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Economic Geographies of Independent Bookshops: Threats and Adaptations

by

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ABSTRACT

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ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHIES OF INDEPENDENT BOOKSHOPS: THREATS AND ADAPTATIONS

Gemma Therese Mary O'Brien

The market for selling books in the UK, once dominated by independent bookshops (the indies), has transformed through the forces of deregulation, the concentration of capital, digitisation, eCommerce, rising costs and the economic downturn. Using mixed methods, field theory and economic sociology, this research investigates the geographies and practices of UK indies and the dynamics behind the reconstruction of this market.

The research findings indicate that to survive, the indies must engage with an increasing array of practices that require many new skills: running successful events and cafes; providing web presences; selling non-book products; and marketing the shop through Facebook and Twitter. An augmented arsenal of capitals beyond bookseller capital is required: those who are high in symbolic and commercial capital, with access to cultural and technical capitals, often through social capital, are most likely to survive. Suggestions for definitions of commercial, technical and new forms of cultural capital are made, including aesthetic and virtual emotional capital. Hysteresis of habitus is shown to be occurring as a new breed of 'engaged capitalist' booksellers joins the industry. Market change is shown to be effected by skilled, strategic actors who use informal scripts, new technologies and symbolic capital to drive collective action: cognitive reorientations are shown to create institutional change over time.

The research shows that between 2001 and 2011, this varied group of booksellers has reduced in diversity by 13%, in numbers by 16%, and it is likely that they are concentrating in wealthier, gentrifying, destination, tourist areas such that the 66% increase in 'indie deserts' may be associated with lower wealth, non-tourist areas. This thesis argues that indies are important to communities because of their contribution to human flourishing through: their extraordinary diversity; their unique ability to provide for local socio-cultural-politico needs; the myriad social interactions that occur in their spaces; the expert recommendations they make; and their enabling of alternative views of the world.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Gemma O'Brien declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Economic Geographies of Independent Bookshops: Threats and Adaptations

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed: .....

Date:.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

BA	The Booksellers Association
B&M	Bricks and Mortar
CAM	Clicks and Mortar
Indie	Independent Bookshop
NBA	Net Book Agreement
NEF	New Economics Foundation
NSM	New Social Media
PC	Per Capita
PR	Public Relations
RRP	Recommended Retail Price

Chapter 1: Introduction

There was a child went forth every day;
And the first object he look'd upon, that object he became;
And that object became part of him for the day, or a certain part of the day, or for many years, or stretching cycles of years.

Walt Whitman, There was a Child Went Forth

For centuries, independent bookshops (known as the indies) have been vital in providing public access to ownership of books, particularly "the book that will change the way we think, which may happen, even if only a small number of people buy it" (Schiffrin, 2001, p.104). Recently however, a number of forces have seen their share of the market dwindle to less than 5%, with the media reporting them, along with print books, as a dying breed: UK shoppers have now become the biggest nation of online shoppers in the developed world (Telegraph, 2013); and eBooks account for up to 30% of some trade publisher sales (Bookseller, 2013a). Nevertheless, the indies are often depicted by the media as being at the heart of their local communities, small shops who struggle against all the odds with the forces of big business. Yet, these media reports are often restricted to only portraying a particular kind of indie in a particular kind of location: literary bookshops in middle class or regenerating areas.

What is the truth about the indies? Are they all just posh shops in nice places? Should we even care about their demise? Whilst indie bookshops probably receive more than their fair share of media attention, there has been no academic research on the subject in the UK. Indeed, even though specialised retailers made up 53% of the 10.2% the retail sector contributed to GB employment in 2012 (Parliament, 2014, p.4), the academic literature on small, specialised, independent retailers is tiny in comparison with that on the larger retailers and theoretically, whilst the body of work on the social construction of markets is growing, it too has received little attention when compared to positivistic research on markets.[1] The cultural industries are "involved in the making and circulating of products...that have an influence on our understanding of the world" such that society is both reflected within the kinds of cultural products we produce and influenced by them (Hesmondhalgh, 2007a, p.3). Book publishing sits within the creative or cultural industries, and bookselling sits within the retail trade.[2] The

[1] "Non-specialised stores are shops which sell a variety of products, such as supermarkets, convenience shops or department stores" and the retail sector contributed 7.7% of UK economic output in 2012 (Parliament, 2014, p.4).

[2] The cultural industries seem to be relatively recession-proof: in 2008, whilst international trade contracted by 12%, world exports of creative goods and services grew at an annual rate of 14% per year since 2002, reaching a total value

fortunes of these industries have been tied together throughout history, and both are currently undergoing great transformations through the forces of digitisation and eCommerce. Section 1.1 outlines the history of bookselling in the UK until the late 20th century as punctuated by a number of attempts to de-regulate the market, with a final victory for neo-liberal interests in 1997. Section 1.2 examines the literature on the effects of digitisation on the cultural industries and retail. Section 1.3 examines the literature that surrounds recent government and other bodies' concerns with the 'Death of the High Street', and where bookshops sit within resulting government strategies. Section 1.4 examines the little we already know about bookshops in the UK and abroad. Finally, section 1.5 outlines the aims and objectives of the research, along with the three major research questions that are posed and the structure of the thesis.

1.1 A Brief History of Book Retail in the UK

The fate of booksellers has always been intimately tied to that of the publishers. In understanding how the market has changed for the indies in the UK, we must first understand how the market has changed over time for both the publishers and the retailers. It has long been understood, throughout the history of book retailing, that in order to create a market that worked for both publishers and retailers, books need to have a fixed price set by the publishers, as the publisher is interested in selling in high volumes, yet the small, indie retailer is only going to sell a limited number of copies. However, bookselling in the UK has had its ups and downs over the centuries as both parties have struggled with this clash of interests.

Feather's (2006) comprehensive history of British publishing traces early bookselling to the middle of the 15th century in Fleet Street in the City of London, where the books were also printed, and nearby customers, the clergymen, lived. The book reading market expanded through the social classes with the advent of periodicals and novels in the early 18th century, but not all could afford to buy, so booksellers began to lend for a fee, heralding the start of libraries. Bookselling also spread to provincial towns as book reading moved down through the social classes, and these sellers became highly important to the publishers. Meanwhile, London bookshops moved West with the wealthier classes, whilst the poor moved East. Books were still expensive cultural products, but in the late 18th century, James Lackinton, a man from a poor background, invented remaindering and opened up what could possibly be called the first

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of $592 billion in 2008 (UN, 2010, p.xxiii). The cultural industries were worth 4% of GDP in 1998, which is higher than the manufacturing industries (Pratt, 2004, p.20), and the UK book publishing industry was worth nearly £3 billion in 2007 (Clark and Philips, 2008, p.1).

discount shop: he recognised that by selling many books at a low margin, a large profit could be made (Feather, 2006).

By the 19th century, the book trade as we know it today was in operation with separation of functions between printer, publisher and bookseller, using mechanised systems of production and efficient distribution systems (Feather, 2006). This heralded an inherent conflict between publishers and booksellers in that publishers wished to sell high volume of cheap books, whereas this made no economic sense to the bookseller who would only sell a small number of copies. This conflict brought about an agreement to fix retail prices between publishers and booksellers such that both sides could profit, much to the chagrin of prevailing free economy thinkers at the time. However, this system of fixed prices was difficult to enforce and eventually fixed prices were completely abandoned in the 19th century, during a time when "the whole economic philosophy of the mid-nineteenth century favoured free trade" (Feather, 2006, p.100). In 1852, the agreement was abandoned after a challenge by Lord Campbell and a free-for-all ensued in the book trade where booksellers undercut each other's prices and many failed. Publishers faced being cut off from their market as "booksellers could only afford to stock the most popular and fast selling books, and had no space on the shelves for the larger and more expensive works which would sell slowly and in smaller numbers" (ibid, p.101). Publishers reacted and eventually in 1900, the Net Book Agreement (NBA) was enacted, becoming the "economic cornerstone of the whole structure of British publishing until almost the end of the twentieth century" (ibid, p.102).

The market remained stable for the first half of the 20th century with independent booksellers dominating the retailing scene. Once again however, the terms of agreement between retailers and publishers in the UK began to come under pressure in the 1960's, when the Registrar of Restrictive Practices brought a case against the legality of the NBA. The 1962 court hearing saw the Publishers Association argue in favour of keeping the agreement, and the judgement agreed, saying that 'books are different' from other commodities in that no two are alike. Utton (2000) finds that the court decision rested on a concern that increased uncertainty due to price competition would increase costs and therefore cause prices to rise, leading to a contraction in the industry, such that some booksellers could close and the remaining might have to carry less stock, and publishers might produce less titles (ibid, p.117). The NBA remained in place for a further thirty years until the 1990's, when large chain retailers began to dominate the market. This time, a combination of pressure from some of the large chains *and* publishers forced the issue back into court: the NBA collapsed in 1997 and free pricing ensued.

Prior to the rise of the book chains in the eighties, WH Smith was the most important player in the UK, controlling as much as 40% of the market, with the rest divided amongst a large

number of independents (Thompson, 2010). With the advent of Waterstones and Dillons in the eighties, many of the independents closed as these capital-rich chains targeted metropolitan areas with favourable book-selling demographics, where independent bookshops were likely to already exist, and it was this along with rising capital costs, as well as poor management, that caused their demise (ibid, p.31).

Alongside the growth of the chains has been the conglomeration of publishing houses. The publishing industry has undergone enormous transformations during the late 20th century: the majority of trade books are now produced by large media conglomerates whose major concerns are for double digit growth models in order to maintain shareholder value. Hesmondhalgh (2007a) finds that the creation of cultural products is a very risky business: one that can lead to enormous monetary rewards if you get it right, but getting it right involves many unknowns and acts of faith. These industries have high production costs along with low reproduction costs and companies tend to mitigate the high uncertainty risk by buying up similar companies to reduce competition, becoming vertically integrated to reduce costs, becoming internationalised in order to enlarge markets, and creating cross-promotion opportunities by buying in to other media areas. Companies also try to control their risk through use of genres, brands, serials, stars and creating scarcity (ibid, p.22). Thompson (2010) identifies three developments that are key to understanding the changing nature of book publishing and selling in the UK and US during the latter half of the 20th century: the growth of retail book chains such as Waterstones and the transformation of the general retail environment; the rise in power of literary agents; and the emergence of transnational publishing corporations, stemming from mergers and acquisitions. Thompson (2010) further conceptualises the logic of the field of trade publishing as:

1. Growth of Retail Chains
2. Rise of Literary Agents
3. Consolidation of Publishing Houses

1. Polarisation of the Field
2. Preoccupation with Big Books
    a. Track Record
    b. Comps
    c. Platform
    d. Web of Collective Belief
3. Extreme Publishing
4. Shrinking Windows
5. High Returns

Figure 1.1 The Logic of the Field of Trade Publishing. Source: Thompson (2010, p.292)

Under Thompson's (2010) logic, the growth of retail chains, the rise of literary agents, and the conglomeration of publishers, has led to a polarisation of the field, where a small number of very large publishers dominate a large number of very small publishers. These large publishers are preoccupied with finding and publishing the next 'Big Book', or hoped-for bestseller, as a means towards growth, rather than increasing the number of books published, as this would put too big a strain on their merged and therefore overloaded sales teams. The 'Big Book' model is a means of prioritising a very large list of new products (thousands of new books) during every sales cycle into a manageable list of new books that may become bestsellers. The prioritisation is based in part on the track record of the authors, which is the number of books she has actually sold, and is nowadays easily tracked using Nielsen Bookscan. However, this method is not always reliable, particularly for the most commercial bestsellers, which can sell in large numbers through outlets that are not on this scanning system, or for completely new authors. Additionally, in a bid to find the next 'Big Book' editors will: compare the new book (comps) with bestsellers in terms of style, genre, plot, subject matter and voice; examine the author's platform, that is, their marketability; and finally, consult with other agents in the field to form a judgement based on a "web of collective belief" (ibid, p.204). Every year the large publishers experience the need to fill a large gap between projected and expected revenue, this difference being the result of an expectation for growth from the parent corporation. In order to fill this gap, publishers often publish celebrity or quirky 'Big Books' that can be published quickly without too much effort. In conjunction with the conglomeration of publishing houses and the subsequent preoccupation with 'Big Books', has been the decline in traditional media channels such as television and newspapers, traditionally used to get the message about a book out, along with increased competition from other entertainment products such as video, mobiles, computers and iPods. Publishers must now create buzz through word of mouth, engage with online marketing, and they heavily rely on paid-for front-of-store displays. The costs involved puts pressure on the book to perform quickly, such that these 'Big Books' have a very small window in which to become a success. Nevertheless, those that do make it through will provide very high returns for all parties.

Not every player in the field is affected in the same way by this logic: an independent bookseller will be affected quite differently to a supermarket, for instance. However, no part of the field will be "entirely shielded from its effects" and different countries are affected in different ways because each is "shaped by the distinctive commercial and regulatory environments that exists in each country" (ibid, p.294-311). To this end, the US operates differently to the UK in that pricing arrangements and discounts are transparent and often fairer in the US, whereas the UK is prone to discounting wars where the bigger purse gets the biggest discount. In the US, the field is also more subject to pressures from escalating agents' advances, whereas in the UK the

pressure comes from escalating retail discounts. Under this view we can see that free pricing and extreme discounting by retailers are now key to the business models for the large publishers in the UK.

1.2 New Technologies – a Digital Future?

It is arguable that Britain has now become a nation of e-shoppers, having once been described as a "nation of shopkeepers" (Smith, 2008, p.358). E-commerce has become so commonplace that it has sunk into the business background such that "the absence of a customer-facing website is now a subject for comment, rather than the reverse" (Leyshon in Daniels et al, 2009, p.5). Electronic markets have been shown to enable the disintermediation of production chains and can disadvantage established firms who cannot react quickly as markets are reintermediated (Leyshon, 2001).

Whilst digitisation of the field of academic book publishing has been researched (Thompson, 2008) there is little work to date that examines the effects of digitisation on the trade publishing field. Much research has already been conducted into the effects of digitisation in the music industry. Whilst new technologies have always impacted the music industry, from sheet music to the phonogram and from vinyl LP's to the audio cassette, it is the advent of digital software and CD's in the 1990's that led to "unprecedented growth of the recording industry...leading to its peak in worldwide music sales in 1998" (Wikström, 2009, p.64). Within a decade however, CD sales had fallen catastrophically such that the global trade value of record sales had dropped by 50%, the record labels had restructured, piracy was a world-wide fact of life, many bricks-and-mortar record outlets had closed, the online music store Apple iTunes had taken the largest slice of the music sales cake, and how the world related to music had changed forever (ibid, p.69). Music industry experts sometimes speak of a democratisation of control that the internet and digitisation can provide to musicians and their audiences as the musicians can now self-release under their own terms: this in contrast to the time when "vertically integrated multi-national music companies could control how, when and where their albums were released, promoted and distributed" (Wikström, 2009, p.2).[3] However, Hesmondhalgh (2007b) finds the "rise of digitalisation is unlikely to lead to any profound democratisation of musical production

[3] In 2008, the music artist Nine Inch Nails released an album directly to the internet as "a totally free agent, free of any recording contract with any label" and directly spoke of his pleasure at "finally hav[ing] a direct relationship with the audience" (Wikström, 2009, p.1). Under this special, new release licence, fans were invited to create and upload their own versions of the tracks, make visual interpretations as well as reviews and comments. Even though pirate versions of the music were available, the venture was highly successful as the fans bought the music and engaged in the online intercreativity.

and consumption" as "oligopolies of vertically integrated corporations, based on systems of copyright ownership and exploitation" continue to dominate (ibid, p.3). Additionally, whilst many artists mourn the 'Death of the Album', due to the rise of single-track MP3 downloads, it is not certain by any means that the print book will follow suit (Striphas, 2009).

Any industry, whose commodity relies on copyright legislation for commercial exploitation and can be digitally reproduced, has experienced a "crisis of reproduction" in recent years (Leyshon, 2009, p.1311). The rise of software formats, most notably the MP3 audio format, which is a compression file and thus easily stored and copied, has led to two notable discourses: a "conservative, critical response founded in the existing social and technological hierarchies in the music industry"; and a more open, welcoming response from others who see the development as "a means to dismantle the industries hierarchy and power" (Leyshon, 2001, p.51). Those who seek to reduce the power of the big record companies, or the 'middle man', welcome the 'democratising' format as a means to a future where music will be produced anywhere, by anyone and consumed in many new ways, whereas record companies see the piracy issues as sounding the death-knell for their industry. The major record companies have made great efforts trying to stop piracy, although for some this activity is "likely only to displace rather than eradicate internet gift economies...leading to...a smaller (if more controlled) marketplace" (Currah, 2007, p.491).[4]

But what can we expect for book piracy if it should follow the path of the music industry? Warr and Goode (2011) examine the future for the music industry as three possible outcomes: a "good" future where the industry survives by taking advantage of practically zero-costs in distribution and promotion, and exploiting "co-creation of value" opportunities and on-line "brand communities"; a "bad" future where record companies eventually fail through ignoring new business methods and models such as better payment methods and subscription models, as well as ignoring consumers wants by continuing to use restrictive Digital Rights Management (DRM) tools; and an "ugly" future where the record industry faces a sudden decline and failure due to future expected advances in downloading technology which will enable even more

[4] Digital Rights Management (DRM) is the system used to track copyrighted software, but it is easily broken into by hackers. It is estimated that for every track legally downloaded online, twenty songs are being illegally downloaded from peer-to-peer networks with 90% of consumption in China being illegal (Wikström, 2009, p.101). The book industry is also concerned with piracy: there are continuing debates in both industries between the producers, whose concern is with future falling revenue and other industry experts who find that the majority of those who download illegally would never have paid in the first place. Some authors are wary of DRM and would prefer to see a more open approach to copyright so that their works can be disseminated more widely. Others believe that copyright laws should be changed in order to encourage competition and provide better rewards for the creators (Guardian, 2012d).

widespread piracy, especially amongst Generation Y. But who is likely to download books illegally and what kinds of books might be the victims? Dilmperi, King and Dennis (2011) find that younger people who listen to pop music are more likely to download music, prompting the authors to advise the industry to "channel investment towards supporting musicians and artists in other genres other than pop idols" (ibid, p.139). Therefore, it may be the case that certain genres of eBooks such as bestsellers will be more likely to be downloaded illegally.

Coupled with the move towards increasing availability and price reductions in digitised methods of consuming books, is the concept of socially connected consumption. Facebook's powers have been demonstrated by the success of its members' support of various campaigns as well as the many institutions that now link to this site. Authors may become successful through a social networking site and sell cheap eBooks direct to the public, thus bypassing the agent, publisher, printer, distributor and retailer. Literary culture has become popular culture and what used to be a "thoroughly private experience in which readers engaged in an intimate conversation with an author between the pages of a book has now become an exuberantly social activity" (Collins, 2010, p.4). A broad band of literature that examines mainly large retail, non-UK internet strategies exists. Doherty and Ellis-Chadwick's (2010) review of the role of electronic commerce in transforming the retail sector, finds that e-commerce has aided retailers by "broadening target markets, improving customer communications, extending product lines, improving cost-efficiency, enhancing customer relationships and delivering customised offerings" (ibid, p.375). There has also been much worldwide research conducted into the take-up and impact of a Clicks and Mortar (CAM) strategy by retailers, including: Berman and Thelen's (2004) US examination of the advantages, characteristics and problems associated with a multi-channel strategy; a Japanese/US study by Aoyama (2001) of differences in adoption strategies by countries; and the follow-up study by Aoyama and Schwarz (2004) of how e-commerce in Germany evolved as an extension of the longstanding tradition of mail-order. There has also been much Dutch research: Weltevreden and Atzema's (2006) study that showing that city centre retailers in larger cities are more likely to follow a CAM strategy than their counterparts in smaller cities; and Boschma & Weltevreden's (2008) study, which finds that e-commerce adaptation by retailers is influenced by "local critical demand", entrepreneurial and internet experience, as well as product specialisation, whilst "local rivalry" lowers the probability of adaptation.

Adopting a web presence may not be the only change required for bookshops. In the digital age, self-publication online and the possible widespread availability of print-on-demand (POD) kiosks might reduce the need for publishers and bricks and mortar (B&M) bookshops. However, the bookshop may still be required as a social space where book culture can occur and as a meeting place for authors and readers, where readers can still get good advice on books, meet

other like-minded people and print off a real hard copy at a POD kiosk (Young, 2007, p.161). Industry experts suggest several activities for bookstores to combat the threats of digitisation: in-store Wi-Fi cafes promoting the internet's store and digital content; in-store kiosks to sell downloads; creation of affiliate programs and networks of stores; internet direct marketing and customer management; and local print-on-demand and destiny / community stores to be created through authors blogs and reading groups (Daniels, 2006, p.94).

1.3 Death of the High Street?

Various non-government reports have tackled the state of the UK's high streets in recent years, often pitching the chains and the supermarkets against the independents, or global retailers against local retailers. The New Economics Foundation found that Britain's shopping streets are being taken over by chain stores that "have legal obligations to put the interests of investors first, and take decisions based in remote corporate headquarters, inherently removed from their local consequences" (NEF, 2010, p.2). The British Council of Shopping Centres (BCSC, 2007, 2010) found that a healthy high street should include "a reasonable balance of independent stores v. large multiples" and that high street diversity is created through "community involvement", whilst inclusion of institutional facilities such as libraries, health centres and housing improves resilience to recession. The Association of Convenience Stores (ResPublica, 2011) recommended that local communities become involved in making decisions about the kinds of retail they want, including owning retailers as co-operatives and running their own local shops. It also recognises that local independent retailers may require special economic supports such as business rate reductions, and should be encouraged to form mutual models in order to harness scale advantages. These reports have important points to make about how people feel about their local shopping areas and how they affect their communities. Statistics such as "90 per cent of spending from supermarkets and chain stores leaks out of the local economy almost immediately" (NEF, 2010, p.10), also tie in with some communities' efforts to retain money within the local community by creating their own currency, such as the Lewes pound (Lewes Pound, 2011).

But how does independent bookselling fit with current popular political concepts of "resilient communities", the "Big Society", and individual well-being as measured by "flourishing" and "achievement of capabilities" (Jackson, 2010; Norman, 2010)? With the Department for Business Innovation & Skills' 2011 forecast (BIS, 2011) that the UK's total retail sales were set to grow by 12%, yet town centre sales were forecast to decline from 43.3% in 2009 to 40.2% in 2014, government strategies have been put in place to try and help the high streets combat this decline. Within the BIS (2011) report, the high street is seen as not purely about making

purchases but a place that "serves a social function", a place for "leisure, culture and specialist shopping" (ibid, p.xi). However, this report also finds that "the evidence for the contribution a healthy high street might make to local community well-being is seen as limited" (ibid, p.iv). Additionally, it also seems to signal that B&M bookshops are simply not viable in the face of large online retailers such as Amazon, and eBooks:

> However, as well as the natural replacement of redundant retail propositions over the last 10 years, specialist retailers, many independently owned, have been affected by the success of the 'product aggregators', as exemplified by growth over the period of the major grocery chains and online by Amazon and others. Some retailers, such as the entertainment brands, have perished as the digital delivery of their product superseded sales of the physical product; in addition to ferocious competition from purely on-line retailers such as Apple's iTunes; a fate that may soon befall booksellers, as the success of eBooks, particularly through Amazon's Kindle, demonstrates. In essence, some business models are now outdated and are no longer viable in their historic form, whether it be in the high street, shopping centre or out of town. (BIS, 2011, p.36)

The retail plans that have arisen since the BIS (2011) report have made special provisions for both the independent sector and local needs, with strategies laid out to enable local high streets manage and decide their own fates through "Town Teams" and "Super-Bids". Recognition that diversity in retail is important for resilience, there must be improvements in business rates for small retailers, and the encouragement of town centre retail development alongside easier change of use for properties, are all identified in these high profile initiatives (Portas, 2011; RetailStrategy, 2013a, 2013b). The social and cultural aspects of shopping are re-emphasised, this time in conjunction with the need to evolve in order to survive:

> …but the town centre is no longer just about shopping – it is about socialising, entertainment, services, and culture. Successful towns know and nurture this. This is not about the high street versus out-of-town, or the internet. High streets and town centres must change and evolve to compete - and in some cases to survive. (RetailStrategy, 2013b, p.10)

However, once again, independent bookshops seem to be written off as entities that can survive in their own right: it is suggested they be incorporated into large brand coffee shops (Portas, 2011, p.45). Nevertheless, multi-channel retail is seen as the future for all retailers, both big and small, and there has been recognition that the smaller retailers need help in competing against the might of the online giants, with the "Open High Street" pilot trialling an eCommerce platform for ten independent retailers in Hereford (Telegraph, 2012).

Whilst the government *is* concerned with the health of the high street and has put strategies in place to help it survive, for the bookshop sector, some would suggest deeper government intervention. Book industry expert Andre Schiffrin (2010) finds that for other cultural industries such as music, theatre, dance, and even cinema, "most countries have long accepted that public support is essential and not-for-profit structures necessary" (ibid, p.xvi*).* In Norway, along with government support for a diverse press and less popular movie screenings through many municipally-owned theatres, small independent publishers are supported by the purchase of a minimum amount of their output, to be housed at libraries throughout the country. France helps its independent bookshops by subsidising their rents by half and continues to maintain the Loi Lang, a law which curbs discounting of books (ibid, p. 46). One region of France, Poteau Charente, has pledged 1.5 million euros over three years to help cultural independent bookshops, that is, those who make 40% of their sales from backlists (ibid, p.51).

The introduction of this new retail planning outlook that incorporates an emphasis on healthy town centres has also been driven by various planning reports and academic research in recent years. The consequence of the concentration of capital in the food retail sector was a tightening of retail planning regulations, as noted by interventions from the Competition Commission in 2000, 2007 and 2008, and in response to market dominance and pressure from various academic reports (Burt and Sparks, 2003), pressure group reports such as the National Federation of Sub Postmasters (All-Party Parliamentary Small Shops Group, 2005), reports by the New Economics Foundation (NEF, 2002, 2005), and popular books (Simms, 2007; Monbiot, 2001). A competition test would favour new entrants to the market and town-centres were prioritised as shopping areas as applications for out-of-town centre developments were regarded more strictly. However, claims have since been made that the new planning regulations, the form of which was influenced by the major retailers, instead of achieving their stated aims of promoting sustainable, regenerative and socially inclusive developments and developing consumer choice through a wider range of shopping experiences, "tended to channel [large] retailers into creating more flexible formats for expansion" (Clarke & Banga, 2010, p.197), mainly due to poor understandings by planners of the larger retailers strategies and thus causing small shop closures. Other studies suggest a less clear link between large retail openings and closures of small shops. Wrigley et al (2009) corroborate the Competition Commission's findings that, despite popular belief, not *all* UK independent traders are necessarily adversely affected by the openings of large food retailers. However, the results show that some traders *are* affected, and no clear pattern was found for independent booksellers. More recently, research by Wrigley and Dolega (2011) showed that high street resilience to the recession is partially explained by those areas whose "retail unit compositions in the pre-crisis period were characterised by the

"diversity" offered by higher proportions of small independent specialist stores", amongst other factors (ibid, p.2352).

The government strategy reports, such as Portas (2011) and RetailStrategy (2013a, 2013b), emphasise the social and cultural role that high streets and town centres must take. But what literature do we have that examines the social and cultural aspects of retail in the UK? In fact, there is very little literature available. Coca-Stefaniak et al (2005) find that whilst studies have shown that there "is a social need" for local independent shops, the problem is that "services that are socially desirable are not always economically desirable" (ibid, p.359). Clarke and Banga's (2010) literature review shows that while much is known about the many valuable social services independents provide, less is known about their economic role in the community. Megicks (2007) and Megicks and Warnaby (2008) suggest Government help smaller retailers recognise and promote their specialisation and differentiation points, as this would then help local economies. US research into the dynamics of customer patronage of an in-town small retailer versus using the out-of-town, more price competitive large retailer, has shown that "significant retailer value, in the minds of consumers, derives from the retailer being a place for congregation and community interaction" (Landry, Arnold & Start, 2005, p.71). More recently, Hall (2011, 2012, 2013) reduces the dearth of independent retail literature, writing extensively on adaptations, alternative ways of valuing, and super diversity of shops in two high streets in London.

1.4 What do we know about Bookshops?

Whilst there has been some UK research on workers and practices within chain bookshops (Stallard, 2000; Wright, 2005a, 2005b), there has been no research on UK independent bookshops, yet we do have some limited literature from other countries. Independent bookshops in Australia are often located on local high streets away from larger stores and their points of difference are framed by location, flexible design and layout, larger inventory including local cultural interests, and personalised service (Li, 2010). Lena (2005) tells the story of a Singaporean indie, which specialised in Southeast Asian books, as one of constant struggle with administration issues, bureaucracy, discounting wars, institutional outsourcing of book orders to non-indies, and a Eurocentric mind-set amongst institutions, both at home and abroad. In the US, Miller paints independent booksellers as "reluctant capitalists" who are "devoted to books for their own sake rather than as a means to acquire monetary reward" (Miller, 2007, p.165). The indies' importance as a vital cultural and community presence in the high street is highly publicised through the media, particularly in lifestyle articles in the broadsheets. Small retailers cannot compete with the large retailers in a number of areas: buying power; price setting; own

branding; new product development; supply chain efficiencies; and sophisticated location assessment procedures (Clarke & Banga, 2010, p.196). Faced with the power of the large retailers, the independents' best hope therefore is to band together to form clubs or networks, such as the horizontal alliances found amongst small food retailers in Brazil (Flávia et al, 2008). In Australia, independent buying groups, such as Leading Edge Books, provide support for the independent bookshops through workshops and conferences, as well as better buying power through group purchasing, access to discounts and marketing campaigns (Li, 2010). In the US, independents have used the umbrella organisation 'The American Booksellers Association' to brand their identity through marketing campaigns such as "Book Sense" and more recently, "Indiebound" (Miller, 2007, p.184).

Books themselves are symbolic goods and bookshop workers can be seen as cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1984), that is, workers who are involved in the production and circulation of symbolic goods and services. Wright (2005a) examines this contested concept for chain bookshop workers, finding that these workers differentiate themselves from other workers in an attempt "to shore up their insecure position as cultural workers" (ibid, p.113). Wright (2005b) further finds that the embodied cultural capital of chain bookshop workers, in the form of stratified aesthetic and emotional capital, "implicate the bookshop as a site in which hierarchies of cultural value are produced and reinforced" (ibid, p.295). We also know that in the US, book consumption can become a political act on behalf of the common good: citizens have been mobilised, sometimes through bookshop owners themselves and sometimes through local community members, to preserve existing independents through fund-raising, with these efforts seen as "helping to solidify a local identity" (Miller, 2007, p.211). However, Miller (2007) also finds that often these consumers go back to buying from Amazon. This finding perhaps tallies with Devinney et al (2010), who find that most consumers are actually price sensitive and will stop short of paying extra for ethical goods at the cash till, in contrast to the large numbers who say they would pay extra in opinion polls and surveys. Certainly, downward pricing shifts due to digitisation and eCommerce may be having an impact on book consumer decisions, and therefore the fortunes of the UK's indies.

1.5 The Research Aims & Objectives

The broad aim of this research is to fill the gap in UK independent bookshop retail research using a mixed-methods approach, under a theoretical framework of economic sociology, thus broadening our limited and mainly US-specific understanding of the independent bookshop market to include the UK context, particularly the effects of free pricing, online shopping and the advent of new technologies. This was achieved through three main objectives. First, an

understanding of the logic of the UK field of independent bookselling and how it is influenced to change was achieved through interviews with independent booksellers, ethnography over three years at a bookshop, participant observation at key industry events, and the analysis of various pertinent industry literature. Second, the changing economic geographies of the UK's independent bookshops were examined by statistical analysis and mapping of bookshop location data between 2001 and 2011. This date range was not purposively selected as particularly significant. Rather, the range was based on availability of free bookshop data received from the BA. The project budget could not afford to buy data that might have enabled analysis of a much longer time frame, and which might have included periods when significant market changes occurred, such as the collapse of the NBA in 1997. Nevertheless, this time period is interesting as it coincides with the economic downturn and the rise of the digital economy and Amazon. The economics and geographies of independent bookshops was also examined through interviews with booksellers. The bookshop interview sample ensured that besides representing a wide variety of location and bookshop types, bookshops were selected that fitted with the periods of interest: 2001 to 2011 and the 1997 collapse of the NBA. Bookshops were selected: that had been open since before the NBA; that had opened since 2001; and that had recently opened or closed. The third objective of this research was to examine the adaptations booksellers are making, in response to changed market conditions. This was achieved through interviews with booksellers, ethnography at a bookshop, attendance at bookshop events, key industry events, and interviews with bookshop customers. A wide variety of independent booksellers was selected for interview in order to uncover any differences in practices that might be occurring, by location, type, or longevity in the business. The major questions this research therefore poses are:

1) What is the logic of the field of independent bookselling and how is it influenced to change?
2) What are the temporal, changing socio-economic geographies of the UK's independent bookshops, between 2001 and 2011?
3) How are independent bookshops in the UK adapting to the threats they face, and why are they choosing these adaptations, or not?

The market for selling books is currently undergoing enormous transformations: both valued indies *and* chains are closing; the book itself is being re-born in exciting new digital forms; a single, global retailer has come to dominate the market; and the publishers are concentrating into 'super publishers', whose business models are oriented towards "Big Books" (Thompson, 2010). This thesis takes as its epistemological basis that markets are socially constructed and it seeks to apply such a perspective to the transformations noted above. Chapter two examines the major theoretical frameworks used to answer the research questions: Bourdieu's (2011b) field

theory, and two new theories that help explicate market change, Beckert's (2010) reciprocal influences theory, and Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) strategic action field theory. Field theory has been used across a number of sociological sub-disciplines since the mid-20th century, including organisation theory, social movement theory, cultural and consumption theory, and market theory. It is only recently however that scholars have attempted to pull together all these various strands into one coherent framework (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The master scholar of field theory is Bourdieu: this chapter examines some of his vast body of work in setting out how any arena of social life, including indie bookselling, can be viewed as a field containing agents who struggle to compete, each endowed with differing resources. Field theory is not a fully defined theory: some critics find the fact that Bourdieu's concepts can be fuzzy or 'open' a great difficulty, yet others see this as a great strength. This chapter explores some of the difficulties researchers face when utilising the concepts of field, doxa, habitus and capital. In particular, the use of the various forms of cultural capital is often confusing and sometimes lacking in theoretical robustness. Economic sociologists are interested in what causes change, and as such the incredible transformations the indie bookselling, general retail and publishing markets are currently undergoing can be explored using two relatively new theories of market change: Beckert (2010) emphasises the reciprocal influences between institutions, cognitive frames and social networks; whilst Fligstein & McAdam (2012) emphasise the role socially skilled strategic actors play in driving forward collective action, through shared meaning making, that can produce change.

The mixed methodology used to answer my research questions is set out in chapter three. Bookshop location data, which was received from the Booksellers Association, and was restricted to the years 2001 to 2011, allowed for a statistical analysis and mapping, in order to understand the locations and varieties of indies, and the socio-economics of those locations. Additionally, an ethnography was conducted over a two year period in an indie bookshop, in order to fully immerse myself in the world of bookselling, a series of in-depth interviews was conducted with forty indie booksellers of many types and locations across England, eleven customers at a single bookshop were interviewed, and various literature was analysed. This chapter examines: the ontological and epistemological bases for the methods chosen and their limitations; the validity of using a mixed method approach; the methods used for sampling; the validity of the data collected; how the qualitative data was analysed; and the position of the researcher.

Chapters four, five, and six detail the results of my research. Chapter four examines the changing geographies of the independent bookshops between 2001 and 2011 and their daily struggles, set amidst a shrinking field that is restructuring to suit high volume online retail: the indies reduced in numbers by 16% in this time period. Additionally, indie booksellers are now

expected to carry out many more practices in order to survive; practices that require new skills and extra labour, which is particularly difficult for the sole trader, and which are uncertain in outcome as there is no guarantee of a return on labour expended. Disintermediation, deep discounting, the economic downturn, rising costs and falling footfall are forcing shops that have survived many changes of fortune over many years, to close. Where once there was probably an indie in every town and on every high street in the UK, they are now likely to be concentrating in wealthier, regenerating and touristic areas. Additionally, the 66% increase in independent bookshop deserts is likely to be associated with poorer, non-tourist and non-destination shopping areas.

Chapter five examines the new practices required of the indies in detail. What are the new capital requirements for the indies as they struggle to remain in the market by: running events; selling non-book products; creating web presences; selling eBooks; and attracting customers through new social media and marketing campaigns? Various forms of capital that are now key to an indie's success with these new practices are examined: social capital, bookseller capital, technical, commercial, aesthetic, emotional and symbolic capital all play a role, in conjunction with the newly required 'engaged capitalist' habitus. It is likely that there are as many forms of cultural capital as there are practices. Therefore, a new method of thinking about those various forms is put forward: each being seen as a disposition within the habitus, which, when used in conjunction with both embodied and objectified technical capital, achieves the aim of the practice. As the market transforms, hysteresis of habitus (Bourdieu, 2011b), is examined as a 'new breed' of engaged capitalists begins to replace the 'old breed' of "reluctant capitalists" (Miller, 2007), and the habitus is found to be a transposable site of both agency and creativity. Additionally, this chapter argues that both social and symbolic capital have increased in importance for the subordinated indies as they struggle to deliver all the new practices required of them.

Chapter six examines some alternatives measures of finding value in low turnover, non-shareholding, and sometimes financially unviable, small bookshop retail. This chapter explores the common ways different kinds of independent bookshops in multiple location types provide embodied social value to local communities that enhance human flourishing, and those communities' attempts to preserve that value. This chapter argues that the indies are vital in providing social connectivity, meaning and engagement within diverse, local communities. The indies provide value through: the everyday, myriad interactions that occur in their spaces through social, cultural and political events; the opportunities they present for serendipitous book discovery that is rooted in the physical; the extraordinary diversity of book curatorship and knowledge they provide; and the opportunities they give for like-minded people to meet and share ideas. This chapter also examines the 'conscious consumption' practices of indie goers, as

they battle to save their valued indies by paying full price, volunteering, crowd funding, creating community bookshops, and petitioning for a level playing field between players in the market.

Finally, chapter seven summarises my research findings with regard to theory, retail literature, policy, future research suggestions, and it contributes a speculative section on new technologies and the bookshop in terms of their position within our surveillant and sousveillant society.

Chapter 2: The Social Construction of Markets

Men who have created new fruits in the world cannot create a system whereby their fruits may be eaten. And the failure hangs over the State like a great sorrow...and in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage.

The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck

2.1 Introduction

In recent years capital and its manifestation in free market capitalism has probably never been so debated, either academically or publicly. Modern capitalism has seen a number of significant and ongoing events that drive this debate: the late 1970's worldwide turn towards neoliberal economic practices that included privatisation, withdrawal of states from social provision, and deregulation of markets, in particular, the liberalisation of financial markets (Harvey, 2006); the increasing concentration of capital in a relatively small number of large, global firms; the consumer move towards a moralisation of various markets (Stehr, Henning & Weiler, 2010); the devastating global financial crisis of 2008; and the subsequent growth of world-wide anti-capitalist social movements such as *Occupy*.

Academics from many differing fields have made severe critiques of capitalism and widely-held beliefs that its ability to increase wealth for all is sufficient. Wilkinson & Pickett's (2010) argument that the rise in income inequality across mainly Western, neoliberal countries has a correlation with health and social problems is much debated. The 'austerity cuts' reaction of highly neo-liberalised states to the 2008 economic disaster, which originated in a risk-taking, short-sighted, highly liberalised and financially rewarding financial sector, has led one academic to state that, "a basic principle of modern state capitalism is that costs and risks are socialized to the extent possible, while profit is privatized" (Chomsky, 2010, p.114).[5] Even before the 2008 crash scholars were arguing against capitalism. Sennett (2006) argued that the culture of the new corporate capitalism, where downsizing, re-organisation and outsourcing had become the

[5] Indeed, Chomsky (2011a) finds that contrary to popular doctrine, free markets are not as free as the public might assume: state expenditure relative to GDP by the US and UK, and other wealthy, largely Western states is higher than in other states; and, even orthodox economic sources agree that the last twenty five years has seen a sustained assault on free markets by these same countries through restrictive measures on trade with other countries, which is perhaps particularly exampled by Reagan's protectionist policies, and state-subsidised development of profitable industries such as high tech under the guise of military development.

norm, was causing a psychological crisis of purposelessness amongst workers. Gray's (2009) pessimistic re-working of his 1998 prediction of a global crisis, argues that with the current inability of states to agree a political solution, only intelligent use of future technical fixes holds the key to solving the world's market-driven problems. Then, in an ironic and somewhat unexpected turn of events, a highly-publicised number one bestselling book on global profit-taker and tax avoider Amazon's bestseller list for 2014 was a critique, by a French economist (Piketty, 2014), of capital's hand in the rise of worldwide inequality, that also called for the progressive taxation of all capital as a solution.

What of the consumer and community in all this individualization, marketization and privatisation of everything? The general public has most likely become more aware that not all adhere to a doxic belief in the free-market: the graffiti artist Banksy's very public art often critiques neo-liberal capitalism; the popular cartoon *South Park* aired an episode in 2004 that critiques capitalist production of 'false-needs' consumerism based on lowering of prices founded in cheap labour exploitation (South Park, 2004); and the academy award-winning movie *Inside Job* (2010), explored the 2008 financial collapse and the continuing inability of the US government to make any fundamental changes to how the financial sector operates, as a function of the corrupt relationship between Washington and Wall Street. The attempt by corporations to redress the balance through corporate social responsibility programmes is seen by some as not solving the problem, which is capitalism itself: Žižek (2009) critiques programmes such as Fair-trade, where consumers attempt to solve problems of poverty and inequality through the very act of consumption, as simply prolonging the disease of today's cultural capitalism rather than fixing the problem. Nevertheless, some academic work has examined the concept of community social resilience, in the face of this neoliberal era, as possible for individuals through social connectivity, and for communities and organisations through: opposition, adaption or innovative responses to shock, although local community efforts can be hampered by their capacities; the maintenance of existing, resilient, local and culturally-based institutions; and labour organisation (Hall & Lamont, 2013).

Amidst this global questioning of whether modern capitalism is actually fit for purpose, and what that purpose should be, the bookselling market has changed rapidly, particularly with the advent of: a market rule change; the rise of global, profit-seeking, capital-concentrating corporations; and the rapid proliferation of new technologies that have changed the way books are produced, marketed, distributed, and consumed. It is likely that the pursuit of capital accumulation, enabled by advances in technology and deregulation, has led to the current market scene, where independent booksellers continue to lose the tiny market share they still hold, and many popular B&M chain bookshops have recently closed.

Economic sociology takes as its basis that since social reality is constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1991), markets are also socially constructed. Additionally, whilst classical economists tend to be concerned with where the economy is going or what changes might emerge, economic sociologists are concerned with understanding which changes occur by first understanding how change comes about (Dobbin, 2007). In order to understand how change has and is occurring in the bookselling market, my research uses field theory as its theoretical framework. Field approaches to economic sociology have variously conceptualised markets as: structured fields wherein individual actors struggle to defend or improve their position according to their capital possession and dispositions (Bourdieu, 2011); strategic action fields where socially skilled actors enable collective action that is fuelled by a common desire for shared meaning making (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012); and fields wherein the reciprocal influences between social networks, institutions and actor's cognitive frames explain diverse economic outcomes (Beckert, 2010). Common across these differing field perspectives are attempts to describe the shapers of action in markets, variously described as norms, cultural preferences, cognitive frames, assumptions, dispositions, and shared meaning making. Also central to these sociological approaches to understanding action in markets is the idea that economic actors are not purely rational, self-interested, predictable, or endowed with perfect knowledge. Market decisions are not morally neutral (Stehr, Henning, Weiler, 2010), and market outcomes are not always passively accepted: particular social values or special interests may lead to re-organisation of markets (Meyer & Bromley, 2013).

Section 2.2 examines various theoretical approaches to examining economic geographies and the reasoning behind the selection of field theory as the framework for my research. Any examination of a field must first construct its boundaries and its structure. Bourdieu's conceptual, relational toolbox of habitus, capital, practice and doxa enable this field construction, and this chapter examines their inter-relationality as well as their theoretical and practical difficulties. Section 2.3 examines the issues involved in defining fields, their logic, and how doxa work to confirm the 'naturalness' of an agent's dominance in a field. Section 2.4 examines how capital and habitus work together to create position in the field. This section also examines the habitus as a particular site of interest for fields that are undergoing change: both as a site for adaptation and the hysteresis effect (Bourdieu, 2011b). Bourdieu's concepts are explored in terms of their depth of explanation, use and critique**.** Finally, section 2.5 examines market change through the lens of field theory: Beckert's (2010) attempt to include institutional and social network theories within a reciprocal influences, field theory framework, and Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) attempt to develop field theory in new directions that might overcome Bourdieu's failure to engage with collective action in and across fields.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Economic Geography

Runyan & Droge's (2008) review of more than twenty years of research on small, independent retailers finds that "overall, this body of research is characterized by lack of theory and poor construct conceptualization: there is a dearth of theoretical underpinning to much of the research" (ibid, p.89). Additionally, retail research has tended to take an either/or methodological and theoretical approach that examines larger retail only. Many quantitative-only studies exist (Wrigley, Branson, Murdock & Clarke, 2009; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011), and interpretative, theoretical examinations of consumer culture in supermarkets and large department stores also exist (Falk & Campbell, 1997). One mixed methods approach has been the examination of consumption practices and identity in a particular UK shopping mall (Miller et al, 2005). Wrigley & Lowe's (2002) examination of the geographies of retail research examines differing 'readings' of both economic and cultural consumption spaces such as large supermarkets, shopping malls, the street (but for branded chain stores only), and even the home. In fact there is very little UK research that examines small, independent retail, the exception being Hall (2011, 2012, 2013), and there is none that examines the economic geographies of small retail using a mixed methods approach.

Orthodox approaches to examining economic markets that rely on perfect, market equilibrium accounts, tend to be deterministic, disallowing any examination of actor motivations that seeks to understand the world as inhabited by actors who do not conform to the simplistic notion of the rationalistic 'economic man', who is dis-embedded from society. Polyani (2001) argued that market society is a modern, socially dis-embedded invention, as pre-industrial societies relied on redistribution, reciprocity and householding (instituted as redistribution, reciprocity & exchange in modern societies (Polyani, 2011)), all of which were based on social relationships. He further argued the "double movement", whereby modern laissez faire markets "subordinate the substance of society itself to the laws of the market" (ibid, p.75), which necessitates society to protect itself from the "fictitious commodification" of land, labour and money. Adam Smith (2008) had argued that embeddedness in pre-industrial societies was not substantially different to modern market societies, and more recently, the new institutional economists have argued that "behaviour and institutions previously interpreted as embedded in earlier societies, as well as in our own, can be better understood as resulting from the pursuit of self-interest by rational, more or less atomized individuals" (Granovetter, 2011, p.23) However, Granovetter (2011) finds that whilst levels of embeddedness of economic behaviour is lower in non-market societies than the substantivists might claim, and also higher in modern market societies than the economists might claim, most economic behaviour in markets is embedded in networks of interpersonal relationships. For Fligstein (2001, p.3), "market society has produced more

income, wealth, goods, and services than any other form of social organization", yet traditional accounts of achieving perfect equilibrium in new markets via competition and efficiency are "partial at best" as they ignore the involvement of social actors such as governments, firms, managers and workers.

Economic geography moved away from traditional economic analysis in the mid-eighties, and began using insights from social, cultural and political sciences, otherwise known as the cultural or institutional turn (Boschma & Frenken, 2006). The institutional approach states that economic differences are accounted for by differences in organizational routines and business cultures across firms, and differences in legal frameworks, informal rules, policies, values and norms across territories. In the nineties, the new economic geography, developed by Krugman as an application of neoclassical economics in economic geography, is a "micro-economic theory that explains the existence and persistence of agglomerations in terms of rational decisions of economic agents" (ibid, p.275). For Boschma & Frenken (2006), these two approaches, which developed independently of each other, differ fundamentally, and reflect two incommensurabilities in their methodological approach and conceptualisation of space, and in their underlying behavioural assumptions. First, whilst the new economic geographers often start from 'neutral space' through using formal modelling that assumes utility maximisation, representative agents and equilibrium analysis, institutional economic geographers often use case-studies set in 'real' and specific places. Second, whilst the new economic geographers use the utility-maximising actions of individual agents to explain geographical patterns in economic activity, institutional economic geographers assume that economic behaviour is better understood as being guided by rules where agents are bounded rationally by the institutions they operate in, and these institutions are "embedded in geographically localized practices, which imply that localities ('real places') are the relevant unit of analysis" (ibid, p.277). Nevertheless, arguments have been made for an approach that does not perpetuate a false and unproductive dualism between different economic geographies (Plummer & Sheppard, 2001).

Still, Martin and Sunley (2007) find that the traditional economic emphasis on tracking "ineluctable movement of an abstract economy, in abstract time, to some ex ante equilibrium state" (ibid, p.537), fails to show how the real economy evolves through real time, or explain uneven geographical growth, or even grasp capital's need for constant flux. Indeed, Harvey (2010) finds that capital itself *requires* uneven geographical development, or indeed *this is* exactly what capitalism is. Since the mid-noughties, in a bid to compensate for the failure of neo-classical economic geography to explain unequal geographical economic growth and its history of limiting any dynamics to tracking tendencies towards equilibrium, evolutionary economic geography has developed from concepts rooted in evolutionary biology. This set of

concepts owes much of its early origins to Schumpeterian (1996) ideas that economic equilibrium is destroyed by innovative entrepreneurs. Nelson & Winter (1982) found that firms evolve by *natural selection* in the market by gaining competitive advantage through innovation or early adoption, and that these firms are driven by goals to maximise profit, through both *inheritance* and the "appearance of variation under the stimulus of adversity" (ibid, p.11), particularly technological change. Boschma & Frenken (2006) argue that evolutionary economic geography is a third approach to economic geography and different to neoclassical and institutional approaches as it provides an alternative explanation for agglomeration and regional growth differences by opening up the black-box of organisations in order to examine the evolution over time of organisations' routines and decision-making. Organizational routines, that is, experience knowledge and tacit knowledge, render organizations heterogeneous and this variety drives competition through innovation. Most firms however, are reproducer organisations, their routines can be both adaptive and maladaptive, and they can be can be radically disrupted by innovator organizations. Changing routines are an outcome of firms learning from mistakes through trial-and error, and searching for new routines through R&D and networking. *Selection* occurs as market competition embraces 'smart' routines and rejects 'stupid' routines. More recently, *path dependence* (Martin & Sunley, 2006), and *hysteresi*s and *resilience* (Martin, 2011), have been proposed as concepts that help with understanding how regions evolve and handle shocks such as the economic recession.

Critical realism has been popularised by Tony Lawson (1997), a critic of mainstream economics, in a bid to connect economic researchers more closely to real-life subjects of study, and by Andrew Sayer (2011), as a practical position between the unknowable world of post-modernism and the totally knowable world of positivism. Critical realism is based on a depth-realist ontology such that there is a knowable world external to actors, but it also distinguishes between three domains: the real, which is whatever objects exist whether they be natural such as rocks or social such as causal structures; the actual, which refers to that which happens when the powers of those objects are activated; and the empirical, which refers to the experience of both the real and the actual (Sayer, 2011). Lawson (1997) calls for economists to examine their own ontologies in order to ensure a better match between what they claim as reality and the methods used to discover that reality. Lawson (1997, 2006) accepts Giddens' duality of structure as well as Bourdieu's concept of habitus. He also criticises the straightforward use of biological evolution in economic studies for not paying enough detail to the nature of the object of study, as this will have implications for how it can be studied, and he asks if it is at all ontologically sound to "abduct from biology into social theory" (2006, p.111): evolutionary economics based on natural selection alone is not sufficient to explain all (social) objects of examination and any model borrowed from another science should be "tailored to context" (ibid, p.139).

The naturalness of 'evolution' is often evoked by media and industry commentators when analysing the closure of retailers who have been disintermediated by new technologies. This points to a kind of determinism in evolutionary discourse which says that nothing can be done by market actors: when evolutionary 'forces' are at work, only the fittest shall survive. But is technology-driven change determinist? Brette's (2003) analysis of Veblen's (1990) theory of institutional change argues that technological change is not teleological. Institutional change is the unpredictable outcome of interaction between: instinctive factors, which can remain "in the genetic inheritance of the population in a latent state so that, if the material and institutional environment allows it, it will be able to express itself again, or even recover its dominant position" (ibid, p.470); institutional factors, which include resistance to change and the *unpredictable* internal logics of institutions; and technical factors. Veblen (1990) was of the opinion that economic systems do not tend towards equilibrium, rather they evolve under the interaction of institutional logics, societal instincts and new technologies. Indeed as Chomsky (1991, 2011b) points out, it is how technology, which is essentially neutral, is developed and used by our institutions, that is the important question in examining today's technology-driven markets: much of today's information technology was funded by the US state under the guise of military research, in order to control profits.

