

An Analysis of Agencies in the Field of Taiwanese Detective Novels Production*

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Since 2000 A.D., lots of translated detective novels have being published in Taiwan, which demonstrates that detective novel is popular in Taiwan, but there are seldom local detective novels to be published. Through the theory of field of cultural production by Pierre Bourdieu, the paper analyzed how the creators and cultural intermediaries' form of capitals and aesthetics construct the mechanism of the publishing industry, and how the market of detective novels in Taiwan are dominated by foreign products. The study adopted second documentary analysis and in-depth interview. The former is to calculate the published detective novels from 2001 to September 2015 sold in the dominant on-line bookstore, Books.com.tw, in Taiwan, while the latter is to interview 15 related agencies included writers, editors, translators, and a manager of bookstore. The results contain three following issues. Firstly, local production has re-started since 1980's after a long-time decline. Considering the large cost to cultivate local writers, Taiwanese publishers prefer to produce well-known foreign works. Secondly, literary awards are the vital way in the production of local works. The writers receive symbolic capital through awards, and even obtain more opportunities to publish their works or cooperate with other related organization, which means the acquirement of social capital. Finally, the market of local detective novels is forced to be the field of restricted production as a result of supplanted by translated novels. As a consequence, the production of local detective novels becomes popular literature of niche market.

Keywords: detective novel, the field of cultural production

Since 2000, lots of translated detective novels have been published in Taiwan. After the publisher "I-Fang" published the Japanese novel *The Copy Cat* by Miyuki Miyabe and received good response in the market, many publishers followed the trend and continued to publish translated detective novels (Jing, 2008). In 2005, American novelist Lawrence Block and Japanese writer Arisu Arisugawa did sign for their books in Taipei International Book Exhibition (Magazine.org.tw, 2005), which demonstrated detective novels are popular in Taiwan. In 2006, the big publishing corporation Cite Publishing Ltd. established the publisher, Apex Press, which exclusively promote translated detective novels until now. Those phenomena show that detective novels have established a stable market in Taiwan.

Apart from this, some local creators have been writing detective novels for a long time. These local creators formed Taiwan Detective Club in 2003 and established detective literary awards on their own. In 2007, the name of Taiwan Detective Club was changed into Mystery Writers of Taiwan, while the name of literary award was changed into in Mystery Writers of Taiwan Award and has been calling for short fiction until now. Seeing these

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changes happening, the research is to analyze how the market of detective fiction in Taiwan forms since 2000 and attempts to understand how the agents in the market select books for Taiwanese readers. The research also concerns the production of local books in order to understand the limit and chance of local works' development. The study will start from the definition of detective novel, its development in Taiwan, and analyze the field through Bourdieu's theories.

According to Taiwanese well-known detective novel publisher Fu-Bo (1985), the definition of detective novel includes four elements, which are "starting from mystery", "progression of nervousness", "solving by reason", and "unexpected outcome". Fu-Bo also mentioned seven elements of detective novel, including time, space, victim, perpetrator, detective, motivation, and way of crime. In other words, the plot of detective novels often starts from crime or mystery, and it would be solved by detective through reasonable deduction in the end.

The local detective novel in Taiwan was born in the Japanese colonial period. In this period, Japanese started to write detective novels, and some Japanese living in Taiwan followed the trend. The first local work was "Murder in Báng-kah", written by a Japanese in the name of Sanpon (Chen, 2013). At the same time, *Sherlock Holmes* series by British novelist Arthur Conan Doyle were translated into Chinese and published in China. Those books were exported into Taiwan and some Taiwanese writers started to learn this genre. During 1910 and 1945, local detective novels grew stably in Taiwan (Chen, 2013).

After the Second World War and Chinese Civil War, Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) settled down in Taiwan and the Communist Party controlled mainland China. Kuomintang implemented the cultural policies of "anti-communism" and "reviving Chinese tradition", ignoring the development of popular culture, including detective novels, which decreased the creation of detective novels for almost twenty years in Taiwan. Such a phenomenon lasted until the middle of 1970s, when the publisher, Fo-Er Lin established the publisher, Lin-Bai and promoted kinds of detective novels, especially Japanese works. He also published a magazine called *Detective* in 1984, which translated a lot of Western and Japanese detective novels, and introduced many modern novelists into Taiwan. Then, Fo-Er Lin set a literary award, named after himself, in 1988. The award has been cultivating a group of local writers, playing a vital role in Mystery Writers of Taiwan, continuing to cultivate new writers (Chen, 2013).

In 1988, more and more publishers participated in the market of detective novels, and participated in the business. In 1997, the local famous publisher, Hongzhi Zhan, cooperated with the publisher, Yuan-Liou, launched the series *Murder Store*, promoting one hundred and one Western detective novels, which is the biggest publishing plan in Taiwan. He also established the publisher Faces Publishing LTD exclusively published western detective novel, including Lawrence Block, Raymond Chandler, Minette Walters (Chen, 2013). Rejecting Japanese detective novels, he wanted to establish these Western novels as the canon of detective novels in Taiwan.

Murder Store and Faces caused detective novel to become more popular in Taiwan, which prompted China Times Literary Award to call for detective novels in 1998. However, the outcome of the award caused strong controversy since most of the judges who came from the field of belles-lettres tended to remain the judgment in terms of belles-lettres instead of the features of detective fiction such as deduction, mystery, or tricks. The awarded works are not recognized as "so detective" for hard-core detective readers. Moreover, the judges' public comments demonstrated their shortage of knowledge about detective novels. They even publicly revealed the answer of riddle in the books, which caused their profession to be strongly questioned by those hard-core readers.

In the ends, many fans protested the outcome of the award on the biggest detective Internet forum at that time (Chen, 2013).

Kuowei Chen (2013) pointed out that the event of China Times Literary Award symbolized the field of belles-lettres attempting to dominate the aesthetics in the field of detective novels, which brought about conflict with the original agents. The detective readers, writers, critics, therefore, established Taiwan Detective Club through BBS (Bulletin Board System) in 2001, whose name was changed into Mystery Writers of Taiwan. The group of people hold the award exclusively for detective fiction since 2003, which cultivated a group of young writers in later years. Some of them worked in the publisher, and the association gradually developed good cooperation with publishers. The member of Mystery Writers of Taiwan finally became intermediaries in the field of detective novels (Chen, 2013). According to the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, the field of detective novel production has formed since 2000. The core members of Mystery Writers of Taiwan now become intermediaries of detective novel, and dominate the interpretation of readers in Taiwan

After 2004, more than 80 publishers participated in the market of detective novel, which proves that there were lots of readers in detective novel. In 2009, the well-known publisher, Crown Culture Corporation, started holding Shimada Mystery Novel Award in the name of a contemporary famous Japanese writer, Soji Shimada. The award is the only award calling for long detective fiction in Taiwan until now, and then it was taken over by King Car Cultural and Education Foundation since 2015. The writer who wins the award not only can earn prize, but the works can be published by Crown. The award plays important role in the promotion local works. Nevertheless, the local works were extremely less compared to the huge amount of translated works. In order to understand the phenomenon, the study mentions three research questions below through the theory of the field of cultural production by Pierre Bourdieu:

(1) How did the translated books become the mainstream in the market of detective novel in Taiwan? What was the role of intermediaries?

(2) How were the local books to be produced, exchanged, and delivered in channels?

(3) Who were the agencies in the field of local detective novels production? What kind of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital did they have?

The study is to explore how the constitution of capital of the agencies influenced the field of detective novel production in Taiwan after 2000, and influenced the production, exchange, and channel of local books. The outcome attempts to reflect part situation in the market of Taiwanese popular novels, which will be the main value of the research.

Literature Review

The paper adopts the theories of Bourdieu, including field, habitus, capital, the field of cultural production, and cultural intermediaries, which is the structure of the research.

