



Transnational Pole Coherence and Dutch-to-German Literary Transfer: A Study of Book Translations Published in the Lead-Up to the Guest of Honourship at the 2016 Frankfurt Book Fair

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Abstract: This article provides an overview and analysis of literary transfer from Dutch to German in the two years leading up to the 2016 Frankfurt Book Fair, where Flanders and the Netherlands were joint Guest of Honour. Taking a field-theoretical approach, it makes a distinction between publishers at the small-scale and large-scale poles of production and traces ‘transfer trajectories’ from the Dutch to the German field. The notion of ‘transnational pole coherence’ (where the source publisher and target publisher of a given title occupy the same pole of production in their respective national fields) is developed and tested on a dataset of 316 book translations. The results show that pole coherence held more often than not (59 percent of all transfer), was strongest between the large-scale poles (German large-scale publishers bought two of every three of their books from Dutch large-scale counterparts) and was weakest between the small-scale poles (German small-scale publishers bought about as many books from Dutch large-scale publishers as they did from their small-scale counterparts). An interpretation of these results is ventured in light of the theoretical framework.

Translation subsidy decisions by the Dutch Foundation for Literature (DFL) and the Flemish Literature Fund (FLF), the co-organisers of the 2016 Guest of Honourship, were also examined from the perspective of poles of production: 53 percent of transfer to the small-scale pole was supported, compared with 46 percent of transfer to the large-scale pole. It is argued that the high subsidy rates for German publishers at both poles reflects the DFL and FLF’s ‘double agent’ role as patrimony-minded facilitators of culturally significant, commercially threatened translations and as market-minded ‘matchmakers’ mediating between source and target publishers to maximise the number of high-potential translations.

Keywords: sociology of translation, transnational literary field, literary transfer, Dutch literature, translation subsidies, global market for translations, Frankfurt Book Fair / sociologische vertaalwetenschap, transnationale literaire veld, literaire transfer, Nederlandse literatuur, vertaalsubsidies, mondiale markt voor vertalingen, Frankfurter Buchmesse

For five days each October, the global trade publishing industry converges in Frankfurt am Main for the Frankfurt Book Fair, generally agreed to be the largest, most important and most international gathering of its kind.¹ Among the thousands of exhibitors, a position of special prominence is reserved for the year's guest of honour.² Before the ink dries on the contract between the German Publishers and Booksellers Association,³ which runs the Fair, and officials of the invited country, and a full two years before the guest-of-honour pavilion opens its doors, German publishers begin acquiring translation rights for works by guest-nation authors. This surge of interest and the corresponding boost in translations – the so-called 'Frankfurt effect' – are helped along by translation subsidies. With over 300 Dutch-to-German translations published in the two years preceding the Fair, half of which received translation support, German publishers produced more translations in the lead-up to the 2016 Guest of Honourship of Flanders and the Netherlands than for any previous invitee.^{4,5}

Despite the German language area's status as the most important export market for Dutch literature, little attention has been paid to the production-side dynamics of Dutch-to-German literary transfer. Likewise, while the international circulation of Dutch literature is enjoying new interest among Low Countries scholars, few have peered beyond international reception and the cross-border circulation of individual works to focus on the (state) agents that facilitate this transfer and the national and transnational fields that structure it.⁶ It is here that we situate this study.

Taking a field-theoretical approach, we set out to capture and interpret a synchronic 'snapshot' of Dutch-to-German literary transfer in the two years leading up to the 2016 Frankfurt Book Fair. We focus the analysis on two aspects: the 'transfer trajectories' linking Dutch source publishers and German target publishers, and translation subsidy decisions by

¹ P. Weidhaas, *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair*, trans. by C.M. Gossage and W.A. Wright (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007).

² Since 1986, the guest of honour has been a nation state, its literature presented by an organising committee composed of representatives from national publishers' associations, deputies of cultural or foreign affairs ministries, or a combination of both. Besides national literatures, the guest of honourship has also focused on regions (as in 1976, the year the guest of honour platform was introduced, when Latin America was featured on the coattails of the Boom), themes (as in 1982, when 'religions' were featured) and nations within states (as in 2007, when Catalonia was the focus of interest). Flanders and the Netherlands' first guest-of-honour appearance was in 1993. The only other two-time guest is India. Next year's guest, France, will also be presenting for a second time.

³ In German: Der Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels

⁴ The *Neuerscheinungsliste Ehrengast Flandern & die Niederlande*, a regularly updated catalogue produced for German publishers by the Frankfurt Book Fair listing titles by guest-nation authors, contains 323 Dutch-to-German translations and 80 new German-language titles about Flanders and the Netherlands (all published since 2015), for a total of 403 entries. According to the FLF and DFL, this is the largest guest-of-honour catalogue in the history of the Fair.

⁵ According to the Goethe Institute, guests of honour typically support an average of 40 to 50 new works in German translation. See: M. M. Schwarz, 'From Guest of Honour to Literary Star', trans. by C. Cave, September 2014, <<https://www.goethe.de/en/kul/lit/20430303.html>> [accessed 10 June 2016].

⁶ For an overview of the international circulation of Dutch literature since 1800, see J. Heilbron and N. van Es, 'In de wereld-republiek der letteren', in *Nederlandse kunst in de wereld. Literatuur, architectuur en beeldende kunst 1980-2013* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2015), pp. 20-54. On international reception, see N. Wilterdink, 'De receptie van Nederlandse literatuur in het buitenland: Aandacht, interpretatie, waardering', in *Nederlandse kunst in de wereld. Literatuur, architectuur en beeldende kunst 1980-2013* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2015), pp. 56-95. On the international circulation of individual works, see E. Brems, O. Réthelyi and T. van Kalmthout (eds.), *Doing Double Dutch: The International Circulation of Literature from the Low Countries*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, in press). An exception is Thomas Franssen's doctoral dissertation on literary translation flows between the English and Dutch fields: T. Franssen, 'How Books Travel. Translation Flows and Practices of Dutch Acquiring Editors and New York Literary Scouts, 1980-2009' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2015). For a field-theoretical analysis of the Dutch literary field, see G. J. Dorleijn and K. van Rees (eds.), *De productie van literatuur. Het literaire veld in Nederland 1800-2000* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2006).

the Dutch Foundation for Literature (DFL) and the Flemish Literature Fund (FLF), the state-sponsored organisations responsible for co-organising the 2016 Guest of Honourship and dispensing translation subsidies. Our goals are two: first, through a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields and Gisèle Sapiro's transnational literary field concept, to develop the notion of 'transnational pole coherence' – where the source publisher and target publisher of a given title occupy the same pole of production in their respective national fields – which can be tested against our data, and second, to examine translation subsidy decisions by the DFL and FLF. Were translations concentrated among publishers at the small-scale pole of production, as has been shown to be the case for transnational transfer between other national fields,⁷ or were large-scale publishers also involved? Furthermore, what were the stated motivations of the DFL and FLF in dispensing translation subsidies and were certain transfer trajectories more supported than others? Answers to these questions provide an account of literary transfer from Dutch to German at a 'high-water point' and bring us to a more complete understanding of the contemporary structure and workings of the global market for translations. Moreover, by investigating our dataset through the dual lens of pole coherence and state support, we focus theoretical and empirical attention on state agents in the transnational literary field on the one hand, and on the interplay between economic and political constraints in this field on the other.

From Bourdieu's Theory of Fields to Sapiro's Transnational Literary Field Concept

Pierre Bourdieu's analyses of the French literary field opened the way for the sociological study of the publishing industry.^{8,9} His theories also laid much of the groundwork for sociological approaches to cross-border literary transfer, or what can be called the sociology of translation.¹⁰ In what follows, we trace Bourdieu's theory of fields through to Sapiro's notion of the transnational literary field as a means of foregrounding the notion of transnational pole coherence.

