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Book translations and the autonomy of genre-subfields in the Dutch literary field, 1981–2009

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This article sets out to understand the development of translations in the Dutch literary field between 1981 and 2009. The analysis shows that there is a minor increase in the relative share of translations, followed by a decline after 2003. As such, the rise of globalization does not straightforwardly transpose into an unlimited growth of translations. Moreover, while the concentration of translations rises, the diversity also increases as more and more languages are represented in translation. Comparing translations in four main genres, this analysis shows that translation flows differ across genres in line with the opposition between the small-scale and large-scale logic of cultural production. However, over time, translations in the four genre subfields develop relatively independently, which implies that these subfields also have an autonomous internal dynamic that influences translation flows.

Keywords: sociology of translation; globalization; literary field; genre; linguistic diversity; linguistic concentration

In the book industry, globalization manifests itself most clearly in translations. Each individual translation reflects not only a publisher's decision to look to a certain place beyond national boundaries, but also, as translation rights have to be bought, the transnational networks in which publishers are involved. Examining the aggregate of all individual translations can make the general structure of translation flows visible. Previous research has used the *UNESCO Index Translationum*¹ to analyse the cultural world-system that is formed through translations (e.g. Heilbron 1995; Ginsburgh, Weber, and Weyers 2011). This cultural world-system consists of ties between countries or language groups and is regarded as a single interdependent system (Heilbron 1999, 431–432).

Since the 1980s the cultural industries have experienced an increase in the transnational exchange of cultural goods, which has been understood as the most recent wave of globalization in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2007). Publishers have increasingly become part of these cultural industries through mergers and takeovers by large media conglomerates (e.g. Greco 1989, 1999). In cultural industries such as television there has been a clear opening-up of local markets for foreign products since the 1980s (e.g. Kuipers 2011). The period between the Second World War and the 1980s in Dutch publishing witnessed the increasing importance of translations, especially from English (Heilbron 1995). This begs the question of how translations

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have developed since. Does the trend of increasing transnational exchange continue in the Dutch literary field?

Asking this question in this way, however, does not account for differences between genres. Within a cultural world-systems approach such differences between (the global markets for) different genres cannot be made visible (Heilbron 1999, 441) but we know that there are large differences between, for instance, schoolbooks and novels in terms of translations, and similarly large differences between different genres of fiction writing (Heilbron, 1995). Scholars working from a field-theoretical background have started to unpack these differences through an analysis of transnational cultural fields (Sapiro 2010; Casanova 2005). They argue that transnational cultural fields are institutionalized spaces characterized by an opposition between large-scale and small-scale production (e.g. Kuipers 2011; Sapiro 2010). This opposition affects which cultural objects can move across the world and how this movement happens. Yet in the research on the transnational literary field there has been an almost exclusive focus on small-scale production (e.g. Sapiro 2010; Casanova 2005), while large-scale production has been neglected (see also Hesmondhalgh 2006). Moreover, recent research on the Dutch literary field implies that this single structuring mechanism might not account for all differences between genres (Franssen and Kuipers 2013). Inspired by this body of research, I aim to develop further our understanding of translation flows as outcomes of decisions made by publishers who operate not only within a transnational literary field, but, more specifically, within relatively autonomous genre subfields within the transnational literary field.

Translation flows and genre subfields

The global market for translations has been conceptualized as a cultural world-system (De Swaan 2001; Heilbron 1999) in which countries or language groups are positioned in a core-periphery structure. Heilbron (1999, 431) shows that international power balances in the cultural world-system explain the uneven translation flows between language groups and the varying role that translations play in different national literary fields.

The extent to which national literary fields are globalized, in terms of their importation of translations, differs but can be very extensive. For instance, within smaller literary fields often more than half of the fiction books published are translated from a foreign language (Van Voorst 1997; Heilbron 1995, 2008). Especially since the Second World War, the share of translations in the Dutch literary field (Heilbron 1995, 2008) and attention to foreign books in the press (Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008) has continuously increased. In line with the general increase of transnational exchange in the cultural industries since the 1980s (Hesmondhalgh 2007) and the growing transnational development and dissemination of cultural goods (e.g. Kuipers 2011; Kuipers and De Kloet 2009) it can be expected that the importance of translations has only grown further. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: The relative share of translations in Dutch book production increased between 1981 and 2009.

The dominance of the American, and to a lesser extent British, cultural industries grew rapidly in the twentieth century and led to great concern about the dominance of

American cultural goods in foreign cultural markets (Hesmondhalgh 2007, 74). In line with this broader dominance it is no surprise that translations from English are dominant in the Dutch literary field. The relative share of English translations grew especially rapidly after 1945; previous to this, French, German and English had held roughly similar shares (Heilbron 1995; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007; Streng 2011).

Since the 1980s, literary fields have been confronted by increasing rationalization (Sapiro 2010), commercialization or popularization (Verboord 2011; Collins 2010) and conglomeratization (Schiffrin 2001; Greco 1999). These factors all lead to an increased commercial pressure on publishers to publish literary novels that also sell well (Thompson 2010). This drives publishers to publish more of what already sells and to be less experimental and more conservative in their choices (Bourdieu 2008).

This development has pushed European publishers in the direction of the dominant literary field: the Anglo-American market. European publishers expect the “buzz” in the Anglo-American market to influence the continental media, which indeed devotes more and more time to Anglo-American cultural goods (Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008). Moreover, a bestseller in the Anglo-American market often marks the beginning of a multimedia production in which Hollywood movie rights or other forms of adaptation act as a further driver of sales. This increasing focus on the Anglo-American market is also apparent in the institutional arrangements made to ensure the purchase of translation rights to the most promising manuscripts. From the 1980s onwards, Dutch publishers hired literary scouts in New York and sometimes London. It can be expected that, in the Dutch literary field as a whole, the relative position of English has only grown more dominant in recent decades. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: The linguistic dominance of English translations increased between 1981 and 2009.

