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Associative practices and translations in children's book publishing

Co-editions in France and Spain

Delia Guijarro Arribas

Abstract

This chapter analyzes the associative practices developed by French and Spanish children's book publishers to export their books beyond their national boundaries. It examines the case of co-editions in particular, differentiating them from co-productions and co-prints. Comparing the French and Spanish subfields for children's literature, it identifies and analyzes the logics and mechanisms attached to co-editions in the French and Spanish national subfields, and in the global translation market. The comparison reveals how dominant publishers use co-editions as a tool of economic and/or cultural conquest of foreign markets. It also provides a measure of the symbolic capital of nations and languages and how this can be leveraged in cross-border literary exchange.

The sociology of translation allows us to reveal the mechanisms and logic at the heart of the global book market. This market has been studied since the 1990s by sociologists of culture, and more specifically within the framework of a research program piloted by Pierre Bourdieu, which focuses on the social conditions of the international circulation of cultural goods (see Heilbron and Sapiro 2002a, 2002b). These works connect Bourdieu's field-theoretical framework with the center-periphery model proposed by Abram de Swaan in order to analyze power dynamics within and between languages (see Bourdieu 1984, 1999, 2002; de Swaan 1993, 2001). In the introduction to her book *Translatio* (2008), Gisèle Sapiro lays out a research structure with which to analyze the global market for book translations. She focuses on two main issues: the distribution of books in their original language, which leads to the creation of transnational publishing fields corresponding to linguistic areas; and translation flows between these linguistic areas as an essential vector for measuring the economic and cultural conquest of foreign markets, and, consequently, the symbolic capital accumulated by nations and languages. In the same way, the global translation market

has come to be structured according to professional rules and specific logics imposed by the specialization of its agents in the exportation and importation of (translated) books, and by the establishment of international institutions with legitimacy-conferring power such as book fairs.

Drawing on this theoretical and methodological framework, this chapter aims to reflect upon the various associative practices children's book publishers undertake around issues related to translation: namely, the co-production, co-edition and co-printing of children's books. A comparison of two national subfields of children's book publishing, in France and in Spain, allows us to detect the different meanings attached to these practices in the functioning of each national context.

International co-editions: The French strategy

Since the 1950s, technological advances in printing (the 'offset' method, in particular) enabled the widespread use of illustrations in fiction and non-fiction picture books for children. These processes implied an increase in editing and production costs. However, the construction and expansion of a common European market facilitated international cooperation between European publishers. Indeed, publishers sought to collaborate more and more through co-productions, co-editions, and co-printing practices in order to increase print runs and reduce the costs of production (Piquard 2005). This dual process constituted a new stage in the internationalization and renewal of children's book publishing in Europe.

Collaborations between publishers were not unique to children's books. Initially, such collaboration was focused around the publication of encyclopedias. However, as the share of children's literature in the book market grew over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, the sector became a privileged space for such associative practices. While co-productions have been quite common since the 1950s, French publishers have shown an increasing preference for co-editions, particularly as the subfield of children's book publishing autonomized throughout the 1970s. Philippe Schuwer, an editor at Hachette and later Nathan, set out to define and distinguish between the often-confused terms 'co-edition' and 'co-production' in his *Traité de coédition et de coproduction internationales* (1981).¹ Co-production

1 Schuwer's work builds on his master's thesis completed at the EHESS (School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences) in 1975, entitled *Coproduction et coéditions dans l'édition d'albums pour la jeunesse*.

allows for the realization of particularly ambitious and costly projects. Pierre Marchand used it within the first years of Gallimard Jeunesse for the creation of collections such as *Kinkajou* (1974), a series of books designed to guide children in different kinds of play. The books were richly illustrated and rather long (96 pages) and would not have been viable without partners. Nonetheless, co-production entails several constraints. Pierre Marchand explains the difficulties involved:

Kinkajou was a success: 135,000 copies across forty titles. We had up to twelve co-publishers. But our discussions went on and on and the traveling was ceaseless. It was exhausting. These grand alliances can never last for too long, not least because of these kinds of arbitrations.² (Livres Hebdo 1985, 70)

Indeed, co-production necessitates a strong and sustained collaboration between publishers because they must conceive, finance, and print the works together, as well as share publishing rights.

