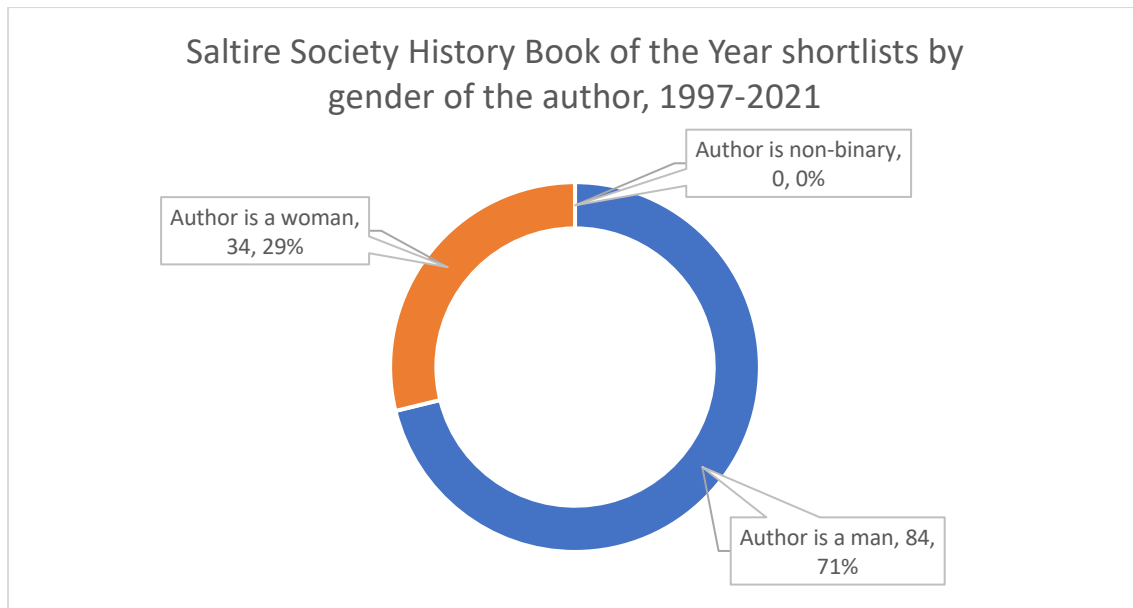


Figure 42 Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award 1997-2021. Shortlists by gender

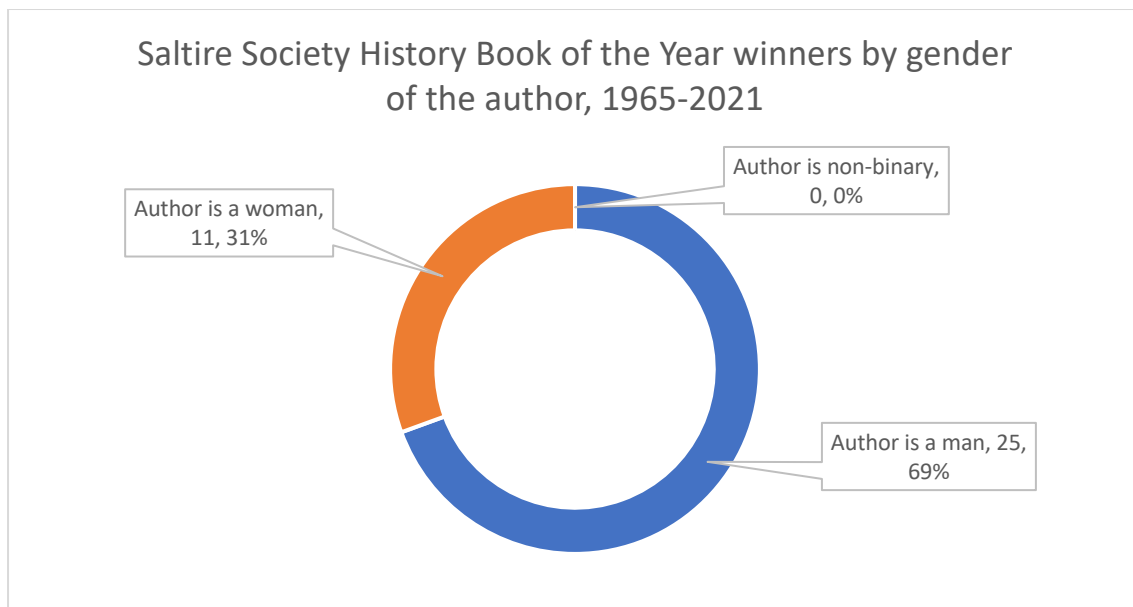


Figure 43 Saltire Society History Book of the Year Award 1965-2021. Winners by gender

5.5.2.4 Saltire Society Research Book of the Year

126 authors were shortlisted for this prize from 1998-2021. There were two years where men and women made up the same number of shortlisted authors (2012, 2015). There were five years of all-male shortlists, including the inaugural year of this prize (1998, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2017). There were two years (2003, 2019) where women made up the majority of shortlisted authors. In the remaining 12 years, men made up

the majority of shortlisted authors (The prize was not awarded in 2002, 2006 and 2020). Shortlists and gender data by year are illustrated in Figure 44.

95 of the 126 shortlisted authors were men (75%), 31 women (25%). Between 1998-2021, 40 authors won this prize. 28 of these were men (70%) and 12 were women (29%). This is an increase in percentage of women between shortlisting and winning, by 4 percentage points.

Six authors were shortlisted more than once for this prize from 1998-2021: T.M. Devine (2004, 2011, and 2018 for a book co-authored with Angela McCarthy), Christopher A. Whatley (2007, 2017), Keith M. Brown (twice in 2011),⁴³ Tanja Bueltmann (2011, 2015), Nigel Leask (2010, 2021) and William Ferguson (1998, 1999). Five of these six authors are men, and one is a woman, and all six authors are white. Of these authors who were shortlisted multiple times, one, Tanja Bueltmann, went on to win the prize (in 2015).

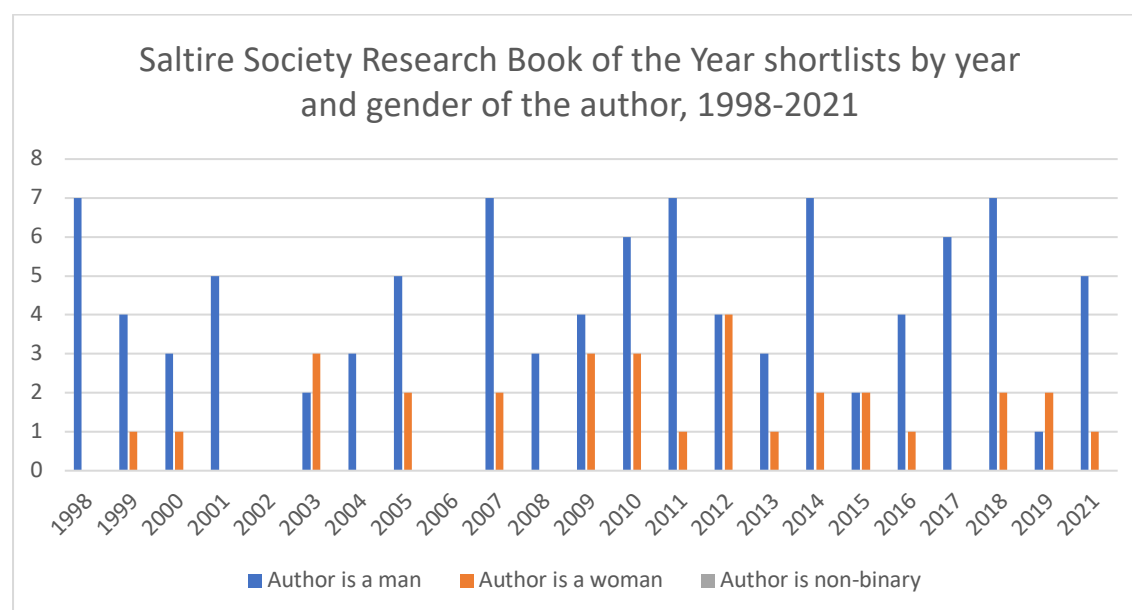


Figure 44 Saltire Society Research Book of the Year Award 1998-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

⁴³ In 2011, Keith M. Brown was shortlisted for two books: *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, and *Parliament in Context: 1235-1707*, co-authored with Alan MacDonald.

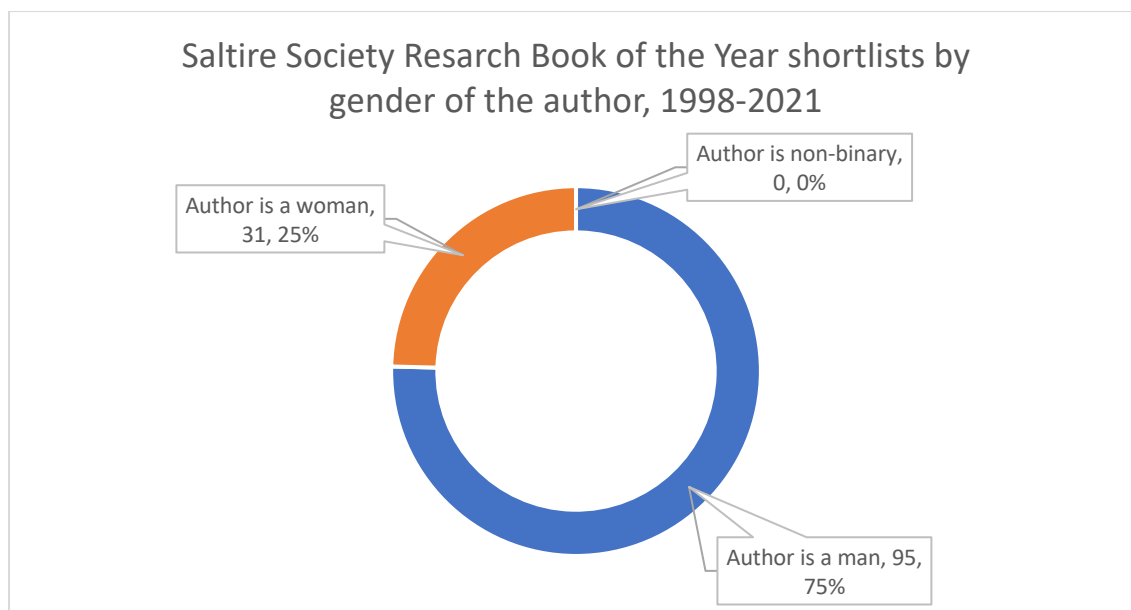


Figure 45 Saltire Society Research Book of the Year Award 1998-2021. Shortlists by gender



Figure 46 Saltire Society Research Book of the Year Award 1998-2021. Winners by gender

5.5.2.5 Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year Award:

From 2014-2021, 39 authors were shortlisted for the Poetry BotY Award, and there were six years during which men made up the majority of shortlisted authors (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2021). In one year, there were more women shortlisted than men (2018) (see Figure 47).

25 of the 39 shortlisted authors between 2014-2021 were men (64%), 13 women (33%), and one was non-binary (3%). Between 2014-2021, 7 authors won this prize. 2 of these were men (29%) and 5 were women (71%). This is an increase in percentage of women between shortlisting and winning, by 38 percentage points.

Over this period, four authors were shortlisted more than once, and all four of these were white men: J.O. Morgan (2014, 2016), John Burnside (2014, 2017), and Roddy Lumsden (2015, 2018), Thomas A. Clark (2017, 2021). None of these authors went on to win the prize in these years.

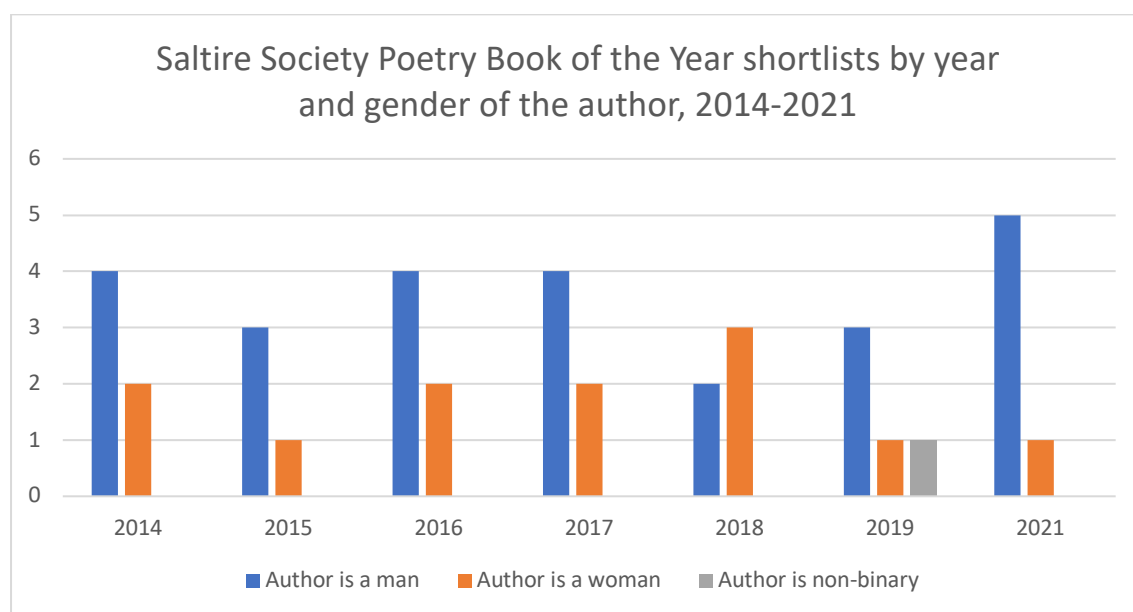


Figure 47 Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year Award 2014-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

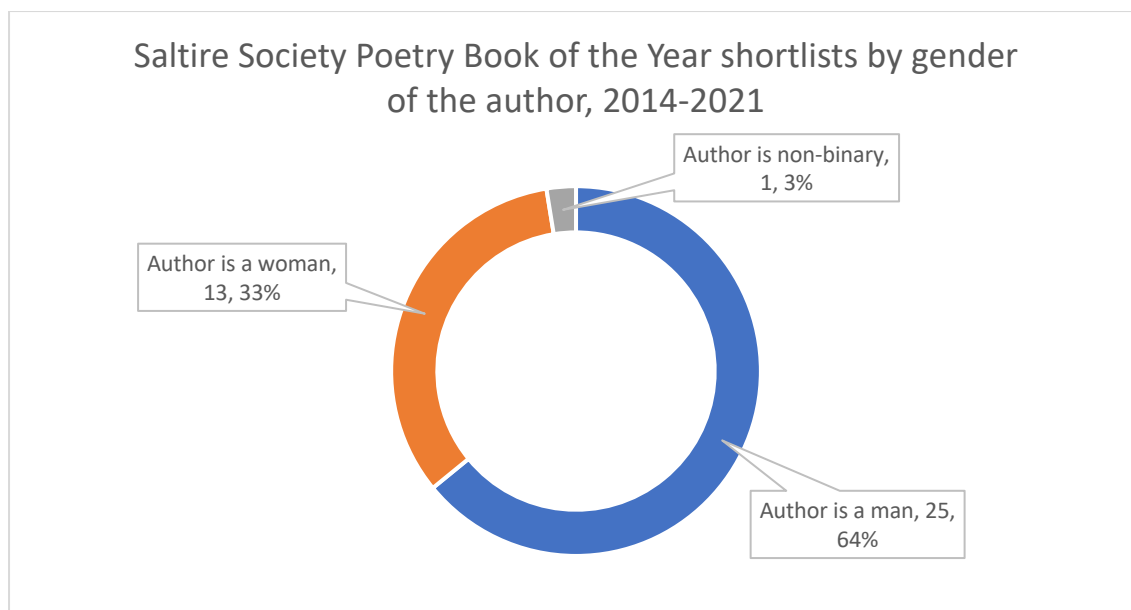


Figure 48 Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year Award 2014-2021. Shortlists by gender

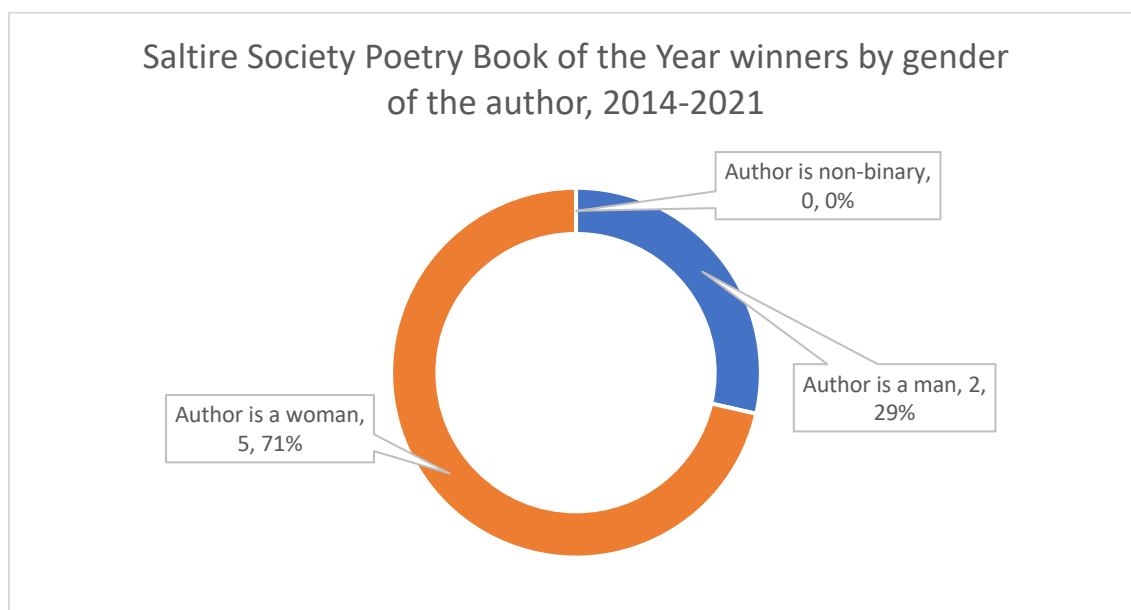


Figure 49 Saltire Society Poetry Book of the Year Award 2014-2021. Winners by gender

5.5.2.6 Saltire Society Non-Fiction Book of the Year Award:

From 2015-2021 men made up the majority of shortlisted authors for the Non-Fiction BotY Award in five years, and in three of these five years there was only one woman shortlisted. In one year, 2019, women made up the majority of shortlisted authors. This can be seen in detail in Figure 50.

Between 2015-2021, 36 writers were shortlisted for this prize: 24 of these were men (67%), and 12 women (33%). The 6 winners of this prize were 3 men (50%) and 3 women (50%) – which is an increase in the percentage of women shortlisted to winning by 17 percentage points. This is a departure from the pattern established by the analysis of the other prize categories and further suggests that historical imbalance may be in the process of being addressed in some of the Saltire Society Literary Awards.

Two authors were shortlisted for this prize more than once, both of whom are white men: Richard Holloway (2016, 2018) and Peter Ross (2017, 2021). Of these, Peter Ross went on to win this prize in 2021.

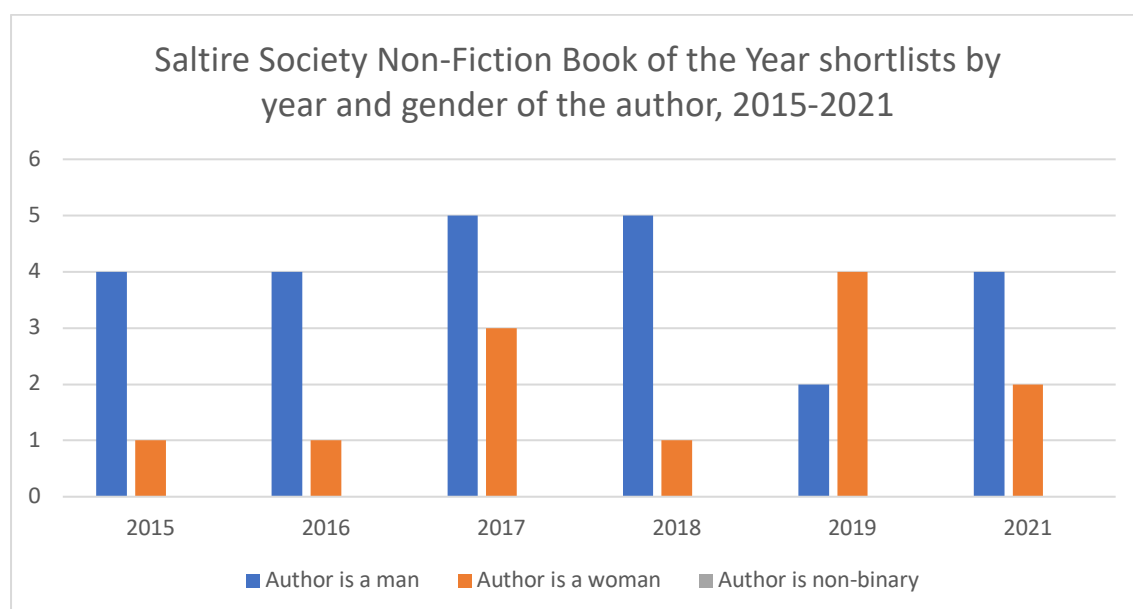


Figure 50 Saltire Society Non-Fiction Book of the Year Award 2015-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

5.5.2.7 Saltire Society Fiction Book of the Year Award:

35 authors were shortlisted for this prize from 2015-2021. From 2015-2021, men made up the majority of shortlistees in two years (2016, 2017); women made up the majority in one year (2018), and there was an equal number of men and women shortlisted in two years (2015, 2019); in 2021 there was an equal number of men and women, and one non-binary author shortlisted. This is illustrated in Figure 51.

19 of the 35 shortlisted authors were men (54%), 15 were women (43%), and 1 was non-binary (3%). Between 2015-2021, 6 authors won this prize. 4 of these were

men (67%), 1 was a woman (17%) and 1 was agender (17%). This is a decrease in percentage of women between shortlisting and winning, by 26 percentage points.

Four authors have been repeatedly shortlisted for this prize: Irvine Welsh (2015, 2016, 2018), James Kelman (2016, 2017), Leila Aboulela (2018, 2019) and Jenni Fagan (2016, 2021). Two of these are white men, one white woman and one woman of colour. Of these repeatedly shortlisted authors, Leila Aboulela went on to win this prize in 2018.