In line with the increased commercialization of the Dutch literary field and the more dominant position of English, it is expected that translations increasingly tend to be concentrated. Concentration is here understood as the extent to which translations are (or are not) spread equally across all translated languages. The increasingly dominant market share of English is likely to increase this measure of concentration on a relatively small number of source languages as well. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3: The concentration of translations increased between 1981 and 2009.

When less powerful countries and producers access global markets, and they do so increasingly, this often takes the form of a process of appropriation in which globally dominant aesthetics, norms and objects are appropriated by less powerful producers (Kraidy 2002). The case of Latin-American telenovelas, based on American soap operas but themselves also successful in foreign markets (Biltreyst and Meers 2000) shows the complexity of processes of transnational diffusion of cultural goods and questions to what extent the origin of an aesthetic form is ever “truly” national. A different way in which less powerful countries get access to the global market is by focusing on one particular type of cultural genre and as such creating a niche market for themselves. Studies show that different countries have successfully countered the hegemony of American cultural goods in this way. For instance, French

film comedies are increasingly popular abroad (Barthel-Bouchier 2012) unlike French films in other genres. Similarly, Dutch children's books are increasingly successful in translation as they are renowned for discussing "serious" topics in a novel and down-to-earth way (Whitmore 2013).

In studies of cultural globalization, diversity is measured by the number of languages or nations that are represented in a global market, however small their representation might be (e.g. Quemin 2006, 2013). As such, increasing diversity can occur with an increasing dominance of one language when the "new" languages all have very small shares (Heilbron 1995). In the Dutch literary field, the increase in translations since the Second World War also meant an increase in the number of languages translated (*ibid.*). Assuming this trend continues, as it also did in a field such as visual art (Quemin 2006), it can be expected that more languages are represented in translations now than in the 1980s. Therefore I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: The diversity of source languages increased between 1981 and 2009.

Genre differences

While the theory of the cultural world-system offers general analysis and explanation of translation flows, differences between genres cannot readily be explained. Indeed, Heilbron (1999, 441) argues that the relationship between markets for different categories of books and the broader structure of the cultural world-system should be studied further. To account for these differences between cultural forms or genres in global cultural markets, scholars have focused on three explanations: aesthetic form, cultural policy and field dynamics.

Aesthetic form is crucial to understanding differences in transnational flows. Cultural forms based on performance are more difficult to translate into a new context and will cost more money and effort to transport (Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008). Recorded culture is easier (think of music, for example), but still often requires translation; for instance, through subtitling or dubbing in the case of television (Kuipers, *forthcoming*). Within literary exchange, it can be expected that a format-based thriller, in which plot development is more important than the use of language, is easier to translate than a volume of poetry (Cohen 2003). The greater difficulty of translating poetry is linked not only to its dependence on language, but also to the putatively higher status of the genre, as the relation between the original text and the translation is more likely to become the subject of critical debate (e.g. Robinson 2010).

Second, cultural policies affect transnational flows. Crane (2002, 2014) has argued that cultural policy, through monetary subsidies as well as trade regulation and national quotas, can form transnational markets (her research is on the film industry). In literature, national and European agencies often award grants and residencies to support the translation of books with high amounts of cultural capital or that fit particularly well with a given national identity (Sapiro 2003; Smith 2004; Popa 2006).

Third, the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996) or between "commerce" and "art" influences how the global market for translations functions and what gets translated. Sapiro (2010) argues that within the large-scale subfield the laws of the market determine the patterns of transnational exchange. In this subfield, publishers publish what sells and try to cater to the taste

of the reader. Within the large-scale subfield, globalization is directly tied to the transnationalization of capitalism, characterized in particular by the development of new markets by large transnational media conglomerates (Hesmondhalgh 2006; Greco 1999). The strategy of the Harlequin publishing house is exemplary in this case, as it operates as a multinational in which editorial teams in different countries translate and localize stories originally written in English, but have very limited editorial freedom by comparison with other publishing houses (Wirtén 1998).

By contrast, the small-scale subfield is ruled, both nationally and internationally, by an aesthetic logic. Books are, to a larger extent, published out of aesthetic concerns and embody a certain cultural value (Bourdieu 1993). According to Sapiro (2010, 428–436), as economic value does not dominate publishers' decisions, there is an altogether different conception of globalization at work. Agents at the small-scale end of publishing often have idealistic motives and want to make the work of writers they value available in a new language area. As publishers in this subfield operate relatively autonomously from the market, there is room to experiment with the translation of books that might not sell well but have a lot of cultural value. This often ties in with national cultural policies as it is especially the works with the greatest amount of cultural capital that nations wish to export. Therefore, the small-scale subfield has been characterized by a high involvement of states and state agencies. Moreover, due to their greater artistic prestige, literary fiction and poetry have been embedded in academia for far longer than any other genre of writing. Literary books have been saved in libraries and private collections and the most important works are subject to an active process of canonization (e.g. Guillery 2010). The institutionalization of literature in academia, education and national heritage ensures its place in history and protects it from “attacks” by the market (Bourdieu 1993).

This field-theoretical understanding of cultural production suggests a strong division between genres that are mainly translated as a result of market forces, such as crime fiction and romance novels, and, on the other hand, genres such as literary fiction and poetry that are less often translated as a result of market forces but whose greater cultural capital tends to attract support and subsidies from state agencies. Sapiro (2010) argues that economic value dominates publishers' decisions in the large-scale part of the field; she suggests that publishers tend to publish what sells, which in these genres are mainly books translated from English. Moreover, translation itself is argued to be a strategy of risk avoidance (Bourdieu 2008) as translated books have already “proved themselves” in their national literary field. Based on this earlier research it can be expected that, first, translations are more prominent in crime fiction and romance than in literary fiction and poetry. I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 5: In each year, the relative share of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction.