Nevertheless, the evolutionary economics approach was used as a framework for analysis throughout my data collection period as it held some explanatory promise, particularly in the light of the many innovations that were and are still shaking up the bookselling industry: the bookselling market could be seen as one beset by environmental shocks from innovative new competitor Amazon, where local resilience and adaption to the new market scene was required to survive. However, as deeper analysis progressed, I found that whilst my data fitted well with several of the evolutionary concepts, elements of field theory allowed for deeper analysis, in particular: the agentic aspects of the adaptive habitus in explaining innovation; how agents interpret and influence markets through cognitive framing; the developing and highly useful capital concept, which I could add to; and the concept of collective action that is not always driven by pure self-interest or survival of the fittest. On this last point however, I feel that evolutionary economics could be expanded to explain market action that is driven by an interest in the 'common good', by adopting some other evolutionary concepts: De Waal (2009), who is a leader in the field of primate studies, would argue that economic theorists miss out on a fundamental trait of evolution, that of *empathy*, which builds on proximity, similarity, familiarity and co-operation; and Nowak (2012) uses mathematical and biological modelling to suggest that it is *co-operation* not competition that is key to the overall survival of the human race. Additionally, there should be scope for joining these two sets of theories together: there is

no doubt that markets, as fields populated by agentic actors with differing resources, dispositions and interests, evolve over time and under conditions that can be explicated through use of developing evolutionary concepts.

2.3 Fields

The concept of field arose independently across a number of sociological sub fields from the mid-20th century onwards: Fligstein & McAdam (2012, p.211-212) trace the history of field theory in organisational theory from 1960's "rational adaptation" to the later "new institutionalism" that accounted for social constructionism. At the same time, social movement researchers were examining fields of formal social movement organisation such as women's rights and the environment, Bourdieu (2010) was building on the field concept in his seminal book on lifestyles, *Distinction*, and research into the sociology of markets was also using the concept (Fligstein, 1990). Yet, whilst these differing research streams were all based on the concept of field, they had developed in isolation from each other until comparatively recently, and some scholars continue to emphasise a preference for one or the other, rather than the shared, underlying concepts. Fligstein & McAdam (2012) find that the diversity of cases of field studies implies that "many of us are engaged in the clarification of a theoretical construct of great general utility…[that] Bourdieu is as responsible for situating action in fields as any scholar… [and that] his theoretical apparatus is one of the most developed" (ibid, p.24). Bourdieu invites us to consider the modern social world as made up of many differentiated yet overlapping fields, such as academic, political, religious, publishing, bookselling, etc., with each field being integrated around:

1) Some particular stakes and commitment to the value of those stakes
2) A structured set of positions
3) A set of strategic and competitive orientations
4) A set of agents endowed with resources and dispositions
   (Warde, 2004, p.13)

Any field is a structured space of positions and strategies taken by agents with a shared interest, unequal, varying resources, and relative power, who struggle to either maintain or increase their position by preserving or transforming the field (Bourdieu, 1998, p.40). For Bourdieu (2009), all fields are subfields of the field of power, that is, economics and politics (ibid, p.39). Any field may also have its own hierarchy of subfields within fields, and fields may be completely autonomous or they may be highly interrelated. For example, Bourdieu maps the literary and artistic field as being dominated by the field of power whilst at the same time, holding a dominating position in the field of class relations (Bourdieu, 2009, p.38). Yet, within the literary

and artistic field itself there exists a hierarchy from box-office agents, whose interests clearly ally with the field of power, to autonomous agents, who only produce for other producers, showing a disinterest in profit, or the opposite to the interests of the field that dominates it: the economic field (ibid, p.39).

In attempting to define the economic social space, Bourdieu (1985) specifically called for a "break" with: privileging group definitions over group relationships; reducing the multi-dimensional space of the social field to a solely economic field; and the "objectivism that… leads one to ignore the symbolic struggles…and the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields" (ibid, p.723). His concept of the economy as a field is that of a structure of actual and potential relations where "agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space" (ibid, p.724).Thus, the position of any agent within a social space is defined by the agent's position within a number of fields such as economics, the arts, education or politics.

Each field also has its own logic and there are two at work in any trade for symbolic goods: the quest for short term profits; and the rejection of material profit in favour of the accumulation of cultural capital; which represents the "permanent state of contradiction" (Wright, 2005a, p.113), of the publishing and retail bookselling fields. Also within each field are a set of practices carried out by agents, who are not merely automatons following field rules. Bourdieu's (2011a) aim is to understand practices in terms of a bridge between a limited, objectivist structuralist standpoint and a limited, subjective standpoint. His (2011a) study of Kabyle society leads him to see that these views alone cannot account for the temporal and strategic aspects of gift exchange and honour amongst the population. The myriad responses to gift-giving that the combination of time and strategy can allow for, along with the uncertainties of outcomes until they are reached, is at odds with a purely objectivist or a purely subjectivist view. Under Bourdieu's view therefore, practices are located in time, they are unconscious, strategic, dispositional, do not strictly follow rules or norms, and they are uncertain in outcome.

There is also an active distribution of power within any field. These powers exist as several forms of capital and agents are distributed within social space according to the volume and composition of their capital. Bourdieu (2011b) defines the economic field as that of a field of struggles between agents with differing resources and positions:

> The field of forces is also a field of struggles, a socially constructed field of action in which agents equipped with different resources confront each other in order to gain access to exchange and to preserve or transform the currently prevailing relation of force. Firms undertake actions there which depend, for their ends and effectiveness, on

> their position in the field of forces, that is to say, in the structure of capital in all its species (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.199).

Those in a dominant position in the field seek to reproduce that position yet, new agents, technologies and increases in market share can alter positions within the field for all (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.202).

Doxa is the set of fundamental beliefs, or rules of the game, about any field that go unchallenged: they are the taken-for-granted assumptions agents make about their position and their habitus within a field. Deer (2011) finds that doxa, "as a symbolic form of power, requires that those who are subjected to it do not question its legitimacy and the legitimacy of those who exert it", and that doxa "determines the stability of the objective social structures through the way these are reproduced and reproduce themselves in a social agent's perceptions and practices" (ibid, p.121). Conforming to the rules of the game becomes a 'natural' part of the habitus and challenges to these rules can only occur during times of crisis. Yet, these crises may not necessarily produce critical discourses, as where the subordinated have a vested interest in bringing to light "the arbitrariness of the taken for granted", the dominant are interested in "defending the integrity of doxa or, short of this, of establishing in its place the necessarily imperfect substitute, orthodoxy" (Bourdieu, 2011a, p.169). Doxa is to be distinguished from heterodox or orthodox beliefs, which imply "awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs" (Bourdieu, 2011a, p.164). Doxa, therefore, means the acceptance of the arbitrariness of a social order which can go unquestioned. In modern societies, when the social order is taken as 'natural' and this order is mediated through capital accumulation, particularly symbolic capital or symbolic power, then misrecognition is at play, such as the world-wide acceptance by women of the hegemony of men (ibid, p.164-168). As such, doxa are internalised norms and those agents with a similar habitus will unconditionally accept the rules of the game.

We might ask, how does the arbitrariness of doxa ever bubble up into the consciousness, if doxa are the undiscussed? In modern societies, during moments of social rupture or crisis, critical reflection by agents may occur, yet, action by the subordinated can be limited to practical rather than discursive responses, such as strikes, riots or protests, and attempts at reasoned debate can also be subjected to symbolic hijacking by established institutions (Deer, 2011, p.123). Nevertheless, heterodoxy, the opinions that can be spoken about and that are contrary to the orthodoxy, can be forwarded, usually by those who are neither at the most subordinated or dominating positions, or those who are high in cultural and low in economic capital.

Even though the concept of field is one of Bourdieu's least contested, there are still many issues: lack of clarity about how field interacts with practice, whether there are many practices

or just one practice associated with any given field, and what exactly constitutes the "distinguishing characteristics of the relevant activity" in any given field (Warde, 2004, p.14). Bourdieu's field theory also requires us to be content with the fact that fields are invisible and only known by their effects, which may be difficult for some to accept. However, Martin's (2003) thorough explanation of how fields work in physics goes a long way towards resolving this criticism: few would dispute the existence of a magnetic or gravitational field.[6] Bourdieu has also been criticised for the openness of all his concepts: his rebuttal is that his uses of open concepts are "deliberate choices" that aim to reject positivism, and that the open concepts of habitus, capital and field allow them "to be put to work empirically in systemic fashion" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.95-96).

Swedburg's (2010) examination of Bourdieu's three economic studies: the economy of good faith in Algeria in the nineteen fifties and sixties; the field of bank credit in France in the nineteen sixties; and a study of single family housing in France during the nineteen eighties; finds his work in economic sociology so rich that it contributes a "full research paradigm" (ibid, p.15). Still, the field concept elicits many critiques, such as: too many fields within fields; overlapping fields with fuzzy boundaries; and the reliance on an overall determinism in that it dwells too much on the reproductive rather than changing nature of fields (Thomson, 2011). This, despite Bourdieu continually emphasising the importance of the historical generation of fields, locating much of his own work during times of great change, emphasising the constant struggle that occurs within fields and how external factors such as other dominant fields or new technologies can disrupt a field, and offering us the concept of habitus which, we shall see,

[6] Martin (2003) finds that field theories have often been opposed as they "violate the [Western] assumptions of the mechanistic materialism that was the largely dominant metaphysics in the early modern scientific" (ibid, p.8), whereby all transmission of force must contain an element of contact, or there must be a mechanism or causal sequence that explains some pattern with an over-arching theory. Whilst many theories do not necessarily attempt to give explanatory accounts in terms of mechanisms, they are not intrinsically at odds with such explanations. He gives the example of the theory of evolution where the mechanism of natural selection explains how evolution occurs, yet this mechanism has almost no empirical evidence in explaining evolution (ibid, p.11). He describes field theories as "provisional theories that we are happy to replace when adequate knowledge of mechanisms is gained" (ibid, p.12), and he further posits that this indeterminacy is the strength of field theory as, for example, we can examine and understand the properties of the field in magnetism without understanding the lodestone itself. Therefore, by its very nature, field theory is provisional, yet very useful. Further, he argues that the lack of explanatory mechanism in field theory is well suited to the social sciences as this science is "the unique case in which the lower level appealed to by mechanistic accounts is ourselves, and we have a great number of prejudices about our own constitutions that we cannot rid ourselves of, because we do not know what all of them are" (ibid, p.13).

accounts for agency and allows us to examine moments of social and field change when agents' habitus may be out of sync with the current, changed field conditions.

2.4 Position in the Field: Habitus and Capital

For Bourdieu, practices are both structural and subjective at the same time. In a bid to find a scientific model of social action that accounts for these seemingly opposed yet somehow inter-related concepts, Bourdieu revives and expands the concept of habitus, whilst simultaneously linking it inseparably with his two other key concepts: field and capital. This inseparability, or relationality, is captured in the following "mnemotechnic device" (Wacquant, 2014), first laid out in the book '*Distinction*':

> [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 2010, p.95).[7]

This formula invites us to see the social world as a series of overlapping fields of forces between agents who play the game according to the rules, where each agent has a highly durable yet transposable habitus that is inculcated at an early age, that entails a set of values and dispositions which, when combined with the capitals agents possess, determines their practices and position within any given field. Bourdieu's concepts are meant to be examined relationally: they do not exist in isolation. Thus, a field is a "network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.97), and those positions are determined by a combination of an agent's capital possession and habitus. For Wacquant (2014), this relationality should also include doxa, reflexivity and most importantly, symbolic power. Wacquant (2008) finds that this relationality overcomes the unhelpful, antinomic opposition between the objectivist, structuralist stance of Durkheim, where social facts are treated as things in order to "uncover the objective system of relations that determine the conduct and representations of individuals", and the subjectivist, constructivist stance of Blumer and Garfinkel, where social reality is "the sum total of the innumerable acts of interpretation whereby people jointly construct meaningful lines of (inter)action" (ibid, p.267). Bourdieu does not reject either stance, rather, he bridges both in order to "escape from the ritual either/or choice between objectivism and subjectivism in which the social sciences have so far allowed them-selves to be trapped" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.4). For Wacquant (2008), Bourdieu constructs a "twofold relationship of mutual constitution and correspondence" (ibid, p.267), where both stances can interact to produce useful concepts that enable construction of the sociological object. Objectivism allows us to examine the social structures that guide and constrain an

[7] Savage & Silva (2013) suggest that this formula might be Bourdieu's "wry mocking of American style sociological quantification rather than a serious argument about the understanding of practice" (ibid, p.115).

individual's practices, whilst subjectivism allows us to examine the mental structures that enable an individual to conserve or transform these objective structures. The key concept that enables this bridging is habitus.

2.4.1 Habitus as Durable Dispositions and Structuring Structures

Bourdieu defines habitus as:

> …systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1999a, p.53).

Under this statement we can take the habitus to be a set of structured structures or dispositions that generate practices. But what exactly are dispositions? Bourdieu (2011a) traces the suitability of this word to a somewhat wider semantic cluster in French than in English, giving its meaning as "the *result of an organising action*…with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being*, a *habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity,* or *inclination*" (ibid, p.214). He gives the example of 'sense of honour' as a disposition amongst the Kabyle that is permanent and "embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions, schemes of perception and thought", whose raison d'etre is to enable each agent "to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenge and riposte" (ibid, p.15). This 'sense of honour' is not all about mechanically following a set of rules: tempo, tactics and strategies come into play so that practices may be unpredictable and inventive. A particular disposition may even produce quite opposite practices in differing historical contexts, although it is likely not to (Bourdieu, 2006, p.149).[8] Habitus theorises the set of external social structures that are inculcated into our subjective mental structures, at any given point in time and as such, it is subject to change as the social world changes. These internalised structures also structure our social world by generating practices, both reproductively and inventively. Habitus therefore, refers to the set of dispositions a person has, which represent the social world the person has grown up with, although the habitus is also malleable, or adaptable.

[8] Bourdieu (2006) gives the example of bishops of noble birth in France who performed opposite practices in two different historical contexts.

Swartz (1997) finds that habitus attempts to encapsulate both internalised objective structures and agency such that agents contain:

> …a set of deeply internalised master dispositions… [that] point towards a theory of action that is practical rather than discursive, prereflective rather than conscious, embodied as well as cognitive, durable though adaptable, reproductive though generative and inventive, and the product of particular social conditions though transferable to others (Swartz, 1997, p.101).

The dispositions that make up the habitus are therefore: durable *and* adaptable; generative and inventive; tending to be unconscious; embodied *and* cognitive; and transposable in that they are "capable of becoming active within a wide variety of theatres of social action" (Maton, 2011, p.51). Whilst the habitus adaptable, it is also highly durable as it "is endowed with built-in-inertia" (Wacquant in Navarro, 2006, p.16). This inertia is in-built as the majority of dispositions are laid down in an agent's early years, and all following acquisitions of dispositions or practices are experienced through the "prism" of those early foundations (ibid, p.16).

The habitus concept is often critiqued, particularly for being deterministic. Nobel & Watkins (2003, p.525) find that Bourdieu's concentration on the acquisition of habitus as transmission, internalization, inculcation and conditioning, and the overstatement of its subconscious aspects, does little to explain its generative capacity: they examine the learning processes involved in playing tennis, finding that there is a consciousness or habituation involved in making a practice natural, or moving it to below consciousness. Lizardo (2004) finds that critiques based on "alleged economism, reductionism or determinism" misinterpret Bourdieu "as an agency-structure theorist, focused on the problematic of consciousness as confronted by structure" (ibid, p.395). He invites us to view Bourdieu's habitus as:

> …a generative dynamic structure that adapts and accommodates itself to another dynamic mesolevel structure composed primarily of other actors, situated practices and durable institutions (fields)…[and that it] is an important theoretical object insofar as it saves Bourdieu's theory from becoming a pure rationalist positional formalism with disembodied agents embedded in fields and engaging in strategies to accumulate different kinds of capital… and [it] allows Bourdieu to analyze the social agent as a physical, embodied actor, subject to developmental, cognitive and emotive constraints and affected by the very real physical and institutional configurations of the field (Lizardo, 2004, p.376).

Rather than think of Giddens' duality of structure, it is best to think of Bourdieu as proposing a duality of structures, both with differing temporalities and ontological orders. The habitus is

rooted in the specific materiality of the body and develops through that bodies' particular life course history, as dispositions are taken on board and stored in that body via "psycho-motor and cognitive-motivational system(s)" (ibid, p.394). Field is determined by history and it is "manifested as durable objectified institutions and symbolic orders (field)" (ibid, p.394).

Bourdieu (1990) roundly countered criticisms of determinism by stating that the habitus only *becomes* in relation to the field and therefore, as the field changes, so the habitus can produce different practices.[9] As it is a product of history and therefore changing social conditions, the habitus changes, either in a reinforcing direction, when an agent's expectations are in harmony with the chances that current objective structures present, or in a transformational direction, where expectations are either lowered or raised, when this harmony is not present. Additionally, Bourdieu found that the habitus can be "*controlled* through awakening of consciousness and socioanalysis" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.116). Bourdieu believed that freedom and emancipation, or this control of the habitus, can also be achieved through education and awareness (Bourdieu, 1999b, p.340). Additionally, whilst the habitus *is* durable, it is not deterministic as its transposable, adaptable, inventive and generative aspects allow for a kind of agency that enables actors within any field to act not as simple automatons.

2.4.2 Hysteresis & the Generative, Adaptive Habitus

As an unconscious internalisation of external social structures, the habitus allows us to function within societies norms without even noticing that we are doing so, when our dispositions match the external social order. However, when an agent's habitus mismatches the current social structures she feels 'out of place' or like a 'fish out of water'. Bourdieu (2011b) labels this mismatch or time lag in habitus hysteresis, and when it occurs, "practices are always liable to incur negative sanctions when the environment with which they are actually confronted is too distant from that to which they are objectively fitted" (ibid, p.78), which explains groups' aversions to one another's practices, or possibly even generational mutual disdain. Hardy (2011) summarises hysteresis as providing "explicit links between the objective nature of systemic change (*field* transformation) and the subjective character of an individual response to that change (altered *habitus*)" (ibid, p.148). For Bourdieu, those who are most likely to be subjected to a negative hysteresis effect are the old, and "often those [agents] who were best adapted to

[9] Once again, Bourdieu (1990) gives the example of the change in practices of the noble bishops in France at two differing time periods as an example of adaptive practice to fit a changed field: he warns us to not to assume a "conversion of habitus" when really what is at play is the effect of a change in relation between habitus and field (ibid, p.116)

the previous state of the game, have difficulty in adjusting to the new order" (Bourdieu, 2006, p.161).

Thus far, we have seen that habitus is prone to reproducing itself and the objective structures that created it, such that many agents find it difficult to adjust to new practices when they are in a mismatch or time lag situation. Additionally, it is within the habitus that inventiveness and generativity occur and this is more likely to happen during times of social rupture, when fields change, or when agents bring a habitus from one field to another. Kerr & Robinson (2009) examine the mismatch *and* match between two types of employee habitus in a new, corporate environment in post-Soviet Ukraine, with the "dissident" habitus making a good match with that required of the corporate environment and the younger "post-socialism workers" making a mismatch. They find that the old dissidents reoriented their old habitus to the new field, which contained homologous practices, through the creative use of the hysteresis effect. This was achieved by redeploying, or relearning, "the practices of survival and dissidence developed under state socialism", using a new "corporate discourse" (ibid, p.856). To my mind, and perhaps I am being somewhat harsh, the dissident habitus was simply a good fit to the corporate environment and its practices: little actual adaptation of their habitus was necessary, other than the learning of a 'corporate discourse'. Nevertheless, this article is a powerfully illustrated example of how a habitus from one field can fit extraordinarily well in a very different field, and it is most revealing about the homology between the vilified Soviet Russian style of domination and often-lauded Western corporate management styles.

2.4.3 The Forms of Capital

Capital possession, that is, the volume of the type(s) required for any particular field, along with an agent's habitus, determines an agent's position in that field, and further, the appearance of new capitals exert a structural effect on the field such that the new structure favours the dominant:

> The various species of capital do not act only indirectly, through prices; they exert a structural effect, because the adoption of a new technique or the control of a larger market share etc., modifies the relative positions and the yields of all the species of capital held by other firms…the structure of the field, defined by the unequal distribution of capital, that is, the specific weapons (or strengths), weighs, quite apart from any direct intervention or manipulation, on all the agents engaged in the field; and the worst placed they are within that distribution, the more it restricts the *space of possibles* open to them. The dominant is the one that occupies a position in the structure such that the structure acts on its behalf (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.195).

Additionally, the structure of the distribution of various types of capital represents the structure of the social world at any given moment in time, which determines the chances of success for practices (Bourdieu, 2011c, p.78). Whilst he finds that there are three basic forms at work in any field: economic, social and cultural capital; he also listed all the forms of capital available to the economic field, as detailed in Table 2.1 below. Economic (or financial), social, cultural and symbolic capital are all well detailed and exemplified in Bourdieu's many studies, but commercial and technological capital have hardly been fleshed out at all in this work: their definitions are unclear, narrow and somewhat product-centric.[10]

Type of Capital	***Bourdieu's Definition***
Financial Capital	"…the direct or indirect mastery (though access to the banks) of financial resources, which are the main condition (together with time) for the accumulation and conservation of all other kinds of capital" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75).
Cultural Capital	"Embodied (acquired over time through socialisation), objectified (in the form of objects such as books or works of art) and institutionalised (such as academic credentials)" (Bourdieu, 2011c, p.80-83).
Social Capital	"…the totality of resources (financial capital and also information, etc.) activated through a more or less extended, more or less mobilizable network of relations that procures a competitive advantage by providing higher returns on investment" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75).
Symbolic Capital	"…resides in the mastery of symbolic resources based on knowledge and recognition, such as "goodwill investment", "brand loyalty" and so on; as a power that functions as a form of credit, it presupposes the trust or belief of those upon whom it bears because they are disposed to grant it credence" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75).
Technological Capital	"…the portfolio of scientific resources (research potential) or technical resources (procedures, aptitudes, routines, and unique and coherent knowhow, capable of reducing expenditure in labor or increasing its yield) that can be deployed in the design and manufacture of products" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75). "exists both in objectivized form (equipment, instruments, etc.) and in embodied form (competence, skills, etc.)" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.246).
Commercial Capital	"…(sales power) relates to the mastery of distribution networks (warehousing and transport), and marketing and after-sales service" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75).
Organisational Capital	"…including the capital of information about the field" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.75).

Table 2.1 The Various Forms of Capital in an Economic Field.

Source: Bourdieu (2011b, 2011c)

[10] Whilst Bourdieu (2011b) does refer to organisational capital as one that is important to any market, I do not include it in my analysis: this is not to say that it may not be important, particularly to larger firms.

Capital in all its forms, and the interaction between each and an agent's habitus, continues to be of use to academics from a variety of fields. The importance of both cultural and social capital in determining an agent's social position has recently been recognised through their incorporation in the new British class classification system (Savage et al, 2013). However, Holt (2008) finds that whilst the concept of social capital continues to hold "high political currency at a variety of intersecting institutional levels" (ibid, p.227-228), the neo-liberal political policy adherence to Robert Putnam's limited, purely objectivist/universalist accounts have held such difficulties for some geographers, that they have tended to abandon it altogether. Holt (2008) goes on to construct an embodied form of social capital, by synthesising Bourdieu's theoretical concept along with Judith Butler's performativity. She argues that Bourdieu's accounts of the concept address many of the critiques levelled at social capital by geographers as: it underlines how social capital works *with* the other capitals; it indicates just how important social capital is in the intergenerational reproduction of socio-economic (dis)advantage; and it allows for a "nuanced and embodied account of agency via the concepts of practice and habitus" (ibid, p.228). Naughton (2014) finds that social capital continuously moves, in that it resides within agents who exercise power through their network relations, and so it should not be seen as a public fund that can be created in fixed space (ibid, p.16-17). She argues that rather than succumb to dominant positivist perspectives in policy discourses that erase context, scientists need to examine in detail the social capital processes that occur when communities and individuals endeavour to resolve issues by utilising resources through their social networks (ibid, p.4).

There would seem to be little use of either the technical or commercial capital concept in academic research, and articles that do use them, can lack theoretical robustness.[11] There are also differences of opinion about whether all other capitals, besides economic and social capital, should come under the umbrella of cultural capital. One article proposes an entirely new kind of capital, erotic capital, which is "just as important as economic, cultural, and social capital for understanding social and economic processes, social interaction, and social mobility" (Hakim, 2010, p.499). This article also refers to human capital as combining economic and cultural capital and "consisting of educational qualifications, training and work experience that are valued and can be traded for income" (ibid, p.500). Thompson (2010) also refers to human capital in his analysis of the field of trade publishing (ibid, p.5). However, Bourdieu was against the use of this concept as "despite its humanistic connotations, [it] does not move beyond

[11] For example, Dunne et al (2009) find that "Technical capital is a firm's knowledge-base or technical competence… commercial capital is a firm's ability to fund its current and future operations…[and] social capital is the goodwill available to firms through its connections to other firms" (ibid, p.182).

economism and ignores, *inter alia*, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.48). It would seem that whilst everyone is on the 'capital band-wagon', there is some confusion as to which wagons to circle.

Nevertheless, for Bourdieu (2011c), the social origins of cultural capital are not as obvious as those of economic capital. In fact it is so entrenched in our backgrounds that it tends towards invisibility and the symbolic. As cultural capital is prone to act as symbolic capital, it is unrecognized as a capital, meaning it becomes misrecognised as an unquestioned legitimate competence. Further, the "specifically symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital" (ibid, p.81), such that any cultural competence, like being able to read in a world of illiterates, bestows an advantage. Cultural capital is important therefore in bestowing competitive advantage and enabling social mobility. It takes many forms, such as technical and commercial capital, it is usually inculcated from a young age, and it can be appropriated throughout life.

Two other cultural capitals, not mentioned by Bourdieu in his examination of economic fields (2011b), but examined in this thesis, are aesthetic and emotional capital. Emotional labour has been defined as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild in Witz, Warhust & Nickson, 2003, p.36). Emotional capital has been defined as "knowledge, contacts and relations as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets, which hold within any social network characterised at least partly by affective ties" (Nowotny in Reay, 2004, p.60). As such, emotional labour studies tend to examine work done in physical settings: see Boyer et al (2013) for an analysis of emotional labour in child day care settings. In chapter five, I examine the virtual emotional labour work done by a bookseller online.

Definitions of aesthetic capital have tended to be limited to examinations of the privileges and wealth received from the body and its adornment (Anderson et al, 2010). Witz, Warhust & Nickson (2003) find that aesthetic labour for workers, in terms of their dress and appearance, is "particularly evident in the 'style' labour market of design- and image–driven retail and hospitality organizations" (ibid, p.34). They offer the following definition: "the mobilization, development and commodification of embodied 'dispositions'" (ibid, p.37), and, whilst these dispositions are held within the bodies of workers, they are also developed and commodified by employers. Kuipers & Deinema (unp) find that this aesthetic labour, which perhaps was once the preserve of typically female work such as waitressing and modelling, is now expected of us all. Hracs & Leslie (2013) find that the 'mp3 crisis' in the music business means that musician's

workloads have increased as they must now expend additional aesthetic labour, through their performances, through marketing, *and* in online spaces such as YouTube, Facebook, MySpace and Twitter. In chapter six I put forward a generic definition of aesthetic capital that could be applied to the body, or to physical or virtual space.

For Bourdieu (2010) consumer tastes or preferences for goods, whether cultural or not, are expressions of social status or class rather than a pure, rational, aesthetic choice in the Kantian sense. Dominant agents, or those in the higher classes, express their distance or mark themselves as distinct from other classes through the hierarchical categorisation of culture as legitimate, middlebrow or popular. What is in reality an arbitrary designation of what is legitimate, is taken for granted by all as the naturally dominant cultural form. Those who are not part of the elite classes assume that access to highbrow culture requires a special knowledge, and educational institutions foster this assumption by reproducing class structure through limiting access to legitimate culture.[12] The market for books is ripe for expressions of distinctive taste in the play for legitimacy, and profit:

> The manner which designates the infallible taste of the 'taste-maker' and exposes the uncertain tastes of the possessors of an 'ill-gotten' culture is so important, in all markets, and especially in the market which decides the value of literary and artistic works, only because choices always owe part of their value to the value of the chooser, and, because, to a large extent, this value makes itself known and recognized through the manner of choosing (Bourdieu, 2010, p.84).

Symbolic capital does not exist as a capital in itself rather, it is the legitimised form of any cultural capital, and as such it is also present in objectified forms, such as books and bookshops (Wright, 2005b, 2006), and locations (Savage, M. & Hanquinet, unp). As symbolic capital does not exist in its own right, it "exists by and for perception or, more precisely, by and for those who perceive it", and distinction is "the specific form of profit that symbolic capital procures [and] …lifestyle, as the exemplary manifestation of symbolic capital, exists only by and for the gaze of the other" (Bourdieu, 1999b, p.337). Bourdieu (2010) showed through his examination of 1960's French cultural tastes, using multiple correspondence analysis, that in any given moment in time, social class is reproduced through taste, which becomes a means for judgement.

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[12] For Bourdieu (2010), the only way to break the dominant class hierarchical categorisations is to provide access to universal culture for all. However, the conditions necessary for this, such as access to leisure time and freedom from economic necessity, are not available to all.

Whilst Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital continues to be added to by scholars, particularly if it is taken to be representative of any unique practice, it has been criticised, notably by the sociologist Goldthorpe (2007), who argues that the extension of its use from the sociology of education to wider theories of social reproduction has inherent weaknesses and can be contradicted by empirical evidence. Goldthorpe (2007) points out that Bourdieu's work on culture, education and class was not necessarily new, unique or even as far-reaching in its explanatory powers as other work at the time: his unique achievement was to move this recognition of the impact of culture on educational attainment, from a discussion on values and resources, to one of capital, in its many forms, and its role in processes of social reproduction, specifically through its institutionalised control. Goldthorpe's (2007) first major issue is with the notion of habitus, which for Bourdieu is formed by the transmission of cultural capital mainly within the family, as this allows little room for the 're-socialisation' possibilities of education systems. British empirical data, that has been reproduced elsewhere, shows a link between upward mobility and education expansion, and that in fact, schools and now third level education offer the chance for the subordinated classes to acquire plenty of cultural capital. His second issue is with Bourdieu's theory that no forms of culture can be seen as intrinsically of higher value than another, although to my mind, he does not engage as well with this point.

The point that education can have a stronger effect on the habitus than perhaps Bourdieu claimed is a strong one, as is the point that Bourdieu did not claim for a relational effect, rather an absolute one, that was based on results from the 1960's and which he did not revisit even as it became apparent in later years that education was changing: more working class children were attaining university entrance. Nevertheless, the main point that Bourdieu was making, that the valuing of one form of culture over another serves as the basis for the social reproduction of power, remains in place for me. Golf, once the preserve of the upper classes only, but now accessible to the masses, has lost much of its status and cache. Witness the recent rebranding efforts the company Burberry has made, when its brand was acquired as fashionable by the working classes or 'chav culture'. Wider education for all, and quite possibly, wider accessibility to various forms of culture through other channels, simply means that more people can access whatever the dominant culture may be at that time, and they do so, often in the hopes of achieving upward mobility. I would argue that the habitus and our cognitive structures change, but slowly, over time, and through the transmission of dispositions that: starts with the family but continues through education; expands further through life as various work and socialisation opportunities may arise, such as moving to a new country with different dominant cultural forms, or entering into very differing work arenas that will contain their own cultural 'logics', which is becoming more normalised and necessary; and not least, continues with the

opportunity for the learning and acquisition of many forms of new cultures through the global exchange of knowledge that the internet provides. Gerhards (2008) labels this realisation of aesthetic preferences via proximity, 'cultural opportunity'. However, whilst it is likely some cognitive hard-wiring is laid down in infancy that is hard to shift, the relationship between precognitive or cognitive neural structures and practice is not always clear for some economic geographers: Pykett (2012) critiques the current biologically determinist obsession with 'neurocapitalism'; and Pinch, Sunley & Macmillen's (2010) examination of cognitive mapping in design agencies, finds that whilst it can be a useful heuristic tool, it is ultimately limited as a means to unravelling tacit knowledge.

Mindful of Goldthorpe's (2007) criticisms, Bennett et al (2010) recommend the examination of a "range of different assets and markers that might be proposed as sources of cultural privilege" (ibid, p.29), such as beauty, slimness or a certain accent, or technical skills, or emotional capital. In chapter five, I propose a formulation that sees each cultural form as a practice that contains a disposition and a required set of technical skills and resources in order to carry out that practice. The dispositions are laid down within the habitus, which changes over time depending on circumstances, the technical skills can be learned by anyone with access to educational means, and the technical resources are sometimes only available to those with economic and/or social capital. Goldthorpe (2007) also endeavours to find fault with the cultural capital concept as it does not distinguish properly between less and more technical forms such as literature and mathematics.[13] Indeed, all of Bourdieu's concepts are often critiqued for lack of preciseness, but perhaps the strength of his concepts lies in that very fuzziness, and therefore a researcher's ability to use them:

> Perhaps, therefore, we must accept Bourdieu's frequent injunction to rest content with more flexible and less precise concepts, recognising that they often perform better as bases for discovery and explanation (Warde, 2004, p.27).

More recently and in response to fresh waves of criticisms, Wacquant (2014) asks researchers to "studiously avoid theoreticist readings of Bourdieu's concepts and attend instead to their pragmatic deployment in empirical research" (ibid, p. 119). At the same time, he admonishes the erasing of the distinctiveness of Bourdieu's field concept, in

[13] This call for a distinction between differing kinds of technical or less technical forms of culture does not seem to have any value to me. On a slightly related note, I find that labelling within the scientific disciplines, whereby certain subjects are called 'hard' whilst others are called 'soft', is actually a testament to the continuing possibilities for dominant cultures to favour the hegemony of men. As a woman who now has a degree from both camps, I find that the continued use of the word 'hard' in this context is both risible and only explicable in the context of social reproduction of power.

particular, the "ripoffs, from 'organizational field' to 'strategic action field'" (ibid, p.125 & 133). No reference to any academic work is given but it must be assumed that Fligstein & McAdam (2012) and others are being critiqued here. Without a proper critique, it is difficult to comment, other than to say that, rather than see it as a 'new' theory, I see Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) work as an extension of Bourdieu that accounts for collective action in and across fields: I attempt to address this in the concluding chapter through an examination of the usefulness of all the 'field theories' used in this thesis. Additionally, whilst scholars find it useful to examine 'human capital' and 'asset' concepts (Becker, 1993), my thesis is interested in developing Bourdieu's notion of cultural and symbolic capital.

Thus far I have examined various Bourdieusian concepts in order to understand how a field might be theoretically constructed and empirically examined. The next sections examine two recent theories of how markets, as fields, change.

2.5 Markets as Fields

Berndt & Boeckler (2009) distinguish between three overlapping heterodox approaches when examining the construction of markets: socioeconomics, where markets cannot be separated from their social and institutional contexts; political economy, which examines how powerful players ensure the abstract, neo-classical models are taken-for-granted by market participants; and cultural economy, a kind of third way between socioeconomics and political economy that argues for a post-structuralist performativity, such as Thrift's (2000) examination of business management time pressure as performative spaces of visualisation, embodiment and circulation, or Miller's (1998) examination of shopping as a performative, ritual practice. Fligstein & Dauter (2007) also argue for the inclusion of other perspectives such as political economy and population ecology, which is a branch of organisation theory. Notwithstanding all of these theoretical variants and mindful of Berndt & Boeckler's (2009) statement that "the strength of the heterodox project lies precisely in the co-existence of competing positions, each challenging the still omnipresent logic of the perfect market in different ways" (ibid, p.547), my research takes field theory as the basis for understanding how the independent bookselling market works and changes.

In order for a market to work, there must be co-ordination of activities between producers, buyers and sellers, and order, such that there is predictability of these activities that allows for valuation and exchange of goods. Aspers (2011) defines two fundamental ideal-types of order in markets, status and standard, and whilst some markets will be dominated by one or the other,

others are a mix of both. The bookselling market this thesis is concerned with is the standard market for trade books, where publishers set the recommended price of the book (RRP) and competitors can sell at any price they wish to. However, any market is not ideal and they are subject to change through the strategic action of market actors, social crises, and technological advances: uncertainties can therefore exist in markets, leading to valuation and coordination problems. Indeed, Aspers & Beckert (2011) find that valuation of goods in markets is not a simple matter of setting prices, such as the RRP set by publishers. Although the set price can act as an orienteer, enabling the purchaser to make comparisons, there needs to be a valuation of the product that allows the judgement of prices, and this valuation takes place under the following social conditions: institutional, regulative, structuring of markets; power structures between buyers and sellers; social networks; and cognitive frames, which shape demand for goods as well as how firms compete with one another (ibid, p.28).

Markets can be examined as fields in that they contain various actors all of whom can enact change depending on their resources, dispositions and interests: consumers who may act out of self-interest in the lowest price but who may also consider the moral aspects of production and distribution; sellers who may be purely motivated by profit and status, or who may have other non-monetary reward aims in mind; institutions who may be competing sellers such as the independent booksellers and larger retailers, or producers in the market such as the publishers, or internal governance units such as the BA, or the state, all of whom may have differing internal logics based on historically-situated and geographically-located practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Muzio & Faulconbridge, 2013); and social networks, which may contain some or all of these various actors.

Beckert (2009) links market action to the "interaction between actors and their institutional, cultural and social embeddedness" (ibid, p.264), bringing field theory closer to examinations of economic change rather than focussing on stability. He also links changes in prices to changes in supply and demand, but they themselves are the results of the social, institutional and cognitive structures of markets: the challenge is to show how these structural forces influence market outcomes. Three types of social forces are identified and used to explain very diverse economic outcomes in markets: social networks, institutions and cognitive frames (Beckert, 2010). Beckert (2010) suggests the possibility of "bringing simultaneous attention to the different types of social structures" to markets (ibid, p.606). This market field theory, which also owes much of its underpinnings to Bourdieu, develops a framework approach to the sociology of economics that addresses how actors use resources from each structure type in order to reconfigure other parts, to their advantage. Beckert (2010) argues studying various economic outcomes by focussing on one approach alone, is inadequate, as in fact all three forces may exert influence simultaneously and importantly, on each other. He suggests that field

theory can enable us to bring simultaneous attention to all three, whilst shifting "the theoretical focus on the relationship between structures and agency processes" (ibid, p.606). Figure 2.1 illustrates this simultaneous relationship:

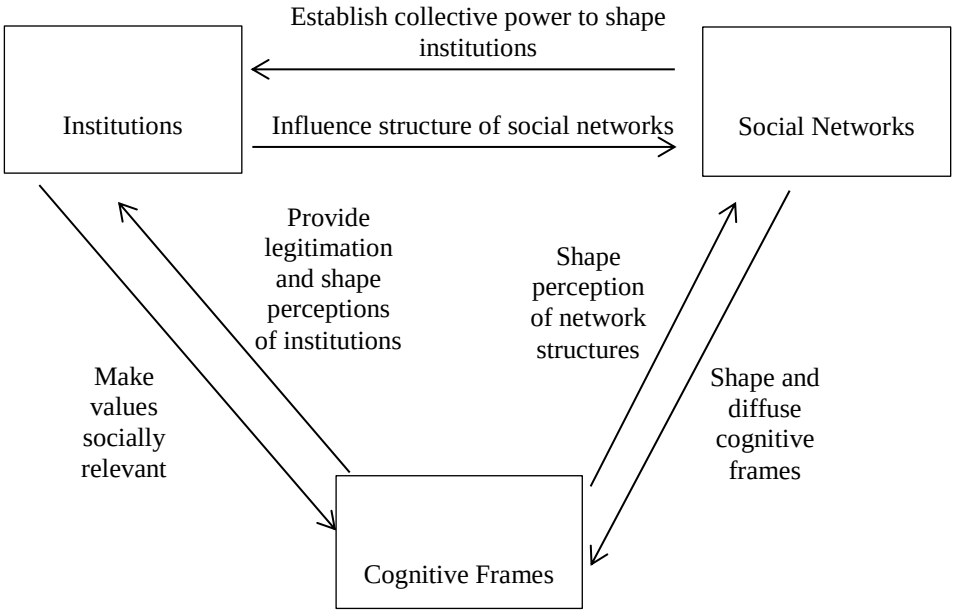

Figure 2.1 Reciprocal Influences of the Three Social Forces in Market Fields.
Source: Beckert (2010, p.612).

Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) strategic action field theory focusses on collective action within and across fields, thus advancing Bourdieu's focus on individual action within a field (ibid, p.24-25), and Beckert's (2010) social network collective power that can influence institutions. They find that a theory of fields only makes sense by embedding any field under observation within related fields that can alter it, as fields are subject to change not only through action or events within the field, but also through external action or events, particularly from fields where there is a dependency. They further postulate that these dependencies on other fields exhibit either a Russian doll nested character, or more commonly, a horizontal and intricate latticework character. Yet, whatever the actual structure of relations between a field and other fields, it is most important to establish the links with those state and non-state fields upon which it routinely relies (ibid, p.203-204).

For Fligstein & McAdam (2012), it is collective action that drives change in fields, and it is the human need to create shared meaning and membership, as a buffer against existential angst, that drives collective action. This shared meaning does not necessarily have some preordained basis in morality or ethics. It *can* include highly moral aims, but it can also include interests in self-advancement through instrumental, material gain, increasing social status, and the acquisition of power. The ability to create shared meaning and to drive forward collective action based upon

this meaning making and collective identities requires actors high in social skills. These actors must be able to relate empathetically to other actor's positions, enabling cooperation. They must also be able to see the world from competing or different perspectives and find ways to interpret situations such that others can identify with their appeals for co-operation (ibid, p.46).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the social construction of markets using Bourdieu's conceptual toolbox of field, practice, habitus, doxa and capital, Beckert's (2010) concept of influential, simultaneous cognitive framing, and Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) concept of strategic agents who drive forward action via collective shared meaning making. We have seen how the habitus in combination with the various forms of capital account for position in any field, and whilst the dominant in any field seek to reproduce their position, particularly through legitimacy and symbolic power, the appearance of new agents or new technologies can restructure the field for all. We have also seen that Bourdieu's concept of doxa explains a lack of change, yet moments of social rupture can unveil these doxa, potentially leading to change. Habitus is useful for examining the structures that enable processes and hysteresis in fields that are undergoing enormous change, doxa for examining resistance to change, and capital for understanding position within any field. New forms of capital may be emerging yet there would seem to be a lack of theoretical robustness in their academic application, at times, and many are yet to be fully defined or outlined. Two new theories of market change, both based in Bourdieu's concept of field, have also been identified that should be useful in explicating how and why the indie bookselling market is changing, both in terms of changing cultural norms and the ability of actors to engender shared meaning in order to generate collective action.

The change in the rules of the game that allowed free pricing, and the more recent appearance of dominant player Amazon, with large amounts of technical and financial capital, has had a large effect on the position and practices of indie booksellers. The empirical chapters that follow examine the resulting change in geographies of the indies, the new arsenal of capitals they now require in order to remain in the market, and the ways in which some consumers act in order to preserve the value they see in their local indies. The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter is assessed for usefulness in the concluding chapter. The next chapter examines the methods used to answer the three major research questions.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Alice didn't dare to argue the point, but went on: '—and I thought I'd try and find my way to the top of that hill—'

'When you say "hill,"' the Queen interrupted, 'I could show you hills, in comparison with which you'd call that a valley.'

'No, I shouldn't,' said Alice, surprised into contradicting her at last: 'a hill CAN'T be a valley, you know. That would be nonsense—'

The Red Queen shook her head, 'You may call it "nonsense" if you like,' she said, 'but I'VE heard nonsense, compared with which that would be as sensible as a dictionary!'

Through the Looking Glass by Lewis Carroll

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of my research is to explore, describe and explain the geographies, adaptive practices, cognitive frames and social networks of independent book retailers and their customers within a rapidly changing market. This chapter examines the strategy and methods used in gathering the evidence to allow the answering of the specific research questions, that is, the research design. The Red Queen's statements at the beginning of this chapter pose a set of very interesting questions.[14] What is the nature of reality and whose reality is represented? In order to understand how a research design is created, researchers must examine their own ontology and epistemology: in other words, what researchers believe to be the nature of reality and how it can be examined. Section 3.2 examines the theoretical underpinnings to research design and my own ontological and epistemological leanings. Section 3.3 presents the research design itself along with a justification for my mixed-methods approach. Section 3.4 details the different methods used to gather the data along with any issues they presented. Data sampling and validity are also examined for each method. Section 3.5 examines arguments for ensuring qualitative research contains rigor. Finally, section 3.6 reflects on my position in relation to the research.

[14] I use this piece of prose as an example of how the arts can often express difficult concepts with great clarity and immediacy. Much of Carroll's works are imbued with trying to make sense of what often seems to be a highly nonsensical and chaotic world. Sociologists often turn to the arts to aid them in making sense of the world: Denzin (1997) explores James Joyce's works as examples of the different moments of ethnography; Plummer (2001) reminds us that sociology itself might have taken a very different course if it had been founded in the arts rather than the sciences. Many would agree that the worlds which authors such as Austen or Dickens portray are sympathetic and representative, and Bourdieu asks us to "find in literary works research clues and orientations that the censorship specific to the scientific field tend to forbid" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.206).

3.2 Research Design Theory

A research design entails answering a number of questions about how we make sense of the world, amongst other things. According to Blaikie (2010b), the research design consists of a number of core elements that all feed into each other in a cyclical or iterative fashion: see Figure 3.1 below.

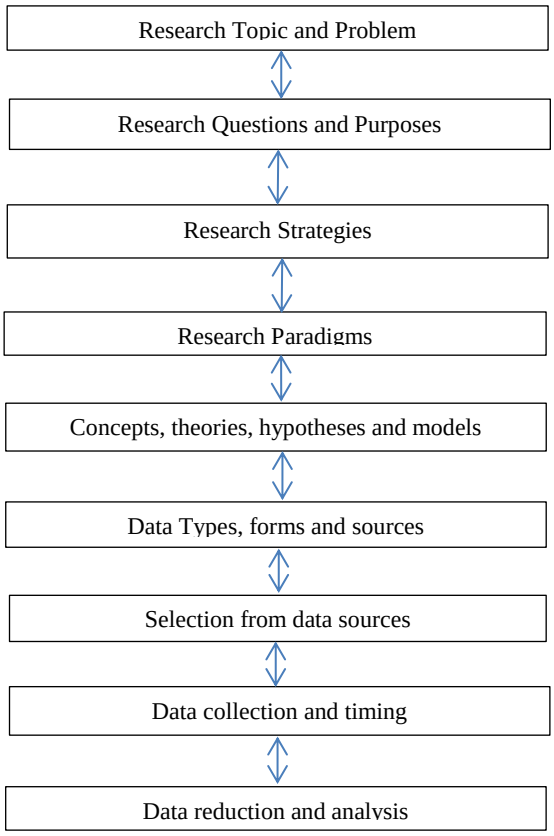

Figure 3.1 Core Elements of a Social Research Design. Source: Blaikie (2010b, p.43).

Researchers often start with a puzzle from an observation. For example, the puzzle for this research was: why are independent bookshops closing in large numbers? Initial research into the underlying literature and theory that surround such a puzzle then creates a set of major research questions. The research strategy is whatever strategy is chosen to answer these research questions and as such, it reflects the researchers "assumptions about reality and how it can be studied" (Blaikie, 2010b, p.5): the researcher's ontology and epistemology affects both the research strategy and the research paradigm they are likely to choose. The researcher must now decide what data collection methods are best in order to answer her questions. As data collection begins and the data is analysed, the researcher may return to alter the theoretical frameworks and literature that were initially found to be applicable. Figure 3.2 below examines the epistemological and ontological assumptions behind the various research strategies and paradigms available**.**

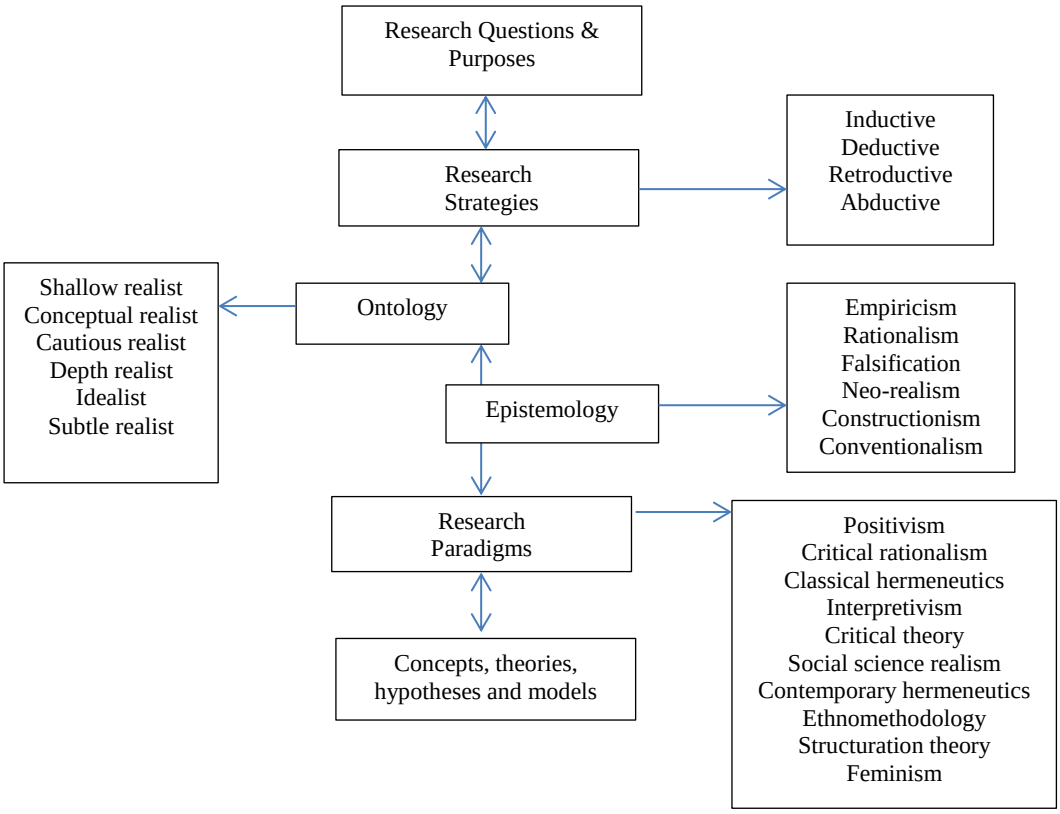

Figure 3.2 Research Strategies and Paradigms. Source: Blaikie (2010b, p.81).

There are many different and highly contested research paradigms to be considered by the social researcher and each claim their own version of "sociological truth" (Blaikie, 2010a, p.178). However, Blaikie (2010b) also finds that as the research paradigm may incorporate more than one combination of ontological and epistemological assumptions, so its role is much broader, and less clearly defined, than that of the research strategy. Therefore, the strategy is a far more important component of the research design than the paradigm and the four types of strategies can be reasonably matched to the type of question the research is asking. Blaikie (2010a) advises the avoidance of dogmatic adherence to any one research paradigm: the researcher should make use of whichever research strategies best suits the problem at hand.

Nonetheless, structuration theory, whilst it has generated much conflicting readings concerning its ontological basis and its ability to move forward locally situated and contingent empirical research (Gregson, 1987), can be said to be based on an idealist/subtle realist ontology and an epistemology of constructionism, which is the major research paradigm listed in Figure 3.2 above that most closely fits with my outlook, where:

> …social reality is seen to be produced and reproduced by the skilled activities of social actors, but not necessarily under the conditions of their choosing… [as] social

> structures are constituted by human agency and, at the same time, are the medium of this constitution (Blaikie, 2010a, p.182).

Whilst Giddens' structuration theory was preceded by and is not entirely dissimilar to Bourdieu's field theory, in that both grapple with the structure/agency issue, Bourdieu's refusal "to split object and subject, intention and cause, materiality and symbolic representation" results in a "social praxeology [that] weaves together a "structuralist" and a "constructivist" approach" with an emphasis on the primacy of relations over any dualistic prioritisation of structure or agency (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.5-11). Bourdieu's major concepts, that of field, capital and habitus, reflect this relational emphasis in that:

> …a field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.16).

Indeed, Bourdieu has been described as a *perspectival realist* by the philosopher of science, Ronald Giere (Giere in Sayer, 2011, p. 52). For Giere (2010), perspectival realism means that scientific models can never uncover an absolute truth, rather they can only reveal a partial understanding that represents a particular and limited point of view, or a particular perspective. But what of the fact that this research began with an already chosen a set of theories to explain social action? For Cooper (2006), research is inevitably framed by conceptual and theoretical considerations and these frameworks can enhance research such that "explicit use of concepts and theories is therefore part of good research practice" (ibid, p.1). However, he does warn against "theoretical arrogance" where the theory "prescribes in advance what we are going to find when we start investigating" (ibid, p.11).

My own ontological view of the social world, or what I deem to be the nature of social reality, tends towards the perspectival realist viewpoint, which could be said to lie somewhere between that of the idealist and the realist view. Under the (strict) idealist view, the external world has no existence apart from our thoughts:

> …humans, unlike things in nature, have culture and live in a world of their shared interpretations…social action is not mere behaviour but, instead, involves a process of meaning-giving... it is the meanings and interpretations created and maintained by social actors that constitute social reality for them…and this social reality consists of the shared interpretations that social actors produce and reproduce as they go about their daily lives (Blaikie, 2010a, p.17).