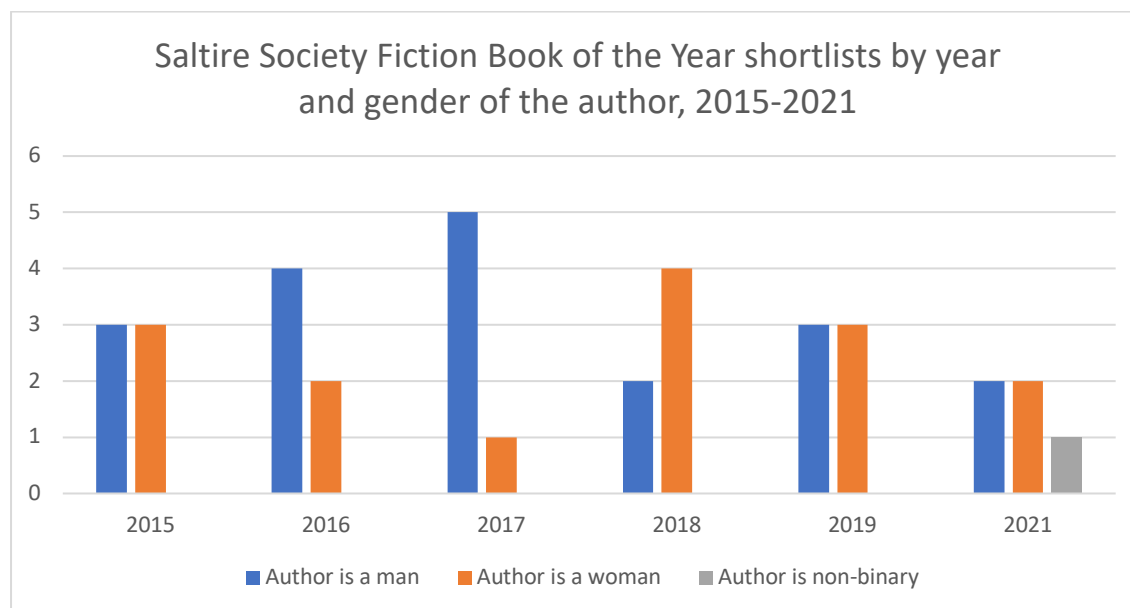


Figure 51 Saltire Society Fiction Book of the Year Award 2015-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

5.5.3 Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction

This is a prize for historical fiction, as described in chapter 4. The prize's sponsor, Richard, the 10th Duke of Buccleuch, is quoted on the prize website describing the geographical scope of the prize as follows: "[The prize's] heart is in Scotland – as was Sir Walter's – but its reach, appropriately for the first international bestselling author, now extends around the globe" ('About the Prize [2018]' n.d.). Indeed, writers shortlisted for the prize have come from Australia, Ireland, South Africa, New Zealand, Malaysia, USA, and the UK. From 2010-2021, 69% of its shortlisted writers were British, 11% from Ireland, 7% from Australia, 4% from Canada, 3% from South Africa, 3% from Malaysia, 3% from the USA, and 1% from New Zealand. For winners, the dominance of British writers continues: 8 of its 12 winners so far have come from the UK; although perhaps unusually for a Scotland-based prize with a strong connection to Scotland, the prize has only once in its 12-year history been won by a Scottish writer

(Robin Robertson in 2019 for *The Long Take*). 2 of its winners have come from Ireland, and 1 from Malaysia.

Over the 12-year period of the prize being awarded from 2010-2021, 74 books were shortlisted for this prize. Out of these, 44 books (59%) were written by men, and 30 books (41%) were written by women. Over the course of 12 years, 2010-2021, 8 of the winning writers were men (67%) and 4 were women (33%).

Two of the four women who won the Walter Scott Prize did so in the first two years of its existence: Hilary Mantel, a white British writer, won in 2010 for *Wolf Hall*, and Andrea Levy, a Black British writer ('Andrea Levy - Author' n.d.) won in 2011 for *The Long Song*. No woman won the Walter Scott Prize between 2011 and 2019; in 2020, Christine Dwyer Hickey (a white Irish writer), won for *The Narrow Land*, and in 2021, Hilary Mantel won the prize again, this time for her book *The Mirror and the Land*. Over the 12 years of the prize's history, 3 of its shortlists featured 50% women and 50% men (2013, 2014, 2018); 2 of 12 had more women than men (4 women and 3 men, 2017; 4 women and 1 man, 2021); 3 shortlists included only one woman with the remaining list being men (2011, 2012, 2016); and in total, 6 of 12 shortlists included a majority of male writers. (Figure 52 illustrates this further)



Figure 52 Walter Scott Prize 2010-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

Between the shortlisting and winning stage of the Walter Scott Prize 2010-2012, the representation of women writers drops from 41% (shortlisting) to 33% (winning), which is a drop in percentage of 8 points.

Eight authors have had more than one shortlisted book over the period: Adam Foulds (2010, 2015), Andrew Miller (2012, 2019), Hilary Mantel (2010, 2013, 2021), Robert Harris (2010, 2014), Joseph O'Connor (2011, 2020), Rose Tremain (2013, 2017), Sebastian Barry (2012, 2017) and Simon Mawer (2010, 2016); six men and two women; eight white authors. Four of these eight authors went on to win the prize with their shortlisted books, and two of these won two of the times they were shortlisted: Sebastian Barry, who won in 2012 for *On Caanan's Side* and in 2017 for *Days Without End*. Hilary Mantel won the inaugural Walter Scott Prize in 2010 for *Wolf Hall* and the 2021 Walter Scott Prize for *The Mirror and the Light*; Robert Harris won in 2014 for *An Officer and a Spy*; Simon Mawer won in 2016 for *Tightrope*.

5.5.4 McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year

From 2012-2021, the McIlvanney Prize was won by 10 writers, 3 women and 7 men. Denise Mina's win in 2017 (for her book *The Long Drop*) was reported widely in the press (*BBC News* 2017; 'McIlvanney Crime Writing Prize Swooped by Female Author for First Time' 2017; Crae n.d.) and mentioned that she was the first woman to win.⁴⁴ A closer analysis of the shortlists 2012-2021 shows that there were 4 out of its 10 years where men and women made up the same number of shortlisted authors (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). In 5 of the remaining 6 years, men made up the majority of shortlisted authors (2012, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021). In one year, women made up the majority of shortlisted authors (2019) – which included one writing team of a man and a woman (see Figure 53 and footnote 56).

⁴⁴ The 2019 prize was won by another woman, Manda Scott, who shared the £1,000 cash prize among the other shortlistees, calling for an end to rivalry. ('Manda Scott Announced as Winner of McIlvanney Prize for Crime Fiction' n.d.)



Figure 53 McIlvanney Prize 2012-2021. Shortlists by gender, by year

Longlist data is available from 2016-2021.⁴⁵ Over this period, 71 authors were longlisted for this prize; 44 of these were men (59%) and 30 women (41%). In these years, 17 men and 11 women from this list ended up on the shortlist, 61% men and 39% women. In the years a longlist was used, this is a decrease in women's representation from longlist to shortlist of 2 percentage points.

Of the 52 authors shortlisted for this prize from 2012-21, 31 were men (60%) and 21 were women (40%). Of the 10 authors who won this prize over the period, as mentioned above, 3 were women (30%) and the remaining 7 were men (70%). This is a drop in women writers' representation between shortlisting and winning of 10 percentage points.

Over the prize's history since its inception in 2012, there has only been one author of colour included in the longlist: in 2018, when Oscar de Muriel, who was born in Mexico, was longlisted for his book *The Loch of the Dead*.

⁴⁵ In 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 the McIlvanney Prize did not release a longlist.

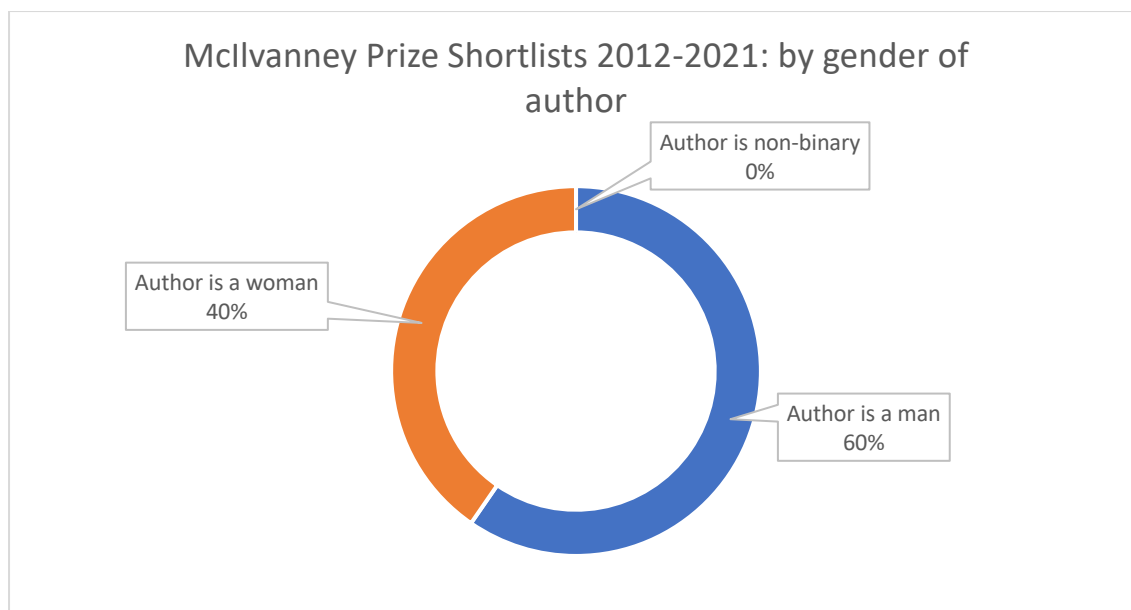


Figure 54 McIlvanney Prize 2012-2021. Shortlists by gender

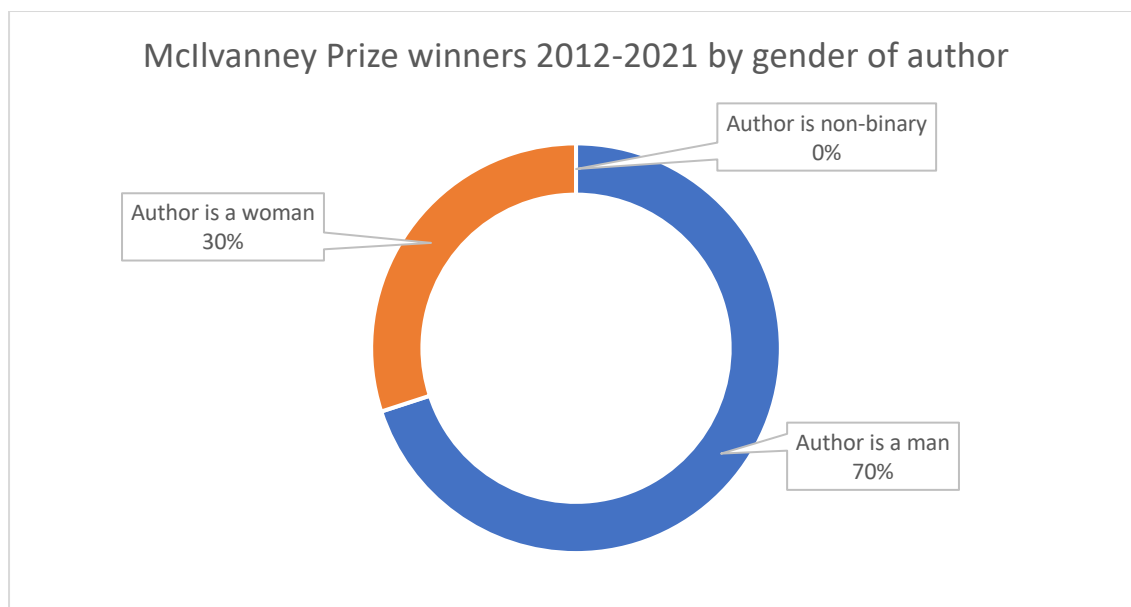


Figure 55 McIlvanney Prize 2012-2021. Winners by gender

Repeat shortlisting was frequent: 12 individual authors wrote 60% (30 books) of all shortlisted books (50 books).⁴⁶ 14 of the 30 books by repeat nominees were written by 6 women, and 16 were written by 6 men. This means that women's and men's books

⁴⁶ These authors are: Ann Cleeves (shortlisted in 2013 and 2015), Charles Cumming (shortlisted 2012, 2018), Chris Brookmyre (2014, 2015, 2016, 2018), Craig Russell (2012, 2015, 2017, 2021), Denise Mina (2012, 2013, 2017, 2019), Doug Johnstone (2016, 2019, 2020), Lin Anderson (2015, 2018), Louise Welsh (2014, 2015), Peter May (2012, 2014) and Val McDermid (2013, 2016, 2017). In 2019 and 2020, Chris Brookmyre and Marisa Haetzman were shortlisted for their books *The Way of All Flesh* and *The Art of Dying*, which they published under their pen name Ambrose Parry. This is included as a repeat shortlisting for Ambrose Parry (who is counted as 2 individual authors).

made up a near equal number of the books by repeatedly shortlisted authors, with 2.3 books per female author and 2.6 per male author. 5 of these 12 repeat nominees went on to win the prize: Craig Russell (2021), Charles Cumming (2012), Chris Brookmyre (2016), Craig Russell (2015), Denise Mina (2017), and Peter May (2014) – of these, 5 are men and 1 is a woman.

5.5.5 Conclusion

This sub-section presents evidence from over a century of literary prizes in Scotland, the most longitudinal part of this thesis. While the previous sections focus on the years 2017-2019 to show a picture of Scottish literary sector output in the late 2010s, this examination of literary prizes shows valorisation of authors – and a canon in formation – from 1919-2021.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Marsden (2019) and Dane observed a drop in women's representation between shortlisting and winning literary prizes which Dane describes as evidence of Bourdieusian symbolic violence (Dane 2020b, 160) (see also 2.2). This phenomenon was also observed in the majority of these Scottish literary prizes. Of the 12 prizes analysed in this chapter, 3 did not have shortlist data available (the three JTBP's), so it was not possible to run this analysis for these prizes. 4 of the 7 Saltire Society Literary Awards analysed showed a drop in women's representation between shortlist and winning stage (BotY Award, First BotY Award, History BotY Award, Fiction BotY Award). The Walter Scott Prize and McIlvanney Prize also followed this pattern, showing that a smaller proportion of women won these prizes than were shortlisted: the Walter Scott Prize saw a drop in women authors by 8 percentage points from shortlist to winners; and the McIlvanney Prize saw a drop by 10 percentage points from shortlist to winners, and further, for the years where a longlist was used, representation of women from longlist to shortlist also dropped slightly by 2 percentage points. The findings from this chapter point to the process of symbolic violence; and women writers are more likely to be excluded from the ranks of winners, even when they make it to the longlist or shortlist of a prize.

For some of these prizes, there has been a rapid improvement in historic equality: as noted in 2.9.2, Marsden observed a drop in women's representation between shortlisted authors and winners of the Saltire Society BotY and First BotY Awards of around 10 percentage points (Marsden 2019, 54). This analysis, expanded

from Marsden's work (1988-2014) by six years (2015-2021), saw these differences shrink, to 4-5 percentage points. In both cases this change is due to wins by women in the period for which data was added.

This may suggest that the balance is slowly shifting. Another indication of this could be the "outliers" where women's representation increased between shortlisting and winning: the Saltire Society Awards for Poetry, Research and Non-Fiction.

While this might point to improvement in women's access to the exchange of cultural, social and economic capital provided by literary prizes, the overall picture suggests that the literary prize landscape in Scotland in the 20th and early 21st century is biased towards male authors. 10 of the 12 prizes analysed in this chapter has been awarded more frequently to men than women; the only prize that was awarded to more women than men is the Saltire Society Poetry BotY Award, and the Saltire Society Non-Fiction BotY Award was awarded 50% to women and 50% to men. This is illustrated in Figure 56.

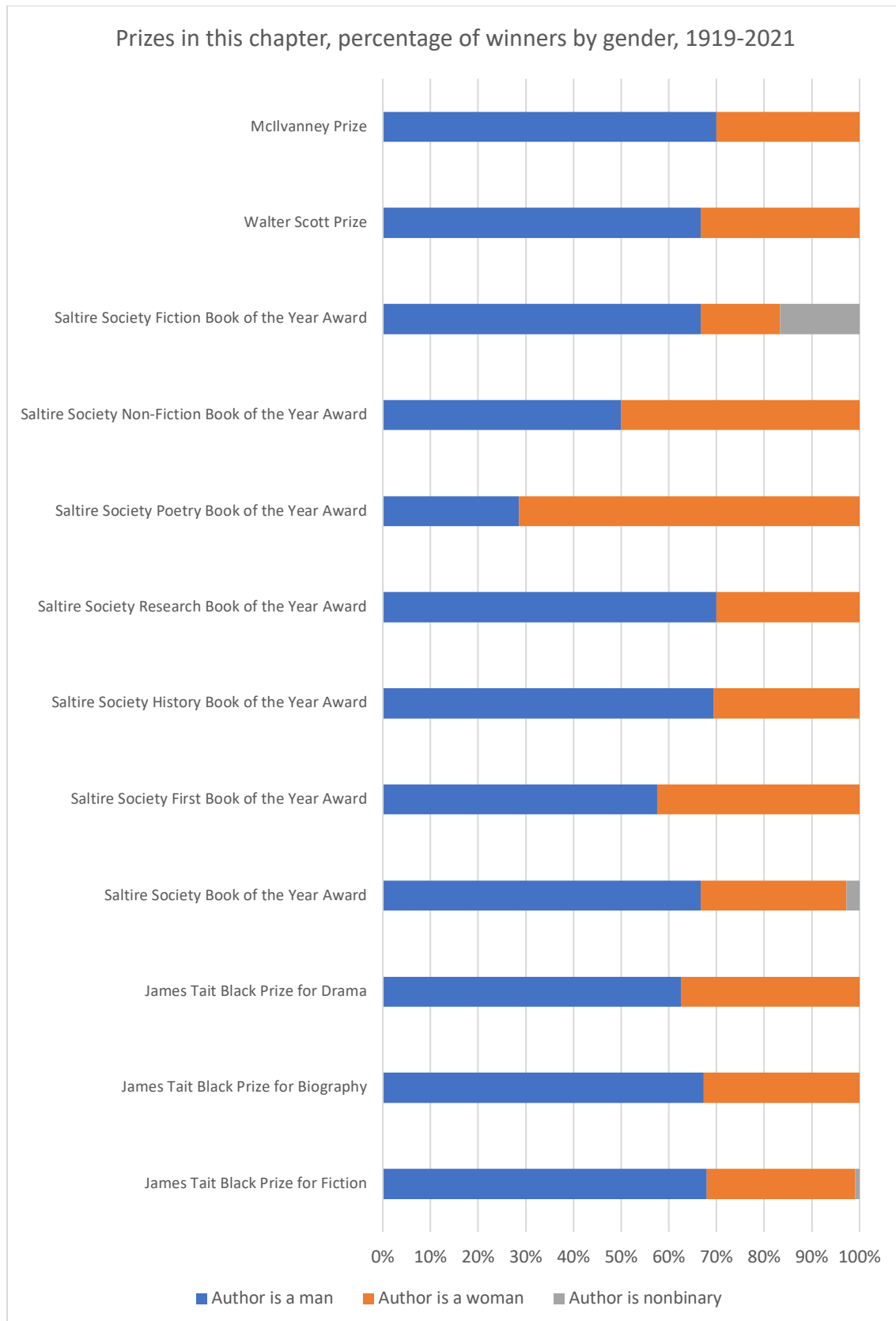


Figure 56 Prizes discussed in this chapter, winners, gender proportion

Non-binary authors are notably almost absent from this data set, but this appears to be shifting too: in recent years, a non-binary author won the JTBP for Fiction (Shola

von Reinhold, 2020 prize) and the Saltire Society Fiction BotY and the overall BotY Prize (Ely Percy, 2021).

In the decade 2000-2009, men won 66% of these prizes and women won 34%; in 2010-2019, men won 57% of prizes and women won 43%, showing a movement towards parity.

A majority of prizes for which there was shortlist data available (6 out of 9) show a diminishing of the proportion of women from shortlisting to winning stage, and, as is shown in chapter 7, their judging mechanisms are strongly rooted in existing hierarchical structures such as academia. Men dominate these spheres, but more research needs to be done to understand why this is and what needs to be done to counteract it; the following chapter presents qualitative findings which further illustrate how this gender inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector. The majority of the prizes analysed in this chapter reinforce patterns of legitimation and support an upholding of the dominant social order, a mechanism which Bourdieu describes as symbolic violence.

5.6 Cross-cutting analysis

This section draws on Dane's model for understanding the movement of symbolic capital around the Australian literary field, which relies on the assumption "that authors who interact with more agents of consecration have more symbolic capital and, in turn, prestige" (Dane 2020b, 180). Specifically, this section examines whether there are authors who can be found in more than one of the above areas of publishing, reviewing, festivals and literary prizes, for example, authors whose work was published in Scotland between 2017-2019 and who were also platformed at a literary festival; authors who were reviewed in Scotland between 2017-2019 and who were also shortlisted for, or won, a Scottish literary award in that time period; and other combinations of publishing, reviewing, festivals and prizes. After examining the individual overlaps between these areas, this section also examines whether there are authors whose work appears in all four areas. The aims in examining this overlap between areas are to identify the authors who hold the most symbolic capital in contemporary Scottish literature, and to examine whether men dominate in this most prestigious intersection. This section presents ethnicity information about individual authors, where this was available (cf. 3.3.6).

There are 806 individual authors who are represented in two or more areas of the Scottish literary sector between 2017-2019.

The area where there was most overlap was Festivals and Reviews: 475 of the 806 authors visible in multiple areas both appeared at a festival and had their work reviewed. Of these, 61.3% (291 authors) were male, 38.3% (182 authors) were female, and 0.4% (2 authors) were non-binary.

Festivals also overlapped with publications: 310 authors were both published in Scotland and appeared at Scottish literary festivals. Of these, 56.8% (176 authors) were male, 42.9% (133 authors) were female, and 0.3% (1 author) was non-binary.

Publications and reviews also overlapped: 168 authors published in Scotland were also reviewed in the Scottish national press. Of these, 58.3% (98 authors) were male, 41.7% (70 authors) were female, and none were non-binary.

Festivals overlapped with prizes, too. 94 authors appearing at Scottish book festivals had also been shortlisted or won, or went on to be shortlisted or win, a Scottish literary prize. Of these, 60.6% (57 authors) were male, 38.3% (36 authors) were female, and 1.1% (1 author) were non-binary.

Prizes also overlapped with reviews. 72 authors who were shortlisted for or won a prize had also been, or went on to be, reviewed in the Scottish national press. Of these, 55.6% (40 authors) were male, 44.4% (32 authors) were female, and none were non-binary.

And finally, prizes also overlapped with publications: 34 authors published by Scottish publishers were also shortlisted for and/or awarded a Scottish literary prize. 67.6% of these (23 authors) were male, 29.4% (10 authors) were female, and 2.9% (1 author) were non-binary.

It is difficult to say whether there is any causal link between any of these overlapping areas – that is, for example, to identify whether the authors who were reviewed and also received a prize nomination or a prize were reviewed *because* they received a prize, or received a prize *because* they were reviewed. Harvey and Lamond examined literary reviews and prizes in Australia since 2014 and found “that the relationship between literary prizes and book reviews is one of interdependence and amplification” and that authors winning prizes “implicitly and explicitly evidence responses to reviews”. Further, they found that “success in prizes usually leads to better review coverage for the author’s subsequent publications” (Harvey and Lamond 2019, 231).

This shows that while each area of Scottish literature individually already privileges male voices, the overlapping areas (i.e., areas of multiple consecration) also further privilege men over women and non-binary authors. Each overlapping area sees a majority of male authors represented.

Together, these 806 authors made 3,197 appearances over the period. Most authors who appeared in more than one area appeared between 2 and 5 times across the period (668 of 806 authors (83%)), making up 1,950 appearances (61% of 3,197). There is also a significant number of authors who appeared between 6-10 times (111 of 806 authors (14%)), making 817 appearances, or 25.5% of 3,197).