Any social space organised around a common pursuit can be approached as a field in which individuals and organisations (agents) are linked together in relations of competition and cooperation. In the field of publishing, which Bourdieu studied with special attention,¹¹ agents deal in book production. Books, being symbolic goods, have a 'dual nature' which makes their production and valuation different from other commodities: a book's value is always jointly defined by its market potential on the one hand and its artistic quality on the other, or, in other words, its capacity to generate sales (economic capital) and its ability to garner recognition,

⁷ G. Sapiro, 'Strategies of Importation of Foreign Literature in France in the Twentieth Century. The Case of Gallimard, or the Making of an International Publisher', in *Institutions of World Literature. Writing, Translations, Markets*. (London/New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 143-59.

⁸ P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

⁹ P. Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. by S. Emanuel (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

¹⁰ J. Heilbron and G. Sapiro, 'Outline for a Sociology of Translation. Current Issues and Future Prospects', in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 93-107.

¹¹ P. Bourdieu, 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing', trans. by R. Fraser, *Translation Studies*, 1.2 (2008), 123-54.

prestige and critical acclaim (symbolic capital). Bourdieu posits a strong homology between a book's capital and that of its publisher: publishers consecrate books and vice versa. However, a publisher's position in relation to its competitors depends on the type and amount of capital it possesses, and this in turn will affect how it goes about accumulating new capital. Only once symbolic capital has been won can it be converted into economic capital (namely through the slow process of building a backlist of steadily earning titles). Whereas newcomers, in most cases poor in both symbolic and economic capital, focus their efforts on gaining recognition for themselves by publishing books with symbolic potential that rarely sell well, established publishers use existing capital stores to deepen their list of profitable titles (by wooing successful authors away from less-well-endowed publishers, for example) and to expand into new (often more commercial) areas of the market. So, while the criteria of quality and profit are important to all producers, and while the two may sometimes converge (a book highly praised for its aesthetic qualities may also turn out to be a commercial success), more often they do not.

This is a very important point indeed because, for Bourdieu, it is the commercial-aesthetic distinction that organises the entire field of production. He posits that publishing (and all fields involving the production of symbolic goods) is structured around an opposition between the pole of large-scale, commercial production, which is dominated by the logic of the market, and the pole of small-scale, non-commercial production, where aesthetic principles prevail over economic ones.¹² At the large-scale pole, editorial decisions are guided by 'the bottom line' and judgements about a book's value are ultimately couched in terms of sales figures.¹³ Here, the highly competitive hunt for bestsellers and 'big books' drives producers. Dominant among them in many national fields (including the German field) are a small number of very large multinational media conglomerates, which consolidated power across various fields of cultural production over several waves of transnational corporate mergers and acquisitions beginning in the 1980s and continuing today. Transnational media conglomerates now control not only much of the world's supply of content (including, as we will see, book translations), but also printing, distribution, marketing and, for those with news media under their purview, reception networks. Ever greater rationalisation (organisational restructuring in order to maximise profitability),¹⁴ homogenisation linked to publishing only 'what sells',¹⁵ the commercialisation of once-autonomous genres,^{16,17} and the co-opting of literature into larger multimedia content packages have gone hand in hand with the rise of transnational media conglomerates.¹⁸

¹² P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 29-73.

¹³ P. Bourdieu, 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing', 123-54.

¹⁴ G. Sapiro, 'Globalization and Cultural Diversity in the Book Market: The Case of Literary Translations in the US and in France', *Poetics*, 38 (2010), 419-39.

¹⁵ J.B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Industry in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), pp. 126-46.

¹⁶ M. Verboord, 'Market Logic and Cultural Consecration in French, German and American Bestseller Lists, 1970-2007', *Poetics*, 39 (2011), 290-315.

¹⁷ T. Franssen, 'Diversity in the Large-Scale Pole of Literary Production: An Analysis of Publishers' Lists and the Dutch Literary Space, 2000-2009', *Cultural Sociology*, 9.3 (2015), 382-400.

¹⁸ S. Murray, *The Adaptation Industry: The Cultural Economy of Contemporary Literary Adaptation* (London/New York: Routledge, 2012).

In contrast, at the pole of small-scale production the economic logic is ‘reversed’:¹⁹ a book’s value is determined by its merit as assessed by specialists (respected tastemakers, professional peers) and, while financial solubility is of existential concern, publishers are less interested in turning a profit than they are in producing intellectually challenging, culturally important or artistically innovative titles about which they are passionate. Here, rivalries among publishers are overshadowed by a sense of common purpose, strengthened by a collective opposition to the bigger corporate houses. This manifests through various strategies of cooperation and co-dependence (such as the Kurt Wolff Stiftung in the German field, an indie publisher collective whose members share distribution and promotion costs and lobby on behalf independent publishers in the industry). Whereas the large-scale pole has seen an extraordinary consolidation of publishers since the 1980s, the small-scale pole has experienced the opposite: an increase in both the number and diversity of smaller, independent firms.²⁰ This has been spurred on by a host of factors, including the decreasing costs of entering the market, new technologies like print-on-demand and e-publishing, the outsourcing of formerly in-house tasks like copy editing, typesetting and promotion, and the existence of a ‘dual economy’ operating in the shadows of the large-scale pole where sympathetic freelancers offer their services to smaller publishers at a fraction of the price they charge their corporate clients.²¹

Of course, all these factors also speak to an increased interdependence between the two poles of production: some of the very technologies that have made the continued existence of many small-scale publishers possible are controlled and exploited by profit-driven agents at the large-scale pole.

The Transnational Literary Field

Translation, as the predominant mode by which books travel across borders, is central to the book trade in the era of globalisation. Various analytical frames have been put forward to understand the economic, political and cultural contours of the global market for translations. Building on Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-systems theory, de Swaan and Heilbron conceptualise it as a world-system in which countries or languages are positioned in a centre-periphery structure.^{22,23} Heilbron links global power relations with book translation flows: languages that export more and import less are central, while languages that import more and export less are peripheral.²⁴ Using a similar dominant-dominated opposition, Pascale Casanova

¹⁹ P. Bourdieu, ‘The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed’, *Poetics* 12.4-5 (1983), 311-56.

²⁰ J. B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, pp. 152-69.

²¹ J. B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, pp. 155-58.

²² A. de Swaan, ‘The Emergent World Language System’, *International Political Science Review*, 14 (1993), 219-26; idem, *Words of the World. The Global Language System* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

²³ J. Heilbron, ‘Nederlandse vertalingen wereldwijd. Kleine landen en culturele mondialisering’, in *Waar in een klein land. Nederlandse cultuur in internationaal verband*, ed. by J. Heilbron, W. de Nooy and W. Tichelaar (Amsterdam: Prometheus), 1995, pp. 206-53.

²⁴ J. Heilbron, ‘Towards a Sociology of Translation. Book Translations as a Cultural World-System’, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 4.2 (1999), 429-44; J. Heilbron and G. Sapiro, ‘Translation: Economic and Sociological Perspectives’, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*, ed. by V. Ginsburgh and S. Weber (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), pp. 373-402.

shows that some national literatures in the ‘World Republic of Letters’ are more richly endowed with literary capital than others.²⁵

Gisèle Sapiro joins these perspectives with Bourdieu’s theory of fields to render the ‘transnational literary field’ concept.²⁶ The framework allows for the zooming-out of Bourdieu’s single-field approach to include literary transfer between two fields, always mindful of the unequal power relations that hold between them and within the larger global market for translations. This brings into focus a new set of research questions exploring things like strategies of transnational symbolic capital accumulation (Do target publishers opt for translated titles as a ‘cheaper’ means to earn recognition in their national fields?), the relative consecration power of publishers by language (Does publication into German increase the chances of a book being published in another language?) and, as we will endeavour to show, the transnational transfer trajectories linking target and source publishers. These investigations enable the comparison of two national literary fields embedded in a transnational context.