However, while there may be more translations in commercial genres, it is expected that in literary fiction and poetry the diversity of languages is higher because of the involvement of state agencies and the stronger institutionalization of the literary canon. In commercial genres, on the other hand, the concentration is expected to be higher as publishers cater to the existing taste of the reader and therefore publish what is already popular (Bourdieu 1993). I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 6: In each year, the diversity of translated languages is higher in poetry and literary fiction than in crime fiction and romance.

Hypothesis 7: In each year, the concentration of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction.

Moreover, the field-theoretical understanding of cultural production suggests internal coherence within the small-scale and large-scale subfields. It can be assumed that translation flows in crime fiction and romance develop relatively similarly, as the market forces that influence their production do so in comparable ways. For poetry and literary fiction the same internal coherence is expected, although Bourdieu (1996, 113–123) argues that literary fiction might be more dispersed across the field than poetry is. Both for the small-scale and large-scale subfields this strand of research assumes that publishers are subject to the same structural forces (for instance, increasing commercial pressure) and, as such, develop their publishers' lists in a similar way. In relation to translations the research question therefore is whether this similarity between genres is found or that publishers in different genres within these large-scale or small-scale subfields do react differently, resulting in differences between translation flows.

Data

The data used here is collected by the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague which has among its goals to collect all books published in The Netherlands. The database includes all fiction and poetry publications published between 1980 and 2009 that have an ISBN number. In total, 80,231 books are included. However, the number of books collected for 1980 seems anomalous; it is much smaller than other years and shows a very different spread across languages. This year is therefore excluded from the analysis. In contrast to earlier studies of literary fields (e.g. Bourdieu 2008), this analysis is able to take into account fiction and poetry in both commercial and literary genres, of all types and sizes of publishers and from all types of authors over an extended period of time. The Royal Library records a number of characteristics of new books; in this article, (1) the original language of the book, (2) the year of publication, and (3) the genre are used.

The original language was available for most books. In 670 cases multiple languages were given; these books were excluded from the analyses in which language plays a role. The different genre categories included in the Royal Library data contained more missing values. On the basis of an intensive coding procedure, 72,114 out of the 80,231 books could be coded in one or more genres. The four biggest categories (literature, crime fiction, romance and poetry) are analysed separately in the second part of this article.

To classify the fiction books I used the two genre classification systems which have become institutionalized in the Dutch book world. The first is a system used by publishers themselves. This system, which was initially called NUGI (the Dutch acronym for Netherlands Uniform Genre Classification) and has been called NUR (Netherlands Uniform Classification) since 2002, is used by publishers to communicate with booksellers about the “shelf” (or online category) on which they would like to see their book placed. Publishers can allocate multiple genre codes within this

system.² The other classification system, simply called “genre” in the database of the Royal Library, is determined not by publishers but by an organization called NDC Biblion. This organization is a service and information provider to Dutch libraries including information on, and reviews of, new books.

To maximize the number of books that could be taken into account, I located all editions of each book in the dataset and duplicated the genre codes of each edition. So if one edition of a book has the genre code “literary”, all editions of that book get that genre code. Finally all books published by Harlequin were given the code “romance” because of the homogeneity of their catalogue and in order to address the problem of a notable lack of coding of these books in the mid-1980s.

A portion of the books received more than one genre code from the publisher or another agent and therefore appears in the data in more than one genre. This overlap is kept between all fiction genres. This means that some books are, for instance, both in the “literary fiction” category and the “crime fiction” category, which might cause an overestimation of the relation between genres. However, publishers who decide to use multiple genre codes do so to cross these boundaries. As such, dismissing this overlap would not be justified. Poetry is a separate category in the Royal Library database. In cases where a poetry book also received a genre code (often they would also be called “literature”) this code was removed. This means that when I discuss literary fiction in this article that does not include poetry books.

Before discussing the results, I briefly discuss the development of the Dutch literary field in terms of titles published and books sold. An important development in the Dutch literary field has been the growth in the number of titles published. In 1981, 2035 fiction and poetry books were recorded. This number rose to 3508 in 2006. After 2006 a slow decline is apparent, with 3307 books published in 2009. The extent of this rise stands in contrast to the number of books sold in the same period. In [Figure 1](#), the numbers of books published and sold are presented as index figures, meaning that 1981 is taken as the starting point and the rise or decline of published books and sales are presented as a percentage of the 1981 figure. An index figure of 120 means that the number of books published is 20% higher than in 1981. These figures are collected by the Dutch Booksellers Association (NBV) and represent the

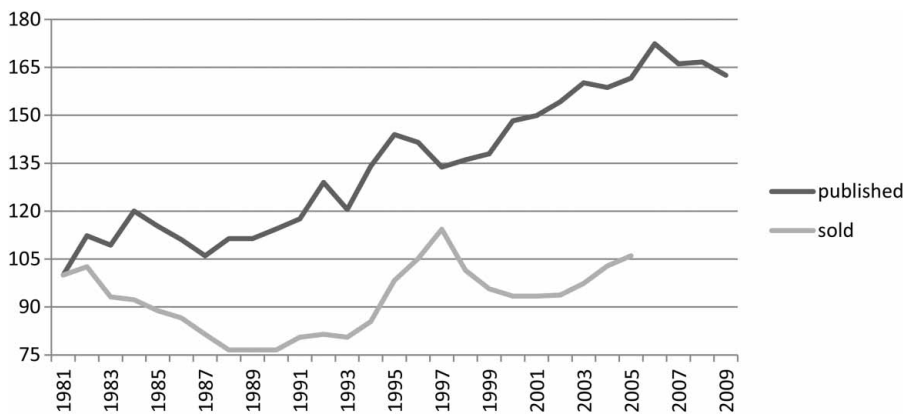


Figure 1. Number of books published, 1981-2009, and sold, 1981-2005. The number of books published and the number of books sold are represented by an index (1981=100). E.g. 120 corresponds to a 20% rise.

sales of all “general books”, which includes non-fiction and children’s literature as well as literature and poetry, but not romance novels sold in supermarkets. Therefore, while these figures represent a different corpus, the trends in the sale of general books give insight into the development of the Dutch book market as a whole.

