Translation Choices as Sites of State Power: Gender and Habitus in Bestsellers in Franco's Spain

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Power and Habitual (Self-)Manipulation

> Translation in all its forms is frequently the site of a variety of power plays between the actors involved. Some of these are quite deliberate manipulations of the original for a wide variety of reasons, ranging from the desire to save money to the desire to control behaviour, from the desire to follow perceived norms to the desire for cultural hegemony. (Fawcett, 1995: 177)

The Manipulation School's claim that any translation is inherently manipulative prefigured the current interest in the social factors that affect translation processes (Hermans, 1985). Subsequently, the cultural turn of the 1990s changed the focus of attention to a wide range of questions with ideological significance that attempt to examine the role that translation plays in the historical and political arena (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998). The conceptual boundaries of translation Studies appeared to shift again in the early 2000s, from the cultural turn to what could legitimately be regarded as a power turn, inspiring scholars to increasingly focus on questions of sociocultural identity and agency in order to explore the role of translators and other related agents from a sociological perspective (cf. Gentzler & Tymoczko, 2002). Drawing on the long-standing interest of translation studies in questions of power and ideology, this chapter aims to explore the ways in which gender was represented in bestselling novels published in Spain under Franco's political regime (1939-1978).[1] Directly associated with economic interests, bestsellers offer a significant vantage point from which to observe the power games at stake in any national publishing sector. The representation of women under Franco's regime, perceived as 'the axis of social morality', was one of the most tempting targets of (self-)censorship ('el eje de la moralidad social'; Ortiz Heras, 2006: 2; unless otherwise stated, the translations into English of Spanish quotations are mine). The following analysis of the textual interventions exercised by different agencies (mainly censors and translators) aims to bring to light the position of translation 'in the dialectic of power, the ongoing process of political discourse, and strategies for social change' (Gentzler & Tymoczko, 2002: xviii).

Deliberate and unconscious (extra)textual alterations that bear ideological consequences are part and parcel of publishing processes and of any form of literary activity (McLaughlin & Muñoz-Basols, 2016). Concepts such as patronage, that is, 'the powers persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature' (Lefevere, 1992: 14), remind us of the significance of the immediate power networks affecting literary translation activity, which in turn are embedded in less immediately perceptible political and literary power structures of a given culture. Ideological domination or patronage in the field of translation is, however, clearly detectable in the authoritarian cultural policies established under fascist regimes in Italy and Germany during the first half of the 20th century, and in Spain until the mid-1970s. Under these authoritarian regimes, the cultural sphere was dominated by state mechanisms of control in order to ensure ideological uniformity (d. Rundle, 2010; Sturge, 2004). Literary translation fields curtailed by censorship can be described as sites of struggle, where each agent (translators, publishers, censors, etc.) tries to make the most of their specific capital in the competition for power and resources (d. Gómez Castro, 2008). The establishment of authoritarian control mechanisms by fascist regimes had a severe impact on the respective field of translation, and attachments to specific literary practices, especially in the commercial publishing sector, may bear on literary output even years after the authoritarian power base had been removed (cf. Cornellá-Derrell, 2013).

The relationship between translation and censorship can be described as twofold (St-Pierre, 1993: 67):

> Translation can be a means of avoiding censorship (by publishing the work in a foreign tongue, or by attributing the ideas expressed to a foreign author), but it can also be an occasion to suppress clements of an original text, whether in the name of 'taste', or of the 'genius of the language'- the justification for such expressions will vary according to context.

In target cultures dominated by authoritarian politics, suspicion of foreign influences tends to be the norm. Here, censorship acts as a coercive and modifying force that renders translations culturally, ideologically and politically acceptable by erasing any allegedly offensive or threatening content. State censorship, therefore, engenders a negative environment for he activity of translation, with government bodies attempting to exert control on imported and exported cultural materials. Spain under Franco is a prime example of state-sponsored patronage, since, over a period of almost 40 years, all cultural expressions were subject to the ideological and political requirements of the regime. From the beginning, cultural agents working in such an environment were conscious of the social and political conditions in which they had to conduct their work. As a result, more and more native Spanish authors admitted their increasing recourse to self- censorship in order to get their works published - and translators did the same, either on their own initiative or because of the pressures exerted by publishing houses. During the dictatorship years, this practice gradually evolved from dominant official power to internalised self-censorship, which may indeed be seen as the ultimate form of efficient state control. Once writers and translators began to internalise the cultural, ideological and political requirements of the authoritarian state, it became difficult to break with a habitus formed through repressive policies of mind control, a situation that led poet and publisher Jose Luis Carro to claim, shortly before the end of Franco's rule, that 'it would be hard, when there is freedom of expression in the country, to write without the censoring blinkers' ('va a costar trabajo, cuando haya libertad en el pais, escribir sin las anreojeras censoriales'; in Beneyto, 1975: 130).