Sapiro also revitalises the neo-institutional notion of isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell’s influential idea that agents tend to model themselves after similar actors in their field that they perceive to be legitimate or successful.²⁷ Bourdieu implicitly acknowledges this idea in his own work when he says that ‘there is no doubt that constraints inscribed in the field structure tend to orient publishers of comparable position toward similar editorial policies’.²⁸ He goes on to single out translation as a subfield where this is especially true. Along these lines, Franssen and Kuipers show how publishers with comparable positions in different national literary fields tend to become more similar by emulating each other’s lists.²⁹ This kind of ‘me too’ publishing can also be seen as a way to limit the risk involved in bringing a translation to market, which, given intercultural differences between source and target cultures and the high cost of translation, is always a perilous endeavour for publishers.

Furthermore, the transnational literary field concept can be used to describe the various social spaces (e.g. international book fairs) that have developed around the buying and selling of translation rights. This entails studying the positions and position-takings not only of (source and target) publishers but also of other translation ‘creators’, intercultural intermediaries and state agents: acquisitions editors, literary agents specialised in translated literature, scouts, translators, prize juries, organisers of international book fairs and festivals, state agents like the FLF and DFL and the grant managers that work on their behalf.

Finally, at the very basis of Sapiro’s concept is the steadfast field-theoretical assumption that the transnational literary field, like all fields of cultural production, is structured around the opposition between the small-scale, commercial and large-scale, non-commercial poles of production.³⁰

²⁵ P. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. by M.B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2004).

²⁶ G. Sapiro, ‘Translation and Symbolic Capital in the Era of Globalization: French Literature in the United States’, *Cultural Sociology*, 9.3 (2015), 320-46.

²⁷ J. DiMaggio and W. W. Powell, ‘The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields’, *American Sociological Review*, 48.2 (1983), 147-60, 151.

²⁸ P. Bourdieu, ‘A Conservative Revolution in Publishing’, 137.

²⁹ T. Franssen and G. Kuipers, ‘Coping with Uncertainty, Abundance and Strife: Decision-Making Processes of Dutch Acquisition Editors in the Global Market for Translations’ *Poetics*, 41.1 (2013), 48-74.

³⁰ G. Sapiro, ‘Translation and the Field of Publishing: A Commentary on Pierre Bourdieu’s “A Conservative Revolution in Publishing”’, *Translation Studies*, 1.2 (2008), 154-66; idem, ‘Editorial Policy and Translation’, in *Handbook of*

Pole Coherence in the Transnational Literary Field

Which brings us to the notion of transnational pole coherence. Proceeding from the above discussion, it can be assumed that publishers in national literary fields are subject to similar structural forces (for example, increasing commercial pressure). Since all agents engaged in the production of translated books occupy a position in the transnational literary field, and since field theory suggests internal coherence within the small-scale and large-scale poles, we can assume that agents coming to the transnational literary field will take up a position in it similar to that in their own national field. In other words, the transnational literary field will be populated at its small-scale pole by small- and medium-sized independent publishers from any number of national fields, and its large-scale pole will be populated by large (national and transnational) conglomerate publishers and imprints. The question is whether this polarity will extend to the buying and selling of translation rights: will publishers at small-scale pole B tend to buy their titles from publishers at small-scale pole A, and will publishers at large-scale pole B tend to buy their titles from publishers at large-scale pole A? In other words, for any given book translation, will the source publisher and target publisher tend to occupy the same pole of production in their respective national fields?

Before we venture an answer to this question, we might ask: 'Why ask it at all?' Firstly, testing for pole coherence is a way (albeit heuristic) to empirically check the field-theoretical assumption of the opposition between small-scale and large-scale poles of production in the transnational literary field. Secondly, it tells us something about the relative power of the source and target literary fields under investigation. We suspect, given the unequal distribution of (symbolic) capital across national fields, that there will be significant cross-pole transfer in unevenly matched fields, particularly from the large-scale source pole to the small-scale target pole. One reason for this, as Sapiro shows,³¹ is that small-scale target publishers buy from more well-endowed source publishers as a strategy of transnational capital accumulation.³² Assuming that the more prestigious houses are situated at the large-scale pole (as is indeed the case for the German field), this type of transfer would be pole-interdependent and not pole-coherent. Thus, pole interdependence can be just as revealing as pole coherence in uncovering the dynamics of transnational literary transfer.

Pole coherence also gives an indication of the relative concentration of transfer within poles. Stated differently, it provides a measure of how autonomous the two poles are from each other. If transnational pole coherence at both poles is strong, it means little transfer occurs across them and hence that publishers at either pole operate largely independently from each other.

Finally, by distinguishing between large-scale and small-scale publishers, a pole-coherence approach allows for the visualisation of an overall picture of the 'flow' of literary transfer, e.g. whether transfer tended to accumulate at one target pole or the other. This can tell us

Translation Studies, Volume 3, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012), pp. 32-8; idem, 'Translation and Symbolic Capital', 324.

³¹ G. Sapiro, 'Translation and Symbolic Capital', 320-46.

³² The internal logics of transnational symbolic capital accumulation, on the one hand, and transnational isomorphism, on the other, seem to diverge on the question of transnational pole coherence: presumably, the former tends towards pole interdependence, because target publishers will be more inclined to shop for titles at their anti-pole, and the latter tends towards pole coherence, because similar publishers will tend to become more similar.

something about the nature of the global market for translations and the dynamics of transnational literary transfer between two national fields for a given span of time.

The fact that source and target publishers are linked together by a single title makes it possible to test the notion of transnational pole coherence by observing whether a translated title's source and target publishers occupy the same pole of production in their respective national fields. If this is the case, we can say that the transfer trajectory for that title is pole-coherent. In a two-pole model, there are four possible transfer trajectories: small-small, large-large, small-large and large-small, the first two describing pole coherence. If this holds for many of the titles in our sample, we may conclude that pole coherence characterises literary transfer between the Dutch and German literary fields. Before we run the data, however, let us turn to another important aspect of the transnational literary field: the (nation) state.

The Transnational Literary Field and the State

As the term itself conveys, the transnational literary field is structured by national literatures. Or rather, by 'the well-founded fiction of the existence of national literatures',³³ which, in step with the rise of nationalism beginning in the late eighteenth century, helped to transpose the lines of nationally-delineated imagined communities onto the geopolitical map.³⁴ Today, these national borders also largely determine the contours of book markets and the policies supporting book producers (e.g. fixed book prices, subsidies for booksellers, distributors and publishers and work bursaries for authors, illustrators and translators). Many nation states (and national governments embedded within federal states)³⁵ see literature as a marker of prestige and support literature in translation as a means to bolster their profiles on the international stage.³⁶ Organisations deputised by national governments to promote the translation and international promotion of works by 'their' authors are many,³⁷ and while the political constraints binding them vary (some, like the DFL and FLF, have a high level of operational autonomy; others function under the direct political control of culture or foreign ministries), most depend wholly on public funds for the financing of their activities. It is in this sense that they can be characterised as 'state agents'.

State agents justify intervention in the transnational literary field in different ways, some economic in motivation, others cultural. Support for translation (both incoming and outgoing) may be framed in terms of stimulating the national publishing industry, for instance. Similarly, state agents may emphasise their role as guarantors of the socio-economic position of their

³³ G. Sapiro, 'Translation and Symbolic Capital', 341.