Capital and Habitus

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) thought of the social world as a multiple space, where every agent is arranged in the specific class with the constitution of capital. The definition of capital is the accumulated labor which can be exclusively owned by an agent and then become the materialized form. The capital serves as a power of society, which is classified as economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital is the possession of factors of production, property rights and money, while social capital is the possession of social relationships, which can be maintained by material or symbolic exchange and be constructed by name through family, class, tribe, or school. Cultural capital is the sum of personal knowledge, which is produced and delivered via educational system or family, and includes three forms: the embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state. The embodied state is the basic state of cultural capital, and it is long-term accumulated dispositions, demonstrated by mind and body; the objectified state refers to the concrete cultural goods, and the intermediaries own the benefit from it through class struggle; the institutionalized state is embodied in the systematized social recognition, such as diploma. Symbolic capital refers to a standard system involved with reputation and recognition, and it is constructed from the social recognition of economic, cultural, and social capital. Some agents maintain their status through the strategy of distinction, and guide the whole class in the legality of cultural consumption (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Every different capital consists of the agent's position in the society, and the objective relationship between every position constructs the field. The agents strive for accumulating much capital to maintain or improve their position according to the operation of the field, but they also have the potential to change the operational logic of the field and even overturn the dominators (Bonnewitz, 1998).

In the social world of theory, Bourdieu (1977) connected field and capital through habitus, which is a sustainable or alterable "structured structure", constructed by certain material conditions of a specific class, and serves as a principle of practice and representation. The practice and representation feature discipline and regulation, so they can make the agents collectively act without their autonomy (Bourdieu, 1977).

Habitus is a system constructed by the shèmes of consciousness, evaluation, and action, coming from the social structure and existing through the practice of agents, while the whole capital consists of their practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In addition, Habitus makes the agents and the meaning of the world reach a consensus through producing the commonsense world, so the experience of agents can be in harmony with the world. Their experience of the social world is also strengthened, causing the agents to believe that their practice can help them realize or predict the feedback of the world, so the agents take the experience of practice for granted (Bourdieu, 1977).

The relation between habitus and field is two-way and unclear, and it has two operating way: conditioning relationship and knowledgeable relationship. The former means that habitus is produced when the certainty of field represents in an agent; the latter means that field is given value by habitus and becomes a meaningful world (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). But the knowledgeable relationship acts on the premise of conditioning relationship, and the structure of habitus generate while field and habitus restrict with each other, so only when habitus is involved in field, it can seize its acting field. Therefore, Habitus is a kind of socialized subjectivity, and it is both personal and social (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The Field of Cultural Production

Hesmondhalph (2006) interpreted that Bourdieu theorized relationship and autonomy between different areas through defining the specific field in the social space. In the theory, the social space of nation is the economic and political field, and it consists of the field of power and various cultural fields. The field of culture production is characterized by low levels of economic capitals and high levels of cultural capital, compared to the field of power, and it is associated with the dominant class.

The field of cultural production consists of the relationship of two sub-fields: the sub-field of small-scale production and the sub-field of large-scale production, and their difference in autonomy distinguishes them from each other. Small-scale production is also called restricted production, with relatively high agency and low economic capital, and it tends to produce “pure” artistic products for the producers in the same field. Large-scale production is also called mass production, subject to heteronomous rules, and tends to produce commercial cultural products. Hence, the more cultural products are sold, the more economic capital is accumulated, and it grows closer to the field of power (Hesmondhalph, 2006).

There is a dual-structure, commercial profit, and symbolic value, in the field of cultural production. The artistic products and the field form three kinds of relationship. Firstly, the products are distinguished from the price of products and the price of symbolic consumption; secondly, the relationship between the artistic products and the field is distinguished from the importance of economic value and symbolic profit; finally, they are distinguished from the production cycle. The dual-structure presents the confronting situation in different tastes, and subtle distinction to different tastes and creators (Bourdieu, 1992).

In the field, the agents follow the rule and struggle for capital with each other. Their change in the style or system depends on the change of outside society, especially on the increase of educated population. While a new style or system emerges, it will be delivered through agents and cause people to interpret cultural products with its logic. In order to be recognized and obtain the legality of position in the field, the agents promote autonomic principles through shaping their image as intellectuals. In other words, the autonomy enables a creator to produce cultural products independently, while the creator enters political field and becomes an intellectual via such autonomy (Bourdieu, 1992).

The agents struggle for power via legality, and such a struggle causes permanent production and reproduction of illusion. Illusion serves as the collective identity of the rules in the field, causing the agents to acquiesce in the belief of aesthetics, and it even becomes an obstacle while the agents rationally evaluate cultural products. Therefore, the economic logic of cultural production obeys a form of fetishism, but fetishism is more obscure. Because the system demonstrates many phenomena which seem to exist naturally, but they are actually constructed (Bourdieu, 1992).

Cultural Intermediaries

Bourdieu (1984) described the concept of “cultural intermediaries” in *Distinction*, which means the new petite bourgeoisie emerging from the late twenty centuries. The bourgeoisie comes from the positions associated with presentation and representation, and they come from all the organizations providing symbolic goods and services. Cultural intermediaries, for instance, involve in sales, marketing, advertisement, fashion, design. They are different from the traditional bourgeoisie and show different taste and recognition of class, and these jobs even gradually become the core of the capital society.

Miège (1979) pointed out that someone is needed to negotiate technique, context, and market demand in the process of cultural production. The negotiation is important to the outward appearance and symbolic value of cultural goods, while the “creative managers” play this kind of vital role. In addition, Negus (2002) defined cultural intermediaries as “the workers between artists and consumers”, who construct use value and exchange value for goods. Cultural intermediaries even construct the connection between these value and everyday life via various marketing strategies. The way to the position of cultural intermediaries is through a value-shared and lifestyle-shared social network. Therefore, it is needed to survey the operation of inclusion and exclusion so the

openness of a field can be clarified. These cultural intermediaries deny the tradition classification of work/day-off, maintaining the border of participants via the operation of inclusion and exclusion. Their belief, practice, and aesthetics construct specific culture and form this cultural industry.

Maguire and Matthews (2012) summed up two aspects in the research of cultural intermediaries. First, researchers think of cultural intermediaries as a new bourgeois sample, which focuses on the process between production and consumption. Others regard cultural intermediaries as the market actors whom upgrade products and serve as the medium between economy and culture. In addition, Maguire and Matthews (2012) indicated that cultural intermediaries set up their reputation through their taste and judgment in specific fields. In other words, cultural intermediaries possess the legality of defining the value and symbolic status of cultural products, making the struggle of cultural legality more extensive.

Hence, Maguire and Matthews (2012) reported three approaches that cultural intermediaries construct contextual specificity. The first is “framing”: all the cultural intermediaries participate in framing. The way they frame cultural goods, consumers and the restriction on framing represents specific taste of their class. The second is “expertise”, the authority by which the cultural intermediaries frame and reflect their cultural capital and appreciation. The last is “impact”: while the frame made by the cultural intermediaries serves as legality, it will have an impact on other appreciation of cultural goods and even bring about loyalty to the cultural goods.

According to Maguire and Matthews’ research, the paper thinks that different cultural intermediaries focus on frame, expertise, and impact in varying degrees. Publishers attach importance to frame and expertise, framing how readers interpret writers and works with their knowledge of detective novels. Critics and translators have much expertise in the field. While they write reviews or translate works, their expertise constructs authority. Bookstore industry possesses frame and impact, which can define the context of works, and decide the channel.

Consequently, the paper is to analyze the production of local detective novels based on Bourdieu’s theories about the field of cultural production and cultural intermediaries. First of all, the paper focuses on how cultural intermediaries form a market dominated by translated novels by book selection. Secondly, it will discuss the capital composition of different kinds of agents. Lastly, the research is to explore the production and channel of local detective novels. After discussing these three dimensions above, the paper is to present the structure of the field and how the agents act in the field.

Methods

The paper uses secondary document analysis and semi-structured in-depth interview. The former is to understand the detective novels publishing market in Taiwan, while the latter is to deeply understand the process of production and how the agents act with their capital in the field.