However, idealistic views can range from that of atheistic idealists at one extreme, who deny the existence or relevance of an external world, to the other extreme where perspective idealists "regard constructions of reality as just different ways of perceiving and making sense of the world" (ibid, p.17). The (strict) realist view finds that "both natural and social phenomena are assumed to have an existence that is independent of the activities of the human observer" (ibid, p.13). However, there are also a number of variations of the realist view, from the shallow realists who find that the only reality that exists is that which is observable to the subtle realists who find that there is a knowable external reality but it is based on "assumptions and purposes and is a human construction" (Hammersley in Blaikie, 2010a, p.17).

In short, my view is that all social research findings are dependent upon agreement between scientists under a set of unique conditions of time and place: there is only the possibility of a plurality of relative truths. Finally, in creating a research design, it is important to reiterate Blaikie's (2010a) advice in recognising that all research strategies have their own limitations and the researcher should choose the strategy that best fits the research puzzle.

3.3 The Research Design

This section examines the two differing research strategies I have used in order to answer my research questions. Table 3.1 below lists those questions along with the plan, strategy, data sources and data collection methods used. The research design combined two research strategies: an inductive approach through mapping and statistical modelling; and an abductive approach through ethnography, in-depth interviews, discourse analyses and content analyses.

In presenting a defence for the logic of this mixed methods research design we must ask how can we explain the social world? Is everything reducible to cause and effect? Martin (2011) believes not necessarily and further, an emphasis on statistical modelling provides a limited view of how the social world works that does not take individual motivations into consideration. The traditional understanding of causality has:

> …led to a science in which statements are made about the connection of imaginary elements in an imaginary world, and our justification is the hope that these will explain no case but rather an unknown portion of each case (Martin, 2011, p.321).

Under this view, causes explain individual action in terms of constraints, rather than examining individual motivations (ibid, p.322). For him, explanation in the social sciences has "meant an aggressive relationship between a researcher and a phenomenon" (ibid, p.326), with any further explanation disappearing once the R^2 approaches one. In practice, this never happens and in

fact, statistical modellers are more often than not, left with a very large proportion of variance that is unexplained.

Q1: What is the logic of the field of independent bookselling and how is it influenced to change?	
Research Plan	Interview indies Examine key texts such as industry reports & news Experience indie practices first hand Examine any key networks associated with the indies
Research Strategy	Abductive
Data Sources	Interview data, industry documents, industry conferences, ethnography data
Research Method	In-depth interviews, content analyses, discourse analyses, ethnography
Q2. What are the temporal socio-economic geographies of the UK's independent bookshops?	
Research Plan	Map & Model the locations of indies over time
Research Strategy	Inductive
Data Sources	Addresses of all indies in the UK between 2001 & 2011
Research Methods	Interviews with bookshop owners, mapping, statistical analysis & linear regression analysis
Q3: How are independent bookshops in the UK adapting to the threats they face, and why are they choosing these adaptations (or not)?	
Research Plan	Interview indies Examine key texts such as industry reports & news Experience indie evolution and practices first hand Examine any key networks associated with the indies
Research Strategy	Abductive
Data Sources	Interview data, industry documents, industry conferences, ethnography data
Research Method	In-depth interviews, content analyses, discourse analyses, ethnography

Table 3.1 The Research Design.

Whilst I agree with Martin (2011) in that this view is merely seeing the world as pre-determined by a set of rules, and ignores the fact that these rules are created by people who can and do break them, I do not fully discount the usefulness of statistical analyses in allowing us to throw at least some light onto what may be happening, particularly if statistical analyses are used in conjunction with qualitative analyses. I could have chosen to take my statistical modelling further by surveying a representative sample of bookshop owners and carrying out further modelling to determine what the success factors for running a bookshop are. Instead I chose to answer the second and third questions in this research by examining the situated, contextual, motivational and individual experiences of booksellers and indie customers through ethnography and a series of in-depth interviews. These two approaches match Sayers (1994)

summary of what he calls intensive and extensive research design, where extensive research (such as questionnaires and statistical modelling) produces descriptive representations that lack explanatory penetration, whilst more intensive research (such as ethnography or qualitative interviews) provides causal explanations that may not be representative. Intensive studies also allow for a more exploratory approach to research design, whereby the individuals to be interviewed are selected as research progresses, thus allowing the researcher to build a picture of the causal group they are studying as data emerges, rather than specifying what will be found before the research even begins.

To date, retail research in the UK has tended to concentrate on either a quantitative or a qualitative approach: studies of the impact of retail formats and locations on town centres and local high street centre resilience (Wrigley, Branson, Murdock & Clarke**,** 2009; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011) utilise purely quantitative data, whilst Hall's (2011, 2012, 2013) recent research on a variety of independent retail spaces in London shopping streets utilises a qualitative, ethnographic approach. The advantage in using a flexible mixed methods approach is that whatever method that best answers the question being posed could be drawn upon, whether at the start of the project or when questions arise during data collection and analysis, or when significant events occurred in the industry, such as the Amazon tax scandal. For example, a series of interviews were conducted with bookshop owners, the sample for which was created using knowledge from a regression analysis and mapping of bookshop location data. Later in the project, a simple media content analysis was conducted when interviews with independent bookshop owners revealed that some felt they were being ignored by the media due to their focus or location. Additionally, patterns found in the statistical and mapping analysis could later be verified or not at interview stage. For example, the regression analysis and mapping at the local authority level of changes in concentrations of bookshop between 2001 and 2011 suggested that they might be concentrating in areas associated with regeneration, older populations, wealth and tourism, all of which were verified and added to after the interviews. As such, the methodological approach used during this project is new to UK retail research and it provided for a flexible, nuanced collection and analysis of data that reflected unfolding analysis and events.

However, in combining both quantitative and qualitative research methods, it is important to discuss the academic arguments both for and against such mixing. Whilst there are some who still argue that the two are incompatible, others would argue not. Martin & Sunley (2001) argued that the economic geography move away from heterodox, economistic, quantitative methods towards interpretivist, ethnographic and in-depth interview methods only ran the risk of relying on "partial "stories", anecdote and thin empirical description" (ibid, p.152), the remedy being better commitment to norms of conceptual coherences and causal theory, along

with intense intellectual scrutiny of theory. Plummer & Sheppard (2001) also agreed that economic geographers should not privilege any one theory, set of concepts or method over another: arguments for a straight substituting of qualitative for quantitative ways of knowing could only perpetuate a false and unproductive dualism between different economic geographies. They further argued that whilst dismissive attitudes from orthodox economists such as Krugman may have caused economic geographers to shy away from positivistic methods, it was wrong to do so, as this would disable sound critique of economistic models and in addition, quantitative approaches could and were already adding to an emancipatory economic geography.

Crotty (2010) finds that the argument for valuing "objectivist research associated with quantitative methods over against constructionist or subjectivist research associated with qualitative methods – is far from justified" (ibid, p.15); Mason (2009) identifies six reasons to integrate different research methods; and Bryman (2008) finds the case for using a mixture of methods is good when they are "mutually illuminating" (ibid, p.603). He also identifies two kinds of arguments against and counter-argues each. First, the embedded methods argument states that for example, a survey and a participant observation are incompatible at the epistemological level. However, Bryman (2008) would argue that research methods are not necessarily fixed and are capable of "being put to a wide variety of tasks" (ibid, p.604). Second, the paradigm argument states that qualitative and quantitative approaches are separate paradigms and therefore incompatible. Under this view, when a researcher combines a survey with an observation, the integration is only at a superficial level. Bryman (2008) finds that this argument, as with the embedded methods argument, depends on an assumptions regarding the **"**interconnectedness of method and epistemology in particular that cannot – in the case of social research – be demonstrated" (ibid, p.605). Additionally, the use of the term paradigm is still argued in the social sciences. For example, Bryman (2008) suggests that it is not clear that quantitative and qualitative approaches are actually separate paradigms, and Kuhn used the term in twenty-one different ways. For Bryman (2008) the technological debate wins out over the epistemological debate regarding the two types of research, whereby "quantitative and qualitative research are each connected with distinctive epistemological and ontological assumptions, but the connections are not viewed as fixed and ineluctable" (ibid, p.606).

Three approaches to mixed methods research are defined: triangulation where the results of one kind are used to corroborate the results of the other; facilitation where one is employed to aid the other; and complementarity where the two are employed in order that the differing aspects of investigation can be dovetailed (Hammersley in Bryman, 2008, p.607). In fact, Bryman goes on to detail many more uses as a result of a (mixed method) study involving a content analysis of journal articles and interviews with researchers. My research used both quantitative and

qualitative methods in order to build a picture of what is happening with the socio-economic locations of independent bookshops: I carried out a linear regression in order to understand the geographical concentrations of indies; mapping then provided more clues to these geographies; and finally, interviews with a wide selection of indie types in a wide number of area types provided a far more nuanced picture. Selection of indies for interview was also aided by the knowledge gained from the statistical analysis and the mapping: one could say that my approach to using mixed methods covered triangulation, facilitation and complementarity.

3.4 The Research Methods

My research used a number of different methods. This section examines each, any issues that were encountered and the sampling frames used.

3.4.1 Mapping and Modelling

This involved mapping the locations of indie bookshops in the UK between 2001 and 2011 at both the regional and local authority level, using the Geographical Information System ArcGIS, in order to examine their geographical distributions. Simple statistical analyses were carried out on the numbers and types of indies that have closed during this period. A linear regression analysis of bookshop concentrations in local authorities was run against two factors, age and social class, using SPSS: see Appendix D for details of the regression analysis.

The population under examination was all the bricks and mortar independent bookshops in the UK that primarily sell new books: thus the sampling frame for question one covered the entire population. The data used here was limited to membership of the BA, who claim around 95% coverage for all shops, including indies, supermarkets and chains, that hold stock of new books valued at £5000 or more. This membership claim seems to be quite valid for the independents as for each area visited, identities and locations of local bookshops were examined via Google maps, and talk with indie owners, and they tended to match BA membership. Most independent bookshops join the BA membership as they need to in order to access the National Book Tokens scheme and the online, suppliers payment system Batch Ltd. The BA confirmed that most independent bookshops join their membership within a year of opening and they tend to hear of a closure within a year of closing. The data for very mixed, low-range chain bookshops is likely to reflect that chains' entrance into selling larger numbers of books, and therefore requiring the services of the BA, rather than an actual opening of a physical shop. Nevertheless, membership of the BA can be taken as a proxy for the entrance of a new chain bookshop. Data on changing bookshop locations over time that might be somewhat more reliable in terms of exact open and close dates are available from various retail analytics companies. However, this data is highly

costly and was therefore not within the scope of this project. The BA location data consisted of a membership file up to 2011 with each data line giving the shop name and its postcode, along with a BA category, such as ‘children’s’ or ‘general’ or ‘Christian’, and a ‘closed date’ and ‘joined date’. Data prior to 2001 was not complete as the specific year of joining the membership was not always given. Therefore, the period of 2001 to 2011 was selected for analysis.

3.4.2 An In-Depth, Case Study of a Bookshop: Ethnography

An ethnographic analysis was carried out at a bookshop in England over a three-year period between late 2010 and early 2014 in order to understand the indie book trade both in its day-to-day detail and evolving practices. The ethnography bookshop, which has been trading as a co-operative bookshop with a radical interest, cannot hope to represent all the indie bookshops, yet many of the issues I personally encountered and came to understand in this shop were confirmed with interviews with a further forty bookshop owners.

Bryman (2008) describes ethnography as a method which requires: “immersion in a social setting for an extended period of time” (ibid, p.402); making regular observations of the behaviours of members of the setting; listening to and engaging in conversations; interviewing informants on issues not directly amenable to observation or that need further clarification; collecting documents about the group; and developing an understanding of the group’s culture and behaviour within that culture. My single-case study allowed for the examination of the evolution of a particular bookshop over time, and it enabled a detailed account of how the field of independent bookselling worked for that particular bookshop. This is a co-operative, general/radical bookshop that has thus far survived, one might say against all the odds, in a mixed socio-economic area for over thirty years, and as such, it is a “revelatory case” (Yin, 2009 p.49).

Working at the bookshop once a week for two years between late 2010 and late 2012 enabled me to gain a good understanding of how the day-to-day practical world of indie bookselling works. It also allowed me to see in real-time, how a bookshop can struggle to evolve and survive, and how that world is situated within the wider field of general bookselling. I worked in the shop for four hours, once a week, across a variety of days of the week, sometimes in the morning and other times in the afternoon. I often worked on the till: serving customers who were simply paying for a book or product but also doing in-shop and online searches and ordering of books for customers. Whilst working on the till I also: accepted book deliveries; unpacked and loaded books onto the computer book system; checked if orders had come through for customers and called them; and accepted phone call queries for the shop. At other

times I worked in the back office: making up book returns; unpacking and shelving the Fairtrade products; creating flyers for campaigns; and interviewing a new worker for her technical skills. Additionally, I sometimes re-dressed the front window and cleaned the kitchen and the shop. The data collection methods included: keeping a thematic diary that recorded my observations with regard to the major themes that were emerging; carrying out regular impromptu, short interviews with key informants such as workers and volunteers, in order to better understand practices and events; receiving and reading pertinent daily emails that the bookshop received from key industry players; examining the shop's finances; attending internal meetings; attending the shop's events; interviewing a selection of the shop's customers; and closely following the shop's Facebook marketing activities online. I tended to jot notes down whenever I could and as soon as possible: whilst working in the shop, or immediately after.

Many ad-hoc interviews were conducted on the spot in the shop with its three workers.[15] Workers were interviewed 'on the till' and in the back office regularly over the ethnography period in order to clarify how the business was running and any issues that were occurring. These short, unrecorded interviews were conducted with at least one worker each week I worked there. Sometimes, these conversations would then continue over email when I was not in the shop, in order that I might further clarify any outstanding issues. Additionally, one worker was selected for a formal interview via email in order to better understand how the shop was adapting to using NSM, and Facebook in particular. The Facebook postings of six indies and the ethnography bookshop were also examined on a daily basis between 2011 and 2013, in order to understand the kind of labour that is required of indie booksellers in order to be successful at this new marketing technique. The indies here were chosen simply to be representative across a number of different types of shop. The ethnography bookshop was chosen for a more intensive study as it was a good chance to closely follow the trials and tribulations of a worker as she started out learning a new practice. A BA-run webinar on using NSM was also attended, along with this worker. Four internal workers and co-operative meetings were attended during the ethnography period in order to better understand the issues the shops was having and how they were being resolved. Six volunteers were also interviewed informally whilst working on the till or in the back office in order to ascertain their motivations for working there and any problems they were encountering. Joseph Theobold, author of the '*Marvin and Molly'* series of books for children, was interviewed during an event at the ethnography bookshop to understand his motivations for running the event and his opinions about the usefulness of independent

[15] Whilst this workers co-operative has no official manager and certainly, no individual owner, one worker who had worked at the shop since it opened in the eighties was consulted most often as the person with most knowledge of the shop's history and operations.

bookshops to his work. Eleven of October Book's customers were interviewed formally in late 2012 and this is covered in the next section. Once I stopped working one day a week at the ethnography bookshop in late 2012, I kept up-to-date with their fortunes through regular email contact and ad-hoc visits, throughout 2013 and well into 2014.

In addition to the ethnographic data collected at the ethnography bookshop, observations about the thirty B&M bookshops visited for interview with bookshop owners were also made. Photographs of shop exteriors and the streets the bookshops were located in were taken. Observations about customer/bookseller interactions witnessed during interview, the bookseller themselves, window dressings and interiors, and the location, were all noted down immediately after the interview and later added into the interview transcript. Also, six bookshop events were attended as a participant observer at bookshops other than at the ethnography bookshop: a ticketed, political debate at a well-known central London, destination general bookshop with a political, literary focus; a free 'stories and songs for under-fives' session at a North London general bookshop with a focus on children; a free musical performance from the top of a bookshop barge in East London, close to a destination shopping market; a ticketed, author signing and lecture at a central London destination pagan/spiritual bookshop; a ticketed literature festival in Sussex; and a crowd funding event at a general bookshop with children's focus in a North London suburb. In each case, observations and any informal chats with participants were all noted down during or very soon after the event. At all of these events, notes were made about the kinds of people in attendance, the types of social interactions that were occurring, and the reasons for attendance given by any attendees or authors I spoke with.

3.4.3 A Series of Semi-Structured, In-Depth Interviews

Forty independent bookshop owners and eleven customers of the ethnography bookshop were interviewed formally and in-depth. Bryman (2008) describes qualitative interviewing as very different to quantitative interviewing (or surveying) in that surveys are a set of questions that reflect the interviewers concerns and are structured to maximise reliability and validity, whereas qualitative interviews are less structured and the emphasis is on the interviewee's own perspectives. The result for the qualitative interviewer is that interviews can be quite lengthy at times with talk sometimes veering away from the original set of topics. However, this is often the point where the interviewer gets interested as it is such undirected ramblings that can "give insight into what the interviewee sees as relevant and important" (ibid, p.437). Qualitative interviews can range from completely unstructured where there is perhaps just one question, to a focussed or semi-structured interview where a schedule of questions is followed, although not necessarily rigidly adhered to.

For Hollway & Jefferson (2009), whilst many would agree that surveys are quite good at answering the 'what is going on here?' questions and not so good at answering the 'why is this happening?' or 'what does this mean?' questions, they also warn against the transparent account problem. In other words, how can we be sure our interviewees are telling the truth and indeed, what is the truth? They argue that the subtleties of everyday conversation, such as querying, interpreting, seeing hidden agendas, disagreeing and bringing in counter-examples, should be brought back into qualitative interviewing and they propose this as a form of free associative, narrative interviewing.[16] Hollway & Jefferson's (2008) study uses six themes (deriving from their theoretical framework) to allow the interviewees to openly and freely tell their story, and involves never asking direct 'why', what' or 'how' questions. Rather, they tend to say 'Tell me about the time…' Questions are therefore designed to be few and open-ended such that participants can construct their own stories, thus enabling meaning and values to unfold through narrative. As far as possible, the main questions are located temporally, so that participants can locate their stories in time and place, with further questions following "the principle of respecting the respondent's meaning-frames" (ibid, p.38).

For my research, an interview schedule was devised that centred around twenty questions, derived from five main topic areas: see Appendix A. The schedule contained a number of 'How' and 'Why' questions, but it also contained highly open-ended, narrative questions such as 'Tell me about...' The framing of the questions and the fact that the schedule was not strictly followed, allowed the interviewee to take the conversation into areas I had previously not considered as pertinent. Some adjustments were made to the schedule, particularly once the pilot was completed.[17]

All the interviewees, both bookshop owners and the customers at the ethnography bookshop, were sent a standard email prior to a follow up telephone call in order to arrange a suitable interview time. This email explained a number of issues to the interviewees: the background to the research and its funding through the ESRC and RIBEN; my work as an ethnographer at a

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[16] Saying that the interviewees responses are open to interpretation, leads one to also say that the interviewers interpretations are also open to interpretation, and so on: the "hermeneutic circle" (Denzin quoted in Hollway & Jefferson, 2009, p.3).For a great example of the hermeneutic approach, see Baxandall's (1998) study of how fifteenth century people interpreted Italian renaissance art. In this example, the author relied on documentary evidence of understandings of how people interpreted images at the time. For example, biblical references, colour conventions and even visual representations of sizes and shapes had meanings. He reconstructs the period eye, but he is still constructing this from his own point of view. In the end, we must state our point of view and deliver evidence to create a reasoned argument that supports our own interpretations.

[17] A pilot set of four indie interviews were carried out in early 2012, in order to ascertain the viability of the interview schedule and to capture early emerging themes within the questions.

bookshop; and that anonymity would be maintained. During the follow-up phone call, these issues were discussed once more, along with the need to record the interview: anonymity and confidentiality were stressed once again. None of the interviewees refused to be recorded. Only one of the many independent bookshops contacted declined to be interviewed: no reasons were given. None of the customers at the ethnography bookshop refused interview.

The majority of the independent bookshop owner interviews were carried out face-to-face in the summer of 2012. This allowed me to visit their shops, enabling me to gain a better picture of their locations, their customers and the presentation of their shops. The average length of time each indie interview took was 47 minutes, ranging from 19 minutes to 110 minutes, and with a median of 45 minutes. Forty independent bookshops were purposively selected for in-depth interviews. The initial sample for the independent bookshop interviews was decided once the statistical modelling and mapping were completed. Both of these exercises allowed me to understand the pattern of indie locations as correlated to areas of high social class, areas with older people, tourist areas and regenerating urban areas. The mapping also showed that indies were in many shopping area types other than urban high streets, they could be located in: villages, towns, suburban arcades, and in areas of high deprivation such as Hackney. The statistical analysis also showed that there were many different types of indies and that some types were faring better than others. A small number of online-only shops were also included in order to better understand online book retail. The sample was not fully pre-determined before interviewing began. It was created taking all of these considerations into account, with additional shops being added as field work and analysis continued: see Appendix A for the full list by area and shop type, along with the question schedule. The final number of bookshops chosen to be interviewed was determined by saturation, that is, until no new data was emerging. Budgetary and time constraints meant that the sample was confined to England only.

Interviews with eleven customers of an indie were carried out in late 2012 in order to understand why they value their local bookshop. This is a very small sample and it is limited to one particular shop, due to timeand budget constraints. The customers were chosen for interview based on a simple survey that allowed me to choose interviewees with as wide a variety of attitudes to Amazon, ages, incomes and educational backgrounds as possible: see Appendix B for more details and the questions that were asked.

Not all of the interviews in this research were carried out face-to-face: five of the forty independent bookshop owner interviews and ten of the eleven ethnography bookshop customer interviews were carried out by telephone, due to budgetary and time constraints. One interview, with an ethnography bookshop worker, was carried out by email. Meho's (2006) review of studies that used email to conduct qualitative in-depth interviews finds the technique enables

efficient and effective research. For my email interview, the interviewee was well known to me as I had worked with her at the bookshop. This meant that a close rapport already existed and therefore, the interview proceeded very well: potential issues of missing non-verbal cues were not encountered as this rapport allowed me to both encourage the interviewee to think openly in her responses, and to gently encourage in her a sense of ease with the interview procedure. Lack of non-verbal cues can be also be a problem with telephone interviews. However, the telephone interviews I carried out worked well in the main: a rapport was built up quickly with the interviewees and the results were surprisingly rich in the data they offered. The main difficulty encountered in face-to-face and telephone interviews was interruptions: many of the interviews were carried out in busy shops or offices, or with customers with children. These interruptions could interrupt the flow of conversation. However, it also allowed me to regroup, check the interview schedule, and quickly plan the next stage of questioning. On many occasions, it also enabled me to witness the myriad social interactions that occur in bookshops. All of the interviews were recorded with permission, transcribed very shortly after interview, and then quickly analysed.

3.4.4 Content Analysis & Discourse Analysis

Various texts were analysed throughout the research period in order to uncover the Foucauldian "discourse as a system of representation…which produces knowledge" (Hall in Wetherall, Taylor, Yates, 2001, p.72-73), that surrounds the selling of books by indies and more powerful retailers. In order to understand the industry and the discourses surrounding it: daily readings of industry literature from the *Bookseller Magazine* and media news reports on the BBC and *The Guardian* were examined between November 2010 and November 2013; weekly issues of the *Bookseller Magazine* were examined between November 2010 and September 2013; emails from the BA to an independent bookshop member, the ethnography bookshop, were read between late 2010 and early 2014; and a highly popular and often-quoted book which extolls the virtue of internet choice, '*The Longer Tail'* by industry expert Anderson (2009), was also examined. Four relevant industry events were also attended during the research period: the annual Booksellers Association conference for independent bookshops, held in London in 2011; the annual London Book Fair, held over two days at Olympia in 2012; the first 2012 'Independence Day' event held in the market town of Frome in Somerset; and a 2013 seminar at City University London, aimed at helping newcomers to the field of independent bookselling. In addition, a simple content analysis was carried out on reports of independent bookshops between January 2011 and December 2013 for four online newspapers: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times*, as well as the *Bookseller Magazine* between late 2010 and late 2013. The objective here was to understand what kinds of indies these media tend

to report, their locations, the context, and how they describe them. These broadsheet newspapers were chosen to be examined as unlike the tabloids, they often feature bookshops in their *lifestyle* and *culture* sections and sometimes, in '*top fifty'* articles. The *Bookseller Magazine* was chosen as it is the most widely read and definitive source of information for the bookselling industry.

3.4.5 Data Analysis

Varying kinds of qualitative data were analysed during this project, ranging from the simple to the complex. All texts were loaded into Nvivo along with their attributes, such as customer and bookseller demographics. Texts included: an ethnography diary, which contained all notes from the ethnography; an events diary, which contained all notes from any events I attended; an analytical memo diary, which contained all memos I made throughout the research project; a discourse analysis document, which contained the results of my discourse analysis; transcripts of the eleven customer interviews at the ethnography bookshop; transcripts of the forty interviews with bookshop owners; and finally, any photos that were taken at the B&M bookshops. Bookshop interior and exterior aesthetics were analysed for patterns of likeness and differences both immediately after interview and later, by examining and comparing photographs and notes taken on interiors and local streetscapes.

The media content analysis examined how often independent bookshops in different locations and with different foci were mentioned and /or interviewed in newspaper and Bookseller Magazine articles, in order to uncover whose views are being represented, or not. The discourse analysis intended to further reveal the major player's opinions about the market and any doxa that might exist. As such, any mentions of independent bookshops in media articles or at industry events were noted for the following points: what is being said about the independent bookshop in relation to the wider market?; how do those in power, that is the larger retailers, the digital players, the publishers, and key industry players such as the editor of the Bookseller Magazine and the head of the BA, view the situation of the independent bookshops?; and what is being assumed about independent bookshops? At events, the analysis was often done in situ, with more detailed notes and analysis being completed soon after.

Analytic memos were written throughout the project to aid with coding and creation of concepts and themes. Concepts sometimes arose from within the data with little reference to other academic literature, such as the '*Country Life*' and 'Utilitarian' Aesthetics. These two types of aesthetic for bookshops were derived from a combination of an interview with a particular bookseller who had marketing success with a magazine called '*Country Life*', an email from the BA recommending that all independent books target the *Archant* series of magazines, which contain a set of '*Life*' magazines such as '*Sussex Life'*, and my own growing awareness, during

travels to bookshops for interview, that a certain kind of look was being used to gain symbolic value. Other times, concepts were used directly from theoretical literature. For example, '*Hysteresis of Habitus*' is a Bourdieusian concept (Bourdieu, 2011b), and it became obvious fairly early on in interviewing that an example was occurring in the trade. Relevant themes found in the retail literature could also help draw together bundles of concepts. For example, the theme of 'Alternative Measures of Value' from Hall's (2012) ethnography of independent retail became an important frame as my own concepts regarding diversity, the concentration of bookshops, gentrification, curatorship, serendipitous discovery, and local socio-cultural-politico needs emerged from the data. Additionally, the theme of '*Engaged Capitalists'* was based on Miller's (2007) evaluation of independent booksellers in the United States as '*Reluctant Capitalists'*, which was represented in my research data by the in vivo codes 'Old Breed' and 'New Breed', but also created by teasing out some of Bourdieu's theories of capital, field and habitus.

All interviews were analysed immediately after transcription. This involved reading (and re-reading) through the transcripts, creating preliminary codes and making analytic memos. These codes were then revisited several times as interviewing was completed and analysis continued. As categories were found and themes began to emerge, some of these codes were changed, or dropped, or new ones were created. Throughout the analysis, special attention was paid to: any repetitions across interviewees; any indigenous typologies, metaphors or phrases that were repeated between interviewees; linking phrases such as 'because' or given examples; and finally, anything that interviewees did not discuss but perhaps others did.

The creation of initial or first-order codes involved eclectic coding, which is "a combination of two or more First Cycle coding methods, with the understanding that analytic memo writing and Second Cycles of recoding will synthesise the variety and number of codes into a more unified theme" (Saldana, 2010, p.262). Provisional coding was carried out during the initial coding: these were relatively simple codes for questions regarding the shop's business model, such as customer types, sales, lists of competitors, and staff numbers. Or sometimes the code/categories were obvious from the literature review and research questions, such as 'Disintermediation'. In vivo coding was used whenever something particularly striking jumped out of the text, often as a phrase that represented an important concept. Analysis was often a combination of emotion, values and versus coding, all of which are "affective methods…(that seek to) investigate subjective qualities of human experience" (ibid, p.105). Emotion coding was used in order to unearth the feelings of all the participants in the project. Values coding was used in order to understand bookseller and customer values, attitudes, and beliefs. Versus coding was used as the 'old breed' and 'new breed' concepts emerged in order to better understand the 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), that was occurring. Simple descriptive codes were also used for any

other sections in the texts, such as strategies or activities. Second order coding, which involved taking the first-order codes into more analytic or conceptual categories using focussed or axial coding, was repeated as concepts emerged from the data or found in the literature, or new first order codes were applied. These conceptual categories, which were often found in the analytic memos and based on ideas from retail and theoretical literature, the research questions and the discourse analysis, were then collapsed into overarching themes, where a theme is "an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent [patterned] experience and its variant manifestations" (DeSantis & Ugarizza in Saldana, 2010, p.176).

The thematic analysis of the independent bookshop owner interviews whilst interviewing was ongoing meant that the sampling frame and the question schedule for interview could be changed slightly as time progressed and certain topics became more relevant. For example, as I became aware that an example of 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), was occurring in the trade, and there seemed to be a difference based on age and length of time as a bookseller, I paid more attention to ensuring I had a good representation of older and younger booksellers as well as booksellers who had been in the trade for many years and those who were recent newcomers. I also paid more attention to asking them about their working backgrounds. Analysis of what was significant to the interviewees could also lead to further research being conducted. For example, once I found that certain niche booksellers felt they were not being represented by the industry or the media, I conducted a content analysis of the major broadsheets and the key industry magazine, *The Bookseller Magazine.*

3.5 Reliability & Validity in Qualitative Research

As with much qualitative research, statistical representativeness was not the aim of this research. Rather, the research provided an intensive view, providing insights into the contextual practices of indie booksellers and their customers. However, questions of reliability and validity must be addressed.

Morse et al (2002) have argued that in order that qualitative research be taken seriously, "qualitative researchers should reclaim responsibility for reliability and validity by implementing verification strategies integral and self-correcting during the conduct of inquiry itself" (ibid, p.13). They found that over the previous twenty years, reliability and validity in qualitative research had been "subtly replaced by criteria and standards for evaluation of the overall significance, relevance, impact, and utility of completed research" (ibid, p.14), which may have inadvertently led to qualitative research being undervalued. They argued that rather than evaluate qualitative research post-hoc for attaining standards, which cannot change the direction of bad decisions made during the research, qualitative research should contain in-built

rigor that enables the researcher to "correct both the direction of the analysis and the development of the study as necessary" using "investigator responsiveness, methodological coherence, theoretical sampling and sampling adequacy, an active analytic stance, and saturation" (ibid, p.17).

Investigator responsiveness describes the ability of the researcher to ensure reliability and validity. For example, the iterative aspect of qualitative research means the researcher must dynamically analyse data and return to theoretical underpinnings, research methods and sampling strategies. Verification strategies include "ensuring methodological coherence, sampling sufficiency, developing a dynamic relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis, thinking theoretically, and theory development" (ibid, p.18). Methodological coherence means ensuring the question matches the method, which matches the data, which matches the theoretical analysis. Again, this is an iterative process, which ensures that what is known amongst the sample population is matched to what is needed to be known, and it is collected. The sampling strategy must also ensure that the sample is appropriate: this simply means using participants who have the best knowledge of the topic under investigation. Sampling adequacy is achieved through saturation and replication. This iterative approach allows for the "movement between a micro perspective of the data and a macro conceptual/theoretical understanding", such that theory development becomes "an outcome of the research rather than being adopted as a framework to move the theory along" (ibid, p.18).

Finally, Morse et al (2002) also find that "the concepts of reliability and validity as overarching constructs can be appropriately used in all scientific paradigms because, as Kvale (1989) states, to validate is to investigate, to check, to question, and to theorize" (ibid, p.19). My research has followed this iterative approach throughout.

3.6 Reflexive Enquiry

Reflexive enquiry should be at the heart of any social research and perhaps in particular, qualitative research. Indeed, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) argue that ethnography is by its very nature a reflexive process and Mason (2009) describes reflexivity as:

> …thinking critically about what you are doing and why, confronting and often challenging your own assumptions, and recognising the extent to which your thoughts, actions and decisions shape how you research and what you see (Mason, 2009, p.5).

We must also examine our own stance or the relationship between the researcher and the researched. For Cooper (2006), "the researcher is not simply observing from a position of detachment" (ibid, p.11). He states that we should be ready to ask many questions of ourselves

in order to improve the quality of our research. Is the researcher's interpretation of the world of higher status than the 'lay' view? Does our personal identity such as gender and race have any bearing on how we see the world, or how respondents may respond to us? Or perhaps our own professional 'field' predisposes us to a particular view of the world not shared by our respondents (Bourdieu in Cooper, 2006, p.11). For Bourdieu & Wacquant (2007) there are three areas to be considered in any reflexive account: the social origins and co-ordinates of the researcher such as class, gender and ethnicity; the researchers given dominant position within the academic field; and most importantly of all, the researchers own intellectual bias in relation to the object of study. This "epistemic reflexivity" involves the researcher recognising and working to "neutralise the specific determinisms to which their innermost thoughts are subjected" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.46). The researcher must engage in a "sociology of sociology…as a necessary prerequisite of any sociological practice" (ibid, p.68), such that the nature of the relation of the researcher to the object of study is itself studied, in order to uncover any bias.[18] We are invited to view all of Bourdieu's work as reflexive in itself in that to engage with the thought processes used by Bourdieu is "of necessity an invitation to think beyond Bourdieu, and against him whenever required" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p.xiv). The critical part of any critical social science requires an emphasis on emancipation from any suffering. Sayer (2011) finds that in order to achieve this goal, rather than aiming for a value-free science, researchers should aim to embrace normative thinking which implies taking a (justified) value standpoint. However, he recognises that any change for the good of a small part of society can involve highly complex and major questions regarding the whole of society: small targeted changes may ultimately not be implementable without major structural change within society. Perhaps then, the social scientist can only hope, at best, to follow Bourdieu's lead in always aiming to expose the forms of power and domination that permeate society rather than hoping to turn the 'is' into an 'ought', where it means "x ought to be changed in a certain way" (Sayer, 2011, p.160).

In terms of self-reflexivity, there are four areas I wish to examine that may have affected my collection and interpretation of the research data**.** *First*: my position as third-level educated, middle-aged woman. Indie booksellers tend to be third-level educated themselves, as were the customer respondents. Working at the bookshop during the ethnography also helped enormously with creating credibility, empathy and trust during interviews. The similarity between my age and many of the interviewees probably also helped. I cannot make any call on the effects of my

[18] Bourdieu's (1988) most famous example of this kind of reflexive study is probably *Homo Academicus* wherein he exposes (through self-reflexivity) the reproduction of class prejudices academics are prone to, and the ensuing malign effects on students.

gender (female), other than it is possible that interviewees might have seen me as less of a threat. *Second*: my career in software development in the City has meant I have worked with resources that no indie can hope to tap into: my own habitus had to be examined – why should I assume that all indie booksellers would be as able at NSM and new technologies as me? Working at the bookshop helped me understand the world of bookselling from the bookseller's point of view: my expectations have changed. *Third*: this research examines how indie bookshops are sometimes considered to be elitist and how they are being gentrified. My own class background is not easy to pinpoint, yet it is true to say that I have always been upwardly mobile and wishing, with deep reservations, to be middle class. This did affect my view of what indies should be like at the start of my research. Getting to know this highly diverse group has helped me to see things differently. *Fourth*: a reader might be forgiven for assuming up front that I am perhaps a technophobe or anti-technology. This would be an incorrect inference. I seem to be permanently plugged into the net and I am truly excited by its future possibilities. A reader might also be forgiven for assuming that I only like the indies. In fact, I love all the places that provide me with an opportunity to meet a book. In short, undertaking this research has helped me more fully understand and refine my position with regard to the key issues it studies.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my strategy for answering the research questions by engaging with: the ontological and epistemological bases for the methods chosen and their limitations; the validity of using a mixed method; the methods used for sampling and data analysis; the validity of the data collected; and the position of the researcher. By adopting a mixed method, highly flexible approach to the research design and execution, my research adds a new dimension to UK retail literature, enabling a nuanced collection and analysis of data that reflected unfolding analysis, events and context. The next three chapters examine the research findings in detail.

Chapter 4: Economic Geographies of the Transformed Field

4.1 Introduction

The current general UK bookselling market structure, which favours high volume, convenient, online selling, has seen the closure of many bookshops. This chapter uses mapping, statistical analyses, a linear regression analysis and interviews with forty bookshop owners to examine the spatial economics of running a bookshop and the changing geographies of opening and closing shops between 2001 and 2011. Whilst the pattern of changes is not as simple or clear as one might like, this chapter argues that due to the difficult economics of running an independent bookshop, they are now concentrating in wealthier, regenerating, tourist and destination locations.

Section 4.2 examines the impact free pricing and new technologies have had in creating a new market structure that favours high volume, online selling. Section 4.3 examines the current economics of running a bookshop. Deep discounting by larger retailers is found to be causing co-ordination problems in the market for the indies, yet their dominated position means this orthodoxy goes unchallenged. Respondents are also shown to be struggling to remain in the new market, due to the harsh reality of their new economics where market share and margins have dwindled through disintermediation from the digital economy, deep discounting, competition from many quarters, rising bills and the economic downturn. The new and oftentimes unprofitable practices that are expected of indies are also explored, along with the sometimes difficult relationship bookshops have with urban gentrification. In section 4.4, bookshop location data is examined through mapping and statistical analysis across a ten year period between 2001 and 2011. Patterns of openings and closings are explored using the location data and the case is made that 'indie deserts' are increasingly associated with lower wealth, non-tourist areas, and indies are most likely to be concentrating in tourist or destination areas that can best afford a full-price bookshop. Finally, section 4.5 summarises the difficult nature of prescribing a 'silver bullet' for opening a successful independent bookshop.

4.2 The New Market Structure

Bourdieu (2011b) finds that the structure of any economic market is contributed to by the state under the direct or indirect influence of the parties most directly concerned. Certainly in the case of bookselling, the state was the first to intervene in the bookselling market by challenging the

lawfulness of the NBA in 1962. In this instance, the publishers were able to successfully argue against the case as it would cause damage to both the publishers and the dominant retailers at the time, the indies, but in 1997, the case against the NBA was supported both by the Publishers Association and the retailers who had begun to dominate the field: the chains. This time, whilst the court was still interested in the impact free pricing might have on the market, whether it might adversely affect books sales and outlets, there was also a discourse from the sections of the trade who were seeking the change, that positioned the indies as places that were elitist and inefficient. In the following autobiographical extract, Terry Maher, head of the Pentos group of chains and the main instigator in the collapse of the NBA, describes the indies in the 1980's as intimidating and having 'narrow appeal':

> Bookshops had a narrow appeal. Most people never entered a bookshop in their lives. There was a feeling within the trade that people who buy books know what they want and know where to find what they want. And the rest didn't matter. To use a modern marketing term, bookshops were not user-friendly. Many people were intimidated by the prospect of entering a bookshop…far too many books were being published…far too few copies of each title were being sold…the market was fragmented, under-capitalised, old-fashioned, snobbish, inward looking, regulated and, not surprisingly inefficient (Maher, 1994, p.54-55).

This view sees the production and selling of a small number of copies of any book as without value. It also frames regulation as a protector of inefficiency, an accusation that was made against both the publishers and the indies. Free pricing also fits with the neo-liberal belief in unregulated markets: it is likely that this view is the major cognitive frame that was the driving force behind the NBA collapse. Maher (1994) put together a team to drive forward the "Dillons' campaign for the abolition of the NBA, [which would serve to] justify his upcoming national marketing campaign" (ibid, p.115), that would be based on price cuts. This NBA abolition campaign included: an op-ed piece in the Times in 1989 by Maher that described the publishers as elitist; the forcing of the NBA collapse by persuading some undecided publishers to de-net prior to the court hearing; and a substantive submission of evidence to the Director General of Fair Trading to apply for a review of the 1962 ruling. The case was not to be taken to court until 1997, after Maher had left the book retailing scene, but he had achieved his aims: in persuading some publishers to de-net prior to the case; in making fixed pricing a matter for very public

debate; and in providing a large body of evidence that material circumstances in the book trade had changed enough to warrant the review.[19]

Selling at high discount in high volumes now benefitted both the chains and the conglomerated publishers economically and it was the indies who were to suffer from this new arrangement (Feather, 2006). Heavy discounting of the most popular books became the norm, and chain stores concentrated as they bought out smaller chains. Waterstones' original premise to provide as large as possible inventory to the public, promoting the backlist as well as the front list became watered down when it and Dillons were sold to HMV in 1998. HMV decided to apply some of its successful music retailing principles with "a greater emphasis on campaigns and front-of-store promotions, higher stock turnover and reducing the range of inventory" (Thompson, 2010, p.54). Tim Waterstone resigned as chairman in 2001, claiming that the new tactics left the store with a front list "and if you're left with a frontlist you're led into a discount war" (ibid, p.54). For some industry experts, the new bookselling landscape after the NBA, meant lower quality as the chains concentrated on commercial bestsellers to the detriment of the backlist (Epstein, 2002). Academic research would seem to back this view: even though the chains were often buying books from smaller independent publishers, these were put on shelves at the back of the shop in order to fill up space and often were unsold and eventually returned (Thompson, 2008). The NBA collapse initially meant bargain bookshops, book clubs and independents, who could not compete with the prices being offered by the chains, lost out, while the chains gained. However, more recently, the chains themselves have begun to suffer from the even bigger discounts now offered by supermarkets and internet giant, Amazon. In the early noughties, online retail giant Amazon became a major player, being especially good in selling:

> …the more specialised books and older backlist titles, thus eroding revenue from Waterstones and other book shops backlist sales. Between 2000 and 2006, Waterstones sales had reduced from 28% to 23% of market share, the independents' sales reduced from just 8% to 3%, internet (Amazon) sales had tripled from 2% to 7%, and the supermarkets book sales had doubled from 12% to 25% (Thompson, 2010, p.57).

[19] Maher's (1994) own account of the history of the Pentos group can be read as the development of his relationship with the City: it opens with great positivity in the offices of a stock broker in 1972 as Pentos is born, charts the takeover, rise and success of one of its companies, the chain bookshop Dillons, as a series of financial deals and negotiations to increase share price, and ends with a diatribe against the short-termism of City investors, after the economic recession of 1980's and the Pentos management buyout. A year after Maher's book was written, Dillons was taken over by HMV and the brand disappeared completely a few years later when it was acquired by Waterstones.

Both the success of Amazon and the supermarkets' entry into bookselling was enabled by the ability to discount heavily.[20] Additionally, research by Fishwick (2008) has found that whilst bestsellers may now be available at cheap prices to new audiences through supermarkets, chains and Amazon, this has been at the expense of increasing the cost of other genres to consumers in bookshops that do not discount. In the fight for market share, the biggest retailers have used free pricing to obtain large discounts from publishers, and this has forced the publishers to push up the Recommended Retail Price (RRP) of all books.

Whilst the bookselling market has been recently suffering from highly turbulent times, the general B&M retail sector is also undergoing a transformation as consumers move towards online shopping. New agent Amazon, with access to large technical and financial capital, has changed the rules of the game once more, introducing new ways of distributing, new ways of reading via eReaders, and new ways of buying and selling books via Amazon Marketplace, such that they have quickly become the new leaders in the field, causing major problems for all B&M booksellers. Additionally, the publishing field continues to agglomerate in the 21st century: a new 'supergroup' merger between Penguin and Random House has now been created (Bookseller, 2012a). However, the publishing field, and probably all other market fields, are being encroached upon by digital economy agents such that Amazon is now the biggest player in the bookselling field.[21] Amazon seeks to increase its power by not only dominating the book market through efficient distribution systems and convenient online shopping, but by influencing the reading habits and practices of consumers: it continues to win the battle for domination of the eReader market. The device market is enormous, highly competitive and is having a huge influence on all bookselling agents. Many other big digital economy companies

[20] A 2008 Office of Fair Trading report into the effects of free pricing found that whilst there were some expected gains in productivity from the entry of the supermarkets and internet sellers, contrary to original expectations, there has been a negative effect on the productivity of B&M booksellers, such that the net effect might have broadly offset each other (OFT, 2008). Whilst this report's focus is on increasing productivities and improving efficiencies for retailers that free pricing might bring, it also acknowledges that "there remains circumstantial evidence that price, and the ability to discount, played a non-negligible part in the success of entry [by the supermarkets and internet retailers]" (ibid, p.10).

[21] A 2013 report estimates the digital economy accounts for 14.4% of all companies in 2012 and 11% of jobs, yet this report also admits to difficulties in knowing what firms to include: "we restrict 'digital content' to sectors where the only or principal outputs are digital products or services. For example, we exclude large parts of the architecture sector, but include firms specialising in CAD and technical drawing. By the same token, we exclude supermarkets, but include retailers whose principle offering is digital (such as digital music stores)" (NIESR, 2013, p.9).

such as Apple, Microsoft and Google are looking to increase share of this market and the publishers, chains and supermarkets are all still finding their way.[22]

Examining market share changes in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 below throws some light onto the market restructure. According to this data, 'other specialist bookshops', which are assumed to include the indies and bargain bookshops, held almost 20% of market share by value in 1998, whilst the internet held just 0.3%, the supermarkets held only 4%, and the chains held the lions share at 38.5%. By 2007, the chains continued to dominate but by now, internet outlets had gained enormous ground, moving from 0.3% to 20% in less than ten years, whilst 'other specialist shops' had fallen to less than 10%.

	1998	***2007***	***% Change***
Five (four) largest chains*	38.5	37.5	-3%
Other specialist bookshops	19.9	9.6	-52%
Supermarkets	4	11	175%
Clubs and other distance sellers	24.7	10.9	-56%
Internet**	0.3	20	6567%
All other outlets	12.6	11	-13%
	100%	100%	

*With the merger in 2006 of Waterstone's and Ottakar's the five became four.

**The 2007 figure includes some direct mail retailers who switched to selling via the internet. Without these companies the total would have been 17.0%

Table 4.1 % Shares of Retail Sales of Books in the UK (% of Value).
Source: Reformatted from Fishwick (2008).

Further data in Figure 4.1 below shows that the indies have continued to lose ground since 2007, contracting from 4.7% to only 3.4% of market share by volume between 2010 and 2012. The internet now accounts for almost 40% of market share and the chains have reduced to less than 30% market share, with all B&M outlets suffering, other than the supermarkets, which have remained level. It is not possible to directly compare the numbers for the indies between these two sets of data as neither the categorisations of outlets or the share indicator are the

[22] Waterstones has selected to partner with Amazon, whilst WH Smith, along with many large B&M retailers and the BA, have chosen the Kobo The Kobo is owned by Rakuten, a very large Japanese online e-commerce company, and potential competitor to Amazon. Some large retailers have also chosen to sell Barnes and Noble's Nook.

same.[23] Nevertheless, the picture is of a downward trend.

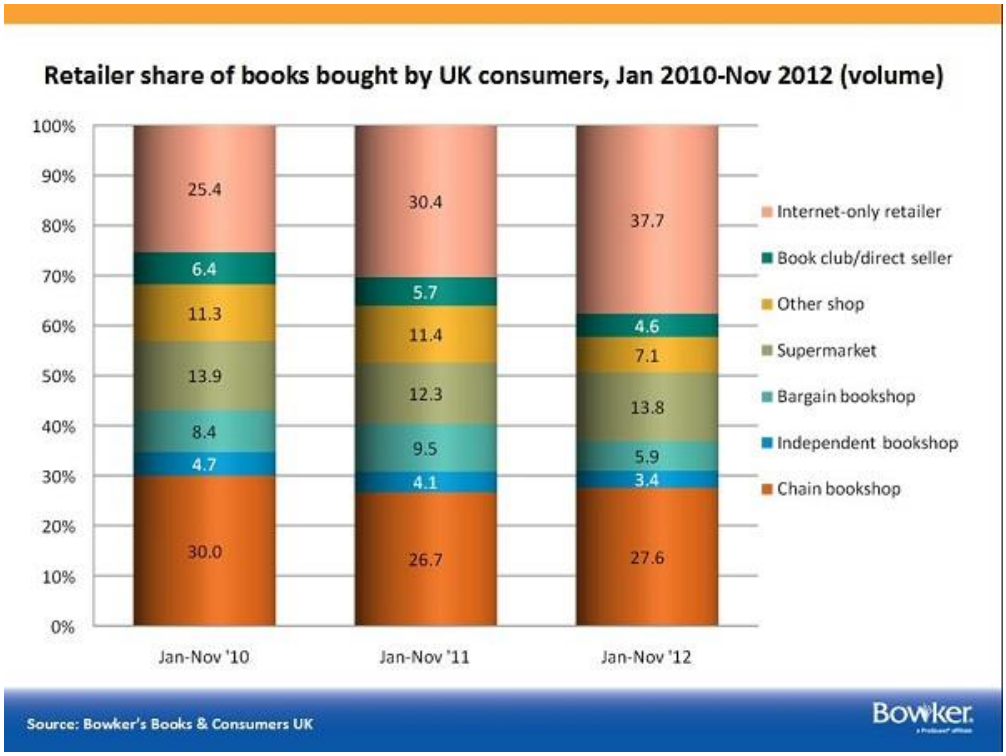

Figure 4.1 Changes in Book Market Share by Volume in the UK between 2010 and 2012. Source: Bowker's Books and Consumers UK in DigitalBookWorld (2013).

Figure 4.2 below attempts to express the restructuring of the field of bookselling in the UK in diagrammatic form. This diagram represents the field of bookselling as a hierarchical field reflecting market share, such that the indies, who once dominated the field, are now in a subordinated position. Bourdieu states that a field is a structured social space of positions, which contains agents that dominate and those that are subordinated, and there is a constant struggle to either transform or preserve these positions in the field (Bourdieu 1998, p.40). In any economic market, competition between firms forms the basis of that struggle. Indie bookshops tend not to be in competition with each other as they rarely have close geographic proximity. However, they are now very much in competition with other agents in the field of general bookselling and the relationship is a hierarchical one in that the indies' fortunes are very dependent on the fortunes of the larger book retailers. It is impossible to pinpoint an exact moment in time when the field restructured such that the indies moved from a dominant to a subordinated position, yet

[23] The data in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 switches between market share by volume and by value. The inclusion of eBooks in the market figures means that these two numbers are not as comparable as they once were, due to extreme discounting of eBooks.

it is clear that the collapse of the NBA in 1997 was a turning point in that free pricing has enabled loss of their market share to the chains, the supermarkets, and now Amazon.

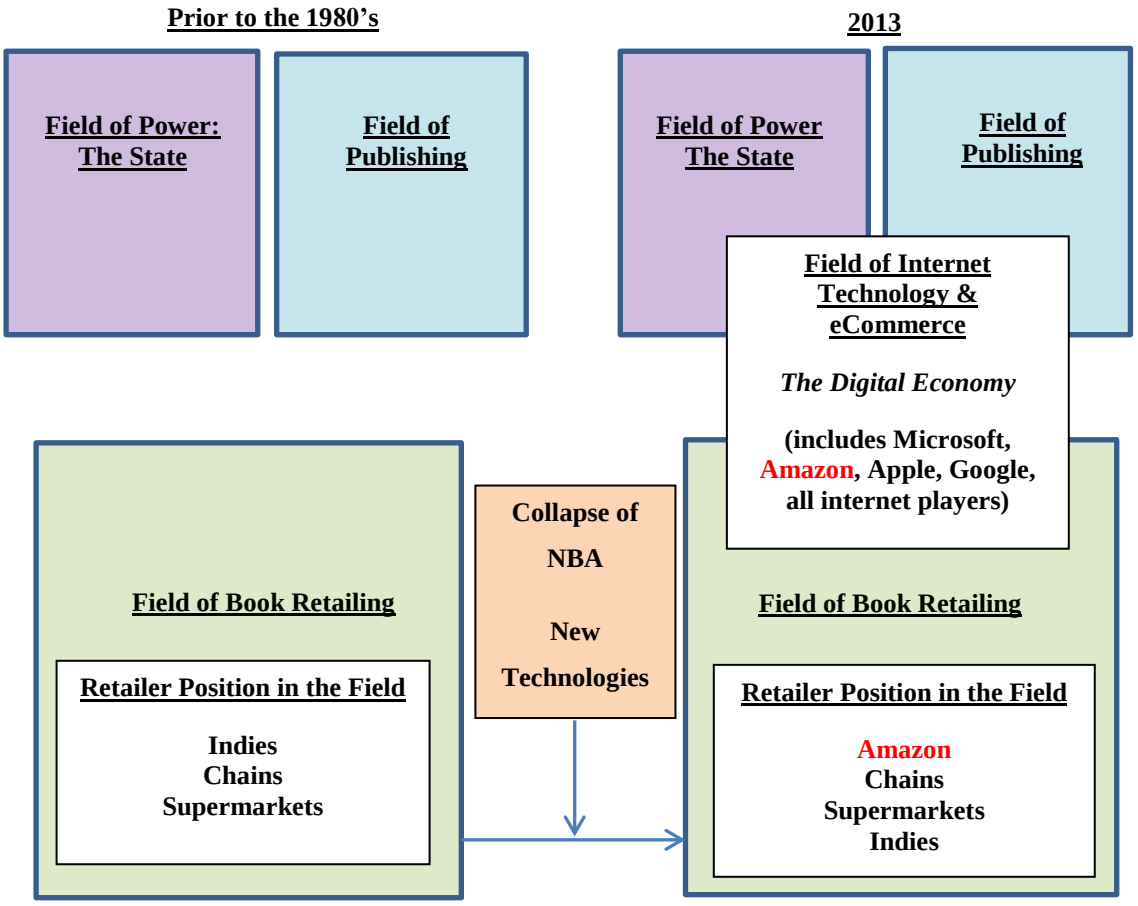

Figure 4.2 The (Re)Structuring of the Field of Bookselling in the UK.