³⁴ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn (London/New York: Verso, 2006).

³⁵ The Flemish Government can be grouped in this latter category.

³⁶ L. von Flotow, 'Revealing the "Soul of Which Nation?" Translated Literature as Cultural Diplomacy', in *Translation Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, ed. by P. St-Pierre and P. C. Kar (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 187-200.

³⁷ The German Publishers and Booksellers Association lists 39 such organisations on their website. Translation support schemes can also be found at the supranational level (e.g. translation projects supported under the European Commission's 'Creative Europe' programme) and at the transnational level in various forms (e.g. PEN International and its national chapters). In a recent development, representatives of 22 publicly funded organisations from 19 countries and regions in Europe met on the margins of the 2016 Frankfurt Book Fair to formally establish the European Network for Literary Translation (ENLIT), indicating a new level of cooperation among national literature organisations in Europe. The network came about at the initiative of Koen van Bockstal, director of the FLF, and Tiziano Perez, managing director of the DFL, and has its headquarters at the FLF offices in Antwerp.

national authors, where support for translation is framed as part of an effort to advance authors' careers by helping them gain access to new language areas, expand their international network and take up roles as 'entrepreneur-artists'. In this vein, state agents may offer travel grants to attend festivals and fairs and fund writers' residences and exchanges. Alongside their core business of dispersing translation subsidies, state agents may also actively approach foreign publishers. One new mechanism to do this is publishers' tours, where foreign publishers are invited to spend a period of time in a host country meeting with national book industry leaders. (Four such tours for German publishers were organised by the FLF and DFL in the lead-up to this year's Frankfurt Book Fair.) State agents may also support literary translators in various ways, including through professional training courses, translators' residences, translation prizes, accreditation registries and fair-wage mechanisms like model contracts. Alternatively, state agents' motives may serve cultural-protectionist ends, where translation support aims to counteract the effects of a globalised book market by supporting culturally diverse books, commercially unprofitable genres and innovative content that would otherwise not make it to market. Finally, a state agent may seek to 'share its national literary patrimony with the world' by supporting translations of nationally canonised works in the hopes of securing their place in the canon of 'world literature'. As we will see, the DFL and FLF utilise a combination of all of these motives simultaneously.

Despite these myriad efforts, sociologists of translation have increasingly called the relevance of state agents into question. Sapiro and Heilbron argue that globalisation and the resulting 'shift from political to more economic constraints' has marginalised state agents to a significant extent:

[This shift] has had the effect of weakening the supply-side and strengthening the demand-side, that is to say, diminishing, within the process of mediation, the preponderant role of agents of export (social bodies, translations institutes, cultural attachés, etc.), which are now increasingly obliged to take into account the space of reception and the activities of importing agents, specifically, the various agents in the book market: literary agents, translators, and most particularly, publishers.³⁸

This new publishing landscape has relegated state agents to a supporting role at best, argues Sapiro, who goes so far as to question their agency altogether: 'If the nation states are still major agents in this market, it has become more autonomous from their control and they now have to adapt to its rules.'³⁹ As it happens, for Heilbron and Sapiro (writing in 2007) the archetype of the new, market-dominated state agent is none other than the Foundation for the Production and Translation of Dutch Literature, the predecessor of the DFL.⁴⁰

³⁸ J. Heilbron and G. Sapiro, 'Outline for a Sociology of Translation', p. 99.

³⁹ G. Sapiro, 'Translation and the Field of Publishing', 159.

⁴⁰ In Dutch, Nederlands Literair Productie- en Vertalingenfonds (NLPVF). In 2010, the organisation, which provided production and translation subsidies for foreign publishers of Dutch and Frisian literature, fused with the Stichting Fonds voor de Letteren, which subsidised translations of foreign literature into Dutch to form the Dutch Foundation for Literature (Nederlands Letterenfonds), thus combining support for incoming and outgoing translated literature into one organisation.

The DFL and FLF in the Transnational Literary Field: Double Agents?

While we concur that the DFL and FLF have adjusted their policies in response to stiffening economic constraints in the global book market, this has not necessarily diminished their role in the field.⁴¹ We would argue that their translation policies reflect an effort to adapt to – and leverage – new market realities while at the same time holding fast to cultural priorities. While both the DFL and FLF have increasingly embraced a role as market-savvy intermediaries, they have also stood behind institutional values of supporting vulnerable and culturally important literature. Both logics – as market-minded matchmakers mediating between source and target publishers and as patrimony-minded facilitators of culturally important and commercially threatened books – serve the organisations' goal of maximising the number of translations of works by Dutch and Flemish authors. This 'double agent' role also underlies the organisations' effort to secure the 2016 Guest of Honourship invitation, as the bid book clearly shows.⁴²

Interestingly, the FLF and DFL describe their roles in the very terms used in our theoretical framework: as agents in the literary field. The DFL 'is part of the field and contributes its power to it. [...] It is at home in this role – as an intermediary between cultures'.⁴³ Likewise, the FLF sees itself as occupying 'a pivotal position in the literary field'⁴⁴ and as being embedded in the 'economic infrastructure of enterprises directed towards the creation, (re)production, presentation and distribution of the cultural product known as "literature"'.⁴⁵ Both organisations have a clear awareness of literature as a (transnational) symbolic good, the value of which they see as both cultural and economic: for the DFL, 'culture, and thus also literature, is a powerful means to understand and break through to other worlds, and in this sense it also serves an economic purpose'.⁴⁶ For the FLF, the idea is to maintain 'the delicate balance between economics and culture' which is 'tested through various market factors that bring economics to the forefront'.⁴⁷ These self-descriptions reveal the DFL and FLF to be astutely aware of the dynamics at play in the global market for translations. They also show that the DFL and FLF understand their cultural and economic missions to be closely intertwined.

⁴¹ While the DFL and FLF are largely homologous in terms of organisational structure and policy, there are some differences. We focus here on shared characteristics. We limit our discussion to outgoing translation policies. Both funds also support incoming translation into Dutch. One should also note that, generally speaking, the DFL supports only works by Dutch authors and the FLF only works by Flemish authors. The two also occasionally co-subsidise translations. Our dataset included four such titles: three poetry anthologies and a translation of Hadwijch's *Liedereren*.

⁴² E. Aerts, et al., *Low Countries. Deep Imagination. Bidbook Vlaanderen en Nederland Gezamenlijk kandidaat-eregast op Frankfurter Buchmesse 2016*, trans by V. Kiefer (Zaandam: Mooie Boeken, 2013).

⁴³ 'Beleidsplan 2013-2016', (Nederlands Letterenfonds: Amsterdam, 2012), p. 3. The original Dutch text: '[Het fonds] maakt deel uit van het veld en ontleent daaraan zijn kracht. [...] In die rol voelt het fonds zich thuis – als bemiddelaar tussen culturen.' All translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

⁴⁴ 'Letteren in de wereld van vandaag en morgen. Aanzetten tot een meerjarenplan 2011-2015', (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren: Berchem, 2010), p. 37. The original Dutch text: 'Vanuit zijn spilpositie in het letterenveld'.

⁴⁵ 'Letteren in de wereld van vandaag en morgen', p. 9. The original Dutch text: 'ingebed in een economische infrastructuur van ondernemingen die zich richten op creatie, (re)productie, presentatie en verspreiding van het cultuurproduct "literatuur"'.
⁴⁶ 'Beleidsplan 2013-2016', p. 13. The original Dutch text: 'Cultuur, en dus ook literatuur, is een machtig middel om andere werelden te begrijpen en erin door te dringen, en dient daarmee ook een economisch doel.'