27 authors (making up 3% of 806 authors) appeared over 10 times over the period.⁴⁷ These 27 authors made up 430 appearances over the period, or 13.5% of 3,197 appearances by multiply appearing authors. 5 male authors appeared between 18-45 times, totalling 139 appearances, or 4.3% of 3,197 appearances by multiply appearing authors. Of these 27 authors, 19 were men (70.4%) and 8 were women (29.6%).

Of the 10 most appearing authors, only 3 were female (Val McDermid at 18 appearances, Vivian French at 17, and Denise Mina at 16), and all 10 were white. Of the 27 most appearing authors, 18 (66.6%) were white men; 7 (25.9%) were white women; and the list includes one man of colour (Abir Mukherjee, at 12 appearances) and one woman of colour (Jackie Kay, at 11 appearances). The full list of 27 most appearing authors, and figures as to the areas in which they appeared, can be seen in Figure 57.

⁴⁷The 27 authors are distributed as follows: 3 authors appearing 11 times, 10 authors appearing 12 times, 2 authors appearing 13 times, 2 authors appearing 14 times, 2 authors appearing 16 times, 2 authors appearing 17 times, 2 authors appearing 18 times, 1 author 20 times, 1 author 24 times, 1 author 32 times, and 1 author appearing 45 times

Author name	Publication by Scottish publisher	Review in The Herald or The Scotsman	Festival appearance (EIBF, Aye Write, Bloody Scotland)	Prize shortlistee or winner	Total appearances
Alexander McCall Smith	20	10	15		45
Chris Brookmyre (incl. as Ambrose Parry)	5	9	16	2	32
Matt Haig	18	2	4		24
Alistair Moffat	12	4	4		20
Barry J. Hutchison, incl. as Barry Hutchison, Barry J. Hutchison, or J.D. Kirk	15		3		18
Val McDermid		3	14	1	18
Vivian French	4		13		17
Doug Johnstone		3	13	1	17
James Robertson	5	2	9		16
Denise Mina		3	9	4	16
Alan Parks	5	3	6		14
Julia Donaldson	5		9		14
Richard Holloway	4	2	6	1	13
Marisa Haetzman (incl. as Ambrose Parry)	5	3	4	1	13
Ali Smith	2	4	6		12

Malachy Tallack	2	2	8		12
Ron Butlin	3	3	6		12
Angus Peter Campbell	4	1	4	3	12
Denzil Meyrick	4	3	5		12
Alan McKirdy	10		2		12
John Burnside		5	5	2	12
Sir Prof Tom Devine		5	5	2	12
Abir Mukherjee		1	11		12
Ian Rankin		1	11		12
A.L. Kennedy	2	3	6		11
Michael Morpurgo	9		2		11
Jackie Kay		2	8	1	11

Figure 57 2017-2019 author appearances in publications, reviews, festivals and prizes, by author and number of appearances. Only includes authors who appeared in more than one area.

Finally, there were 17 authors who were visible in publications, reviews, festivals, and prizes.⁴⁸ Of these, 11 were men (65%) and 6 were women (35%). All 17 of these authors were white, meaning that this area of repeated and multiplied consecration was entirely unavailable to authors of colour over this period.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has worked to answer my first research question: What is the quantifiable difference between men's contemporary literary production in Scotland and that of women and non-binary people? (RQ1) This answer comes in five parts, as this chapter

⁴⁸ These 17 authors were: Alan Taylor, Angela Meyer, Angus Peter Campbell, Angus Roxburgh, Chris Brookmyre (including writing as Ambrose Parry), Christopher Fleet, Daniel Shand, Ever Dundas, Ewan Morrison, James Kelman, Marisa Haetzman (including writing as Ambrose Parry), Mark Cousins, Mick Kitson, Olivia Laing, Richard Holloway, Roseanne Watt, Sandra Ireland.

analyses the issue in four distinct areas (publishing, reviewing, festivals, prizes) and their common intersection.

The picture that emerges of Scottish publishers' output in the late 2010s is one of male authorship, particularly in non-fiction writing, but also, if to a somewhat lesser extent, in fiction and poetry writing. The only genre area where women make up a majority of authors is in children's and young adult writing – but even there, in the sub-category Y4.0 Children's General Non-Fiction, men make up the majority of writers.

When it comes to reviewing, a slight trend towards equality is visible in some areas of reviewing – with the proportion of female-authored reviews rising from 10.7% to 26.7% from 2017-2019 – but even this drastic improvement falls short of being representative of the Scottish population, and only represents just over a quarter of all reviews – and there is indication that this improvement is due to female reviewers' work, rather than a balancing shift in male reviewers' focus. This shows that the population which produces the artistic value of an artwork ('tastemakers' as defined in 2.2) is overwhelmingly male; in fact, the same male reviewers wrote a large proportion of reviews across *The Herald* and *The Scotsman*: In *The Herald*, Alastair Mabbott wrote, on average, 44.6% of all reviews 2017-2019. In *The Scotsman*, there were 3 male reviewers who consistently wrote more reviews than other reviewers: Roger Cox, Stuart Kelly and Allan Massie, who, between them, wrote on average 69.9% of all reviews 2017-2019.

Literary festivals, on average, represent the most gender balanced area of this study – however, it is important to note that the proportion of women platformed falls when one compares the sum of all events to the proportion of female authors appearing in solo events, a clear indication of symbolic violence.

Finally, for literary prizes, there is some indication that there has been recent improvement in women's access to the exchange of cultural, social and economic capital provided by literary prizes, but the overall picture suggests that the literary prize landscape in Scotland is, on the whole, biased towards male authors. 10 of the 12 prizes analysed in this chapter have been awarded more frequently to men than women; the only prize that was awarded to more women than men is the Saltire Society Poetry BotY Award.

Women making up 50% of winners of the Saltire Society Non-Fiction BotY (2015-2021) is interesting in the light of non-fiction publishing 2017-2019, where women fared worse in both children's and trade non-fiction publications (26.1%

women in children's general non-fiction, 30.4% women across all trade non-fiction genres). However, women made up only 29% of winners for the Research BotY (1998-2021), 31% of winners for the History BotY (1965-2021) and 32% of winners for the JTBP for Biography (1919-2021) – so it is not true to say that women generally fare better in Scottish non-fiction prizes.

In their examination of book reviews in Australian literature in 1985 and 2013, Harvey and Lamond note that they “find the recurring 60-70:40-30 ratio of gender disparity curious” (Harvey and Lamond 2016, 104). I also observed this recurring ratio across publishing (2017-2019: 61.3% men, 38.6% women, 0.1% non-binary), reviewing (authors reviewed 2017-2019: 62.7% men, 37.1% women, 0.3% non-binary; reviewers 2017-2019: 82% men, 18% women, 0% non-binary), festivals (2017-2019: 53.5% men, 46.1% women, 0.4% non-binary; solo events 2017-2019: 60.5% men, 39.1% women, 0.3% non-binary) and prizes (1919-2021: 60-70% men and 30-40% women was observed more than any other data range (8 out of 12 prizes), with two further prizes just outside the range, at 57% and 71% men). On observing this ratio in their research, Harvey and Lamond conclude: “It seems that 40% is some kind of limit beyond which women's representation in the books pages (and indeed in other cultural spheres) will not go for fear that something – male readers, prestige? – will be lost” (Harvey and Lamond 2016, 104). Similarly, I conclude that, except for overall book festival events, 39% is some kind of limit beyond which women's representation in Scottish literary sector output will not go; further, the ratio skews towards 80:20 in authors of book reviews. This is symptomatic of a literary sector culture, in the late 2010s, which does not value the work of female and non-binary authors as much as the work of male authors.

This chapter draws on the concept of symbolic violence, which was visible in literary prizes through the overrepresentation of male writers in winners as compared to shortlisted authors in 6 out of 12 prizes. I argue that overrepresentation of male writers in book festival solo events is further evidence of symbolic violence in the Scottish literary sector.

Analysing where the above data sets overlap, it is possible to observe a small set of authors who appear multiply across the Scottish literary sector; the overwhelming number of these are male, and the more frequent their appearances

are across the sector, the more likely it is they are also white.⁴⁹ The 17 authors – 11 men and 6 women – who appear in all four areas (publishing, festivals, reviews, prizes) are white.

To answer RQ1, this chapter has provided clear evidence of a stark difference in Scottish literary sector output of men as compared to women and non-binary people in the late 2010s, and, in the case of literary prizes, in the 20th and early 21st century. The following two chapters will focus on the second and third research questions: How does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and why does it persist? (RQ2) Could a new literary prize sufficiently address this issue? (RQ3) Chapter 6 explores the subject of how gender inequality manifests from the perspective of literary sector tastemakers, including advocates for gender equality and Chapter 7 examines the subject of literary prizes and their connection to pre-existing hierarchies of power.

⁴⁹ There are two authors of colour in the 27 most-platformed authors 2017-2019, at 11 and 12 appearances; authors appearing 13-45 times across platforms in this time period are all white.

Chapter 6: Conversations with tastemakers: qualitative evidence of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector in the 21st century

6.1 Introduction

If my thesis sought to answer the question, “*why* is there gender inequality in Scottish literature?”, then I would not need to have conducted interviews. I could have stayed in the realm of theory: we live in a capitalist hetero-patriarchy, therefore it stands to reason that the literary sector in Scotland is also subject to hetero-patriarchal norms. The previous chapter has shown evidence of a numerical disparity between male, female and non-binary authors in contemporary Scottish literature, across four areas (publishing, reviewing, literary festivals, prizes). Rather than answering the question of *why* this is the case, this chapter follows the quantitative evidence with illustrations of *how* gender inequality manifests, beyond the stark figures.

Beyond the question of *how* lies the question of *how this is still the case*. In other words, this chapter also shows how gender inequality persists in contemporary Scottish writing and publishing. There are some attitudes arising from my interview data which show that there is a *lack of perceived agency* in the sector, alongside a tendency to *blame the consumer for the production*. In addition to this, in line with findings from Brook, O’Brien and Taylor (2020), workers in the Scottish literary sector think of themselves as working with *good intentions*, which, I argue, partially obscures their view of systemic inequalities and unconscious bias.

As noted in Chapter 3, I conducted a small part of the interviews for this thesis during the COVID-19 pandemic. While my work is not specifically focused on examining the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on gender equality in the Scottish literary sector, I do view my interview data – most of which was recorded pre-2020 – as documentary evidence of networking, socialising, progression and organising patterns in the Scottish literary sector pre-pandemic.

The previous chapter has provided quantitative evidence to show that gender inequality is an issue in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. This chapter is intended to discuss the issue of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector based on qualitative evidence. This evidence arises from the same categories which structured the previous chapter: publishing, reviewing, literary festivals, and literary prizes. However, rather than presenting qualitative data relating specifically to

these categories, and separated by category, this chapter is thematically organised. While the previous chapter's analysis of quantitative data was organised area-by-area, this strict division was not possible with the qualitative data which forms the basis of this chapter: as explored in section 6.4.1, interviewees had a high level of awareness of the interconnectedness of agents within the literary sector, so their responses were rarely focused only on, for example, the role of publishing – they instinctively connected the production of books to the promotion, reception, and survival of books.

This chapter refers to my research question: how does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and why does it persist? (RQ2). The argument of this chapter is structured into three sections: patriarchy, Scotland, and the publishing industry. Each of these sections presents, analyses and discusses data gathered in semi-structured interviews. Firstly, section 6.2 focuses on gender inequality as embedded in broader societal structures, and highlights interview data which refer to these foundational issues, understanding publishing to be one of many sites for societal inequality to manifest. Secondly, section 6.3 presents approaches to exploring what is unique about the way gender equality is embedded in the Scottish literary sector; is there anything “Scottish” about it? Finally, the largest sub-section of this chapter, section 6.4, examines how publishing is situated for gender inequality to play out: its deep interconnectedness and relation to capitalist markets, a female dominated field with many men in charge, gendered jobs and lack of value, discriminatory working practices, and internalised misogyny all play a part, but perhaps largest of all looms a sense that publishing can't be all that bad, because it is seen as a counter-cultural institution, filled with good intentions.

6.2 “It's not about writing at all”: working within patriarchy

As noted in 4.2, gender inequality in the late 2010s in Scotland has been characterised by, for example, discussions of equity in an independent Scotland, the global #MeToo movement, and a rise transphobia. Of course, these issues are all facets of the patriarchal hegemony according to which world is largely organised; and Scotland is part of the world, so therefore it stands to reason that therefore these hierarchies would impact Scotland and its literary sector. However, to find out how to combat facets of patriarchal hegemony in the Scottish literary sector, it is important to specify *how* patriarchy functions within the Scottish literary sector. In the following section, I show

the varied and in-depth understanding my interviewees demonstrated of this societal problem – and how this understanding functions in their approach to/arguments for action or inaction. This section works to address the second part of RQ2: *why* does gender inequality persist in the Scottish literary sector?

Elizabeth Reeder, a writer and academic, and one of the supervisors of this project, saw the issue of gender inequality linked to sexism in society at large:

The problem is societal, I don't think it's about writing at all. [...] I think it's about how women are viewed in culture, in society, in institutions, in families, I think that it is an enormous problem that in no way shape or form can literature solve, it is just another field in which it is obvious that that disparity, that discrimination, that bias is present. (Reeder 2018)

Reeder's analysis is revealing of how societal biases permeate the literary sector, and that sexism in literature is symptomatic of sexism in wider society. Later in this chapter, I return to the issue of societal sexism impacting how women's literary work is valued, which several other interviewees also mentioned in relation to publishing (section 6.4.2.2). Like Reeder, Donald Smith of the Scottish Storytelling Centre raised the question of why we expect the literary sector to be a site of less inequality, or fewer gendered expectations, than the rest of society, in the context of gender stereotypes, and the ways in which people are expected to conform to them in the workplace (D. Smith 2019). After all, if the literary sector exists in a sexist world, then why should it be exempt from this issue?

There may be reasons why publishing could be expected to be not "just another field in which [...] that bias is present", but to reflect a more equal attitude: Interview Participant 1, a white female publisher, spoke about a "more liberal outlook" of publishers in comparison to the general cultural mode. She noted that "we sometimes think of publishing as like – the arts generally, as something countercultural in a way" – giving publishers themselves, and other workers in the literary industry, reason to believe that it may be a more equal industry. However, she stated that "sometimes the makeup of publishing and what we actually put out into the world just mirrors other cultural standards". Therefore, despite publishing's self-image as "countercultural" (which is explored further in 6.4.3), it is a field that often merely mirrors a wider unequal society. Interview Participant 1 spoke to this:

So, when we are looking at a general cultural mode where women are still underrepresented on boards [...] of companies and in parliament, and in other public facing roles, it's not entirely surprising to me that publishing itself will sometimes fail to promote women, to the same extent they promote male voices, especially in non-fiction, actually. In a way I think sometimes publishing

mirrors more widespread cultural standards rather than challeng[ing them].
(Interview Participant 1 2019)

This interviewee's analysis reveals, like Reeder's, an understanding of publishing as mirroring societal issues, here characterised as a "general cultural mode" which favours male voices. The difference between this interviewee and Smith's analyses is that this interviewee felt that publishing ought to be better – that it understands itself as countercultural yet fails to truly challenge discriminatory cultural standards. Similarly, Nick Barley, Artistic Director of EIBF noted that literature professionals and workers in publishing may "despite themselves" have "a biased approach" – again highlighting that publishing may expect itself to be an unbiased industry. Barley continued, saying of workers in the publishing industry that "they're also working within a much deeper and much more problematic biased system, which, if we're gonna change it, it's gonna be much more than just the literary world that needs to change" (Barley 2019). In terms of why inequality persists, these statements highlight that the scope for change seems limited by the system of patriarchy within which the literary industry operates and indicates a level of acceptance of the status quo.

6.3 What's Scottish about gender inequality?

Alongside the above discussion of gender inequality in the world at large, I posed the question of the Scottish context to my interviewees: is there anything unique or special about the Scottish literary industry and gender inequality within it? This section presents my interviewees' responses in two sub-sections: firstly, section 6.3.1 examines the unique context for gender inequality in Scotland, referring to evidence that Scottish literature has a history of favouring male voices, and that this persists to the present day in the minds of powerful tastemakers who operate in closed boys' club-style networks. Section 6.3.2 analyses the intersection of racism and sexism in Scotland, drawing on interview evidence to assert that Scottish literature tends to see itself as white, and appears to "outsource ethnic diversity" to London-based publishers, with little ambition from within the white establishment to change this. Section 6.3 therefore works to answer both parts of RQ2: *how* does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and *why* does it persist?

6.3.1 Closed networks and a male canon

Several interviewees identified specific ways in which the Scottish literary industry had a unique disposition for inequality. Book reviewer Alistair Braidwood specified multiple instances in the 20th century history of Scottish literature where groups of writers would come to the fore, and they would be made up of male writers, with only one female writer included: "...it was the same with the Chemical Generation ... so your [Irvine] Welsh and [Alan] Warner and [Gordon] Legge and all these people, and then you had Laura Hird as the kind of one prominent female writer" (Braidwood 2019). Braidwood continued, pointing out that the 1990s saw many successful and prolific female writers gaining prominence, including A.L. Kennedy, Janice Galloway, Ali Smith, Louise Welsh, and Zoë Strachan, and that these female writers were "getting a lot of deserved attention that maybe didn't happen in the past" (Braidwood 2019). However, Braidwood noted that this list of prominent female writers "doesn't tell the whole story. And still the vast majority of people who were getting published were obviously the men" (Braidwood 2019). Braidwood's comment illustrates that despite female writers gaining attention, there was still, in his view, a structural inequality, in that the overall publishing industry published more male authors than female authors.

Interview Participant 1 identified tastemakers in Scottish literature as favouring a "90s masculinity in writing", a particular style of "Scottish urban writing" over the past 20 years, which often includes "gritty, masculine, sometimes violent writing", and that this taste preference plays into "a slightly old-fashioned idea of what Scotland is", leading to women writers – where their writing, or their public image, do not match up with these ideas – being left out. She continued, clarifying:

I think that a lot of people in the position of tastemakers – so that is across the whole strata of cultural commentators, press, events organisers, and publishers themselves – some of them being of a generation where that sort of 90s, drugs, hangovers, rock'n'roll, slightly masculine lifestyle, I think that's still a prevailing taste in Scotland and its literature, which means that women are sometimes left out because they don't match up to some of those stereotypical ideas of Scottish urban writing. (Interview Participant 1 2019)

This interviewee's analysis reveals another aspect where Scotland may be a unique site of gender inequality through the prevailing tastes of its tastemakers and gatekeepers, and their ideas of what Scottish writing can – and perhaps should – be. This analysis not only indicates a facet of gender inequality manifesting in the Scottish literary sector, but also reveals reproduction of this inequality through the tastes of its tastemakers.

Interview Participant 1's assessment are in accordance with Christianson's evaluation of gendered representations of Scottishness: Christianson refers to Whyte's idea of a 'hegemonic shift' in which "urban fiction in Scotland has increasingly and explicitly assumed the burden of national representation" (Whyte 1998, 278, quoted in Christianson 2002, 72–73). Christianson notes that this 'hegemonic shift' has allowed, for example, James Kelman's "intensely personal and particular explorations of individual working-class West of Scotland men to be seen as [...] representing Scottishness", in contrast to Elspeth Barker's *O Caledonia* (1992 [1991]), which "has been explicitly rejected as having any national application – because the heroine is middle-class and diametrically opposed in her femaleness to anything that Kelman's heroes might represent" (Christianson 2002, 73). Christianson writes that "[Kelman's protagonist's] essential 'maleness' is not any more intrinsically a comment on the 'Scottish' condition than [Barker's protagonist's] femaleness. It has been interpreted into that by the assumptions of his critics/readers" and that certain characters or authors are therefore "constructed as more 'authentic'" than others (Christianson 2002, 73). Christianson concludes:

[...] where this extrapolation becomes problematic is when one region, class, or gender (for example, Glasgow, working-class, male) is used for the representation of the 'whole' nation to the exclusion of others. This hegemonic hold of the idea of the lowland Scottish working-class male (Whyte's 'hegemonic shift') on perceptions of 'Scottishness' contrasts with the lack of power that this grouping has in 'real life'. The urge to universalise from the gendered particular is problematic, leaving, as it does, half of the nation unrepresented in the imagined world being put forward as 'Scottish'. (Christianson 2002, 74)

Christianson's analysis is revealing of a tendency to imagine "Scottish urban writing" as masculine, as Interview Participant 1 put it; "universalising from the gendered particular" not only leaves women writers "unrepresented", but it also casts as inauthentic any newly emerging writing which does not fit this narrow mould.⁵⁰

Interview Participant 2, a woman of colour with experience in a range of literary sector organisations, also concluded that "[gender inequality] is a systemic issue

⁵⁰ As noted in section 4.2, in recent years, female poets Liz Lochhead, Jackie Kay and Kathleen Jamie have been selected as Scots Makar, and initiatives such as Nan Shepherd's image on the Scottish £5 note, and the year-long celebration of Muriel Spark in 2018, have put national literary focus on specific women. While most of these women work in poetry, and the discussion of "authentic Scottish writing" by Interview Participant 1, Christianson and Whyte is focused on fiction, it will nevertheless be a fruitful area for future researchers to investigate how these symbolic interventions shape concepts of a Scottish canon.

globally” but felt that “it’s uniquely conveyed in the Scottish context” (Interview Participant 2 2020). She continued, highlighting that both in issues of racism and sexism the Scottish literary industry often makes excuses for why things aren’t better in Scotland: “I think Scotland can hide behind the fact that, when it comes to race, they are perceived as more white than other places. I think it’s like, roughly 83% of Glasgow is white, but most of the people I speak to rely on the, like- ‘well how many people of colour are there? They’re not here, they’re not there!’” (Interview Participant 2 2020). Rather than actively interrogating their working practices, the people this interviewee refers to use the perception of Scotland as a white country as an excuse for inaction. The interviewee further addressed the idea that there is a ‘creative drain’ from Scottish publishers to London. This has been described in scholarly work by Ramdarshan Bold: “successful Scottish authors are often lured to London publishers as a result of better marketing deals and larger advances” (Ramdarshan Bold 2012, 347), which, Ramdarshan Bold adds, “is not solely a contemporary issue: Scottish authors have been leaving to be published in London since the decline of the Scottish publishing industry in the nineteenth century” (Ramdarshan Bold 2012, n. 4). On this same subject, Squires and Kovač write that “the wave of mergers and acquisitions in the 1960s and 1970s (Stevenson, 2010; de Ballaigue, 2004)” was when the “gravitational pull” towards London was established, when many of Scotland’s publishers “moved to London or were bought by or merged with London-based or US publishers” (Kovač and Squires 2014, 10).