As described above, the number of books published rises. There are momentary dips in production, from 1984 to 1988 and from 1995 to 1998, but these dips are compensated for in subsequent years. There is a long dip in sales between 1981 and 1990, with the number of books sold declining each year. After 1990 the number of books sold each year rises slowly, though only in 1996 does it rise above the number of books sold in 1981. After 1997 book sales decline again, dipping below the 1981 sales figure and rising above it again only in 2004 and 2005. After 2005, due to a new way of measuring sales, figures are no longer comparable to earlier data. However, assessing the trend from 2005 onwards, after 2007 there is a steady decline in the number of books sold up until 2012.³

The rise in the number of books published, in a market that is either stable or declining, seems to point to so-called “spaghetti-publishing”. This term is used in the book industry to refer to contemporary practices of publishing many books at the same time – a little like throwing a bowl of spaghetti against a wall to see what sticks. The assumption is that since publishers do not know what will have a chance of becoming a bestseller, they simply publish all kinds of books and once a book seems to start selling (or gets a lot of media attention) they focus all their marketing and PR time and energy on that title in order to make it into a bestseller (see also Thompson 2010 on big books).

Results

Translations

Figure 2 shows the development of the share of translations between 1981 and 2009 as a percentage of total fiction and poetry book production, in terms of number of published titles. The total book production is grouped into original Dutch publications,

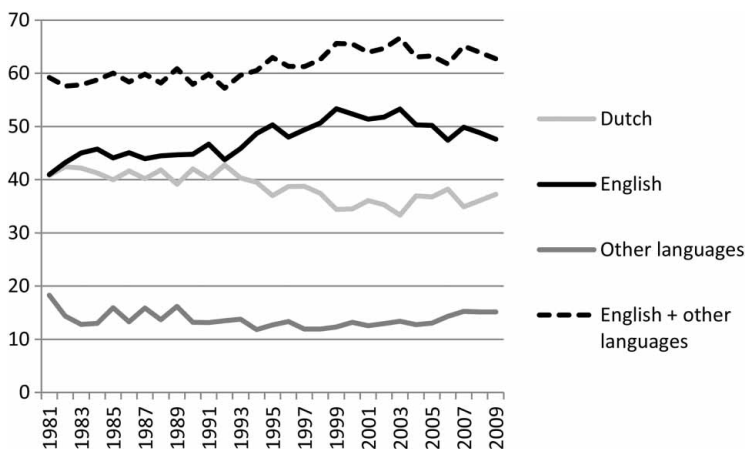


Figure 2. Dutch, English and all other languages as percentage of total fiction and poetry book production.

translations from English and translations from other languages. The percentage of translations was already above 50% in 1981 and continued to grow very slowly throughout the 1980s. In the 1990s the percentage of translations continued to rise until 2003; at this point, only 33.17% of published books were written in Dutch. However, after 2003 there was no continued increase in translations.

Translations are not equally divided across all source languages, because publishers select books from literary fields that are deemed interesting or commercially important. Moreover, publishers often follow each other and copy the successful strategies of their competitors. As [Figure 2](#) shows, most books in the Dutch literary field are translated from English. While in 1981 the numbers of books translated from English and those written in Dutch were almost equal (828 and 825), translations from English grew at a faster rate than books written in Dutch, which is why the relative share of Dutch books declined. Especially between 1993 and 2003, the relative share of English rose while the relative share of Dutch books declined. In 2003, 1727 books were translated from English and only 1081 were written in Dutch (not shown in [Figure 2](#)). After 2003 the difference became smaller; in 2009 there was a difference of only 341 books. Thus, Hypothesis 2 (that the linguistic dominance of English translations increased between 1982 and 2009) can be confirmed.

Compared to the more than 2000 books that are translated from English and written in Dutch each year, the other languages are represented at a far lower level. More than 50 books (but fewer than 100 in most years) are translated annually from French and German. [Figure 3](#) shows that, relatively speaking, both French and German lose ground, and while German picks up after 2004, French seems to lose ground more permanently. These findings corroborate those of previous studies ([Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008](#); [Heilbron 2008](#)). Spanish and Swedish come only sporadically above 50 books (relative to the number of Swedish speakers this is exceptionally high, cf. [Ginsburgh, Weber, and Weyers 2011](#)). Russian and Italian hover at around 20 to 40 books per year while Portuguese, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew only sometimes come above 10 books. Norwegian and Danish have only recently risen to more than 10 books a year.

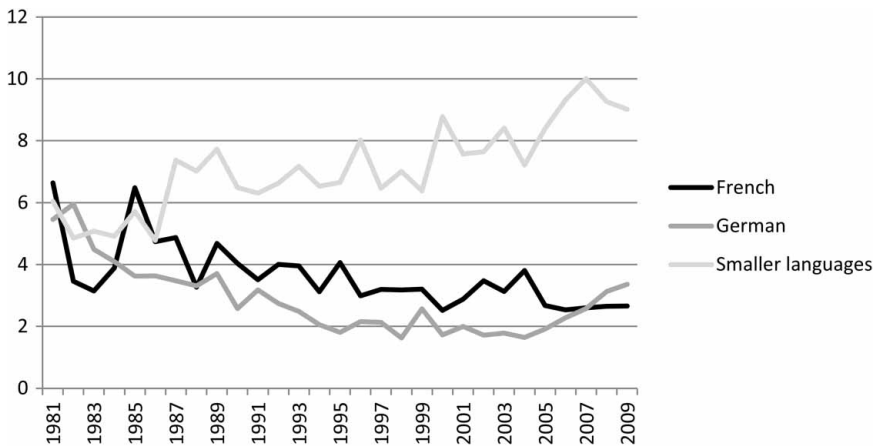


Figure 3. German, French and all smaller languages as a percentage of total fiction and poetry book production.