4.3 The Changing Economics of Running a Bookshop

This section examines the economics of running independent bookshops, and how their business has been eroded over the years through disintermediation, deep discounting, increased competition, the economic downturn & rising costs. The geographies of adding value to the book-selling process through new practices and gentrification are also examined. Indie bookseller were not asked directly about profit, turnover or salaries. This is because the initial interviews showed that some participants were deeply uncomfortable with being asked such questions, which interfered with the interview process. Instead, participants were asked about how sales were doing and the number of employees the shop could afford to support. Nevertheless, some participants did volunteer specific information about salary and turnover.

4.3.1 The Consequences of Deep Discounting: 'Stealing the Cream' & Market Coordination Problems

Since the collapse of the NBA, deep discounting has become standard practice within the industry. Typically, the independents receive 30 to 40% trade discount from the distributors, 50% if they order in bulk directly from the publisher or there is a special offer on, whilst the larger retailers can receive 50% plus from the publishers. However, the nature of running an independent bookshop means that most of the indies do not order in bulk so they rarely receive 50% discounts. Additionally, there is a lack of transparency within the trade as to which retailers receive more than 50%, and how much more. Generally speaking, the independents are not in a position to pass on many discounts whereas the larger retailers, or those who can command the biggest trade discounts, can pass on large volume discounts to the consumer. The majority of indies interviewed felt they cannot compete on price:

> There was one bookseller saying he saw a book on Amazon for 20p but it had been in his bookshop for £18.99… £18.99 for 20p. You can't compete (Indie Bookseller).

The consequences of free pricing was framed by booksellers as: creating an expectation amongst the public to pay less for books; creating dubious behaviour in the form of show-rooming for the public and the purchasing of stock from supermarkets and Amazon for the booksellers; and forcing publishers to push up the RRP of 'big books' such as Christmas cook books to enable large retailers to sell at half price or less. One bookseller describes deep discounting of the front list by the supermarkets as "stealing the cream", as they are only selling the easy-to-sell bestsellers, leaving the hard work of selling the backlist to the indies. He also challenges the public assumption that Amazon is the cheapest retailer:

> They're stealing the cream…we're losing the front list (bestsellers). And also, people like Amazon, when they started, they were doing deep discounting on books and made a loss in the UK for the first eight or nine years, I think. But what they did, and it's a fiendishly clever scheme obviously because they can afford to do it, was to run at a loss so everybody then started to assume that Amazon were cheaper than anywhere else. And now they only do deep discounting on the front list on newly published books. On other books, the discount is 10% or a very small amount. So people now… now that Amazon have won the belief of people, that they are cheaper than anyone else, people will order automatically from Amazon (Indie Bookseller).

It is possible that Amazon is not as cheap as the public thinks. Research in 2012 by a marketing consultancy firm shows that Amazon was cheaper for the top twenty best sellers only, compared to seven other large retailers, and significantly more expensive after that (Guardian, 2012a).

However, perceived cheapness is unlikely to be the only factor for book consumers in choosing to shop with Amazon over other online providers: Amazon leads the field in convenience with its patented '*one-click'* and its '*Prime*' service that delivers the next day for free.

Many bookshops feel that deep discounting in combination with online shopping has caused unethical or rule-breaking behaviour called show-rooming in their customers.[24] This behaviour is particularly difficult for booksellers if they have spent their valuable time with the customer in question:

> I have spent, oh yes, a good hour with a variety of them and I've worked my way through their shopping lists and "Oh yes, well you know, you need that for that child, this book" and I've shown them all the books and then at the end they've said "Oh, thank you very much, we'll go and get them on Amazon" (Indie Bookseller).

Some bookshops have even had customers haggle over the price of a book:

> So if they can haggle me down, it's like I'm selling a book for £2.50 and they're like "Will you do it for £1.50?" Well I could give you my profit but I live on the bread line as it is so it's a bit of an insult. That's my dinner you're taking away. When someone's shoes cost like £300, I get a bit angry with them (Indie Bookseller).

At the other end of the scale, some bookshops have broken the rules of the game by buying discounted books from supermarkets and Amazon and then selling them on to their own customers at full price:

> I can buy a book cheaper on Amazon than I buy it from my wholesaler. Have I? Yes of course (Indie Bookseller).[25]

The logic of the trade publishing field is now one where there is a "preoccupation with Big Books" (Thompson, 2010, p.292). These 'Big Books' are used to "cross-subsidise the weaker books commercially" (Neill Denny, You & Yours, 2011).[26] 'Big Books' are typically those books that will sell in very high volume over the Christmas period and the method of pricing

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[24] Show-rooming is the practice of examining products in a B&M shop without purchasing it, then shopping online to find the product at a cheaper price.

[25] It is impossible to say how many of the indies buy their stock from Amazon or the supermarkets. However, four of the indies interviewed volunteered the information that they did so for bestsellers; a member of the BA board publicly referred to it as a known practice on You & Yours (2011); and it was the subject of a cartoon strip by the cartoonist Posy Simmonds (2002). Customers also create their own rule-breaking scripts when they show-room or when they search for indie traders on Amazon and then purchase from the indie's website rather than Amazon, so that the indie gets a better deal.

[26] Neill Denny is editor-in-chief of *The Bookseller* magazine.

and discounting used to achieve those sales are highly problematic for the indies. In 2010, the biggest selling book was Jamie Oliver's new cook book, which had an RRP of £30 yet it sold in Sainsbury's for just £9.99. Patrick Neale, an indie bookseller on the BA indie board, explains the difficulty this entails for the indies:

> We don't discount so it's going to be very hard for us to sell at that price…I couldn't buy it for the price Sainsbury's are selling it at…I know there are some independent booksellers who buy it from the supermarket and sell it at a different price because that is the best financial solution for them…Jamie didn't get where he is today without hundreds of bookshops promoting his books through hundreds of window displays and so on…the physical presence of books is really important and we love showcasing great books but we have to be rewarded for doing that (Patrick Neale, You & Yours, 2011).

These concerns were echoed by many of the respondents: the indies are being used to showcase (or showroom) the 'Big Books' for the publishers and larger retailers, but with no profit to the indies. Whilst the publishers do sometimes give special deals to the indies, many indies feel they have "shot themselves in the foot" (Indie Bookseller) by giving in to Amazon's power to extract huge discounts. One bookseller questions why it is they cannot always give terms as favourable as they do to Amazon, if as they say, the indies are important in the discovery of their books, and only represent a very small percentage of their sales:

> We are the growing place for new titles, new authors, a slightly quirky back list…I think they (the publishers) are not very helpful…when they're never prepared to offer us what they offer someone like Amazon, and given that we only represent 1% of sales…It would cost them so little[27] (Indie Bookseller).

Continuing to keep the RRP on books whilst following the deep discounting model is also seen as a debate waiting to happen or, "the elephant in the room" (Indie Bookseller), and a contributor to the devaluation of books within the mind of the public as it "plays into a strategy that focusses on price rather than content" (Indie Bookseller), such that "people now are reluctant to spend ten or fifteen pounds on a book…whereas ten years ago that was the norm" (Indie Bookseller), and "anyone buying a book at full price thinks they are being ripped off" (Indie Bookseller).

The normalised practice of deep discounting for the larger retailers only has led to a situation where there is little or no discussion of this model, or potential alternatives, at a public level

[27] In 2012, indie sales represented only 3.4% of all book sales in the UK (DigitalBookWorld, 2013)

within the industry. In the following extract a senior member of staff for the online *Bookseller* magazine defends their decision to award Sainsburys the 'Chain Bookselling Company of the Year' award in 2011, and at the same time, revealing the dominant players' thinking on the subject:

> This may have escaped some commentators' attention, but the Net Book Agreement is long gone, discounting a real part of the industry, and the internet and digital are a growing part of the pie. Yes, all of these factors have unfortunately led to a lot of pain for many booksellers. Yet, to carp against Sainsbury's winning the award is a stale 20th-century complaint; frankly, indies and B&M booksellers have to move on from the complaints and figure out how to survive and thrive in the market as it stands, not some sort of bookselling utopia, which probably never existed (Bookseller, 2013i).

This is one of the very few occasions I have witnessed any public debate about the collapse of the NBA and the nature of the 'discussion' fits well with Bourdieu's analysis of how the "instruments of knowledge of the social world" produce immediate adherence to the "self-evident and undisputed" social order of any field (Bourdieu, 2011a, p.164). The effect of the above extract is to close down any dialogue or debate. Readings of physical copies of *The Bookseller* magazine between 2010 and 2013 found the following occasions when the NBA was mentioned. The first is from an editorial:

> The collapse of the net book agreement in the late '90s still divides opinion yet had it stayed, books would have steadily become a narrow and expensive product (Neill Denny, Editor-in-chief, Bookseller, 2012d).

The only time fixed pricing was debated in the Bookseller magazine was in October of 2011 in an article where some indies, unusually including a radical, said it was discounting that was killing their business. The head of the BA responded by saying:

> The BA Council has taken the view up to now that there are too many hurdles to surmount for the NBA to be reintroduced. Furthermore, it has to be recognised that in the future it would be very difficult to prevent an intent bookseller from the outside the European Union selling English books at a discount into a UK fixed-price market. The internet has changed the backdrop. But the BA council will continue to keep the matter under review (Bookseller, 2011b, p.5).

There may indeed be a particular problem for English speaking countries, although if they are 'hurdles' to be surmounted and even if there may be difficulties, the case should surely be reviewed? Research has shown that the RRP of UK books has actually risen above inflation since free pricing was introduced, whereas countries that have maintained fixed pricing have

seen the RRP remain level or reduce (Fishwick, 2008). Alternative pricing models are being tried out in other countries (Løyland and Ringstad, 2012). However, the majority of the interviewed indies felt that the NBA could "never be brought back" (Indie Bookseller) as there would be "too much uproar" (Indie Bookseller) from powerful booksellers, and there is not enough will to make a change amongst government, or the people:

> If there is any government intervention that we would like to see is, bring back the NBA…It's doable if there is a national will for it and I don't think there is. I think the special interests and the moneyed lobbyists will be against it and Amazon and Waterstones and Tescos know they are on to a good thing and they're not gonna sit and let it happen. We don't harbour any illusions about setting up a grassroots campaign to get the NBA back in (Indie Bookseller).

Indeed, when questioned about the possibility of the UK adapting the French model, whereby Amazon's discounting practices are restricted and indies are designated to be sites of special cultural significance, which allows for rent reductions and grants, all the indies found that that such a system would never even be considered in the UK.

4.3.2 Erosion of Indie Business: Disintermediation, Competition, the Economic Downturn & Rising Costs

Shops that have been open for a long time have witnessed a gradual downward trend in earnings: the majority of bookshops interviewed reported falling sales for 2011 to 2012. Sales are reported as declining in terms of footfall as well as supplies to libraries, universities and schools, as these institutions' budgets are cut. Many indie bookshops have seen their business erode over the years through a combination of competition from charity shops, the chains, the supermarkets, the internet, Amazon, and the recent economic downturn. For many, the biggest threat to their business has been Amazon, yet other local competition and the economic downturn has also been significant. The following niche bookseller has been a seller of mind, body, spiritual books for over twenty five years:

> (Business is) gradually declining…the biggest (threat) is the internet. Amazon has taken a huge chunk of book trade. The second is your Waterstones' and bigger stores which, in our speciality, actually now include our speciality books whereas they never used to…and the general economic situation, so combined (Indie Bookseller).

All the online-only bookshops found that their business was being eroded through disintermediation by publishers selling directly to the consumer or the consumer using the internet instead of buying books to gain knowledge about subjects. Books that were once only

available through specialist shops are now available on Amazon. The niche bookseller below has sold African books for many years in a bookshop in central London, went online only as the business started to collapse and eventually closed completely in 2012:

> We were for a long time one of the few places you could buy imported African books, you know, they just weren't in the mainstream… Many of them are [now on Amazon]. We used to have buyers in various locations and they would do country by country hoovering up of new material in South Africa, Namibia and collate and send them from Johannesburg and then we'd do Zimbabwe, Botswana and do a big buy there and ship that out. Someone else would do Tanzania, Kenya, Milawi, Zambia in a single road trip and send over two thousand books (Indie Bookseller).

This indie also surmises that the fall in orders from the university libraries he used to supply may be due to budget cuts. Another online bookseller, who has been very successful as a specialist bookshop since 1985, sourcing his books from all over the world, has found that besides Amazon, it is the global reach of the internet that is causing problems with falling orders from libraries:

> We are really lucky because we have this unique range, we find books nobody else can be bothered with, but every year those unique books are less and less unique in the sense that when I started with (shop name) eight years ago libraries didn't really like ordering direct from satellite Russian companies because it was all just a bit difficult. So we did very well at importing books even during the cold war, importing books from behind the iron curtain through a variety of wholesalers who had very good relationships within those countries and selling them to America. So why go through the hassle when you can buy off us? But of course all of those suppliers in those countries are running their own online shops now and you can buy from them via PayPal or whatever so the difficult to obtain items we do are becoming smaller and smaller every year as now it's becoming easier to find them (Indie Bookseller).

A third online only shop, which has been trading in eco books for over twenty years, has found his business being eroded as ordinary customers use the internet to source information:

> I mean for my particular niche of the market the real killer has been the internet, not Amazon, not anything, it's just the internet… so if you take one of my bestselling books which is a book about seed saving for example, I've sold thousands of it… Historically if you wanted to know about seed saving you would buy a book and you read the book and you might not read all of it, you'd sort of use it as a piece of, you know, dip in and out, whereas now if you want a piece of information you can go to get it off the internet for nothing…I mean the real problem is of course that they may

> not be accurate, there's no... with a book there is a mechanism for verifying the information, well, often, not always (Indie Bookseller).

B&M bookshops have also seen competition from Amazon for their traditional revenue avenues such as school orders, as the following general bookseller narrates:

> It (school books ordering) isn't as large as it used to be because one of the main schools in the town, I think they've recently introduced credit cards to heads of department these days, and so they're buying online…Well, we're losing quite a volume of business, actually (Indie Bookseller).

One of the few remaining independent academic booksellers explains how some universities are buying print and eBooks directly from the publishers:

> I think departments are certainly going that way because in my opinion it is an easy fix. They are having to provide content [and] they can just go straight to publishers and say we need this for our students, so they are completely circumventing book shops, which creates a massive conflict of interest between our rep [and us]. They go straight to the department. And it absolutely stinks. And then they expect us to have the books here as well… the psychology department here (the university he supplies) has done a deal (with a publisher), which is basically six books that is made available to their entire first year intake…it's basically took two of our top selling books away in one fell swoop (Indie Bookseller).

Christian bookshops have also seen some of their biggest customers, the churches, go directly to the suppliers, or simply not buy the books or non-book products at all:

> Some of them are ordering direct from publishers. For things like candles et cetera they like to drive up to the distributor in [area name], it gives them an afternoon off… It's (the hymn) PowerPoint projected. Where they would have ordered a hundred copies (of a hymn book), they now get one just to see what is in it (Indie Bookseller).

As sales fall and costs rise, more bookshops are being pushed towards closure. Some costs can be cut, for instance by the owners not taking any wage or by reducing staff numbers, but this then puts extreme pressure on the remaining staff, particularly as the modern bookseller now has many more skilled tasks to perform. Some of the booksellers interviewed work for minimum wage or less. The following niche bookseller is located in the centre of a city and her shop acts as a draw for people from around the country:

> I live on ten thousand per year. My (two) staff live on nine thousand pro rata. We buy lunch for everybody out of the till… the one pound bookshelf goes all into a kitty and

> we buy lunch out of that, because otherwise they couldn't afford to travel and eat. So yeah, I have a job I love, I meet the most amazing people, I'm one of the happiest people I know, so it isn't like "woe is me" but…It's really not for the money and it's not possible if you want to have children. It's not possible if you want a mortgage. It's not possible (Indie Bookseller).

Other costs such as utility bills, rents and business rates are fixed and rising. Some bookshops are able to circumvent these costs by operating from stalls or barges or having enough capital to own the premises, but for many, all of these bills have to be paid. The difficulty many bookshops face in terms of rent is trying to balance a location that is on the main street where rents are very high but footfall is good, with a location off the main street where rents will be much lower but footfall will also be low. Sometimes, a bookshop will have to move location if the area they are located in becomes a target for chains, or it becomes popular through regeneration, with ensuing rent and rates hikes, as is the case with this general bookshop:

> I've got rent and rates which probably…you know the reason our profit has gone down, the profit not the turnover, the profit has gone down because the rent has gone so sky high because of the popularity of the area (Indie Bookseller).

Whilst the indies suffer from a dwindling market share caused by disintermediation, competition through deep discounting, tightening budgets within the economic down turn, as well as tightening margins due to rising costs, they are also expected by the industry to partake in many new practices in order to add value to the book buying experience. The next section examines the spatial economics of those practices.

4.3.3 New Indie Practices: 'It's not enough to be just a bookshop now'

Before the collapse of the NBA, the arrival of internet technologies and the onslaught of deep discounting, indie bookselling, whilst never a high paying business for most, could be made to work without having to engage with any of the following practices:

1. Make potential customers aware of the bookshop through use of new social media (NSM) and engagement with the media through marketing and PR. Entice customers into the shop through careful marketing, using both email and new social media.
2. Add value to book buying: make book buying an experience through running events.
3. Selling other non-book, higher margin products such as gifts or coffee.
4. Provide an internet presence. The minimum requirement is an information only website. The BA has been advocating that indies also sell eBooks online.

In order to illustrate how these doxic practices are now taken for granted throughout the industry, I examine the advice from the head of the BA, at a seminar held in March 2013, designed to help people become indie booksellers.[28] The following skills and techniques were listed as necessary to ensure success: financial skills, people skills, marketing skills, IT skills, PR skills, diversification into selling other products, running events, and having a café.[29] Promotion of the shop was seen as key to a successful business: "You do have to catch the eye of the press" (Notes from Equip, 2013). As we shall see, many of the practices expected of the indies are causing more work for already stretched workers with little guarantee of a return on investment. Additionally, the data finds with Bourdieu (2011a) that agents are often unsure about what to do as they are very uncertain about the outcomes of their actions, and they can sometimes follow courses of action that are outside the rules or norms.

Most of the booksellers have engaged with selling cards and many are now selling other products such as Fairtrade, stationary and gifts, or running a cafe. These items have higher margin and can help the business remain afloat. Cafes work in many location types as a good draw and profit centre. However, some booksellers are stuck with the space they have, which may not be suitable for a café, and others worry about the squeeze on space for actual books. Running events has not proved profitable for the majority of respondents and the extra work involved in engaging with new social media and PR have not been shown to give a return on expended labour for most. Booksellers now have to juggle some very difficult balls; increasing costs, decreasing sales, lack of capital, increased competition from online sellers such as Amazon and even the Guardian, eBook sales, and an expectation amongst the public to provide many new services. The outcome is an extra workload for the booksellers that some are finding difficult to deal with. One struggling Christian bookshop describes the increase in workload for booksellers as only enabling the business to 'stand still':

> You've got to get out there doing events, author signing…. it's not enough to be just a bookshop now. Which means more work for the bookshop owner…a lot of people go in thinking it's a bookshop twenty years ago. Sat behind the counter with a pipe and a

[28] Run by Equip, an organisation funded by the Arts Council to promote equality in publishing. Examples of successful bookshops were: the Mainstreet Trading Company (winner of Independent Bookshop of the year 2012); Blackwells in Oxford; Foyles; and Daunt Books; all leaders in the field.

[29] The BA have been running webinars on using Facebook and getting your website high on an internet search throughout 2012, and they launched a new Saatchi marketing campaign called 'Books are my Bag' in the Autumn of 2013.In April 2013, the BA began a partnership with Archant Magazines. It is unlikely that the radicals or many of the Christian bookshops will feel their customers fit the Archant lifestyle profile. The BA also ran a showcase of non-book products for indie booksellers to sell in their shops in May 2013.

> cat on your lap…you need to keep signing new people up, thinking of new things to get people in, just to stand still (Indie Bookseller).

This extract points to a narrative within the industry that booksellers had it a lot easier in the past and that newcomers to the field must be prepared to work harder. However, as this bookseller points out, and as we shall see in more detail, not all players will be able to achieve financial success even if they engage with all the new practices. Some older booksellers are finding that the physicality of running a bookshop has also become too much as more demands are made on the sole trader bookseller:

> If you're in the bookshop six days a week and you've got customers in and out and you're answering the phone and your unpacking and sorting out books and putting book fairs together and going out in the delivery van and putting book fairs out and collecting them and taking them down. And, you have a committee once every three months so you go up to London on your day off. And, you've got to find time to go through the website and see if there are any orders there, you have to email people with enquiries back again. It's just physically having enough of you (Indie Bookseller).

Running events is fraught with difficulty for many bookshops yet seen as something that must be done. Shops in very high social class AB% or destination areas tended to find it easier to make money from running events and selling at book festivals. To illustrate this point, Table 4.2 examines indie concentrations in four small cities in England.

(Mean for England)	City 1 (2 interviewed)	City 2 (3 interviewed)	City 3 (3 interviewed)	City 4 (3 interviewed)
AB% (24%)	15.8%	18.9%	28.6%	29.8%
Mean Age (40)	39	36	37	40
Per Capita (1.35)	0.78	0.84	1.84	2.84

Table 4.2 Social Class, Mean Age and Per Capita Concentrations of Indies for Four Cities in England in 2011.

Source: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS 2011.

The linear regression with per capita number of indies in 2011 by Local Authority (LA) (N = 256) as the dependent variable, and % population with social class AB in the LA and the mean age for the LA as the independent variables, shows a weak but positive correlation with both variables that explains 32% of the variance with a Sig = 0.0. The regression itself is analysed in Appendix D. Whilst this regression indicates that there is a correlation between indie locations and social class and age, the analysis does not give a full picture, perhaps particularly as the analysis areas used are so large. Indeed, as the outliers showed, there are local authorities such

as Cheshire that have very high AB%, yet no indies at all. The mean age across the four cities in the table above is either average or less than average, which is to be expected for a city. The shops that reported increasing or flat sales, as well as success with events, were in high AB% areas of City 3 and City 4. The following bookseller runs a successful children's bookshop in a high AB% part of a city:

> So I'd say all of our events generally make profit…and the community really support us, so we'll have sixty people come to our events. We have to turn people away. We've got two thousand people on our mailing list, so we know how to market it properly. I think its marketing; if you know how to market it, then there's no reason for you to (not make a profit) (Indie Bookseller).

There is one notable exception, the Christian shop in City 3. As previously noted, Christian shops are having a particularly difficult time and this shop's location may also be an issue in that it was located in a lower middle class suburban area of the city, unlike the successful general and children's bookshops which are in urban, boho/wealthy parts of the city.

Some of the successful shops employ event managers and teams to run the events for them. However, many shops, particularly those in less wealthy areas, have not found it easy to make events profitable, even though they have worked hard to run them: "it is really disheartening when no one comes or you just get the same people each time" (Indie Bookseller). Running events adds to the booksellers' workload, requires a skillset many do not possess, and may also require decent populations of local wealthy customers to pay. Location can also be a factor as some areas do not get the benefit of known authors being supplied by the publishers. Being the 'right type' of bookshop may also be a factor in engaging with known authors.

Alongside running events, is the practice of getting your shop known about, and its events publicised, through marketing and PR. Besides using email, many booksellers have engaged with new social media such as Facebook and Twitter as a way to market their shop to customers. Results are very mixed and many are not convinced that the extra work involved has been worth the cost. However, for those shops that run successful events, particularly those who are in urban areas with younger customers, or who are destination shops, both of these tools have proved to be very useful. The following niche bookseller runs a successful events programme and in this extract she describes how her usage of NSM works well with her younger urban customer base:

> Social media as a whole is huge for us. We do a lot on Facebook and on Twitter. We have a mailing list and a website. And all of those things are around building an audience, contacts, a customer base. Facebook is more direct interaction with

> customers of the shop so there will be a lot of people who come in and buy things from us. Twitter is a mix of that and a lot of publishers and marketing people and authors, which is the other side of setting up events and getting things organised and getting contacts… we've had people in from France, from Spain, from South Africa who've come in and said, "I follow you on Twitter. I'm so-and-so"…It works for us because we're (city name) and therefore our audience is quite wide. We don't have a small local community like you would in a village. And also, because a lot of our customers of our customer base are young 25-35 year old age group who interact with social media (Indie Bookseller).

For the successful bookshops, PR is also essential: their managers spend a lot of time engaging with television, radio, newspapers and magazines, so much so that one indie worries that "the danger is you don't spend enough time sitting there selling books". However, many bookshops will not fit the required profile for being included in an article in newspapers and magazines. Being able to market events successfully may also be tied into location. The following general bookseller ponders why she cannot make her business profitable whilst others can:

> Whether if I was in a slightly different location it could do or I just don't know. I'm not convinced. I mean I'm looking forward to talking to [successful indie owner name] and [successful indie owner name] because I think if anyone's going to be doing it they will I guess. Yeah and I think [successful indie owner name] employs a lot of staff and he has a family and he used to be a [job title] and I think that he expects to live in a certain way so I think it is possible to. He's in [city name] and he's…my problem is I'm in [city name] but this is a local bookshop. I have to give people a reason not to go into central [city name] or any of the other [area] bookshops and I think there's only so much you can do with that in [city name] and also with our events, we're competing with the fact that in [city name] you can do anything you want and go anywhere you want… I mean my goal is to not lose money basically, and I have not quite got there yet (Indie Bookseller).

This extract is significant in that it reveals the model some booksellers aspire to is that of two highly successful bookshops in extremely wealthy areas, both high in symbolic capital. The indie above is located in a deprived, urban part of a large city that is not a destination area**.** Certainly, getting your name in the right magazine helps with business and some shops, in the 'right' locations, may find this easier to achieve, as the following general bookseller in a city with very high symbolic capital finds:

> We're currently in Vogue's best one hundred shops outside London. So these things then get filtered into people's weekend break plans (Indie Bookseller).

For many booksellers, having the required IT and marketing skills to develop a website and use Facebook and Twitter is now seen as essential. For bookshops that have opened in recent years, these practices were taken for granted and not seen as problematic. However, for booksellers who have been in the game for many years, these new practices posed problems, whilst at the same time being accepted as "essential" (Indie Bookseller). New social media (NSM) such as Twitter and Facebook are being touted as must haves for any bookshop by the BA who have been running webinars for the independent bookshops to learn the necessary skills. The majority of booksellers have engaged in one or both, the selection of which mainly depends on their personal experience or whatever resources they can tap into through family, friends, volunteers or staff. Larger retailers can afford to buy in expertise but there is a much more slap dash approach to making NSM work for the majority of the indies. The majority of the indie booksellers using Facebook have only a few hundred 'likes'; this in comparison to the fifty two thousand 'likes' achieved by Waterstones and the three and a half million 'likes' achieved by Amazon UK (as of 2013). The following online-only niche seller is not convinced it would bring him any extra sales:

> I've looked at it but I'm not sure I see exactly what benefit it brings to our business really. I mean not a big proportion of our customers are actually very active on Facebook or Twitter or anything like that. So, really unless you've got an audience out there…I mean I could just sit here twittering…I could set up a Twitter account and twitter away or have a wonderful Facebook page or something like that but I'm not sure that I'd actually be communicating with very many people (laughs) (Indie Bookseller).

However, another B&M niche bookseller felt that being a destination shop meant using Facebook was critical and she had achieved over 1,500 'likes':

> So that's why I say the Internet is crucial. People come to here from Milan, from Tokyo, from New York, from Idaho, from… it's like we're like Stonehenge…so for us, we completely rely on it for our image and brand. Projection, absolutely rely on it to find our customers because we're a destination bookshop and we have to be out there (Indie Bookseller).

Some found Twitter useful for making connections with people in the trade, or letting people know about imminent events in urban areas as this urban children's bookseller relates:

> Don't forget the Pop-Up Tales (a children's event) is on in half an hour (Indie Bookseller).

Both of the barge bookshops felt NSM was very useful in connecting to urbanites. One barge bookseller had bartered her way from Northern England into the heart of London to sell her books to a young bohemian crowd:

> Twitter has been invaluable, especially for the bartering thing because it's so immediate… I could put something saying like I need a meal in Maidenhead tonight if anyone wants to take some books in return…This person, this Maidenhead person specifically, his girlfriend lived in London and had seen me in London and had said, "Oh my boyfriend lives in Maidenhead, get in touch with him" and then I would get this strange text saying, "Are you on your way to Maidenhead? I will be waiting under the bridge with chicken stir fry" (Indie Bookseller).

Whilst many of the booksellers felt they also had to have a transactional website, some found it would cause too much work, as this general bookseller relates:

> I'd have to list all the stock. I'd have to employ somebody to put all the stock in, then I wouldn't know if it were accurate, then I would have to keep updating it. It's difficult enough updating my Amazon stock let alone anything else so I don't get involved with that… I don't think it's worth it. I think you're either an online dealer or you're not (Indie Bookseller).

This extract points to one of the fundamental problems with running an online transactional website: keeping data up to date and in line with the actual stock you have, both of which require time and resources. The following Christian bookshop, which eventually closed in 2012, set up a shopping cart web site. Shopping carts are the easiest and cheapest way to set up an online service:

> I mean it does work it's just that obviously you've got to be able to put good offers on and that's something that the independent bookshops can't give, the offers. We've had a few orders but I won't say it's been fantastic. We've had one or two where we haven't been able to fulfil them because of keeping the website up to date. And then we've found that when they put the order in you know, you haven't got it in and can't get another one (Indie Bookseller).

A shopping cart option may be simple to set up but even then, many bookshops do not have the ability to keep the data up to date. Other indies use hosting companies to try to achieve an online offering but this can cost more than it returns.

Some booksellers have decided it is too expensive to provide the kind of transactional website they would prefer (bespoke) and that this kind of provision would only make financial sense if the seller 'could turn it into a global thing' (Indie Bookseller). For many booksellers who are

confused about what is the best way to proceed, or who cannot afford or find the right skills to implement an offering that they can also maintain, connection to Hive is the best option, the return on which, so far, can be very poor: "I made thirty one pence last month out of Hive" (Indie Bookseller).[30] There is also a level of uncertainty in understanding how eBooks will affect business in the future and most are unclear about how they can make selling eBooks profitable such that "pushing customers towards Hive is our least bad option rather than a good option" (Indie Bookseller). Whilst the BA has worked to ensure the indies can sell eBooks, the majority of booksellers were reluctant to engage with selling eBooks as they could not see how a profit would be made: they are playing a 'wait and see' game. The following general bookseller discusses his strategies for selling eBooks in the future:

> So if I stock Kobos this year, the product that WH Smiths sell, I will make 5% on the e-reader and then I will make 2% or 3% every time they then sell an e-book. Now, obviously, the reason [head of BA] is pushing people to sign up to something like is because we don't want to look like luddites…a lot of booksellers are just very nervous about it…and they want to be selling the e-reader, even if it's low margin. But, I personally would rather invest the capital at this stage in selling physical print books (Indie Bookseller).

Again, this extract shows that booksellers fear that engaging with selling eBooks in an uncertain, rapidly changing market will cost them capital that will not necessarily be made back, so this bookseller strategizes that he will do better to concentrate on the revenue stream that is working for him for the moment: print books. Thus we can see how the subordinated indies must play a wait and see game as they follow the lead of the big digital economy players.

Another way indies can engage in online selling is though Amazon, which has now moved from being simply a retailer to being a market place creator though 'Amazon Market Place', and this is used by the indies in two scenarios: to source, buy and resell books that are out of print to their customers; and to sell books online, particularly if they do not have an online selling website of their own. This can be useful as it allows them to "get rid of the rubbish" (Indie Bookseller). However, selling on marketplace can become problematic. One online-only indie finds that selling on marketplace leads to a numbers game involving computer algorithms that his business cannot compete against: small traders fight to undercut each other by a penny and then find that the larger traders have access to computer systems that can do this work

[30] It is very early days for the Hive model, which began in 2012. In 2013, the BA set up their own eBook distribution offering which some indies are starting to use.

automatically, which is out of their league as "it wouldn't be economic unless you were selling thousands of titles" (Indie Bookseller).

Only one bookshop interviewed had direct access to a large IT team: a large specialist bookshop that used to be a mail order catalogue company but developed into a large online company that now also sells products related to its specialism. This company has been able to use its IT know-how to come up with several innovative ways of earning revenue in order to counter-act the effects of lowering online sales due to competition and disintermediation. Still, the company is very worried about its future prospects as sales have stopped growing. Thus we can see that for the small, or even not so small indie, the relative lack of access to technical capital, in comparison to the big digital economy players, means they cannot hope to compete in the online world, as things stand.

4.3.4 The Role of Taste & Gentrification in the Economics of Running a Bookshop

Despite the success Florida's (2003) upbeat links between the 'creative class' and urban regeneration has had with city organisers and policy makers, urban geographers have presented gentrification processes contrarily as: a relationship between cultural and economic capital that requires the artist's very presence in the neighbourhood as "a principal tool for goading on gentrification, thereby lining with gold the pockets of buyers and sellers in the inner-city property market" (Ley, 2003, p.2542); not just a simple relationship between the urban and cultural consumption, but a more complex link with the productive and economic potential of culture, in the case of Hoxton, East London (Pratt, 2009); and the direct cause of educational displacements of local, poor or less affluent residents in the Victoria Park area of East London (Butler, Hammnett & Ramsden, 2013). This section examines the sometimes difficult relationship indie bookshops have with processes of gentrification: on the one hand there is the possibility of a wealthier audience to tap into, which may work for some bookshops, but on the other hand, there are associated increases in property values and rents to be dealt with.

Interviews with booksellers showed that location can play a part in determining what kind of financial success you will have with the events you can run. Having a well-known author visit your shop creates buzz and awareness of the shop, and can be financially lucrative, yet shops in locations deemed too far from London could not get known authors to visit their shops for events as "they won't go further south than Bristol" (Indie Bookseller). In fact, the big name authors are willing to travel long distances as this member of the BA board discusses:

> In Middle England there is a sort of anecdotal feeling amongst booksellers from what I can tell that the publicity department at the publishers don't really like to send people

> north of Watford, unless it's to Scotland where there are a little pocket of bookshops up there. Or unless it's to Birmingham or Manchester (Indie BA Board Member)

Authors may be put off by shops that are difficult to get to or that are not in an area with a high concentration of bookshops, yet they are clearly willing to travel long distances. Perhaps the issue is also tied up with authors' own feelings towards areas or types of shops. One radical bookshop described its inability to attract big name authors as tied up with not conforming to normalised notions of what a bookshop is, that is, non-radical, for both the publishers and authors, as well as being too small to generate a big enough audience to be worthwhile: "because we're regarded as radical, but almost certainly because we're too small, and not worth their while" (Radical Indie Bookseller). Over the years, this shop has felt it necessary to play down its radical offerings in order to fit with its local demographics, or to ensure they fitted with a broader range of customers, yet even still, it is affected by normalised ideas of what a bookshop is. Shops that are 'different' can find it difficult to attract customers who might have pre-conditioned misconceptions about them, as a feminist bookshop describes below:

> This year we asked if we could be the collection point for tickets [for a thereader.org.uk event], because last time it used to be Waterstones. We're very friendly with a couple of the workers there and we said, "Could we be the collection point?" It doesn't bring in any money for us. What it's doing is bringing in book lovers who might not have stepped foot in the shop before. And because I think among a lot of other people we maybe are to some extent still seen as that weird shop, that lefty shop, that rabid feminist shop, whatever conception people have of us…So it's getting people over the threshold to come in and see that we're perfectly human and we've got fantastic books in the shop (Indie Bookseller).

These two last examples show how cultural distinctions might be working against non-middle class, non-normalised or 'different' shops, yet both shops are working to convince conservative consumers that they can serve them too. The normalisation of the indies is also reflected in the industry's trade magazine, the *Bookseller Magazine*: whilst this magazine's articles tend to be well balanced in that it usually elicits views from all the B&M sectors, including the indies, the indies it chooses to interview for opinion tend to be general or children's bookshops. Also, articles tend to focus on retail issues that are specific to these two shop types.

Whilst places can be spaces where people can display their lifestyles (Savage & Hanquinet, unp), and bookshops take advantage of those locations, bookshop spaces can also be places where lifestyles are displayed for consumption, and media can play a large part in determining the fate of a location and its shops through reporting on bookshops as lifestyle arenas: bookshops in locations with high symbolic value get far more media attention than bookshops

in the other locations; lifestyle sections often link an area's desirability with the presence of a bookshop; articles that recommend their favourite bookshops often mention their looks. An article in *The Telegraph* (2010) finds the feminist bookshop in Liverpool to be "shabby" and on a "dilapidated high street", pointing these things out as a thinly veiled warning to anyone that might want to visit this shop instead of the usual recommendations, which tend to be gentrified. This newspaper article was a rare mention for a non-middle class indie. The bookshops that do get recommended or reviewed in the broadsheets tend to be in areas with symbolic capital, gentrified and with a focus on general or children's books.[31] The awarding of symbolic capital by the media can have an enormous impact on a shop's fortunes. The following bookseller who runs a literary-focussed bookshop that is doing well and located in a pretty, wealthy, tourist village with large symbolic capital, talks about how his customer base expanded after an article was printed:

> Well *Country Living* was a huge thing for us. That article was three years ago and people still bring it up. I think that sometimes there's a really perfect fit and they did an article about the shop and it reached people [non-locals] that really connect with the shop (Indie Bookseller).

Inner city, regenerating areas have become targets for people still interested in opening a bookshop as costs are lower, yet there may be a good range of younger book buyers on tap. Situating an indie with a very literary bent on a working class street can illuminate class clashes. One bookseller opened a literary-focused general bookshop in a gentrifying, but not yet gentrified by any means, busy, shopping street. He reflects on why it was that the cashmobbers, a recent crowd funding phenomenon detailed in chapter six, targeted the shop:

> It's alright saying "Oh I'm supporting independent shops", but every single shop in this road is an independent shop so why me? It's because I'm the nice middle class one on this street and that's what they look for (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller elaborates further on the issue of bringing a 'middle class culture' to a not so middle class area:

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[31] The Guardian and The Independent are more likely than The Times or the Telegraph to include niche bookshops such as the radicals in their articles. However, none of the newspapers examined included Christian bookshops, even though they account for 23% of the market. For the articles examined, London indies got equal mention with the rest of the UK's indies, even though London only accounts for 16% of the UK's indies. 79% of articles referred to a general bookshop, 21% referred to a children's bookshop, and 22% referred to a non-general or non-children's indie. Some indies get the lion's share of reviews. One winner of the Independent Bookshop of the Year award was featured in 14% of articles, and Foyles featured in 9% of articles.

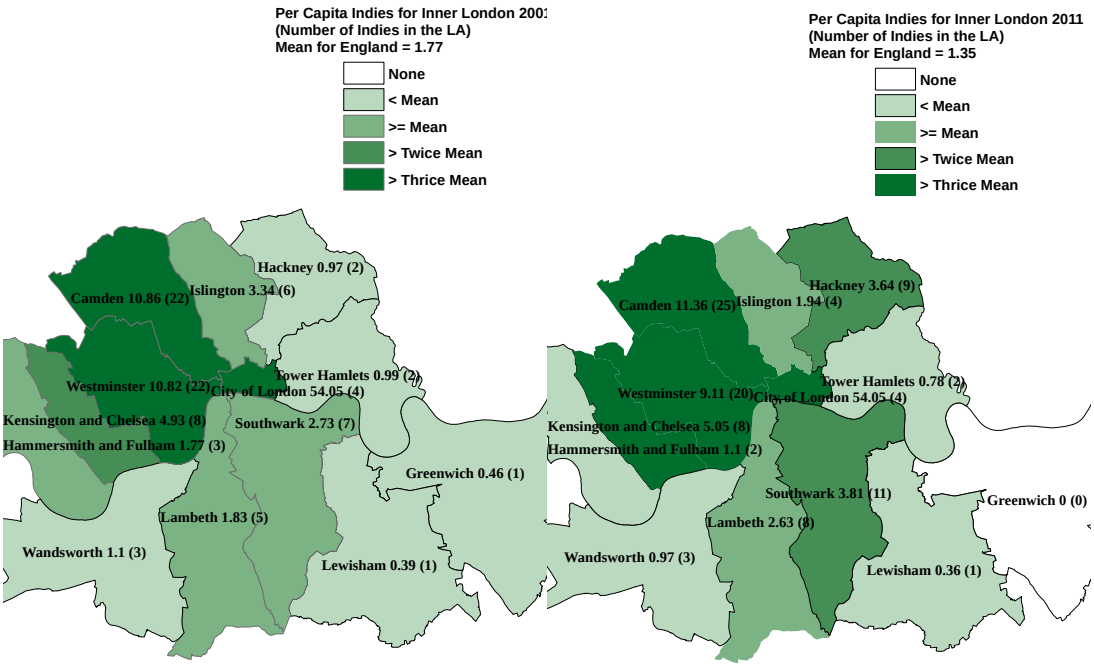
> Somebody told me when I told them my idea, "Isn't that like selling glasses to blind people trying to sell books to people in [area name]?"…Because when I first opened there was a lot of people [that] came [who] were really confused, they didn't understand what this was, they didn't understand what a bookshop was….They came in and said, "Have you got every book of the world in here?", and I nearly laughed and I was like, "Oh God! He's serious!" This was a teenage boy. Lots of people came in and said "Is this a library?" (Indie Bookseller).

This bookshop is not making any profit from its shop sales but it is able to make profit from a series of successful events held in another more gentrified and spacious location.

Savage & Hanquinet (unp) contend that, "in recent decades contemporary forms of cultural capital now openly and directly embrace the urban as central to their qualities and characteristics" (ibid, p.6). One manifestation of this is the:

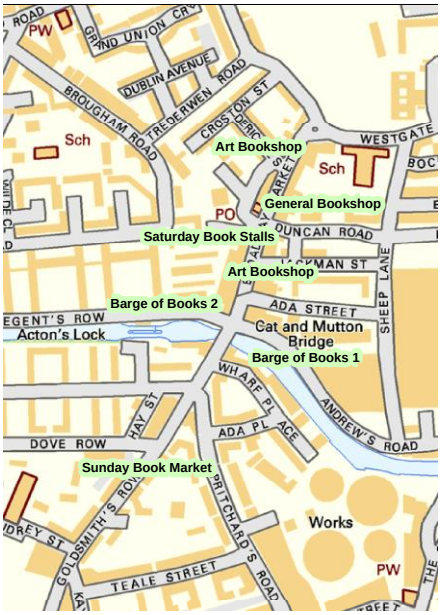
> '…hegemony of urban gentrification...(and) a further aspect of this development is the interplay between cultural and economic capital which is associated with gentrification… Cultural 'work' in a location raises property prices and allows those with the cultural capital to also achieve economic rewards. This interplay between cultural and economic capital has been identified as increasingly important and a difference from earlier models in which cultural distinction was held to be removed from economic wealth' (Savage & Hanquinet, unp, p.8).

To explore these issues further, Map 4.1 below shows changes in per capita concentrations of independent bookshops in Inner London between 2001 and 2011. Inner London has three times the number of indies as Outer London. Camden, with the highest per capita for London, increased its bookshops by three to twenty five. Camden is known for its populations of younger, literary, bohemians and artists. However, Islington, also known as an artistic or bohemian area, lost two of its six indies. The wealthier areas to the West of London either lost a shop or remained flat. The areas with the most dramatic increases are those boroughs that have been undergoing regeneration in the Eastern and Southern parts: Hackney increased its shops from two to nine; Southwark increased from seven to eleven; and Lambeth increased from five to eight. Hackney, like many inner London areas, has a lower than UK average age, and it is highly diverse: whilst it is number one on the index of multiple deprivation in England, it also has a slightly higher than average AB%. There has been much regeneration in the past ten years in Hackney: a new tube line was built in West Hackney and the Olympics were held in East Hackney. Seven bookshops were interviewed in Hackney during the summer of 2012.



Map 4.1 Changes in Concentrations of Indies in Inner London between 2001 and 2011. Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2012].

Map 4.2 below indicates the wide variety of book outlets that were available to consumers at this time in the destination Broadway Market area of Hackney: five were interviewed.



Map 4.2 Indie Bookselling in the Destination Broadway Market Area. Source: Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2012].

The Broadway market in Hackney has become a destination shopping area since the early noughties when it was regenerated. Prior to this there were no bookshops around the Broadway market. Since the regeneration there are now: two art bookshops; one general bookshop; two barges selling old and new books; two stalls set within the Saturday general market; and a large number of various types of London bookshops, including Foyles, selling from stalls during the new Goldsmith Row Book Market on Sundays. One of the book barges had travelled from the North of England to sell at this site for the summer. This area attracts a very large, very young, hip crowd at weekends, and even during the week. It also attracts young parents and their children.

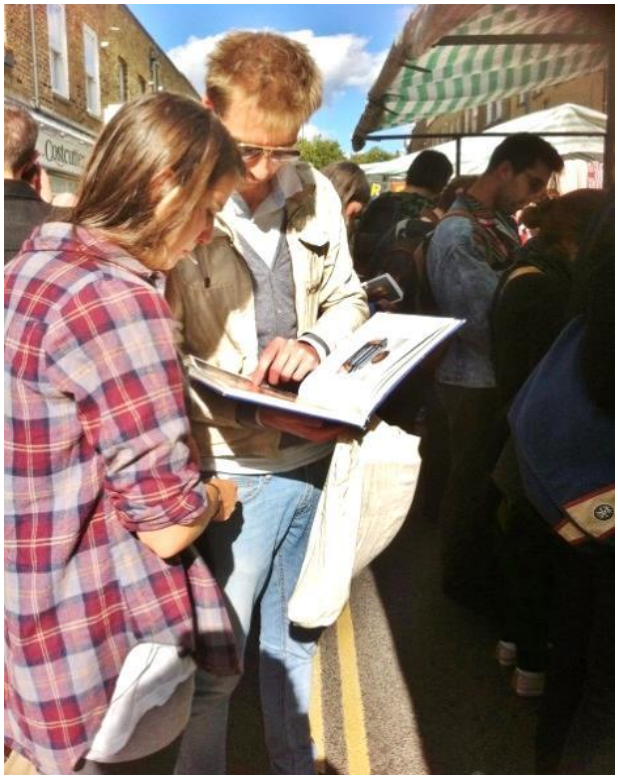


Figure 4.3 Discovering Books at the Broadway Market, Hackney.

Whilst the extraordinary array of book outlets to be found in this tiny area undoubtedly acts as a draw for visitors, the fortunes of each outlet present rather a mixed bag. Competition is strong and the general bookshop that originally opened first has experienced falling sales as the competition increases, and increasing rent as the area grows in popularity. The Sunday book market is struggling to stay open as sales are not justifying the stall costs even though the shops involved do not expect to take earnings from the day's sales. The two art bookshops sell books with high value, and are doing well, drawing a younger bohemian crowd from all over the country. The uniqueness of the book barge spaces attracts visitors from abroad, yet the owners were struggling to keep a licence to moor.

Figure 4.4 A Busy Day for a Book Barge on the Regent's Canal, Hackney.

Figure 4.5 shows how media attention to bookshops high in symbolic capital, such as a book barge, along with NSM usage can boost potential tourism to an area.

Figure 4.5 Example of Tourism Draw of Bookshops: NSM and Symbolic Capital aids Tourism.

The barge was featured in an online article that portrayed the "10 Inspiring Bookshops around the World" (Messnessychic, 2013). Readers of the article, and other articles that featured this shop, then liked the shop's Facebook page, shared with others, and planned to visit the shop in London. The pertinent text is shown in Figure 4.6 below.

Bookseller: Where is this explosion of new online followers coming from?

Customer 1: You were one of the featured local stores yesterday on a site – the world's most beautiful bookstores.

Customer 2: I came via the link Lulu shared, and I can't wait to visit you when I head to London.

Customer 3: I've shared your link all over the place!!!!

Customer 4: I've also shared your link to all my compatriots here in the Colonies ☺

Customer 5: Bookshops off the beaten track, you were one on the list, published by a friend on facebook yesterday…and shared at least twice that I know of.

Figure 4.6 Text from Figure 4.5.

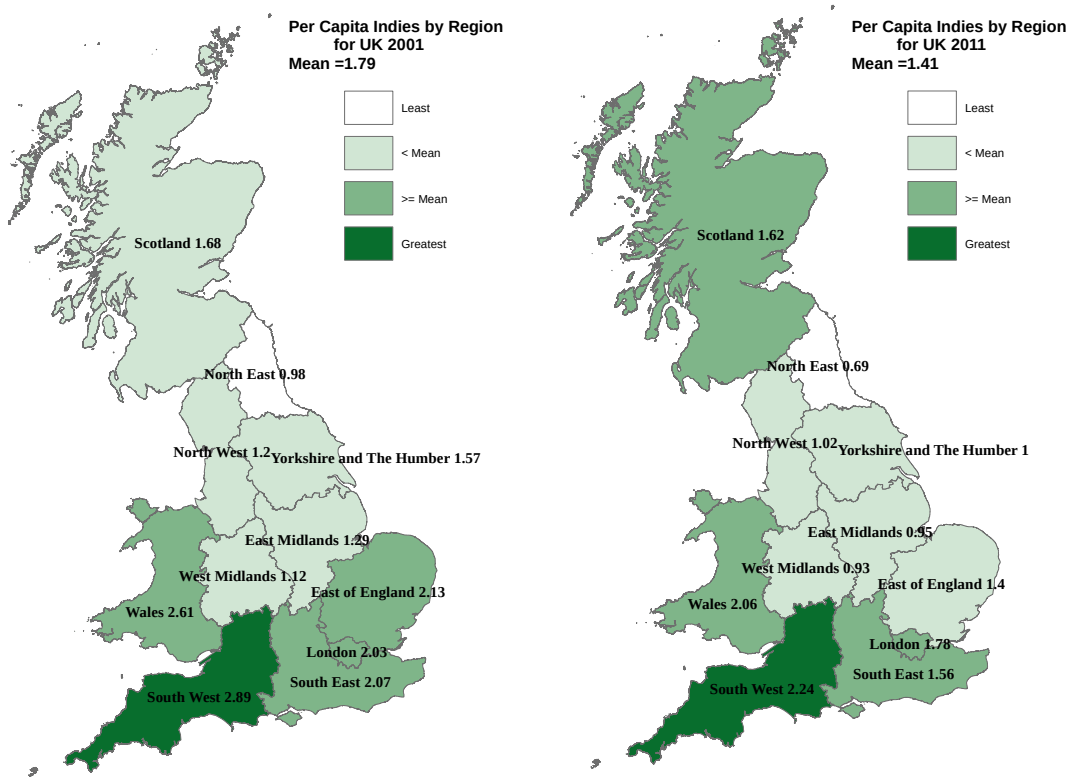
However, regeneration can be also difficult for bookshops that have benefited in the past from peppercorn rents: not far from this market, the last remaining black bookshop in London was closed in 2012 after the council requested their yearly rent of twenty five pounds be increased to over thirty five thousand pounds. This is no doubt, a rent that is suitable for an inner London regenerated area that now has a tube line and plenty of apartment developments for young urbanites. However, the loss of this bookshop has surely not helped maintain the diverse character of this area. Certainly, as Savage & Hanquinet (unp, p.8) find, the "interplay between cultural and economic capital" has created a gentrified, highly culturally consumptive area in the shape of the Broadway Market that has encouraged plenty of bookselling competition. Yet, many of the booksellers are struggling to stay afloat: the two notable exceptions being the art bookshops which sell books that have very high value and are known destination shops that serve art book consumers from far afield.

4.4 The Geographical Concentration of Indies?

This section use maps, statistical analyses, a linear regression analysis of the locations of indies, along with interviews with forty bookshop owners, to explore the changing geographies of indie bookshops in the UK between 2001 and 2011. Whilst the openings and closings of indies can throw up anomalies, nevertheless, this section finds that it is highly likely that indies are concentrating in areas associated with wealth and education, wealthy retirees in tourist areas, tourism, areas with literary connections, and destination shopping and tourist cities. This section also explores the increasing number of 'indie desert' areas: that is local authorities with no independent bookshop at all.

4.4.1 Regional Variations

Map 4.3 below shows the per capita (PC) concentrations of indies in the UK in 2001 and 2011 by region. The legend in the top right-hand corner shows the lowest PC as white and the highest PC as dark green.



Map 4.3 Per Capita (PC) Concentrations of UK Indies in 2001 & 2011 by Region.[32]
Sources: Bookshop location data from BA. Population Data from ONS. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2012].

The UK average per capita concentration is 1.41 in 2011, down from 1.79 in 2001, which is a drop of 21%.[33] Whilst it could be argued that the population of the UK has increased in this time frame, which affects per capita numbers negatively, it can also be argued that increases in population should incur increases in bookshop numbers. Nevertheless, the population of the UK increased by 7% between 2001 and 2011, which does not account for a 21% per capita drop. Whilst Scotland has maintained its levels of indies, all other regions have lost per capita indies

[32] Northern Ireland is not shown on this map but its numbers are included in the analysis. Northern Ireland has 1.44 PC concentration and 26 indies in 2011, losing 17% PC between 2001 and 2011. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man are excluded from the analysis. Per capita concentrations are per 100,000 persons.