Interview Participant 2 interviewee stated that this movement to London is often used by Scottish publishers as an excuse to not pursue the creation of more opportunities for female writers in Scotland:

It’s that idea of, ‘we can’t put women forward for the awards if they’re not getting published by Scottish publishers,’ and then people immediately come back and say, ‘it’s because the women are getting published by bigger publishers, it’s because the women are getting bigger advances, it’s because the women are winning somewhere else.’ So, if people think that Scotland doesn’t have ample opportunities for women but *that’s still fine*, then that’s a uniquely Scottish issue. [...] I find it really funny that people say, ‘it’s because the opportunities are better elsewhere, so actually she’s winning’, not: ‘we cannot create these opportunities in Scotland, therefore we are losing.’ [...] We need to interrogate that, we need to be like, well what is going on with these publishing companies in Scotland that women are not getting big advances, that women are not getting these opportunities? (Interview Participant 2 2020)

In the above quote, Interview Participant 2 discusses the complacency and inaction that occurs when the lack of opportunities for writers of colour and/or female writers

are perceived as inherent to the Scottish literary context: the tastemakers the interviewee describes are deliberately not targeting action within Scotland, but rather promoting the idea that, if certain opportunities do not currently exist in Scotland, they do exist elsewhere; therefore, writers of colour and/or female writers may be successful elsewhere, but the furthering of their talent, writing careers, and opportunities in Scotland is not seen as possible or even desirable. Like the statement above regarding tastemakers, this analysis highlights how gender inequality reproduces through complacency. The interviewee continued, suggesting that a lack of (perceived and/or real) resources may lie underneath this reluctance to take action:

And I think Scotland sees itself as having minimal resources, so they don't want to quote-unquote "take the risk". And they think that that risk is for other publishers. If we were talking about women, if we were talking about people of colour's work as safe bets, as of inherent value, there wouldn't be a question. There wouldn't be that, 'oh somebody else will give them that advance, because the work is good but we just can't right now'. You know? Like, what are the questions why? I think Scotland is totally unique in that it sees itself as not having resource. (Interview Participant 2 2020)

To add to the interviewee's earlier analysis, here she concludes that Scottish publishing is not only reluctant, or unwilling, to take action, but that it sees itself as not having the necessary resources to make changes that would advance opportunities for writers of colour and/or female writers. She highlights that this is down to a reluctance to 'take a risk' on these writers' work; and further points out that this perception of writers of colour and/or women writers' work as 'risky' is down to a lack of value ascribed to it by the (overwhelmingly white) publishing industry. Again, this analysis shows that inequality persists through the Scottish literary sector's self-perception of not having enough necessary resources to further diversity in its working practices.

Another factor impacting gender inequality and its persistence in the Scottish literary sector is the relatively small and closed nature of its networks, as some interviewees identified. Specifically with reference to Scotland's culture of literary reviewing, Donald Smith said: "A bit of a closed shop, and a bit stagnant, our lack of number of outlets or lack of variety of voices being heard," adding that he could "virtually write in [his] sleep these kind of regular [...], I could virtually write an Alan Taylor article", one of Scotland's most prolific and influential literary reviewers (D. Smith 2019). Smith's analysis is revealing of a sense that Scotland's critical culture

feels closed, rather than open.⁵¹ An anonymous interviewee echoed the idea of a closed critical community in a discussion about a book review from the year 2000, where the reviewer spent a whole paragraph talking about the book not needing a review as it was the latest in a series of Ian Rankin crime novels, and that the fans would read it anyway; the review was over 1,000 words long, indicating that while the reviewer felt the book did not need a review, he was still happy to give his reflections a lot of space in the review pages. Interview Participant 1 reflected on this and said that it indicated an “assumption from the reviewer [...] ‘we’re just writing for ourselves,’ almost” (Interview Participant 1 2019). This is revealing of an image of a closed critical community with a narrow outlook on its readership. These closed structures were also highlighted in my interview with Dave Coates, a researcher and reviewer, who pointed out that mentorship schemes are valuable precisely because they afford access to professional networks in addition to writing instruction. Coates said, “Because you can train all of the writers in the world, but if they don’t know anyone, they’re gonna have a really hard time” (Coates 2019). Coates’ analysis shows an understanding of the importance of access to the above (“closed”) critical networks, as a critic’s career depends not only on their writing skill but also on their interconnectedness with others. If the critical culture of Scotland is a “closed shop” – overwhelmingly made up of men – then change towards greater gender equality is difficult to incentivise. Its closedness can also be observed in quantitative data: as I showed in the previous chapter, from 2017-2019 on average the same three male critics wrote 69.9% of reviews in *The Scotsman*, and one male critic wrote 44.6% of reviews in *The Herald*.

6.3.2 “Patchy and negligible”: intersection of racism and sexism in the Scottish literary sector

Several interviewees touched on the intersection of sexism and racism in Scotland, as noted above by Interview Participant 2. In addition to the issues she raised on complacency and inaction in Scotland as detailed in 6.3.1, she also found that publishers often make assumptions about what writers, readers, event programmers,

⁵¹ This “closed shop” feeling is interesting, as it directly juxtaposes the outward-looking Scottish literary market. Scottish literature has many international connections, to the wider English-speaking market (Klamet 2020, 41; Kovač and Squires 2014, 8) and an export market of £1.6 million (and home market £2 million) in 2017 (Klamet 2020, 55); in 2013, 23% of sales were in Scotland, further emphasising the importance of international connections (Nordicity in association with Drew Wylie 2015, 60) including the Scottish diaspora (R. L. Noorda 2016).

and others are interested in. She described one example in particular, from her work as an event programmer: “I’ve been in a call with a Scottish publisher who I definitely know have published women of colour, and they’re often not the ones that get pitched to me. And I wonder why. Do they think that my audience wouldn’t be receptive?” (Interview Participant 2 2020). Related to her broader work within organisations, Interview Participant 2 pointed out that this unconscious assumption is also part of hiring practices and explained the lack of focus on equalities and diversity experience in recruitment: “It’s an unconscious assumption that you’re not gonna have to work with ‘those people’. It’s an endorsement of the way the industry is being run right now. You’re literally saying, ‘it’s okay if you don’t know any brown people because when are you gonna see them? When are you gonna meet them?’” (Interview Participant 2 2020). This unconscious assumption in hiring practices and in imagining audiences stems from “an assumed neutral point of a white person” (Interview Participant 2 2020), cutting out a large section of society as readers: “And they forget that women have money, they forget that women of colour are readers, or they devalue their reading because they don’t see them as in positions of power, they don’t see them on those selection panels” (Interview Participant 2 2020). The interviewee also raised an idea for how to address these issues in recruitment through a greater focus on equalities and diversity experience as a ‘fundamental skill’:

There should be the assumption that you have to work with women, that you have to work with minorities, and if you make them uncomfortable then you shouldn’t get the job. This should be seen as integral to hiring practices. Equality, diversity and inclusion and being somebody that people feel comfortable and safe around is not an add-on, it is a fundamental skill. And if you don’t have that fundamental skill, you shouldn’t work there. (Interview Participant 2 2020)

This interviewee’s analysis underlines that, rather than focusing on hiring somebody who can work comfortably with the “assumed neutral” person, it is vital to see the ability to proactively create a comfortable and safe working environment for those around you, which as a matter of course includes women and minorities, as a fundamental skill rather than “an add-on”.

The “assumed neutral point of a white person” raised by this interviewee was also a core finding of the ‘Rethinking Diversity in Publishing’ report (Saha and van Lente 2020), which was published just over a week after I spoke to Interview Participant 2. Saha and van Lente underline one of their key findings that “the publishing industry is set up to cater for just one white, middle-class audience” (Saha

and van Lente 2020, 23). This report, and in particular this finding, was raised by Interview Participant 3, a woman of colour working in a senior position in the literary sector, with whom I spoke a month after the report's publication.

Interview Participant 3 spoke of the Rethinking Diversity report as “heartbreakingly fascinating”, and said that she was “personally offended, being, you know, not classed as a reader” (Interview Participant 3 2020), as she is a woman of colour and therefore not fitting the ‘white middle-class woman’ target audience of the publishing industry: “I was just like, oh my God, really? Right. Okay. But it just felt so unfair. Yeah. That was really, really upsetting” (Interview Participant 3 2020). She further spoke of her introduction to the literary industry, and being greeted by a man of colour with the words, “Oh, another BAME person, wonderful!” (Interview Participant 3 2020), highlighting for her the whiteness of the industry, and specifically the literary industry in Scotland. She described that this moment characterised her introduction to this industry: “That is the first thing he said to me, and I was just like, ‘Okay, so that’s how it is, that’s what this is like,’ and then... if [he] wasn’t there, I am the only brown person in the room. Everyone else is white” (Interview Participant 3 2020). This interviewee’s experience shows that the Scottish literary landscape is staffed overwhelmingly by white people, and that, as the above interviewee noted, there was a reluctance to change this, due to a perceived lack of resources, and a lack of value ascribed to the work of people of colour, in particular women of colour. The persistent whiteness of the Scottish literary sector was also highlighted when the *Scottish Review of Books* (SRB) ceased print operations in 2019, as described in Chapter 4. Following a rejected funding bid, SRB published an editorial which objected to the imposition of diversity targets by Creative Scotland, its funder, stating that its own foremost considerations are “quality and originality [...] after which all others must join the queue”, and called the “ethnic profile” of Scotland “at best patchy and in some cases negligible” (Goring 2019). This phrasing, as Squires argues, “whitewash[ed] Scotland’s general population, and [...] its literary sector, aspirant writers, and readers” (Squires 2019). Squires continues:

The SRB statement also contained an assumption which habitually meets any act of positive discrimination: that equality measures cannot also be enablers of (artistic) excellence. It assumes that people of colour are inhibited by a lack of ‘quality and originality’, rather than by prejudicial structures and gatekeepers. (Squires 2019)

As this example has demonstrated, it is not just the persistent whiteness of the Scottish literary industry which is an issue, but also the fact that, when faced with considerations of improving ethnic diversity, gatekeeping institutions like the *Scottish Review of Books* respond with, at best, reluctance and not a small degree of hostility.

6.4 What makes publishing fertile ground for gender inequality?

Following the above section on how gender inequality manifests in the literary sector in *Scotland*, section 6.4 presents findings on how interviewees understood the *publishing sector* in Scotland as a site for gender inequality. This section is divided into eight sub-sections, which, like the above section 6.3, relate to RQ2 and *how* and *why* gender inequality manifests and persists in the Scottish literary sector: firstly, section 6.4.1 focuses on the interconnectedness of the literary sector and the publishing industry, with examples from interviewees about how this exacerbates gender inequality, or makes it difficult to achieve meaningful change. Section 6.4.1.1 delves further into interview responses describing the commercial marketplace and audiences as instrumental in upholding a sexist status quo.

The next group of sub-sections describes a continuum of devalued female labour, from structurally secondary roles, to devaluing through gender stereotyping, to discriminatory working practices and sexual harassment. Section 6.4.2.1 focuses on male CEOs working with a largely female staff, which is described as a key characteristic of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector. Section 6.4.2.2 explores interview responses related to gendered job roles in the literary sector and specifically in publishing – and how gender stereotypes work to obstruct progress towards greater gender equality. Section 6.4.2.3 presents findings from interviews which show discriminatory working practices and verbal and physical sexual harassment.

Section 6.4.2.4 investigates an important facet of the literary sector: it is largely staffed by women, and interviewees raised questions of whether internalised misogyny could be a factor in gender inequality persisting despite this largely female workforce.

The final sections, 6.4.3, and 6.4.4 explore interview responses which refer to a liberal political leaning of the literary industry, good intentions on the part of literary

industry workers and tastemakers, and efforts to create a more just literary sector in the future.

6.4.1 Ubiquitous intermediaries

The publishing industry comprises a wide range of areas and a vast variety of jobs, as described in 4.2. The previous chapter's quantitative data analysis focused on four of these areas: publishing, reviewing, festivals, and prizes. When discussing the literary industry and its gender inequality problem with my interviewees, many of them referred to this interconnectedness as part of the reason they were unable to create a more gender-balanced publishing list, review roster, festival programme or prize longlist. In other words, interviewees cited the sector's interconnectedness as a facet of *why* gender inequality persists in the Scottish literary sector.

As an entry point into this topic, this section begins with an examination of how literary festival workers described the interdependences between their festival and the wider literary sector – including, interestingly, how this interdependence resulted in impact on their editorial decision-making on platforming authors. An anonymous female interviewee, Interview Participant 4, working in a senior position at one of Scotland's book festivals, underlined the festival's interconnectedness with other agents in the field – she described this as “hav[ing] many tendrils that reach out into all aspects of the literature ecology both in Scotland and beyond” (Interview Participant 4 2018). Barley echoed this sense of connection in terms of “hav[ing] to take into account the kind of organic system that is publishing” (Barley 2019). Within this interrelatedness to the industry, relationships with publishers stood out as particularly important. Interview Participant 4 described the festival she worked at as “a platform for publishers and writers, and I think we see it as a position of responsibility [...] we're an integral way in which those organisations can position themselves, can strengthen their engagement with stakeholders” (Interview Participant 4 2018). In this example, Interview Participant 4 describes the role of the book festival as a meeting place, and as a place of playing out relationships between stakeholders – a place to meet and be seen, and to showcase work. The interview participant also saw a second role of the festival for publishers: “There's a commercial relationship there, in terms of publishers – in our bookshops during the festival, we have a whole section that showcases Scottish publishers for instance; and obviously with writers as well, there is that

commercial relationship: we provide a forum for them to sell their books, ultimately” (Interview Participant 4 2018).

Bob McDevitt, Director of Aye Write and Bloody Scotland, also pointed to publishers as important to the festivals, as publishers were among the first people contacted when Aye Write was initially created, and he described touring London publishers to invite them to submit their authors for consideration to Aye Write (McDevitt 2021). Annie Rutherford, who at the time of our interview was Programme Co-Ordinator of StAnza Poetry Festival (StAnza), also commented on these connections, pointing out that for “non-performance poetry [events], everyone has to have published a book for us to consider them, just as a sort of basic requirement”, emphasising a connection to publishers. While having a book available *to sell* was not as important to StAnza, the existence of a book as an output was a ‘basic requirement’:

they don’t have to have a book *in print*, StAnza isn’t a book festival [...] we don’t make any money from book sales. We do have book stalls, but the bookshop that runs them makes money off that. And so yeah, we don’t care if somebody is in print, if it’s an international poet we don’t care if they have a book in English, so long as they have enough poems to read at a 20 minute set. (Rutherford 2019, my emphasis)

While the strength of links between literary festivals and publishers varies in McDevitt and Rutherford’s comments, both note that literary festivals are connected to publishing. I emphasise this connection because Barley explicitly noted the potentially considerable editorial impact of these commercial relationships: Barley described the relationship of publishers and EIBF through an example of how this relationship has a business impact on programming decisions. Barley explained that publishers are asked to “help pay the travel costs” for authors; “although the book festival pays the fees and the accommodation of writers, and sometimes the travel costs” (Barley 2019). Barley underlined that this financial contribution is absolutely essential, stressing that EIBF would not be possible without it: “if we didn’t have the support of publishers in helping us with the lion’s share of the travel costs it wouldn’t be possible for us to do the book festival” (Barley 2019).

This financial relationship is accompanied with a programming impact: “to some extent we have to listen to publishers about their ideas about who they would like us to invite” (Barley 2019). Barley continues, further underlining the powerful role of publishers in programming:

Because the forces which feed into who will be in the book festival programme are more complicated than me simply saying ‘I want x, y and z writer and I will

invite them, and they will come, and they will be in the programme'. Because we, the truth is that we will agree with publishers, yes, let's, you'd be able to pay for x writer to come from America, but you will not pay for y writer to come from America, so we will invite x writer, and if she says no, it will be a shame and we'll have to go somewhere else. Whether or not writer number x is in the programme isn't only about whether I want her in the programme. (Barley 2019)

Barley's notion of the difference between programming *intention* ("I want her in the programme") and the final programme is linked to the theme of programmers' good intentions, discussed further below.

Rutherford (StAnza) also highlighted the importance of literary reviews and literary prizes for raising awareness of various authors and their work, which then impacts who might be pitched as a good fit for the festival (Rutherford 2019).

The above interviews show that book festivals are seen as intermediaries, both as a meeting place for business-to-business relationships (publishers engaging with stakeholders), and for business-to-customer relations in a more straightforward commercial model, through providing a platform for book sales to publishers and to authors. They are seen as intricately and inextricably interconnected to other parts of the publishing industry, particularly through strong connections to publishers. This business-to-business relationship may work in both directions, as elaborated by Barley in the case of EIBF, and by the anonymous female interviewee: while she spoke of the festival she works with as an important place for publishers' commercial and networking interests, Barley's elaboration shows that EIBF is similarly reliant on publishers to enable the content and financial viability of EIBF. This relationship results in a festival's limited editorial power about its author programme. Rather than being completely free to programme whoever they want, editorial decisions, as highlighted by Barley, are also intimately linked to publishers' budgets and promotional allocation to authors, which are often biased by gender, ethnicity, and other factors (Squires 2017a; 'In Full Colour: Cultural Diversity in Publishing Today' 2004; Saha and van Lente 2020; Ramdarshan Bold 2018; 2021; Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2018; 2020). Book festivals are dependent, to a degree, on other intermediaries' gatekeeping and decision-making processes, which, as Barley noted, limits the scope of action and change to the gender balance of their programming book festivals on their own are able to make. Further (perceived and real) limits on editorial decisions are discussed below, regarding market forces and working towards achieving gender balance.

The interconnectedness to the global capitalist system of publishing – whether as entry criteria as with StAnza, or through a more explicit and impactful commercial relationship as with EIBF – was cited multiple times in one of these interviews as a reason for the festival’s continued struggle for gender balance, although they have almost achieved this. It seems that there is a continuum – that some festivals, which do not rely on publishers’ co-funding, may find it easier to extricate themselves from the financial implications of programming ‘riskier’ authors. This goes some way to explaining *how* gender inequality persists in this arena.

Interviewees expressed a lack of complete agency over their own work areas due to the inextricable commercial interconnectedness of agents (such as publishers, reviewers, festival programmers, prize judges) in the literary industry. They expressed the idea that, if it were up to them, they would, for example, be able to create more gender balanced programmes – but that they are kept from fulfilling this aim by their delicate web of connections (see also section 6.4.3 on good intentions).

6.4.1.1 *Market pressures, audiences and money*

Another way gender inequality persists within the publishing industry is its relationship to the supply and demand model of modern capitalism. “The UK publishes more books per capita than any other country,” according to *The Guardian* (Flood 2014), and publishing houses need bestselling books – they can “change the fortunes of publishers,” as Wilkins and Bennet write: “An injection of money like [the runaway success of the *Harry Potter* books] makes it possible for a publisher to take chances on different kinds of books and build literary culture” (Wilkins and Bennett 2021, 55–56). In theory, then, a bestselling book could, through a sizeable cash injection, mitigate the perceived risk of ‘taking a chance’ on books which may themselves not become bestsellers. It is especially small presses who are dependent on “one or two really successful books”, as Thompson writes in *Merchants of Culture*, describing “the growth pattern” as depending on a sudden run-away successful book, often through its inclusion in book club lists, receiving a prize, or a particularly prestigious review: “this surprise success produces a sudden influx of cash that increases the company’s revenue by a multiple of two, three or even more; after years of running at a loss, they suddenly find themselves profitable and with cash in the bank” (Thompson 2012, 164–65). Appealing to consumers is therefore a major concern for contemporary

publishers, as publishing some books which sell very well could provide capital for future acquisitions. Squires describes the marketplace within which publishing functions as “incorporat[ing] the values enshrined in cultural activity” while also being characterised by “the demands of commerce” (Squires 2009, 40). But if this is the case, and if there is pressure to sell, does this not apply equally to authors of all genders?

The literary agent Judy Moir said in our interview that she felt that particularly feminist writers suffered from the increased pressure on authors to write books that would sell well, which she felt was higher now than before. Moir linked this trend to the greater availability of some sales data through Nielsen BookScan. Moir pointed out that this could have negative effects particularly on “literary writers and quality feminist writers who don’t sell enough and therefore get dropped” (Moir 2018). Moir’s analysis is revealing of an anxiety over sales, and uncertainty about a publishing house’s continued support and loyalty through a period of low sales.

Another space where market pressures have impacted the contemporary field is literary reviewing. Writer Jenni Calder said that she felt it was very difficult to get a review nowadays, and that this “only happens now if you’re already a bestselling writer or you have a considerable reputation”, comparing this situation to her debut non-fiction book, which came out in the 1960s and which was widely reviewed, which she felt would not happen if it was published today. Critic, author and editor Lesley McDowell echoed this analysis, stating that with diminishing newspaper space for literary reviewing, women are disproportionately affected because they’re already being reviewed less:

[...] the problem [of women being reviewed less] was consistent all the way through, the problem never actually changed. I don't think there was ever a time where suddenly women were getting much more attention, it's just that when the actual amount of space goes down, it's going to affect women more, because already their area is really small. (McDowell 2018)

McDowell’s argument is that as women’s books, and female reviewer’s reviews, are already afforded less space, any further cuts to review space will be felt more drastically by female authors and reviewers (e.g. if a newspaper hypothetically reviewed 2 books by women and 4 books by men, and needs to cut its review pages by a third, they may end up with 1 book by a woman and 3 books by men, which is a proportional cut of 50% for women’s books and 25% for men’s books).

The topic of the market, publishing as a business, and money was raised also by Barley (EIBF), who spoke about publishing being a business which is “predicated on the willingness of people to buy books”, and that these people – the book-buying public – are partly responsible for the market pressures, which lead to publishers favouring certain books over others: “Publishers don’t exist despite the readers, they exist because of the readers, and so publishers might be hoping they can change the readers by what they publish but they can only go so far” (Barley 2019). Of course, the actual readers may be different from how the market conceives of readers. Claire Squires, Director of the Stirling Centre for International Publishing and Communication at University of Stirling and one of the supervisors of this project, described this ‘imagining of a reader’ as readers being “used by the producers as a rationale”, and that at times decisions based on readers’ tastes are “often too much second-guessed in too much of a reactive way”, and that reader behaviour might also often surprise producers (Squires 2018).

Reeder also discussed these imagined and real markets, linking also to the discussion above about “imagined neutral” audiences, and the packaging of women’s writing: “[publishing] is very market driven and people simplify that market down, what they think that that market wants, and even a complex market like women writers, that then goes to picking more kind of commercial and floofy pink-covered women’s writing which is just part of what women might write” (Reeder 2018). Bookseller Mairi Oliver also spoke about the devaluing of women authors’ work in the marketplace, linked to gender stereotyping. Oliver said that, in her experience from publisher’s catalogues, “[women’s books are] being sold as less valuable, or less valuable in terms of literary content, across any subject” (Oliver 2018). Like Reeder above, Oliver also connected this to the packaging of women’s writing, being pigeonholed as ‘beach reads’ and ‘chick lit’ which she saw as a lack of respect for “writing of value that is coming from women”, and that this lack of respect was being passed on to the consumer using bland or repetitive cover images which further play into gender stereotypes (Oliver 2018). Oliver’s conclusion was: “my sense is that endemic in the publishing industry is a complete lack of respect for the value of what women are writing, and what women and men would read from women” (Oliver 2018). Oliver here is referring to the specific market targeting of women’s writing, which is often designed to appear as though it is meant (solely) for a female readership.

Oliver and Reeder spoke about books being devalued by being pink or obviously targeting women – this packaging bringing these books in line with a type of ‘femininity’ that is seen as subordinate to an imagined neutral (‘masculine’ or ‘serious’) book. Reeder’s point relates to the reductiveness of the commercial imaginary – that pink floofy books are all readers might want from women. Paratextual information, including the book cover, informs how readers encounter a text: for Gérard Genette, the paratext “constitutes a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction* [...] of an influence on the public, an influence that [...] is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it” (Genette 1997, 2). Therefore, an alignment of women’s books with pink covers aligns all such books with connotations of femininity, when in reality there is a wide area of genres in which women write, some of which might be more targeted towards an audience who would expect to see a feminine-coded cover, such as romance. Reeder’s point, and to some extent Oliver’s, refers to a concern that women’s writing in other genres might also receive reductive treatment on account of their gender.