Secondary Document Analysis

The study is to gather data from the biggest book channel in Taiwan and count published detective novels during 2001 to 2015 through the method. According to *An Analysis of Publishing Trend in Taiwan in 2013* from National Central Library (2014), Books.com.tw is the biggest book channel in Taiwan. The paper sets up Books.com.tw as the subject of research, counting Chinese books and Chinese translated books in the collection of “suspense/mysteries” which were published from 2001 to September 2015, including the publishing house, author, published year, author’s nationality. A book with two volumes is counted as two books. For instance, *Sherlock Holmes* series with ten volumes is counted as ten books. The collections in “suspense/mysteries”

include some thriller and adventure books which have nothing to do with detective novels and will be excluded in the research. This data from Books.com.tw is regarded as the common definition in “mystery” in the field of large-scale production.

Moreover, a senior editor and critic, Winter-sun, has counted published detective novels every month during 2007 to 2015. Since he is the hard-core agent in the field, whose date can reflect the published fictions in the strict definition of “mystery” in the field of small-scale production? The paper will gather data from Winter-sun’s blog, www.blog.udn.com/wintersun/article, and count the number of Chinese fiction and translated fiction from 2007 to September 2015 so as to demonstrate the counting version from the perspective of the field of small-scale. Through the research method, the study will show the trends of publication of detective novels from 2000 to September 2015 in terms of large-scale and small-scale. This part was carried out on September 2015 and finished on October 2015.

Semi-structured In-depth Interview

The research interviewed the agents in the field including writers, editors, critics, translators, book managers, and other cultural intermediaries from November 2015 to January 2015. The study interviewed the members of Mystery Writers of Taiwan (hereafter referred to as MWT) and the relative agents because they are the core in the field. Finally, the paper interviewed 15 agents, including five writers, two critics, five editors, one translator, one book manager, and a worker of King Car Cultural and Educational Foundation who participated in holding Shimada Mystery Novel Award. The list of interviewees is showed in Table 1 and Table 2, and there are five writers; two critics, one publisher, and one book manager are member of MWT. The two tables show that all of writers and some cultural intermediaries have multiple positions in the field. For instance, a writer is also a critic and a member of the association. In terms of the education of creators, it tends to be various, including human science, engineer, and medicine, while human science was in majority in the education of cultural intermediaries.

The interview outline for writer comprises three parts. The first is basic data and reading experience of detective novels in order to understand their capital composition. Secondly, the study focuses on their writing experience, including the process of writing a fiction and the negotiation with publishers. The last part contains their connection with other agents and their occupation in MWT. As for the interview outline for cultural intermediaries, it also contains their capital composition, experience in cultural intermediaries, and the interaction with other agents.

Table 1

The List of Interviewees: Writers

Interviewee	Age	Role in the field	Occupation	Education	Number of published works
Writer A	36	writer, critic, member of MWT	IT engineer	M.S.	5
Writer B	41	writer, critic, member of MWT	IC engineer	M.S.	9
Writer C	36	writer, member of MWT	screenwriter	B.A.	3
Writer D	26	writer, member of MWT	doctor	B.S. Med	2
Writer E	36	writer, member of MWT	dentist	B.S. Med	6

Table 2

The List of Interviewees: Cultural Intermediaries

Interviewee	Age	Role in the field	Occupation	Education	Experience
Critic A	28	critic, publisher, member of MWT	editor	B.A.	more than 5 years
Critic B	32	critic, member of MWT	student	D.A. (in school)	more than 5 years
Publisher A	36	publisher, critic, member of MWT	editor	B.S.S.	more than 5 years
Publisher B	about 50	publisher	editor	B.A.	more than 5 years
Publisher C	38	publisher	editor	B.A.	2 to 5 years
Publisher D	44	publisher	editor	B.L.	2 to 5 years
Publisher E	about 50	publisher	editor	B.A.	less than 2 years
worker in King Car A	26	King Car Foundation (sponsor of award)	art administration	B.A.	less than 2 years
bookstore manager A	46	bookstore	manager	M.A.	less than 2 years
translator A	about 40	translator	translator	M.S.	more than 5 years

The study is to analyze how the market of mysteries in Taiwan has been operating since 2001, and how foreign fictions become the majority in this market through secondary document analysis and semi-structured in-depth interview. The study intends to explore popular literature in the approach of culture industry and to understand the operation and restriction in the field. Hence, more opportunities and challenges in local books can be discovered, which can help to construct a better environment for local writers.

Results

The paper will demonstrate the result of secondary-document analysis to show the trend in the market of detective novels from 2001 to September 2015. Then the paper will analyze the agents' interaction in the field and the process of the production of detective novels in Taiwan. Since the publishing house and literary award is the key to the field, the study will deeply discuss the operation of publishing and literary award in the field.

The Outcome of Secondary-Document Analysis

The data from Books.com.tw shows that the number of detective novels increased from 2001 (Figure 1). The number in 2001 was only 61, but it rose gradually despite the slight decline in 2004, 2009, and 2012. After 2011, more than 200 detective novels were published, and the amount reached the peak of 263 books in 2014, but the number slightly decreased in 2015.

In terms of author's nationality, it can be seen that translated books were in the majority, while the number of published local books generally ranged from almost 3 to 30 books in a year (Figure 2). It is clear to see in Table 3 that local books only accounted for 5 to 10 percent a year. From 2001 to 2007, less than ten local books were published a year, but the number rose to 14 in 2008, and it showed a slow increase on the whole. By the end of September 2015, thirty local books were published in Taiwan. In 2008, the big publishing house in Taiwan, Crown Culture Corporation, set up Shimada Mystery Novel Award for detective novels and claimed to publish the three books in finalist. It suggests that the increase of local books after 2008 is related to the award.

In Figure 2, the collection of "Asia" includes Japan, China, and Hong-Kong, while the collection of "Europe and US" comprises the US, France, and other European countries. As for author's nationality in collection, Taiwan and China are regarded as separate since Taiwanese local detective novels began in the

Japanese colonial period. Both China and Taiwan were under the reign of Republic of China from 1945 to 1949. Since 1949, Taiwan and China have been being under different reign. In addition, Hong Kong was colonized by the UK for 150 years. Therefore, the history of detective novels production in Taiwan and in Hong-Kong has been separate from that in China, so the paper separates Taiwan, Hong-Kong, and China as different regions.

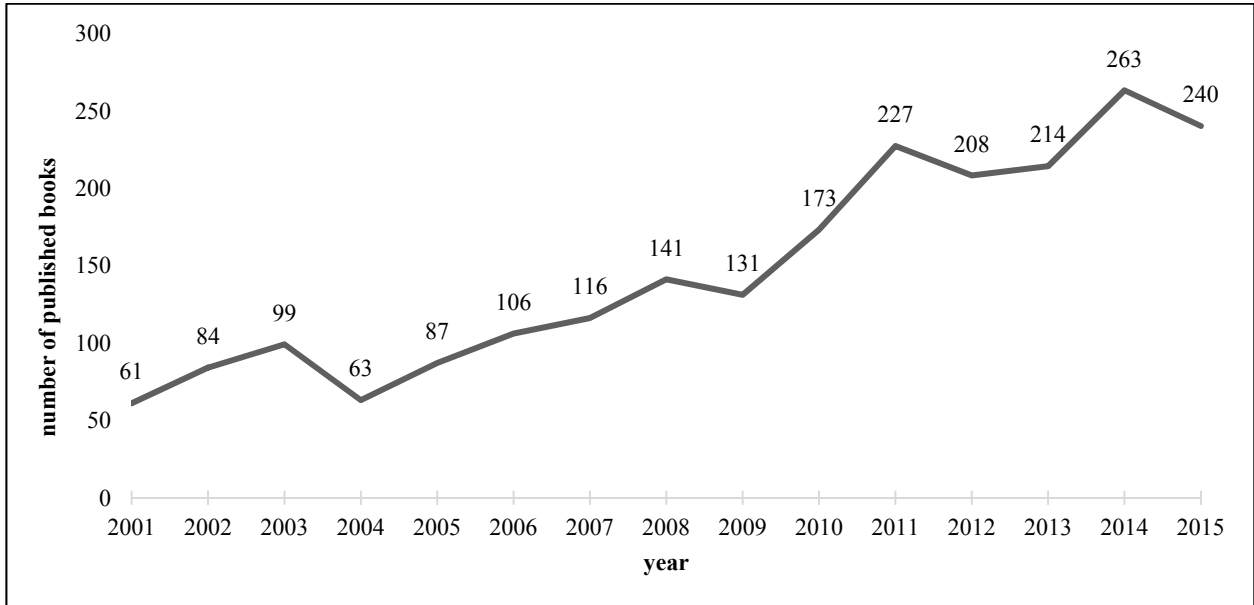


Figure 1. The number of published detective novels from 2001 to September 2015.