[33] The per capita concentrations are calculated using ONS population data for 2001 and 2011. All map shapes were taken from the ONS. ONS data was also used for age and social class for local authorities.

by amounts that are above population increases. Table 4.3 below shows that bookshop numbers in England fell by 17% whilst the population there also increased by 7%, yet the per capita decreased by 23%. Whilst Greater London, which had the highest increase in population (12%), also had the lowest fall in bookshop numbers (-2%), this is likely to be a reflection of regeneration and increasing concentration of indies in Inner London. Other regions with both higher and lower than average population increases saw very high decreases in per capita numbers: the East Of England had an increase of 9% population yet lost 34% per capita bookshops; the North East of England had only a 2% increase in population yet it saw a 30% decrease in per capita indies.

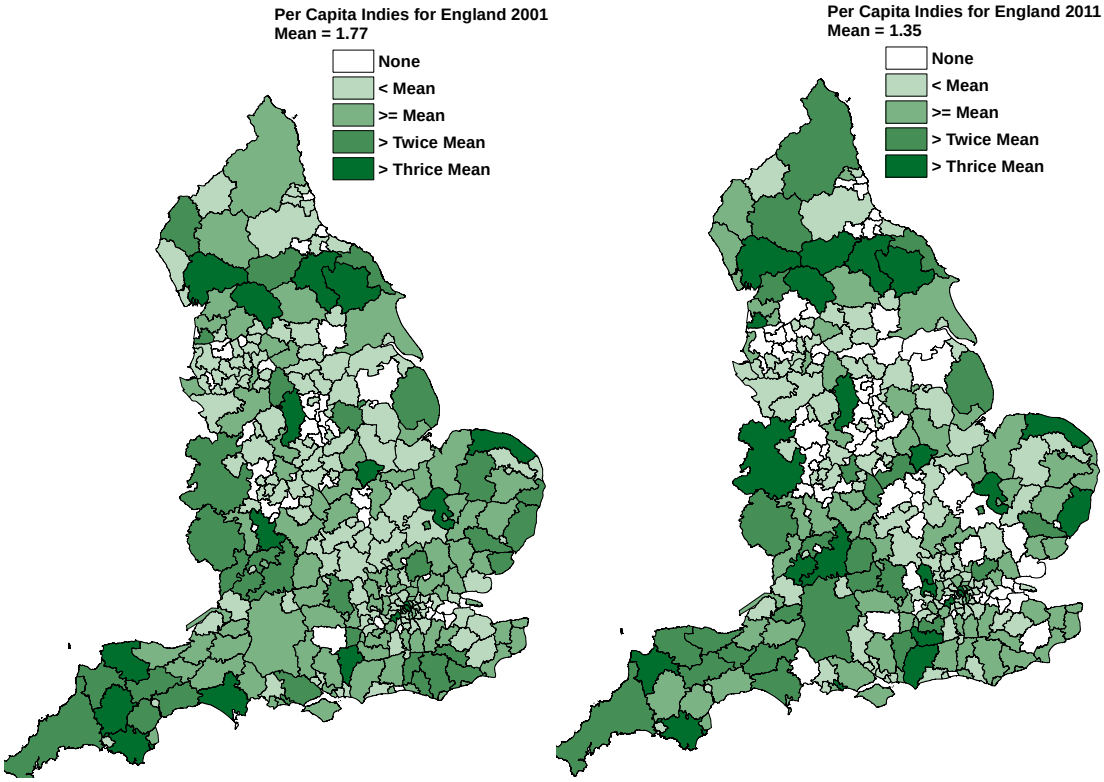
	Region	Indies Open in 2001	Indies Open in 2011	% Change Indies Open	% Change Per Capita	% Change Population
North	Yorkshire and the Humber	78	53	-32%	-36%	6%
	North East	25	18	-28%	-30%	2%
	North West	81	72	-11%	-15%	4%
	Total	**184**	**143**	**-22%**	**-26%**	**5%**
Midlands	East Midlands	54	43	-20%	-26%	8%
	West Midlands	59	52	-12%	-17%	6%
	Total	**113**	**95**	**-16%**	**-22%**	**7%**
South	East of England	115	82	-29%	-34%	9%
	South East	166	135	-19%	-25%	8%
	South West	143	119	-17%	-22%	7%
	London	149	146	-2%	-13%	12%
	Total	**573**	**482**	**-16%**	**-23%**	**9%**
	Grand Total	**870**	**720**	**-17%**	**-23%**	**7%**

Table 4.3 Changes in Numbers of Indies in English Regions between 2001 and 2011. Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

In terms of a North-South divide in England, the South West has three times the number of per capita indies as the North East. However, the biggest falls in numbers of bookshops for England are in both the North and in the South. Yorkshire and the Humber fell by 32% but the East of England, which is technically in the South, fell by 29%. The lowest falls were also in both the North and the South: the North West fell by 11% and London fell by only 2%. However, the North fell more (-22%) than either the South or the Midlands (-16%).

4.4.2 Tourism, Wealthy Retirees & Literary Connections

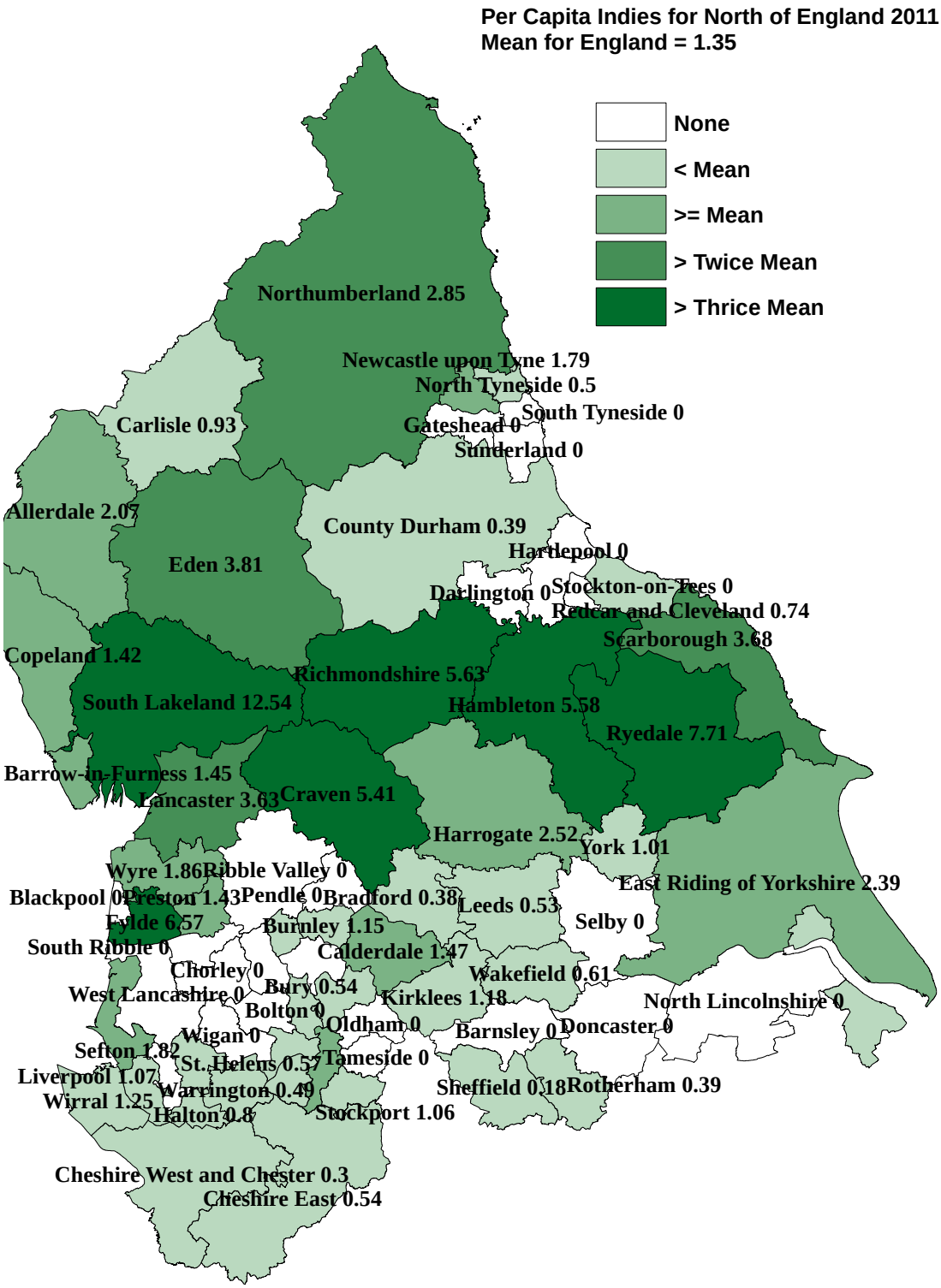
Examining maps at a more intensive level than at regional level sheds further light on the geographies of the indies. Map 4.4 shows that there is actually a lot of variance across local authorities within each region in England. Between 2001 and 2011, whilst the population for England rose by 8%, the mean per capita rate for England dropped by 23% from 1.77 to 1.35.



Map 4.4 Per Capita Concentrations of Indies in England in 2001 and 2011 by Local Authority. Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2012].

Between 2001 and 2011, the number of local authorities in England with no indies at all increased by 66% from forty eight to eighty. These 'indie deserts' are concentrating in an area that stretches from North of London up to just below an area that stretches from the Lake District in the West to the Yorkshire Moors in the East, with an increasing cluster also in the North East, just above this tourism area. These deserts may be partially explained by the fact that much of these areas of England are not known tourist destinations. Additionally, there were nineteen local authorities across England with more than three times the mean in 2001, but by 2011, there were twenty six local authorities with more than three times the mean, which represents a 37% increase. The 66% increase in 'indie deserts', along with the 37% increase in areas that have a very high concentration of indies indicates that the indies may be concentrating in certain areas.

Closer examination of local authority level maps show that that the increase in ‘indie deserts’ may be related to areas that do not attract tourists, as Map 4.5 below indicates.



Map 4.5 Indie Concentrations in the North of England for 2011.

Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2012].

In 2001, there were eleven 'indie deserts' in the North: Blackpool (AB%=10), Chorley (AB%=24), Darlington (AB%= 18), Hartlepool (AB%=13), Hyndburn (AB%=13), Knowsley (AB%=11%), Middlesbrough (AB%=12), Oldham (AB%=15), Selby (AB%=23), South Ribble (AB%=23%), and South Tyneside (AB%=14). Seven of these eleven areas are very low AB% social class and none are particularly noted for their tourism or attractions, other than Blackpool. Blackpool is a major holiday destination yet it has no indies at all. This probably explicable in part by the kind of holidays people take in Blackpool: they tend to be for younger people who will not be engaging in reading as part of their holiday. By 2011, the number of 'indie deserts' in the North increased by 55% to eighteen. All of the new 'indie deserts' are located in areas that have an AB social class well below the mean, with the notable exception of the Ribble Valley. The shop that shut here in 2009 was a general in the town of Clitheroe. Clitheroe is a relatively wealthy town that sees a number of festivals each year, and it is the base for tourism in the area. However, a new general bookshop did open in the nearby market town of Great Harwood in 2007, in the local authority of Hyndburn.

Map 4.5 also shows that some of the highest per capita concentrations in England are actually in those Northern tourist areas that stretch from the Lake District in the West to the Yorkshire Moors in the East. Whilst the North had only three local authorities with more than three times the mean in 2001, by 2011 this had doubled to six, all of which contain areas of outstanding natural beauty or seaside destinations.

Overall, Table 4.4 below presents a mix bag of fortunes for the thirty four local authorities with indies in the North West: fourteen lost indies, eleven remained level, and nine gained bookshops. However, South Lakeland stands out as having the highest per capita in this region and as also having opened four more shops. It straddles both the Lake District National Park and the Yorkshire Dales National Park. It has a very high average age of 45 and a slightly higher than average AB%, which points to this being an area that is popular with wealthy retirees. Eden, which is also in the tourist area of Cumbria, doubled its number of indies from one to two. Fylde, which is a wealthy, scenic, coastal area with older populations, located to the South of Blackpool, West of Preston and North of the River Ribble, saw an increase in its shops from three to five, giving it a very high per capita of 6.57. The seaside resort of Lytham St Anne has four of this area's five indies. However, Allerdale, which is also in Cumbria and partially in the Lake District National Park, but with a low AB%, lost two of its four shops. Additionally, the wealthier Ribble Valley, which contains the tourist area of the Forest of Bowland, and is also a known popular area for retirees, lost its only indie.

Local Authority (AB%, Age in 2011 Mean for England is 24, 40)	Indies Open in 2001 (PC)	Indies Open in 2011 (PC)	% Change Indies Open	% Change Per Capita	% Change Population
Eden (20, 44)	1 (2.00)	2 (3.81)	100%	90%	5%
Fylde (28, 45)	3 (4.09)	5 (6.57)	67%	61%	4%
Hyndburn (13, 39)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.24)	100%	100%	-1%
Lancaster (21, 40)	4 (2.99)	5 (3.63)	25%	22%	3%
Liverpool (16, 38)	3 (0.68)	5 (1.07)	67%	58%	5%
Preston (19, 37)	1 (0.77)	2 (1.43)	100%	86%	7%
Sefton (19, 43)	4 (1.41)	5 (1.82)	25%	29%	-3%
South Lakeland (25, 45)	9 (5.09)	13 (7.41)	44%	46%	-1%
Trafford (30, 39)	2 (0.95)	3 (1.32)	50%	39%	8%
Barrow-in-Furness (16, 41)	1 (1.39)	1 (1.45)	0%	4%	-4%
Burnley (13, 39)	1 (1.12)	1 (1.15)	0%	3%	-3%
Bury (21, 39)	1 (0.55)	1 (0.54)	0%	-3%	3%
Carlisle (16, 41)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.93)	0%	-6%	7%
Copeland (18, 42)	1 (1.44)	1 (1.42)	0%	-2%	2%
Halton (14, 39)	1 (0.84)	1 (0.80)	0%	-6%	6%
Rochdale (14, 38)	1 (0.48)	1 (0.47)	0%	-3%	3%
St. Helens (16, 41)	1 (0.57)	1 (0.57)	0%	1%	-1%
Stockport (26, 41)	3 (1.05)	3 (1.06)	0%	0%	0%
Warrington (25, 40)	1 (0.52)	1 (0.49)	0%	-6%	6%
Wyre (20, 45)	2 (1.89)	2 (1.86)	0%	-2%	2%
Allerdale (18, 43)	4 (4.28)	2 (2.07)	-50%	-52%	3%
Blackburn with Darwen (14,36)	1 (0.72)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	7%
Bolton (17, 38)	1 (0.38)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	6%
Cheshire East (30, 42)	7 (1.99)	2 (0.54)	-71%	-73%	5%
Cheshire W. & Chester (26, 41)	3 (0.93)	1 (0.30)	-67%	-67%	2%
Manchester (19, 33)	8 (1.89)	7 (1.39)	-13%	-26%	19%
Pendle (15, 39)	1 (1.12)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	0%
Ribble Valley (29, 43)	1 (1.85)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	6%
Rossendale (20, 40)	1 (1.52)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	4%
Salford (17, 37)	2 (0.92)	1 (0.43)	-50%	-54%	8%
Tameside (14, 39)	1 (0.47)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	3%
West Lancashire (21, 41)	1 (0.92)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	2%
Wigan (16, 40)	3 (0.95)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	2%
Wirral (19, 41)	6 (1.90)	4 (1.25)	-33%	-34%	2%

Table 4.4 Changes in Numbers of Indies in the North West between 2001 and 2011.

Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

This large difference in fortunes for areas of outstanding natural beauty in the North that tourists and wealthier retirees are drawn to may be explained by literary connections. Those areas that have done well, the Lake District, the Yorkshire Moors and the Dales, have close connections to very famous historical writers and poets such as William Wordsworth, Beatrix Potter, Ted Hughes, Sylvia Plath, and the Bronte's. Interviews with indie booksellers showed that revenues gained from selling books at literary festivals could be significant. Some shops are endeavouring to be a part of the creation of new festivals in order to help make their town a destination place, particularly when the town has no other obvious tourist attraction, as the following older bookseller discusses:

> I thought it was the best thing since sliced bread (the new general arts festival that opened in 2001), basically because [town name] is a great place when you get here, but why should you bother to come in the first place, because it ain't got a castle, it ain't got a cathedral, it ain't got anything, you know, that says, "Look at me." (Indie Bookseller)

Five areas that are not known as tourist destinations saw shops opening: Fylde (AB% = 28), Hyndburn (AB% = 13), Lancaster (AB% = 21), Sefton (AB% = 19) and Trafford (AB% = 30). Three of these areas have an AB% that is lower than the average for England and two are higher. However, two of the highest AB social class areas in this region, Cheshire East (AB% = 30) and Cheshire West and Chester (AB% = 26), both of which are not known as tourist destinations, had significant falls in bookshop numbers. Areas not known for tourism, and with lower AB% social class, also tended to remain level or lose shops. Wigan (AB%=16) lost all three of its bookshops and the Wirral (AB%=19) lost two of its six bookshops. Liverpool, which is the major destination city for both shopping and culture in this area, saw two shops open.

Similarly, Table 4.5 below shows that Yorkshire and the Humber has performed relatively well in some of its tourist areas.

Local Authority (AB%, Age in 2011 Mean for England is 24, 40)	Indies Open in 2001 (PC)	Indies Open in 2011 (PC)	% Change Indies Open	% Change Per Capita	% Change Population
Richmondshire (22, 40)	2 (4.25)	3 (5.63)	50%	33%	13%
Harrogate (30, 42)	4 (2.64)	4 (2.52)	0%	-5%	5%
Kingston upon Hull (10, 38)	1 (0.40)	1 (0.40)	0%	-2%	2%
North East Lincolnshire (12, 40)	1 (0.63)	1 (0.63)	0%	-1%	1%
Rotherham (14, 40)	1 (0.40)	1 (0.39)	0%	-4%	4%
Ryedale (22, 45)	4 (7.86)	4 (7.71)	0%	-2%	2%
York (27, 40)	2 (1.10)	2 (1.01)	0%	-8%	9%
Barnsley (14, 40)	1 (0.46)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	6%
Bradford (17, 36)	4 (0.85)	2 (0.38)	-50%	-55%	11%
Calderdale (21, 40)	5 (2.60)	3 (1.47)	-40%	-43%	6%
Craven (27, 45)	5 (9.31)	3 (5.41)	-40%	-42%	3%
Doncaster (14, 40)	2 (0.70)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	5%
East Riding of Yorkshire (22, 44)	10 (3.18)	8 (2.39)	-20%	-25%	6%
Hambleton (27, 44)	6 (7.13)	5 (5.58)	-17%	-22%	6%
Kirklees (19, 38)	9 (2.31)	5 (1.18)	-44%	-49%	9%
Leeds (22, 38)	9 (1.26)	4 (0.53)	-56%	-58%	5%
North Lincolnshire (16, 41)	1 (0.65)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	9%
Scarborough (15, 44)	5 (4.71)	4 (3.68)	-20%	-22%	2%
Sheffield (21, 38)	2 (0.39)	1 (0.18)	-50%	-54%	8%
Wakefield (15, 40)	4 (1.27)	2 (0.61)	-50%	-52%	3%

Table 4.5 Changes in Numbers of Indies in Yorkshire and the Humber between 2001 and 2011. Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

Richmondshire, which covers part of the Yorkshire Dales area of Yorkshire and the Humber, was the only local authority to see an additional shop open. Ryedale, which covers part of the North Yorkshire Moors, has a very high per capita of 7.86 in 2001 with no change. Nevertheless, Hambleton, which lies between these two tourist areas and has a high per capita of 7.13 in 2001 with six open shops, did lose one shop. Additionally, Craven, which straddles a large part of the Yorkshire Dales National Park and has the highest per capita in this region of 9.31 in 2001, saw two of its five shops closed by 2011. However, many non-tourist destinations also lost shops. Leeds, a major city and shopping destination for the area, lost five of its nine shops. Leeds and its surrounding low AB% social class areas have suffered large losses. Nearby Kirklees saw four of its nine shops close and Bradford closed two of its four shops. Yet, York and Harrogate, which are only twenty five and sixteen miles from Leeds respectively, but have high AB% social class and are tourist destinations, maintained their levels of bookshops.

Table 4.6 below shows that all of the North East's authorities with indies have an AB% social class that is less than the average for the UK. Six of the eight local authorities lost bookshops.

Local Authority (AB%, Age in 2011 Mean for England is 24, 40)	Indies Open in 2001 (PC)	Indies Open in 2011 (PC)	% Change Indies Open	% Change Per Capita	% Change Population
Newcastle upon Tyne (20, 37)	4 (1.50)	5 (1.79)	25%	19%	5%
Redcar & Cleveland (13, 42)	1 (0.72)	1 (0.74)	0%	3%	-3%
County Durham (16, 41)	3 (0.61)	2 (0.39)	-33%	-36%	4%
Gateshead (17, 41)	1 (0.52)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	5%
North Tyneside (20, 41)	3 (1.56)	1 (0.50)	-67%	-68%	5%
Northumberland (19, 43)	10 (3.25)	9 (2.85)	-10%	-13%	3%
Stockton-on-Tees (18, 39)	2 (1.09)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	4%
Sunderland (13, 40)	1 (0.35)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	-3%

Table 4.6 Changes in Numbers of Indies in the North East between 2001 and 2011.

Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

However, the city of Newcastle upon Tyne, gained one shop, achieving a greater than UK average per capita of 1.79. This is possibly because this city is a major shopping destination and cultural focus for the surrounding areas. Northumberland, which is the major tourist destination for the North East, has the highest per capita at 2.85 and only lost one of its ten shops.

Table 4.7 examines the concentrations of bookshops in four local authorities that rely on tourism in England where indie booksellers were interviewed.

(Mean for England)	Local Authority 1	Local Authority 2	Local Authority 3	Local Authority 4
AB% (24%)	25%	25%	18%	27%
Mean Age (40)	44	45	43	45
Per Capita (1.35)	1.03	1.7	3.6	6.0

Table 4.7 Social Class, Mean Age and Per Capita Concentrations for Four Tourist Areas in England in 2011.

Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

Three of the four areas have higher than the mean per capita concentration of indies for England, and the AB% of these authorities are average or above average, with one below average. The local authority (3) that is below average for AB%, yet has high concentrations of indies, is a very popular retirement area for wealthy people, and a very popular tourist destination, yet it also suffers from local socio-economic deprivation. The mean age is higher than average for all four, pointing to these areas as popular retirement areas for wealthier people, which tallies with the interview data from here and other tourist towns:

> We're surrounded by villages…by well to do retired folk who have got time and money to spend on books (Indie Bookseller).

The bookshops interviewed in tourist towns reported that tourists were vital for business and often meant income was seasonal and weather dependent, particularly for seaside towns. However, some of these towns often also had local wealthy retired or more bohemian/artistic populations that could keep the shop ticking over in the low-tourism seasons. The levels of sales that tourism added to an indies revenue varied, and a distance of just a few miles between shop locations could make a large difference to a shop's fortunes.

4.4.3 Destination Cities: Shopping & Symbolic Capital

Some bookshops are located in destination shopping and tourism areas such as city centres, which can act as a draw for customers from a wide geographical area: one shop in the centre of a large city reported that sales are level and at least 40% of trade comes from tourism, much of which is foreign. Of the thirty six English cities listed in Table 4.8 below, eleven gained shops, nineteen lost shops, and six remained level. Only four of the eleven cities that gained shops have a higher than average social class AB%. This perhaps means that some cities are becoming better able to attract visitors, or they have larger populations of younger, educated, but less wealthy book consumers.

City (AB%, Age in 2011 Mean for England is 24, 40)	Indies Open in 2001 (PC)	Indies Open in 2011 (PC)	% Change Indies Open	% Change Per Capita	% Change Population
Bath City (30, 40)	1 (0.59)	5 (5.95)	400%	382%	4%
Brighton & Hove (29, 37)	4 (1.60)	5 (1.83)	25%	14%	9%
Chichester (29, 45)	3 (2.82)	5 (4.39)	67%	56%	7%
Coventry (17, 37)	1 (0.33)	2 (0.63)	100%	91%	5%
Lancaster (21, 40)	4 (2.99)	5 (3.63)	25%	22%	3%
Liverpool (16, 38)	3 (0.68)	5 (1.07)	67%	58%	5%
Newcastle upon Tyne (20, 37)	4 (1.50)	5 (1.79)	25%	19%	5%
Norwich (21, 37)	2 (1.63)	4 (3.03)	100%	85%	8%
Oxford (36, 34)	1 (0.74)	4 (2.66)	300%	261%	11%
Preston (19, 37)	1 (0.77)	2 (1.43)	100%	86%	7%
Southampton (19, 36)	1 (0.46)	2 (0.85)	100%	86%	7%
Cambridge (42, 36)	4 (3.64)	4 (3.26)	0%	-10%	12%
Exeter (22, 38)	1 (0.90)	1 (0.85)	0%	-5%	5%
Gloucester (18, 38)	1 (0.91)	1 (0.82)	0%	-10%	11%
Hull (10, 38)	1 (0.40)	1 (0.39)	0%	-2%	2%
Stoke-on-Trent (11, 39)	3 (1.25)	3 (1.21)	0%	-3%	3%
York (27, 40)	2 (1.10)	2 (1.01)	0%	-8%	9%
Birmingham (18, 35)	6 (0.61)	3 (0.28)	-50%	-54%	9%
Bradford (17, 36)	4 (0.85)	2 (0.38)	-50%	-55%	11%
Bristol (26, 37)	10 (2.56)	6 (1.40)	-40%	-45%	10%
Chester, within Chester West & Chester (26, 41)	3 (0.93)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	2%
Derby (19, 38)	2 (0.87)	1 (0.40)	-50%	-54%	8%
Leeds (22, 38)	9 (1.26)	4 (0.53)	-56%	-58%	5%
Leicester (14, 35)	4 (1.41)	3 (0.91)	-25%	-36%	17%
Manchester (19, 33)	8 (1.89)	7 (1.39)	-13%	-26%	19%
Nottingham (15, 35)	2 (0.74)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	13%
Peterborough (17, 37)	3 (1.91)	1 (0.54)	-67%	-72%	17%
Plymouth (16, 39)	3 (1.24)	2 (0.78)	-33%	-37%	6%
Portsmouth (19, 37)	3 (1.60)	2 (0.97)	-33%	-39%	9%
Salford (17, 37)	2 (0.92)	1 (0.43)	-50%	-54%	8%
Sheffield (21, 38)	2 (0.39)	1 (0.18)	-50%	-54%	8%
St Albans (46, 39)	4 (3.10)	1 (0.71)	-75%	-77%	9%
Sunderland (13, 40)	1 (0.35)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	-3%
Wakefield (15, 40)	4 (1.27)	2 (0.61)	-50%	-52%	3%
Winchester (41, 41)	3 (2.80)	2 (1.71)	-33%	-39%	9%
Wolverhampton (14, 39)	1 (0.42)	0 (0.00)	-100%	-100%	5%

Table 4.8 Changes in Numbers of Indies in English Cities between 2001 and 2011.

Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

Of the nineteen cities that lost shops, thirteen have lower than average social class AB%. A very notable exception here is St. Albans, which lost three of its four shops, yet it has the highest AB% of all the cities at 46. All three closed shops in St. Albans were general bookshops, so the problem Christian bookshops are having is not an explanation here. The city of St. Alban's losing so many bookshops, even though it is very wealthy, may be explained in part, by the fact that it is not high in symbolic capital. Shops in tourist or destination cities have an advantage over those who are not: we talk about cities as 'Cultural Capitals' and we often visit certain cities because of the cultural life they can offer, e.g. London, Bath, Edinburgh.

Bristol City also stands out as having lost four of its ten indies. In 2001, Bristol had six generals, one radical, one Christian, one art and one travel bookshop. By 2011, five of the original generals had closed but a Foyles opened. Additionally, the radical bookshop closed and a sci-fi bookshop opened. However, a different radical bookshop did open in 2012, but also, the last Christian bookshop here closed in 2012. Foyles has been the success story of the indies since 2001, adding five new branches to its famous single store in London's Charing Cross Road by 2011, and an additional branch in Waterloo station in early 2014. These new shops are all located in high-rent, central, busy shopping areas of Bristol and London: Cabot Circus in Bristol; and the Southbank Centre, Waterloo Station, St. Pancras Station, Westfield Stratford and Westfield White City in London. As independent general shops close across the UK, we may see more Foyles branches opening in those cities that have relatively few general indies. Indeed, Foyles may become the UK's most successful chain of the future.

Table 4.9 below lists the numbers of B&M indies in six UK cities where indies were interviewed.

(Mean for England)	Liverpool	Plymouth	Stoke-on-Trent	Southampton	Brighton & Hove	Bath (excluding Nth Somerset)[34]
Population	466k	257k	249k	236k	273k	84k
AB% (24%)	16	16	11	19	29	30
Mean Age (40)	38	39	39	36	37	40
Number of Bookshops	5 (+3)	2	3	2 (+1)	5 (+1)	5 (+4)
Per Capita (1.35)	1.07	0.78	1.21	0.85	1.83	5.95
Shops that Opened between 2001 & 2011	1 Sci-fi 1 Tate 1 Liverpool Cathedral	None	None	1 Sci-fi	1 Children's	1 Christian 3 Generals
Shops that Closed between 2001 & 2011	None	None	None	None	None	None

Table 4.9 Independent Bookshops in Six English Cities in 2011.
Sources: Bookshop location data from the BA. Population Data from ONS.

The puzzle this table provides is: why is Brighton able to support more than twice the number of bookshops than Southampton and why can the city of Bath support more than seven times the number of indies than Plymouth, per capita? Certainly, Brighton and Bath have much higher

[34] The local authority for Bath City includes an area to its north that is not actually part of the city. I have stripped out the North Somerset population and indies in order to concentrate on the City of Bath itself.

AB% values, which may explain a lot, but not everything: the data also showed that there are some cities with high AB% that have no bookshops at all, such as Chester, which has a higher than average AB% of 26. Bath and Brighton are both locations that benefit greatly from symbolic capital.[35] Whilst Savage & Hanquinet (unp) find that "today, emerging cultural capital can be distributed to a larger number of cities, and these might compete with each other in ways which unsettle the hegemony of national capitals" (ibid, p.12), not all cities are feeling the benefit. No doubt, the city of Bath benefits hugely from its cultural connotations or symbolic capital, in contrast to cities like Plymouth or Stoke-on-Trent, and this might explain in part the differences in per capita indies they each can sustain. The three shops that opened in Liverpool present an interesting picture: none of them are general bookshops as three of the shops that opened in Bath are. Two are associated with symbolic capital and tourism: the Tate Gallery and Liverpool City Cathedral. The third is part of a small chain of sci-fi bookshops that has opened in various cities across the UK, including the only shop that opened in Southampton.

Bath increased its bookshops from one to five, opening one Christian bookshop and three generals. The Bath bookshops are all off the main shopping street, where there is a large Waterstones and WH Smith, but they are located within a short walking distance of one another. This central shopping area of Bath is highly gentrified and there are a number of famous tourist attractions in very close proximity: The Pump Room, Bath Spa, Roman Baths, Jane Austen Centre and Bath Abbey. In contrast, whilst Stoke-on-Trent also has a Waterstones and WH Smith, it could only support one general and two Christian bookshops. Again, these shops are all within a short walking distance of one another. One of the Christian bookshops closed in 2012, during the interview period. The manager of this closing Christian shop reported the closure as due to falling sales, with other shops also closing in the immediate vicinity:

> From a financial point of view, I mean, the shop hasn't been viable, you know, it hasn't been making profit for a number of years, so, you know, I think you've got to come to an assessment that you've got to close. I mean, if the lease wasn't finishing, well then you've the problem of what to do about the lease, you know, nobody's taking on empty shops these days. I've got a shop either side of me. Both of them have been empty for a long time and nobody is taking them on. The number of empty shops in this city centre just keeps going up and up (Indie Bookseller).

[35] It is quite likely that indies add to an area's symbolic capital, which can be converted into financial capital through house prices. As a friend with an excellent local indie remarked to me; "I want to live in an area with a bookshop down the road. I will rarely use it, but I want it to be there". I have also been acquainted with anecdotal evidence that having a local indie raises local rents in the US.

This extract points to the difficulty any shop has in staying open in shopping areas that are experiencing severe problems. Additionally, Stoke-on-Trent does not have the kinds of tourist attractions within walking distance of its central shopping area that Bath does.

4.5 A Clear Recipe for Success?

The opening and closing bookshops selected for interview provided contrasts in focus, location, practices, and space, evidencing the enormous complexity involved in trying to unearth a pattern for the concentration of bookshops in the UK.[36] There is little doubt that wealth, tourism and the presence of local symbolic capital can greatly assist a new opening. For example, a new children's bookshop, which opened in a wealthy part of London in 2011, explains the importance of her wealthier customer base, who can afford to pay full price:

> Anyone with any money that's going to come and shop in this kind of environment [this street]…I guess people must be seeing our bookshop as the kind of environment that is, you know, it's higher end shopping…they are the kind of customers we have to get because they see a value in book shops in the community. They see a value in books other than, you know, "Oh I don't want to pay £12.99 for a hardback, I want to pay £6 because Tesco's are selling it as a loss leader." That's the kind of customer that we just attract…They are more willing to spend more money on their children. We've got people with children from private schools coming in here (Indie Bookseller).

In contrast, the following bookseller, who closed his shop in 2012, after over fifty years in the business, describes the issues with trying to run a bookshop in a town that has suffered during the economic downturn, and cannot avail of tourism footfall, as other more popular local towns can:

> [nearby town name] is different. That has much more rich people who actually live round there. That's a coastal town…I think possibly the problem with here is it's not a very sort of literary town so to speak. I found things like doing signings and things were very badly attended and even if we had good publicity on who the person was, it's still very poor. I had to haul in my family to boost the numbers, you know, it's embarrassing!... I mean the general recession has hit us. People have got to spend money on food, housing, clothing and heating and anything extra might be spent on something like a book… but 90% of people, they can think "Oh well, we'll do without

[36] Appendix C details eight contrasting cases of bookshops interviewed that had recently opened or closed.

> a book, we'll watch television", because they haven't got the money and I don't blame them either (Indie Bookseller).

In addition, marketing with NSM is now very important for some in enabling bookshops to connect with local and even wider communities of book lovers. For example, a new bookshop opened in 2011 when three friends decided that the barge one of them owned could be put to good use by selling both new and second hand books from it by the now buzzing Broadway Market in Hackney, targeting the young, hip crowd that visit the area from all over London, the UK and abroad. Marketing and NSM were very important to this shop. Its unusual space, which included two on-board cats, has been featured in many magazines, newspaper articles and global online zines. It is currently being listed on Buzzfeed as one of the seventeen bookshops from around the world "that will literally change your life" (Buzzfeed, 2014).

However, these factors alone are not enough to guarantee success. For example, a general indie with modern, highly designed décor, opened in a recently regenerated inner London area in 2010 with two owners. One was a business development consultant and the other a life historian. Both had a passion for literacy. They researched bookselling and the area to open in in great detail, talking to industry specialists and even paying consultants. They opened a cafe that served lunch and they engaged in all forms of marketing including detailed blogging. They created a good web presence and a team of booksellers, yet they didn't take any form of salary from the business themselves. In two years they ran over ninety very varied events. To their dismay, the economics didn't work, and as an upwards-only rent review was drawing close, in 2013 they decided to move location to a more central, touristic part of London:

> We simply didn't have enough footfall where we were, you know no amount of marketing, no amount of events [was going to change that] (Indie Bookseller).

Unfortunately in early 2014, this shop had to close its doors once again, as even though it had moved to a more central area with lower rent, it had become "more difficult to generate a sense of community" (W&TBlog, 2013), and the café was making more money than the books, which went against their original reason for opening the bookshop.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that indie business is being eroded in many ways: by high volume competitors both online and on the high street; by publishers selling direct to the public; by the public using the internet to gain access to information rather than buying a book; and by institutional budget cuts during the economic downturn. Indies struggle constantly with falling sales but also with rising rents and rates, doing battle with landlords and local councils. Indies

are being told by the industry at large that they can succeed if they promote their uniqueness in terms of service and local community connections, and partake in many new practices. However, there is no guarantee that the extra labour expended will see a return or economic success.

Indies may have always opened in wealthier areas. However, it may be the case that they are now only surviving in the wealthiest of areas. The 66% increase in 'indie desert' local authorities, along with the 37% increase in local authorities that have a very high concentration of indies, indicates that the indies may be concentrating in certain areas. The bookshops interviewed that were successful, in that sales were not falling and they supported a reasonable lifestyle, tended to be in destination locations with very high AB%, very high tourism, and/or large populations of older wealthy retirees, or bohemians. The B&M shops interviewed that were closing tended to be in less wealthy areas, non-touristic or non-destination areas. It may be that those who survive the best are associated with areas that can afford to maintain a full price bookshop. Taking all the data into consideration, that is, the mapping, the regression, the data analysis and the interview data with forty bookshops, my research finds that indie bookshops are actually located in a large variety of area types. However, their locations are correlated to: tourism; symbolic, destination locations; older, retired, wealthy populations; educated, high social class *and* areas with a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds; younger bohemian populations in urban areas; and regenerating areas. It is also likely that indie bookshops are beginning to concentrate in these areas. This chapter finds that whilst there is no silver bullet for running a successful indie bookshop, engagement with most or all of the new practices and choosing a location that is a destination location and high in wealth will certainly improve the odds for staying open.

Deep discounting, only available to the largest non-indie retailers, has been shown to be causing market co-ordination problems for many indie booksellers. Beckert (2011), who finds that price formation is much neglected in economic sociology, argues that instead of prices being only formed through supply and demand, or the aggregate of individual preferences, they also "result from the embeddedness of market transactions in institutions, social networks, and culturally anchored frames of meaning" (ibid, p.1). Certainly, for the print and eBook market, prices are not the outcome of aggregated individual preferences, but they are set by dominant actors whose business models impel them to sell in high volume at highly discounted prices. Strategic action actors have been shown to be effective at driving market change by influencing institutional and network cognitive frames, and by providing new knowledge. In the case of free pricing, the institutional formal rule change in 1997 was driven forward by a network of dominant retail and publishing institutional actors in the market, who used the cognitive informal script of free market ideology to further increase their position in the field. These actors had already torn up

the formal script of fixed pricing before free pricing was enacted in law. Interviews with indie booksellers and their customers have shown that free pricing does cause coordination problems: the publishers' inability to provide indies with the same terms as the high volume sellers severely impacts the indies' ability to be competitive; it causes morally dubious behaviour from their customers; and it has artificially inflated the RRP that the publishers set. Once again, we can see that formal rules can be replaced by informal scripts, this time as dominated players struggle to remain in the marketplace: the formal rule whereby indies ought to buy their books from publishers is being replaced with an informal script by some, whereby they buy from supermarkets or Amazon, as the prices are cheaper. Additionally, there is uncertainty amongst agents in understanding how many of the changes being driven by the digital economy, such as eBooks and online shopping, will affect their business in the future. Most agents are unclear about how they can make selling eBooks profitable such that they strategize in different ways about how to proceed, depending on their own situation.

The next chapter will examine the new practices required to adapt to the new market conditions, detailing the characteristics or dispositional aspects of each practice. The new structure of the field means new capital structures are required as social and symbolic capitals become increasingly important and cultural capital itself becomes restructured to include more commercial capital along with new aspects of technical capital, aesthetic capital and virtual emotional capital. As a 'new breed' of bookseller comes to the field, the 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), that is occurring right now is examined in terms of durable dispositions, structuring structures, and creativity.

Chapter 5: From Reluctant to Engaged Capitalists

5.1 Introduction

The transformed market and its new practices means that the capital structure of the field has also changed such that indies, in order to stand a chance of survival, now need commercial capital and increasing technical, social, aesthetic and symbolic capital. I also argue that with the advent of NSM, booksellers now require a new, virtual form of emotional capital. I find that emotional capital can be defined as the disposition to value the production of an emotional state in another person, and the virtual form requires a set of technical skills that are different to the non-virtual form. This chapter examines both the habitus and capital structures of independent booksellers and how they work in tandem to determine position within the field for the indie agents. We might say that indie booksellers now need to be fully '*engaged capitalists'* as opposed to Miller's (2007) "*reluctant capitalists*".

Bourdieu (2011b) lists out a set of capitals in the essay '*Principles of an Economic Anthropology*', but he is not particularly clear about the definitions for commercial and technical capital: they need to be better defined and shown to work in a wide range of applications. First, and in response to Bennett et al (2010), who call for a "more elaborate and better specified analysis of capitals, or assets…to account for the diverse ways that cultural practice delivers profits to individuals and groups" (ibid, p.259), this chapter examines the new capital structures required of indies.

Two forms of capital required for the newly structured field are examined in section 5.2: commercial and technical capital. I put forward commercial capital as the disposition to extract profit from various book selling practices. Following Sterne's (2003) advice to not treat technologies as ontologically special, but simply as "visible sets of crystallized subsets of practices, positions and dispositions in the habitus" (ibid, p.386), I attempt to clarify Bourdieu's (2011b) fuzzy definition of technical capital. I put forward technical capital as: *objectified*, in terms of access to resources such as café and event spaces, software, algorithms, IT teams and computers; and *embodied*, as the mastery of skills required to enable any practice, whether it is IT-based or not. Technical capital is therefore the skills and resources required to carry out any practice. Access to technical capital was shown to be limited for the majority of indies in comparison to the large corporations in the previous chapter, yet social capital can be used to gain access to necessary capitals they may lack. As the field has transformed to suit a more commercial disposition amongst booksellers, the next sections examine the 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), that is currently occurring: how the habitus proves to be highly

transposable for new agents from commercial backgrounds yet highly durable in older agents who have remained in the field for a long time. Section 5.3 examines agents' working backgrounds to account for the structuring structures that determine the differing dispositions of the 'old breed' and 'new breed' of bookseller, whilst section 5.4 examines the durability of older agents' dispositions, and the habitus as a site for agency and creativity. Section 5.5 examines the specific kind of virtual, emotional labour the indies must now perform online in order to achieve connectivity with their communities. Finally, section 5.6 proposes the new logic of the field of independent bookselling.

5.2 New Practices, New Capital Structures

Prior to the restructuring of the field, indies needed less capital as they were required only to sell books through a B&M shop and they did not need to extract profit from running events, or by selling non-book goods, or by engaging with marketing or PR to attract customers. For Bourdieu (2011b), the "acquisition of greater market share (by firms) modifies the relative positions and field of all the species of capital held by the other firms" and these firms "undertake actions [in the market] which depend, for their ends and effectiveness, on *their position in the field of forces*, that is to say, in the structure of capital in all its species" (ibid, p.199 - 202). These 'actions' I take to be the practices the indies engage with, and their 'effectiveness' depends on the structure of various forms of capital that agents can access.

In order to unlock the capital requirements associated with the indie practices, we must first examine each practice in detail, understanding the "principles which generate and organize practices", or the "dispositions" each one requires (Bourdieu, 1999, p.53). Dispositions have been described as: the result of an organising action; a way of being; a habitual state; a predisposition; a tendency or inclination; mental schemes of perception and thought; and, unconscious schemata that enable us to perceive judge and act in the world. Bourdieu (2011b) finds they are "*the result of an organising action*…with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being*, a *habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination*" (ibid, p.214).This thesis takes a disposition to be the inclination or propensity that enables a practice.

The characteristics are detailed for each indie practice, along with the necessary disposition, technical skills and resources, and corresponding required capitals in Table 5.1 below.

Indie Practices	Characteristics of the Practice		Capitals Required
Selling books both physically and online	Disposition	Value literacy Love of books Urge to share ideas Valuing the production of emotional states in others.	Bookseller Capital Emotional Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in ordering, running a business, face-to-face skills, online selling skills, book knowledge, book curatorship	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	A selling space (online and physical), stock, ordering & accounting systems & equipment	Objectified Technical Capital
Run profitable events	Disposition	Value extracting profit from providing book and non-book events	Commercial Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in event organisation, networking, marketing	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	A space to run the events	Objectified Technical Capital
Engage in Marketing and PR (all routes)	Disposition	Comfortable with & valuing promotion of oneself and the business. Valuing the production of emotional states in others.	Commercial Capital (Virtual) Emotional Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in Facebook, Twitter, blogging, networking, dealing with media	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	Software such as Facebook, Twitter, window or shelf displays	Objectified Technical Capital
Run a website, preferably transactional, minimal static.	Disposition	Value using the internet and new tech as a means of extracting profit	Commercial Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in website creation & maintenance	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	Bespoke or off the shelf software, hardware	Objectified Technical Capital
Diversify into selling non-book products such as gifts, foodstuffs, café	Disposition	Value extracting profit from a non-book goods such as FairTrade or a café	Commercial Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in selling non-book goods	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	Shelf space, cafe space, café equipment	Objectified Technical Capital
Dress the physical and virtual shop to middle class tastes	Disposition	Value how the bookshop looks	Aesthetic Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in styling, both physically and virtually	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	Styling materials such as paint, lighting, a bespoke website.	Objectified Technical Capital
Engage in Crowd Funding	Disposition	Be comfortable with asking for financial 'help'	Commercial Capital
	Technical Skills	Skills in networking and New Social Media	Embodied Technical Capital
	Technical Resources	Twitter, Facebook, lists of potential donors	Objectified Technical Capital

Table 5.1 Indie Practices: Their Characteristics and Necessary Capitals.

The characteristics column in this table is divided into three separate categories: that which pertains to the disposition necessary to carry out the practice as an inclination; that which purely pertains to a skill, or an embodied technical capital; and that which pertains to a resource, or an objectified technical capital. Bourdieu (2011b) defined technological capital as "the portfolio of scientific resources (research potential) or technical resources (procedures, aptitudes, routines, and unique and coherent knowhow, capable of reducing expenditure in labor or increasing its

yield) that can be deployed in the design and manufacture of products" (ibid, p.194), which rather lumps the embodied and objectified aspects together, and, although he does clarify this somewhat in the notes section (ibid, p.246), this definition leans very heavily towards manufacturing rather than all industries, in its use of 'manufacture of products'.

I put forward *embodied technical capital* as the skills necessary for the successful execution of a practice, and *objectified technical capital* as the resources necessary to carry out a practice. For example, an agent engaged in bookselling must know how to make orders, complete invoices, hand sell to the public, style the physical and virtual space, etc., which implies embodied technical capital, and, be in possession of a shop space, shelves, an ordering system etc., which is objectified technical capital. Similarly, in order to run a successful event, a bookseller must have skills in networking, organising, dealing with the public and publishers, and she must possess a space to hold the event. I have also included the practices of styling the shop, both physical and virtual, and taking part in crowd funding as practices, as whilst they are not explicitly recommended by the industry, they are engaged with by booksellers.

My suggestion also is that embodied and objectified forms of technical capital are essential to executing practices, each of which has its own 'dispositional capital'. I put forward: commercial capital as the disposition to value the extraction of profit from any practice; aesthetic capital as the disposition to value how the bookshop looks, including its virtual form; emotional capital as the disposition to value the production of an emotional state in another person, and the virtual form requires a set of technical skills that are different to the non-virtual form. Virtual emotional capital is discussed in section 5.5 and aesthetic capital is explored in more detail in section 6.4.

Bookseller capital, unique to the field of bookselling, is the ability to sell books to the consumer. Many skills are required to be successful at the practice of bookselling, and these I call embodied technical capital: ordering; running a business; book knowledge; face-to-face hand selling skills; and now, the ability to sell online. An agent may have all these skills, or be very high in volume for this capital, yet they will probably not succeed at bookselling unless they also have the necessary disposition of bookseller capital: a love of literacy and a great need to share book knowledge with others, as indicated by all the respondents.

Bourdieu's (2011b) definition of commercial capital is that it: "(sales power) relates to the mastery of distribution networks (warehousing and transport), and marketing and after-sales service" (ibid, p.194). As a definition, this is at once both surprisingly particular and frustrating in its lack of clarity. I put forward a definition of commercial capital that is more general and therefore, perhaps, more easily applied in a variety of commercial situations: commercial capital is generally taken to be those dispositions that value ways of extracting profit through various practices. For instance, a bookseller may have all the necessary skills, that is, embodied

technical capital, to run events or to create and maintain a great Facebook or Twitter presence, but the agent must also value or have an interest in this activity or have the disposition to engage in it, in order for it to work. I therefore define commercial capital, or the commercial disposition for booksellers, as having the following characteristics: the valuing of the extraction of profit from various book and non-book selling processes; being comfortable or at ease with promotion and marketing of the shop; understanding how to extract capital value from shop aesthetics; and being comfortable with asking for financial 'help'. We might say that an agent who is ready to engage in all of the new practices required of them has a commercial disposition and those who have both the technical and commercial capital to act on that disposition, or the capabilities to engage in all of the new practices, will be more likely to succeed. The quandary some agents find themselves in, that is, those with a non-commercial habitus, will be further explored in section 5.3.

Commercial capital is the disposition or ability to always spot a profit-making opportunity, yet in order for this capital to work, embodied and objectified technical capital is also required: they work in tandem. For example, a bookseller may have spotted that a tea shop will bring in money and more customers to buy books, yet she needs both objectified technical capital in the form of space and equipment and embodied technical capital in the form of tea-selling skills in order to achieve this profit-making goal. Table 5.1 above does rather make it seem that the practices, other than selling books, are all lumped under commercial or technical capital only when in reality, other capitals are also at play. A minimum amount of financial capital is required for any bookseller to set up business, but they have very little in comparison to the supermarkets, chains or the powerful internet retailers. Yet, within the field of indie booksellers, there are those with more financial capital than others: some agents come to bookselling after a successful career elsewhere and can afford to buy out the premises, thus avoiding rent costs, whilst others can afford to employ teams of booksellers yet take no salary themselves. However, for the majority of the booksellers interviewed, neither of these were an available option as they were sole traders that rented the building and relied on a small salary.

Similarly, booksellers have differing amounts of both technical and commercial capital available to them, yet other capitals can be used to circumvent these lacks and to increase position within the field. For example, social and symbolic capitals can be used to achieve greater success at running events or marketing the shop. Social capital can be converted directly into aesthetic capital, which itself is translatable into increased sales: one bookseller in a market town pitched its decor perfectly to its local, middle-class customers by using her design-knowledgeable friends for advice and even supply of designer light fittings.

Commercial capital, in the form of NSM marketing, can also be enhanced by social capital. The following general bookseller is very successful at marketing, has a wide circle of social connections, and has achieved a large Twitter following of over 3,600:

> So again, we got twenty followers because when Nigella (Lawson) was here, she tweeted and she has quarter of a million followers. So as soon as you get any new thing like that it has a ridiculous effect. And the comedian, Chris Addison, once made some comment about us and here we are with fifty new people (Indie Bookseller).

Here, we see that the amount of social capital an agent may possess "depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (Bourdieu, 2011c, p.84). In this instance, the celebrity social connections, Nigella Lawson and Chris Addison, possess large and valuable symbolic capital.

Social capital is beginning to be seen by geographers as an important concept to be engaged with in understanding place and socio-economics. Holt (2008) argues that Bourdieu's accounts of social capital address many of the critiques levelled at social capital by geographers as it "emphasizes the inter-relations between social capital and a variety of capitals…and highlights how the social is one key form of capital that serves to (re)produce socio-economic differentiation" (ibid, p.228). Naughton (2014) argues "for a geographical conceptualization of social capital told as a story (or many stories) of power relations in multiple sociospatial constructions" (ibid, p.18). The use of social capital in mobilising resources within local and wider communities was found to work for communities with a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. However, it must be stressed that it tended to be the wealthier, resourced patrons within the more mixed communities that could donate hard cash, yet, the ability to ask for financial help using new technologies means that geographically distant resources can also be tapped into.

Bookshops use their social capital to mobilise local resources to help with many activities within the shop itself, but sometimes, a bookshop will need hard cash to survive. Those indies that are very embedded within local communities are able to raise capital when money gets tight. Some local communities can even save their bookshop if it is closing. A bookshop closed as the rent was set to double when chain retailers became interested in setting up in the town. This shop had a distinct cultural history, connecting it to a very famous author: it was high in symbolic capital. The locals decided to reopen the shop by asking for community donations. It is now a co-operative. The two people who ran the successful campaign to save this shop were both retired London journalists with extensive social contacts, and the town itself is very well-connected and wealthy, indicating high levels of social capital and access to financial capital. At

the other end of the spectrum, the following extract describes the crowd-funding abilities of a feminist co-operative that has been run by volunteers and supported by the local, less-wealthy community for over thirty years:

> I would say we've done that many years before it was called crowd funding (laughs)…And whenever we've had a big crisis and people have felt that the shop might fold when it has been seriously under threat for one reason or another, people have rallied around because they've seen it as their bookshop... and I think, in our experience, other radical bookshops in the past that closed over the last couple of decades often didn't do that, they didn't appeal to their constituency quick enough. And I think being cheeky has always helped us, you know…definitely. I think it has been the saving of us (Indie Bookseller).

In this narrative, 'being cheeky' means being comfortable in using your social contacts to gain advantage by asking for financial help, pointing to the fact that not all agents are comfortable with this disposition.

Being able to draw on resources from local communities that have the ability and will to help was not the only way indies could draw on social capital. Some agents are comfortable with asking for help from a much wider community that the shop may never even have met face-to-face. New technologies can be a very useful way to widen these supportive social networks:

> [People donated cash] from all over the world…people follow Twitter. [It's about] building your relationship on Twitter…I suppose it's not a human contacting and people don't even know this shop but they know the ethos of this shop and believe in that (Indie Bookseller).