The overall rise in translations in the 29-year period analysed here is relatively small. This is remarkable because it suggests that there is a limit to the rising dominance of translations in the Dutch literary field. At the high point in 2003, 66.3% of books were translated, which is a rise of roughly 8% compared to the first years of the 1980s. The decline to 62.8% in 2009 takes the proportion of translations back to 1995 levels. While there is indeed a rise of the relative share of translations, and Hypothesis 1 can thus be confirmed, this rise is less great and less constant than expected, based on the wave of globalization in the cultural industries from the 1980s onwards (Hesmondhalgh 2007). Moreover, the decline after 2003 does not seem to be a flash in the pan. Since 2003, translations from English have not grown as fast as previously and in some years have even declined in absolute numbers. While translations from smaller languages have risen, this is not enough to keep the relative share of translations at the same level.

The largest increase in the proportion of translations, and hence in the internationalization of publishers' strategies, took place before 1981 (Heilbron 1995) and did not increase at the same pace from the 1980s onwards because the proportion of translations was already very high. Moreover, while the transnational exchange of cultural goods is assumed to have increased considerably since that time (Hesmondhalgh 2007), publishers' strategies show only slightly more internationalization, and after 2003 even become more inward-looking. Instead of looking for more and more books to translate, on the aggregate level, publishers pick relatively more Dutch books to publish, hence the decline in the relative share of translations after 2003. This also suggests the persistence of local ties in cultural production (Velthuis 2013). As Velthuis showed for gallery holders, the institutional framework in which cultural producers work, in which success is highly uncertain, means that they prefer to work with people they know and trust and who, importantly, are close by. This is useful for promotional purposes and gives them a chance to keep an eye on artists. For publishers, whose capability of predicting which books will hit it off is similarly low (Franssen and Kuipers 2013), this could be one of the reasons that translations are not increasing. Working with local authors might be more productive.

Furthermore, as Quemin (2006, 2013) also noted, there is a strong continuity in the hierarchy of languages. Regarding the absolute number of translations, there are only 18 languages that, in 1 or more years, are translated more than 10 times. Only seven languages make up, at any point, more than 1% of the total book production, and only three (English, German and French) do so in each constitutive year. Again this shows the persistence of (global) publishing networks. Publishers work with foreign authors, editors and publishers for longer periods of time and often say that they want to "publish an author, not a single book". As such, they develop relationships that, on the field-level, create this relatively stable hierarchy.

However, as Figure 3 shows, the share of the smallest languages rose quite continuously from the 1980s onward. In Figure 4 the number of languages that are translated in each year is plotted. The number of languages out of which one or more books are translated also rose from, on average, 28.5 in the 1980s to 33.2 in the 2000s (with a peak of 40 languages in 2008). As such, Hypothesis 4 (that the diversity of source languages increased between 1981 and 2009) can be confirmed and this shows that publishers, in limited ways, do innovate and look for new literary traditions to translate.

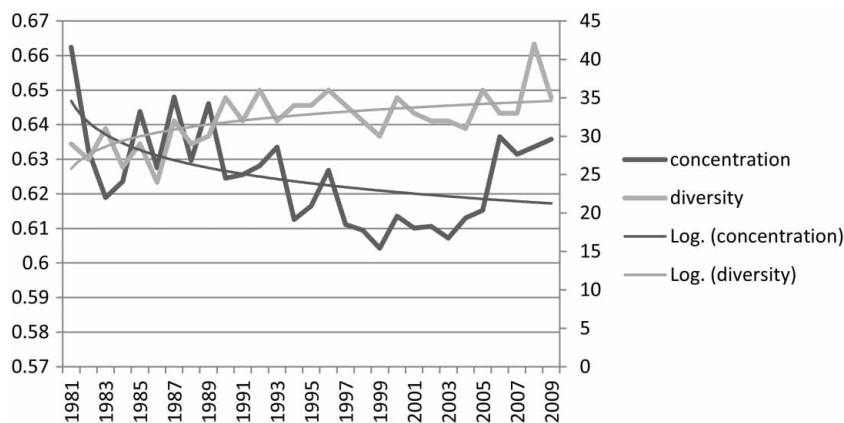


Figure 4. Development of concentration (Gibbs-Martin index) and diversity (number of source languages).

At the same time, the concentration of translations rose, as measured with the Gibbs-Martin index. The Gibbs-Martin index calculates the extent to which cases are spread equally across entities; in this case, books across foreign languages. The closer the score comes to 1 the more equal the spread is. I used this measurement to analyse the extent to which translations are concentrated in source languages (following Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008). A declining Gibbs-Martin index shows that the spread of translations across languages is becoming more unequal and that concentration is increasing. This is due to the increasing dominance of English in the 1980s and 1990s: indeed, when the position of English declined in the 2000s, the Gibbs-Martin index rose, indicating a more equal spread across languages. However, because of the strong trend in the 1980s and 1990s, for the whole period, Hypothesis 3 (that the concentration of translations increased between 1981 and 2009) can be confirmed.