It is precisely the matter of rights that constitutes one of the principal differences between co-productions and co-editions. In the case of co-editions, the originating publisher seeks out rights buyers abroad, generally prior to the publication of a given work. This practice ensures certain benefits for the originating publisher, who maintains control over the editorial design and publishing rights, which can then be exploited through the sale of foreign rights to publishers in other languages or territories. For their part, the co-publishers benefit because the burdens of production are taken on by the originating publisher. Co-editions thus make it possible for co-publishers to gain access to skills and techniques that they may not have in-house.

Most of the time, co-edition schemes include a co-printing strategy as well, which enables larger print runs because all co-edition partners pool their orders, which reduces per-book printing costs. In other cases, when printing is carried out remotely (in the country of the co-publishers), the originating publisher delivers the printing plates of the finished book to its

2 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author. In the French original: "Kinkajou a été une belle réussite, 135.000 exemplaires pour une quarantaine de titres. Nous avons eu jusqu'à douze coéditeurs. Mais les discussions devenaient interminables. Les voyages n'en finissaient pas. C'était épuisant. Ces grandes alliances ne peuvent jamais durer très longtemps, ne serait-ce qu'à cause des arbitrages."

partners, who then print locally. Writing in 1971, Catherine Deloraine, an editor at Flammarion, explained this practice in the following terms:

For co-editions, either we buy the French rights to a foreign work and the French version is entirely produced abroad, or we receive the plates and produce the French version ourselves. In other cases, we may act as the originating publisher and either we fabricate the foreign versions [for our partners] (for example, the English and German versions of *Roi Brioche Ier*) or we send the plates.³ (Livres Hebdo 1971, 34)

Such co-edition agreements between publishing houses in different countries are facilitated by low-cost printers in countries like China. They also benefit from the rise of international book fairs, which serve as hubs for negotiating co-edition deals. For children's book publishers, the Bologna Children's Book Fair is an ideal moment to present new projects and search for potential partners. Since the 1980s, French children's book publishers have cultivated an international reputation for 'know-how' around co-editions, which has given them a competitive boost in the face of stiff international competition. This can be seen alongside the broader trend toward a French specialization in the production of picture books (fiction and non-fiction). Both trends reinforced the autonomization of the French subfield of children's book publishing and the international recognition of French picture books. Indeed, co-editions carry certain undeniable benefits: greater distribution and promotion levels, and better chances of gaining recognition from international institutions of literary consecration. Co-editions can thus be a means of consecration for a given work, but also for its authors, its originating publisher and, to a lesser degree, its co-publishers.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Pierre Marchand invoked the international prestige of Gallimard to maximize the number of co-edition partners. The assured success of his projects reinforced co-publishers' trust and guaranteed their support for future projects. For the majority of its co-editions, Gallimard Jeunesse required co-publishers to work with Gallimard's own printers. It thus developed into a significant children's literature printing hub,

3 In French: "Pour les coéditions, ou bien nous achetons les droits français d'un ouvrage étranger, et alors tantôt la version française est entièrement réalisée à l'étranger, tantôt nous recevons le film des illustrations et fabriquons nous-mêmes l'édition française. Ou bien nous sommes l'éditeur original et, soit nous fabriquons les versions étrangères (par exemple anglaise et allemande du *Roi Brioche Ier*) ou bien nous envoyons les films des illustrations."

which gave it the capacity to print books in foreign languages to which it did not possess rights as a legal assignee (Livres Hebdo 1983, 76).