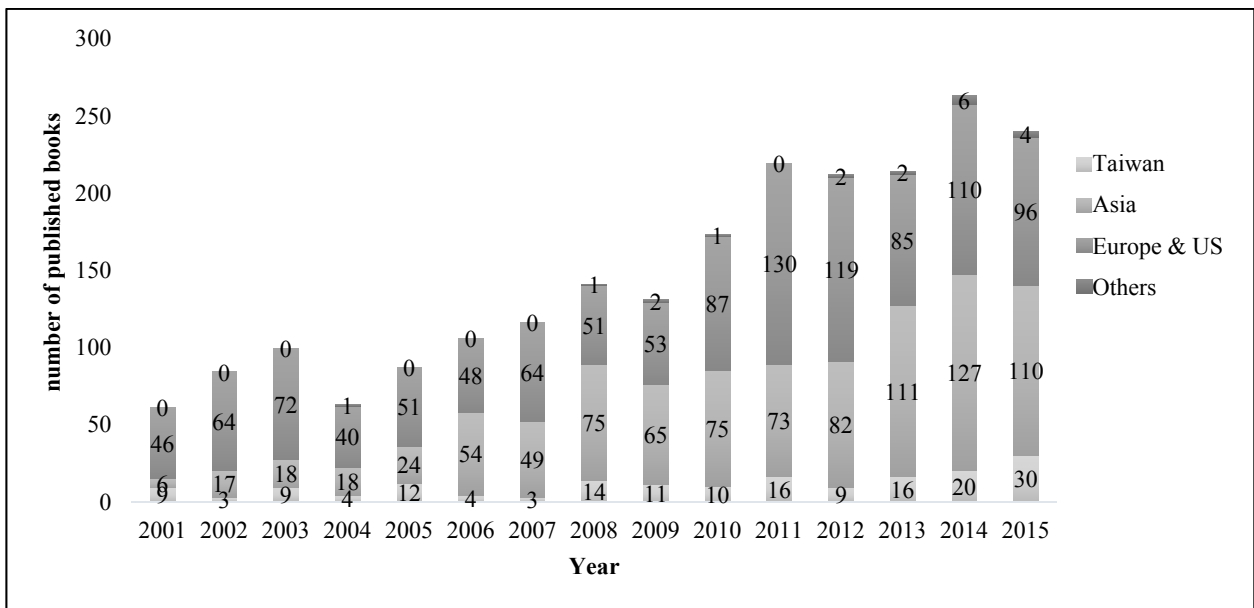


Figure 2. The number of local and translated detective novels published from 2001 to September 2015.

Among the sources of translated books, most translated novels came from Japan, the US, and the UK. Japan serves as the main source in the market of Taiwanese detective novels. From 2001 to 2004, Japanese novels accounted for almost 20 percent, and the amount rose up to the peak of 46 percent in 2006. Then it remained constant until 2015. In addition, the translated books from China and Hong-Kong were imported to

Taiwan after 2005, and then the number of the books from China slightly grew up (almost less than 10 books a year).

Among the collection of “Europe and US”, translated books from the US are in majority, followed by the UK and then France. Table 3 shows more details about the change of translated books from 2001 to September 2015. Many publishers reprinted the classic series of *Sherlock Holmes* and *Arsène Lupin*, which causes the large amount of the publication from the UK and France. In 2001, Wisdom & Knowledge Publishing Company in Taiwan published *Arsène Lupin* series in 14 volumes. Since only 61 books were published this year, the books from France became the majority (47.6 percent). Likewise, the publisher, Yuan-Liou, published the series of *Agatha Christie Mysteries* in 2002 and 2004. Compared to the local detective novels in the market (less than 100 books), *Agatha Christie Mysteries* made translated books from the UK the majority. It accounted for 47.6 percent in 2002, 39.4 percent in 2003, and 28.6 percent in 2004. In addition, more than 10 publishers reprinted *Sherlock Holmes* series, which also increased the amount in the collection of the UK. For instance, they accounted for 83 percent of the UK in 2001, and 80 percent in 2005.

After 2004, the US became the main source of translated detective novels in the collection of “Europe and US”. The translated books from the US remained 20 to 40 percent of the market of detective novels, only second to Japan (Table 3). There were many contemporary writers such as Ellery Queen, John Grisham, Gilbert K. Chesterton from the US, and various novels were published instead of reprinting classics. Thirty-seven books from the US were imported to Taiwan in 2005, which made the amount of the US rise to the peak of 42.5 percent.

The translated books in the collection of “Others” were less than 10 percent every year (Table 3), including Netherland, Austria, Germany, Canada, Sweden, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Russia, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Czech, etc. After 2008, few books from Africa, Latin America, and Oceania were published in Taiwan. Only one or two books was/were published a year.

Table 3

An Analysis of Agencies of the Percent of Nationality of Published Books from 2001 to September 2015

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Taiwan	14.8	3.6	9.1	6.3	13.8	3.8	2.6	9.9	8.4	5.8	7	4.2	7.5	7.6	12.5
Japan	9.8	20.2	18.2	28.6	25.3	46.2	33.6	45.4	37.4	31.2	26.6	25.4	43.5	35.7	42.9
China	0	0	0	0	1.1	3.8	4.3	5.7	11.5	10.4	8.7	12.2	7.9	10.6	1.3
Hong Kong	0	0	0	0	1.1	0.9	4.3	2.1	0.8	1.7	0.9	0.9	0.5	1.9	1.7
US	23	14.3	15.2	30.2	42.5	27.4	34.5	20.6	20.6	20.2	23.6	22.5	14.5	20.2	18.8
UK	19.7	47.6	39.4	28.6	5.7	10.4	12.1	7.8	9.9	20.8	11.8	12.2	15	12.9	14.6
France	24.6	7.1	14.1	4.8	0	4.7	3.4	0.7	0.8	2.9	8.3	14.1	1.9	0.8	0.4
Others	8.2	7.2	4	1.6	10.3	2.8	5.2	7.8	10	7.1	12.9	8	9.5	10.6	8

Afterwards, the study counts the top ten authors from 2001 to September 2015 in Taiwan (Table 4). The order is as follows: Agatha Christie (UK), Maurice Leblanc (France), Arthur Conan Doyle (UK), Keigo Higashino (Japan), Lawrence Block (US), Ranpo Edogawa (Japan), Seichō Matsumoto (Japan), Miyuki Miyabe (Japan), Kyōtarō Nishimura (Japan), and Natsuhiko Kyōgoku (Japan). The translated books by Agatha Christie, Maurice Leblanc, and Arthur Conan Doyle were in the majority from 2001 to 2004. Agatha Christie is best known for her detective fiction in the world with the name of Queen of Crime, while Maurice Leblanc is the

author of the classic *Arsène Lupin* series. Ranpo Edogawa plays a major role in the development of Japanese detective fiction. It can be seen that the market was dominated by classics during these years.

After 2004, the fictions by Japanese writers began to be published in Taiwan. In 2005, well-known contemporary Japanese writers, including Keigo Higashino, Miyuki Miyabe, Seichō Matsumoto, were introduced to Taiwan. More and more Japanese fictions were published in the next few years. Among them, the books by Keigo Higashino rapidly rose after 2008 and surpassed some Western writers. The number of the published volumes was only less than the classic series such as Agatha Christie, Maurice Leblanc, and Arthur Conan Doyle. It is clear that Keigo Higashino was the best-selling author in the market of detective fiction.