Diane Shipley writes in *The Guardian* that “publishers are now adding chick lit-style covers to any book written by a woman whether it fits the genre definition or not,” referring to the high sales of chick lit books as a motivation. Shipley quotes interviews with several authors who “hate the way their books have been similarly marketed”, stating that “books aimed at women are becoming increasingly homogenised, girly and bland-looking” (Shipley 2008). This is a practice which Emily Harnett describes in *The Atlantic* as “the long history of sexist publishing practice, in which any book by a woman is automatically marketed as ‘women’s fiction’” (Harnett 2016).

Young adult author Alison Croggon writes that, while some of her books feature “neutral design”, others, however, “[are] undeniably aimed at girls: however beautiful the covers are, they have definite leanings towards pinkness. [...] I found myself wondering if there are boys who might enjoy the story, but will be put off by the cover” (Croggon 2013). Croggon answers the question of why that might be, writing that “books exist in a society where femininity is still considered to be a second-class characteristic, and masculinity defined most strongly as an absence of the feminine” (Croggon 2013).

On the same topic, in 2018 Meaghan Barry refers to the most popular genres of the 2010s as “‘domestic noir,’ feminist dystopian, and feminist non-fiction [...]” in an article in design magazine *AIGA Eye on Design*, stating that “[d]esign tropes reinforce

stereotypes of the women found within these pages; either unreliable, weak, intense, bossy, bleeding, or dead – and mostly white” (Barry 2018). Barry analyses book covers in ‘domestic noir’, which, Barry writes, is a genre which is “[o]ften featured as ‘beach reads’” and “can be seen as disposable in the larger scope of contemporary fiction”, and Barry links this attitude of disposability as “reinforc[ing] the women writing, depicted in, and reading these books are disposable too” (Barry 2018). Barry notes that this is reflected in the design of the book covers: “Women characters are depicted as voids, lacking identity through silhouette, or are disrupted through cropping or overlaid type” (Barry 2018). Barry identifies that book cover design of women’s work draws on disposable, stereotypical images, which flattens women’s work – particularly within certain genres with strong recognisable genre aesthetics. Barry adds that feminist non-fiction covers “aim[...] to be bold, but the use of calm colors or academic serif typography makes sure they come off as polite and academic, not bossy or bitchy” (Barry 2018).

Negative connotations of femininity, such as frivolousness, are functions of sexism rather than inherent facets of femininity. Serano writes on the subject of femininity that “[t]raditional sexism functions to make femaleness and femininity appear subordinate to maleness and masculinity. [...] female and feminine attributes are regularly assigned negative connotations and meanings in our society” (Serano 2016, 326). One negative connotation assigned to “pursuits and interests that are considered feminine” is to characterise them as “frivolous” (Serano 2016, 326–27). In a sexist society, then, packaging a book as something that aligns with ideas about (inferiorised) femininity would therefore assign less serious value to that book, and make it appear frivolous. However, genres such as romance, and readers of these genres, are not inherently frivolous, and therefore packaging books to align with these genres is not inherently demeaning or devaluing – in fact, the traditionally sexist belittling notions about women’s preoccupations devalue women’s books. “The mistaken belief that femininity is inherently helpless, fragile, dependent, irrational, frivolous, and so on, gives rise to the commonplace assumption that those who express femininity are not to be taken seriously and cannot be seen as legitimate authority figures” (Serano 2016, 329). If feminine-coded things were seen as equally valuable and serious as masculine-coded things, then having a ‘girly’ cover would not be inherently a devaluing of books. Indeed, much societal derision for women’s writing would fall away if there was higher societal value for feminine-aligned things and for

women's pastimes – while recognising that of course not all women write or read books with 'girly' covers, and that the practice of flattening women's writing into a single aesthetic (marketing) category does a disservice to writers and readers.

Turning from publishing to literary festivals, McDevitt wondered about the impact of audiences, noting that "it's women who are buying tickets", and that male journalists were filling theatres, while "the female political equivalents wouldn't bring in such a big audience" (McDevitt 2021). Barley also spoke about filling theatres, noting that "to some extent the Book Festival depends on its ability to fund itself through ticket sales. And in a festival like ours in which we have a theatre, the biggest theatre is 750 seats, we have to be able to invite people who will, by and large, be able to fill the theatre." Barley then spoke about making decisions with the help of publishers to determine which authors can fill the theatre space. He noted that, "I don't know if this is true or not, but certain writers [might be] more popular than other writers on account of their gender [...] that systemic imbalance would be difficult to resist" (Barley 2019). According to McDevitt, these audiences – with the power to fill a theatre, and therefore 'prove' an author's marketability, are largely women, and these largely female audiences are electing to attend men's events over women's events. McDevitt shared that the Aye Write audience is largely women between 45 to 65 years old, and that "[b]ook festivals, in general, have a problem attracting younger people and working class people and people of colour... just in the audiences" (McDevitt 2021). Rutherford also noted that StAnza's audience "I would say three quarters of the audience are women" (Rutherford 2019). Eleanor Livingstone, who at the time of our interview was Festival Director of StAnza, also spoke about the StAnza audience, noting that "you have to get your audience to trust you that they're going to enjoy it, but at the same time you have to challenge them" (Livingstone 2019); similarly, an anonymous female interview participant spoke of an award run by her festival as "a way of encouraging audiences to 'take a risk' in inverted commas on authors that maybe they haven't heard of" (Interview Participant 4 2018).

Where market forces, ticket sales, book sales and larger inequalities are cited in the above interview findings, interviewees refer to structural inequalities which, in turn, impact literary festival programming. However, by foregrounding their intentions in programming, and laying the blame on external factors such as audience tastes, market forces, and societal inequality, literary festival programmers effectively separate themselves and their significant editorial control from the product, the final

programme. This also highlights a discrepancy in critique and defence – when a final programme is criticised, it is not the final programme which is defended, but the *intentions for programming*.

This difference in intention and actual programming was particularly striking with relation to how audiences were spoken about: they impacted programming decisions by attending, or not attending, events, filling theatres, and yet programming was made both for and against them – events for the festival’s core demographics, but programming decisions were also made to specifically challenge their core demographic, all the while highlighting that festivals ought to attract a wider audience. With audiences largely female, there appears to be an unspoken attendance contract – if they attend events by men, they ‘prove’ to festival programmers that they want these events. The largely female audiences, and female workforce in general, works as a ‘shield’ to justify programming decisions, and when the core audience does not attend (in significant numbers) events that are intended to attract a wider audience, their non-attendance is seen as the failure of the event.

Many of my interviewees viewed publishers, literary festivals, reviews and prizes, and especially the capitalist marketplace, as part of a system which was difficult to change, but which could instead be “sidestepped” or “bypassed”. “There’s a new crop of publishers who are using crowdfunders, who are publishing zines, publishing things in a slightly less commercial basis, but who are publishing really interesting cultural work that has a wider resonance, I think that’s really interesting. It slightly sidesteps more traditional models where some people haven’t been able to break through” (Interview Participant 1 2019). Like this anonymous interviewee, Squires also said that crowdfunding and social media may help subvert publishers’ expectations of reader behaviour, because work which gains success through those means often “doesn’t fit into pre-existing patterns” (Squires 2018). Social media represents another way interviewees felt the ‘system’ could be sidestepped, as they felt it gave authors more agency over their book’s marketing process. Amina Shah, who at the time of our interview was SBT’s Director of Programme, spoke about authors’ reach on social media: “one thing that we know is that publishers, particularly small publishers, now have less of a budget for marketing and publicity so it’s more in the hands of the writer, so if they have that... if they feel at home in [a social media] environment and know how to get the best out of it they can raise their profile considerably” (Shah 2018). Shah here relates the necessity for an author to promote their work on social media to

publishers' limited budgets, specifically highlighting the budgets of small publishers (which, as noted above, make up the majority of Scottish publishers). Crucially, Shah underlines that authors need to have the necessary skills to 'get the best out of' social media. Shah sees this interplay between social media and publishing as a force for change, mentioning one female author specifically, who was able to use social media to "go beyond publishing guides" and gain a larger audience (Shah 2018). Shah also spoke about another female author, who, in addition to winning awards and having written a good book, thrived particularly through word-of-mouth via social media: "the amount of energy on social media around it has possibly taken it out of what where it might have sat previously [...] the power dynamic is changing I think because of that, that's my perception" (Shah 2018). Throughout our conversation, Shah highlighted the power of authors' personal social media platforms to subvert publishing dynamics, as 'out of the hands of' traditional power dynamics.

Whether or not they truly function to sustainably bring about change in the publishing industry, crowdfunding and social media appear to be seen as ways to *bypass an immovable hegemony*. This echoes sentiments expressed above in 6.4.1 where interviewees discuss the commercial interconnections of the literary industry as fixed, and powerful institutions as impenetrable. These ideas of a fixed system again reduce a sense of agency: if fields are impenetrable and there is no possibility of direct intervention, then initiatives to bypass or sidestep them are the only way to bring about change. This is interesting particularly because my interviewees themselves are in powerful tastemaking positions, yet they express a lack of ability to change a greater immovable system, which is made up of organisations and institutions like their own.

6.4.2 Sites of intervention

So far, this chapter has detailed the unique contexts of the Scottish literary sector as a site for gender inequality. The following section investigates where changes may be made – where should we begin our work to shift gender equality forwards? Or, put another way: what forces are there in the Scottish literary sector which are impeding progress on gender inequality?

6.4.2.1 *The influence gap: men in power*

Some interviewees specifically highlighted the fact that men tend to occupy positions of power in a literary sector where over 80% of workers are female ('Bookcareers.Com Salary Survey Results 2017' n.d.). Why does this contribute to gender inequality? On an abstract level, this echoes the hierarchy posited by patriarchy, where men are seen as powerful and women as subservient. However, there are also practical implications of this.

Several interviewees highlighted the issue of male publishers or CEOs working with largely female staff. The author Jenni Calder said, in our interview, that she had for nearly two decades been working with the Edinburgh-based publisher Luath, and had noticed a discrepancy in the power and positions in the staff: "...everybody who works for [the publisher at Luath] is female. They do all the legwork, but they don't have any influence at all about what he decides to publish" (Calder 2018). This was echoed by another interviewee, who said that, when it comes to publishing or other creative industries work owned by male directors, administrative work often fell to women, and that this work was "undervalued" (Interview Participant 1 2019). McDowell agreed, stating that "the publishing industry is so sexist too. Because it doesn't let women run it, it has women at the bottom levels but not so much at the top, so you've got all these [...] women at the bottom, decisions being made at the top" (McDowell 2018). Other interviewees agreed with McDowell's assessment, for example Sarah Mason, Director of the Saltire Society, who said that women's work in Scottish literature was mostly happening "behind the scenes", and often without getting sufficient recognition; and that the "front facing part" of the sector ought to become more equal, by which she meant the people who immediately come to mind when others people, in Mason's opinion, think about or describe Scottish literature (Mason 2019).

Livingstone (StAnza), felt strongly that the work of women in small press publishing should be highlighted, yet also added that "the big presses in the UK are still heavily dominated by men" (Livingstone 2019).

The above findings are in line with experiences from the Australian literary sector, which an editor described as "an industry with older, established men in the corner offices and young women working themselves to the ground in the cubicles, trying to earn themselves a break; that is, an industry where sexual harassment based on power differentials is bound to flourish" (*Books + Publishing* 2017).

An anonymous interviewee spoke of her experience working with male publishers:

I've had two male bosses, who were publishers of their – either their own publishing company or an imprint, and both of them boasted that they didn't read books. Yeah, it just wasn't their interest. I found that staggering, I found that absolutely bizarre. [...] I think that sometimes men in these top positions in publishing sometimes see themselves as too busy to read books. But personally, I do now have quite a senior position, although it's not my company, and I'm not in charge of, you know, an imprint or anything. But I see it as fundamental to my job to understand the terrain. It's just absolutely part and parcel of, and I pride myself on having a real insight into contemporary publishing and books. I read very widely for professional reasons, as well as personal reasons. And it makes me angry that men in senior positions I've worked with have not taken that attitude. (Interview Participant 1 2019)

The male publishers this interviewee worked with “boasted” about not reading books, which angered the interviewee, as she saw gaining familiarity with the contemporary publishing landscape through reading books as integral to the work of a publisher. This interviewee's analysis suggests that the rules of publishing – of reading books to understand the field – do not apply to workers equally. “Jobs in publishing are scarce and attractive, a common feature of creative industries which correlates with exploitative work practices including unpaid internships” (Squires and Driscoll 2018). While literary prize readers may be enticed to work for free ‘in exchange for access to books’ (as mentioned in Chapter 4 in reference to the McIlvanney Prize), and the bookish environment is a draw for interns who, in UK publishing, too often are unpaid (Flood 2015), the male bosses quoted in this interview flaunted the lack of application these rules had to them.

I asked Interview Participant 3 about her reaction to finding inequality in the (female-dominated) literary industry after working in several other (male-dominated) industries. She said:

I thought it would be different. [...] what was surprising about that was that there was a lot more women in more powerful positions still being overridden or overruled by the top dog, which was the man. [...] So, you know, it still surprised me, and even the women who were in the room, who were leaders of their own companies, and they were still, you know, agreeing with the man. It was very strange. And I just remember thinking, everyone else is quiet, and it's just these people speaking. (Interview Participant 3 2020)

Speaking about finding gender inequality in this female-dominated sphere, this interviewee expressed her surprise at seeing women in powerful positions still deferring to men. Her analysis shows that patriarchy continues to affect workplace

dynamics even when there is a majority of women present, which contributes to a persistence of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector.

6.4.2.2 Gendered job roles

As stated in 6.4.2.1, while the literary sector employs more women than men, men still occupy many positions of power, and some of the norms for getting ahead in the sector, such as reading a lot of books, do not appear to apply to them. Another way the literary sector perpetuates gender inequality while employing a majority female workforce is through gendered job roles. For example, McDevitt, reflecting on his time working at Hachette Scotland, said that, while it was a female-dominated workplace, the CEO and sales directors were men, and the sales force too was largely made up of men. He concluded that “[those jobs] were the better-paid jobs and the jobs with company cars and benefits and stuff,” (McDevitt 2021) which he saw as a factor in the persistent gender wage gap in publishing. This highlights the stratification within the publishing industry, where there are some types of roles which are more regularly dominated by one gender over the other, and often the higher-paid positions are dominated by men. McDevitt spoke further about the gendered roles in publishing, noting that several areas had historically been very female-dominated, and staffed by a particular type of woman: “Publicity assistants used to be largely wealthy, blonde, pretty girls, they were sort of debs who usually had money behind them and were ‘helping out’ in publishing for a few years until they got married.” McDevitt added that this was “a horrible cliché” and that there were many people who didn’t fit it, and that this had changed considerably in the past few years (McDevitt 2021). He added that publicity was seen as a job which required, and also facilitated, connections, therefore favouring workers who had “interesting friends of the family, people who’ve gone to the right schools and knew the right people on [news]papers” (McDevitt 2021). This connects to the point raised above by Squires and McDowell about old boys’ networks, and insider networks created by attending the same schools or universities. Despite referring to sexist clichés and objectification of young women’s bodies, McDevitt’s description broadly overlaps with Squires’ point that “bubbly extrovert friendly young women seem to find it easier to get employment” in publishing, particularly as this fit “the publicity girl profile” (Squires 2018). Squires linked this to a construction of gender

which expected a specific type of gender performance (bubbiness, extroversion, friendliness) of women who wanted to work in publishing.

Parnell et al.'s article on publicists and affective labour refers to sociologist Arlie Hochschild's work on affective labour (called emotional labour by Hochschild), and note that, like the flight attendants Hochschild studied,

publicists [...] are expected to enact femininity as a major part of their employment, and as a result are often viewed within many industries and in popular culture as vapid, pretty, party girls (see for example, [10, 18, 24]). Moreover, the professional practice of publicists, similar to flight attendants and other individuals whose work is intrinsically linked with affective labour, is explicitly related to the representation and promotion of others. Just as airline cabin crew personify the airline, publicists' professional personhood is displaced for the author they represent, and through this they are rendered invisible. The creative labour market generally, with its emphasis on affective labour to find 'pleasure in work' and 'at all times to smile', also necessitates the performance of heteronormative femininity in order for women to progress in their careers (akin to Sheryl Sanderberg's controversial *Lean In* philosophy) ([19]: 112). (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 656)

The stereotypes raised in McDevitt's statements are in line with general attitudes towards publicity workers in publishing, which is that they are often viewed as "vapid, pretty, party girls"; this, according to Parnell et al.'s analysis, is due to the expectation of their job to perform (especially heteronormative) femininity – made doubly so by the myths around creative labour as artistic and cool, asking workers to find "pleasure in work". Further, the stereotypes are particularly hurtful as they belittle the work done by publicists, which, as Parnell et al. describe, is reliant on their invisibility: "The duty of the publicist is to accrue recognition and prestige unto the authors and publishing houses they represent, and thus to be invisible is to be successful in that role" (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 652). This invisible labour is often tied to duties around "author care", which, though often cited as a vital part of a publicist's job, is not widely discussed but rather tacitly understood (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 657). A participant in *Books + Publishing's* report on sexual harassment said: "One of our company's focuses is on 'author care', which for a publicist means make the authors happy no matter what the cost. Publicists are essentially pimped out and if you dare complain about it, the big impressive campaigns will be taken off you" (*Books + Publishing* 2017). To summarise, publicists' labour is also seen as less serious due to stereotypes about them being party girls and is invisibilised as it relates only to the visibility and commercial success of authors and/or publishing houses; they also perform affective labour dealing with the happiness of authors, which puts them more

at risk for sexual harassment. These gendered constructions of particular work, and of belittling of women's work, is a key way in which gender inequality manifests and persists in the literary sector. I discuss affective labour further in section 6.4.2.3 on discriminatory working practices.

McDevitt's assessment of publicity workers as "wealthy" is interesting, especially regarding "exploitative practices" in publishing, which Squires raised in interview, focusing specifically on low pay and unpaid internships, and also on the idea that publishing constructs itself as "an industry that it's almost a privilege to be working within" rather than an industry that (fairly) compensates workers for their labour (Squires 2018). Of course, it is largely the independently wealthy who can afford to take up unpaid internships, and so these exploitative practices are part of the mechanisms which keep publishing accessible mainly to wealthy workers (Flood 2015).

Another way in which the gendering of job roles impacts the literary sector is through a perceived lack of value for the work of women – as such, the devaluing of a type of labour is brought into a reciprocal devaluing process through that job being mainly carried out by women, whose labour is devalued under patriarchy. McDowell spoke about this in our interview, citing first the work of Griffith on literary prizes, which found that women are less likely to win literary prizes, especially if they write about women (Griffith 2015a). McDowell connected this to a perceived lack of "seriousness" of women's work

...as a [female] reviewer, your opinion isn't considered as serious as a male reviewer. And you will be assigned the women's books anyway, so you're already - you're devalued there in three positions. As a writer, as a reviewer and as somebody who is reviewing the less well-regarded stuff. So you've got three areas really and I, I think I would say all three of them yes merge into a larger point about the devaluing of women's writing or women's place in literature, which is endemic, it just goes through everything. (McDowell 2018)

McDowell's analysis shows how interconnected the women's work is with other women's work, explaining the mechanisms at play – include the involvement of editors who may assign women's work to female reviewers – which produce the statistics shown in the previous chapter, which saw women review more books by women. Rather than being an opportunity to gain prestige, McDowell's analysis suggests that women reviewing women are multiply taken less seriously – their opinions as women are already devalued, and the subject of their literary criticism itself is also devalued.

McDowell also spoke about a hierarchy between online and print reviewing as being the “amateur” and “professional” sides of literary criticism. She said, “I suspect most blogs are written by women, but I think the bloggers who are taken seriously or the ones I seem to see the names that I see popping up who are taken seriously tend to be male” (McDowell 2018). McDowell’s analysis is revealing of the ‘devaluing’ of women’s work, and of its association with less seriousness – which is further exacerbated in a field that is already lower-prestige, such as “amateur” literary criticism on blogs.

McDevitt also discussed blogging, specifically about it being a female-dominated sphere; he shared that Bloody Scotland works with 10-12 female and one male crime bloggers regularly (McDevitt 2021). McDevitt added:

I’m also not saying that they necessarily review more women writers. Because they, again, a lot of the online interaction that I see with them is with male crime writers. And, you know, we’re back to... do the women bloggers like to, you know... do they fancy the male crime writers? Do they like that little frisson of, kind of relationship, banter that they have with authors? (McDevitt 2021)

McDevitt suggests that female crime bloggers may partly use their blogging platform to share flirtatious conversations with the crime writers they review. A reading of women’s behaviour such as this one further emphasises the lack of value placed on the labour of women, in this case women crime bloggers, and highlights the sexist and heteronormative idea that women’s behaviour is orientated towards attracting male attention. In this way, McDevitt’s assertion reveals that female crime bloggers’ work as reviewers is seen as specifically gendered work.

6.4.2.3 Discriminatory working practices

Please note: the following section includes descriptions of verbal and physical harassment.

The lack of seriousness assigned to female writers and female workers in the literary industry, and lack of value placed on women’s labour, further escalates into discriminatory working practices. This forms part of the continuum of gender inequality as it manifests in the Scottish literary sector.

Many interviewees spoke about the statistical imbalance of women’s work as compared to men’s work, which is also evidenced in the previous chapter. Two

interviewees spoke about their belief that gender inequality issues in the literary sector originated from publishing, specifically citing that publishing favours male writers' work over female writers' work (Mason 2019; Calder 2018). Interviewees had varying theories about why gender inequality persists in publishing, and they described the unique situation of publishing in different ways, as described in previous sections on publishing. Both Shah and Calder spoke about women's writing not being reviewed in equal measure (Shah 2018), with Calder adding that "there's really no excuse, and all literary reviews – they're all aware of the situation" yet would still publish more reviews of men's work, and more reviews written by male critics (Calder 2018). Rutherford, like McDowell above, also pointed to literary prizes as an area where men's work was disproportionately rewarded (Rutherford 2019). Coates cited his findings for *Gutter* and *The Dark Horse*, two Scottish poetry magazines, which, between 2011 and 2018 published 40% female poets, and also spoke about the practice of works by "women and poets of colour and critics of colour" which "tended to be pushed into these round-up reviews" (Coates 2019), where multiple poets or critics would take up the review space that might otherwise be taken up by a single poet or critic.

Moving further towards discrimination of women in the literary workplace, McDowell spoke about losing her job as a reviewer in favour of male critics during periods of downsizing:

I think it's interesting that 20 years down the line of focusing mainly on women, the *Scotsman*, when they had to drop their regular reviewers, kept on Alan Massie and Stuart Kelly but I got dropped, and when Rosemary at the *Herald* had to keep on a paperback reviewer it was between me and Alastair Mabbott, and she kept on Alastair Mabbott. So, in both cases I got dropped, and the men got kept on. And I have wondered before if that was the price I paid for focusing on women. (McDowell 2018)

As noted in 4.4, in early 2022, Editor-in-Chief of *The Skinny* Rosamund West said in an interview that "[t]he Scottish market, particularly the newspapers, have cut their arts coverage hugely in the past 10 years" (Mondon 2022), and McDowell's experience is an example of how this diminishing art coverage has affected a female reviewer.