Other economic and political factors help explain the international success of French co-editions as well. In the 1980s, the franc was weaker than the dollar, the pound, the mark, or the yen, which allowed French editors to propose more competitive prices, while publishers in the two other dominant European national fields for children's literature, the UK and Italy, suffered significant regressions, in part due to cultural politics at the national level. In 1985, Philippe Schuwer provided an analysis of the situation at the time in the following terms:

On a global level, the crisis has reached Great Britain and Italy. Across the Channel in particular, fewer books are being checked out at libraries and print runs have consequently dropped. For encyclopedias, we've dropped from 15,000 to 10,000, even to 5,000 copies. The prices secured for co-editions have thus risen, and sales have become more competitive. In Italy, it's another case. There, the development of media conglomerates has imposed such a great degree of competition on children's books that the market has significantly tightened. With print runs diminishing, the costs of creation and production have increased such that we've looked for [other] economic formulas.⁴ (Livres Hebdo 1985, 68)

According to the figures of the French Publishers Association (Syndicat national de l'édition, hereafter SNE), more co-editions are struck in the children's book sector than anywhere else in the French book market. In 2017, the children's book sector accounted for 68 percent of the 1,791 co-editions concluded in France, good for 1,213 titles (SNE 2018, 3). Most countries do not distinguish book rights from co-editions in their statistics on book exports. The mere fact that the SNE chooses to specify the proportion of co-editions within the totality of rights sales attests to the economic and symbolic weight of these practices within French publishing, and particularly within French children's book publishing.

4 In French: "La crise a globalement atteint la Grande-Bretagne et l'Italie. Outre-Manche particulièrement, les crédits aux bibliothèques diminuant, les tirages ont baissé. On est passé, pour les encyclopédies, de 15.000 à 10.000, voire 5.000 exemplaires. Les prix de coéditions proposées ont donc monté et les achats sont devenus moins compétitifs. En Italie, c'est un autre cas de figure. Le développement des groupes de communication ont fait subir une telle concurrence au livre jeunesse que le marché s'est fortement réduit. Les tirages diminuants, les coûts de création et de fabrication ont atteint une telle proportion qu'on a recherché des formules économiques."

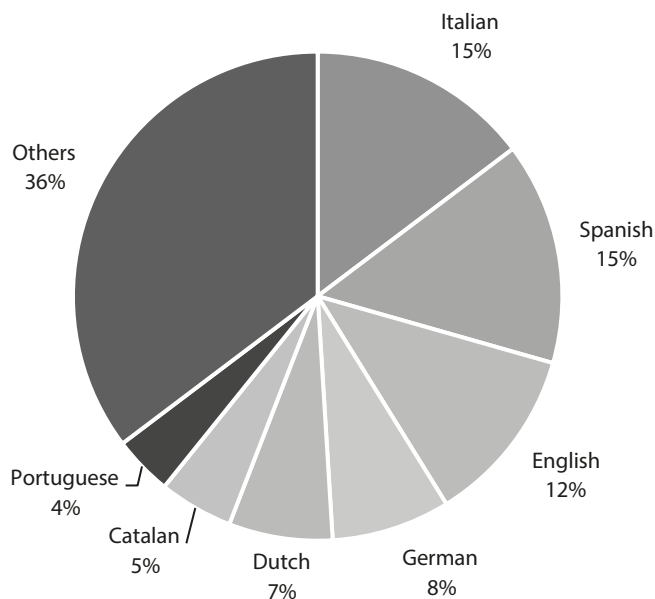


Figure 1. SNE's co-publication statistics according to language zones for the year 2017

Co-edition deals take place in an international context characterized by unequal power relations between nations and languages. Indeed, the originating publisher must generally occupy a dominant position in the global publishing market. In the words of the publisher Valérie Cussagnet, “one must be well positioned” (interview, October 25, 2018). Figure 1 shows SNE's co-edition statistics for 2017, organized by languages. It is evident that French publishers struck more co-edition agreements with Italian and Spanish publishers than with any others. These two semi-peripheral languages, which represent 15 percent of co-editions for the French children's publishing sector, is followed by English, a “hyper-central” language, and German, a central language (Heilbron 1999). It seems, thus, that co-editions are facilitated when the power relation between the participating languages is slightly asymmetric (Sapiro 2009).