In addition, the unceasing reprinting caused Western classic series to maintain the market leader after 2009. Lawrence Block was the only writer who was included in the top ten lists. However, 20 to 40 percent of books from the US were published at the same time, which shows there were a variety of US translated books in the market. Consequently, the books by some Japanese contemporary well-known writers and the reprinting of western classic mysteries were in the majority of the market after 2009.

Table 4

The Top 10 Writers in Taiwan from 2001 to September 2015

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Agatha Christie	1	30	31	12		1				12		4	2	1	
Maurice Leblanc	14	3	12	2						5	15	23	2		
Arthur Conan Doyle	10	7	5	1	4				4		12	6	9	7	10
Keigo Higashino						4		4	8	10	8	12	6	8	6
Lawrence Block	3		1		6	2	1	2	2	2				13	7
Ranpo Edogawa	3	14	8							5	4	1			
Seichō Matsumoto						3		9	7	2		2	3	2	2
Miyuki Miyabe						8	2			2	2	3	2	2	10
Kyōtarō Nishimura				1	1	2	11	9						3	2
Natsuhiko Kyōgoku				1	1		3	4	2	5	3		2	3	

The paper also gathers data from the senior detective critic, Winter-sun, which shows the percentage of local and translated books from 2007 to September 2015. The data is slightly different from that of Books.com.tw because the definition of “detective fiction” for the core readers is stricter than the mass. Winter-sun regards the books from China, Hong-Kong, Taiwan as the collection of “Chinese books”, in contrast to the collection of “Translated books”. The percentage of Chinese and translated books is round to the nearest integer. Moreover, a series with two volumes is counted as one, and the reprinted books are counted as new volumes. The research only shows the data from 2007 to September 2015 due to the shortage of data before 2006.

According to Figure 3, the total quantity remained 150 to 200 on the whole. Despite the decrease from 2011 to 2013, it sharply rised up to 228 books in 2014. It is also apparently manifested in the statistics that the number of Chinese books was far less than that of translated books. While more than 150 translated books were published, only 6 to 20 Chinese books were published during this period. In other words, Chinese books accounted for less than 10 percent of the market.

According to the secondary-document analysis, the translated books were in the majority, while the local books accounted for only 5 to 10 percent of the market, with a slight increase after 2008. Among the translated books, the majority were from Japan and the US, the UK, and France. However, most of British and French fictions were reprinted editions of classic series, and most of contemporary books came from the US. As for Japanese fiction, classics such as Ranpo Edogawa were published from 2001 to 2003. After 2006, the publishing house APEX PRESS, exclusively publishing Japanese detective fictions, was founded. Therefore, the number of Japanese contemporary books rapidly increased and they accounted for 20 to 45 percent of the Taiwanese market.

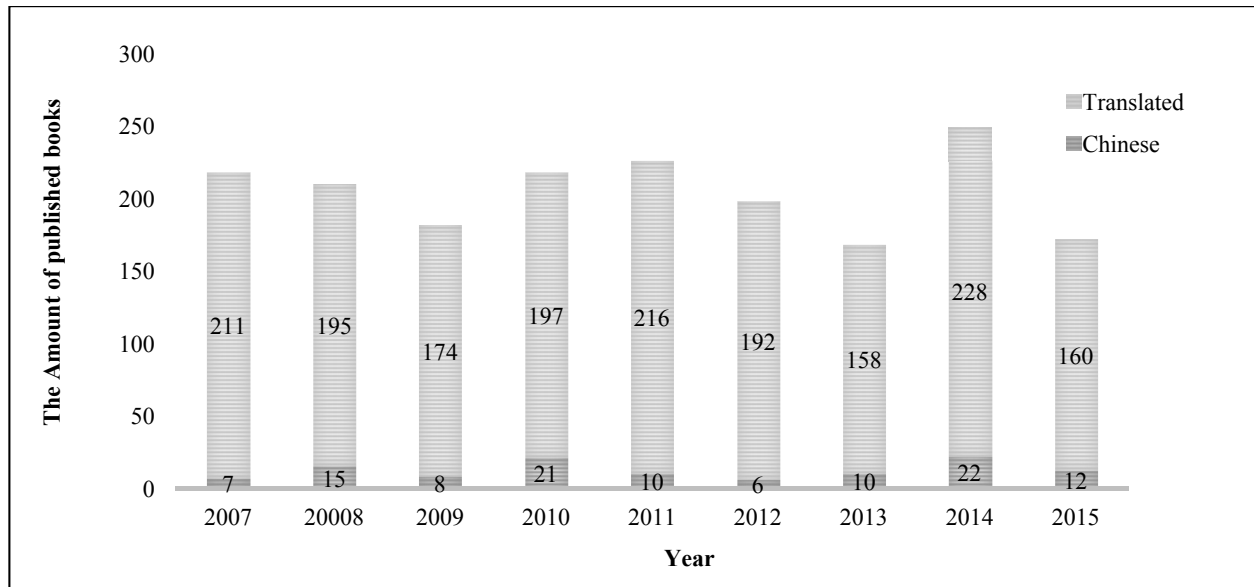


Figure 3. The statistic form Winter-sun: The amount of translated and Chinese detective novels published from 2007 to September 2015.

Table 5

The Statistic Form Winter-Sun: The Proportion of Published Chinese and Translated Detective Novels From 2007 to September 2015

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Chinese	3%	7%	4%	10%	4%	3%	6%	9%	7%
Translated	97%	93%	96%	90%	96%	97%	94%	91%	93%

The Production of Translated Detective Novels

The process of translated books production is demonstrated in Figure 4. Foreign writers, publishers, and brokers cooperate according to their own contracts. Taiwanese publishers directly or indirectly connect with them through copyright agents and receive book's information. Reviewers are employed by the publisher to review foreign books for the publisher to decide whether to publish the books or not. The publisher hires reviewer to read the original, and then the reviewer submits a report to the publisher, describing the story and his or her feedback. The editors evaluate the book depending on the report and discuss a few times. Once the publisher decides to publish the book, the next step is to make publishing plans and find translators, critics, references. After finishing editing the book, the publisher provides the book's information for the bookstore, and the bookstore purchases books.