⁴⁷ 'Letteren in de wereld van vandaag en morgen', p. 9. The original Dutch text: 'Het delicate evenwicht tussen economie en cultuur wordt op de proef gesteld door enkele markt-factoren die de economische aspecten naar voren schuiven'.

In light of all this, let us now briefly examine the DFL and FLF's translation policies against the background of poles of production: can we expect German publishers at one pole to be more supported than those at the other?

Both organisations recognise the stiffening of commercial constraints in the contemporary book trade as a 'threat' to non-commercial genres. This excerpt from the FLF policy plan for 2011-2015 is illustrative:

Quality literary fiction and other commercially vulnerable yet culturally valuable marginal genres such as poetry, essay, theatre and literary classics are under threat. This is a consequence of the industrialisation and globalisation of the book market – with the increased importance of bestsellers, pressure at the margins due to overstock, falling price expectations among consumers, the resulting downward pressure on book prices, books' increasingly short lifecycles, and the ever-growing supply of titles.⁴⁸

Because 'marginal' genres tend to attract foreign publishers at smaller, independent houses and literary magazines, we may expect subsidies for these genres to disproportionately benefit small-scale publishers.⁴⁹ However, in line with its dual cultural-economic logic, it is telling that the FLF grounds its support for these genres in terms of their commercial vulnerability and not in terms of their inherent (aesthetic) value: 'The FLF works in a market-correcting fashion – primarily on the supply side – through policies and initiatives that actively support the creation and (re-)production of economically threatened quality literature and culturally valuable books'⁵⁰ – books that 'in a strictly commercial environment would probably not otherwise come to be'.⁵¹

As we have seen, commenters have been quick to label the DFL (and, following its lead, the FLF) as 'market-dominated'. More than their counterparts, the DFL and FLF have based their promotional activities on 'what the market wants' rather than 'what they want on the market'. This can be seen in their dealings with publishers and acquisitions editors at international book fairs (including Frankfurt), where, in carefully prepared, one-on-one, half-hour meetings, grant managers pitch titles they think will fit well in publishers' lists. This intermediary function, which has been compared to the work of literary agents,⁵² points to a new promotional strategy that relies on carefully cultivated relationships with foreign publishers, a highly attuned sense of the market and a reputation as an 'objective' matchmaker linking up target publishers with source publishers. Of course, while clearly market-oriented, this matchmaker model is difficult

⁴⁸ 'Letteren in de wereld van vandaag en morgen', p. 9. Original Dutch text: 'Het betere literaire fictieboek en andere economisch zwakkere maar cultureel waardevolle minderheidsgenres zoals poëzie, essayistiek, theaterliteratuur en literaire klassiekers, komen in de verdrukking. Dat is een gevolg van de industrialisering en de globalisering van de boekensector met het toenemende belang van bestsellers, de druk op de marges vanuit inkoopconcentraties, de dalende prijsperceptie bij de consument die de vraagprijs drukt, de verkorting van de levenscyclus van een boek en de sterke groei van het titelaanbod.'

⁴⁹ Subsidies for literary classics and poetry are more generous than those for other genres. See 'Translation Subsidies' section below.

⁵⁰ 'Letteren in de wereld van vandaag en morgen', p. 9. Original Dutch text: 'Het VFL werkt marktcorrigerend – vooral aan de aanbodzijde – dankzij regelingen en initiatieven die de creatie en de (re)productie van de (economisch) bedreigde kwaliteitsliteratuur en cultureel waardevolle boekproducten actief ondersteunen.'

⁵¹ 'Op weg naar een ambitieus en transparant buitenlandbeleid' (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren: Berchem, 2013), internal memo, p. 5. Original Dutch text: 'die in een strikt commerciële omgeving misschien niet tot stand zouden komen'.

⁵² G. Sapiro, 'Translation and the Field of Publishing' 163.

to connect to one pole of production or another, since grant managers will tailor their pitches to the publishers sitting across from them. However, a look at the German publishers who attended the FLF and DFL's jointly organised publishers' tours in the lead-up to Frankfurt can give us an idea of the profile of the publishers courted by the two organisations. Four genre-specific publishers' tours were held during the period under study: two for publishers of fiction, one for non-fiction and one for children's and youth literature. Of the 37 publishers who attended, 27 (73 percent) represented houses situated at the large-scale pole of production. Three publishers represented Hanser or one of its imprints, a large independent. Only seven publishers represented houses that could be classified as 'medium or small independents'.⁵³

So, it appears that the DFL and FLF are interested in facilitating translations at both poles of production and do so by supporting threatened genres on the one hand and pursuing big-name publishers on the other. This dual mission reflects a strategy of leveraging the aesthetic-commercial opposition that structures the global market for translations itself.

Data

Having set out the notion of pole coherence, described the transnational literary field and situated the DFL and FLF within it, let us turn to the data and results. Our data consists of 316 Dutch-to-German book translations published in the two years leading up to the Frankfurt Book Fair (from January 2015 to October 2016). For each entry we collected metadata on: target title, author, target publisher, target publisher profile (see 'publisher clusters' below), genre, source title, source publisher, source publisher profile, translation subsidy status, author gender and author nationality. Data was sourced from the freely accessible DFL/FLF translation database, which, while not exhaustive, is the most complete database for recent literary book translations out of Dutch.⁵⁴ Titles were corroborated with entries in the *Neuerscheinungsliste Ehrengast Flandern & die Niederlande* and an internal Excel sheet obtained from the FLF listing translated titles and their subsidy status. Publisher profiles were compiled using information from publishers' 'about us' webpages and trade sources such as the Frankfurt Book Fair exhibitor directory.

Publisher Clusters

For each title, we classified the source publisher and target publisher according to their ownership structures. We adapted Verboord's schema of 'dependence' to differentiate between three clusters in our dataset, one situated at the small-scale pole of production and two situated at the large-scale pole: independent publishers (publishers not owned by any other company); group publishers (publishers affiliated with other publishers through various arrangements of proprietary dependence, where one publisher controls other publishers and imprints); and multinational publishers (publishers that are part of media conglomerates active beyond national borders, where one company controls several publishing groups, publishing houses or

⁵³ See 'Jaarverslag 2014', (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren: Berchem, 2015), p. 87 and 'Jaarverslag 2015' (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren: Berchem, 2016), pp. 55-6.

⁵⁴ <https://letterenfonds.secure.force.com/vertalingendatabase/search>

other media companies, which may themselves consist of several companies).⁵⁵ The independent publisher cluster can be further broken down into small independents, which are often run by founder-owners, have a modest staff (ten or fewer employees) and a yearly title output in the (low) double digits, and medium/large independents, which may or may not be run by founder-owners, have staffs of ten or more employees and a yearly title output in the high double digits to low triple digits. As mentioned, we assume a position at the large-scale pole of production for publishers in the multinational and group clusters and a position at the small-scale pole for independent publishers. We have also included a ‘small-scale other’ category comprising three defunct publishers, a trade organisation and a literary journal on the source-publisher side, and four literary journals, three non-profit publishers, two university presses and a religious organisation on the target-publisher side. We placed this grouping at the far end of the small-scale pole. Additionally, a relatively large number of titles (11 percent of the dataset) had either multiple source publishers or no source publisher – in other words, they had no single Dutch publisher. These were anthologies, collections of poems, selected works by single or multiple authors, or titles published for the first time in German. We grouped these titles in a ‘no single Dutch derivative’ category, and placed them at the small-scale pole.