The SNE also provides figures for co-editions by country, without distinguishing between market sectors (SNE 2017, 16). Even though these figures represent the entire French book market, they nonetheless reveal that co-editions occur primarily between the neighboring countries of Western Europe. Thus, co-edition projects with publishers working in Spanish are undertaken predominantly with editors from Spain rather than Latin America. The same is true for Portuguese. Only for English were co-editions equally

distributed between the US and the UK. Nonetheless, discussions with French publishers suggest that co-publications with English-language publishers occur mostly with UK editors when it comes to children's books, and with US editors for all other publishing sectors.

Looking at the figures for Spanish and Catalan, we see that Spain is the first country in which French publishers find co-edition partners. The comparison of co-edition practices in France and Spain is complicated by the fact that the export statistics of the Spanish Association of Publishers Guilds (*Federación de Gremios de Editores de España*, FGEE) do not distinguish co-editions among book rights. It is thus impossible to know what proportion of outgoing rights agreements initiated by Spanish publishers are co-editions. However, interviews with Spanish publishers lead us to believe that, when they do enter into co-edition agreements, it tends to be as co-publishers and not as originating publishers.

Smaller children's book publishers in France, which do not generally possess the prestige necessary to easily attract co-edition partners in the way Gallimard Jeunesse does, have developed other strategies. These include specializing in pop-up books, as well as co-printing in later print runs after a first run in France. Pop-up books are illustrated books with (often quite sophisticated) interactive mechanisms. They are expensive to produce, but they can be quite profitable when done in the framework of an international co-edition. The publishing house Hélim, associated with the group Actes Sud Junior, has specialized in this type of book, mostly co-published with international partners. The small French publishing house L'Agrume, created in 2013, also publishes pop-up books. However, it lacks the symbolic capital required to attract foreign publishers for co-edition schemes. It therefore first publishes its books in France in small print runs (no more than 2,000 copies), and then works to find co-printers abroad. While its international clients tend to call themselves co-publishers, in practice the exchange is actually just a question of transferring rights to a foreign publisher, plus a co-printing clause. L'Agrume then manages the simultaneous co-printing processes, which can reach up to 20,000 or 25,000 copies. L'Agrume thus enjoys the option to reprint at a lower price for its own new print runs. While this strategy is much riskier from an economic perspective, it seems to be paying off. Indeed, only five years after its creation, the publishing house has already obtained awards at the Bologna Book Fair, including the prestigious Opera Prima award. L'Agrume's strategy nicely illustrates the principle of 'economic denial' that often characterizes actors within the market for symbolic goods, where, according to Pierre Bourdieu, "only those who know how to come to terms with the 'economic' constraints inherent in that hypocritical economy

will prove able to fully reap the ‘economic’ profits of their symbolic capital” (Bourdieu 1997, 5).⁵

It is important to note that the majority of pop-up books are printed in China. To facilitate deals, many Chinese printing enterprises have opened offices in large European publishing centers such as Paris or Barcelona, where their commercial agents can more easily link up with European publishers. These agents have also developed expertise in the domain of paper engineering, skills that are necessary to ensure pop-up projects’ success, but which are far too costly for smaller publishers to employ in-house. Guillaume Griffon, director of L’Agrume, explained this in an interview:

We never have paper engineers because that is a supplementary post, so it’s the author who constructs his models and it’s the Chinese printer, instead of a paper engineer, who takes it from there and works out any kinks. We’ve had a number of problems with the book *Inventions*, which is very complicated. It was our Taiwanese sales representative based in France who presented us with a number of options – to such an extent that I even told her she should start pitching me new projects. She is actually the one who pitched the book *Une faim de Loup* to me, after which I hired an illustrator to do the illustrations. But the concept itself was hers.⁶ (Interview with Guillaume Griffon, November 22, 2018)