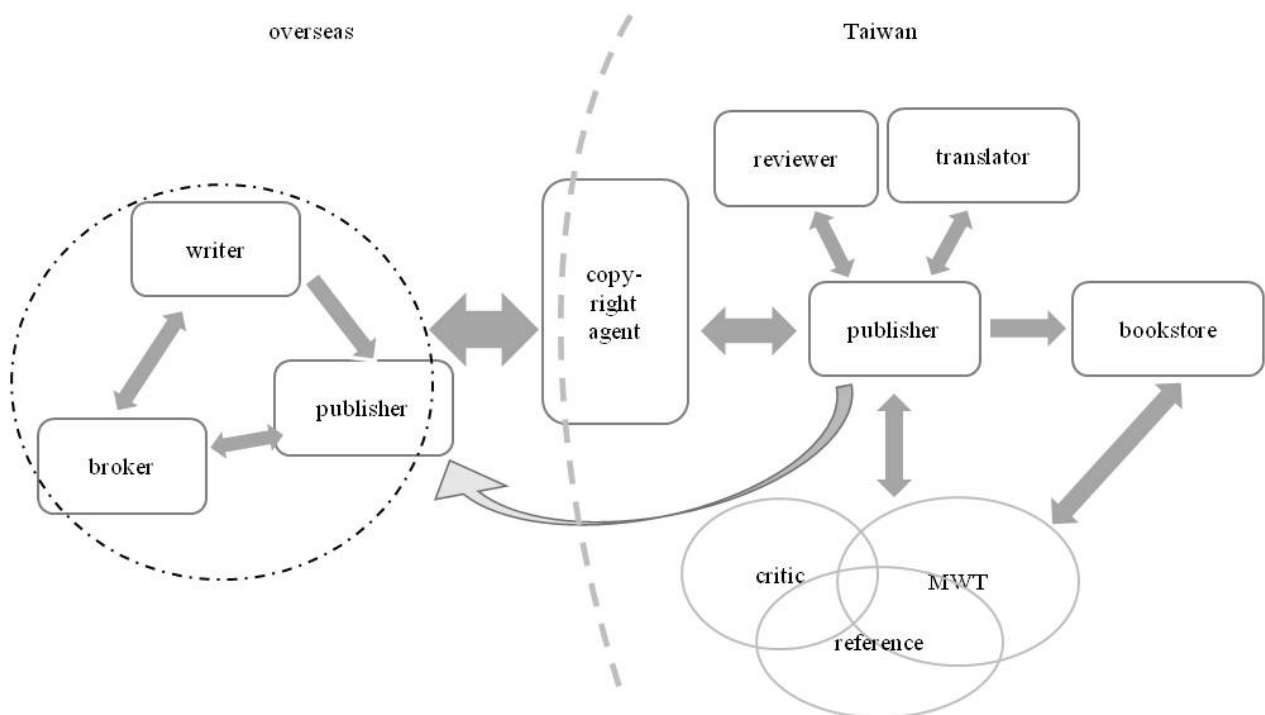


Figure 4. The production of translated detective novels.

In the process of publishing overseas books, “obligee” and “copyright” are the most important concept. The former means the owner of the copyright, while the latter means the right to publish the books. Domestic publisher has to find out the obligee, and then it can purchase the book’s copyright and publish it. The obligee might be a writer, a broker, or a publisher, depending on their contract. Domestic publisher mainly receives information by the copyright agent, who contacts the overseas writer, broker, publisher, and delivers latest information to domestic publishers. But the domestic publisher also searches for information actively and sometimes directly contacts the overseas obligee. While evaluating a book, the publisher evaluates its outline of story, sales, awards, and recommenders. After the book passes the evaluation, the publishers get the manuscript from the copyright agent or the obligee, and have in-house editors or external reviewers read it. If it decides to publish the book, it will provide offer for the copyright agent or the obligee. The offer includes copyright advance payment, part of royalty, publishing plans and the introduction of the publisher, so the obligee can evaluate it and decide whether to sell the copyright or not.

Publisher B: If we want to choose a book, we will evaluate two orientations below: Firstly, is it sold very well in its country? The second is reputation, has the writer won many awards? ...or the book will be adapted into movie, or a well-known actor is in the cast of the adapted movie?

The copyright advance payment depends on the writer’s reputation, award, and sales. The change of a writer’s reputation also influences the payment, and different books of the same writer have different values. The US and European books are worth from two thousand US dollars to more than ten thousand dollars; while the payment of Japanese books starts from two hundred and fifty thousand Japanese Yen. *Publisher B* said, for instance, A, winner of Edgar Allan Poe Award was a freshman in the field of detective novels. The book’s copyright advance payment was not expensive because the writer was not well-known. But some publishers

might be interested in it due to Edgar Award. For another example, the British famous writer, J. K. Rowling has not won any award, but the payment of her books might be more than ten thousand US dollars due to her reputation and high sales.

After the publisher decides to publish a book, it plans the publishing and marketing strategy, and hires translators at the same time. In the perspective of the publisher, a good translator has to understand the foreign culture and translate it into fluent words. The most suitable translator of detective novels has to understand some argot in the field and translates it correctly. A translator in Taiwan is freelancer. They have to translate different kinds of books to maintain their life, including fictions, books about pet-feeding, recipe, design, health, etc. Every publisher forms partnership with some translators. Some translators are familiar with specific writers' styles, so they sign contracts with publishers and translate the writers' books.

Afterwards, the publisher finds suitable critics to write introduction, comment, and foreword. These reviews vary from person to person. Some critics analyze the book through literary theory due to their major. Some critics simply describe the writer from their experience. Others find out a feature of the book and comment on it. If the book is not appreciated, some critics refuse to write reviews, but some critics still accept the case. In other words, the publisher will certainly find out someone who accepts to write comments, so the appreciation of critics cannot decide whether the book will be published or not.

Critic B: I won't write comment for the book I don't like. I also refuse to write if I am busy. I think it is basic morality. I feel the book interesting and want to recommend it, so I write a comment for it.

Critic A: No matter how you dislike the book, it still has its feature. You can write about the feature. That's no problem.

The publisher dominates the process of the production of detective novels, but the cultural intermediaries, such as critics and reference, can influence the way readers interpret the book. Most of the critics are members in MWT (Mystery Writers of Taiwan). They have extensive knowledge in the genre of detective fiction, and have been accumulating reputation through winning literary award. Some of them also work in publishing houses. Therefore, the association forms a close relationship with publishers. With the cultural, symbolic, and social capital, the members are prior to write comments while the publisher plans to publish an oversea detective fiction. The members position the book in the history of detective fiction, the writer's position in the foreign country, and its meaning in the career of the writer, which influences how domestic readers interpret the book.

The publisher also needs references to recommend a book. Apart from members in MWT, the publisher also chooses references within a story's features. For instance, it has invited a sports news anchor to be a reference for a story about baseball, and invited a well-known record producer to recommend a book about music. It also invites some writer in the field of belles-lettres.

While the publisher almost finishes editing the book, it contacts bookstores and provides brief information of the book for bookstores. Then they negotiate the scale of marketing and impression, such as large posters, obvious booths, premiums, etc. Small bookstores purchase books via the way of buyout, while some channels, such as convenient stores, charge for listing-fee. Large-scale bookstores negotiate each book's division of profits with publishers. The bookstores also follow the trend of book market, actively inquiring publishers about the books' information and hoping to hit the store shelves, so publishers and bookstores form a two-way relationship.

Publisher D: Marketing is carried out by publishers, but bookstores also do it... such as Japanese Booksellers' Award or Naoki Prize... they are highly interested as the outcome is announced... and they are interested when the publisher imports the award-winning book. They will make an effort to purchase... and arrange the book for best impression even if the publisher doesn't pay

The bookstores also cooperate with MWT, holding speeches, book exhibitions, and even participating in selecting books. For instance, Elite Bookstore has held a series of speeches in the name of Mysteries Season. Taaze Online Bookstore has offered "2015 Fiction Festival: Detective Courses" and "2016 Detective Courses". It shows that bookstores also play the role of cultural intermediaries. But they need the association to help select books and give speeches, which also contributes MWT to establish the aesthetics of detective novels.

The Production of Local Detective Novels

The process of the production of local detective fictions is demonstrated in Figure 5. Writers submit works for award, winning the prize or being nominated, and begin to cooperate with the publishers. Few writers directly submit works to the publishers, and some have the opportunity to publish their books because they are acquainted with some publishers.

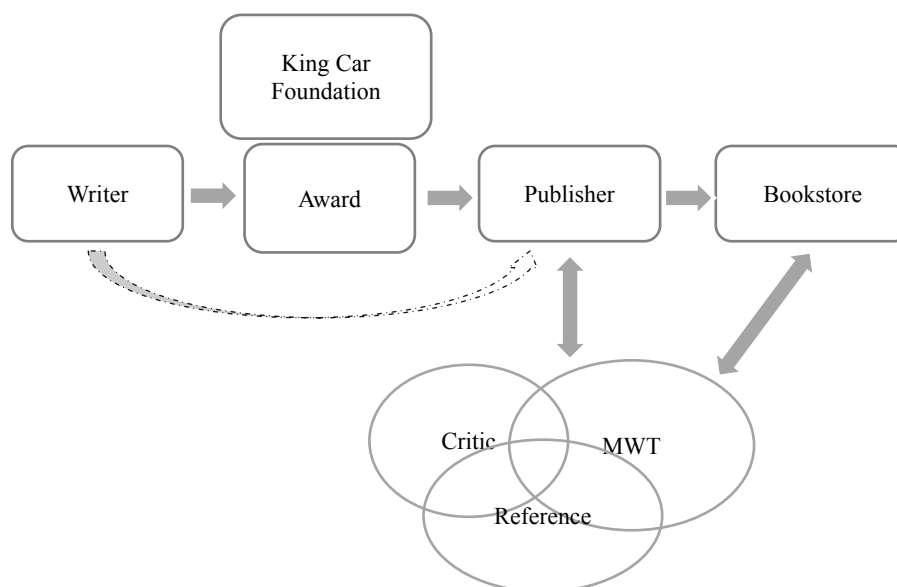


Figure 5. The production of translated detective novels.