Genre Classifications

Titles in our dataset were divided into five genres: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, graphic novel/comic and children’s and youth literature. We are aware that field-theoretical analyses generally focus on genre-specific subfields. However, for our analysis we have chosen to include all titles from all DFL/FLF-identified genres in order to capture a more complete picture of book export, particularly in view of translation subsidy decisions.

Translation Subsidies

To obtain a subsidy, publishers submitted applications to the DFL for titles by Dutch authors or to the FLF for titles by Flemish authors, which were then evaluated by a genre-specific advisory committee. In the Flemish case, grants for fiction, non-fiction and children’s and youth titles covered up to 60 percent of translation costs (maximum 4,000 euros), while 100 percent of translation costs were covered for ‘classic’ works. Poetry has its own support structure, where subsidies covered all translation costs and 25 percent of production costs. For illustrated children’s books and graphic novels, grants covered all translation costs and some costs related to production and promotion.⁵⁶ In the Dutch case, translation subsidies across all genres covered up to 70 percent of translation costs and production subsidies were given on an ad hoc basis.⁵⁷ Actual subsidy amounts varied according to the length of the work, but 2,900 euros for fiction and non-fiction titles, 2,500 euros for poetry titles and 1,300 euros for illustrated children’s books, comics and graphic novels can be taken as approximate averages for both

⁵⁵ M. Verboord, ‘Market Logic and Cultural Consecration’, 297.

⁵⁶ ‘VFL Jaarverslag 2015’, pp. 39-47.

⁵⁷ ‘Nederlands Letterenfonds Jaarverslag 2015’ (Nederlands Letterenfonds: Amsterdam, 2015), p. 51.

organisations.⁵⁸ In determining whether a title received support, we do not distinguish between the various funding schemes.

Results

Figure 1: Distribution of metadata for Dutch-to-German translations, organised by genre⁵⁹

	#	%	%M	%F	C	%NL (m/f)	%FL (m/f)	%sub	%NLsub	%FLsub
<i>All</i>	316	100	63	32	5	80 (64/36)	20 (73/27)	51	52	48
<i>Fiction</i>	106	34	72	24	4	81 (76/24)	19 (79/21)	50	57	21
<i>Ch&Y lit</i>	105	33	47	50	3	80 (45/55)	20 (38/62)	45	45	48
<i>Non-fict</i>	52	16	71	25	4	88 (30/70)	12 (100/0)	67	64	100
<i>Poetry</i>	25	8	62	17	21	84 (87/13)	16 (67/33)	48	41	50
<i>Com/GrN</i>	13	4	85	15	0	38 (80/20)	62 (87/13)	69	60	75
<i>Mix</i>	15	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: DFL/FLF translation database

Fiction (106) and children's and youth literature (105) were the two most well-represented genres, followed by non-fiction (52), poetry (25) and comics/graphic novels (13). The gender distribution was at parity in only one genre, children's and youth literature, while all other genres were male-dominated, particularly for Flemish titles. The ratio of Dutch to Flemish authors, 80/20, is somewhat higher than the 78/22 'benchmark distribution figure' for domestic literary production arrived at by the Dutch Language Union on the basis of data from the two domestic book markets and the 'normal' 73/27 distribution of native speakers.⁶⁰

Of the 316 titles in the dataset, 99 were published in 2015 and 217 were published between January and October 2016. If we set these figures alongside Dutch-to-German book translations for the past ten years, we see that the number of translations roughly doubled in 2016, after declining steadily over the last decade. While the 99 titles published in 2015 is slightly under the ten-year average of 125, the 217 titles in the first ten months of 2016 is well above it.

⁵⁸ Based on averages mentioned in 'VFL Jaarverslag' (pp. 39-47) and 'NLF Jaarverslag' (pp. 49-57).

⁵⁹ Includes: number of titles; percent of total; percent by male authors; percent by female authors; percent by collective authors; percent by Dutch authors (with male/female ratios for Dutch authors); percent by Flemish authors (with male/female ratios for Flemish authors); percent of subsidised titles (DFL and FLF subsidies together); percent of titles by Dutch authors that received a subsidy from the DFL; and percent of titles by Flemish authors that received a subsidy from the FLF. Where collective works were authored exclusively by authors from one national group, these titles were included in the NL/FL ratio. Gender ratios were calculated using only data from titles by single authors. (Collective titles were excluded.) In two cases the FLF supported a book by a Dutch author but illustrated by a Flemish illustrator and four titles were subsidised by both agencies. These titles were included when calculating the %sub figure, but were excluded when calculating the %FLsub and %DLsub figures.

⁶⁰ 'Landschapstekening Letteren' (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren: Berchem, 2014), p. 47. Interestingly, the author delegation for the 2016 Guest of Honourship was almost equally divided between Dutch (36) and Flemish (34) authors, as was face time in programming for the Guest of Honour pavilion stage. This points to the logic of Dutch/Flemish parity that prevailed in its planning (and funding).

Publishers

The pole-coherence approach enables us to produce a ‘snapshot’ of the two national fields under investigation and trace transfer trajectories between them (Figure 5). What immediately becomes clear in our results is the dominance of a relatively small number of high-yielding conglomerate publishers at the large-scale poles on the one hand and a large number of small, low-yielding independent publishers at the small-scale poles on the other. This suggests a partial homology between the two fields in terms of the distribution of publishers; however, the large/small opposition was magnified in the German field, where large-scale publishers were concentrated in very productive multinational media conglomerates and small-scale publishers tended to be small in size and limited in production to one or two titles. While the Dutch large-scale field has undergone a rapid conglomeration of its own in the past decade, with many formerly independent publishers becoming imprints within larger national publishing groups, these structures do not extend beyond national borders and many Dutch imprints maintain a high level of editorial autonomy. Let us now take a closer look at who published what.

Only one multinational-owned publisher (Brussels-based comics and graphic novel publisher Le Lombard, part of the French concern Média Participations) was active on the source side, which was dominated by three large national publishing groups: Weekblad Pers Groep (WPG) with its ten constituent publishers, Singel Uitgeverijen with its six, and Veen Bosch and Keuning (VBK) with its nine. Together, these groups accounted for over half of all source titles. In the German field, similar levels of concentration were matched only by the multinational publishing giant Penguin Random House, the world’s largest, whose 14 imprints published 46 translated titles across four genres. Five other multinationals (Holtzbrinck, Bonnier, Klett, and Ravensburger, 17 imprints together), and ten publishing groups comprising 17 constituent publishers published an additional 94 titles. In total, 143 titles were produced by German publishers at the large-scale pole, or 44 percent of all translated titles.

At the small-scale pole, the owner-operated children’s and young adult publisher Lemniscaat topped the source publisher list with 21 titles, while upmarket literary publishers Prometheus/Bert Bakker and Van Oorschot produced 12 and 10 source titles respectively. The remaining 29 independent publishers provided 62 titles. Together with the 7 titles in the ‘small-scale other’ category and 34 titles in the ‘no derivate’ category (see ‘Data’ section above), the Dutch small-scale pole of production provided 46 percent of all source titles.

On the German side, the small-scale pole was characterised by great publisher diversity: 62 publishers published one or two titles each. Six independent publishers in our sample (with 18 titles between them) were part of the Kurt Wolff Stiftung (see above). We also note the prevalence of literary journals at the far end of the small-scale pole: six German literary journals were represented, compared with one (Das Magazin, the Amsterdam-based Dutch literary journal with a German name) on the source side. University presses were far less important in Dutch-to-German transfer than in transfer to other national literary fields (e.g. French literature in the American field), with only two target publishers making the list.⁶¹ In total, publishers in the German small-scale pole produced 173 translated titles, or 55 percent of the total.

⁶¹ G. Sapiro, ‘Translation and Symbolic Capital’, 320-46.