We have just evoked the practices of international co-editions between publishers working in different languages. However, international co-editions also exist within linguistic areas, as H el ene Buzelin has shown in the case of adult literature co-editions between French and Quebecois publishers. These projects were predominantly initiated by Quebecois publishers as a means to penetrate the French market (Buzelin 2009). Turning to the children’s book sector, we observe that co-editions between France and other Francophone countries are rare due to the domination exerted by the French

5 In French: “Seuls ceux d’entre eux qui savent composer avec les contraintes ‘ conomiques’ inscrites dans cette  conomie de la mauvaise foi pourront recueillir pleinement les profits ‘ conomiques’ de leur capital symbolique.”

6 In French: “Nous n’avons jamais d’ing nieur papier, parce que c’est un poste suppl mentaire, donc c’est l’auteur qui fait ses maquettes et apr s c’est l’imprimeur chinois qui fait un peu le reli et qui remplace l’ing nieur papier, et qui va donc trouver des solutions. Nous avons eu pleins de probl mes avec le livre *Inventions*, qui est tr s compliqu  et c’est la commerciale taiwanaise qui habite en France qui nous a propos  pleins de choses,   tel point que je lui ai dit qu’elle devrait proposer des projets. Alors le livre *Une faim de Loup*, c’est elle, la commerciale de mon imprimeur chinois, qui me l’a propos  et je l’ai fait illustrer par un illustrateur, mais le concept est d’elle.”

subfield within the Francophone linguistic area. Indeed, French editors do not need to use co-editions in order to access Francophone markets outside France. This observation holds even more true for the relationship between children's book publishers in Spain and other publishers within the Spanish-speaking area: co-editions between them are non-existent. To bypass the center, some periphery-based publishers have developed co-edition strategies amongst themselves, as Martin Dore demonstrates in the case of co-editions between Quebecois publishers and Francophone African publishers (Dore 2009). A similar strategy, albeit rather minor, was implemented by the ten Latin American children's book publishers that joined to form the *Coedición Latinoamericana* project.⁷

Plurilingual co-editions and co-printing at the national level: The Spanish strategy

Within Spain, a number of co-printing and co-edition projects exist between publishing houses in the various autonomous communities. These projects ensure that books can be simultaneously distributed in as many of the country's co-official languages as possible. To understand this strategy, it is necessary first to understand the singularity of the Spanish case with respect to plurilingualism and translation. The Spanish state defines itself as a monolingual state composed of officially monolingual territories on the one hand and officially bilingual territories on the other. Within these territories, "more or less marked regional identity clusters cohabit" (Córdoba Serrano 2013, 9).⁸ Although there are six co-official languages within the country (Spanish, Catalan, Galician, Basque, Valencian, and Aranese), bilingualism is only perceptible and encouraged within certain regions. The public education system in Spain does not allow pupils to learn other 'Spanish' languages that are not the official language(s) of the autonomous community where they attend school. A pupil from Andalusia cannot learn Basque at school, and a pupil from Catalonia will never have the possibility of taking courses in Galician. However, all pupils are required to study English from the age of

7 They include: Aique Grupo Editor in Argentina, Editora Melhoramentos in Brazil, Babel Libros in Columbia, LOM Ediciones in Chile, Editorial Piedra Santa in Guatemala, CIDCLI in Mexico, Anamá Ediciones in Niguaragua, Ediciones PEISA in Peru, Ediciones Huracán in Puerto Rico and Ediciones Taller in the Dominican Republic. This project benefited from financing from UNESCO via its regional center (CERLALC) headquartered in Bogota.