Mainstream publishers dominate the selection and sale of detective fiction in Taiwan, and they mostly select awarded local works. Unknown works without awards or reputation directly submitted to publishers are probably to be rejected. Local writers have to win literary award, earning a credit from publisher, so they can start cooperating with the publisher. It means that earning symbolic capitals through awards is extremely vital for writers. The awards for detective novels are Mystery Writers of Taiwan Award (hereafter referred to as MWT Award) and Shimada Mystery Novel Award (hereafter referred to as Shimada Award). From the writers' point of view, the former calls for short stories and serves as the opportunity of debut because it is a newcomer award; the latter calls for novels, and it can be seen as the chance to start cooperation with main publishers because the nominated or awarded works will be published by Crown Cultural Corporation, the mainstream publisher in Taiwan. Some writers become editors, and help other writers publish works or be references through their multiple roles.

Editor E: Sometimes it's easy to evaluate a book. Writer E told me the book can be published so I will publish it. If the senior MWT members tell me the story is great, I won't hesitate.

As for other traditional awards in Taiwan, because the judges from the field of belles-lettres had different aesthetics, detective writers were hard to win the prize. Only few writers win these awards, but most detective writers tend to choose MWT Award and Shimada Award because they are set up according to the aesthetics of detective novels.

Writer D: Another writer told me that it is impossible to win these traditional literary awards if you submit a detective story. These judges in the field of belles-lettres don't read the novels such as *Sherlock Holmes* series. I think they can accept Lawrence Sanders at most, others are two-bit.

When the publisher almost finishes editing a book, the publisher contacts bookstores, which are the same as how they deal with translated books. In the process of the production of local books, literary award and the publisher play vital roles in the field. The award serves as the practice of symbolic capital, which is the key to transforming cultural capital into symbolic capital and economic capital for the writer. The writer earns the reputation and recognition through the award in the field, and earns the prize and the practice of economic capital, while the awarded work earns the autonomy in the field.

Writer A: Exactly the main reason for award is to gain the prize, but I place more importance on the following publishing opportunity. In other words, if I submit my work to the award, will it have more chance to become popular?

Moreover, the symbolic capital can be transformed into social capital since it serves as an opportunity for the writer to become acquainted with mainstream publishers, so they can continue to write fictions and cooperate with the publisher after their awarded works are published. The winner not only earns royalty income from the following cooperation, but also has the agency of negotiating with the cultural intermediaries. The writer even has the possibility to become a cultural intermediary, participating in marketing, selecting, or reviewing, constructing the aesthetics of detective fictions for Taiwanese readers. In terms of the publisher, award serves as a point while promoting a book, while the bookstore also tends to put awarded books in obvious place. It shows that the award is the key to having good sales for the publisher and the bookstore.

On the other hand, the publisher dominates the production of detective novels. The leaders of the publisher read numbers of books and deeply understand the book market, which becomes their cultural capital and helps them select books. The publisher can guide the writer according to the trends of the market or latest social issues, and discuss the plot with the writer. In other words, a detective novel is finished in the negotiation between the writer and the publisher, except the award-winning works. The publisher has the right to publish a book or not, but other cultural intermediaries cannot. Even though other cultural intermediaries, such as critics or translators, can refuse to write reviews or translate the book, the publisher can ask others to help. The writer also has fewer agencies to negotiate with the publisher. They can only sign the contract offered by the publisher and let the publisher decide marketing plans.

Publisher B: There is standard contract in our company. The clauses are standard. It depends on whether the translator accepts it or not. If he or she doesn't have any opinions, then we begin the cooperation.

Writer C: The publisher lets me check the clauses, but I can't negotiate with them when my first and second novels were published. One of my works, for example, I hope it can be published earlier. I just hope the time can be slightly shortened, but they refuse, not to mention the amount of publication and royalty.

The publisher approximately divides detective fictions into public market and niche market. The books in large-scale are popular and are sold well in the world. They are famous with some signs in the society and the story is easily to read for everyone, such as *Sherlock Holmes* series and Lawrence Block. The books in niche market are more professional and special, and tend to follow the traditional rules of the detective fiction. The publisher pays more attention to communicating hard-core readers. A book's status in the history of detective novels tends to be emphasized in the copy, so the reader can understand the meaning of the book. As for the local books, they do not have high sales and lack popularity, but the awards they win can demonstrate its symbolic status in the field of detective novels. Hence, the publisher looks upon local books as niche market, relying on awards to promote the book and the writer. The marketing for local books is small-scaled and focuses on the Internet, such as blogs or writer's Facebook.

Publisher C: What I did is very simple, just holding a book launch, producing e-papers, or inviting some readers to write reflection in their blogs.

Some publishers are willing to publish local books despite the fact they bring little income. They believe that local books have more possibility than translated books and they have passion for promoting local books and local writers. With the awards, the market of local detective novels gradually increases after 2015. The publisher starts to take the strategy of producing celebrity, arranging kinds of public launch or speech for the writer and trying to establish reputation.

Publisher B: If you buy the copyright of a translated book, you can do nothing but publish it. But if you cultivate a local writer, you can sell copyright to other countries. We have sold the copyright of one of our writer's books to those who want to adapt them into movies in many countries.

Critic A: I have two strategies. The first is to arrange dialogues with writers and celebrities from different fields. The second is to arrange speeches on campus. We hope to increase the writer's reputation, producing celebrity.

However, the market of detective novels starts to decrease after 2015. The first reason is that most of the Western classical works have been published. Secondly, many publishers only compete for specific famous writers' copyrights and have no interest in other potential writers, which causes these advance charges of famous writers to become extremely expensive. No one can earn enough income to cover the cost, so it becomes more difficult to publish in Taiwan. Now the market of detective novels in Taiwan is stuck.

The Capital Composition of Agents in the Field

The agents in the field contain writers and cultural intermediaries, while cultural intermediaries are comprised of publisher, critics, translators, and the King Car Culture Foundation. The capital composition of them will be discussed below.

The writers. The core local writers were approximately born in 1980. They read *Sherlock Holmes* and *Arsène Lupin* series while studying in elementary school. At that time, Eastern Publishing Company published those series and sold very well. These young readers extensively read kinds of translated detective fictions after junior high school. When they went to university around 2000, these readers started writing local detective stories. At the same time, the Internet became mainstream in Taiwan, so they could connect with other fans through the Internet and search the latest information on their own. The group of detective readers finally established MWT in 2003. Nowadays, they are core writers and cultural intermediaries in Taiwan.

These writers all have other full-time jobs since writing detective novels cannot afford their lives. They also think that the full-time detective writer has to steadily write numerous stories in the long term, which will

limit their creation. Moreover, the writers believe that inspiration comes from everyday life, so they tend to actively join social activities. These writers also participate in other culture industry such as movie and soup opera. Some producers or directors actively ask for their help if they plan to produce works of mysteries.

The association, MWT, is a close social network including writers, core readers, critics, and editors, so it is the locus of the practice of social capital. The member actively connects with relative workers, which reproduces of social capital. With the establishment of MWT Award, the association constructs the autonomic operation and participates in the struggle of the field, which also serves as an operation to produce symbolic capital and economic capital for the writer. However, since being recommended by the member or winning awards are the ways to join the association, it shows that enough cultural, symbolic, and social capital are the requirement to become the member of the association. Mystery Writers of Taiwan also operates to reproduce social capital and transform social capital into symbolic capital. MWT also serves as symbolic capital, which is a bargaining chip while the member negotiates with the publisher or the bookstore. The writer can cooperate with them, such as holding speeches or marketing projects, and exchanging knowledge of detective novel with free facilities provided by the bookstore. The association also earns more reputation in the society through these activities.