This analysis shows that the increasing possibilities for transnational exchange in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2007) does not simply lead to more and more translations in the Dutch literary field. There is an increase in cultural diversity, meaning that some publishers venture to less-explored literary traditions. On the other hand, I also find an increase in concentration and an increasingly dominant position for English, which suggests that publishers tend to copy each other's successful strategies. As Heilbron (1995) and Quemin (2013) suggest, the dominance of English (or, more generally, Anglo-American culture) does not necessarily go against greater overall cultural diversity, as is evident from the rise in the number of source languages. The increasing volume of translations out of English, however, causes the concentration to increase. Moreover, there is a great stability in the hierarchy of foreign languages. This analysis so far shows that in terms of translation flows into the Dutch literary field, there is some evidence that more and more languages are represented and, as such, the process of globalization, of which the translation flows are part, coincides with greater inclusion of diversity. However, at the same time we must acknowledge that the extent to which this diversity really has an impact is very limited. The hierarchy of languages is very stable and the dominance of English is very great. As such, the results of this analysis are also compatible

with an understanding of globalization as a process of (Anglo-)Americanization (Hesmondhalgh 2007; Ritzer and Stillman 2003). But, as Sapiro (2010) suggested, it is very possible that increasing diversity is something that occurs on the small-scale side of the literary field, while increasing Americanization (or Anglo-Americanization) is something that occurs only on the large-scale side of the field. This leads to the question for the next section of whether different genres develop in similar ways. In that section, I compare the development of translations in literary fiction, poetry, crime fiction and romance.

Differences between genres

The differences in the relative share of translations between the four main genres are remarkably large. Translations constitute slightly more than 10% of published poetry. The figure rises to between 60% and 70% for literary fiction, while translations account for between 80% and 100% of crime fiction and romance (Figure 5).

The shifts that take place – a decline in the relative share of translations in crime fiction and romance and a rise in literary fiction – do so gradually and slowly. Literary fiction shows a small rise in percentages but in terms of actual publications the development is more impressive. For instance, in 1992, 224 books were translated out of 1490 literary fiction books. In 2008, 890 books were translated, out of 2188 literary fiction books. Publishers in literary fiction have to a much greater extent developed their international networks, while at the same time also publishing more books originally written in Dutch. The slow and gradual changes in these relative shares are not unusual as publishers build a catalogue around specific authors, genres and languages. Moreover, this dataset includes not only first editions, but also paperbacks and other reprints from the backlist. As successful books are often reprinted in various forms, this creates continuity in the catalogues of publishers over the years. The differences between genres confirm Hypothesis 5: that in each year the relative share of translations is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction.

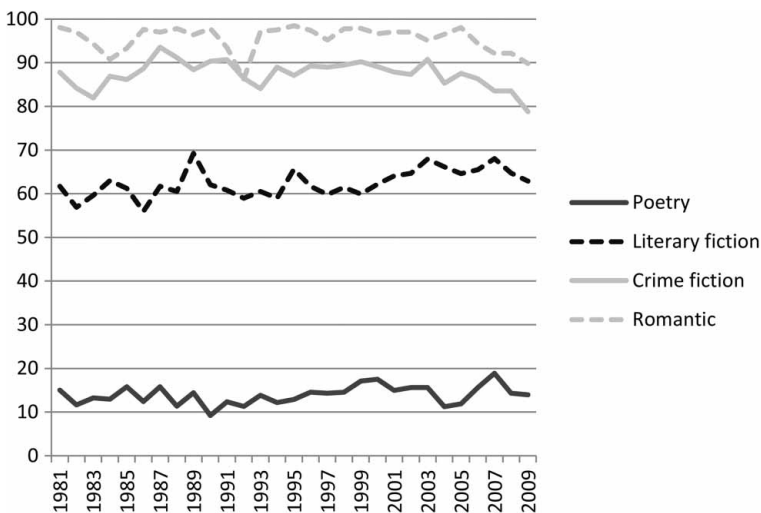


Figure 5. Relative share of translations in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance.

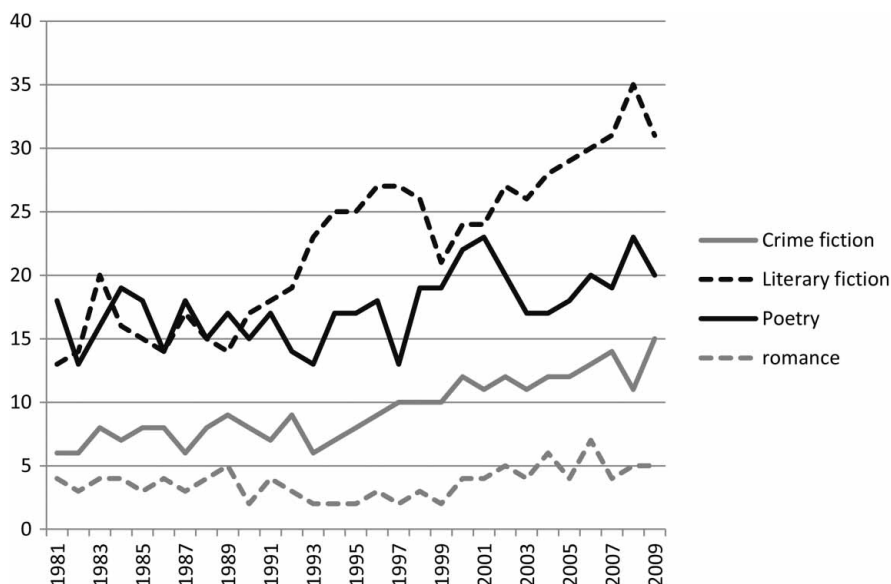


Figure 6. Diversity in translation (Number of source languages) in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance.

The share of translations matches the division between the small-scale and large-scale subfield and consequently, in reverse order, the hierarchy of the genres.