8 In French: "cohabitent différents noyaux identitaires régionaux plus ou moins marqués."

six. Depending on where they go to school, pupils are also required to study French, German or Italian.

After the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975), bilingualism was introduced in schools across certain autonomous communities. In the 1980s, in a context of regional identity creation (which sometimes took on a linguistic or nationalistic tenor), the governments of these autonomous communities financed translations into regional languages. This system promoted the development of large groups specialized in publishing for children (both schoolbooks and children's literature). Publishing houses such as Santillana, SM, Edebe, Edelvives and Anaya established more or less autonomous subsidiaries in each of these communities or bought up existing regional publishing houses. These subsidiaries would produce textbooks following the regional education programs and translate the national production of children's literature into regional languages. The subsidiaries were required to purchase translation rights from their parent publishing house, which handled the simultaneous co-printing of works into all pertinent languages. The same process is also widely used when buying rights for a book from outside Spain: the parent publishing house buys the translation rights to the work for the entire Spanish territory (and sometimes for the entire Spanish linguistic area, known as 'world Spanish rights'), and the subsidiaries, in turn, buy the rights for each regional language with all printing managed by the parent publishing house. In the same vein, the subsidiaries of Spanish children's book publishers in America are given priority when it comes to buying exploitation rights for the country in question.

In Spain, 98.9 percent of the population can speak Spanish. Spanish is a supercentral language within Spain according to the global linguistic system described by Abram de Swaan, who calculates the centrality of a language according to the number of plurilingual speakers (polyglots) who choose it as a mode of communication (de Swaan 2001, 4). Spanish is the mother tongue of the majority of people within all of Spain's autonomous communities except Galicia (see Table 1) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2016, 5). Whereas bilingualism is largely dominant in Catalonia, in the Balearic Islands and in Galicia, only a little over half of the population in the Basque Country and in the Community of Valencia are bilingual. Both regions are marked by very intense language-based territorial inequalities.

Regarding children's book publishing, the data from the Monitoring Center for Reading and Books (Observatorio del libro y de la lectura) show that, in 2014, Spanish is the only language with nationwide distribution and is the main publishing language for children's books. According to ISBN, 69.4 percent of children's book titles in Spain are published in Spanish

Table 1. Percentage of mother tongue speakers in the Autonomous Communities by co-language

| Autonomous Communities | Spanish (%) | Co-official languages (%) | Both equally (%) | Other languages (%) |
|------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Catalonia | 55.1 | 31 | 2.8 | 11.1 |
| Valencian Community | 60.8 | 28.8 | 9.5 | 0.9 |
| Galicia | 30.9 | 40.9 | 25.3 | 2.9 |
| Basque Country | 76.4 | 17.5 | 6 | 0.1 |
| Balearic Islands | 48.6 | 37.9 | 3.6 | 9.9 |

Table 2. Titles published in Spain by language and market sector in 2014 (children's book publishing versus the book market in Spain overall)

| | Children's book publishing (%) | Overall publishing market (%) |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Spanish | 69.4 | 84.7 |
| Catalan | 18.5 | 10 |
| Basque | 3.9 | 1.9 |
| Galician | 3.5 | 1.7 |
| Other languages | 9.7 | 1.7 |

and 18.5 percent in Catalan. Far behind these languages, we find Basque (3.9 percent) and Galician (3.5 percent). Comparing these figures with figures for the entire Spanish publishing industry shows that the share of titles published in regional languages is higher within the children's publishing sector (see Table 2). This sector also seems to attract the greatest number of translations (almost 42 percent of all titles). As is the case globally, the major language from which books are translated remains English, which accounted for 46.3 percent of all translations in Spain. Nonetheless, the second most common source language of translated works in this sector is Spanish (20 percent), followed by Italian (11 percent), and French (7.6 percent) (Observatorio del libro y de la lectura 2016, 18). These proportions have remained constant since at least the middle of the 2000s, with some fluctuations for French and Italian.