For this general/children's bookshop, which opened in 2008 in response to the loss of the local Waterstones, building a relationship with an international community of people who are interested in the ethos of the shop is enabled by the use of Twitter, that is, the mobilisation of their technical capital.[37]

Besides mobilising financial capital, either locally or globally, shops must also mobilise technical capital through social networks. 21st century shops are now expected to have an online presence, if not an online transactional website, which is too expensive to create and maintain for most shops: the majority of bookshops have to use their connections or social

[37] An interesting example of the mobilisation of wider social networks to influence the local market was at work in 2011 when the St. Marks bookshop in New York (high in symbolic capital) managed to have its impending rent increase stalled through an online campaign that drew support from around the world.

networks to source IT skills at reduced cost. Many of the respondents use friends or family to get them online or set them up with NSM. The quality of those contacts, or the quality of the capitals they possess, are what determine the quality of the results. For most shops that rely on friends and family, the results can be a poor website offering as the bookseller themselves have little idea of how to set up an attractive website and the resources they tap into are also of poor quality. Relying on friends and family can cause problems such as delayed action: "It's coming but my poor son who's at university is trying to get it up and running…but he's got a lot of pressures, so it's finding the time to do it" (Indie Bookseller). However, some booksellers are better able than others to achieve good results. Here, a destination niche bookseller explains how she is getting her idea of a bespoke transactional web design at a reduced cost:

> Okay, because I'm a people person, it means that a lot of things are available to me… My friend who has more money than me, found a woman who he met in Seattle, who did his website and she's really good and she's 23 and she charged him £200 and it's really about a £3,000 website… Yeah, so we're getting it all through connections (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller is leveraging both her excellent interpersonal and networking skills alongside her wide range of contacts to achieve her aims. Embodied social capital was also apparent within another bookseller who was able to use her excellent negotiating and verbal skills to persuade the local new Tescos that was being built not to stock books.

Thus far, we have seen that social capital is found to be embodied in the form of verbal prowess, interpersonal skills, networking skills of the agent as well as in the relationships between the agent and local and wider communities. We have also seen that social capital is dependent on the quality of the capitals possessed by those agents the indie bookseller can tap into, whether that be technical, commercial or financial capital gained through friends, family, local known or wider unknown communities, and it is vital to an indies survival. So far we have seen that as new practices are required of the indies, so the capital structure of the field has also changed such that they now need a commercial disposition, and increasing technical, social, aesthetic and symbolic capitals. As data collection continued, it became apparent that not all booksellers contain the 'right' capitals in the same amounts, nor do they all have a commercial disposition. The next sections examine the lag in habitus that is currently occurring within the trade.

5.3 Hysteresis of Habitus: The 'Structuring Structures' of the 'Old Breed', 'New Breed'

This section examines the working backgrounds of indie booksellers as "structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1999, p.53), which inform their dispositions, and therefore their engagement with the new practices. Habitus is "the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" (Wacquant cited in Navarro, 2006, p.16). During times of social rupture, "old people quixotically cling to dispositions that are out of place and out of time", and "effects of hysteresis, of a lag in adaptation…can be explained by…the character of habitus" (Bourdieu, 2011b, p.214). The effects of this clinging to dispositions that are 'out of place and out of time' means agents can feel like 'fish out of water', leading to unease and distress.

As we have seen in chapter two, examples of hysteresis of habitus in the literature tend to originate from organisational change studies (Kerr & Robinson, 2009; McDonagh & Polzer, 2012). Whilst the habitus is adaptable yet highly durable, and prone to reproducing itself as "dispositions are subject to a kind of permanent revision, but one which is never radical, because it works on the basis of the premises established in the previous state" (Bourdieu, 2006, p.161), it is during times of social rupture that creativity, agency and innovation are most likely to occur, counteracting criticisms of determinism and stasis within the habitus. Yet these times of change or "too-rapid movements in social space" will necessarily create a situation where "often those [agents] who were best adapted to the previous state of the game, have difficulty in adjusting to the new order" (Bourdieu, 2006, p.161). In the following passage, a very successful indie describes the lag or 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), that is occurring within the 'new order' of indie bookselling:

> The overriding point is that, despite all the threats to independent bookshops, what rarely gets focussed on is the fact that those independents that are remaining, despite the decline in numbers, are not a kind of *'Black Books*' breed anymore. They are far more commercial, far more clear in their identity, generally (Indie Bookseller).[38]

I did not encounter any booksellers that expressed contempt for their customers as Bernard Black does, so the *Black Books* distinction in the extract above is unfair in this respect. Nevertheless, my research finds that whilst many of the booksellers interviewed fell somewhere

[38] *Black Books* is a Channel Four comedy that ran from 2000 to 2004. It portrayed an independent bookshop owner that was somewhat hostile towards his customers.

on a continuum between an ‘old breed’ and ‘new breed’ binary, differences between these two extremes were discernable, particularly by bookseller age and working background. These differences manifested in capital possession, particularly commercial and technical capital, tastes in book presentation and shop styling, and views of the neo-liberalised bookselling market. The ‘new breed’ of bookseller tends to be younger and is often from a modern commercial working background such as chain retail or publishing. The ‘old breed’ are older in age and have been running their indie for many years in the old non-commercial style, and they are finding the new requirements to adapt more difficult. At one end of the scale, the ‘old breed’ tend to be low in commercial and technical capital, whilst on the other end of the scale, the ‘new breed’ possess higher amounts. They may all possess varying amounts of social and cultural capital, but the new breed tend to have more commercial capital and embodied technical capital. Lack of technical capital to carry out new social media marketing and web creation were particularly apparent in older booksellers. The following ‘old breed’ bookseller has been running his tourist town bookshop for thirty two years, is close to retirement, and readily admits he is a “technophobe” and “a stuck in the mud bookseller” who hopes someone younger will eventually take over:

> I don’t do any of these things that I should be doing. And the website we ought to have done, we should have done and we keep saying we’ll do it, but I’m a pre-website generation, you know. Unless somebody will do it for us, I don’t know where to start (Indie Bookseller).

Older agents often discussed their inabilities to change in emotional terms: they presented as frustrated, as the bookseller is above, or even somewhat ashamed, as another ‘old breed’ bookseller that was close to retirement admits to:

> You know we haven’t done a lot of marketing of our shop at any point. We’ve just sort of provided a service (laughs). It sounds a bit lazy but you know we haven’t…I think if we had been younger… you know…ah dear…you know you are asking…we rather avoid…this is a sort of marketing question which we’ve…rather I’m ashamed to say we haven’t really investigated…I’m sorry… We are providing a service (Indie Bookseller).

This older bookseller also expressed the wish that someone younger with the right capabilities might take over the shop when it was due to be closed in 2013, but this was not to be. In contrast, the ‘new breed’ are very confident in outlook and they tend to come to bookselling with commercial experience, meaning they are already adept at using NSM, spotting marketing and PR opportunities and working with the internet. The structures they have worked in, commercial publishing and chain retail, mean they perceive these activities as completely

habituated by them: they take their skills and dispositions for granted. During interview, their focus tended to be on discussing past achievements and planning for future improvements.

Whilst 'old breed' booksellers often do not possess necessary skills, or technical capital, to carry out new practices, they also may not have the necessary dispositions. For example, they may not think with a commercial, marketing mind, as was the case when a worker at the ethnography bookshop, who had been in bookselling for almost forty years, missed an opportunity to publicise the shortlist and eventual winner of a new publishing award that was highly pertinent to the shop's front table offerings: the front table, window and Facebook page drew no attention to the award. This bookseller was highly adept at using the shop's old style computer systems but also very resistant to learning any new technical skills such as Facebook to market the shop. The resistance here was framed by this bookseller as being unwilling to adapt to new techniques. Having expressed my frustration on many occasions at having to learn to use the laborious, non-user-friendly, old-style computer entry system the shop used, this worker told me that this very same frustration was what he felt when faced with using Facebook. A younger worker with personal experience of and interest in using Facebook eventually joined the co-operative, developing the marketing of the shop through new social media and improved window displays. This younger worker had no previous commercial or retail marketing experience but it was clear that she had an interest that allowed her to quickly learn new skills that would eventually help to create a successful crowd-funding appeal,

Not all older booksellers with many years selling in the old-style could not adapt, however. One older bookseller, in indie bookselling for many years, had been struggling to come to terms with the changed field of indie bookselling and was keen to avoid total immersion in the new technology aspects of marketing and PR, presenting this as a life-style choice:

> We decided not to so far in part because we are trying not to be computer-centric in our lives…we just choose not to live our life that way (Indie Bookseller).

However, she had adapted to new technologies somewhat by creating a very modern, targeted and sophisticated regular email that promotes and markets the shop, whilst avoiding the use of Facebook or Twitter. Additionally, old age was no guarantee of a lack of a commercial disposition. Sometimes, older booksellers come to the trade with a working background that is outside chain book retail or publishing, but which still provides an interest or skill that drives them. The following older bookseller had a background in third level business lecturing, and was thus well-versed in commercial techniques. This general bookseller spotted an opportunity to use a toy display to attract a difficult to reach audience, ten year olds:

> The toys bring them in …we were trying to do a promotion on railway books and I went to [nearby town] and saw a train going round in a shop window, a toy shop window, so I bought the train put it in the window…we get a lot of fingerprints on the window with three year olds going… and they will stand there for hours, it's really very satisfying (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller also used her business acumen by spotting an opportunity and acting on it to move to a new location and building that already had a tea shop: the tea shop now provides 50% of revenue and benefits her book trade. It is perhaps, no surprise that conversations with booksellers about their business often followed the interests of previous work-experience. The following middle-aged bookseller, who had a background in customer service for a large mobile phone company, and only recently became a bookseller, discusses how he differentiates his shop from Amazon:

> Customer service, try and instil into all the volunteers that you know we have to be the friendly face, we have to be the ones that go the extra mile. You know if a customer wants this book, don't just say it is out of print, say "Well let me see if I can find a copy for you" (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller's focus during conversation was on customer service, as it had been in his previous job.

Bookseller habitus can also be identified through bookseller tastes or how they value range of books, or shop presentation. Independent bookshops are different to other high street book retailers as they tend to provide access to discovery of the backlist. One urban, general bookseller with a working background in many modern chain book retail shops throughout the nineties and noughties, has chosen to provide a very highly curated selection of books, which means that on the one hand, the books are highly targeted to his known, local and wealthy population, but on the other hand, in opposition to the 'old breed' of bookselling, there are less back-list books on offer:

> We've got a lovely, clean open space. We could fit more books in but we don't, because actually we could never compete with a five floor bookshop or an internet bookshop, so why try to? So we try to keep a select range in stock of books that we think are really good and market ourselves on that (Indie Bookseller).

This 'new breed' bookseller is setting himself up in opposition to the old style of bookshop that held huge stock and required a large space. The majority of indies visited were not over five floors and did not have enormous stock, although they all had more range than him. However, one bookshop did stand out as being somewhat of the older style in that there was a very large

range of books. The 'old breed' owner had a history of working in the old style as he had started his bookselling career in Foyles and then he had worked in an original Waterstones, when Waterstones was known for its huge range of backlist books:

> It's what I grew up in, it's what I believe in, having range of books, and what I want to do (Indie Bookseller).

Working history has acted as a structuring structure for the habitus of these two booksellers, leading them to very different choices in how they sell their books.

As interviews progressed I became aware there was also a marked difference in how booksellers were presenting their shops in terms of style or décor, with 'new breed' booksellers tending to present their shops in a gentrified style. Questions were not asked of the interviewees to understand how they made their presentation choices. However, the proliferation of indies that conform to a gentrified look might be explained by the 'structuring structure' of reading home styling magazines or watching the myriad home makeover and design television programmes that have been highly popular in the UK since the nineties, such that some agents understand and use the capital value associated with styling. Philips (2005) argues that "knowledge of interior design is explicitly understood in the language of these programmes as a capital investment" (ibid, p.213). Reimer & Leslie's (2008) examination of furniture production and circulation identifies a discursive construction of national design identities, which they refer to as 'national imaginaries', which may be used at more local levels to accrue advantage to other creative or cultural industries. Certainly, the BA's advice to all its independent members that they contact their local *County Life* magazine about getting a free PR and marketing-useful article, as "the demographic profile of Archant readers is identical to that of independent bookshop customers" (BA Email to Indie, May 2013), points to an attempt to accrue advantage, but by identifying all UK independents with a set of values that does not fit all, not least because this magazine promotes a very English, middle-class and narrow view of interior design. Here, the 'structuring structure' could be said to be the normative and dominant view of what constitutes 'good' interior design, and this nationalistic view points to a narrow, middle class understanding of the English countryside for its aesthetics.

Additionally, booksellers showed relatively polar attitudes to market changes brought about by the collapse of the NBA. For many longer term booksellers, particularly those who had been in the game prior to the NBA collapse, the new rules were akin to "opening Pandora's box…[and this] could not be put back" (Indie Bookseller). The 'old breed' tended to be angry about the subsequent loss of business from deep discounting practices by the larger retailers, whilst the 'new breed' were more accepting of the market changes and likely to see deep discounting as "a fact of life" (Indie Bookseller). Two very recent, younger arrivals to the trade were not even

aware that there had been fixed pricing in place. Only one older bookseller with many years in the trade felt that the collapse of the NBA has been good for the public as:

> In many ways it's been good for the book trade…to shed fixed pricing, because it encourages distribution of books and that can only encourage wider reading, which does have a good effect I think (Indie Bookseller).[39]

We have seen thus far that older "agents who were best adapted to the previous state of the game" (Bourdieu, 2006, p.161), have difficulty in adjusting to the new order, and the working backgrounds of new agents play a large role in the formation of their commercial dispositions. The next section examines how older agents deal with their highly durable dispositions, that is when they have no interest or urge to learn new skills or to be commercial themselves, how some can show agency, and how some of the new breed can transpose the habitus to be highly creative.

5.4 Circumventing Durable Dispositions & Creativity within the Transposable Habitus

Being used to doing things the way you have always done it, or routines or habits, were commonly referred to by older booksellers as something that was either impossible to change due to age or, less commonly, actively chosen not to be changed due to a belief or lifestyle choice. 'Old breed' booksellers can be acutely aware and frustrated that they are being left behind yet they do not have the impetus to change. All the booksellers who were close to retirement hoped that a younger person might transform the business. However, some older booksellers were able to rely on younger members of their staff to make necessary new technology changes:

> We employed young people and they showed us how to do it. It's part of their world, they're doing it every day all the time (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller's statement that younger people "are doing it every day all the time" is correct as many young people have now grown up on Facebook and are completely au fait with internet blogging, Twittering and self-promotion. Having younger staff with the necessary skills can also

[39] It is worthwhile being cautious about the view that this has resulted in wider reading. Has reading gone up since the collapse of the NBA? This is a very difficult question to answer although a comparison, over time, in volume book sales between countries with differing pricing models might help.

bring a fresh perspective to a bookseller's habitus, allowing them to do things in a "different way":

> …and the advantage to us, of course, is having some extra help in the shop and an input from people who can see things differently, because obviously we're here all the time, we get used to the way we do things. Sometimes people say, "Why do you do it like that?" you know, "That's so long-winded." And we go, "Oh well yes, maybe there's a different way" (Indie Bookseller).

This passage shows that encounters with co-workers with a differing habitus can enable older agents to refresh their habitus. Whilst being unable to change was seen as an impediment by many older booksellers, some also emphasised the difficulties they faced in being able to achieve what they knew they must do:

> …and when you think how much time does it take, what do you have to do, how do you pay attention to this and when we know of bookshops that do these things and they say "Oh it's fifteen minutes a day" and it's "You just do it when you are on the bus" and we don't. We would actually have to sit down to think about doing it (Indie Bookseller).

The difficulties expressed in this passage are also very representative of how some older booksellers feel when confronted with new technologies that are presented to them as something that is easy to do. I witnessed this at a BA conference where a 'new breed' bookseller made a presentation on NSM usage and he did indeed say it only took a few minutes a day. His message was that it is an easy thing to do and you just have to do it. This is a misunderstanding in that the 'new breed' are already equipped to think about it and the 'old breed' are not: neither is it easy for the 'old breed' to adapt their dispositions.

Yet, it is possible to circumvent adaptation: one shop was using relatively old software that could have been replaced with a more streamlined and less labour intensive system, had there been the skilled resources to do it, yet it was able to use its social capital to crowd fund financial capital to see it through rough times. Only one other shop was encountered where an old style IT system was being used. This shop's manager had excellent author connections within the trade, ran a very lucrative series of author events throughout the year, and so the shop was able to employ a large team, continuing to use a labour-intensive method as it could afford to. These two examples of the use of social capital are similar yet different. Both shops are using their social capital to avoid adapting: one by calling on donations from local supporters to support them when they are in financial difficulties, the other by using connections in the trade to run lucrative events that offset the extra labour costs.

Whilst dispositions within the habitus seem to be very durable and non-adaptive for many older booksellers, this is not the case for all of them, or for the 'new breed' booksellers who may be able to transpose their habitus. Taking the word transposable to mean "transfer to a different place or context" (OED, 2013), the disposition to be commercial is found to be highly transposable from a corporate or chain retail background to the new field of bookselling. 'New breed' booksellers have found their new environment fit their dispositions perfectly and a few are able to use their social connections and /or transpose their habitus to be creative. Innovative or creative ways of engaging with bookseller practices were very circumscribed, yet there were instances where booksellers had created very novel approaches to creating revenue streams.

Changes in management structures within organisations are fertile ground for examining generative aspects of hysteresis: McDonagh & Polzer (2012) find an example of hysteresis amongst public service workers after the 'creation' of Toronto in 1998, where their disposition to privilege "the public good over private (selfish) interests" (ibid, p.359), was at odds with and provided a gendered and class-based struggle with the new private sector managerial practices being put in place. They find workers' responses to their new predicament describe the generative or adaptive aspect of habitus, and differing strategies employed reflected differing types of capital possession: "manual labourers drew on the symbolic capital of traditional public service, something they perceived to be eroding, while librarians, nurses, and case workers appeared to mobilize additional cultural and symbolic capital connected with their respective professions" (ibid, p.374). In other words, the experience and outcome of hysteresis depends on structural position, or capital possession. In the case of the indies, an older and long-term bookseller created a brand new source of income by mobilising social capital. This bookseller used his connections with a famous local author and an illustrator, who are both high in symbolic capital, to publish a very lucrative book series, and he is now becoming even more creative in his approach:

> We've got six illustrators and six dogs… and we're going to mix up the children and the dogs and the illustrators. They are going to go away for an hour…And then they are going to come up with a story which is going to be illustrated by these famous illustrators, people like [famous children's author name] (Indie Bookseller).

This is a clear example of agency and creativity at work within the habitus of an older bookseller as he has been an indie bookseller for over thirty years, but aided by social capital. Another example of agency within the habitus, aided by a capital possession, is an large online-only specialist seller who has re-mobilised his large amounts of both embodied (IT team) and objectified (bespoke software) technical capitals to create new revenue streams:

> We've got all this IT which we have spent a fortune on and we've got to find other ways to use it and we can do fulfilment more efficiently than them [his distribution clients] (Indie Bookseller).

Transposable habitus from non-bookselling backgrounds can also lead to creativity, aided by mobilisation of various capitals. Below, another successful bookseller describes how he made a deal with highly skilled contacts to achieve his goals for his bespoke transactional website:

> I did a deal which involved not paying for it all at the outside and involved some of it being paid for based on performance of the website in sales terms. So no, it wasn't a massive outlay for what it looks like. We used really fantastic, creative, local people who work for many, many bigger companies and charge them a lot more than they charged us. So no, it was… I would say it's not anywhere near as expensive as it looks (laughs) (Indie Bookseller).

This bookseller has been highly creative in delivering a website that is bespoke and offers a curated selection of books that does not try to compete with Amazon's ability to provide access to over two million books. He has yet to make significant amounts of money from this solution but his novel approach means that so far, unlike other shops, he is not losing money:

> We set up a deal with Nielsen; it was the first time they had set it up. I said, "I just want to pay you a sum every year, and in return I can have x thousand and y thousand books." And, every time I want to add a new book…my web developers have created a back end…and I can just do it, I can copy off a spreadsheet a whole list of ISBNs…It's probably a twenty minute exercise to put a hundred and fifty books on…But to be honest, Nielsen didn't really know it might appeal to anyone until we started talking to them. They said, "Well, we never thought about anyone not wanting everything. Because Amazon have everything (laughs)". So, it's a different approach but it's… effectively we are curating the selection, just like we do in the shop. That's the idea (Indie Bookseller).

In the above two extracts, the bookseller is from a corporate background and as such he is clearly very capable person when it comes to making deals, leveraging contacts, working with large, powerful corporations like Nielsen, and making the technical skills he learned in a different industry work in this new industry: his choice of language here ("back end") and the ease with which he speaks, conveys his complete comfort with these already acquired skills. He has been able to come up with unique offerings that no other bookshop has, mobilising combinations of social, symbolic, technical and commercial capital. Here he is again on another of his novel approaches to adding value to the hand selling process:

> So we have these two products, the reading spa and a reading year (subscription), the reading spa being in the shop… [it's a] a gift…a kind of personal shopping experience with tea and cake… it was featured in the Guardian last Christmas on one of their last minute gifts of the year and it's growing exponentially…So, again it's (the subscription) purchased. It costs £135 and for that the recipient receives a gift that people hand over, a card. And, then they are prompted to get in touch with us and fill in, or come in and talk to us if they're local, a questionnaire about their reading tastes and we then choose them a book every month and send it to them wrapped and wax-sealed. Entirely to fit their reading tastes. So, last November we were sending out 30. This November we're sending out 240. Yes. And it's only going to go in one direction (Indie Bookseller).

In this creative example, the bookseller has taken a known commercial goal from the corporate world, subscription-based revenue streams, and applied it to the traditional hand selling process that booksellers have always provided for free. This agent is a clear example of agency at work within the habitus, where the technical skills and commercial disposition learned in one industry have been applied in, or transposed to, a new setting, and where further capitals have been mobilised through social capital, with creative and highly successful results. The next section expands this last example of the commodification of the hand selling process in examining how social interaction is being commodified in the online independent bookselling world.

5.5 The Commodification of Social Interaction: Online Social Marketing as Virtual, Performative, Emotional Labour

This section examines the kind of labour the indies must engage in when using Facebook to market their shop. There are two forms of marketing: commercial and social, and for some, commercial marketing is "at the centre of…economic vandalism", whilst social marketing has "one dauntingly ambitious opportunity: empowered social change" (Hastings in Dibb & Corrigan, 2013, p.1388-1389).

We have seen thus far how new technology, in the form of the internet and digitisation, favours high volume selling and those with access to large amounts of financial and technical capital. As high volume sellers drive prices down, the indie bookseller, who sells in low volume and has little access to these capitals in comparison, must find other means to extract value in order to survive. The indies must now make profit from events, which is commodifying a social activity that used to be free, and we have seen that one bookseller has started to commodify the hand selling and recommendation process. Using NSM to attract and engage with customers is currently being employed by many of the indies, particularly those in urban areas. Many of the

indies interviewed were only beginning to use these new marketing tools. This section is based on following the Facebook pages of a selection of indies, and in particular, the Facebook work of one bookshop for over two years from its inception, along with an interview with the worker who set up and ran the page during her own spare time.

Facebook was launched in 2004 and it now has a membership of over one billion people from across the globe. Facebook makes its profits through advertising, using the access it has to each user's personal data to target advertisements to their profile, but since its IPO in 2012, the push on advertising has become more noticeable to its users: businesses are invited to pay to promote their posts to a wider audience; and paid-for posts appear in users' newsfeeds ahead of posts from pages they have liked, as in Figure 5.1 below.[40]

Figure 5.1 Commercial Marketing by Amazon.

Figure 5.1 shows a paid-for post from Amazon as it appeared in my Facebook newsfeed and in the sponsored bar on the right hand side: I am also told which of my friends have 'liked' Amazon.

Facebook also invites its users to become sales people on behalf of the businesses who pay Facebook advertising revenue: businesses now invite users who have liked their page to share their posts in their newsfeeds in return for a chance of a prize, thus taking advantage of users' networks of friends and commodifying that friendship. Figure 5.2 below shows the Facebook

[40] Users are not always aware that posts from the pages they have liked are not appearing in their newsfeeds: neither do the Facebook page owners. To alter this, they must have knowledge of the problem and know the steps needed to change it (Techwyse, 2012). Businesses can also buy 'likes' through illegitimate means. Celebrities are sometimes given free gifts by businesses in return for Twitter mentions.

post from a chain book retailer that aims to take advantage of users' friends. The pertinent text here reads "Share this to be in with a chance to win a Kobo Aura HD and a £20 WHSmith Gift Card" (Text from Figure 5.2).

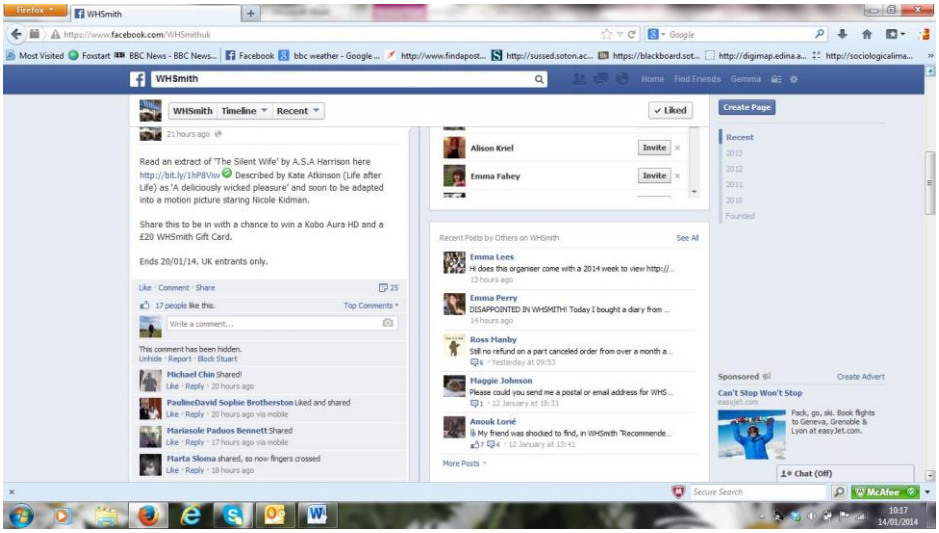


Figure 5.2 Example of the Commodification of Friendship.

Indie booksellers tend to use their Facebook page for social rather than pure commercial marketing. For the indie worker interviewed, paid for promotions are not affordable and whilst she cannot measure Facebook's worth in direct monetary gains, she does see it as useful in connecting to other local businesses and the community:

> It's (paid for promotions) not something we would be able to afford, Facebook is still a bit of an 'extra' tool of promotion to us, but nothing that we feel sales are depending on and that we could justify spending money on…I have no idea whether Facebook has helped us financially because there's no way to measure. It has helped us in other ways, having a direct line to people. We got a van once to help [manager name] take books to the stalls. It's also a great 'networking' tool among independent businesses in [city name] - [a list of local businesses] and the libraries sometimes share our stuff as well. Facebook is at its best when it brings people closer in real life, and I think it does that for us (Indie Worker).[41]

[41] In early 2014, after more than two years of labour, this Facebook page did show some evidence of financial return: two customers separately stated that they were deliberately shopping at the indie after seeing posts on Facebook and Twitter: "…what strikes me about the social media customers is that they will tell you (rather enthusiastically) how they found you and they really act like they had already decided to like you before they came into the shop, and are pleased about going about their shopping in a purposeful way, like they've made a statement by shopping here" (indie worker). By late 2013, another member of the co-op had begun to use Twitter to promote the shop.

Paid for promotions tend to be pursued by the larger companies, and in the case of book retailing, by Amazon, the chains and the supermarkets. However, the indies do engage in a more indirect promotion of their business to their community, and in doing this they must walk a very fine line between being seen to be crass, by directly promoting sales of books, and being engaging in an uncommercial way. Many of the indies tend to use their Facebook page simply to alert their customers to upcoming events at the bookshop or within the wider community, or they may mention the title of a book that is specific to their niche or interest. However, some are better at engaging with their customers in other ways as they engage in a virtual form of emotional labour that is traditionally done at the counter:

> How do I decide what posts to make? I check the shop to see if there's any interesting books - I like quoting passages from the book because the cover descriptions ('gripping', 'unputdownable' etc.) are the same for every book out there...or new food items. But usually it's something that I imagine our customers would like to read and sometimes it's nothing to do with the shop. I guess in my head I have an image of the typical [bookshop name] customer and I try to work out what they would want to read. I try to get in as much variety as I can, if you're surprising and unpredictable, people are less likely to hide your posts (Indie Worker).

Indie workers must become skilled social actors online, making posts that create shared identities, and that connect the customer with the shop in "surprising and unpredictable" ways. There is a strong sense here that the virtual performance must be entertaining. This is a highly skilled job that many are still learning, and involves the ability to engage the customer's emotions in a positive manner:

> …the posts that have something light, cheerful or funny work the best. Blandly commercial posts (we sell this at that price) are at the other end of the spectrum. People don't like it when you are using your page just to flog your stuff. They want to be amused and informed. Our customers are in search for some sort of 'added value', the feeling that they are doing something good by supporting an independent shop, if they wanted to see bland commercialism, they'd go to Tesco's (Indie Worker).

Thus, the labour described here is emotional labour, that is, work that "require(s) the worker to produce an emotional state in another person" (Hochschild in Pugh, 2001, p.1018). Emotional capital has been defined as "knowledge, contacts and relations as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets, which hold within any social network characterised at least partly by affective ties" (Nowotny in Reay, 2004, p.60). Emotional labour has been attributed to many of the service industries but usually this is conducted in a face-to-face situation. The use of Facebook by the indies means they must learn a virtual mode of emotional labour. In the case

under examination, the affective ties are online and virtual, such that the emotional labour takes on a different kind of performance that second-guesses reactions, as there are no immediate visual clues to be read. The emotional labour here is less about empathising with customer stories and anecdotes, as happens at the till: rather, it is more about providing a positive performance that will draw attention. The avoidance of emotions that are not 'cheerful' by the worker above played out for many of the Facebook pages followed for the research. This indie worker is a published author and so she has been able to make posts that are very well constructed and connective, which points to the need for writing skills, but more than that, she also has to find subjects that are amusing, informative, funny and cheerful.

There is evidence to suggest that in face-to-face encounters, felt emotions are often leaked through "facial cues and vocal expressions that reveal concealed feelings" (Ekman in Pugh, 2001, p.1020), yet, these cues will not be available in a virtual situation. Figure 7.9 below is an example of an online post that displays a positive, emotional storytelling that seeks to engage with the shop's community in a gentle rib at Amazon. One of the customer responses however, points to the difficulties online social marketers face in attempting to perform to a very wide audience when there are no visual clues: it is not clear if customer 2 has taken offence or is joking.

Bookshop: An older customer came in yesterday and asked, in an anxious stage-whisper, whether Amazon was a publisher? He'd spent all morning on the phone trying to get them to send him a book. When he eventually spoke to someone, they told him, to his confusion, 'to get it from another publisher, Kendall, as it would be cheaper'. But how on earth to get in touch with Kendall? It took me a few minutes to work out he meant 'Kindle'...

I found the printed book and ordered it for him. It can be a bewildering world out there when you are 80-something, just remember your bookseller is here to help!

Customer 1: It can be bewildering anyway! So much prefer proper books and proper bookshops! Thank goodness you guys were there to navigate the confusion and send the man off happy with an actual book by talking to a human being. Simple but comforting and REAL!

Customer 2: You're not stereotyping older people are you?

Customer 3: Regardless of age I'm impressed that he managed to find someone to speak to at Amazon. I've never managed it.

Customer 4: I tried to support our local bookstore today and buy your birthday pressie [name], unfortunately they didn't have anything on your list! so I picked something else which I hope you'll enjoy (hope this is ok!) if you visit us all at xmas bring it with you as I think it's quite good!! Xxx

Bookshop: No intention to stereotype (customer 2)... It's just reality that people who didn't grow up with apps and kindles etc can find all this stuff quite challenging and it's a problem as it threatens to isolate them. But I think that anyone, not just older people, prefers a human being to talk to sometimes, as (customer 3) points out. I (name) for one have always despised automated check-outs like you get at the library or some supermarkets. I get muddled up with them more often than not. I hope I learn to use them by the time I'm 80.

Figure 5.3 Difficulties with Virtual Emotional Labour on Facebook.

Posting messages can be fraught with difficulties, and this indie worker actively avoids anything too serious or political that might put customers off:

> I try to stay on the 'cheerful' side, so I don't share petitions often, or make any kind of doom-laden statements about the way the world is going…I don't make political posts unless they are indirectly political- it's obvious from what we do (e.g. host a talk about an anti-apartheid-activist) that our politics are at the far left of the spectrum, and that's enough, we don't have to state it on our Facebook page. It's the same with the physical shop: it's obvious from our stock where our political sympathies lie, but there isn't a sign at the door stating what they are or banning anyone from coming in if they have other sympathies (Indie Worker).

Pugh (2001) finds that "norms and employee characteristics exert a strong and consistent influence on displayed emotions" (ibid, p.1019) in face-to-face interaction between customers and workers. It would seem that the norms for indie bookselling include not openly displaying the shop's political persuasions. Few of the bookshops examined were willing to engage in making posts about tax avoidance or other serious topics. As the shop interviewed here is a co-operative, this particular bookseller finds that it is her own "personal position" that is being reflected in her posts, rather than management guidelines:

> 'I think the not posting about Amazon reflects my own personal position: it makes more sense to focus on our shop that has good customer service, a good browsing selection, friendly staff, creates life on the high streets and jobs, rather than slagging off some big anonymous company. I do sometimes post anecdotes that tell people "See, this is the kind of experience you don't get when buying online" (Indie Worker).

The worker in question goes on to explain her own struggle with being seen to be hypocritical online: on the one hand, wanting to condemn what she sees as Amazon's lack of ethics and on the other hand, her own difficulties in remaining ethical as a bookseller who uses Amazon Marketplace. The struggle involves the suppression of feelings based on an understanding that everyone is taking part in the 'ethical compromise':

> Personally I feel that Amazon should be stood up against, because obviously they are abusing their position in every way and they have no ethics. At the same time I hate feeling like a hypocrite. We're using Amazon marketplace to sell second-hand books, so we are feeding into Amazon's power too. I've once bought a sports watch from Amazon (nothing else, I never buy things online except tickets and iTunes). There are very few people who can say they've never strayed over [to] the dark side. I want to be an 'ethical' person more by doing my own good deeds than to condemn the bad and immoral things other people do, because the latter would make me feel like a hypocrite. I could be flying up in a rage every time someone says "No thanks, I'll get it on Amazon, it's much cheaper", and that would be very much an ivory tower kind of

> reaction. People will shop ethically when they can afford it, and their not being able to afford it is after all not their fault, it's the government's fault (Indie Worker).

In summary, booksellers have always performed emotional labour at the till: listening to customer stories; empathising with their troubles and triumphs; even telling their own stories. Now, indie booksellers must transfer those skills online, and in doing so they are required to learn new skills in order to perform a positive, entertaining, emotional, virtual labour that engages with their communities in a non-commercial, non-political manner.

Thus, the labour described here is emotional labour, that is, work that "require(s) the worker to produce an emotional state in another person" (Hochschild in Pugh, 2001, p.1018). Emotional capital can therefore be defined as the disposition to value the production of an emotional state in another person, and the virtual form requires a set of technical skills that are different to the non-virtual form.

5.6 The Logic of the Field of Independent Bookselling

The restructured field means that a new arsenal of capitals is now required by the indies in a bid to defend themselves against a variety of powerful forces: technical and financial capital concentration within large retailers and the digital economy; free pricing; new technologies in the shape of digitisation and online shopping; rising costs in the shape of rents, rates and utility bills; and the economic downturn. This new arsenal expands the old capitals of bookseller capital and some technical, social and emotional capital to now also include: greater technical and social capital, along with additional *virtual* emotional capital, symbolic, aesthetic and commercial capital.

Thus we have seen within the field of indie bookselling, how the capitals, working together and in tandem with an agent's habitus or dispositions, can serve to increase agent position within the field, or at least, allow them to remain in a field where they are in a highly sub-ordinated position. Figure 5.4 below endeavours to capture the new logic of the indie bookselling field. This logic suggests that not all bookshops will succeed in defying the squeeze on their profits. Those with access to an increasing array of capitals are likely to succeed the best, particularly those bookshops that are located in areas with financial, social and symbolic capital and those bookshop owners who have access to high levels of commercial, technical and social capital.

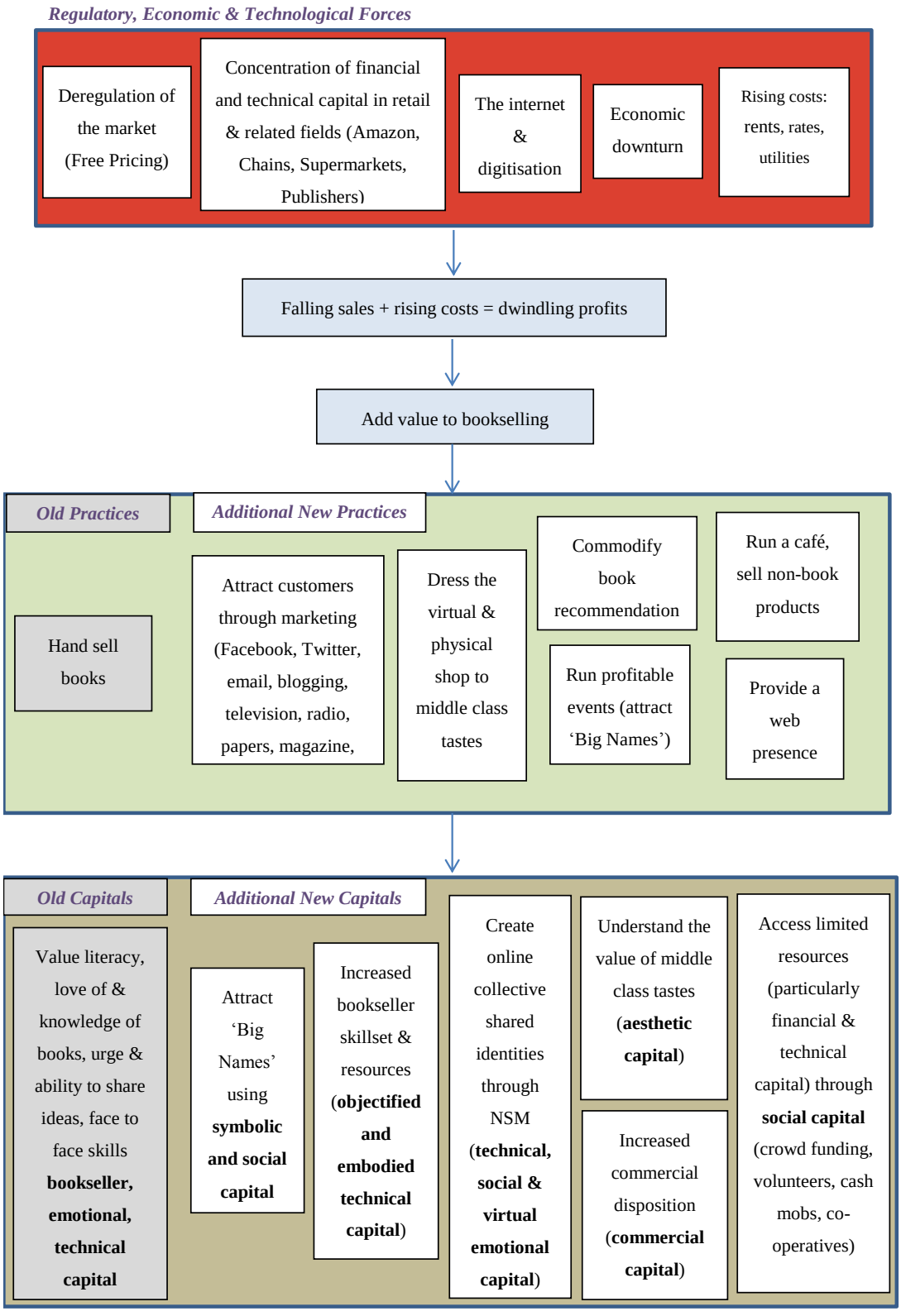


Figure 5.4 The Logic of the Field of Independent Bookselling

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on some key Bourdieusian concepts to interpret variations in the extent to which indie booksellers have adapted to new market conditions. In order to survive in a shrinking and lowering margin market, independent bookshops have to adopt the following strategies: add value to the book buying experience by running events; draw customers in to their shop by engaging with marketing and PR; diversify into selling higher margin non-book products; provide expensive-to-run web presences. There is some evidence to suggest that indies are also styling their shops to target middle class customers and more shops are engaging in crowd funding as a way to survive. Miller (2007) describes the participants in her early nineties US study of indie booksellers as "reluctant capitalists", painting them as reticent to engage in profit-making goals or rationalised retailing as the chains have been. In contrast, it might be said that the new breed of booksellers in the UK are '*engaged capitalists'*: agents who are always ready to engage in practices that will improve profit.

This chapter has teased out definitions of embodied and objectified forms of technical capital as essential to executing any practice, and it has put forward: commercial capital as the disposition to value the extraction of profit from any practice; emotional capital as the disposition to value the production of an emotional state in another person, and the virtual form requires a set of technical skills that are different to the non-virtual form. I fully acknowledge that my take on defining all cultural capitals as dispositions that require technical capital to execute them, is debateable. However, it does go some way to understanding the interrelationality between habitus and capital. If we take habitus to be a set of dispositions, then the successful execution of any practice entails the possession of its appropriate cultural capital, which requires both the 'right' disposition within the habitus and the necessary skills and resources: technical capital.

This chapter has offered a "nuanced and embodied account of agency via the concepts of practice and habitus" (Holt, 2008). Habitus has been shown to be highly transposable for many new agents in the field as a 'new breed' of bookseller comes to the trade, the 'structuring structures' of their previous work environments having already equipped them with the skills and dispositions required for the new bookselling arena. Additionally, this chapter has shown how social capital works in relation to agency: habitus was shown to be creative and agentic for those who can mobilise resources through social capital. Yet habitus is also highly durable for older agents, particularly those that are about to retire, that is, those who have no interest in learning new internet or computer-based techniques that are "for young people" (Indie Bookseller), and who are unwilling to take on the commercial disposition. Those whose habitus fits the new commercialised field of bookselling will have more success and a very few can mobilise their capitals to be creative in creating new revenue opportunities. Thus we have seen

within the field of indie bookselling, how the capitals, working together and in tandem with an agent's habitus or dispositions, can serve to increase agent position within the field.

Restricted access to financial and technical capital has been shown to be capable of being overcome by use of social capital and those who have immersed themselves in the community will have more success in this approach. Arguments for the importance of "the inter-relations between social capital and a variety of capital" (Holt, 2008, p.228), hold for the interplay of social capital with financial, commercial and technical capital for the indies. Social capital is shown to be: embodied within agents in the form of their connections to other agents and the ability to mobilise resources within other connective agents, whether that be friends, family, colleagues, celebrities, and local or wider communities; and embodied within these connective agents in terms of their abilities to mobilise various resources. The value of capital held by these connective agents is shown to have a socio-spatial aspect (Naughton, 2014) that *is* connected to the local, but this local aspect can be augmented through the use of NSM. Social capital is also shown to be a collection of skills, that is, interpersonal, networking and communication skills, although it could also be argued that these are actually the technical skills required to execute your network relations so that they are really a part of an agent's repertoire of technical capital.

Within the overall field of bookselling, the indies are in a subordinated position as they cannot hope to access the technical and financial capitals of the current leaders in the field. However, within the sub field of indie bookselling, those agents who possess the habitus that can access necessary capitals through their social networks hold the dominating position. The next chapter examines the value the UK's many different types of independent bookshops bring to local communities and the fight to preserve these retail spaces.

Chapter 6: Valuing the Independent Bookshop: The Local, Embodied Contribution to Human Flourishing

6.1 Introduction

Valuing non-independent retail is a fairly simple task: profit, turnover and shareholder value are all numbers that can be quite easily assessed, tracked, presented and understood: see Wrigley & Lowe (2002, p.21-50) for various examinations of the concentration of capital and the reconfiguration of corporate structures in retail. Valuing independent retail is a far more tricky business and there is limited research in this area. A government report highlights the gap in evidence regarding the social value that any commercial high street retailers deliver (Parliament, 2014). Hall's (2012) alternative measures of duration, diversity, and 'give', in valuing a wide variety of independent retail on a working class, non-gentrified South London High Street, are based on "how social interaction is coupled with economic vitality in local areas" (ibid, p.126). My research values one particular shop type, with a variety of foci, across an array of location types. Heuristically, it is probably quite simple to value an independent bookshop: what's not to like? Empirically however, providing tangible valuations of intangibles is not easy. How can we measure the value of the indies' contribution to society? This chapter explores the common ways different kinds of independent bookshops in multiple location types provide embodied social value to local communities that enhance human flourishing, and those communities' attempts to preserve that value.

The inclusion of wellbeing and human flourishing in measuring the value of all government policy beyond mere economic factors has risen to the fore in recent years. The NEF (2013) propose that a high level of well-being is flourishing and they find that basic psychological needs of self-determination theory (SDT) useful in measuring that well-being: autonomy as a feeling of choice and authenticity about your thoughts and behaviours; competence as a sense of efficacy and self-esteem, and a sense that you can have a meaningful impact on the world around you; and relatedness as feeling that people care about you, and feeling close to others. The NEF dynamic model of well-being has good functioning and satisfaction of needs at its centre and within this they include the elements of SDT above along with security, meaning and purpose, and engagement and being connected to others (ibid, p.13). This chapter argues that the indies are vital in providing this social connectivity along with meaning and engagement within diverse, local communities, such that they contribute to local human flourishing. Ignatow (2009)

finds that cognitive scientists have developed theories of embodied cognition that see thought as rooted in the physical, such that "cognition, reasoning, and memory are seen as thoroughly embodied phenomena, as they operate with, and through, perceptual (sight, touch, taste, smell, hearing) and emotional bodily systems" (Thagard, Kroon, and Nerb, in Ignatow, 2009, p.102). This chapter also argues that the indies' contribution to human flourishing is firmly rooted in the physical, through the interaction between our bodies, bookshop spaces and print books.

In an attempt to find alternative measures for the progress of prosperity in Scotland, the Oxfam Humankind Index (OxfamHI, 2013) utilised the views of a wide range of Scottish people to create an index of what makes people happy, that includes local facilities, community spirit and culture/hobbies. This chapter finds that people value their local bookshop because it provides local access to many forms of socio-cultural-politico interactions, which are based on that community's particular needs. In addition, this chapter argues that the indies provide access to an extraordinarily diverse set of bookshop foci, where people can access specific, trusted knowledge, and meet like-minded people.

Finally, the NEF's (2014) examination of climate change and human needs theory, finds that the 'Homo Economicus' assumption that every individual is actuated only by self-interest is wrong, as the long process of 'gene-culture coevolution' means that humans have cooperative preferences that are based on social morals: we dislike unfair treatment. This chapter also examines moral revulsion at austerity cuts and non-payment of tax by the wealthy as a catapult for collective social action that may, if successful, have consequences for global geographic corporate structures.

Section 6.2 explores the value to customers of the everyday, myriad interactions that occur in independent bookshops through ordinary, everyday encounters and social, cultural and political events. Section 6.3 examines the value of individual, knowledgeable, physical book curatorship to customers, along with the opportunities this presents for '*serendipitous discovery*', asking whether large digital players can ever truly replicate the physical book discovery experience online. Section 6.4 shows that whilst there is still an extraordinary variety of independent bookshop types across the UK, consumer choice is being curtailed as that diversity is being lost. Diversity in bookshop type is shown to be valuable as not only does each indie respond to local, unique community needs, but in addition, niche bookshops provide a space where like-minded people from far-afield can meet to discuss their particular interests, which can be both normative and alternative. This section also explores the likelihood that the indies are losing some of their physical uniqueness, as they are dressing their shops to a homogenous, gentrified look, in order to attract wealthier customers. Finally, despite the obvious attractions of online retailers such as Amazon, indie booksellers and book consumers are often compelled to preserve

the value they find in their local indie in ways that are not explicable by rational choice theory. In section 6.5, the *conscious consumption* practices of indie goers are examined as they crowd fund, create community bookshops run by volunteers, petition for a level playing field between players in the market, and suffer an '*ethical compromise'*, particularly when they are on low incomes.

6.2 Providing for Local Socio-Politico-Cultural Needs

Many social interactions occur in bookshops, including everyday greetings and recognition of customers: "they are small, personal... they make you feel as though they know you" (Indie Customer). Working on the till at the ethnography bookshop, and witnessing the interactions between booksellers and their customers during interview interruptions, revealed that besides everyday greetings and recognitions between staff and customers, deep conversations can suddenly spring up in a bookshop, sometimes triggered by a book the customer is interested in or at other times, simply by the latest news. Conversations with customers can even become deeply personal. For instance, I have witnessed or taken part in many differing kinds of conversations with customers: light chat about the weather; worried parents' expressing concerns about their children's exams; local residents expressing fears about the changing local high street; and for some, deep conversations about political and environmental concerns. I have seen booksellers greet their customers by name and ask after their family. I have also enjoyed many laughs and much friendly banter with customers, often to do with my own ineptitude in using the shop's antiquated computer system, or my frustration with failing equipment. Sometimes, a simple remark made about a purchase a customer was making could raise a connective smile. Many times, customers volunteered how much they appreciated the shop, and for those who were aware of its financial struggles, their concern that it might have to close one day. For the indie bookseller, much of the service they provide to their customers involves being available for social chat of many different kinds, as the following older, general bookseller in a market town discusses. This shop had been open for twenty six years and the current bookseller, who had been running it for twelve years, knew many of his customers by name:

> …sometimes you can be twenty minutes and not sell anything, so it's chatting…And, of course, people know that I'm here and all the other staff are here and if they've got an issue that relates to, whatever…you wear lots of hats (Indie Bookseller).

'Wearing lots of hats' as a bookseller means being ready to be involved in unexpected social interaction with different customers, based on their individual needs and interests at that moment in time. Friendships between customers can also form in bookshops. The following

older bookseller, who runs a teashop within her bookshop in an area with many retired, single customers, enjoys matching people together:

> Yesterday I had two single men. One on that table, one on this table…I knew them both. One is a guy who stutters very badly and one is a really nice, gentle old soul and I said to the stutterer, "Why don't you tell Mr Woodham about your…", and they were happy. They had a long discussion about their hernias. They were very happy. So we've got quite a lot of people who come in as single people and have actually made a friend while they've been here (Indie Bookseller).

Customers also see their local indie as a friendly place they can use for all kinds of social uses. One customer uses her local indie bookshop to teach her children to be empowered in choosing and ordering books:

> To make them feel like that's within their reach. You know, books come out, they are really excited about it and they can go and order it…I feel it's an empowerment thing (Indie Customer).

Indies can be very important to parents with young children, as spaces where they can learn literacy and sociability with others through classes and storytelling.

Figure 6.1 Free 'Stories & Songs' Session for Under-Fives at a Bookshop.

Adults can also learn through lectures, reading clubs, and discussion meetings. Lectures in indies can be on a wide variety of topics, depending on the bookseller and her customer's interests. Many of the general bookshops provide reading groups where people can come together to discuss their interests in various kinds of literature: often popular or more highbrow literature. However, some bookshops, particularly the radicals, present opportunities for people to get together to discuss less normative literature and ideas. For example, a group of young

people opened a workers co-operative bookshop in a regenerating city centre location in 2011, on a peppercorn rent, as a means to: provide youth employment; learn skills; and to create a space where alternative literature from independent, non-commercial authors and publishers could be displayed, talked about and sold. The shop regularly hosts musical evenings that showcase young, local musicians, as well as meetings that focus on discussing books "on topics ranging from politics, history, feminism, animal rights, environmentalism to novels and biographies" (Bookshop Webpage). For the people behind the opening of this shop, the sociability of the shop, or making connections to people, is highly important, and very rewarding:

> But it's (online shopping) an incredibly alienating process…this is a place where you can come to get your books or get coffee, but it's also a place to come and…find company…it's a space where we can engage with these people… few things are quite as exciting as coming in here and seeing that you can't move because there's so many people (Indie Cooperative Member).

Indies therefore, can be spaces where both normative and alternative literature, politics and ideas can be explored, discussed and supported. The photo below shows a feminist bookshop engaging in an event that supports the Russian feminist punk rock protest group 'Pussy Riot':

Figure 6.2 Pussy Riot Reading Event at a Feminist Bookshop.

Social and economic value is also provided to local communities when indies take on and train volunteers. Whilst working at the co-operative, ethnography bookshop, many volunteers were encountered and asked why they chose to volunteer. They were there for many differing reasons: older, retired volunteers tended to simply want something to do and they liked books and bookshops; younger volunteers often needed work experience; and a few were there either

to learn new skills, or to donate their skills. The ethnography bookshop was always happy to take on volunteers that might find it difficult to gain experience elsewhere, including one young volunteer, who had Asperger's Syndrome. One middle-aged volunteer was hoping to get back into employment after bringing up her family. Another young person, who had been ill and couldn't get a job, volunteered at the ethnography bookshop's university stall. He was immediately offered a job at chain retailer, and this he put down to having the new work experience on his CV.