McDowell added that her income halved because of these decisions, which she suggests may have been related to her critical work focusing mainly on female authors. She continued, stating that "nobody says anything. ... nobody comments on it and it's just considered that's the way things go, and there's nothing you can do about it" (McDowell 2018). McDowell's analysis here is revealing of a sense that letting a female reviewer go while keeping a male reviewer in post – effectively reducing the

proportion of female reviewers from 50% to 0 – was met with no public reaction and considered commonplace (“that’s the way things go”).

McDowell continued, broadening her analysis to other women in gatekeeping positions who may have been let go as a result of newspapers reducing review space:

I do wonder how many more women have been pushed out of influential roles like that. [...] Because even with the little influence I had there was a bit of public influence there, because I would be quoted on the cover of a book or whatever, and you do think well... if more and more women like me are being pushed out and more men are staying in, what is happening to how we assess our literary canon, and who says this person is good and that person is not so good. (McDowell 2018)

McDowell’s analysis here shows an awareness of the influence reviewers hold over the contemporary literary canon through their participation in critical discourse and practices such as review quotations being used as advertising blurbs on the covers of books; McDowell also raised the idea that, rather than conditions becoming better over time, conditions were actually worsening, if, as was her experience, the reduction of review space resulted in more and more female reviewers being let go.

Interview Participant 1 also raised labour conditions in publishing, discussing structural issues and overt discrimination. She said that both publishers she had worked for based in Scotland had “some structural problems [...] when it comes to gender”. The interviewee noted that one of the publishers had a gender pay gap and the number of books – specifically non-fiction, reference works – was skewed towards men’s work, “something like four books by men to one book by a woman” (Interview Participant 1 2019). She explained that she witnessed egregious discrimination against a pregnant illustrator at the other publisher she worked for:

On one occasion I saw there was an illustrator who was pregnant and was dropped from a book that we were planning because the publisher who was a man didn't think - just assumed that she didn't have the focus to do her professional work because she was pregnant. [...] and it wasn't done in the spirit of - wasn't a positive spirit of, you know, trying to ease her workflows initially. She's cut because she was pregnant. It was really clear. So, really appalling. As a junior member of staff [there was] not much I could do about it but I really felt disgusted by that. (Interview Participant 1 2019)

The interviewee’s analysis above is revealing of discrimination against a person based on their pregnancy, and highlights that the interviewee herself felt she could not do anything about it as she was in a junior position in the company. This example also further highlights the precarious nature of freelance employment, as this decision may not have been possible if the employee had been working as a member of staff with the company.

In another case of workplace discrimination, Interview Participant 2 spoke about wanting to be put forward for an award for Emerging Publisher, administered by the Saltire Society. She had edited a book as part of a community-based project, and due to her involvement as a woman of colour, working with young people, her work was perceived as a 'care role' rather than an 'editor', and she was told she would not be able to apply for the award:

I wanted to apply to Emerging Publisher at the Saltire Awards, and my two white colleagues got statements of support from my boss, I was not given one - so I was not allowed to apply. And the reasoning I was given was "I don't think it's your kind of role that they're looking for." Which I find incredibly interesting, because I was still publishing, I was still being a publisher, so what are the parts of my role that were different? It was public engagement, it was working with young people, it was taking on a caring role, and it was specifically doing work that would be seen as traditionally 'outreach' work. (Interview Participant 2 2020)

In this example, the interviewee spoke about being discriminated against due to both her identity as a woman of colour and the nature of the work she was doing ('outreach' work). She also highlighted that it was her identity as a woman of colour which led to her ability to undertake 'outreach' work in the first place, and that the intersection of her identity and the type of work led to her not being put forward for the award. "[...] I was specifically in that role as a person of colour. I just think it's incredibly telling that people with more power than me in the industry think that it's not the type of thing that would be seen as good, valuable or worthy of an award" (Interview Participant 2 2020). What the interview participant herself describes as a "caring role" could also be termed affective labour, whose "commercial value is increasingly prominent in postmodern society as it is 'directly productive of capital'" (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 656) – but which tends to be invisibilised and feminised. As this interviewee states, she was specifically employed in this role as a person of colour; she was doing publishing work, which involved care work and which had commercial value for her employer. However, the value of her work was seen as lower than that of her colleagues, and not 'serious' enough to be put forward for an award – indicative of affective labour's connection to femininity, and femininity's appearance of subordinate to masculinity in a sexist society (Serano 2016, 326).

Two interviewees reported sexual harassment and intimidation. One interviewee told me that she had received "intimidating approaches from male authors" which were so aggressive they made her scared to come to the door of the publishing house where she worked. She reflected on this manifestation of these authors'

frustration and anger: “I thought it was interesting that they often singled me as a female employee as the reason why they weren't receiving what they saw as their due” (Interview Participant 1 2019). Another interviewee spoke about having to learn protection mechanisms to stop from being sexually harassed when dealing with older white men, adding that she had been groped in the past, and that she has had to learn to “get myself out of those situations through experience” (Interview Participant 3 2020). Both interviewees’ experience illustrates the physical and personal threat to women in an unequal workplace, and highlights the coping mechanisms they have to adopt to get by – to not answer the door to their workplace, to adopt strategies for talking to older white men. These are clear examples for how gender inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector.

Parnell et al. write about the weight given to individuals’ feelings as being stratified alongside power hierarchies: “The feelings of women ‘are accorded less weight than the feelings of men’ (Hochschild 171, quoted in Parnell, Dane and Weber 2020, 656) while those in additionally marginalised positions – people of colour and young people – are more likely to be subject to poor treatment” (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 656). Applying this to the above examples, the feelings of authors were seen as more important than those of a female employee, and the feelings of older white men were seen as more important than the feelings of a woman of colour – white men enjoy visibility and power in the field, and therefore their feelings are accorded more weight. This hierarchy of importance is, as Hochschild describes, apparent in the “discounting” of “[t]he feelings of the lower-status party [...] by considering them rational but unimportant or by considering them unimportant and hence dismissible” (A. R. Hochschild 1983, 172).

Discrimination and sexual harassment are rife within the publishing industry at large, as highlighted in the work of Parnell et al. (2020), Squires and Driscoll (2018), and in surveys conducted by *The Bookseller* (2017) and *Books + Publishing* (2017), all cited in literature review section 2.9.2.1 on sexual harassment. Although no specific studies exist to quantify sexual harassment within the Scottish literary sector, my interview data suggests that this is also the case in Scotland.

6.4.2.4 Internalised misogyny?

One of the central tensions towards understanding how gender inequality manifests in publishing is that publishing is a field that is overwhelmingly staffed by women, as mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, and in previous sections of this chapter. With a vast imbalance towards female workers, it may seem baffling to report on persistent gender inequality when women already take up the majority of space. There was one major way in which this problem was addressed in my interviews: it was posited that perhaps it is women's job to address this issue, as some interviewee's analysis suggests that part of the issue is women's internalised misogyny.

The majority female workforce was mentioned in many interviews; for example, Squires spoke about the difficulty seeing the industry as having "an old boys' club or a boys' network" in this industry because it is so female-dominated, but she also noted that there are still ways in which "particular constructions of gender" impact employment opportunities (Squires 2018). McDowell also spoke about insider networks within publishing, stating that "[t]here are a lot of people who are inside that space because they know the right people", often related to attending the same school or university (McDowell 2018). Within this predominately female industry, then, there are issues of exclusion based on class, and patriarchally inflected gendered expectations of women.

Drawing threads from the above themes together, the picture which emerges is one of an industry which does not valorise the labour of women as highly as that of men; yet this is an industry which is overwhelmingly staffed by women. Although men hold more powerful positions, women do have some power in publishing. Does it then follow that it is partly women who are to blame for discrepancies in publishing output? McDevitt, for example, shared this observation from his time working in publishing: "there's not many women sales directors, but all the other departments in a publishing house, especially editorial, is very female-heavy. It's always interesting that, you know, they wouldn't have perhaps gone to bat for more women writers" (McDevitt 2021). McDevitt here questions whether women, which in his experience hold many editorial roles, should be campaigning or arguing more for women's writing in their roles as tastemakers. It is impossible to know whether these women, who are often in structurally secondary positions in companies, did advocate for more women writers; as shown by the example of Interview Participant 3 above, who did advocate for herself to be put forward for an award and was stopped by her employer (cf. 6.4.2.3),

women who do advocate on their own behalf or on behalf of other women are not always successful.

Oliver described the way women may unwittingly perpetuate dominant hierarchies in our interview, referring to the patriarchal system within which people of all genders operate: “So you can be in an office with twenty-one women and one man and you are not suddenly *not* in the patriarchy” (Oliver 2018). Oliver continued, pointing out that, in an environment where there are mostly male authority figures and where there is value assigned to “a universal voice that is male”, “then to be taken seriously you are inevitably going to feel like you have to behave or edit or select or sell the way that a man would”, because “we self-censor, we don’t want to look like the woman who is choosing other women because they’re women” (Oliver 2018). Similarly, with reference to some women’s preference for attending events by male politicians or authority figures, Squires referred to “internalised misogyny”, the idea that women have internalised and absorbed the value judgements made in patriarchal society (Squires 2018). This explains why female editors, in McDevitt’s example, may uphold patriarchal values in their selection processes – because they may not want to be seen as women who are ‘unfairly’ choosing other women solely because they are women, and because their standards for being taken seriously are so impacted by male authority. Conversely, they may have internalised favourable unconscious bias towards men, for the same reason.

6.4.3 “Publishing sees itself as counter-cultural”: good intentions

Another facet of the literary industry is a strong identification with the idea that it creates culture and is therefore a force for good. Brook, O’Brien and Taylor trace the idea of culture as “associated with personal and social transformation” back to “Victorian conceptions of the role of cultural institutions in addressing issues deemed to be social problems” (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 29), leading to ideas of the “‘instrumental’ benefits of culture” (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 30). This is underpinned in the contemporary literary sector by funding strategies for creative economies based on New Labour’s idea of culture being “central to negotiating the symbiosis between economic and social goals” (Brouillette 2014, 3); i.e. culture was seen as the mediating lens through which economic reform could reach “more intangible goals such as social integration and personal well-being” (Brouillette 2014,

3). In my interviews, I noticed that good intentions on the part of tastemakers were often raised as part of an argument for why gender inequality may still exist, and also to explain that progress was already being made as fast as they felt was possible. Interviewees also often referred to unconsciously held beliefs which may – despite good intentions – influence behaviour and decision-making. In *Sway: Unravelling Unconscious Bias* (2020), Pragya Agarwal writes that “[u]nconscious bias is never an excuse for discriminatory behaviour. Not every bias is unconscious and outside the control of the person. There are biases that we can control once we are aware of the way they influence our decisions” (Agarwal 2020, 414). According to Agarwal, once aware of biases, we are responsible for controlling them and not allowing them to lead to discriminatory behaviour. Agarwal quotes Natalia Washington and Daniel Kell’s concept of ‘responsibility externalist’ “where the extent of societal discourse around biases and equality must determine an individual’s responsivity and their role” (Agarwal 2020, 405), meaning that biases which are widely discussed are no longer entirely unconscious. Agarwal continues with reference to Washington and Kell:

in examining [societal discourse], a knowledge framework is being created within which we start holding people morally responsible and accountable for their implicitly held beliefs and any prejudicial and discriminatory actions resulting from this bias. We can do this while not attributing bias to these individuals, so that the focus remains on the harmful effect of their actions rather than the focus being primarily on making the biased individual feel guilty or legally responsible for their unconscious biases. Then again, as soon as we become aware of our beliefs and stereotypes but do nothing to minimise them, we are completely morally responsible for any actions that result from such stereotypical beliefs (Agarwal 2020, 405).

Agarwal here notes that awareness of one’s unconscious biases is a vital step towards being responsible for one’s actions, but that individuals can already be held to account for the effect of their harmful actions even without attributing bias to them.

My interviewees reported that they believed publishers to have good intentions when it comes to equality, or to simply be unaware of the extent of gender inequality: Calder said: “I think it’s really important to get publishers on board and to make them aware because, to be honest, I think an awful lot of them are really not aware, they need to be told”. She continued: “I think many male publishers would be very surprised that this was a problem” (Calder 2018). Going further than a suggestion of surprise, two interviewees used the word ‘horrified’ when imagining a publisher’s reaction to gender inequality in the industry. Barley (EIBF) felt that publishers, and the wider publishing

industry, are “a group of people whose views are probably more liberal than the average of the population of any country” and “strongly believe[s] in social inclusion” “gender equality and other equalities”. He continued, stressing that they “would be horrified if they were accused of deliberately and systematically introducing bias against one gender in favour of another” (Barley 2019). Rutherford (StAnza) similarly noted that men in the publishing industry were not “trying to be misogynistic at all”: speaking about a specific incident where an all-male list of authors was created, Rutherford said: “I think they would probably be horrified if I was kind of like, ‘That’s a bit sexist, isn’t it?’” (Rutherford 2019). Interview Participant 4 also raised this surprise at sexism in her discussion of the role of the chairperson. She spoke of “a strong bias towards taking questions from men”, and gave an example of a specific chairperson who took only questions from men in an event and was unable to explain afterwards why this had happened:

There was one event which was chaired by a prominent man, and he didn’t take a single question from a woman, even though there were women with their hands up, and he was mortified afterwards, he said he didn’t even - I think he was visibly shocked, he couldn’t quite believe he had done it, and he couldn’t explain why he had done it. (Interview Participant 4 2018)

The above quotations create a sense that (a) literary industry tastemakers are unaware of current gender imbalance, and/or (b) they would be horrified if accused of perpetuating sexism. Adding to the idea that literary sector audiences/consumers, too, may be ignorant of statistical imbalance, one of my interviewees noted that ‘many people’ would not ‘necessarily notice that imbalance’, but they *would* notice that the festival was trying to highlight issues:

Whereas if you- and you’re right to do this, count the raw numbers of women and men in the programme, you might reveal something important and structural. I don’t think many people would necessarily notice that imbalance as you have. However, I do think that people are noticing that the Book Festival is trying to shine a spotlight on these issues in its headline programming. I hope that’s the case, that’s our aim. (Barley 2019)

Once again, this interviewee highlights the *intention* of programming as more telling, or potentially more important, than the aggregated gender balance in the final programme. This relates back to the notion that tastemakers would be horrified if *accused of perpetuating sexism*, precisely because they may believe their good intentions protect them from both the sexism they perpetuate and from accusations thereof.

Barley also highlighted intent in his description of EIBF's specialist programming of thematic strands within the festival, which, he said, were "much closer to my personal and organisational philosophical beliefs than it's possible to be in the overall programme" (Barley 2019). McDevitt too spoke of intent, setting up an opposition between programming and audience – creating the sense that, if programmers had their way, they would create a more balanced programme, but that it was audiences who were not responding to the more balanced programme, and specifically female audiences who did not attend in high enough numbers when women were programmed. From the findings on audiences, there is a sense that book festivals are led by demand and market pressures, but do have agency to counter-steer – "challenge" them (Livingstone 2019) and get them to "take a risk" (Interview Participant 4 2018).

Importantly, Barley implies that commercial forces impact the 'overall programme' more than the '[thematised] initiatives and activities', and that these initiatives and activities more closely align with his own beliefs; and suggests that the gender breakdown of the overall programme may be more unequal *because of* its commercial ties, and that the gender breakdown of the thematised areas may be more equal *because of* its ability to be guided by 'strong editorial control which is not necessarily purely driven by outside forces'. In Barley's understanding of EIBF's ability to resist the systemic imbalance of the system, he also cited collaborative publishing projects as places of editorial control for more equality: "That systemic bias won't necessarily find its way into, for example, the Freedom Papers, or the graphic novel we published in 2013, or the book of short stories we published in 2011" (Barley 2019). Once again, these quotes (and their reference to extra-ordinary publishing initiatives) relate more to the *intent* of literary festival programming than their *actual programming*.

Intent emerges as a strong theme from the above findings, as highlighted by Interview Participant 4's description of the male chair as 'visibly shocked' – it was not his intent to perpetuate inequality; he was visibly appalled to have done this. There is a description of the intent to do well by everybody, or a lack of intent to perpetuate inequality, and yet there is still inequality.

Much of the above findings, particularly where interviewees explicitly shared their awareness of inequalities, and underlined their intention to work towards gender equality, is in line with Brook et al.'s findings of "recognition of inequality" having the potential to be "part of the problem" (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2020, 251), using what

they term ‘inequality talk’ (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 257). Brook et al. note that “‘inequality talk’ is an important part of understanding how the current settlement, excluding women, ethnic minorities and those from working-class origins, persists. *This is despite the public proclamations and sincere intentions of senior men*” (Brook, O’Brien, and Taylor 2020, 251, my emphasis). All interviewees working at literary festivals recognised inequality and noted ways in which they were seeking to work against it, and yet, this inequality persists. I would argue that this is because the system of structural inequality appears insurmountable. In much of the interview data cited in this chapter, interviewees referred to circumnavigating the editorial impact of structural inequality on their programming through special projects and spotlight events to support new writing, or referred to publishing projects around supporting BAME writers, working-class writers, and other disadvantaged groups. This points to an understanding of the literary industry as characterised by societal inequality; and interventions occur in special bursts. Structural interventions, my interviewees argued, are difficult to achieve because of the market forces of the very structure they may seek to change.

I would also argue that the underlining of intention is my interviewees’ performance as a ‘diverse and equal organization’, in Ahmed’s sense: “Diversity and equality work hence becomes about changing perceptions of whiteness rather than changing the whiteness of organizations. A good performance would then be about being perceived as a diverse and equal organization that is committed to diversity and equality” (Ahmed 2006, 118). Therefore, if addressing inequality within an organisation is the goal, rather than changing the *perception* of the organisation’s approach to inequality, then the final programme and, for example, its gender balance matters more than the intention behind putting together this programme – because, as Barley said in our interview, counting the programme’s gender balance “might reveal something important and structural” (Barley 2019). Sexism and misogyny work differently than racism – and comparing the two “perpetuates patterns of racial domination by marginalizing and obscuring the different roles that race plays in the lives of people of colour and white[people].” (Grillo and Wildman 1991, 401) Using Ahmed’s work in this context is by no means intended as a statement of equivalence.

To summarise this sub-section, the feeling of good intention forms a neat circle back to the beginning of this chapter and the discussion of inequality as being situated in the world at large – and the literary sector being unable to resist this inequality

despite having good intentions. This thinking is demonstrated by Barley, as cited also in section 6.2:

most of all I think that it would be easy to apply a kind of cultural blame, which I think is a gendered approach anyway, to people working in publishing and the associated literary culture, to apply a process of blame and say, those people working in publishing have a biased approach. The truth is that they probably do - despite themselves - but they're also working within a much deeper and much more problematic biased system, which, if we're gonna change it, it's gonna be much more than just the literary world that needs to change. (Barley 2019)

6.4.4 How Scottish literary festivals work towards balance

Despite the issues being much larger than one section of the literary sector, some interviewees noted that they had worked towards improving gender balance. Barley noted that it was his belief that the EIBF programme had improved its gender balance, something which they “have to work incredibly hard” (Barley 2019) on. Barley noted that he thought EIBF had not achieved gender balance yet (at the time of our interview in February 2019), but that there had been improvements made.⁵² He credits changing the way events are framed no longer as confrontations or debates but as conversations with part of this change: “The improvement is not because of inviting more women, because we've always invited lots of women, but by changing the frameworks and the structures of the events that we create in order to be less gendered in their approach” (Barley 2019).

McDevitt spoke about gender balance at Aye Write, noting that it had improved markedly since the festival's early days, when, according to him, “it was twice as many men as women on the programme”. He elaborated: “I don't think it's ever been 50:50, but it's been pretty close. [...] Last year, we had 140 authors on the programme, 73 men and 67 women, so it was 52%” (McDevitt 2021). When I commented that this meant it was ‘nearly there’, McDevitt raised that the Aye Write team had discussed whether they should aim for 50:50:

We've talked about whether or not we actually aim for 50:50, because obviously, we're so close, it would be easy for me to have, you know, 3 more women and 3 less men, it wouldn't be difficult. But the steering group have never felt that we should make a specific target. It just feels odd and a little

⁵² In fact, in August 2019 EIBF programmed more appearances by female authors than male authors, with 51.8% female authors. In addition to this, the 2019 programme also included appearances by non-binary authors, making up 0.8% of authors. However, even in 2019, male authors made up the majority of authors programmed to appear in solo events (52.7%). Quantitative data on gender inequality in literary festivals is discussed further in section 4.5.

arbitrary. I think they felt that it's much more important to just be aware of it, and to try and programme as many women as we can. I think that they're a bit frightened of it being an actual quota. So, what do we do, do we take out a male writer just to put in... do you know what I mean? I think they're trying to avoid those kinds of decisions. [...] it's intersectionality, so it's, what are we doing about LGBT writers, what are we doing about working-class writers, what are we doing about writers of colour, and what are we doing about gender balance. We thought, "you can't say, we're going to have a target for gender and not for anything else" (McDevitt 2021)

McDevitt added that Glasgow Life, across all its festivals,⁵³ was using a "more softly softly approach" of trying to be aware of programming and gender balance, rather than "putting actual numbers on it" (McDevitt 2021). Later in our interview, McDevitt spoke about aiming for gender balance, using the example of a specific event that was all-male and which he felt wasn't in line with his aim for a diverse festival, also citing market forces and audiences pushing against this decision:

You know, I don't always win that argument. Sometimes for an easy life, you just say, 'Just have that then.' And if it's one event in a big festival, what does it matter really, you can't win every battle. The argument is also undone by the fact that they get good audiences so people do... so it's not, you know, going back to the publishers publish things that they know sell, publishers publish things that will make them money. (McDevitt 2021)

However, McDevitt was clear in showing that some events are deliberately gender-balanced in their conception, using the example of a recent set of events about debut authors at Aye Write:

we had a fiction debut, a Scottish debut and a crime debut, and they were all gender balanced. That was... I chose that, we didn't want lots of male fiction. So they were demographically chosen this year, they were chosen to include... because what we just said, you know, you're not going to make a change unless you're giving an opportunity to new blood; it's new writers, that's where the bestsellers of tomorrow are coming from. (McDevitt 2021)

Interview Participant 4 spoke about her festival's responsibility in relation to programming: "across a range of factors - with gender equality being one of them, we have a responsibility to think about that and consider that and interrogate ourselves and then we have a responsibility to look at our programme and to look at the work we're delivering and think: how is gender represented within that?" (Interview Participant 4 2018). Barley (EIBF), too, spoke of systematic and structural gender inequality in the world at large: "I believe and I hope that we've recognised that we can

⁵³ Aye Write, and "Celtic Connections, and Merchant City Festival, and Mela and GI [Glasgow International Festival]" (McDevitt 2021)

play, I think, a significant role in addressing this and bringing it to the forefront of discussion” (Barley 2019).