On the whole, source titles were distributed 54/46 across Dutch large-scale and small-scale source publishers, respectively. Among German publishers, the ratio of large-scale to small-scale was 45/55. This shows an overall ‘flow’ of transfer towards the small-scale target pole. Now let us look at transfer trajectories between and across each pole to explore the extent to which pole coherence was observed.

Pole Coherence

Figure 2: Dutch-to-German book translations by transfer trajectory type

Transfer type	#	%total	Pole-coherent?
SS _S →SS _T	95	30	yes
LS _S →LS _T	92	29	yes
LS _S →SS _T	78	25	no
SS _S →LS _T	51	16	no
Totals	316	100	59%

Pole coherence holds when a title’s source and target publishers occupy the same pole of production in their respective national literary fields. On the whole, pole coherence characterised 59 percent of all transfer (Figure 2). Transfer from the Dutch small-scale pole to the German small-scale pole was the most common trajectory (95 titles) followed by large-scale-to-large-scale transfer (92 titles) and large-scale-to-small-scale transfer (78 titles). The least common transfer trajectory was small-scale-to-large-scale (51 titles).

Figure 3.1: Dutch-to-German transfer to the German small-scale pole of production

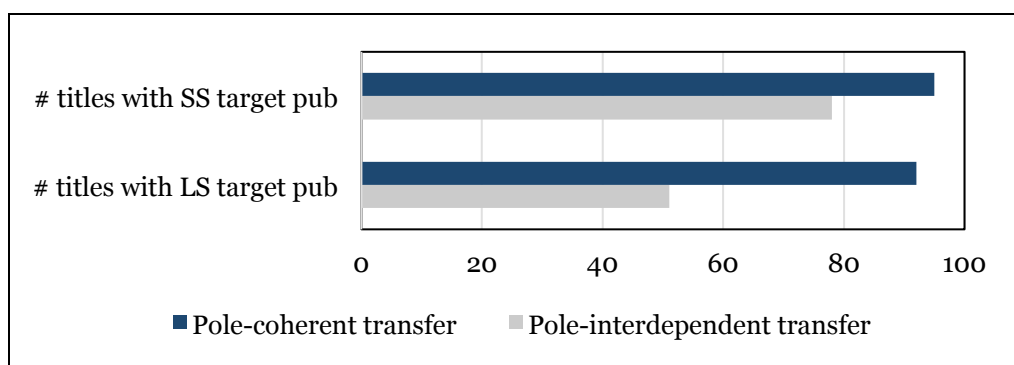
Transfer type	#	%SS _T total	Pole-coherent?
SS _S →SS _T	95	55	yes
LS _S →SS _T	78	45	no
Totals	173	100	55%

Pole coherence was observed in just 55 percent of transfer to the German small-scale pole: German small-scale publishers bought only a slightly greater number of titles (95) from counterparts at the Dutch small-scale than they did from Dutch large-scale publishers (78) (Figure 3.1). Interpreting this weak polarity is difficult without more extensive qualitative research into the editorial decisions of the publishers involved. In some of the 78 cases of large-scale-to-small-scale transfer, it may well be that buying from a large-scale Dutch publisher was a strategy of transnational capital accumulation, where shopping the lists of well-endowed Dutch publishers was a means to secure a greater symbolic payoff. Alternatively, it may be so that Dutch large-scale source publishers were willing to sell translation rights to a smaller German publisher when the offer came because translation confers symbolic capital on them as well. The very fact that a title has been translated into German, regardless of the profile of the publisher, is its own kind of consecration. Finally, it may be that the disproportionately high rate of translation subsidies for this category (58 percent of titles received support, eight percent more than average) contributed to pole interdependence.

Figure 3.2: Dutch-to-German transfer to the German large-scale pole of production

Transfer type	#	%LS _T total	Pole-coherent?
LS _S →LS _T	92	64	yes
SS _S →LS _T	51	36	no
Totals	143	100	64%

Pole coherence from the Dutch to German large-scale poles was markedly stronger (64 percent of transfer to the large-scale pole): German large-scale publishers bought two of every three of their titles (92 of 143) from Dutch counterparts at the large-scale pole (Figure 3.2). This stronger polarity may be taken as (partial) evidence in support of the field-theoretical assumption at the basis of the transnational literary field concept, i.e. the opposition between small-scale and large-scale poles. Furthermore, when seen against the backdrop of globalisation, the volume of large-scale titles and the relatively strong coherence between large-scale poles – alongside the dominance of transnational conglomerates in the German field – attests to the presence of strong market forces in the global market for translations. The fact that so many small-scale German publishers joined their large-scale colleagues in shopping for titles at the Dutch large-scale pole suggests that economic constraints have stiffened at both poles of production.

Figure 3.3: Dutch-to-German pole coherence by target publisher type (small-scale versus large-scale)

Translation Subsidies and Transfer Trajectories

Given their ‘double agent’ role as patrimony-minded facilitators and market-minded matchmakers, we anticipated that the DFL and FLF would dispense translation subsidies to German publishers at both the small-scale and large-scale poles of production. That was indeed the case: 53 percent of transfer to the small-scale pole (Figure 4.1) and 46 percent of transfer to the large-scale pole (Figure 4.2) was supported, or 50 percent of all translated titles.

While differences in subsidy rates by transfer trajectory were negligible, it is notable that the two trajectories with the highest subsidy rates were pole-interdependent: 59 percent of large-scale-to-small-scale transfer and 53 percent of small-scale-to-large-scale transfer were subsidised. Again, it is difficult to put forward a watertight interpretation for why this is without

investigating each title separately. Possible reasons for the higher rate of subsidies for large-scale-to-small-scale transfer were the higher proportion of 'literary classics' and nonfiction titles in this category, which were more likely to receive subsidies overall. A disproportionate number of children's and youth literature titles were also subsidised in this category (20 of 31 titles) suggesting a semi-protected status for this genre at this pole. Meanwhile, the slightly above-average subsidy rate for small-scale-to-large-scale transfer has to do with the disproportionate number of 'no single Dutch derivative' titles (anthologies, collected works, etc.) in this category, which were proportionately more likely both to receive subsidy and to be published by a German large-scale publisher.

Figure 4.1: Dutch-to-German literary transfer to the German small-scale pole of production by cluster type and subsidy status⁶²