It is expected that genres also differ according to the diversity of source languages, concentration of translations and the relative share of English. Figure 6 shows the number of source languages in each genre in each year. In literary fiction and poetry, the number of languages represented in translation is far higher than in crime fiction and romance. These differences between genres are also visible in the concentration of translations. Comparing the Gibbs-Martin index scores of each genre (Figure 7), in each year the concentration is very low in poetry, and the same is the case, but to a lesser extent, for literary fiction. Crime fiction and romance have far higher levels of concentration. Related to the level of concentration is the dominance of English. In romance and crime fiction the share of translations from English is the highest while in literary fiction and especially poetry this is a lot lower (Figure 8). These results confirm Hypothesis 6, that diversity is higher in poetry and literary fiction than in crime fiction and romance, and Hypothesis 7, that concentration is higher in crime fiction and romance than in poetry and literary fiction. More generally, these confirm a field-theoretical understanding of the structure of the transnational literary field (Bourdieu 2008; Sapiro 2010). Indeed, this analysis shows that there is an opposition between the small-scale and large-scale pole of production. However, within these poles there are clear differences and the development of translations in genres over time shows contrasting trajectories.

Relations between genre trajectories

As Figures 5 to 8 show, the genres not only differ greatly from each other, they also developed differently between 1981 and 2009, sometimes in contrasting directions.

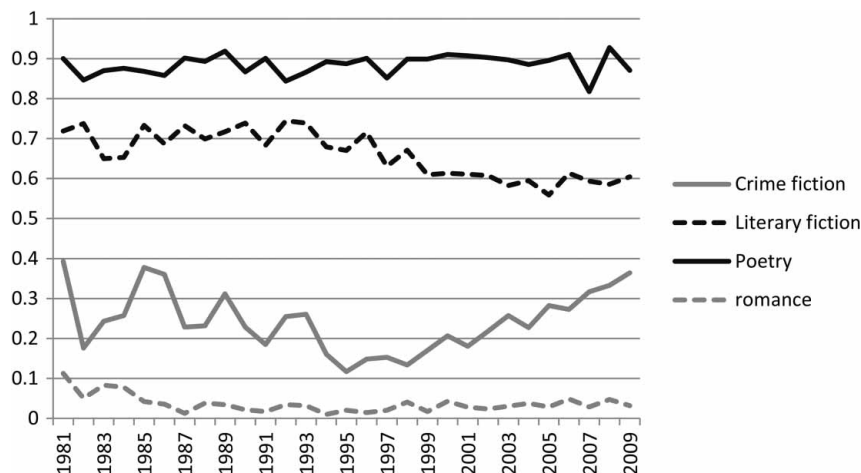


Figure 7. Concentration of translations (Gibbs-Martin index) in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance.

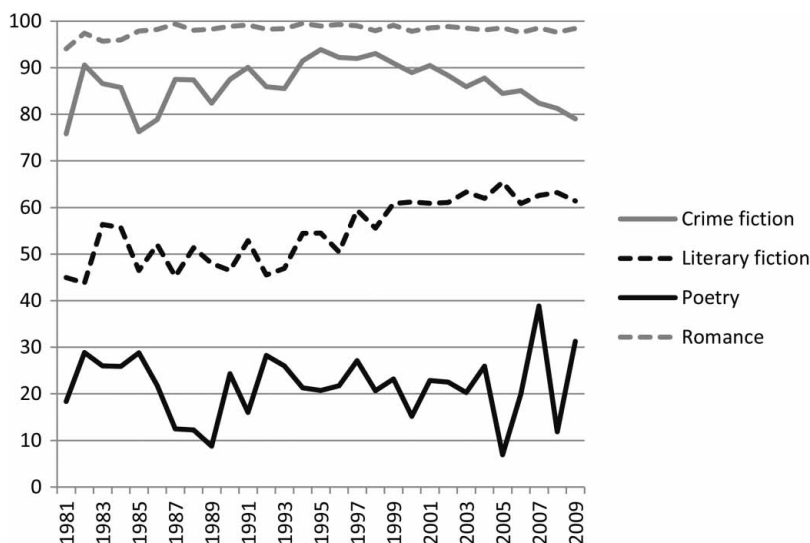


Figure 8. The share of English as percentage of translations in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance.

To test the relation between these trajectories I analysed their correlation using a Spearman's rho, a standard measure for the extent to which two rows of numbers correlate with each other. The results show that for (1) the relative share of translations, (2) the relative share of English translations, and (3) the development of the level of concentration, only the trajectories of crime fiction and romance novels are significantly correlated with each other,⁴ while the others are not.

This indicates, for one, that translations develop through dynamics within genres, and therefore develop in different ways. Therefore, when we speak about a general development – for instance, a general rise in the relative share of English – this neglects

important differences between genres and portrays literary fields as more coherent than they are. The general rise in the relative share of English, reported above, is, on the level of genre, not a general rise at all, but a rise of the relative share of English in literary fiction.

Most interesting is the almost opposite development of crime fiction and literary fiction. Whereas in crime fiction publishers started to move away from translations from English in the 2000s, in literary fiction the opposite happened. For literary fiction these results confirm the increasing commercial pressure and related shift to the Anglo-American field (e.g. Schiffrin 2001; Thompson 2010). This might indicate the creation of a crossover space in between the two genres and, consequently, between the two poles of production. The emergence of the new genre “literary thriller”, which from 2002 onwards has also been used as a genre category in the main genre categorization used by publishers, the NUR, also suggests that this crossover space is growing in importance. Reflecting on translations only, it seems that, indeed, literary fiction and crime fiction become increasingly similar.

Within the large-scale pole of production, in crime fiction there has been a move away from uniformity in the 2000s which has not happened in romance. Publishers of crime fiction appear to demonstrate the same innovative practices as publishers of literary fiction (Sapiro 2010). These publishers not only publish what readers already like, but also move towards new territory.