Rutherford also felt that programmers were conscious of the gender balance of their programmes: “I think that programmers really do keep an eye on okay, how many women are we putting on a stage? Is this equal, and everything like that” (Rutherford 2019). Rutherford elaborated that StAnza’s programme actively includes gender and BAME representation, highlighting that while this was about diversity and inclusivity, it was also about “doing the artform justice”: “what I would say whenever people are like, ‘really, you count them?’ is that so many strands of poetry come from the BAME community or the queer community, and we’re not actually representing poetry properly if we don’t represent those communities properly” (Rutherford 2019). Livingstone shared more about the process for implementing the festival’s commitment to diversity:

I keep in mind when we’re doing the kind of outline planning to make sure we’ve got not just gender balance, but a balance across all the various diversities and various, you know, equalities, and so on. But nearer the time, I actually do, I count up. And I say, you know, How many, how many Scottish? How many BAME or not-white, how many speaking a different language, you know, so I do that to make sure that we have balance. (Livingstone 2019)

Rutherford noted that there was one area where StAnza had issues with achieving gender balance:

we have a strand called Past and Present, where poets ... occasionally academics talk about their favourite dead poets. And, and unsurprisingly, women tend to talk about women and men tend to talk about men. So, if we have a balanced thing of ... three women talking, and we have three men talking, they’re mainly gonna be talking about dead male poets. And so, the last couple of years, we’ve managed to get it fairly equal, because I have been very vocal. And it’s really uncomfortable, because it means the last couple of people who choose their speech or choose who they’re talking about, I have to write and be like, “Hi, would you mind talking about a woman?” And of course, some of them are like, “I was obviously going to talk about a woman.” But the fact that – and quite often, that means that we have to tell the women that they have to talk about women. And that’s, I mean, obviously, on the one hand, that’s not contemporary writing, but it’s still what informs what we’re doing now. And also, you know, that is kind of the thing of what we view as our canon and what we view as the texts we need to return to. (Rutherford 2019)

Livingstone felt that StAnza did not have issues with men dominating conversations in discussions or in the audience, citing that regular event attendees from StAnza felt that these formats at StAnza were “more women than men, and the women are certainly not shy about speaking out” (Livingstone 2019). Rutherford explained to me that at StAnza, Q&As only occur after discussion events, rather than poetry readings.

She said that, in her opinion, despite the audience being largely female, “men are much more likely to put their hand up and say something. And I mean, I’m aware of chairpeople trying to make sure that they get balanced. Okay, I’ll take the question from a man, I’ll take the question from a woman. Sometimes no woman puts their hand up to say anything” (Rutherford 2019).

Literary festival programmers appeared to disagree about how difficult achieving balance has been. Barley noted that this has been a difficult achievement, while for Rutherford and Livingstone this was more built into their existing processes. McDevitt felt it would be ‘easy’ to achieve balance but was unsure whether to implement a gender balance target without also implementing other targets for other demographic groups. All interviewees demonstrated their awareness of the gender balance within their own festival(s) (and the publishing industry at large) but differed in their approaches to ameliorating this issue.

The interviewees also highlighted that working towards a balanced programme also had to consider the types of events at the festival, as in Barley’s point about the debate model attracting a more ‘masculine’ type of engagement, Rutherford’s point about canonical inequality persevering through events where authors were asked to reflect on an author of the past, and McDevitt’s point about deliberately gender-balancing events about debut authors. Livingstone, Rutherford and Interview Participant 4 all spoke about audience participation in events, although with some disagreement about how disruptive or overbearing male audience members have been in past events, underlining the role of the chairperson to manage gender balance in who asks questions by calling on a balanced set of audience members.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter closely relates to research question 2, “How does gender inequality manifest in the Scottish literary sector, and why does it persist?” To answer this research question, my interviews shed light on how gender inequality is seen in Scottish literature.

Gender inequality manifests in the contemporary Scottish literary sector through the persistence of a male canon, which impacts taste and expectations of what ‘Scottish literature’ ought to be. This persistence of male tastemaking is also

apparent specifically in literary criticism, which my interviewees described as a “closed shop”, where newcomers need to have the right contacts to get ahead.

Many interviewees felt gender inequality was a general societal issue, rather than specific to publishing. Some interviewees felt that publishing should be a sphere of less gender inequality than society at large, as workers and tastemakers in publishing and the literary sector are traditionally seen as liberal, and the sector engages in creating culture, which is often counter to the mainstream.

However, this supposedly ‘counter-cultural’ industry does not, according to interviewees, value women’s labour as highly as men’s labour: when women are published, interviewees pointed out that their books are often pigeonholed through stereotypical marketing, flattening women’s writing into an imagined homogenous group. A devaluing of women’s work was also seen through the roles women play in the publishing industry: despite 50% of publishing companies being run by women in Scotland (‘Market Insights’ 2022), in companies where men are in power, women often do much of the legwork but don’t hold the influence over their work or receive the credit. In publishing companies, women often hold secondary roles, or must fulfil gendered job expectations such as being “friendly and bubbly” or are assumed to be “party girls” (Parnell, Dane, and Weber 2020, 656) or “just helping out until they get married” (cf. 6.4.2.2).

Inequality also manifests through the squeezing of review space, which further squeezes already reduced review space for female critics and female authors’ books. A female reviewer spoke about her work not being seen ‘as serious’ as men’s work and being let go instead of a male reviewer in a downsizing process.

Women’s lack of perceived ‘seriousness’ and the lack of value assigned to their work can be seen as a direct reflection of the numerical gender difference observed in Chapter 5: tastemakers who produce the value of an artwork do not distribute this value equally across genders; they assign greater value to men’s work, and this has been the case for over a century as seen through the analysis of literary prizes 1919-2021. The lack of review space for women’s writing is shown in Chapter 5, where women make up only 37.1% of authors reviewed from 2017-2019, and where on average the same three male critics write 69.9% of reviews in *The Scotsman*, and one male critic writes 44.6% of reviews in *The Herald*. The lack of value assigned to women’s work is being perpetuated in processes which Bourdieu calls symbolic

violence, i.e., the reproduction of the unequal value system, and the naturalisation of a hierarchy.

Another facet of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector is its self-perception as not having resources to make a change, and as holding images of assumed white audiences. The system of patriarchy seems too large, too interconnected, too woven into the fabric of the capitalist publishing industry, to overcome; interviewees could imagine ways of bypassing this system, but never to change it fundamentally, as they saw their own agency limited by their interactions with others in the system. These facets of inequality are also evidence of why this inequality persists.

Interviewees told me of instances of workplace discrimination ranging from a wage gap to verbal and physical sexual harassment and intimidation; this is another way in which inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector, and another step along the continuum of women being valued less than men. If women cannot be safe at work, or be afforded the same progression opportunities as others, how will they thrive?

Finally, another way inequality manifests is through the sector's own belief in its being a force for good. This self-image obscures unconscious biases.

Next, I note how this chapter has developed an answer to the question of why gender inequality persists (i.e., the second part of the research question). Related to the aforementioned self-image as being a well-intentioned sector, gender inequality persists because the scope for change is seen as severely limited by the system of patriarchy within which the sector operates. Interviewees have to work within this system, therefore there is a level of acceptance of the status quo and of this narrowed scope for change.

The male canon mentioned by Alistair Braidwood in 6.3.1 is reproduced through the taste influence it has on tastemakers even today; further, the reproduction of a male canon is also evident in the persistent unequal distribution of prestige through literary prizes 1919-2021 as shown in Chapter 5.

Gender inequality has also been able to persist through the literary sector's capitalist market model, where authors who do not fit into an organisation's 'imagined neutral' are seen as a 'risk', i.e., are assumed to be unable to draw audiences to fill large venues or sell books, which reinforces and co-creates existing societal inequalities. Some interviewees laid part of the blame for not taking these 'risks' at the

door of audiences and readers, functioning as a 'shield' to justify programming decisions. Some interviewees described the tastes of audiences as more conservative than that of the tastemakers.

As noted above, several interviewees noted that women's work is not valorised as highly as that of men. This was described as an issue which multiplied in areas such as literary reviewing, as McDowell spoke about in 6.4.2.3: if women's literary work is already valued less, and the opinions of female reviewers are valued less, and female reviewers are assigned more reviews of women's books, then those reviews are valued even less. McDowell also spoke about the compounding effect of review space shrinking, which appears to disproportionately impact female reviewers who already receive less space. Both assertions chime with quantitative findings in Chapter 5, showing that female reviewers' reviews make up only 18.3% of all reviews 2017-2019, and that female reviewers do review slightly more books by women than by men (with male reviewers reviewing more than 2 times as many male authors as female authors).

Many interviewees mentioned the majority female workforce in the literary sector and noted that women also have a part to play in addressing inequalities. However, women alone – whose labour is already valued less, as evident in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 – do not currently hold sufficient power to shift value perceptions sustainably across the Scottish literary sector. Men in positions of power also need to make a continued effort towards a genuinely equitable literary sector. Alongside a self-perception of having good intentions, it also appears that progress is stalled by, for example, an unwillingness to commit to quotas. Illustrated in 6.4.4, McDevitt spoke of literary festival Aye Write's steering group's reluctance to implement a 50:50 gender split goal for its programme, despite it being, in McDevitt's own estimation, an easy goal to reach. The group felt that it would not be right to have a quota for gender and not for other characteristics: "We thought, you can't say, we're going to have a target for gender and not for anything else" (McDevitt 2021). The impression is that, if the programme cannot be 'perfect', there should perhaps not be commitment to improvement for one characteristic; however, it may be possible for organisations to put multiple targets for multiple characteristics in place

Other factors which have made progress difficult are that men hold many positions of power in the literary sector, and that many job roles are intensely gendered, resulting in stratification of influence, prestige and pay. Interviewees spoke

of discriminatory working practices, ranging from not being put forward for awards to not hiring a freelancer due to her pregnancy, to physical and verbal harassment.

This chapter has shown a variety of answers to the question as to how gender inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector, and why it persists. The picture which emerges is of a sector which does not value the labour of women and non-binary writers highly, and which is reluctant to make changes partly due to its self-perception as not having sufficient resources to make these changes and due to economic fears around losing audiences.

The next chapter explores how publishing is built on a foundation of existing hierarchies, whether this be knowledge hierarchies such as print vs online, amateur vs professional, or traditional historical hierarchies such as those found within academia or within imperialism.

Chapter 7: Existing hierarchy and industry recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Following the exploration of how gender inequality manifests in the Scottish literary sector and why it persists, chapter 7 examines how literary prizes, as key sites of value creation for literary works, are underpinned by existing hierarchies. This adds to my argument that, rather than the literary industry being an area where inequalities should not exist (because its tastemakers are more liberal, or because it is a countercultural endeavour), the literary industry has deeply embedded conservatism and relies on foundational inequalities and hierarchies. Chapter 7 closes with an answer to RQ3, related to whether a new literary prize could sufficiently address existing issues of gender inequality, and gives specific recommendations to the Scottish literary sector.

7.2 Relying on existing power and knowledge hierarchies

7.2.1 Royalty & imperialism

Firstly, the Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction, the richest literary prize in Scotland (with a total value of over £30,000, of which £25,000 is awarded to its winner and £1,500 each to shortlisted authors), has deep embedded ties to historical hierarchy through its links to royalty and imperialism.

Rather than being sponsored by a funder, a company, or a charity, this prize is endowed by the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch. By calling them patrons rather than sponsors, the Walter Scott Prize website aligns the Duke and Duchess with the tradition of patronage. They function very much as sponsors, and they also provide a judge to the literary prize, creating a direct link between financial support and control, and input into value judgements. Norris teases out the distinction between the two terms: “It is Haacke who insists in *Free Exchange* (p. 17) on the term “sponsoring” rather than “patronage”, since, he argues, it better conveys the fact that essentially it involves an exchange of capital, where the economic capital of the sponsor is exchanged for the symbolic capital of the sponsored” (Norris 2006c, 141). For this prize, the symbolic capital of the sponsor also plays a part, since the founding story of this prize draws on the nobility and family connections of the Duke and Duchess’ family.

Like the McIlvanney Prize, this prize has a trophy. It is a work of modern art which further emphasises the Walter Scott Prize's connection to its physical surroundings by "capturing the colours and shapes of the Scottish Borders". The Walter Scott Prize also has a "permanent master trophy", which it refers to as being "unique amongst book prizes" ('The Trophy -' n.d.). This calls to mind connections to the sport world, where master trophies – which, each year, add the name of the new winner to its engraving – are more commonly found, further emphasising the prevalence of sports symbols in literary prizes as observed by Squires (2000).

The Walter Scott Prize entry requirements invite submissions of books published in the UK, Ireland, and the Commonwealth, invoking colonial notions of Britain as the centre of the Commonwealth of Nations and the colonial pattern of publishing rights; the Booker Prize originally had similarly delineated eligibility criteria, only opening up to submission from the US in 2014 ('Ten Years of the Prize -' n.d.).

7.2.2 Academia

Next, the JTBP and the Saltire Society Literary Awards have embedded ties to academia, and the knowledge hierarchy within it.

The JTBP can fruitfully be analysed using the Bourdieusian lens English and Norris suggest as they are based in an academic environment. Norris examines academic connections, specifically connections to Oxford and Cambridge, of Booker Prize judges and winners. Norris writes that "[a]cademic judges potentially bring with them the legitimacy of the School, which historically has played a major role in the process of literary consecration" (Norris 2006c, 147), referring to Bourdieu's notion of the school, which, as Norris describes earlier in this article, "reproduces the social status quo" and represents "one of two key sites for the transmission of aesthetic *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984, p. 2)"⁵⁴ (Norris 2006c, 144). Elsewhere, Bourdieu also notes that the school is a site where "principles of domination that go on to be exercised within even the most private universe are developed and imposed" (Bourdieu 2001, 4).

Norris concludes that the manifold connections between Booker Prize judges and winners and the academy reinforces its work as a place of literary consecration, and as a mechanism that reproduces and legitimates dominant social hierarchy. The

⁵⁴ The second site being the home environment.

JTBPs, then, being hosted, funded, judged and awarded *within* an academic environment, are an even more pronounced site of literary consecration and reproduction and legitimation of the social status quo.

The JTBPs highlight the involvement of academics on their website, which is a page on the University of Edinburgh website. “The James Tait Black Memorial Prizes are the only major British book awards judged by scholars and students of literature” (‘Nobel Winner in Running for Book Prize’ n.d.). This quote shows a distinction between ‘scholars’ and ‘students’ of literature, highlighting a power and knowledge hierarchy within the academy which is transmitted to the judging of the prize. This is replicated again in a press release announcing the prize winners in 2011: *“We’re delighted to be honouring such outstanding works. The readers and judges have once again shown the acumen of the knowledgeable booklover and literary critic, which has been the hallmark of these prizes for more than ninety years”* Dr James Loxley, Head of English of Literature” (‘Book Prize Winners Revealed’ 2016). Loxley makes a distinction between ‘readers’ and ‘judges’; once more in a press release which refers to ‘professors of literature and postgraduate readers’:

Each year more than 300 books are read by professors of literature and postgraduate readers prior to conferment of the prizes (‘Book Prize Winners Revealed (II)’ n.d.)

Another press release repeats this hierarchy of knowledge by delineating distinctions between ‘Edinburgh academics and postgraduate students’ and ‘university English professors and postgraduate literature students’:

More than 400 books were read by Edinburgh academics and postgraduate students, who nominated books for the shortlist. A unique aspect of the prizes is that they are judged entirely by university English professors and postgraduate literature students. (‘New Voices Stake Claims for Book Prizes’ n.d.)

Therefore, not only do the JTBPs reinforce a hierarchy where the tastemakers and the knowledge about good books sit within an academy, they also further through their judging model replicate a hierarchy of knowledge *within* the academy.

While press releases announcing the winners of these prizes often include quotations from named judges, they rarely draw on readers in the same capacity. The following press release highlights the learner position of the student reader, describing the student as ‘student reader’ and a ‘postgraduate Literature student’:

Rosie Nolan, a lead student reader on the judging panel, and postgraduate Literature student at the University of Edinburgh, said: ‘The involvement of

postgraduate students in the judging process is one of the reasons that the James Tait Black prize has retained its prestige and integrity over so many years. As a student judge, bringing to recognition worthy works of literature restores a sense of how important it is for us all to tell our stories, whether fictional or factual, and have them heard. It is a true privilege to be involved.’ (‘Zia Haider Rahman Wins the James Tait Black Prize for Fiction’ n.d.)

The final sentence highlights that the student judges stand to gain from their involvement in the prize – it is a *privilege* for the readers to be involved. However, Nolan does also ascribe the enduring prestige of the prize to the continued student involvement, suggesting that the prize gains legitimacy or, as she writes, integrity.

University of Edinburgh also work with EIBF to run a MOOC (Massive Open Online Course) called “How to read a novel.” This course features the shortlisted books for the Fiction section of the JTBP every year, thus immediately incorporating them into a syllabus (‘Free Online Course’ n.d.). This is an example of mid-term canon formation, which is part of how literary prizes function and impact the wider literary sector; as noted in Chapter 2, Squires writes that “[l]iterary prizes – notably the (Man) Booker, but also a legion of others including the Whitbread (latterly Costa) Awards and the Orange Prize – have promoted writing and also contributed to mid-term canon formation” (Squires 2009, 2). In the case of the JTBP, this direct connection between the education aspect of academia and academia as a site of knowledge creates a feedback loop of legitimization: University of Edinburgh run the JTBP and create the shortlist, which then becomes the syllabus on a course also run by them, both of which, using a Bourdieusian understanding of symbolic violence (cf. 2.2.), reinforces that they hold the understanding and knowledge of making the judgement. Both types of legitimization (legitimation of a text as literary through a literary prize; legitimization of a text as literary through inclusion in a curriculum) exist within the same arena and the same closed circuit of University of Edinburgh; and one is mediated through the other (inclusion in curriculum is facilitated through inclusion in prize shortlist). The system which is being reinforced and reproduced here is one where men are more likely to win – of 103 winners 1919-2021, 33 have been women and 1 was non-binary (see 5.5.1).

As shown in 5.5, men have, as a group, benefited more from the JTBP. The prizes routinely draw on past winners in press releases to assert their long history of awarding excellence; this is exemplified in this quote from Tatjana Soli, who won the JTBP for Fiction in 2010: “The lineage of the James Tait Black Memorial Prizes speaks

for itself, and I am humbled and so proud to be part of it" ('Book Prize Winners Revealed' 2016). The article goes on to note that Soli joins "the ranks of acclaimed previous winners". The use of previous winners in this way, to reaffirm the prize's legitimacy, shows that historical inequality continues to multiply unless the prize addresses its historical bias; if it continues to award men over women and non-binary people, the ranks of its acclaimed previous winners will remain skewed in favour of men.

An analysis of the Saltire Society Literary Awards following their sponsorship, as Norris does on the Booker Prize, would prove difficult as the categories have varying sponsors, and have each had their own histories of sponsorship. There are, however, two clear cases where the source of sponsorship has had significant impact on the prize it is bestowed upon: for the First BotY and the Research BotY Awards, the sponsors were the driving force behind the foundation of the prizes, approaching the Saltire Society specifically to suggest that they should be established.⁵⁵ In the case of the Research BotY, the sponsor, the National Library of Scotland, also requested that one of their organisation's experts ("a member of staff from the NLS who is 'best qualified'") ought to sit on the judging panel (Marsden 2016b, 169). This involvement aligns the legitimating force of a national library body with the judging of this prize. Marsden describes that "at times, the number of NLS employees, or former employees, who are included on the judging panel for the Research Book of the Year Award has outnumbered judges from other Saltire Society Literary Award Panels" (Marsden 2016b, 190).

Continuing along Norris' lines of Bourdieusian enquiry, the History BotY Award is most closely related to the academy, or Bourdieu's School. As Marsden writes, the judges for this prize are part of a small pool of historians in Scotland, which has often led to overlap between shortlisted historians and historians called to be on the judging panel. The judging panel acknowledged this potential for conflict of interest in 1994, when they created a new rule for the eventuality that a book being considered may have been written by a member of the judging committee. Marsden writes: "This formal

⁵⁵ The impetus for the establishment of the Saltire Society First Book Award came from *The Scotsman* newspaper, although this was also mentioned in the Saltire Society annual report from 1937 (when the suggestion was turned down) (Marsden 2016b, 148).

recognition of the possibility of potential crossovers between the AMM Award⁵⁶ judges and nominated authors was arguably a tacit acknowledgement of the small pool of Scottish history scholars the panel anticipated book nominations from” (Marsden 2016b, 129).

7.2.3 Other knowledge hierarchies

The McIlvanney Prize draws on knowledge hierarchies between ‘amateur’ readers and ‘expert’ judges. Similar to the JTBP’s judging system of student readers and academics, there is a tiered sifting system for books, with volunteer readers constructing the shortlist and a panel of judges selecting the winner (see 4.6). This constructs a hierarchy of knowledge, with the higher prestige position being occupied by the expert judges, who are listed on the website by name. Reading for the shortlist is presented as an opportunity to read ‘new unread books’, and there is no mention of whether readers receive payment (readers receive free tickets to Bloody Scotland for events of their choice) (‘Bloody Scotland Crime Book of the Year 2016’ 2016).

The McIlvanney Prize has built-in promotional impact for its shortlisted and winning books, acting as an intermediary for the marketing of books, as Squires describes (Squires 2004, 42). Firstly, the prize requires that publishers put the prize logo on any subsequent edition of their winning or shortlisted book, impacting manufacture of future books:

It is a condition of entry that publishers will: put the award logo and “Winner of The McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year 2019/Winner of Scottish Crime Debut of the Year” or “Shortlisted for The McIlvanney Prize for Scottish Crime Book of the Year 2019/Shortlisted for Scottish Crime Debut of the Year” including where appropriate the name(s) of sponsor(s), on the cover of subsequent editions of winning/shortlisted books. (‘McIlvanney Prize Entry Rules’ n.d.)

Secondly, the prize winner wins a cash prize and “nationwide promotion in Waterstones” (‘McIlvanney Prize Finalists 2017’ 2017), facilitated through a partnership between Bloody Scotland and Waterstones, which directly impacts distribution of the book. As noted in chapter 4, the winner also receives “a bespoke crystal decanter of Deanston 12 YO Highland Single Malt Whisky” (‘Scottish Crime Book of the Year’ 2013), which is a direct product of the McIlvanney Prize’s

⁵⁶ The History Book of the Year Award, as stated in 5.2.2.3, was established in the name of Agnes Mure Mackenzie, and was initially called the Agnes Mure Mackenzie Award

sponsorship by a single malt whisky company. This trophy, like the entry criteria, highlights the deliberate “Scottishness” of this prize.

7.3 Industry recommendations

Section 7.2 has interrogated the reliance of literary prizes on existing power structures. Before moving on to the conclusion of this thesis, the following section will detail recommendations for the Scottish literary sector, some of which are partly based on the power hierarchies described in 7.2.

The questions which originally started this research project were: “Is there a gender inequality issue in the contemporary Scottish literary sector, and if so, what is it? Could a new literary prize (for women writers) sufficiently address the issues of gender inequality in the Scottish literary sector, and how would it need to be organised to do this?” This project has collected and analysed the evidence to answer the first part of these questions – yes, there is a gender inequality issue in the contemporary Scottish literary sector; it is the structural advantaging of men’s voices over women and non-binary voices, rooted in a literary sector whose foundations lie in hegemonic knowledge and prestige hierarchies. I will briefly address the second part of these questions: I believe a new literary prize could not sufficiently address the issues which exist in the Scottish literary sector. This is due to three points, which I elaborate below, namely related to literary prizes’ dependency on hierarchies; literary prizes’ scarcity model of funding distribution; and the sales impact of literary prizes.