Many forms of cultural production and consumption also occur in indie bookshops. Some of the shops interviewed provide musical performances, dance classes, craft making, pottery, and reading and writing classes. Many also engage in activities outside the shop space that are important to the local community. The Christian bookshops often sell at stalls at local Church events or further-afield Christian events. Selling at stalls can often mean that a bookshop gets to impart its specific knowledge at a relevant community event. In the photo below, the ethnography bookshop, which has a strong focus on the environment, gives advice at a local 'Seedy Sunday' event:

Figure 6.3 The Ethnography Bookshop Displays its Eco & Gardening Books at a 'Seedy Sunday' Event.[42]

Indies are also places where locals get to meet authors, particularly local authors that might not have enough sales to warrant a national tour of bookshops.

[42] Seedy Sunday is a yearly event held in local communities, which sees individuals swapping seeds and information.

Figure 6.4 A Local Author Signs his New Book for a Customer in the Ethnography Bookshop.

Indies can be vital in allowing local authors reach book consumers. At the ethnography bookshop, whilst their number one bestselling book might often be a very popular bestseller such as '*Fifty Shades of Grey*', at other times, a local book or a non-bestseller would make it to the top position. At the start of the ethnography period, in 2010, their top selling book was '*A Black History of Southampton*', a social history book written by two local authors. Later, the book *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*, sold very well. The indies have always been known for their ability to spot, and promote through personal hand selling, a new author that later becomes very popular. For example, J. K. Rowling's '*Harry Potter'* books were first promoted by the indies.

Whilst the indies hand sell in small numbers and local author signings often have small attendances, they are still valuable to authors as a way to connect directly, face-to-face with their readers. A local children's author signed his new '*Marvin the Sheep'* pop-up book at the ethnography bookshop in August 2012. Only a handful of parents with children turned up. Yet, those children were treated to a personal, one-on-one reading from the author himself, and a chance to play with the digital app version of his book. The children and their parents were thrilled. Whilst the author would have liked a bigger turn-out, he still felt it had been useful for feedback and even though he was a relatively successful author already, for his new book, most of his orders had come through independent booksellers. This children's author was in no doubt about the continuing value of print books, rather than eBooks, in helping create an intimate relationship between parent and child. In the following discussion, he likens eBook apps to putting children in front of the television to watch a cartoon, as a way to entertain them when the parents are too busy to engage one-on-one:

> I don't think they (eBook) will ever replace the (print) book. If you put a kid in front of a cartoon, the more you are giving it to them on a plate and the less imagination is used, the less they have to think…and it doesn't have the same interaction as with a parent reading it out…There's something about that intimacy between a parent and a child when reading a (print) book. All parents do that. But I think the bed time story, the print book, won't really be replaced (Children's Author).

Whilst the indies are particularly good at providing the kinds of social, cultural and political interactions that supermarkets, chains and online retailers cannot, they also provide further value through serendipitous book discovery, based on individual, knowledgeable curatorship by each unique bookseller. However, a background battle over who is best at delivering these values is currently being fought between the physical, indie booksellers and more powerful, resourced online retailers.

6.3 Curatorship and Serendipitous Discovery: The Battle between the Physical and the Virtual

The majority of the indie's focus is on continuing to sell physical print books. Miller's (2012) ethnography of the materiality of people's homes on a street in London portrays the relationships people have with ordinary objects, including books, as ways of identifying and remembering the important people and events in their lives. As eBooks take off, can digitised, stored files on a device every replace this role? For customer respondents, physical book experiences such as touch, smell and sight of paper were interpreted as key for: memory of and selection of books; memories of significant past life experiences and people; and identity formation. The following customer describes the physicality of a book as enabling her to choose and remember a book better:

> You know there is a saying that you can't judge a book by its cover, but I have often bought a book because I have liked the cover. I mean obviously I have thought the contents looked interesting, but it is like when record albums went and a whole lot of art went with it, book covers can have very, very witty, attractive, interesting illustrations…I know after over thirty years as a librarian, people will come in…and say, "Oh now a few months ago I read a book about psychology, it was a red book"…people remember the physical nature of the book… if I want to look up one of my books on gardening, I know what the side looks like, I can go to it on my crowded bookshelf… there is that physical recognition…how can you possibly have that on an electronic book? (Indie Customer).

The immense importance of the physicality of books to many readers was played out most poignantly during one face-to-face customer interview, when the elderly respondent, who still uses an old style typewriter and has no internet, computer or mobile, proudly showed me her lifetime collection of books lining the walls of her house, and she remembered her early life through her relationship with books:

> I was a late reader. I think, in my memory, I don't think I read… not fluently before seven. But one morning I had mumps and I woke up in bed. I was staying with Granny and Auntie, and I was reading. And I suddenly read… just completely. And I was so excited I yelled down, "Auntie, I can read! I can read!" And she came up quite matter of fact and said, "Oh good. About time." I can remember that so clearly…I think I'll have one taken into the coffin with me. Why not? My favourite [from when I was a child]…Little Women… Yes. It only cost a shilling…a little fat book with a little shiny hard cover and four little women on it, round the piano (Indie Customer).

This extract bears a striking resonance with Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) description of the "microfoundations" of "shared meaning making" (ibid, p.37), associated with the objects placed in a 28,000-year-old burial site. In both cases, the artefacts serve as objectified shared meaning making. The detailed description of the physical attributes of the customer's burial book also begs the re-asking of the librarian's question above: how could a digital file ever replace the experience, emotion and value we attribute to printed books? It is impossible to predict to what extent the objectified meaning making of the physical book will ever be replaced by digital files: whilst both the production and consumption of any technology is socially constructed (Bijker, 1997), we are also constructed by technology. For example: Mager (2012) finds that online search engine algorithms are socially and politically constructed; and Zhu & Eschenfelder (2010) find that restrictive changes in definitions of 'authorised users' for electronic resources have been both socially and technologically constructed.

Nevertheless, for indie goers, being recommended a physical book in a physical shop, that includes physical contact with real people they can build up a relationship with over time, and with subject knowledge, is highly important to them:

> They (indie booksellers) can recommend things to you, they see you buying a book and they say "Oh that is really good, have you tried so and so?" and it is a place where you can build up a relationship with the stock and with the staff (Indie Customer).

Indie booksellers themselves are very aware of the value that their physical curatorship provides. The following bookseller, whose shop was closing, had been selling books for more than fifty years, discusses the difference between buying on Amazon and spending time in a bookshop:

> Yesterday, there was a man who breeds horses, I mean he virtually read a book on horses before he bought it… he couldn't have done that on Amazon or anywhere, you know, except a bookshop… I get people saying "Can I look at your theological books? Can I look at your natural history books?" It's no good going to Amazon and typing in theological because you'll just get a list of names…people come and they say to me, "Well I always come here because you know about books."…if you went to any shop where somebody has worked a long time, they know things. They probably don't know they know it even, but they can give you information on it and be helpful and I think that's what we're losing (Indie Bookseller).

Industry literature such as Anderson (2009) and the *Bookseller Magazine* provide two competing interpretations of how the curatorship of books, or taste making, should occur: the non-elitist view of the online retailer recommendation systems; and the social and personal curatorship of the independents. Influential internet shopping advocate Anderson (2009) argues that internet shopping is superior to traditional B&M shops as they cannot provide the long tail of almost endless choice that the internet can. Indie bookshops have always been active in promoting at least a part of the long tail, that is, books that sell in very low volumes. It may also be true that the internet promises a kind of democratisation in terms of production and distribution: we can all become producers and sell online (ibid, p.57). Yet, this is not the only story about the internet and consumption. In order to sell online, producers must find a way to connect with an audience, and this is often through computer recommendation algorithms. Many book consumers will be happy to allow Amazon or another online retailer to recommend books to them in this manner, but this system isn't always sufficient for all:

> (Amazon) say "People who've bought this also bought that." Or, "This is what you bought before, so I think you'll be interested in this now." And sometimes that's true, but it doesn't follow at all, that because I like an early 20th century English composer, that I'm going to like any composer (Indie Customer).

Anderson (2009) presents the argument that online recommendations are non-elitist, in that they are driven by computer algorithms that examine previous consumer choices, customer reviews and page rankings, which are:

> …all manifestations of the wisdom of the crowd. Millions of regular people are the new tastemakers… [and] these new tastemakers aren't a super-elite of people cooler than us; they are us…the new tastemakers are simply people whose opinions are respected…[that is,] traditional professionals… celebrities…power bloggers…and crowd behaviour, which is best seen as a form of distributed intelligence (Anderson, 2009, p.106-108).

This is an attempt to denigrate all indie booksellers as elitist tastemakers, yet, not all indies only sell high-culture literary books, nor do they only sell to elite, wealthy consumers. In fact, the very tastemakers this book is referring to could be seen as elitist themselves: 'traditional professionals' are deemed to be "movie and music critics, editors, or product testers" (ibid, 107), which is a very limited list that leaves out all critics other than those in the movie and music business, and indie booksellers, who provide professional opinions on all kinds of book selections to people every day in their shops. Amazon's interpretation of B&M recommendations as being inferior to 'the wisdom of the crowd' can be read from a recent statement in a *Wall Street Journal* article that used the word tastemaker as a kind of slur:

> We've always operated in a way where we let the data drive what to put in front of customers. We don't have tastemakers deciding what our customers should read, listen to and watch (WSJ, 2013).

Amazon may claim to only ever use customer data to drive their recommendations, yet as this 2013 Christmas campaign shows, at times they do use their own staff as 'tastemakers':

Figure 6.5 Amazon 'taste making' for Christmas 2013.

The pertinent text in the screen shot above reads:

> Over the past year we've read new release after new release, scoured customer reviews and made note of which books we most loved in anticipation of this moment. Read through our favourite overall titles for 2013 below, as well as browsed through the categories to discover top titles in each genre.

Figure 6.6 Text from Screenshot in Figure 6.5

Yet this taste making by indie bookshops, or curatorship, as some indies prefer to use, is exactly why some book consumers choose to use the indies. To illustrate, the photo below shows one of the front tables at the ethnography bookshop.[43] This is a general/radical bookshop that serves a mixed socio-economic community, and that has an interest in socio, political and environmental literature, as the front table reflects. This table is not elitist in its offerings, nor is the bookshop in question, which sells many different kinds of books to many kinds of people. The books the owner chooses for this front table are not literary books, which can be seen as at the higher end of cultural taste, or popular books, which can be seen at the lower end of cultural taste: they are books that seek to share alternative ideas about the world, and they tend to sell in low numbers.

Figure 6.7 Curatorship in Indies: The 'Front Table' at the Ethnography Bookshop.

Here is a customer on a book she discovered on this table:

> I think a lot of book purchase is serendipity. Like *Proust and the Squid*.[44] I have never heard of it, I've not likely to have heard of it, I am not going to ask any online company for it because I have never heard of it, it's not going to be very highly publicised because it is a very specialised book, but [local bookshop] had it…And it's the same whatever independent bookshop you go to, if we go out on a little trip to another town and we go into an independent bookshop, as we do, we will say, "Oh look at that! Oh! I haven't heard of that!" It's just that sort of happy surprise place (Indie Customer).

[43] The front table at a bookshop is traditionally where a bookseller will display her general recommendations to the public. It can be used as a place of discovery for little-known books, new genres and new titles, or it can be used to promote bestsellers. This shop has two front tables. The other table contains more popular bestsellers.

[44] *Proust and the Squid* examines the relationship between reading and the evolution of the brain.

This customer is saying that she would never have found this book online as she was not aware of it. Moreover, as it is a specialist book not associated with any of her previous purchases, it is unlikely to be recommended to her through any of Amazon's recommendation algorithms. She also associates her enjoyment of the experience of book discovery with physical trips to physical places: new places with indie bookshops become a source of serendipitous discovery and joy. The physical presence of independent bookshops is also important to the following customer, who explains that having a shop located on her local high street acts as an everyday kind of draw, via linked shopping, for people to find books they might not have if the shop wasn't physically there:

> Having a book shop on a high street between a popular pharmacy and a fast food shop means that books are much more in people's everyday lives…if you are going to get your groceries or you're going to the charity shop or you're going to Boots to get your prescription, there is the book shop next door…it means you are more likely to go in there (Indie Customer).

For this customer, the physical presence of a book outlet on the street means that books are more likely to be discovered, as the photos below illustrate:

Figure 6.8 Children Discover Books at the Goldsmiths Row Book Market.

The problem of knowledgeable curatorship of books and serendipitous discovery is clearly an area that the online retailers have not yet completely solved, although Amazon recently bought the online social networking site Goodreads.com, which is where book readers can talk about books and then click to buy a recommendation through Amazon. Whilst the highly-resourced, large digital players continue to find innovative and creative ways to replicate much of our social interactions online, that exploit our need for convenience and immediacy, we must ask ourselves: at what cost to our still-physical selves? Surely some important part of the joy of

print book discovery is attached to people and physical space: the memories created of the booksellers we meet and the spaces they curate. The physicality of the book itself is also still important to people for creating memories, but the ongoing development of the internet and digital life means that many of the embodied phenomena that enable cognition may one day be replicated digitally. However, there is no guarantee of success and right now the online, digital experience does not satisfy indie bookshop goers.

6.4 The Loss of Diversity & the Gentrification of Space

Despite the loss of many indies, the UK can still boast an extraordinary array of differing bookshop types and spaces. This section examines the loss of diversity in B&M book retail that the UK is experiencing, and the gentrification of shop space, as owners attempt to avail of the aesthetic capital value associated with gentrification. Figure 6.9 charts the changes in aggregate numbers of physical book outlets that have closed and opened in the UK between 2001 and 2011.

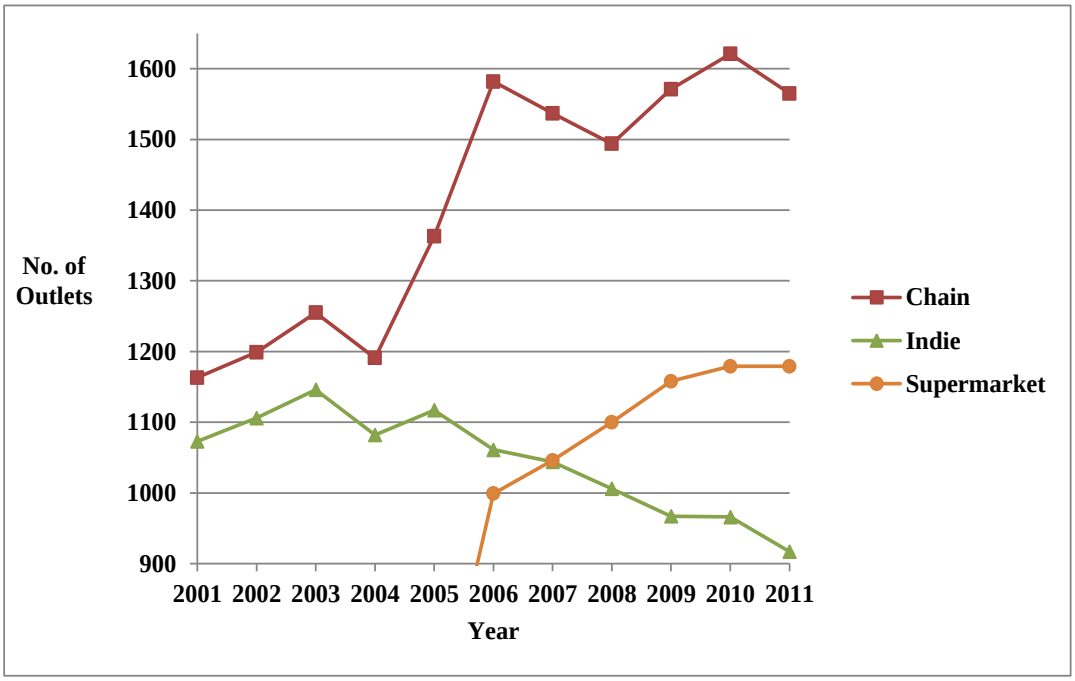


Figure 6.9 Changes in Numbers of UK B&M Book Outlets between 2001 and 2011. Source: Bookshop data from the BA.

Whilst the independents have been declining in numbers during the noughties, both the supermarkets and the chains have increased in numbers.[45] However, in the past few years, many

[45] The supermarkets did not start at zero in 2005 as this chart might indicate. Rather, this reflects their entry into the BA's membership.

of the chains themselves have begun to suffer, signifying a loss of diversity in that sector. Table 6.1 below examines the changes in chain outlet numbers between 2001 and 2011.[46] The general chain Borders closed all of its shops in 2009 and the general bargain chain British Bookshops & Stationers closed all of its remaining thirty five shops in 2011. All of the twenty four general bargain County Bookshops, located across England, closed in 2004. The general bookshop Eason & Son, located in Northern Ireland (and the Republic), closed eleven of its shops there in 2008 and 2009. Flatman's Bargain Books, mainly located in Scotland, closed its remaining sixteen shops in 2007. Most of SSG's twenty one closures were in 2008, across England. TSO closed all of its shops in 2006. Most of the Wesley Owen closures were after 2006. Whilst Waterstones had opened a few new branches by 2011, its share of the market by outlets had reduced, and it has recently closed twenty more branches.

Chain Name	**Chains Open in 2001 (% of Total)**	**Chains Open in 2011 (% of Total)**	**% Change**
Blackwell's (academic)	47 (4%)	41 (2%)	-13%
Borders (general)	45 (4%)	0 (0%)	-100%
British Bookshops & Stationers (general bargain)	46 (4%)	0 (0%)	-100%
CLC (Christian)	26 (2%)	22 (1%)	-15%
County Bookshops Ltd (general bargain)	24 (2%)	0 (0%)	-100%
Eason & Son (general)	26 (2%)	15 (0.1%)	-42%
Early Learning Centre ELC (children's)	0 (0%)	61 (4%)	+100%
Daisy & Tom (children's, became ELC)	2 (0.2%)	0 (0%)	-100%
Faith Mission Bookshop (Christian)	6 (0.5%)	20 (1%)	+230%
Flatman's Bargain Books (general bargain)	20 (2%)	0 (0%)	-100%
John Smiths (academic)	13 (1%)	25 (2%)	+100%
SSG (Christian)	21 (2%)	0 (0%)	-100%
St. Andrew's (Christian)	6 (0.5%)	9 (0.5%)	+50%
TSO (Specialist Business & Professional)	6 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	-100%
Waterstones (general)	283 (24%)	288 (18%)	+2%
Wesley Owen (Christian)	11 (10%)	0 (0%)	-100%
WH Smith (general)	549 (47%)	836 (52%)	+52%
The Works (general bargain)	32 (3%)	305 (19%)	-13%
Total	**1162 (100%)**	**1621 (100%)**	**+40%**

Table 6.1 Chain Bookshop Changes in UK between 2001 and 2011.

Source: Bookshop data from the BA.

[46] I have stripped out the Republic of Ireland from the BA's membership.

The market for B&M discounted bargain bookshops has collapsed, with one industry expert blaming marginalisation by superstores and the internet (Retail Week, 2004). However, not all chains have been suffering. The Early Learning Centre, in existence since the 1970's, continues to expand. In 2014, its website boasted 215 centres across the UK. The number of ELC bookshops at zero in 2001 in the table above, is a reflection of membership of the BA, rather than number of shops in existence. Most of Faith Mission's twenty four openings were in 2008, across Northern Ireland and Scotland. Most of John Smiths' twelve openings were between 2004 and 2009, and were across England and Scotland in various university campuses. The Works has also seen a phenomenal rise in numbers of outlets across the UK throughout the period in question: from 32 in 2001 to 305 in 2011. WH Smith has been steadily increasing its shops across the UK from 549 in 2001 to 836 in 2011. A very large number, 142, opened in 2009, possibly in reaction to the closure of the Borders group of generals in the same year. In 2011, it took over twenty of the closing British Bookshops and Stationers.

Whilst overall the number of chain outlets has risen by 40%, the news is not good for diversity, as the number of differing types reduced between 2001 and 2011 from seventeen to ten. Additionally, whilst the ELC, The Works and WH Smith have opened large numbers of branches, these shops, who also sell a wide range of non-book products, offer a highly limited range of book stock in comparison to the generals that have been lost: Borders and several Waterstones. By 2011, 74% of the chain market had concentrated in these three, small-range chains, and it is quite likely that this percentage has increased in recent years.

Table 6.2 below shows that between 2001 and 2011, the UK's indies declined in numbers by 16%.

Type Aggregated	Indies Open in 2001 (% of Total)	Indies Open in 2011 (% of Total)	% Change
Bargain	23 (2%)	7 (1%)	-70%
Academic	28 (3%)	16 (2%)	-43%
General	680 (63%)	552 (61%)	-19%
Christian	241 (22%)	210 (23%)	-13%
Other Niche	77 (7%)	79 (9%)	3%
Children's	24 (2%)	40 (4%)	67%
Total	**1073 (100%)**	**904 (100%)**	**-16%**
General	703 (66%)	559 (62%)	-20%
Non-General	370 (34%)	345 (38%)	-7%

Table 6.2 Indie Aggregated Changes in UK between 2001 and 2011.

Source: Bookshop data from the BA.

The indies that have fared the worst are in the categories of: bargain, academic, general, and Christian. Generals (including bargain shops) and non-generals account for 62% and 38% of the market respectively in 2011, with the Christian indies accounting for a significant percentage of the total, at 23%. Christian bookshops may be experiencing special difficulties in that the numbers of people reporting as Christians in England and Wales have fallen from 71.7% to 59.3% between 2001 and 2011, according to census data (BBC, 2012a).

Whilst at first glance, one might be forgiven for thinking that all indie bookshops are gentrified, elitist and middle class, with the indies being seen at the higher end of cultural status and supermarkets at the other end of the scale, particularly if we were to only read about indies in the media, yet this is not the case. Some of the indies visited, particularly the radical and Christian bookshops, serve a far more mixed working and lower middle class set of customers. Similarly, literary novels might be seen as the higher end of cultural taste whilst bestselling romantic novels at the lower end: Wright (2006) finds that occupational class is still an important orienter of participation in reading and taste in books, despite indications of middle class omnivorousness found within other cultural fields. The general bookshops visited were egalitarian in the sense that they all sold the current bestselling romantic novel, '*Fifty Shades of Grey'*. Additionally, not all UK independent bookshops only sell literary novels. Generals, who do sell literary novels, amongst other books, may make up 62% off the population, yet there is another 38% that comprise children's, Christians, academic and a diverse array of niche sellers.

Table 6.3 below examines the variety of independent bookshops in the UK and how that variety has changed between 2001 and 2011. Whilst some niche bookshops such as children's bookshops are doing relatively well, overall, diversity of shops, that is the differing types of indies, has reduced by 13%.[47] Twenty two types of shops have been lost (text in bold red) completely and thirteen new types have opened (text in bold green), giving an overall decrease in diversity of bookshop type of nine, from seventy one in 2001 to sixty two in 2011, or 13%. Additionally, if we consider that each independent is in fact a unique shop with a unique offering, unlike a chain, then we can further say that each time an indie within a category closes, we also lose diversity. Nevertheless, the UK still has an extraordinary array of indies with sixty different niche foci (other than bargain or general).[48]

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[47] The radical booksellers have been showing a more recent resurgence in numbers: **F**ive Leaves Bookshop, which specialises in history, politics, fiction, poetry, lesbian and gay, counterculture, and psychology, opened in Nottingham in late 2013; Hydra Books, which specialises in political history, opened in central Bristol in late 2011; The People's Bookshop, which specialises in radical politics, opened in Durham city in 2011.

[48] Bookshop types are as given by the BA. Gen_ is a shop that is general but with a focus. For example, Gen_child has a special focus on children's books. Sci_fi is a small chain of nine bookshops called Forbidden Planet that the BA

Indie Type	'01	'11	Indie Type	'01	'11	Indie Type	'01	'11
Antiques_collect	1	0	Anthroposophy	2	2	Mixed	49	50
Comp_tech	1	0	Asia_africa_ME	1	1	Childrens	24	40
Dance	1	0	Black_asian	1	1	Milhist_trans_mod	3	4
East_euro_lang	1	0	Classics	1	1	Gen_child	2	4
Education	2	0	Comple_med	1	1	Arts	2	6
Embroid_textile	1	0	Counselling	1	1	Natural_history	1	2
Finance	1	0	Fishing_country	1	1	School_textbooks	1	2
Foreign_lang	1	0	Gambling	1	1	Gardening	1	4
Gen_medical	1	0	Gay_lesbian	1	1	Cinema_film	0	1
Golf	1	0	Gen_child_chris	1	1	Crime	0	1
Guildhall_london	1	0	Gen_icecream	1	1	Esoterica	0	1
Islam	2	0	History	1	1	Indian	0	1
Learning_disab	1	0	Law	1	1	Lake_dist_authors	0	1
Legal_medical	1	0	Local_hist_orn	1	1	Legal_selfhelp	0	1
Med_scientific	1	0	MBS	1	1	Literary	0	1
Medical	1	0	ME_Islam	1	1	Poetry	0	1
Music	3	0	Med_obstet_gyn	1	1	Religion_MBS	0	1
New_age_MBS	1	0	Middle_east	1	1	Theo_church_hist	0	1
Photography	1	0	Music_transport	1	1	Yoga	0	1
Politicos	1	0	Naut_maritime	1	1	Arts_visual	0	2
SEN	1	0	Psycho_couns	1	1	Sci_fi	0	9
Technology	1	0	Railways	1	1			
Architecture	2	1	Shakespeare	1	1			
Academic	28	16	Socialist	1	1			
Christian	241	210	Spiritual	1	1			
ELT	3	2	Theatre	2	2			
Gen_academic	9	6	Transport	1	1			
Gen_bargain	20	6	Welsh_lang_lit	1	1			
Gen_CTN	40	38	Woodwork_craft	1	1			
Gen_remainders	3	1						
General	577	452						
Gov_parliament	2	1						
Radical	5	4						
Travel	3	2						
Types Decreased	**34**		**Types Level**	**29**		**Types Increased**	**21**	

Table 6.3 Changes in Numbers of UK Indies by Type between 2001 and 2011.

Source: Bookshop data from the BA.

considers to be an independent. MBS is mind, body, spirit. CTN is confectionary, tobacco and newsagents retailer. SEN is special educational needs. ELT is English language teaching.

A variety of highly diverse bookshops were interviewed: Christian; mind, spirit & body; art; radical; marine; and pagan spirituality. All of these niche shops are valuable as: they provide a curated collection of books on a particular subject; the chance for customers to order books on specialist subjects, particularly those who do not have access to computers; a space where customers can meet and speak with like-minded people; and a place where customers can speak with booksellers who have vast subject knowledge on a particular subject. Customers often travel from across the country to attend events held at these shops, as they provide a chance to meet and speak with a community of people with a shared interest. At an author signing and lecture in a pagan spirituality bookshop in central London, attendees came from as far afield as Manchester. Some of the attendees were meeting up with old acquaintances from the last event they had attended at the shop, whilst others had never visited the shop before. These new attendees were excited to be able to meet and talk to people who were comfortable with this alternative, niche topic. A large part of this bookseller's joy was enabling these meetings and ensuring there were experts in the field available for customers to talk to at her many events.

> We're the only place that you can go with other pagans, other witches, other druids, to get advice on what the best books are, how to get your equipment for it inexpensively, and speak to people who are sane and educated and know what they are talking about…on the internet or Amazon… if you're new at something it's impossible to sort out the good from the rubbish (Indie Bookseller).

This extract also points to the issue of trust, where indie goers find they can trust a person in the flesh better than an unseen, unknown person online, which may in fact be a computer algorithm.

Whilst there is still much diversity in the focus of independent bookshops across the UK, the spaces they occupy can also display a kind of uniqueness that chains or supermarkets find hard to achieve, as the styling of indie spaces tends to reflect the bookseller's individual tastes. However, as I visited more bookshops I began to be struck by the similarities in how some of them looked, particularly those that had opened or re-opened in the past few years. The older bookshops, the Christian bookshops and the radicals tended to have a more utilitarian or functional aesthetic, whilst the newer bookshops in the wealthier areas tended to have an aesthetic that can best be described as straight out of *Country Living* or one of the county *'Life'* magazines.[49] Figure 6.10 shows an example of a shop front that have not gentrified and Figure 6.11 shows a shop front that is gentrified.

[49] I choose this title as one of the shops visited fits the distinction parameters perfectly and it was featured in *Country Living Magazine*. Additionally, in 2013 the BA recommended to the indies that they try to get articles in the

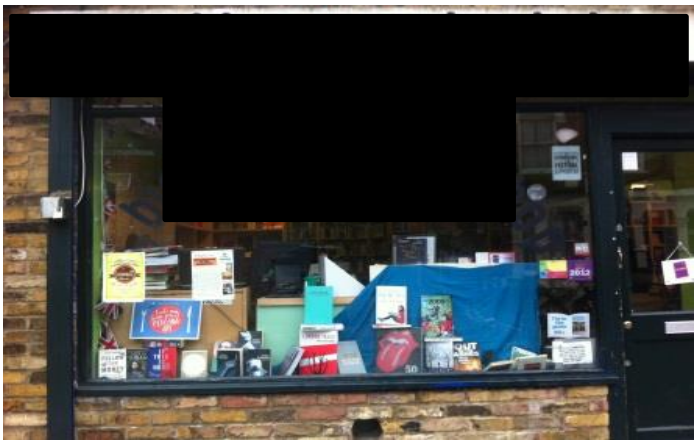

Figure 6.10 A Shop Front with the 'Utilitarian' Aesthetic in a Non-Gentrified, Mixed Area.

Figure 6.11 A Shop Front with the 'Country Life' Aesthetic in a Wealthy, Gentrified area.

Table 6.4 below outlines the differences in how these types of shops tend to present themselves.

	Building	**Window Frames**	**Window Display**	**Shelving**	**Colour Scheme**	**Interior fabrics**	**Other Objects**	**Lighting**	**Furniture**
Utilitarian (often radical or Christian)	20th Century	Metal	Plain, simple	Metal or varn-ished pine	Stronger	Plain Cotton	None	Strip	Pine or metal, modern second-hand sofas
Country Life (often literary or children's)	Period	Painted Wood	Use of access-ories	Hard-wood or painted wood	Muted	Velvet, Silks, tap-estries	Framed photos, paintings, hangings, objets trouvés	Halogen spots, soft lamps	Shabby Chic, Antique Leather

Table 6.4 Bookshop Aesthetics: 'Utilitarian' versus 'Country Life'.

'Archant' series of county *'Life'* magazines. *Country Living* and the county *'Life'* magazines are middle class, aspirational lifestyle magazines.

The Christian and radical bookshops tend to be housed in modern 20th century buildings, the décor is basic and the shops exude a functional atmosphere. In contrast, the 'Country Life' bookshops are often in period buildings and there is heavy designer emphasis on accessories, lighting and paintwork. As such, the utilitarian aesthetic is based on necessity, using materials that are cheap, functional, and to hand. The shop in Figure 6.12 below is a general/radical co-operative shop that has been serving a mixed community for more than thirty years. The shelves were bought second-hand from a closing Waterstones, and the vivid painting scheme was selected by one of the long-standing member's daughter, when she a child. The lighting is quite harsh: it is the original strip lighting that was already installed when the shop lease was taken on.

Figure 6.12 Local Author signing in the Ethnography Bookshop: a Shop with the 'Utilitarian' Look

There is never any spare money at this shop to spend on improving the décor: all improvements must be carried out through volunteer time, donations and whatever is to hand. It is possible that dressing this shop to a more gentrified look might attract more custom, particularly from wealthier book consumers in the area. However, its current customers would seem to be content with its look and feel: during interviews with customers at this shop, when asked if there was anything they would like to see changed, none mentioned the décor. In contrast, the shop interior portrayed in Figure 6.13 below is a recently opened children's bookshop on a highly gentrified street in a wealthy part of Inner London. The young bookseller was very conscious of the value of the expensive, gentrified shops that surrounded her in terms of the kinds of customer they attracted, and she made great efforts to dress her shop accordingly. The lighting was halogen spots, the paintwork was muted, the window contained a very designed and topical display, and the café was bright and modern. This bookseller had also been creative in making

shelf space available for her young books consumers to display their book reviews, written during literacy events held in the shop.

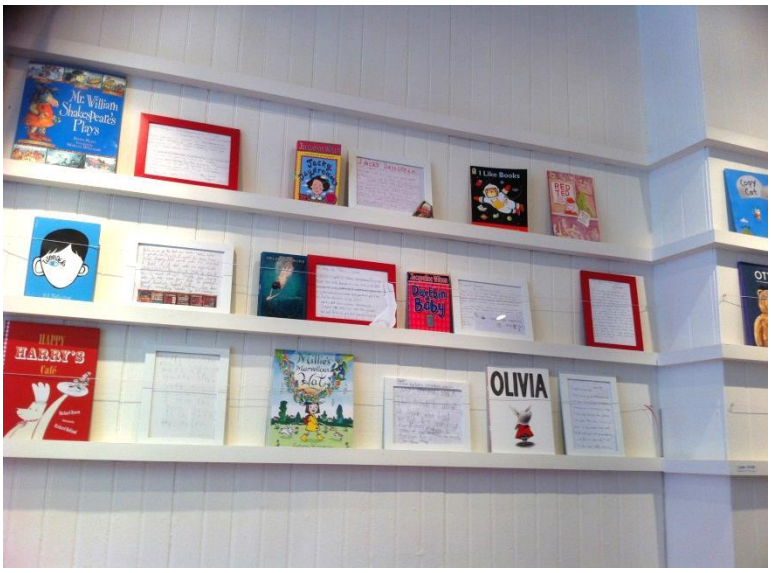

Figure 6.13 Wall Space for Children's Book Reviews in a Shop with the 'Country Life' Look

The 'Country Life' aesthetic is based on knowledge of styling that can be learned through reading lifestyle magazines or watching home styling programmes (Philips, 2005). The 'Country Life' bookshops are not shy about touting their lifestyle aesthetics; most include a photo of the shop front and its interiors on their Facebook pages and on their website, with accompanying texts that describe the look and any prizes won or media attention. In the following passage, a bookseller who revamped his shop to a new gentrified look, describes the shop as having 'distinctive elegance':

> It occupies two levels of a Grade II-listed, three storey building, whose original floorboards and wooden panels lend the 20-year-old bookshop a distinctive elegance (Taken from a bookshop's website).

Virtual space can also exhibit 'tasteful' and distinctive features as the following bookshop reveals:

> The first thing you'll hopefully notice is a new, albeit rather late, brandspankingnew website. The dreamy design and mechanics are all Stu's, who translated endless demands for "more nauticalia!" into something remarkably tasteful (Taken from a bookshop's website)

Various examinations of aesthetic capital are limited to the body and its adornment **(**Witz, Warhust & Nickson, 2003; Anderson et al, 2010; Kuipers & Deinema, unp), except for Hracs & Leslie (2013), who examine the performative, marketing and online aspects of aesthetic labour

for musicians. I propose a general definition of bookseller aesthetic capital as having the disposition to value the look of your physical and virtual bookshop, and a bookseller can access valuable symbolic capital when her shop's looks match a middle class 'Country Life' aesthetic. The largest apportioning of symbolic capital amongst book retailers happens every May in London at the 'Bookseller Awards', which is run by the *Bookseller Magazine*.[50] There are two categories available for the independents to enter: General Independent and Children's Independent. The categories themselves exclude a significant number of the indies as there are only 40 children's bookshops and 559 aggregated general bookshops, meaning that 34% of indie bookshops may feel they cannot enter the competition. The criteria for judging an independent for the awards are set out below:

1) Operational excellence. In areas like range, staff, website, premises, promotions and opening hours
2) Customers and service. How you go the 'extra mile' to provide the best possible customer service
3) Your place in the community. How your bookshop fits into the local area. This might include author events; work with the local library, school or college, and acting as a hub for people in the area
4) The shop itself. What makes your shop a great place to spend time and money?
5) Sustainability. The judges would like some evidence of financial success and viability. Although the content of all entries remain confidential, we will accept indexed comparisons

Supplementary evidence if possible

- Pictures of store interior and exterior
- Examples of marketing or customer newsletters
- Press cuttings

Figure 6.14 Judging the Independent Bookshop of the Year. Source: Bookseller (2013b).

A bookshop entering this competition will be judged by: whether it has been able to be successful at marketing and PR, which may be linked to a shop's ability to mobilise symbolic capital; and its 'financial success and viability', which will rule out many of the indies in the UK as they struggle financially.[51] It will also be judged by the shop's appearance, which depends on the aesthetic tastes of the judges. Winning 'Independent Bookseller of the Year' has become highly important to the indies as it generates plenty of free publicity in mainstream media. It is no silver bullet however, as the bookshop 'The Lion and the Unicorn' in Richmond,

[50] This industry magazine has a circulation of more than fifty thousand in over ninety countries and it is fully owned by Nielsen, a large corporate company that specialises in consumption measurement. Every bookshop uses a scanner to scan in the book that has just been sold and Nielsen then collects this data.

[51] Individual seats at the awards ceremony held every year cost £184 per person. Travelling and overnight accommodation would bump this bill up to a price that is out of consideration for many bookshops.

the first children's bookshop to win the award, closed in August 2013 after over thirty years of trading, citing impossible rent rises.

The potential homogenisation of indie spaces to a gentrified, middle class standard presents a problem. There is some discourse within the industry that shops that do not match a certain kind of look and feel are not valuable. Yet, there is an argument to be had about value in variety of look and feel. One customer sums up the connection between discovery and the 'landscape of the imagination':

> They are bits of space that you can walk through and discover things in, which is something that you can't do in the same way online...there's a kind of landscape of the imagination, and you can walk through it (Indie Customer).

If all shops look alike, then serendipitous discovery, or walking through the 'landscape of imagination', may become a dry, predictable experience. Additionally, bookshop diversity is important in order to satisfy a diverse range of book consumers. However, if indies are being gentrified then a concern is that they will be off-putting to people who do wish to visit indies, but who do not aspire to or are not comfortable with middle-class, 'Country Life' aesthetics. One of the closing shops interviewed that was located in a not-so-wealthy, not gentrified town, was not dressed to the 'Country Life' look. Whilst it was in a very old building, and had been a haberdashers and a wool shop in previous incarnations, the shop window had yellowing paper and a tatty display. Inside, the shelves were dusty and somewhat haphazard. However, if part of the value we can find in an indie bookshop is the chance for serendipitous discovery that they provide, then this shop outshone all that I visited as a cornucopia of unexpected delights. On the floor were some ancient, battered old suitcases containing fashion magazines from the 1930's. I never knew I was interested in 1930's fashion magazines, or that they existed, until that moment. Part of the experience of discovery for me in that bookshop was the feeling that I was in a shop that was different: a shop that didn't conform to gentrified standards of neat shelves and a fancy window display.

6.5 The Struggle to Preserve Valued Bookshops: Conscious Consumption & the Ethical Compromise

The importance of indies to local book consumers can compel them to act to support their local indie in many ways other than just buying their books there, even though, particularly for bestsellers, they know they can buy it more cheaply elsewhere. This section examines the conscious consumption practices of indie goers as they endeavour to save their valued

bookshops through crowd funding, creating community bookshops and petitioning for a level playing field.

Besides volunteering to work in the shop, crowd funding is increasingly becoming a way that customers with various resources, including cash and skills, can show support**.** The carrotmob is a new form of ethical consumption where consumer activists reward corporate socially responsible behaviour (Hoffman & Hutter, 2012). A new variant of the carrotmob phenomenon, the cashmob, sprang up in London during the interview period.[52] The cashmob sees local communities choosing a struggling local business on the high street that they value and wish to help, visiting the shop for the day and spending money there. The concept is yet to take off on a meaningful scale, and for the two booksellers interviewed who had experienced a cashmob, whilst the idea and motivation is highly appreciated, it has not translated into repeated, increased business. Four of the bookshops interviewed have engaged in more tried and tested forms of crowd funding: a new barge bookshop crowd funded the creation of a new website and donations to write the book she eventually published; a general bookshop with a focus on children that opened in a mixed urban part of Inner London in 2008, crowd funded cash donations to help it pay its bills; a feminist bookshop that has been open for forty years, has often crowd funded cash donations to see it through rough patches; and a general/radical bookshop, open for thirty five years, has also received cash donations from the wealthier patrons in its mixed community in order to keep it open. This last bookshop is currently seeking a local volunteer with IT skills to help it with its computer systems.

The forming of community co-operatives to save old bookshops or to create new ones where a local need has been identified has become a popular trend in recent years, with five opening between 2011 and 2012 (Bookseller, 2013f). One bookshop was interviewed where locals had decided to save their valued, closing indie. This general bookshop opened in 2011 in response to the closing down of the affluent town's famous bookshop, with the aim of continuing on its legacy, and engaging with literacy activities in the town such as book clubs and working with schools. The motivation for saving the shop included the idea that a shop with enormous symbolic significance to the town should not be allowed to close because of the forces of big retail and increasing rent: the original bookshop premises had become the target for high end outdoor wear chain shops and so the shop became a victim of doubling of the rent. The re-opening of the shop was driven by two local retirees:

[52] The cashmob originated in the US in 2011, and was then instigated in the UK by Means of Exchange, which "looks at how emerging, everyday technologies can be used to democratise opportunities for economic self-sufficiency, rebuild local community and promote a return to local resource use, leading us to a better, fairer, more locally-connected world" (MeansOfExchange, 2013)

> We were sitting around in a pub saying "This is disgraceful, this bookshop has been here for sixty one years, somebody ought to do something about this", and then we said, (after the) next pint…"Perhaps it should be us!" [laughter] (Indie Cooperative Member).

Funding was found through a mixture of private donations from individuals and a local society they had close connections with, along with a sale of shares to the local community. They decided to re-open the shop on a nearby street that is not a chain shop target area with the "invaluable" help of the Plunkett Foundation.[53] They were also "lucky" to get the rent halved by being "pointed in the direction of a fearsome surveyor…who took the [shop premises leaseholder] on, head on, and he really went to town" (Co-op Member). For the moment, the local community continue to support the shop, with customers deliberately shopping for their books there, particularly as they know the shop is not-for-profit, and even though they know they can buy them more cheaply online or at for-profit book outlets in the town. The shop also has the possibility of calling on "one or two substantially affluent people" in the town, should more funding be required in the future.

Whilst local communities can use their resources to actively save their local bookshops, wider communities of indie-lovers can also take part in action that will preserve these valuable spaces. The closure of independent bookshops has been the subject of much media attention and debate in the past few years, and their demise has often focussed on the rise of Amazon. In April 2013, two indie booksellers handed in a petition with over 150,000 signatures to Downing St, calling for Amazon to pay more corporation tax.[54] The indie pair described how the indies had to play in an un-level playing field:

> "Times are tough and getting tougher," the Smiths write in their petition. "We face unrelenting pressure from huge online retailers undercutting prices, in particular Amazon, and it's pushing businesses like ours to the brink. But what's even worse is that Amazon, despite making sales of £3.3 BILLION in the UK last year, does not pay any UK corporation tax on the profits from those sales. In my book, that is not a level playing field and leaves independent retailers like us struggling to compete just because we do the right thing" (Guardian, 2013c).

Customer respondents were interviewed in November and December of 2012, when there was increasing awareness amongst the public about Amazon's tax avoidance. Responses to being

[53] The Plunkett Foundation mainly helps rural communities to form co-operatives.

[54] Generating more than 100k signatures on an e-petition is likely to cause a debate in the House of Commons (DirectGov, 2013).

asked about Amazon's tax situation revealed a level of mistrust of larger corporations and the wealthy, and a large amount of sympathy with the plight of small independent retailers. The customers interpreted Amazon's tax avoidance variously as: "quite disgraceful"; something that was "fiddling taxes…for rich people"; and only "reinforced the prejudices [people] had about global companies". A degree of cynicism regarding other large retailer motives was also revealed. One customer suggested that all independent shops:

> …should probably have to pay considerably lower corporation taxes and so on than big multi-nationals…[but the problem here is] every Sainsbury's store would then immediately become an independent store (Indie Customer).

Another customer explained the value in supporting his local indie was a financial one that would benefit the wider community by keeping his money in the local economy:

> …anything you buy from Amazon is essentially money that is going out of the economy because not much of it is coming back in tax (Indie Customer).

The struggle to save valued indie bookshops continues, but it is a difficult battle, particularly when faced with the attractions of Amazon: large discounts on best sellers; convenient shopping; access to millions of print and eBooks; and continuing innovations in reading technologies. Interviews with indie customers revealed they were faced with an '*ethical compromise*' when deciding where to shop for their books, particularly for those on lower incomes. Customers felt the need to avoid Amazon as: they "exploit their warehouse workers in the most appalling way" (Indie Customer); and they "wield far too much power and have far too much of a monopoly" (Indie Customer). However, the wish to support a local indie, particularly for those customers on lower incomes, could be outweighed by matters of price:

> The ones I got from Amazon recently for the most recent Pratchett were £9 each. And I feel guilty doing that because as I said previously, I would've gone in (to local bookshop), but as things get tighter (laughs) (Indie Customer).

For another customer, who can afford to pay full price, the difficulty for consumers is in knowing which retailer is ethical or not:

> Given the choice, we would rather get it from people who had declared an ethical principle from the start than from people who were opportunists…we're talking about people (customers) trying to chart an ethical route through a commercial, market driven world (Indie Customer).

Whilst innovation, convenience and cheap bestsellers may partially explain why some book consumers automatically turn to Amazon, its ubiquitous presence in our daily lives may also

explain its dominance in people's minds. Amazon has become a byword for buying books: convenient Amazon vouchers are sent at Christmas by friends and family, or offered as prizes in competitions; paid-for advertising posts show on Facebook news feeds alongside reminders of which 'friends' have liked Amazon; and Amazon pop-up adverts frequently appear on computer screens. There are book buying online alternatives, yet few people are aware of them: even the more ethically-minded customer respondents had little knowledge of Hive and its support for the indies.[55] But Hive does not have the advertising budget that Amazon has. After keeping a record over several months of each time I was advertised to online by Amazon, the screen dump below best represents the ubiquitous nature of Amazon. Whilst reading an article in *The Guardian* about '*How to kick that Amazon habit'*, written during the height of the 2012 tax scandal, an advert for Amazon appeared on the screen (Guardian, 2012c).

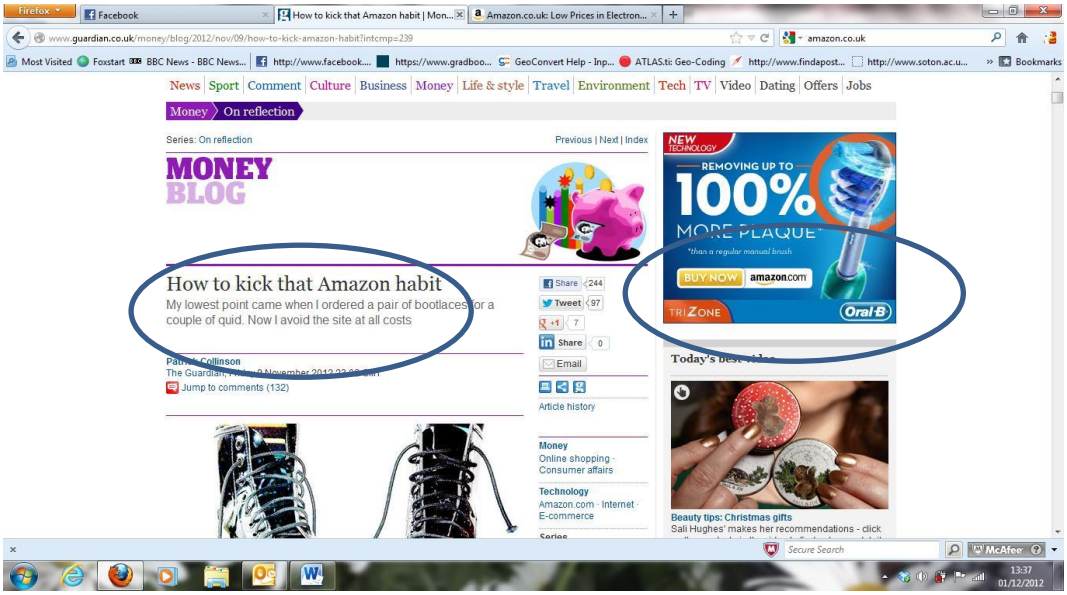

Figure 6.15 Ubiquitous Amazon.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has added to the limited literature on value in small, independent retail by extending Hall's (2012) 'alternative measures' to include the contribution to human flourishing across a very diverse set of independent bookshop types and locations. This chapter has argued that independent bookshops provide value beyond standard retailer valuing systems, such as shareholder value, in that they contribute to an embodied, local human flourishing through: their

[55] Hive is the wholesaler Gardners' online distribution method for print books and eBooks that supports Independent bookshops. Independent bookshops receive a minimum of 5% of the book price when consumers nominate them, when they buy their book through Hive.

unique ability to provide for local socio-cultural-politico needs; the myriad, complex social interactions that occur in their spaces; their enabling of the sharing of normative and alternative views of the world; the expert, curated recommendations they make; the possibilities for serendipitous discovery that is attached to place that they present; and the extraordinary diversity of foci and space they present to the book consumer. This chapter has also argued that the still-important physicality of this valuing is what sets the indies apart from online retailers. Indies have been shown to be spaces where: friendships are formed; problems are shared; children and adults learn; culture is created and engaged with; alternative views are discussed; people with shared interests in niche subjects can come together; authors meet their readers; volunteers learn skills that help them get back into the workplace; and experts provide a curated selection of books to discover.

Diversity in indie types has been shown to be very high yet shrinking, and this, along with the reduction in chain diversity, signals less choice for the consumer. Additionally, my research shows that bookshops spaces themselves are becoming gentrified as booksellers attempt to access the symbolic capital value associated with a gentrified aesthetic. A generic definition of aesthetic capital in the book retail arena has been proposed as the disposition to value the look of your physical and virtual bookshop. Arguments have been made that the styling of shops to a standard look is detrimental to diversity and therefore the chance for '*serendipitous discovery*' that is rooted in the physical.

This chapter has also shown that the value book consumers find in their local independent bookshop often drives them to *'conscious consumption'* practices in the bid to preserve them when they are under threat, through buying books at full price, donating cash and skills, volunteering, creation of community bookshops, and petitioning. Finally, my research has also shown that indie book consumers are often uncertain about which retailers are right for them to support, and those on lower incomes can be affected by an '*ethical compromise'* between supporting independents and buying at cheaper and more convenient online retailers. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that social movements such as anti-sweatshop campaigns can shape both markets and firms to a degree (Bartley & Child, 2011), the indie tax petition, which is a new kind of *moralisation of geographic corporate organisation* that is not about what is being sold or how it is produced (Stehr, Henning & Weiler, 2010), but how the product is sold, has yet to see any actual fruition.

Chapter 7: The Independent Bookshop in the Early 21st Century

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter reflects upon all my research. Section 7.2 summarises my findings. Section 7.3 examines the usefulness of Bourdieu's (2011) conceptual toolbox, Beckert's (2010) market field theory, and Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) strategic action field theory in explaining both stasis and change in the indie bookselling market. Section 7.4 examines the relationship between technology and the bookshop in conjunction with the current intersecting trajectories of internet life and corporate goals. Finally, section 7.5 examines areas for policy changes and future research.

7.2 Summary of Findings

My research has added methodologically to the UK's retail literature by conducting research that has adopted a mixed method approach. My research also builds on Clarke & Banga's (2010) review of the positive economic and social role of small stores, by extending those findings to a wide variety of shops, within one particular type, and across many differing geographies. My research has also provided "disaggregated, fine-grained research on retail practices in high streets which reflect crucial contextual differentiations" (Hall, 2011, p.2571), by examining the adaptive practices of a variety of indie booksellers in a number of differing locations types. My research expands Hall's (2011) ethnography of a variety of shops in one specific location to an examination of one particular shop type over a number of differing location types, also finding that indie bookseller adaptations are being made in response to: "large-scale economic forces" of the concentration of capital, particularly financial and technological capital, and the digital economy; "regulatory frameworks" in the shape of free pricing; and "local cultural nuances" in the form of each indies' individual and locally-driven provision of socio-political-cultural encounters (ibid, p.2571). Additionally, my research has added to the limited literature on value in small, independent retail by extending Hall's (2012) 'alternative measures' to include the contribution to human flourishing across a very diverse set of independent bookshop types and locations.

My thesis has shown that indie business is being eroded through rising costs and by: high volume competitors selling cheap bestsellers both online and on the high street; publishers selling direct to the public; by the public using the internet to gain access to information rather

than buying a book; and by institutional budget cuts during the economic downturn. Additionally, I have argued that whilst the industry tells the indies they must add value to the bookselling process through engaging with various new practices, there is no guarantee that the extra labour expended will see a return or economic success. My thesis has argued for the *geographic concentration of independent bookshops*: whilst indies may have always opened up in wealthier areas, they are now only surviving in the wealthiest of areas as they concentrate in tourist, destination, retirement and gentrifying areas. Additionally, my thesis has shown that '*independent bookshop deserts*' are increasing and are most likely to be associated with areas that are poorer, and not with tourism or destination shopping. My research also suggests that whilst there is no silver bullet for running a successful indie bookshop, engagement with most or all of the new practices and choosing a location that is a destination location and high in wealth will certainly improve the odds for staying open.