The position of Spanish as the second most translated language in Spain's children's book publishing sector can be explained by the high number of translations into other co-official languages in Spain. This phenomenon,

which is present throughout the Spanish publishing market, is all the more notable in the children's book sector. It is interesting to observe how the statistics concerning translations within the children's book sector are noticeably different from those relative to the general publishing market. For the year 2014, English represented 58 percent of translated books for the entire sector, compared with 46.3 percent for children's books. In the same year, Italian accounted for 3.7 percent of the entire sector (fifth, behind German) compared with 11 percent within the children's book sector (third). The lesser domination of English and the increased presence of Italian testify to the sector's relative autonomy and to the specific literary capital accumulated by the different languages present within this sector relative to others.⁹

Spain is not the only country where plurilingualism has had consequences for the structuration of literary and publishing fields. Unlike the Belgian case, however, where linguistic separation is heavily territorialized (Bourdieu 1985, 3–6), or even the Algerian case, where languages are socially hierarchical (Leperlier 2018), the Spanish publishing field is characterized by a high degree of interdependence and interpenetration between regional language markets and the dominant market (that is to say, the Spanish-language market). Spain's regional language markets are also quite interdependent, despite their geographical segmentation. Even though they are inscribed at the local or community level according to the Spanish model of decentralized public action, most of the subfield structures exist and are shared at the national level. Publishing houses in Spain publish works in different languages simultaneously, either directly or, as we have just explained, through subsidiaries. The same national literary criticism spheres take an interest in publications of all the state's co-official languages. The interpenetration of linguistic book markets concerns not only authors (a number of whom write in two languages and produce their own translations) but also the public, as all those who read in Catalan, Galician, Basque or Valencian also read in Spanish.

This interpenetration also structures translation practices in Spanish children's book publishing. The translation of a work from a foreign language or a regional language into Spanish implies that the original version will not then be translated into the country's other regional languages unless the translations into regional languages occur simultaneously with the Spanish translation. During an interview carried out in 2017, Isabelle Torrubia, who

9 Looking at adult literature translated in France, Gisèle Sapiro observes this phenomenon of symbolic capital accumulation for certain languages within certain genres, particularly for German in theatre works and for Spanish and Hebrew in poetry (see Sapiro 2008, 163).

directs a literary agency specialized in the sales of rights for French children's books in Barcelona, explains this phenomenon in the following terms:

Catalans purchase translation rights for Spanish and Catalan simultaneously. The same goes for Galicians. The Basques only buy for Basque. If a book is published first in Catalan, it can then be published later in Spanish. If a book is published first in Spanish and not simultaneously in Catalan, I will never be able to sell it in Catalan because the Spanish version will devour the Catalanian market.¹⁰ (Interview with Isabelle Torrubia, March 24, 2017)

Some children's book specialists that are well recognized in their respective autonomous communities describe the perverse effects of such a polysystem. Applying Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory to Spain, Sierra Cordoba (2013, 26) states that "the Spanish system occupies a central place in the polysystem, the Galician and Basque systems inhabit the periphery, while the Catalan system is situated somewhere in between." The writer and Spanish-Galician literary translator of children's books Xosé Antonio Neira Cruz explains that one of the weak points of the Galician publishing sector is its lack of international literary classics, the vast majority of which have already been translated into Spanish: "The fact that we had to wait until 2004 to see the translation of a classic such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* is symptomatic of the sector's relative weakness" (Aguar 2005, 65).¹¹ For her part, Teresa Maña, a specialist in Catalan children's books, questions the pertinence of translating such an abundance of children's books from Spanish into Catalan given the fact that all those who read Catalan also read Spanish.