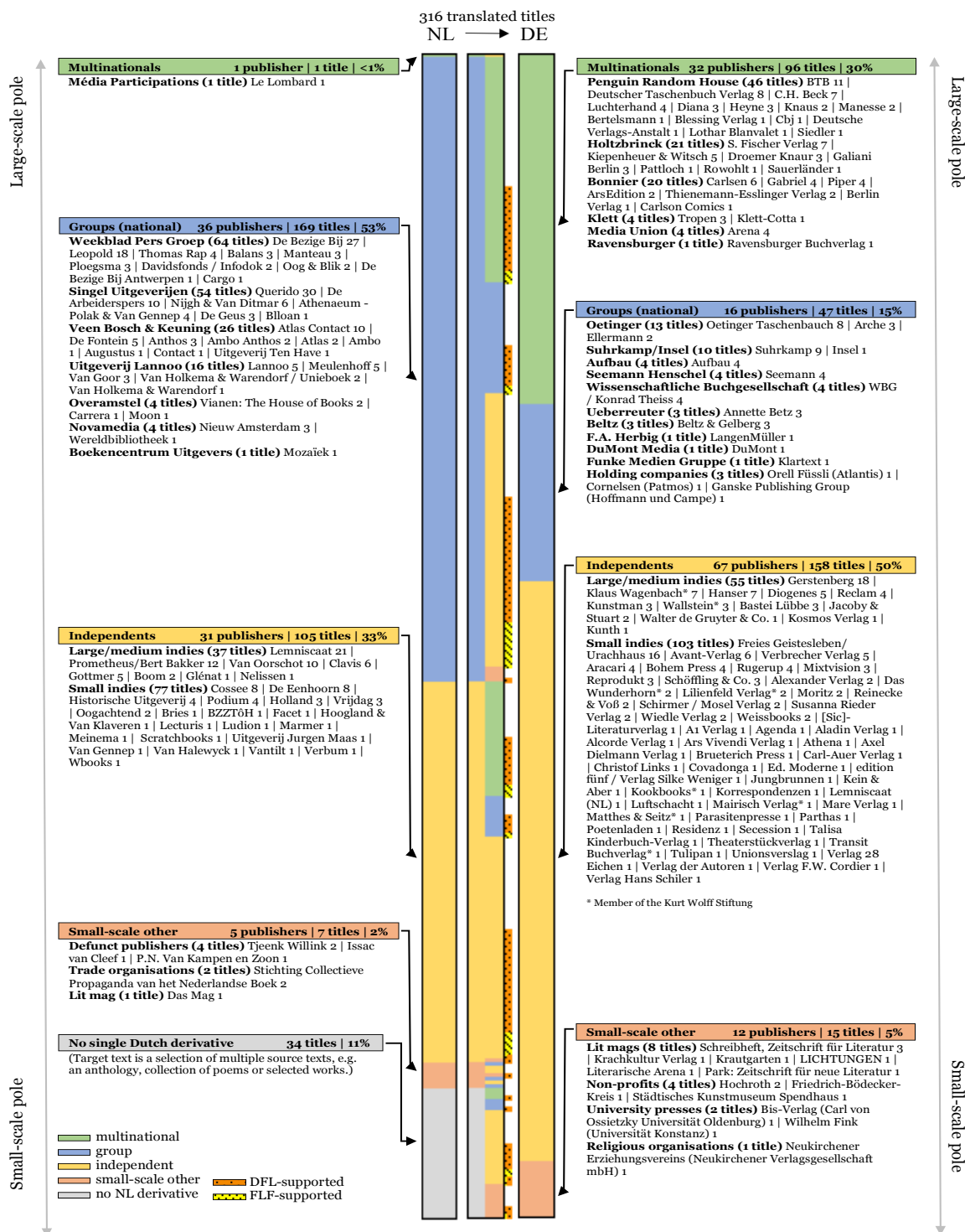
SS_s→SS_T (30% of all titles)				LS_s→SS_T (25% of all titles)						
	#	#sub	%sub		#	#sub	%sub			
IND _s →IND _T	61	30	49	G _s →IND _T	73	45	62			
IND _s →SSO _T	20	11	55	G _s →SSO _T	4	1	25			
NDD _s →SSO _T	9	3	33	MN _s →IND _T	1	0	0			
SSO _s →IND _T	3	0	0					Total →SS_T (55% of all titles)		
IND _s →SSO _T	1	1	100							
SSO _s →SSO _T	1	1	100					#	#sub	%sub
Total	95	46	48		78	46	59	173	92	53

Figure 4.2: Dutch-to-German literary transfer to the German large-scale pole of production by cluster type and subsidy status

LS_s→LS_T (29% of all titles)				SS_s→LS_T (16% of all titles)						
	#	#sub	%sub		#	#sub	%sub			
G _s →MN _T	62	26	42	IND _s →MN _T	31	16	52			
G _s →G _T	30	13	43	IND _s →G _T	11	6	55			
				NDD _s →MN _T	3	1	33	Total →LS_T (44% of all titles)		
				NDD _s →G _T	3	3	100			
				SSO _s →IND _T	3	1	33	#	#sub	%sub
Total	92	39	42		51	27	53	143	66	46

⁶² IND=independent; SSO=small-scale other; NDD=no Dutch derivative; G=group; MN=multinational

Figure 5: Dutch-to-German literary transfer by publisher cluster (all genres)⁶³



⁶³ Titles are represented as stacked bars. Subsidised titles are flagged with a yellow (FLF-supported) or orange (DFL-supported) tag. The left column shows source titles, the right column shows target titles and the middle column shows the transfer trajectory.

Conclusion

In this investigation, we analysed pre-Frankfurt literary transfer from Dutch to German through the dual lens of the transfer trajectories linking Dutch source publishers and German target publishers on the one hand and translation subsidies on the other. Drawing on field-theoretical insights, we developed the notion of ‘transnational pole coherence’ as a means to test a central theoretical assumption of Gisèle Sapiro’s transnational literary field concept: the opposition between the small-scale and large-scale poles of production. When we applied this framework to our data, we found that the connection between large-scale/small-scale on the one hand and commercial/non-commercial on the other was weaker and more complicated than field-theoretical assumptions suggest: although pole coherence held more often than not, there was also significant transfer across poles. Which is not to say the model is unhelpful; relative levels of pole coherence at either pole revealed interesting insights. For instance, pole coherence was stronger between the large-scale poles and weaker between the small-scale poles. In other words, German large-scale publishers tended to buy their titles from their large-scale Dutch counterparts – and so did a large proportion of German small-scale publishers. This empirically substantiates claims that economic constraints have stiffened across the entire transnational literary field. However, our ‘fuzzy’ findings suggest that pole coherence may be more useful when thought alongside pole interdependence as a binary heuristic tool for understanding dynamics of literary transfer between two national fields. Whereas strong pole coherence implied pole-specific transfer, homologous publisher profiles and similar logics for source and target publishers, strong pole interdependence implied the opposite: transfer across poles, exchanges between source and target publishers possessing unequal capital and divergent logics. A relational study of transnational pole coherence in different language combinations may reveal the notion’s usefulness as a measure of power relations between languages. The approach could also be used to compare polarity at the level of genre subfields, which may show some genres to be more pole-coherent than others.

Our approach also allowed for the visualisation of an overall picture of the ‘flow’ of literary transfer for the period under study and the translation subsidies facilitating it. Fifty percent of translated titles received a subsidy, with subsidy rates varying little across transfer trajectories. On the whole, source titles were distributed 54/46 across Dutch large-scale and small-scale source publishers, respectively, and 45/55 across their German counterparts. This shows an overall accumulation of transfer at the small-scale target pole.

Although we have emphasised ownership structure as a defining characteristic of a publisher’s position in the field in this study, it is an imperfect indicator of editorial policy, and only one (albeit important) among others. The small-scale/non-commercial, large-scale/commercial distinction cannot capture the variety of organisational forms in the field nor can it measure the relative autonomy enjoyed by individual decision-makers. Furthermore, market logics are not necessarily fixed to ownership structures: some independent publishers sell commercial books and some imprints within large conglomerates specialise in upmarket fiction and ‘high literary’ genres. Finally, while we did discuss the DLF and FLF’s motivations for dispersing translation subsidies, we did not look at the extent to which subsidies affected

publishers' editorial decisions. All of this points to the importance of complementing broad, field-theoretical analyses such as this one with qualitative research focused on the specific editorial practices of particular publishing houses.

Undoubtedly, the 2016 Guest of Honourship of Flanders and the Netherlands has had an outsized impact on recent Dutch-to-German literary transfer. The DFL and FLF played a central role in this, both as the event's organisers and as dispensers of translation subsidies to German publishers. With processes of reception only just beginning, it remains to be seen whether these efforts will generate a second 'Dutch wave' to follow the first, which, in the wake of the 1993 *Schwerpunkt*, saw the elevation of Nooteboom, Mulisch and Claus to 'international writer' status. In the meantime, we offer a supply-side picture of how 316 titles breached the dyke.

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