My thesis has added to Bourdieusian theory by separating technical capital into both embodied and objectified forms and defining each: *embodied technical capital* as the skills necessary for the successful execution of a practice; and *objectified technical capital* as the resources necessary to carry out that practice. Bourdieu's (2011b) definition is specific to the "design and manufacture of products" (ibid, p.194). These more general definitions allow the concept to be applied in both product and service markets and across any kind of practice in any field. My thesis also proposes a definition of commercial capital that is more general than Bourdieu's (2011b): I propose *commercial capital* to be those dispositions that value ways of extracting profit through various practices. Bourdieu's definition of commercial capital is overly specific in that it refers to "mastery of distribution networks (warehousing and transport), and marketing and after-sales service" (ibid, p.194): my proposed definition allows the concept to be used in a wider variety of situations. Using both of these proposed capital definitions together has allowed for a better understanding of position in the field for indie booksellers. My thesis also proposes that various cultural capitals be seen as dispositional*: aesthetic capital* as the disposition to value how the bookshop looks; *emotional capital* as the disposition to value the production of an emotional state in another person, and the *virtual form* requires a set of technical skills that are different to the non-virtual form. This simpler, dispositional definition allows each capital to be defined in relation to both the habitus and the general technical capital definition, which is in line with viewing these two concepts as relational. My research has also uncovered an example of 'hysteresis of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2011b), currently in play within a rapidly changing market, along with some limited examples of agency and creativity within the transposable habitus.

My thesis has argued that independent bookshops provide value beyond standard retailer valuing systems, such as shareholder value, in that they contribute to an embodied, local human flourishing through: their unique ability to provide for local socio-cultural-politico needs; the

myriad, complex social interactions that occur in their spaces; their enabling of the sharing of normative and alternative views of the world; the expert, curated recommendations they make; the possibilities for serendipitous discovery that is attached to place that they present; and the extraordinary diversity of foci and space they present to the book consumer. This thesis has also argued that the still-important physicality of this valuing is what sets the indies apart from online retailers. Indies have been shown to be spaces where: friendships are formed; problems are shared; children and adults learn; culture is created and engaged with; alternative views are discussed; people with shared interests in niche subjects can come together; authors meet their readers; volunteers learn skills that help them get back into the workplace; and experts provide a curated selection of books to discover.

Diversity in indie types has been shown to be very high yet shrinking, and this, along with the reduction in chain diversity, signals less choice for the consumer. Additionally, my research shows that bookshops spaces themselves are becoming gentrified as booksellers attempt to access the symbolic capital value associated with a gentrified aesthetic. Arguments have been made that the styling of shops to a standard look is detrimental to diversity and therefore the chance for '*serendipitous discovery*' that is rooted in the physical.

This thesis has also shown that the value book consumers find in their local independent bookshop often drives them to *'conscious consumption'* practices in the bid to preserve them when they are under threat, through buying books at full price, donating cash and skills, volunteering, creation of community bookshops, and petitioning. Finally, my research has also shown that indie book consumers are often uncertain about which retailers are right for them to support, and those on lower incomes can be affected by an '*ethical compromise'* between supporting independents and buying at cheaper and more convenient online retailers. Additionally, my research suggests that the tax petition attempt to re-create global corporate geographic structures amidst anger about their role in social inequality points to a new kind of market moralisation that is not about what is being sold or how it is produced (Stehr, Henning & Weiler, 2010), but how the product is sold, that is, the *moralisation of geographic corporate organisation.*

7.3 Field Theory Re-evaluated in the Light of the Changing Indie Bookselling Market

In order to understand how the new bookselling market is influenced to change, or not, this thesis has examined: Bourdieu's (2011) concepts of field, capital, habitus, doxa, symbolic power, and reflexivity; Beckert's (2010) market field theory; and Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) strategic action field theory. These concepts were used to analyse respectively three areas of

contestation within the field of indie bookselling: free pricing as a rarely disputed orthodoxy that reflects the structure of positions in the field; tax avoidance as an ongoing moral debate between campaigners, government and various institutions; and competing discourses amongst consumers and large online retailers over the value of physical versus online shopping for books.

I have shown that the transformation of the field of bookselling through the concentration of both financial and technical capital in retail and in high tech companies, the advent of new technologies, and the orthodox deregulation of the market, has led to a restructuring of positions for all agents within the field, with resulting effects on the geographies, economics, practices and capital requirements of the indies. New agents with access to large amounts of financial and technical capital, those at the top of the digital economy field, now dominate the field of bookselling such that the indies, and the chains, with much less access to financial and technical capital, occupy a subordinated position, as they cannot compete with the technical and financial power of the leaders in the field. Thus, Bourdieu's (2011b) analysis of an economic field as that whereby new technologies and access to capital, particularly financial capital, which enables access to technical capital, work to increase the position and reproduction of dominant positions of players holds true for bookselling. Additionally, I have shown that the field re-structure means that the sub-ordinated independents must now have a new commercialised habitus, access to a larger arsenal of capital, and that social and symbolic capital are vital in the fight to remain in the market. Additionally, I have found that symbolic power is at work when: media only write about certain kinds of bookshops; industry competitions are only open to some bookshops; only certain bookshops can gain financial capital through attracting 'big name' author events; celebrity names are used to aid collective action that might re-structure several fields; and bookshops add value to the shopping experience by accessing a middle class set of aesthetics. My own reflexivity throughout this project has allowed me to 'see things differently', particularly with these last issues of symbolic power.

Bourdieu (2011b) finds that the structure of any economic market is contributed to by the state under the direct or indirect influence of the parties most directly concerned. Certainly in the case of bookselling, the state was the first to intervene in the market by challenging the lawfulness of the NBA in 1962. In this instance, the publishers were able to successfully argue against the case as it would cause damage to both the publishers and the dominant retailers at the time, the indies, but in 1997, the case against the NBA was supported both by the Publishers Association and the retailers who had begun to dominate the field: the chains. The 1997 court decision that "the NBA operated against the public interest and should therefore be struck down" (Utton, 2000, p.115) is debatable as the public have now lost diversity and numbers of physical bookshops at the expense of convenient online shopping. As such, Bourdieu's (2011b) concept

of doxa works well in understanding how the orthodox interests of dominant players are served such that wider debate about alternative market models is curtailed.

Beckert's (2010) model of influential cognitive re-orientations between institutions and social networks, is subject to critique. Beckert states that:

> To understand markets based on the notion of fields allows for a process-oriented conceptualization which sees the positioning of firms as the historical result of struggles in which they attempt to defend or improve their position in the field by both defending existing structures and changing these structures to realize new opportunities (Beckert, 2010, p.620).

Sunley & Pinch's (2014) examination of market field theory in relation to social enterprise (SE) finds that "the idea that SEs are primarily driven by a desire to expand their field position and dominance is inappropriate" (ibid, p.798). Their critique would seem to be based in part on an assumption that Beckert leaves little room for actor motivations other than profit and expansion of power. However, another reading of Beckert's statement above would suggest that defending *or* improving position in the field does leave room to include those firms and organisations that do not have profit or increasing power in mind: that is, those who are only interested in defending their position, which would seem to account for the majority of the indies. Another critique of Beckert's approach from Gemici (2011), argues that by focussing on order, market field theory ignores historically contingent power relations, social change and social structures. Beckert (2012) refutes these criticisms by emphasising the role of order and uncertainty in many important economic studies. My research has found that uncertainty plays an important part in the indie book market: amongst the booksellers as they endeavour to find ways to keep up with and predict unknown changes; and amongst customers as they endeavour to become ethical consumers. Structure is also seen to be important in co-ordinating collective action: how likely or successful would the indie tax petition have been, had the very middle class and leader-in-the-field retailer John Lewis not been involved? Additionally, Beckert (2012) finds that by bringing the three coordination problems to the centre of any analysis, that of valuation, competition and cooperation, then we can begin to understand "which historically specific solutions have been institutionalized and why?" (ibid, p.123). My research has found that the problems of valuation and competition, or the dominant agents' interests in ensuring a valuation and competition scene that suited their interests, are what drove the deregulation of the book market, an institutionalized solution that continues to create coordination problems right now.

Beckert (2011) argues that instead of prices being only formed through supply and demand, or the aggregate of individual preferences, they also "result from the embeddedness of market transactions in institutions, social networks, and culturally anchored frames of meaning" (ibid,

p.1). Certainly, for the print and eBook market, prices are not the outcome of aggregated individual preferences, but they are set by dominant actors whose business models impel them to sell in high volume at highly discounted prices. Sunley & Pinch (2014) find that Beckert:

> …insists on distinguishing institutional rules from cognitive frames…[and that] institutionalists would argue that as well as formal rules institutions are made up of informal scripts and conventions so that the cognitive scripts about legitimate and appropriate behaviour are a dimension of institutional contexts (ibid, p.798).

The data for the indie bookselling market agrees with this statement when the institutional actions of chains, publishers and the indies are examined in the case of free pricing. The institutional formal rule change in 1997 was driven forward by a network of dominant retail and publishing institutional actors in the market, who used the cognitive informal script of free market ideology to further increase their position in the field. These actors had already torn up the formal script of fixed pricing before free pricing was enacted in law. Additionally, interviews with indie booksellers and their customers have shown that free pricing does cause coordination problems: the publishers inability to provide indies with the same terms as the high volume sellers severely impacts the indies' ability to be competitive; it causes an ethical compromise for, and at times, morally dubious behaviour from their customers; and it artificially inflates the RRP that the publishers set. Once again, we can see that formal rules can be replaced by informal scripts, this time as dominated players struggle to remain in the marketplace: the formal rule whereby indies ought to buy their books from publishers is being replaced with an informal script by some, whereby they buy from supermarkets or Amazon, as the prices are cheaper.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) find that Bourdieu's field theory is limited in that it only deals with the interests and positions of individual agents with little or no reference to action that crosses fields: they redress this issue by theorising that skilled strategic actors can drive change by offering collective identities to groups (ibid, p.55). Beckert (2010) emphasises the simultaneous, reciprocal influences between cognitive frames, institutions and social networks. In the case of the collapse of the NBA in 1997, the push for free pricing was driven over a number of years by strategic actors from the then dominant retailers in the field, the chains, along with some powerful publishers using the cognitive frame of a free market ideology that could correct market 'inefficiencies' and 'elitism' in indies and publishers. The interplay between various actors, institutions, social networks and cognitive frames in the case of tax avoidance, and the resulting possible change in wider fields, has been shown to be well illuminated through a combination of Beckert's (2010) reciprocal influences approach and Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) emphasis on socially skilled actors' abilities to mobilise

collective action through shared meaning making. The revelation of key information by skilled actors from the tax field has enabled collective action across many other fields. The public synchronisation of the cognitive frames of powerful players from other fields, in this case the retailer John Lewis, with that of the subordinated indies, empowered the petitioners to take collective action, and the success of that action was based to an extent on the organising power of NSM in conjunction with symbolic power. This synchronised cognitive framing of the immorality of tax avoidance at such large scales offered a powerful collective identity that enabled collective action across a number of fields. It is perhaps no surprise that the most successful tax avoidance petition was the retail-based one as, whilst corporate tax avoidance crosses many fields, the general field of B&M retail is particularly unstable at the moment. This thesis has shown that not only is NSM now vital in organising collective action, and therefore an essential skill for any strategic actor, success with NSM may also depend on the ability to make use of symbolic capital such as that associated with celebrity culture. My analysis therefore suggests that whilst dominant players' interests in adhering to orthodoxy can explain inaction in a field, social action is often preceded by new knowledge, whether that be knowledge of: suitable alternatives in endeavouring to be an ethical and informed consumer; the possibility of alternative free and fixed pricing models for all the actors within the book trade; or how large corporations use tax avoidance to the disadvantage of others. The importance of new knowledge in changing cognitive frames and driving social collective action within fields is neglected in both market field theory and strategic action theory. Additionally, this thesis has found that actors can use *opposition cognitive framings* in order to achieve collective action: powerful actors from the digital economy are currently labelling the independents as elitist in order to strengthen the opposition framing of the internet as a 'democratising force'. This thesis has also shown that for tax avoidance, the cognitive re-orientation that is now driving change is part of a long, ongoing struggle to get the public informed: Beckert's (2010) 'simultaneous' influences actually take place over long periods of time.

Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) shared meaning making as the motivation for driving action is played out quite powerfully throughout the story of social action within the field of indie bookselling. This thesis has shown that these shared meaning makings can result in cognitive re-orientations, such as the new moral outrage over tax avoidance. Ignatow's (2009) paper on morality and the habitus argues against Bourdieu's separation of the cognitive and somatic elements of the habitus: my research findings are in agreement with the idea that "cognition, reasoning, and memory are… thoroughly embodied phenomena, as they operate with, and through, perceptual (sight, touch, taste, smell, hearing) and emotional bodily systems" (Thagard, Kroon, and Nerb, summarised in Ignatow, 2009, p.102). In the case of tax avoidance, the change in public perception that may have enabled a far-reaching change in taxation, is likely to be

linked to an emotional response to the uncovering of unfair practice set within the context of austerity-driven social upheaval, that is, emotions of "contempt, anger, and disgust…[towards] moral violations committed by others" (Ignatow, 2009, p.106). In the case of choosing to shop at a bookshop rather than online, the data suggests that cognition, reasoning and memory not only operate through perceptual and emotional bodily systems for print books and bookshops, but also through the fundamentally embodied nature of the socio-political-cultural activities that take place in these spaces. I therefore propose that for the indie bookselling field, shared meaning making takes two forms: *embodied*, in the form of social interactions between booksellers and customers; and *objectified*, in the form of the print book, and the physical spaces they are curated within.

In summary, I find that Bourdieu's "six conceptual pillars" (Wacquant, 2014, p.125), of field, capital, habitus, doxa, reflexivity and symbolic power, are excellent in uncovering the processes involved in the market changes experienced for independent booksellers. I have also found that Beckert (2010) and Fligstein & McAdam (2012) help in understanding further how these fields change through the cognitive influences and social skills of individual and collective actors within and across fields that contain institutions and social networks. Rather than academia continually trying to create 'new theories', which can muddy the waters, I would prefer to see better attempts at incorporation into an integrative body of knowledge.

7.4 Technology, Sousveillant Consumers & Bookshops: The Last Bastions of the Freedom to Read in Private…and the Freedom of Thought?

New technologies are often framed in popular books as evil, with a life of their own, and not under human control. Regarding the internet, the titles of popular books tend to speak of a force that is negative and often uncontrollable.[56] These titles pitch the internet, and many new technologies, as teleological or determinist in that human behaviour and culture is being determined by technology's purpose, or *its own* ends. My thesis has shown how technology is a key element in the evolutionary story of bookselling. However, I have also shown that it is market actors' creation and use of technologies that causes change in markets, not technology

[56] 'Free Ride: How the Internet is Destroying the Culture Business and How the Culture Business can Fight Back' (Levine, 2011); 'What Technology Wants: Technology is a living force that can expand our individual potential – if we listen to what it wants' (Kelly, 2010); Recent US state policy narratives, with regard to internet freedom, have also pitched the internet as determinist (Carr, 2013).

itself. Yet, it would be foolish for this thesis to underestimate the power that new technologies can create, particularly as they serve to increase corporate power, and they find ways to tap into our deepest desires as consumers.[57]

My research has been concerned with bookshops as places that have for centuries provided the general public with access to ideas, yet new technologies are now corrupting that access by monitoring all that we do online and commodifying all that we are. Moglen (2012) finds that books allow us the "freedom to think differently", yet the internet interferes with our "right to read privately", through data mining by private corporations and states. Facebook logs everything we read online that has a 'like' button, as do Amazon and Google when we use their services to search and purchase items to read. It would seem that the internet is making self-disciplined consumers of us all, such that we fit the needs of corporations rather than states (Foucault, 1977). The disciplinary techniques of online surveillance have also morphed into the disciplinary techniques of online sousveillance. Dobson & Fisher (2007) outline three forms of surveillance: the original panopticon; Big Brother; and more recently, geographic tracking systems. I propose a fourth form: the *online sousveillant panopticon.* Facebook allows us to know that everyone is watching what everyone is posting, that we are being watched by our friends and by the marketers. But not only this, Facebook induces us to become watchers of the watchers, that is, online sousveillants, learning new techniques of counter-surveillance as we attempt to avoid the watcher's goal: to commercially market us with products that target our identities.[58]

The threat here, besides infringement of liberties and the dubious ethics of data mining our identities to sell products, is that social marketing, as a force for good, becomes more difficult as we become aware of and sceptical of, the power of commercial marketing (Hastings in Dibb & Carrigan, 2013). Indeed, as Warf (2011) finds, the internet may not be as good a tool for advancing political democracy and social equality as we think it is, as governments worldwide censor its use. Yet, Warf (2011) also finds that "cyberspace in all its diverse forms—chat rooms, blogs, and email, as well as neogeographic practices such as wiki-webs—arguably exemplifies

[57] Amazon's patented one-click purchasing mechanism alongside its next day *Prime* delivery system, taps into an immediate kind of consumerism, an instant gratification that is hard to resist. If Amazon can continue to please its shareholders with its unconventional longer-term profits model, and fulfil its goal for same-day deliveries, then many different retailers will be adversely affected (Stone, 2013).

[58] My Facebook friends practice many marketing avoidance techniques online: logging off Facebook before reading any other material, marking direct advertising posts as spam, creating incorrect and baffling identifiers for location, work, age, etc. However, not all Facebook users go to these lengths: some are happy that Facebook targets adverts to them based on knowledge of their identities. It is also likely that some do not have knowledge of these marketing avoidance techniques.

the Habermasian vision of diverse groups engaging in practical discourse more than any other realm today…by shifting the production of meaning from the few to the many, unfettered electronic communication allows truth to be uncoupled from power" (ibid, p.19). This view supposes an 'unfettered' talk that may not actually be possible if all our online talk is monitored and we know that to be so: more research needs to examine what kind of truth is being told online when virtual social spaces become places where we perform as sousveillant consumers whose identities have been 'given' to commercial companies. As our identities will be mined even further in the near future through big data and genomics (Guardian, 2013d), the question of whether we should have alternative, free from monitorisation and monetization spaces to talk and interact, becomes more imperative. It is quite possible that much of the public are unaware of the surveillance power of major corporations, yet they are now aware of the invasion of their internet privacy by the state.[59] Notwithstanding the problem of state security (Carr, 2013), I would wish to see an extension of the notion of internet freedom to also include freedom from being monitored by corporations. This lack of freedom is likely to be taken-for-granted doxa: we know, on an unexamined level, that large corporations monitor us. However, we are only outraged when we hear that governments have access to this data.[60] Moglen's (2012) view that we need free media or we lose freedom of thought, that is, reading without being monitored, and that this requires free software, hardware and bandwidth, is a view that may seem radical to those large corporations whose business it is to profit from software, hardware and bandwidth, yet it is also a highly liberal view that envisages a future where all individuals can freely harness the power of net. Until we achieve free online media, that is, places to talk, read, and share ideas without being monitored, then B&M bookshops are currently the last bastions of private reading and talk, and therefore, freedom of thought.

7.5 Policy & Future Research

My research has shown that whilst the UK continues with its free pricing model, other European countries are trying alternative models that might serve to provide a more level playing field for all retailers in the field. In the light of the continuing loss of valuable indie bookshops, and the

[59] A small, highly limited survey of my Facebook friends revealed that, for those who answered my post question, corporate control of our identity data was seen to be preferable to government control of that data: government was seen as less trustworthy. Having to give up your identity data in return for using the internet was seen as something sthat there was no choice over: a fait accompli with no alternative model.

[60] As one friend said about the loss of privacy online, in a beautifully expressed example of adaptive internet habitus: "It used to bother me but I feel the internet is like that hot bath analogy…We sat and let the hot water surround us gradually as opposed to actually jumping in to the scalding water…There is no privacy and it should annoy me but I must be numb."

evidence for the increase in the RRP of book prices above inflation since the collapse of the NBA (Fishwick, 2008), retail policy makers and the book industry might open up a debate about pursuing alternative pricing models, as other countries have (Løyland and Ringstad, 2012).

My research has also shown that new technologies in the form of online shopping and digitisation are contributing to the downfall of the bookshop as they favour high volume selling at low prices. Grewal et al (2012) point to the relationship between new technology and lower pricing expectations in the minds of consumers. It is not inconceivable that if eBook prices continue to be driven down, then print books prices may be driven upwards, making the purchase of print books more expensive and available only to wealthier individuals. Further research might examine the developing relationship between eBook and print book prices and consumption.[61] A comparison over time of the number of back, mid and front list books that are being purchased and read in both formats should be examined.

Regarding regulatory change that might affect the indie market positively, the field change issues examined here, particularly that of free pricing and tax avoidance, are not limited to the field of indie bookselling: they cross other very powerful and interlinked fields, from the sum of our individual pension plans that are linked to large corporate success, to the fight for tax justice on the global, political stage. As Walby's (2013) finds:

> …de-financialization depends on the balance of political forces. The neoliberal project is well entrenched and processes of financialization have brought many into the web of financial interests, affecting the constituencies that might have supported state regulation (Walby, 2013, p.504).

Under the weight of such forces *and* the likely imbalance between state and corporate capital resources, the possibility of effecting any regulatory change is uncertain. Yet, tax avoidance needs to be addressed and further, perhaps with the possibility of providing tax breaks or extra support to those businesses that contribute to local economies by keeping consumer money spent within the local economy.

The introduction of eReaders has had many effects on our reading habits: I have heard anecdotal stories that are both positive and negative.[62] Whatever the effects, I would always argue for

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[61] The problems associated with the digitisation of content: pirating; expectations of lower pricing amongst consumers; and the closing of B&M shops, may soon be ones that many other retailers have to contend with, if 3D printing takes off. The 2013 Gartner report predicts that "3D printing will create intellectual property rights risks as well as ethical dilemmas about human transplants" for 2014 (Gartner, 2013)

[62] Amongst adult friends who have started to use eReaders, I have heard mostly positive reviews of an improved reading experience: large font, light to carry, storage, easy access, etc. However, none are willing to give up their

diversity in the marketplace; however, more work needs to done in order to understand these effects.[63] The printed book is a piece of technology that has been in use for thousands of years: this sudden move to a new format is no doubt, going to have an as yet unknown impact on how we relate to society. Besides research that recommends digital reading and web 2.0 engagement in classrooms as beneficial to education (Ehrlich, 2008; Luckin et al, 2009), there is only a small body of academic research that examines the effects of reading digitally: screen-based reading is characterised by decreasing sustained attention with less time spent on in-depth and concentrated reading (Liu, 2005); print books enable better reading comprehension and eBooks contribute to greater eye fatigue (Jeong, 2012); and on-screen reading may have limiting effects on memory and comprehension, in comparison to paper reading (Mangen et al, 2013). As UK schools are beginning to provide free eReaders to children, thus contributing to the turn towards eReading, further research might examine the changing relationship both children and adults are having with print books and electronic devices, and how this affects their reading habits and their physio-psycho-social sensibilities.[64]

With regard to valuing indie contributions to high streets, indies also bring value to local high streets as their inherent uniqueness adds to the uniqueness of an area: they can act as a draw for both locals *and* people from afar. In this regard, the indies can be seen as contributing to a local area's interest in becoming a destination shopping area. Hall (2011) finds that the "more complex question of whether higher market prices [for retail properties] are good for the social and economic vitality of high streets in general, and for the mix of proprietors and customers in less affluent locales" (ibid, p.2576) are not addressed in retail literature. My research has shown that higher market prices, that is, rents, drive out bookshops as their lowering profit margins cannot compete against higher end retail. There is therefore, a need to balance the interests of property investors with the interests of local communities. Powe (2012) suggests that in order to drive up high street footfall, policy might focus on ensuring that town centres become destination locations through facilitation of multifunctional services rather than simply retail.

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relationship with print, just yet. Two authors describe their relationship with print and eBooks and how it affects their reading, in a New York Times article (NYTimes, 2013).

[63] Amazon contravenes diversity by operating a closed eco-system: their eReaders can only be used with eBooks that are purchased from Amazon.

[64] The US National Endowment for the Arts (NEA, 2007) finds that reading of printed books by younger people there is falling, but it does not take into account possible rising levels of eBook reading amongst this age group. Similarly, a recent UK literacy report, which shows that amongst younger people, "[print] book ownership has a strong influence on educational attainment irrespective of other factors", concentrates on print book presence rather than eBook presence, as eBook take-up was too low to deliver any sensible results (Literacy Trust, 2010). Later research finds that children and young people are reading less and more are embarrassed to be seen reading, whilst eBook readership has increased from 5.6% in 2010 to 11.9% in 2012 (Literacy Trust, 2013).

Indie bookshops are already at the forefront of creating destination locations: people often travel from afar to visit a bookshop because of its offerings: the unique selection of books to be browsed; the well-informed advice available on niche subjects; and the events that can provide entertainment and learning. However, if we are serious about valuing the social function of the high street, then we must also look at the difficult financial situation bookshops are in and find ways to ease their burden through examining rents and rates. Similarly, we must also look to ensuring the consumer can have easy access to the high street, and this can mean providing free and adequate parking, as well as attractive, secure streets.

Future research might also examine the demographics and nuances of: the commodification of social life through privately owned NSM and how this may be affecting social marketing; the effects that close online surveillance and sousveillance may be having on our reading and thoughts; the relationship between online self-disciplinary techniques, the 'giving' of our identities, and consumer behaviour; and finally, the theoretical meaning of internet freedom, particularly in relation to corporate control of NSM and our reading habits, and how this might be contributing to a lack of internet freedom.

Finally, whilst the state may have found in 1997 that "books are not different after all" in their dismantling of the NBA (Utton, 2000), I propose that independent bookshops *are* different. The indies are important to local communities, and they may even be unique amongst retailers, in offering spaces that provide for and create local socio-cultural-political needs, along with the space to share and discuss information and ideas. In this case, the state should consider ways of providing them with special protection against the forces of the neoliberal market, as France does.[65]

7.6 Conclusion

My thesis has examined the state of the independent bookshop in the UK at the start of the 21st century, adding to both theory and retail literature and suggesting both policy interventions and areas for further research. Indies have been found to be places that matter to local communities for a number of reasons: their extraordinary diversity; their unique ability to provide for local socio-cultural-politico needs; the myriad social interactions that occur in their spaces; the expert

[65] France continues to provide special measures to protect its B&M bookshops. It has halved rents, provided grants, kept discounting at a maximum of 5%, and more recently, disallowed free postage & packaging in certain circumstances (FT, 2013). There may be a much higher per capita rate for indies in France: according to this newspaper report, the per capita rate there would be about 3.79 to 4.55, compared to 1.41 in the UK in 2011 (Guardian, 2013e).

recommendations they make; and their contribution towards enabling alternative views of the world. Yet, even as the population ages and the number of solo-living households is already at more than one third of the total, these ultimately social spaces, that can help alleviate problems of social isolation, are under serious threat.

My research has shown that those indies with the full arsenal of capitals and the 'engaged capitalist' habitus stand the best chance of survival, yet even some of those who are 'doing all the right things' find that they cannot make the economics work. Additionally, if local community support tends to only work for wealthier communities and the state cannot intervene to provide protection for the indies, then more bookshops will close. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the indie bookshops will not go the same way as the indie music shops, where the digitisation of music has caused a collapse in B&M outlets. It may even be that the successful chain bookshop of the future will emerge from the few successful indies that do exist.

The task ahead for retail policy makers is not an easy one: it is also a David and Goliath battle, when we consider the lack of resources at state level in comparison with the corporate level. The internet and continuing digitisation are technologies that have already revolutionised much of how we conduct our social, political, working and learning lives. The first retail businesses to suffer from digital disruption have been those where the content was most easily converted to digital and sold online: music, movies, film and books. The revolution is likely to continue as our very own identities become commodified as part of the network, and this will have some predictable as well as some unforeseen impacts on how we conduct our lives. Certainly, as the value of labour reduces, predictions of increased global unrest are not without justification (Gartner, 2013), and solutions must be found that allow all individuals to harness and benefit from the power of the network without monitorisation or monetisation of what we read, say or think.

As content continues to move towards zero pricing, and technology becomes better able to digitise and reproduce *all* content, it is difficult to foresee a sustainable future for a high street of shoppers and shop keepers, unless we decide this is a valuable thing that must be preserved through positive action. If we decide that physical social interaction is important to us, that physical spaces where we can meet and exchange unmonitored, alternative ideas are important to us, that the extraordinary diversity of bookshops in the UK is important, then we need to find radical ways to save these places: ways that may be contrary to marketization and monetisation logics.

Appendices

Appendices

Appendix A Independent Bookshop Interviewee Profiles & Questions

Forty indie bookshops were interviewed face-to-face across England between January and October 2012, except for five, who were interviewed by telephone. A wide variety of location types and shop types were interviewed, as detailed in Table A.1 below.

Bookshop Focus	Number interviewed	Region	Number interviewed	Area Type	Number interviewed	Online or physical only	Number interviewed
Academic/gen	1	Inner London	11	Urban	21	Online-Only	5
Art	2	North Midlands	1	Suburban	6	Standard B&M Shops	32
Children's	4	North West	1	Town	11	Stalls	1
Christian	3	South East	10	Village	2	Barges	2
General	15	South West	15				
General with child focus	5	West Midlands	1				
Marine	1	Dublin[66]	1				
Mind, Body, spiritual	2						
Nature	1						
Photography	1						
Radical	5						
Total	**40**		**40**		**40**		**40**

Table A.1 Types and locations of bookshops interviewed

Nineteen bookshops had opened as new bookshops since 2000, and an additional four had reopened under new ownership since 2000. Seventeen bookshops had been open prior to 2000, with the majority of these being opened prior to the formal collapse of the NBA in 1997. Bookseller ages ranged from twenties up to seventies, and gender was evenly balanced. The interview schedule for booksellers is set out below in Table A.2.

[66] Dublin is not a part of the UK, however, the BA covers the Republic of Ireland and the bookshop interviewed is a member of the BA board.

Appendix A

	Question	Prompt
Business model, economics, location, customers and social networks	How is business?	Are profits and sales up or down over the past few years & why? Footfall? Rent? Business rates?
	How many staff does the business employ?	Part time, full time? Any roles if large team?
	What is the 'bread and butter of your business?	What makes the most money? What parts of business are suffering the most? (or doing best)
	How do you price your books for sale?	Discounting?
	Tell me about running events. (B&M Only)	Are they profitable, worthwhile?
	Would you say the business supports a reasonable lifestyle?	Is it a living wage, can you afford a mortgage, car, family?
	Tell me about your customers.	Who are they - age, gender, wealth, education, tourists, passers by? location?
	Why do your customers shop here?	Why don't they shop on Amazon, supermarkets, other chains?
	Do you have any links with any other business or networks that help the business?	local trade associations, other bookshops?
Threats & Adaptations	What is the biggest threat to your business?	Internet? Amazon? Other local supermarkets? chain retailers?
	Are you making any changes to the business and why?	To combat falling sales? To differentiate yourself from competitors?
Relationship with New Technologies	Tell me about your website. (Or, Tell me why you have no website?)	Who built it? Any plans? Was it costly to build or maintain? Are you making any money from selling online?
	Do you use any new social media to market your business?	Do you use Facebook or Twitter or blogging? Why? Do you think they have increased revenue for the business? Any other marketing or PR you do?
	Do you think you will sell eBooks?	Why?
Views about market conditions and various institutions	How do you feel about the collapse of the Net Book Agreement?	What do you think of the French model?
	How useful is the BA to you?	Do you use their services, attend their conferences, read their emails?
	Are publishers helping or hindering independent bookshops?	Is there anything they could be doing to help?
	Do you think government does enough to help bookshops?	What could they do?
	What about tax avoidance by Amazon, have you heard of that?	What do you think of it?
	Going forward, how do you see the shop's future?	In a year, in a few years?
Interview Closure	What would be your advice for anyone opening a bookshop?	
	How did you get into bookselling? (when did you open the shop)	
	Is there anything you think we should have discussed that we haven't?	
	Finally, can I get in touch with you again if I have any follow-up questions?	

Table A.2 Bookseller Interview Schedule

Appendix B Customer Interviewee Profiles

Eleven customers of an independent bookshop located on a busy shopping street in a suburb of a city in England were interviewed in November and December of 2012. Interviews averaged round twenty five minutes each and all but one, which was face to face, were carried out by telephone. Respondents were selected via survey to provide: a good range of ages and incomes; good gender balance; and with varying attitudes to Amazon, online shopping, eBooks, and print books. The sample is clearly limited to the customers of one shop and within that, the interviewees are more likely to be strong supporters of the shop than a more representative sample might be. The large number of respondents on less than £20K per annum income reflects the high number of retirees that responded, yet, whilst the average age is 53, the ages do range from 26 to 89. Respondents were all educated to third level, which also does not fully represent the shop's customers.

Age	26	36	38	38	41	58	63	67	67	68	89
Sex	M	M	M	F	F	F	M	F	F	M	F
Income (£)	Student	< 20k	20-50k	<20k	Fulltime Mother	<20k	>50k	<20k	<20k	<20k	<20k

Table B.1 Customer Demographics

	Question	Prompt
Importance of the bookshop	Why is this bookshop important to you?	What would it mean to you if it closed?
	How is it important to the community?	What would the community lose if it closed?
	Do you ever attend any of its events?	What was that like for you?
	Do you ever buy anything other than books here?	Fairtrade food and cleaning products, cards. Why?
	Do you think government should help bookshops in any way?	What could they do?
Book Buying Habits (Tailored for each customer based on their survey answers)	Why will you never buy from Amazon? Or, What kind of books do you tend to buy on Amazon?	Or other bookshops?
	How important is price for you?	Can you buy all the books you would like to buy? Are there times when you need to buy books very cheaply?
	What do you think about the recent revelations that Amazon pay no tax in the UK?	Will it change your shopping habits?
	Have you heard of Hive?	Did you hear through October Books or elsewhere? Do you use it?
Relationship with print and eBooks (Tailored for each customer based on their survey answers)	Tell me about the difference between eBooks and print books for you. Or, Tell me why you don't read eBooks.	
	Do you think you will ever read eBooks? Or, do you think you will read more eBooks in the future?	
Finish	Is there anything you would like to see changed about this bookshop?	Café? Better online offering? Other?
	Is there anything else you would like to say about the bookshop?	

Table B.2 Customer Interview Schedule

Appendix C Opening & Closing Bookshops: Eight Case Studies

This appendix examines the economic geographies of eight bookshops visited and interviewed that had either opened in the past ten years or were about to close. The bookshops selected for presentation provide contrasts in focus, location, practices, and space. These case studies provide evidence of the enormous complexity involved in trying to unearth a pattern for the concentration of bookshops in the UK. Included here are two shops that were 'doing all the right things' and located in a destination/tourist area, yet one is thriving and the other failed.

Case One: A New Children's Bookshop Opening in a Wealthy Urban Location

This children's bookshop opened in a very wealthy part of North Inner London in 2012. The young owner, who had no previous retail experience but who wanted to open a family business, felt there was a gap in the market in the area for an independent bookshop as the previous bookshop, which had been located on the high street, had closed in 2008, probably due to a rent hike. The owner had chosen a side street where the rent is lower but which has high-end independent retail shops beside it. The shop was being run by the (unpaid) owner along with some paid part time help.

The shop's space was large and matched the more modern 'Country Life' look, with white walls, clean lines, a very pretty and seasonal window display, and plenty of wall space for children's own book reviews. The shop displayed a relatively small selection of books and it had a large café space. The young owner was currently focussed on creating and marketing a family-friendly space where children could learn through literacy events and their parents could meet and talk. The shop served a mainly wealthier group of parents and their children:

> Anyone with any money that's going to come and shop in this kind of environment [this street]…I guess people must be seeing our book shop as the kind of environment that is, you know, it's higher end shopping…they are the kind of customers we have to get because they see a value in book shops in the community. They see a value in books other than, you know, "Oh I don't want to pay £12.99 for a hardback, I want to pay £6 because Tesco's are selling it as a loss leader." That's the kind of customer that we just attract…They are more willing to spend more money on their children. We've got people with children from private schools coming in here. (Indie Bookseller)

At the time of interview, the shop had only been open for two months and whilst it was not yet self-sustaining economically, the owner was optimistic that eventually it would be. Picture books were her best sellers and she felt that any future 3D development of eBooks would never replace print picture books for children as:

> ...even if it's 3D, it can't replace a pop-up. You know, you can't replace a cuddle with a paper book. (Indie Bookseller)

The interview at this bookshop, on a weekday morning, was relatively clear of interruptions from customers. However, a group of mothers with children in buggies did arrive just as I was leaving. This younger owner, felt that marketing and NSM were crucial to her business. She was using Twitter to connect to other people in the business as well as to announce her events to her younger customers.

Case Two: A Barge Bookshop Opens on an Urban Canal in Hackney

This bookshop opened in 2011 when three friends decided that the barge one of them owned could be put to good use by selling both new and second hand books from it by the now buzzing Broadway Market in Hackney. It was being run by the three paid owners, one of whom could live rent-free on the boat. The barge mainly sold second-hand books they sourced very cheaply, but it also sold a selection of new books, targeted at the young, hip crowd that visited it from all over London, the UK and abroad. Marketing and NSM were very important to this shop. Its unusual space, which included two on-board cats, has been featured in many magazines, newspaper articles and global online zines. It is currently being listed on Buzzfeed as one of the seventeen bookshops from around the world 'that will literally change your life' (Buzzfeed, 2014).

The barge engaged with its customers through a Facebook page with a large number of likes, mooring by another barge that served food and beverages, and by providing free live music sessions at weekends. Whilst this barge was a success story at its moorings by the Broadway Market, difficulties in keeping a licence from the local waterways authority meant the barge eventually moved to the Paddington Basin in early 2014.

Case Three: A General Bookshop Re-Opens Under New Ownership in a Market Town

This sole-trader, general shop re-opened in 2008 under new ownership as a general with a focus on children's books. It had previously been open since 1988. It was run by the paid middle-aged owner with no background in books or retail and some paid, part time help.

The owner reported that the majority of her trade came from local wealthy retirees and some tourism, that is, families on holiday in the local area. Sales were up and down: level for some years but with a couple of dips. Some of the town's other independent shops on the main shopping street had been suffering. However, the bookshop was located about a ten minute walk from the main shopping street, right beside two banks and a post office. The owner felt that her

position meant she was not suffering as badly as other shops as many of her customers were local, older people who use the banks and post office frequently and who were not comfortable with ordering books online: she estimated that a third of her business came from customer orders. The owner had had mixed fortunes with trying to set up sales into the local schools as many primary schools were dealing directly with the publishers Scholastic. Whilst she had not run many events from her shop, other than small local author signings, she had been part of a lucrative local poetry festival.

The owner didn't feel using new social media was appropriate for her shop's customers and she was not planning to sell books online. When she bought the shop she closed it for four day to completely refurbish it to the 'Country Life' style as it had become 'run down'. Whilst I carried out this Saturday morning interview at the till, many customers came into the shop to buy books, including a well-published author with connections to the area, on holiday with her family, and looking to buy children's books, and a local, retired multi-millionaire, who was looking for help with a specific book.

Case Four: A General Bookshop Opens in a Destination, Wealthy, Tourist, Symbolic City

This highly successful general bookshop (one of the very few interviewed that reported level or increasing sales) opened in 2006 in the centre of a wealthy city that is very high in symbolic capital. This city is a cultural draw for visitors all year round and it has a wealthy shopping district. The indie is situated off the main shopping street but it is also surrounded by other high-end independent shops. This city is also able to support another highly successful indie that is located a ten minute walk away. The owner, a dynamic younger bookseller, had previously had a successful corporate career in the City. The shop reported increasing sales year on year and was able to support five paid staff.

This shop was the epitome of the 'Country Life' look and it has featured in many magazine and newspaper articles. It has also won Independent Bookshop of the Year twice. Besides running a large number of profitable events within the shop space, with both 'big names' and 'mid list names', the shop also takes part in the local literary festival each year.

This bookshop was heavily engaged in marketing and PR: the owner spent most of his time on these activities, whilst his team did the selling. Additionally, this shop has been very creative and inventive in finding ways to add value to the bookselling process. On the week day afternoon I visited this shop, it was very busy with customers.

Case Five: A General Bookshop Closing in a suburban Shopping Arcade

This general bookshop, which had been open for twenty five years but closed in 2013, was located in a shopping arcade of a reasonably wealthy suburb, and run by a married couple, both with a background in publishing before one was made redundant during the take-overs that occurred in the eighties. The shop's location in a shopping arcade that included a post office, café, a Boots and a dry cleaner, meant it benefitted greatly from linked trips, that is, customers would pop in to order a book when carrying out other necessary tasks. The shop's customers were mainly retirees and young families, yet it had been suffering from falling sales, particularly since the economic downturn. The space itself was not dressed to the 'Country Life' look, but it was clean and well-ordered. The local shopping area was not gentrified. However, this entire arcade is undergoing large changes as many shop leases have come up for renewal.

Only one of the owners was interviewed. Now in his seventies, he had not engaged in any marketing, PR or NSM and few events. He did feel, however, that if it could be sold as a going concern, then a younger bookseller might engage in these activities and make the shop a success. This was not to be as the shop was not taken on as a bookshop.

Case Six: A Radical Bookshop Goes Online-Only & Then Closes

This co-operative bookshop, which opened in 1989 and sold books sourced from Africa, had originally been located in Covent Garden, but as sales decreased and rents increased, it moved to a far cheaper location in another city in 2005 as an online-only shop, and it eventually closed completely in 2013. When they moved, the owners did a cost-benefit analysis of all the sectors of their business, deciding to separate the publishing and distribution/repping arms from their mail-order business. The mail-order business continued to decrease however, as library budgets were slashed and people found the books they were selling on Amazon. At the time of interview, the single employee manager was looking to close the online business, as soon as he could find an alternative job, and he did so in 2013. The moving of a shop from its B&M incarnation to a cheaper-to-run online-only version that then suffered badly was found in two other shops interviewed.

Case Seven: A Relatively New, General Bookshop Moves from a Regenerated Area to a Destination Area & then Closes

The industry has told the indies that to be successful they must engage in new practices and the majority of new agents to the field are endeavouring to stick to these rules. But can adherence to the orthodoxy guarantee success? Quite simply, the answer is no. As ever, with B&M retail, location is of utmost importance and getting the location of your bookshop right is fraught with

difficulties. A general indie with modern, highly designed décor, opened in a recently regenerated inner London area in 2010 with two owners. One was a business development consultant and the other a life historian. Both had a passion for literacy. They researched bookselling and the area to open in in great detail, talking to industry specialists and even paying consultants. They opened a cafe that served lunch and they engaged in all forms of marketing including detailed blogging. They created a good web presence and a team of booksellers, yet they didn't take any form of salary from the business themselves. In two years they ran over ninety very varied events. To their dismay, the economics didn't work, and as an upwards-only rent review was drawing close, in 2013 they decided to move location to a more central, touristic part of London:

> We simply didn't have enough footfall where we were, you know no amount of marketing, no amount of events [was going to change that]. (Indie Bookseller)

Unfortunately in early 2014, this shop had to close its doors once again, as even though it had moved to a more central area with lower rent, it had become "more difficult to generate a sense of community" (W&TBlog, 2013), and the café was making more money than the books, which went against their original reason for opening the bookshop.

Case Eight: An Old, General Bookshop Closing in a Deprived Market Town

This bookshop, open since 1975, was located on a side street just off the main high street of a market town that is in a very popular tourist area, but that is not quite on the main tourist trail and has poor public transport connections. The older owner (73) had been in bookselling for most of his life. The shop itself, with one employee, was not a going concern as it was not financially viable. It closed very soon after interview, in 2012. A large WH Smith had opened on the main shopping street five years previously and three edge-of-town supermarkets were selling bestsellers at half price or less. The shop was being run by the paid owner only. The owner felt that the high proportion of people in the town on minimum wage and not having a population of book lovers, had affected his business badly:

> [nearby town name] is different. That has much more rich people who actually live round there. That's a coastal town…I think possibly the problem with here is it's not a very sort of literary town so to speak. I found things like doing signings and things were very badly attended and even if we had good publicity on who the person was, it's still very poor. I had to haul in my family to boost the numbers, you know, it's embarrassing! (Indie Bookseller)

Whilst the bookshop had never made a lot of money, sales had begun to reduce every year since he took it over in 2001. The owner began to sell books online through Amazon Marketplace,

AbeBooks and eBay, but even that business had halved in recent years. The town centre had fifteen empty shops, some of which were being turned into residential accommodation. A pawn shop had also recently opened. The economic downturn had affected business:

> I mean the general recession has hit us. People have got to spend money on food, housing, clothing and heating and anything extra might be spent on something like a book… but 90% of people, they can think "Oh well, we'll do without a book, we'll watch television", because they haven't got the money and I don't blame them either. (Indie Bookseller)

Whilst I carried out this weekday morning interview at the till, only one customer came into the shop to make an enquiry about a book in the window. The owner ran no events and had no engagement with NSM. This shop was not dressed to the 'Country Life' look. Whilst it was in a very old building, and had been a haberdashers and a wool shop in previous incarnations, the shop window had yellowing paper and a tatty display. Inside, the shelves were dusty and somewhat haphazard.

Appendix D Analysis of Linear Regression Model

The dependent variable is the log of concentrations of independent bookshops by local authority (district). N = 256.

The independent variables are:

1. The mean age of the population by local authority, taken from the 2011 census.
2. The log of the percentage of people who are of AB social class in each local authority, taken from the 2011 census.

The scatterplots in Figure D.1 and Figure D.2 show that there is a positive relationship between the chosen independent variables and the dependent variable. However, the relationship does not appear to be strong as there is considerable variance in the concentrations of bookshops across the values for both independent variables.

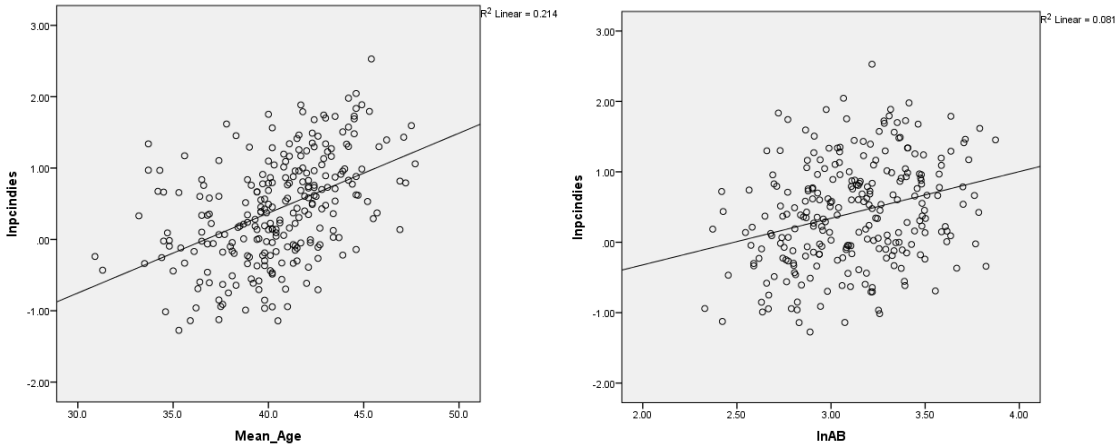

Figure D.1 Scatterplots of concentrations of bookshops against and mean age and social class AB for 2011.

Figure D.2 shows that this model explains 32.2% of the variance and Figure D.3 shows the model is significant to 0.00.

Model Summary[b]

Model	sR	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.568[a]	.322	.317	.61566

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mean_Age, lnAB

b. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.2 Model Summary

Appendix D

ANOVA[b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	45.559	2	22.779	60.097	.000[a]
	Residual	95.897	253	.379		
	Total	141.455	255			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mean_Age, lnAB

b. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.3 Significance of the model

Figure D.4 shows that the t values (6.34 for social class and 9.38 for mean age) are significant (0.0%) and above 2 for each variable.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	-6.791	.661		-10.277	.000					
	lnAB	.766	.121	.330	6.340	.000	.285	.370	.328	.992	1.008
	Mean_Age	.119	.013	.493	9.480	.000	.463	.512	.491	.992	1.008

a. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.4 Table of coefficients

From Figure D.4 we can see that Y = -6.791 + .766(lnAB) + .119(meanage)

The standardised coefficients in Figure D.4 show that mean age (.493) is more important than social class AB (.330) to concentrations of bookshops. Figure D.4 also shows there is no problem with collinearity as the tolerance values are more than 90% for each variable and the values of VIF are both close to 1.

Figure D.5 shows there is no relationship between the predicted values of y and the standardised residuals, so the assumption of linearity is sound.

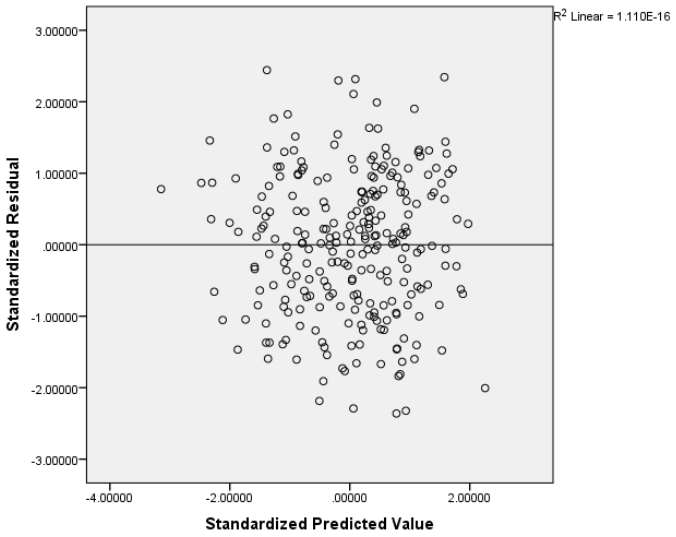

Figure D.5 Scatterplot of standardised residuals and standardised predicted values.

The normal probability plot in Figure D.6 shows the data points fit well with the line.

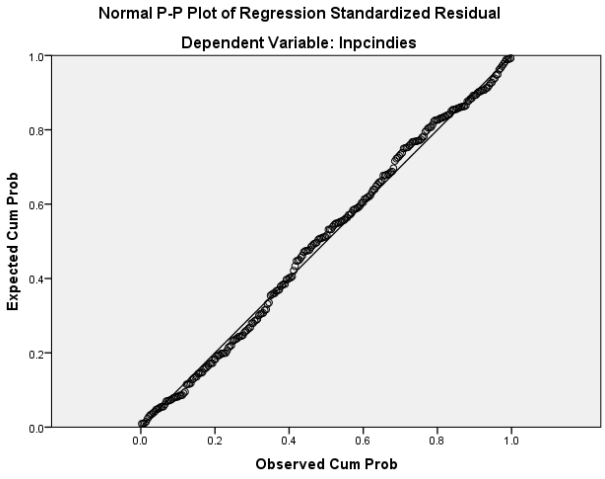

Figure D.6 Normal Probability Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals

Appendix D

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-.9106	1.3725	.4193	.42268	256
Std. Predicted Value	-3.146	2.255	.000	1.000	256
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.039	.130	.064	.018	256
Adjusted Predicted Value	-.9330	1.4037	.4187	.42352	256
Residual	-1.45377	1.50412	.00000	.61324	256
Std. Residual	-2.361	2.443	.000	.996	256
Stud. Residual	-2.369	2.474	.001	1.002	256
Deleted Residual	-1.46303	1.54220	.00062	.62064	256
Stud. Deleted Residual	-2.391	2.499	.000	1.005	256
Mahal. Distance	.009	10.452	1.992	1.774	256
Cook's Distance	.000	.052	.004	.006	256
Centered Leverage Value	.000	.041	.008	.007	256

a. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.7 Residual Statistics

Outliers

Case diagnostics were run and several outliers were removed to improve the model fit. For the first model, the explanation of variance was 28.9%, with all cases included. For this model, five cases have standard residuals greater than 2.5. One was greater than 3.

Casewise Diagnostics[a]

Case Number	Std. Residual	lnpcindies	Predicted Value	Residual
62	2.925	2.43	.4208	2.00806
63	3.681	3.99	1.4663	2.52709
99	-2.698	-1.19	.6595	-1.85228
217	2.698	2.20	.3476	1.85251
261	-2.605	-1.71	.0790	-1.78868

a. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.8 Case Diagnostics

Case 62 is Camden in London which has one of the highest per capita indies in the UK at 11.35. The mean age is relatively low at 36 with the AB% at 39, which is very high.

Case 63 is The City of London has 54.23 per capita, which is so high because The City of London has few residents.

Case 99 is Cheshire West and Chester in the North West which has 0.30 per capita. This is very low for a mean age of 41.3 and an AB% of 26%.

Case 217 is Gynedd in Wales which has 9.02 per capita which is very high for an AB% of only 18%. The mean age is 42. Gwynedd contains Snowdonia, an area of outstanding natural beauty, and as such it is a tourist destination.

Case 261 is Sheffield has a concentration of 0.18 which is very low. The mean age here is 38 and the AB% is 21.

Removing these cases found these further outliers:

Casewise Diagnostics[a]

Case Number	Std. Residual	lnpcindies	Predicted Value	Residual
65	2.578	1.30	-.3320	1.62799
85	2.696	2.21	.5078	1.70225

a. Dependent Variable: lnpcindies

Figure D.9 Case Diagnostics

Case 65 is Hackney which has 3.65 per capita, a mean age of 32 and an AB% of 27%.

Case 85 is Westminster which has 9.12 per capita, a mean age of 37 and an AB% of 42.

Removing all seven outliers improved the model's explanation from 28.9% to 32.2%.

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