The cultural intermediaries. The cultural intermediaries in the field of the production of detective novels contain publishers, critics, translators, bookstores, and King Car Cultural Foundation. Most of the workers in the publisher major in humanities. They might not understand detective fiction, but they read numbers of books and deeply understand the book market, which becomes their profession. The publisher needs MWT to provide the knowledge of detective novels, while the writer needs the publisher to publish works, so they form close cooperation. In addition, some of the core readers work in publishers through the social network, and these workers also write reviews for the detective novel, which shows the multiple roles one agent can play in the field.

In terms of the critics, they were also born in the early 1980s, and took an interest in detective novels while reading *Sherlock Holmes* and *Arsène Lupin* series in childhood, joining relative clubs after going to university. The critics write the reflections or reviews in their blogs or in the bulletin board systems. Some active critics even searched for overseas latest information through the Internet in the early 1990s. These online reviews attracted other writers and publishers and they started to contact with each other through the Internet. With the social network, the critics join MWT and have the opportunity to cooperate with the publisher. They write reviews for the publishers and even participate in planning the marketing projects, which construct the understanding and aesthetics of detective fiction for Taiwanese readers.

The bookstore does not deeply understand detective novels, so it needs MWT while promoting detective novels. The bookstore cooperates with the association, holding relative activities, such as speeches, courses, and planning marketing projects. Some workers in bookstores finally become the members because of close cooperation. The bookstore provides channels and sales platforms for the publisher and MWT, but it also has its own marketing projects and arranges the level of exposure according to award records and reputation. The bookstore and the publisher form a two-way interaction due to a book's potential sales.

The translator's cultural capital is the knowledge of foreign knowledge. Some major in English or Japanese in universities, some have studied abroad, and others were born to multinational families. In order to maintain life, the translator in Taiwan has to translate various books, such as pet-feeding, design, literature, recipe. Translators do not necessarily understand or like reading detective novels. But the publisher tends to

regularly cooperate with some translators if it thinks the translators do well. In this situation, the publisher tends to have a translator translate a book series of a writer.

King Car Culture Foundation (hereafter referred to as King Car) serves as a sponsor in the field. The leader of King Car prefers kinds of artistic activities, which shows that the leader's cultural capital influences its sponsorship. King Car provides free facilities for MWT, so the association can hold activities and continually promote detective fiction. King Car has also undertaken Shimada Award from Crown Culture Corporation since 2015. However, the judges have been invited by Crown, which shows the aesthetics of Shimada Award is still dominated by Crown, the agent with symbolic position in the field.

In conclusion, Mystery Writers of Taiwan dominates the aesthetics of detective fiction in Taiwan, and it negotiates with mainstream publishers, bookstores, and sponsors through its cultural capital and symbolic capital. The publishers and the bookstores dominate the market, and they provide platforms for MWT to introduce detective fictions, which is also what they need. With the cooperation, the members of the association have different roles such as critics, writers, or even become editors in the publishers and strive for publishing local books. While producing local detective novels, the publishers tend to guide the writers through the profession of publishing and commercial logic in the field, which makes the negotiation between the publishers and the writers become a field in struggle for aesthetics of traditional literature, aesthetics of detective fiction, and commercial logic. But the symbolic capital such as award records or reputation provides more agencies for the writer.

Discussion

The paper discusses the way Taiwanese publishing industry has operated since 2000 and the process of the production of local books. Afterwards, the study analyzes the outcome and reflection on Bourdieu's theory.

The industry of detective novels in Taiwan is strongly influenced by the phenomenon happening in the 1980s. At that time, local detective novels re-started since Fo-Er Lin established publisher and award exclusively for the detective fiction. But the government and society disregarded popular literature such as mystery genre for a long time, which causes the local works unable to compete with Western and Japanese works, which have developed for almost 100 years. Considering the cost, Taiwanese publishers prefer to import translated books instead of cultivating local writers. The publishers also think of Western and Japanese detective novels as the orthodox, attempting to establish the value for Taiwanese readers through introducing the foreign writers in relative reviews and describing its meaning in the field of foreign literature. For instance, Apex Press publishes Japanese well-known writers, such as Miyuki Miyabe and Keigo Higashino, while Faces Publishing LTD. publishes the *Lawrence Block* series. Mainstream publishers promote these contemporary writers and cause Western and Japanese mystery genre to dominate Taiwanese publishing industry.

The production of local works is inlaid in mainstream publishing industry, but most of the time they can only be published through winning awards, contributing to a field of small-scale production. Winning awards means earning symbolic capital for local writers, which also serves as a way to earn more social capital, participating in the social network of Mystery Writers of Taiwan and cooperating with mainstream publishers. The writers can even become cultural intermediaries, assisting the publishers or being judges in MWT Award. In the process, such multiple roles also strengthen their aesthetics of the mystery genre in Taiwan. Moreover, the writers have high autonomy to create the story while submitting it for the award, and the publishers do not influence the story with commercial logic, because the award endorses the works. In other words, the agents in

the field highly rely on the cultural capital and symbolic capital, which are constructed by awards. The awards also serve as a social operation, connecting the aesthetics of the field of detective novels and mainstream publishing industry.

The field of detective fiction's production in Taiwan is different from that in Western countries. The mystery genre belongs to popular literature and is in the field of large-scale production in Western countries. But in Taiwan it is a small-scale field which has the features of belles-lettres and popular literature both, since the publisher establish the orthodoxy of some detective novels and introduce the developing history. The translated book is inclined to the field of large-scale production and is often evaluated by its sales and reputation. By contrast, the local book belongs to the field of small-scale production. The writer has to win an award to earn the publishing opportunity for his or her works, which also offers high autonomy for the writer. However, after the first book is published through the award, the writer has to negotiate with the publisher in later cooperation. In this situation, the commercial logic of the publisher will influence the creation, contributing to the power struggle between the aesthetics of belles-lettres, the aesthetics of the detective novel and the market.

The reason why the production of local books becomes small-scaled is being crowded out by translated books, which is different from Bourdieu's theory that such production remains small-scaled due to the insistence of aesthetics. In terms of the publisher, local books do not have enough sales and reputation in the market and can only be evaluated through awards. The writer does not reject the popular literature, and the publisher also hopes the local books can become popular. Hence, the publisher will guide the creation with the commercial logic, or attempt to make the writer more famous through the strategy of producing celebrity. So, the production of the local books gradually moves from small-scale to large-scale nowadays.

In addition, the agents can shuttle between different roles and undertake the role of cultural intermediary. They read lots of books to accumulate cultural capital, and then they become writer or cultural intermediaries. The agents who possess the position of publisher and member of MWT both are the most influential in the field. They can publish local works through social capital, guiding the writer with the taste of market, and they can write reviews and be references. The multiple role contributes the agents to promote local books while taking both aesthetics and the market into account.

Conclusion and Future Study

The paper analyzes the publishing industry of the mystery genre in Taiwan through the perspectives of political economics, which can reflect the change in the market of popular literature. The research, therefore, suggests that later studies can explore the market of popular literature in Taiwan from the perspective of cultural policy and discuss how to provide a better environment for local writers, especially local books are crowded out of the market by translated books, which causes the local books to be limited to small-scale production. Even though some writers win the awards, earning their symbolic status in the field, they are not acquainted with the mass in Taiwan.

The paper suggests that the agents provide multiple interpretation of detective fiction. Now the agents tend to interpret detective fiction based on the history of Western countries and Japan. It is true that local creation should learn from classical works, especially when detective fiction is a kind of foreign genre for Taiwan. But the history of Western and Japanese books is not the only perspective to understand and interpret the meaning of detective novels. The critics can provide other points in the review, such as in terms of sociology, analyzing

the representations of the society in the book. Moreover, the writers can deliberate over how to combine the features of the foreign genre with Taiwanese culture, developing new and local style in the mystery genre in Taiwan.

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