On the small-scale side of the field there is a very different dynamic at work in poetry, relative to literary fiction: translations are relatively rare and publishers are much more locally focused. The poetry economy (Dubois 2006) becomes more different from literary fiction as the latter becomes more and more international and more and more focused on Anglo-American books. This indicates that there is not a general field-wide process of commercialization in publishing, or within small-scale production for that matter, but that this process is restricted to a particular genre subfield, that of literary fiction.

These findings confirm earlier qualitative research on the Dutch literary field that found publishers being predominantly in competition within their genre subfield while still acknowledging the broader opposition between large-scale and small-scale production (Franssen and Kuipers 2013). It appears that, in practice, publishers’ strategies are influenced by the particular dynamics of the genre which, at times, steers them in opposite directions. There is, however, one development that does take place on a field-wide level, which is an increase of diversity in source languages represented in translation.

Diversity

The increase in diversity of source languages is a broad field-wide development. The trajectories of diversity are significantly related to each other for all combinations of genres except for poetry and romance. In Table 1, the Spearman’s rho scores are presented. These results suggest that from the 1980s onwards, Dutch publishers in all genres have increasingly looked to different national literatures for their translations and have diversified their transnational networks.

This development of diversity can always be linked to a relatively small number of publishers who take an innovative approach. Indeed, in every language and genre a few publishers publish a large share of the books. For instance, based on this

Table 1. Correlations between the development of diversity in literary fiction, crime fiction, poetry and romance.

Diversity		Crime fiction	Literary fiction	Poetry	Romance
Crime fiction	Spearman's rho	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)				
Literary fiction	Spearman's rho	,771***	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000			
Poetry	Spearman's rho	,563***	,460**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,012		
Romance	Spearman's rho	,531***	,262	,466**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,003	,170	,011	

Note: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, (2-tailed).

dataset, De Geus publishes 53.05% of the Swedish literary novels translated into Dutch and 44.12% of literary translations from Arabic. Meulenhoff publishes 21.62% of literary novels translated from Hebrew. Wereldbibliotheek publishes 65.22% of literary novels translated from Finnish. As Sapiro (2010) argued, this diversity is of interest to publishers for moral and aesthetic reasons; I would add that it is of interest also for commercial reasons. In a subfield where publishers flock ever more to the Anglo-American market, other languages are less competitive and offer the possibility of developing a niche identity. This is also visible in crime fiction, where similar innovative publishing strategies are found. Signatuur publishes 34.41% of Norwegian crime fiction, and De Geus 45.97% of Swedish crime fiction. Even with a larger language such as German there is still considerable concentration, as De Boekerij publishes 26.42% of crime fiction translated into Dutch from German.

Conclusion

This research set out to understand the development of translations in the Dutch literary field between 1981 and 2009. Translations are brought into the Dutch literary field by publishers who are active in the global market for translation rights. It was expected that, as globalization intensified from the 1980s onwards in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2007; Kuipers 2011), the relative share of translations would also grow. But the analysis shows that there was only a minor rise in the relative share of translations and, after 2003, even a decline. This decline is due to fewer books being translated from English. This suggests that increasing globalization does not bring about a boundless rise in translations. Indeed, local production remains important in the Dutch literary field.

In the second part of this article, I analysed the development of translations in the four main genres of the Dutch literary field: poetry, literary fiction, crime fiction and romance novels. Comparing the share of translations, diversity, concentration and position of English shows that there is a big difference between literary fiction and poetry on the one hand, and crime fiction and romance novels on the other. Analysing the dynamic development of the genres uncovers that their trajectories

are only slightly related. Only in the case of diversity is there a field-wide development: in all genres more and more languages are represented. This is not the case in the relative share of translations, the concentration and the dominance of English.

This analysis has several implications for further research. First, globalization does not lead to an unlimited quantity of translations. This analysis shows that the main increase in translations happened before 1980. After 1980, the increase was limited and the relative share of translations even dropped after 2003. Globalization provides a gateway neither to cultural imperialism nor to unbounded cultural diversity. As Heilbrun (1995) and Quemin (2006, 2013) also argue, there is indeed a clear hierarchy in the cultural world-system, and the position of languages does not change much over time. English is very dominant and, as such, can be argued to have a hegemonic position. However, at the same time, there is an increasing number of source languages presented in translation and this is the case in all genres. As such, within the broader framework of a hierarchical world-system, diversity is possible and growing further.

Second, I argue that translation flows must be understood on the level of genres. The central structuring logic of cultural fields (e.g. Sapiro 2010; Bourdieu 2008), the opposition between large-scale and small-scale production, is visible in differences in translation flows between genres. This opposition does not explain the development of translations within the small-scale pole. Moreover, the shift in literary fiction and crime fiction away from the two poles raises the question of how to understand this new space in between the large-scale and small-scale poles of production. Also, the innovative practices of crime fiction publishers demonstrate that innovation through increasing diversity, as is common with literary publishers (Sapiro 2010), is also a viable practice in more commercial enterprises. As such, the relation between aesthetics and commerce is complex not only on the autonomous side of the field, as Craig and Dubois (2010) showed for poetry, but also on the commercial side of the field (e.g. Kuipers 2011). A question for further research is how (aesthetic) autonomy is given shape in different genres and how the literary subfield, which for so long has been pressured by market forces, might benefit from alternative forms of autonomy that are developed at the large-scale pole of the literary field.

Notes

1. See <http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsstatlist.aspx>.
2. For more information on the classification system, see <http://www.boek.nl/nur>.
3. The Royal Dutch Book Trade Organisation provides yearly updates on the number of books sold: see <http://www.kvb.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/kerncijfers>.
4. These correlations between crime fiction and romance are .475 (.009)/.490 (.007)/.483 (.008).

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