Publishing books in Catalan presents a number of coincidences with publishing in Spanish, given that the Catalan books are edited simultaneously, or shortly afterwards, in both languages. This practice, desirable when it's a question of translating [a foreign book] or a book originally written in Catalan, becomes a perversion when it becomes a question of a book initially written in Spanish that is then translated into Catalan. What's the

10 In French: "Les catalans achètent de manière simultanée les droits pour l'espagnol et le catalan. Ceux de Galice aussi, les basques n'achètent que pour le basque. Si un livre est d'abord publié uniquement en catalan il pourra être publié en espagnol. Si le livre est publié d'abord en espagnol et pas simultanément en catalan, je ne pourrais jamais le vendre en catalan, parce que l'espagnol va manger le marché en Catalan."

11 In Spanish: "Es sintomático de la debilidad de este sector el hecho de que tuviéramos que esperar a 2004 para ver traducido un clásico como *El diario de Ana Frank*."

use of readers knowing both languages if, either due to social dictates or ignorance, they will opt for the translation? (Aguilar 2005, 45).¹²

Studying translation flows in light of the power dynamics at work between languages, as Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro have done, allows us to understand why the majority of translations are undertaken from Spanish (a central language) into other regional languages (peripheral languages), irrespective of the number of speakers and their reading capacities (Heilbron and Sapiro 2008). Based on data collected between 2012 and 2014 for three peripheral languages in Spain (Basque, Galician, and Catalan, which includes figures for Valencian) these languages exhibited a higher proportion of translations (nearly 60 percent of titles published for children in these languages) than the same sector in Spanish. Spanish is the principal source language for translations into Galician (30 percent of all children's book translations) and into Basque (43 percent). For Catalan, the most common source language alternates between English and Spanish (each around 30 percent). The share of children's book translations in the opposite direction, from Spain's regional languages into Spanish, accounts for 3 percent of all children's books translated into Spanish (Ministerio de Cultura 2010). Despite the fact that translations between regional languages remain marginal – 8 percent of all translations, or 1.8 percent of total domestic production (Observatorio del libro y de la lectura 2015, 22) – there are number of co-edition arrangements between publishing houses based in different autonomous communities committed to publishing works simultaneously in each co-official language. The group Editores Asociados, which brings together La Galera (Catalonia), Galaxia (Galicia), Tàndem (Valencian Community), Elkar (Basque Country), Llibros del Peixe (Asturias), and Xordica (Aragon), is a case in point. The latter two publishing houses publish respectively in Bable (also called Asturian) and in Aragonese, two languages among a large number of languages and dialects spoken in Spain that are relegated to an ultra-minority status and are not recognized as co-official languages.

12 In Spanish: "La edición de libros en catalán presenta muchas coincidencias con la edición castellana puesto que los libros se editan simultáneamente, o al cabo de poco tiempo, en ambas lenguas. Esta práctica, deseable cuando se trata de un libro traducido o de un original catalán, resulta una perversión cuando se trata de un original castellano que se vierte al catalán. ¿De que les sirve a los lectores conocer dos lenguas si, ya sea por prescripción o por desconocimiento, lo leerán traducido?"

Conclusion

The development of international co-edition schemes has been favored by French children's book publishers as a means to export their production internationally, beyond the French linguistic area. By contrast, Spanish publishers undertake relatively few co-edition projects on an international scale, opting instead for a strategy of direct distribution within a powerful linguistic area. However, they use co-edition and co-printing partnerships widely to translate works into each co-official state language, thereby conquering Spain's plurilingual market. Although they operate at different levels, the French and Spanish co-edition strategies are subject to the symbolic capital possessed by each respective language, nation and publishing house involved in the exchange. These strategies both adapt to and reinforce specialization patterns in national production. The Spanish subfield of children's book publishing largely dominates the Spanish linguistic area but occupies a less central position within the world market, which makes it difficult for Spanish publishers to find co-publishers for co-edition projects. In contrast, French children's books enjoy widespread international circulation thanks to their immense international prestige, which itself can be attributed in part to the exportation of French publishers' editorial 'know-how' when it comes to co-editions.

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