Firstly, literary prizes are dependent upon, and themselves reproduce, knowledge hierarchies. My contextual description of Scottish literary prizes (in chapter 7) shows that the judging practices of prizes draw on value-based distinctions between student and teacher, reader and reviewer, etc. Literary prizes also reproduce hierarchies between winners and losers; and they function in a way which reinforces that there is a population (judges) who can “recognise” value in books in ways the rest of the population (readers, writers) cannot. As the gender equality issues in the Scottish literary sector are also partly due to its foundations in hegemonic hierarchies, I believe a new literary prize could not sufficiently address these issues in a way that would create a long-term move away from this “top-down manner of assessing literary merit” (Stinson 2019).

Secondly, literary prizes are not an effective way of distributing public or private funding to writers (Stinson 2019), many of whom earn less than the living wage (Cowdrey 2018a); they contain a prize purse which is distributed to the winner(s) of prizes (and sometimes also, to a lesser extent, to its shortlistees, (see Walter Scott Prize in 4.5)). This funding distribution does not trickle down to other authors; it only temporarily relieves financial worries for one or a handful of authors.

Finally, previous studies have found no conclusive evidence that Scottish literary prizes impact positively on book sales; while the Women's Prize for Fiction and the Booker Prize evidently have a huge positive impact on book sales⁵⁷, Marsden's analysis of the Saltire Society Literary Awards found that "the [Saltire Society Literary] awards have no discernible or consistent impact on the sales of shortlisted or winning books" (Marsden 2021, 157). The order of magnitude with which the Booker and the Women's Prize are organised dwarfs any Scottish literary prizes; from their funding models to their prize purses, to their comprehensive marketing strategies, their impact appears to be generated with considerable financial backing and resultant market saturation and visibility. The current Scottish arts funding climate has necessarily refocused on emergency funding following two and a half years of the COVID-19 pandemic ('New Report Reveals £85.3m Emergency COVID Funds Reached Arts, Screen and Creative Industries from March 2020 to September 2021' 2022). In my view, it is unlikely that a new prize in Scotland could achieve the necessary level of financial backing and therefore the desired impact on sales for shortlisted or winning books.

My recommendations to the Scottish literary sector are:

1. For each organisation, institution or company to conduct its own regular audit on the demographics of authors whom they publish, review, platform, or from whom they receive submissions and whom they shortlist; and for these organisations to make public the findings of these internal audits, including wages, advances and royalties

⁵⁷ Sharon Norris writes, "[The Booker Prize] guarantees a greater increase in sales of the winning novel and of the others on the shortlist than any other prize, and boosts sales of the winning novelist's back catalogue" (Norris 2006c, 139), and the 2021 Women's Prize winning book *Piranesi* by Susannah Clarke "helped drive nearly 10K sales of the newly published paperback in the first full week after winning" (Bohme 2022).

2. For each organisation, institution or company to build equality, diversity and inclusion into their publishing, reviewing, platforming, or submission and shortlisting processes, such that decision-makers and all employees are empowered to question exclusionary practices (e.g., “it appears we have put together a panel of just white men – how did this decision come about, and what might we do to change the makeup of this panel?”)
3. For the Scottish literary sector to create systems for reporting and prosecuting gender-based harassment, intimidation, discrimination and violence

Recommendation #1 follows directly from my quantitative study, and from the difficulty of gathering meaningful demographic data remotely – I have shown in Chapter 3 that even something as supposedly ‘simple’ as counting gender data is by no means straightforward; oppression does not function along a single-axis framework (e.g. based only on gender), but functions intersectionally (Crenshaw 1989, 148–49), and data on ethnicity, disability, class, education, sexuality, religion, geographical location, caring responsibilities etc is even more difficult to gather without having participants complete an equality questionnaire. Organisations themselves are best placed to conduct these audits as they have direct access and knowledge about the authors who they work with and can use equalities questionnaires. Organisations themselves also have additional information which is invisible to researchers working at a remove, as I have been: which authors did they want to invite to speak at an event, but were unable to find travel arrangements for? Which books did they commission, and what advances did they pay out? Who did they consider when putting together a judging panel? Which books did they consider for their review pages, and who did they consider when commissioning the review? Publishing this information will enable the literary sector to hold itself to account, and support funders, collaborators and authors in making informed decisions about the organisations they work with. I also recommend gathering and publishing figures on payment practices, particularly when it comes to publication advances.

Recommendation #2 draws on interview statement from Interview Participant 2, who, as explored in 6.3.2, noted that equality, diversity and inclusion experience should be seen as a ‘fundamental skill’ in recruitment:

There should be the assumption that you have to work with women, that you have to work with minorities, and if you make them uncomfortable then you shouldn't get the job. This should be seen as integral to hiring practices. Equality, diversity and inclusion and being somebody that people feel

comfortable and safe around is not an add-on, it is a fundamental skill. And if you don't have that fundamental skill, you shouldn't work there. (Interview Participant 2 2020)

In addition to requiring equality, diversity and inclusion experience in the workplace, workers will also be able to question selection processes further if recommendation #1 is implemented, i.e., if organisations themselves have greater knowledge about the authors they work with, and if they can see who they are currently not working with.

Finally, recommendation #3 draws on section 6.4.2.3, which highlighted discriminatory working practices, ranging from discrimination based on pregnancy, verbal and physical sexual harassment and intimidation, and biased behaviour in promotion and progression. When *The Bookseller* conducted a survey on sexual harassment in the book industry in 2017, following the reports on #MeToo, over half of survey respondents reported having been sexually harassed. (Bookseller news team 2017) This survey was not specific to Scotland; however, the evidence shown in 6.4.2.3, confirms that sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination is an issue in the Scottish literary sector. Organisations in the Scottish literary sector need to ensure there is provision of a safe way for people to report this behaviour; perhaps, as my suggestion would be, through the creation of a sector-wide reporting system.

If there is a new literary prize created to address issues of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector, the descriptive quantitative information on gender balance in existing Scottish literary prizes in 5.4 could be used as a site of impact analysis for this prize. As Dane showed in the case of the Stella Prize in Australia: "There was a significant increase (to 50 per cent) in the proportion of women winning the Miles Franklin award; all bar one of the women winners of the prize in the decade 2006 to 2015 did so following the launch of the Stella Prize" (Dane 2018, 200). One way of assessing whether a new literary prize has had its intended effects on the sector should be by continuing this quantitative analysis of prize shortlists and winners in the years to come.

The above recommendations are not specific to transphobia in Scottish literature, as this was not the focus of my thesis. However, Harry Josephine Giles has shared a list of ways the Scottish literary sector can change its culture to support trans writers:

Here's what I do [want]: active social, artistic and economic support for trans writers in Scotland. I want funded publishing and performance platforms for

trans writers. I want writing courses that trans writers are paid to participate in. I want the well-paid Directors of literary institutions to cover trans writers' housing and healthcare costs. I want institutions handed over to poor and disenfranchised trans writers. I want understanding that trans people's participation in literature is limited by transphobia, including transphobia in Scottish literary institutions, and that this will require serious change. I want understanding that trans people's participation in literature is also limited by serious socioeconomic oppression, and that this will take considerable resources from the literature sector to begin to overcome (Giles 2021b).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This concluding chapter first explores how this study achieved its stated research aims, before reflecting on its contributions to the field, as well as its limitations. This is followed by some recommendations for future research.

8.1 Research aims

This study aimed to identify sites of gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector and find out if there was a numerical difference according to an author's gender in literary sector output. The results from this study indicate that gender inequality is present in publishing, reviewing, festivals and prizes in Scotland: male authors' works are being published more, reviewed more; male authors are platformed more at literary festivals, specifically in solo events; male reviewers publish more reviews than female reviewers; and male authors won twice as many literary awards as female authors in over 100 years of literary awards in Scotland. There appears to be, with the exception of overall book festival events, a 40% ceiling for women writers' publications, reviews and awards in Scotland, in line with findings by Harvey and Lamond (2016, 104). Most literary prizes 1919-2021 saw a drop in women and non-binary writers' representation from shortlist to winners, indicating that male writers are disproportionately winning prizes, and revealing these prizes as sites of symbolic violence. While this study identified some movement towards more equal distribution of authors by gender in some of these four areas from 2017-2019, most markedly in the use of literary reviewers, even an increase by 15 percentage points only meant a 26% share of literary reviews by female reviewers in 2019.

This study also aimed to provide evidence as to why this inequality persists. The results from my qualitative study indicate that what makes the Scottish literary sector a unique site for inequality is a belief in the sector's own limitations and limited agency (and responsibility) for making a change in inequalities. Further, interviewees reported gender-based discrimination and harassment, which there are currently few avenues to combat as work is often casual and based on long-term social relationships. Men's voices dominate even in rooms where there are mostly women present, and there is a sense of helplessness as this dynamic feels ingrained.

Finally, this study aimed to give a recommendation to the Scottish literary sector on whether a new literary prize for women writers could sufficiently address the issues identified. My suggestion is that a literary prize is not at present the most useful mechanism for addressing these issues, but that there are other steps which should be taken, including pay transparency, internal monitoring of staff capabilities and data on equalities, and the creation of reporting structures to combat gender-based discrimination and harassment.

8.2 Contributions

My central contribution is the production of a body of quantitative and qualitative evidence to show that gender inequality is a live and persistent issue in the contemporary Scottish literary sector. Often, this sector has not had information about itself in this way, and it is my hope that my findings will inspire organisations and companies to more closely examine their own working practices and the body of output they are producing, programming, and printing. I have laid out my specific recommendations for the Scottish literary sector in Chapter 7. The evidence for gender inequality existed anecdotally already in the sector, and I systematically gathered data which underpins what many participants in the Scottish literary sector already sense through their lived experience.

In the introduction to this thesis, I described that the research problem I wanted to address was a lack of evidence, which would enable writers, tastemakers, editors and publishers to take action on inequalities (or put pressure on others to do so). This thesis, and reports I intend to write following the completion of this thesis, fill this evidence gap regarding gender inequality of Scottish literary sector output the late 2010s. No longer can publishers, festival programmers, review editors, prize judges and organisers, and the literary sector at large, pretend that they do not know that this sector has embedded issues of gender discrimination – the evidence is clear: men outnumber women and non-binary writers in publishing, reviewing, solo events at festivals 2017-2019, and in literary prizes 1919-2021; and interview data suggests that women's labour is not valued as highly as that of men, exacerbated by tacit acceptance of this status quo as immovable.

The Scottish literary sector has, until now, had relatively little quantitative demographic information about its output. There may be a temptation to suggest that

structural inequalities which persist in the wider UK publishing sector, which is mainly based in London (although this is changing, with the recent announcement of three new Hachette offices being established in the North of England (Chapman 2021)), may not be as stark in Scotland, especially as 50% of publishing companies in Scotland are run by women ('Market Insights' 2022). This study fills the literature gap by providing a body of research specific to gender inequality in the output of the Scottish literary sector, focusing not only on publishing but also the Scottish literary prize landscape, literary reviews and literary festivals.

I built my research methodology following closely the work of VIDA ('The 2016 VIDA Count', n.d.; 'The 2017 VIDA Count' 2018; 'FAQs – VIDA: Women in Literary Arts' 2020), Griffith (Griffith 2015a; 2015b), Dane (Dane 2020b), Marsden (Marsden 2016b; 2019), Ramdarshan Bold (Ramdarshan Bold 2018; 2021), Harvey and Lamond (Harvey and Lamond 2019; 2016). My key contribution to this existing body of quantitative research into structural inequalities in the literary sector is my extensive conceptual and practical examination of what I felt are key contradictions in prevailing methodologies – firstly, using statistical analysis (based on post-positivist empiricism) for a project which aims to make a social change (transformative paradigm); secondly, treating gender, which we as queer and/or feminist researchers know to be uncountable – but rather often fluid and non-binary (McHugh 2020, 210), performed (Butler 2006, 34), perceived, interpreted (Serano 2016, 193) and experiential (Serano 2016, 215) – as countable. In my conversations with many of my contemporaries named above, we reflected on the fact that we often begin this counting work – of which there is a long tradition (cf. for example Cooter and Women in Publishing 1987) – with a desire to contribute to social change; and we also often begin this work feeling as though we need to build our systems from the ground up. In my methodology chapter, I explain in detail how I 'counted genders', and name the discomfort and dissonance associated with this "diversity work" (Ahmed 2017) as a contribution to future researchers and to question in writing the way we (feel we need to) evidence inequality in numbers.

This study's findings of literary prizes align with findings observed by Marsden (2019) and Dane (2020b) which highlight discrepancies in prize shortlists and prize winners, and which Dane describes as evidence of Bourdieusian symbolic violence. Additionally, this study's findings of literary festival platforming also align with Dane's findings on literary festival platforming, in particular when it comes to the favouring of

male authors for solo events, or “keynote lectures” in Dane’s study (Dane 2020b, 99). My study of literary prizes 1919-2021 in Scotland builds on Marsden’s existing research on the Saltire Society and adds five additional prizes, analysing their gender data for winners and shortlists (where available), and presenting longitudinal evidence of bias towards male writers in Scottish literature, with women winning half as many prizes as men across the period 1919-2021. This thesis contains research on literary festivals, literary reviewing and publishing in Scotland 2017-2019, which comprises new knowledge about Scottish literary sector output in the late 2010s. Chapter 6 also adds important insight from the Scottish literary sector on *how* gender inequality manifests there, and where there may be moments for intervention.

Beyond these empirical contributions, i.e. presenting research which had not previously been done before in the Scottish literary sector, my thesis also contains a conceptual contribution which scholars can take forward: my interrogation of quantitative data collection norms through a queer lens, and reckoning with the contradictions arising from using post-positivist methods within a postmodern feminist conceptual approach, can be the discursive basis for future researchers to develop their own frameworks.

8.3 Limitations

Some limitations to this study have already been stated in the methodology chapter of this thesis. The limitations to this study have been practical and pragmatic, and while the significance stated above is still the case, it is important to note the scope of this study. The quantitative evidence in this study speaks to its time scale of 1919-2021 and, in the majority of data points, 2017-2019. This scope could be expanded by future research, and undoubtedly this would yield fascinating insight into the development of Scottish literature sector outputs. The scope of the qualitative data is also limited to tastemakers in Scottish literature, including the members of the group of activists who instigated this research project. Future research could consider experiences of women and gender minorities in Scottish literature more broadly.

This is also my first study and its research design emerged as I was conducting it, so from the vantage point of having finished it I can see that there may have been other ways to go about this research.

This study is specific to its time scale 2017-2019 and its national context in Scotland. It can neither predict what will happen in the future – i.e., it is descriptive rather than predictive – nor is it universally applicable to other national literary sectors. However, as is clarified in the conclusion to this thesis, the ratios of male to female representation in literary sector output closely mirror those observed in the Australian literary sector by Dane (Dane 2020b) and Harvey and Lamond (Harvey and Lamond 2016; 2019).

8.4 Recommendations for future research

My research has shown that literary sector output in Scotland 2017-2019 is overwhelmingly biased in favour of men, and that literary sector tastemakers find it difficult to envision working practices to eradicate this systemic bias due to the interconnectedness of sector agents, and due to focus on intention versus output, and imagined and real market and audience pressures. Further, my study includes detailed examination of the use of quantitative methods within a postmodern feminist framework, i.e., counting persons by gender when gender is conceptualised as uncountable. It would be interesting to see other researchers take these findings and approaches forward and further develop them, to illuminate systemic biases in other national literary contexts, or indeed in the wider creative industries.

While this study considers non-binary writers in addition to male and female writers – for the first time in any study of gender inequality in Scottish writing – more work urgently needs to be done to examine the experiences of all gender minorities (including trans men and women) in the Scottish literary sector.

This study does not examine inequality based on other characteristics – in many ways it focuses on a single-axis framework of oppression, which is overly simplistic and insufficient (Crenshaw 1989, 148–49). Evidencing gender inequality on its own is not enough and does not show the full picture of inequality. Therefore, it is urgently necessary to review racism, class inequality, ableism, and other structural inequalities in the Scottish literary sector. Some of this work is already occurring, for example Guyan’s recent surveys of the experiences of BPOC writers in Scotland (Guyan 2020; 2021). Guyan found that “79% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that people of colour and white Scottish people have equal opportunities to succeed in Scotland’s literary sector” (Guyan 2021).

This study does not examine book sales; however, this would be a very fruitful area for future study, as examining the gender distribution among authors published, reviewed and platformed in Scotland, shortlisted and winning Scottish prizes, and the related book sales could reveal interesting and perhaps surprising additional information on how money and prestige is distributed among authors and publishers. In particular, an analysis of the impact of Scottish literary prizes on book sales of shortlisted and winning authors would be very interesting if the sector is to further explore the idea of a new literary prize. It would also be interesting to examine backlist, midlist and frontlist titles, classics, reprints etc in Scottish publishing – data which, while I did collect them, I did not have sufficient space to explore. I also did not have sufficient space to examine the geographic spread of winning authors of the JTBP, which is an interesting topic as a UK or Scottish connection is not required for entry. Further interesting work is also possible into these prizes' impact on book sales, and on the commercial relationship between the JTBP, University of Edinburgh and the EIBF.

Future researchers can use, build upon, and further develop the methodology frameworks discussed in this thesis to undertake their own studies, whether they work directly with communities, seek to bring about change with their research, or work with counting gender. For example, using publicly available information about an author's gender rather than making assumptions based on a name will, I believe, allow researchers to question cis-normative assumptions when researching gender, particularly in big data projects where it is unlikely researchers will have direct access, i.e., projects where researchers will necessarily be employing a distanced, external method for recognising and recording gender. As noted in the methodology section, VIDA already do this in their research.

Future research could also be done on exploring qualitatively some of the quantitative data points raised in this thesis – for example, while male reviewers review twice as many male authors as female authors, it would be fruitful to examine *how* they reviewed authors' books according to their gender, and whether this could show us something more about how gender inequality manifests in Scottish literature. Analysis of authors reviewed, platformed, and shortlisted or winning prizes could also be extended to examine which publishers are more frequently included in these spheres, and what the proportion of translated works is. It would also be interesting to examine the topics of shortlisted or winning titles of Scottish literary prizes and go

beyond genre to examine topics of books published by Scottish publishers, reviewed in Scottish newspapers and platformed at book festivals.

I am also interested in seeing how future research expands on the methodological and conceptual questions I have raised about the epistemological compatibility of transformative social justice-oriented research with the method of counting gender data in distinct (binary, mutually exclusive) categories. Can we count the un-countable, and, if so, how, and why? As shown in Chapter 3, I feel that I have not completely solved this epistemological tension, and I look forward to conversations with other researchers who are working in this space of queer and/or feminist research with quantitative data.

8.5 Closing summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of this study in relation to its research problems and questions, outlining that the study's findings indicate that gender inequality is a persistent problem in Scottish literary sector output, in particular with regard to the distribution of prestige (see findings about solo literary festival events in 5.4 and literary prizes in 5.5), with the burden of responsibility for creating a more equal literary sector being assigned disproportionately on women (see findings about literary reviewing in 5.3 and findings about female audiences in 6.4.1.1). The study therefore concludes that, to address gender inequality in the contemporary Scottish literary sector, each part of the literary sector ought to bring gender into focus when designing their publication, reviewing, platforming, and submission and shortlisting lists, as no single part of the literary sector is uniquely at fault for this inequality, and neither is a single part uniquely responsible – or absolved of responsibility – for addressing this issue.

To come to this conclusion, this thesis has reviewed existing research on women's writing in Scotland, gender inequality in the creative industries with a particular focus on publishing, gender studies and feminist studies. It conducted an in-depth quantitative study focusing specifically on Scottish literary prizes 1919-2021 and Scottish publishing, reviewing and book festivals 2017-2019, including a cross-cutting analysis to examine where authors were platformed multiple times across these areas. In addition to the quantitative element of this study, qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with literary tastemakers, including literary sector advocates

illuminated further the distinctive nature of gender inequality as it persists in Scotland specifically.

This project originated from a call from the Scottish literary sector for tools against sexist oppression. While more can always be done, during the project's duration 2017-2022, I shared findings about gender equality in publishing, reviewing and festivals in several presentations to SBT, Literature Alliance Scotland, at a Society of Young Publishers Conference, and at EIBF, exemplifying on the project's wide conceptualisation of its stakeholders (cf. Chapter 3) and its continuous interconnectedness with the literary sector. My direct experience of the way these findings have impacted authors is perhaps best illustrated by an anecdote from EIBF 2018, when ROAR was invited to present findings and hold a panel discussion as part of the Revolting Women Take Over Tent run by GWL ('Take Over Tent for Revolting Women' 2018). I presented my findings alongside critic, author and editor Lesley McDowell, and created a folder with printed graphs which attendees could flick through for the Thursday-Saturday run of the Take Over Tent. After my presentation, I spoke to a female author who had been looking through the folder, and who told me: "I thought it was just me who wasn't getting reviewed!" I think of this writer often, and I hope the findings included in this thesis will serve to galvanise understandings of structural inequality for women and non-binary writers who, as this thesis has shown, have been systematically excluded from the Scottish literary sector in the 20th and 21st century. I first published findings from this research project publicly on a purpose-built website www.roar.scot in July 2019. The press release announcing this publication was covered by several media outlets, including UK book trade forum *The Bookseller*, Scottish newspaper *The National*, *Publishing Perspectives*, *AcuaLitté*, and *BookSquad*, and Scottish literature bodies Literature Alliance Scotland and Publishing Scotland. These findings were then cited by First Minister of Scotland Nicola Sturgeon as part of her keynote address on inequalities in the literary sector at Northern Lights, a book trade conference organised by EIBF in August 2019.

This public acknowledgment, and the impact my work had on the aforementioned female writer, were especially heartening when the comments section of an article about my findings in *The National* included voices suggesting that women should "try and write books interesting provocative and challenging to the intellectual mind that men seem to have been doing more successfully over the ages", linking women's alleged failure to do so to the proliferation of "trashy women's magazines",

ending on the encouragement to “just try harder dear” (comments left on Hannan 2019). Both the positive reinforcement from writers to whom I hope this full work will be useful, and the reactions from those who believe women just ought to try harder, further reinforce the urgent need for this research, and serve as continued motivation to share this information as tools against systemic sexism.

This thesis constitutes a unique contribution to knowledge in empirical and conceptual terms as it synthesises collaborative feminist research methods, discusses epistemological issues around counting gender, furthers understanding of how gender inequality manifests and persists in the Scottish literary sector of the late 2010s – including possible sites for intervention, and represents new insights into the starkly unequal distribution of prestige in the Scottish literary sector over the 20th and early 21st century.

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List of interviewees

Adele Patrick, 17 May 2018

Alistair Braidwood, 21 February 2019

Amina Shah, 16 May 2018

Annie Rutherford, 14 March 2019

Bob McDevitt, 7 July 2021
Caitrin Armstrong, 9 May 2018
Claire Squires, 11 May 2018
Dave Coates, 8 February 2019
Donald Smith, 16 May 2019
Eleanor Livingstone, 21 May 2019
Elizabeth Reeder, 17 May 2018
Interview Participant 1, February 2019
Interview Participant 2, June 2020
Interview Participant 3, July 2020
Interview Participant 4, May 2018
James T. Harding, 13 February 2019
Jenni Calder, 25 April 2018
Jenny Brown, 9 June 2021
Jenny Niven, 14 May 2018
Judy Moir, 23 May 2018
Katy Lockwood-Holmes, 27 July 2018
Lesley McDowell, 5 August 2018
Mairi Oliver, 5 May 2018
Nick Barley, 22 February 2019
Sarah Mason, 27 March 2019
Wendy Kirk, 1 June 2018