Visible and invisible constraints

In order to understand how repressive cultural policies may lead to the gradual naturalisation of self-censoring behaviours on the part of literary mediators, it is worthwhile fleshing out the working philosophy of official patronage. State censorship during the Franco years was a coercive ideological mechanism that aimed at maintaining political dominance and reserving a conception of morality that had been imposed by the Catholic Church at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) (Linder Molin, 2011). Official control was mainly through two press laws. The first was issued in 1938 and had a severe impact on Spanish culture, as it forced publishers to submit all manuscripts to the censorship office in Madrid prior to publication, which caused significant delays, or financial losses if the text was deemed unpublishable. It was superseded in 1966 by the less restrictive Law of Press and Printing, as a result of a sudden economic boom and owing to the need to present the country in a more positive light on the international scene (Linder, 2004: 159). The new legislation was designed to accelerate the production and distribution of printed materials, with official control resting on two main procedures: voluntary pre-publication censorship (consulta voluntaria), which could result in a positive or negative report about the book under review; and direct sub-mission (deposito) of the printed work to the Ministry of Information and Tourism, which did not require a censor's report. It was, indeed, possible to publish a book without the regime's explicit permission, but with an important caveat: any text not subject to pre-publication censorship was always potentially liable to sudden withdrawal from national circulation, so if an already distributed

publication was deemed to be counter to the public good, this decision could result in significant economic losses for the publisher. Another new and important legislative mechanism was the so-called silencio administrativo, namely official silence regarding publishing matters. By legally declaring silence, the authorities did not explicitly approve a given book and its content, but merely abstained from blocking its commercial distribution. In practice, as a result of this new legislation, publishing houses now encountered 'a tougher state of affairs in economic terms, as full print runs of books which met with administrative silence during voluntary consultation could be sequestered' (Linder Molin, 2011: 177). In actual fact, the main outcome of the apparently less repressive Law of Press and Printing from 1966 was to move the red pencil from the bands of the censors to the publishers and from the publishers to the writers and translators, thus ensuring that self-censorship would become part and parcel of writing, editing and translating; indeed, it would become an acquired habitus for literary practitioners.

In Francoist Spain, most literary practitioners confessed to exerting self-censorship on their own texts, and the power of official censorship meant that 'many writers became their own censors' ('convertir a muchos escritores en censores de SI misrnos', Beneyto, 1975: 158). It should also be noted that the new and apparently 'generous' 1966 Law of Press and Printing also brought about the establishment of the Registro de Empresas Importadoras de Publicaciones Extranjeras (Register for Firms Importing Foreign Publications), an agency created with the aim of supervising the activity of the publishing houses which decided to import foreign works (d. Rojas Claros, 2013). From that moment on, the owner of any importing company could be liable to heavy penalties if an imported work was considered to be unacceptable. As a result, the new system led to the establishment of highly specialised contractual arrangements which tried to safeguard the Interests of publishers, to the extent that contracts often stipulated that the translator would get paid only if the text was allowed to be published (Cisquella et al., 1977: 138). Self-censorship, thus, became widespread among writers and translators, who strove to conform to official discourses, ideological expectations and commercial pressures in order to gain approval for their work. The techniques they adopted sprang out of what Bourdieu (1990: 66) calls illusio ; the belief that the 'game' social actors within the field collectively agree to play is worth playing, and included 'all the imaginable forms of elimination, distortion, downgrading, misadjustment, infidelity' that one could think of (Santaemilia, 2008: 224). The practice of excising specific instances of unacceptable utterances was 'subtler and less aggressive' (Santaemilia, 2008: 245) than the banning of a whole text. Common targets of this censorial practice were all literary expressions of female nudity, sexually suggestive dialogues and any reference to allegedly immoral behaviour on the part of women. Self-censorship in cross-cultural communication constitutes a practice that is 'limited to translators who censor their own translations to conform to society's expectations' (Merkle, 2010: 19) yet, crucially, this cultural practice may evolve over time from a conscious decision-making process into a subliminal affect that quasi-determines literary output. Consequently, we may consider self-censorship, especially in the context of a highly repressive literary field, as an invisible habitualised constraint and a normative reflex.

Bestsellers in the Repressive Literary Field

The national literary field was in crisis after the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, mainly due to a lack of printing equipment as well as to political repression, which led many publishers to emigrate to South America. This was the case, for example, with the companies Grijalbo (Mexico) and Losada (Argentina), two highly successful publishing houses established

by Republican expatriates who were forced into exile (Coruella-Detrell, 2015: 40). The ones who remained in the country had to rely on the importation of foreign works that could help them fill the literary gaps in the national polysystern. This resulted in translations becoming an important and long-standing cultural catalyst within the Spanish literary field, until social and economic improvements allowed national literary production to flourish, from the end of the 1960s onwards (cf Arnoros et al., 1987). Nonetheless, during the 1970s, towards the end of the regime, the percentage of translations remained very high and continued to yield substantial profits. As John Milton (2000: 177) points out, 'it may often be cheaper to recycle an already existing translation than to commission a new translation', so it is not surprising that many publishing houses moved into the habit of reprinting existing translated texts and of including them in popular anthologies. Incidentally, this occurred to a large extent within the realms of horror and science fiction novels, two genres with a considerable impact on the nation's literary production, it was thanks to the 'cloning' of this kind of literature that Spanish authors started to become increasingly popular, as the imitation of foreign styles led them to the centre of the literary field in a process of 'habituation and establishment of those models into the native Spanish textual system(s)' ('aclimatación y fijación de dichos modelos a el(los) sistema(s) textual(es) nativo(s) españoles)"; Rabadán, 2001: 36; see also Gómez Castro, 2013).

The concept of the North American bestseller emerged during this period, its international dissemination largely resting on television advertising and publicity campaigns, techniques of book promotion that significantly contributed to the genre's overseas success (d. Carrero Eras, 1977). The selection of new foreign materials for the Spanish domestic literary market was based mainly on economic criteria, similar to what had happened in the German literary field under the Nazi regi me, where 'within the narrow bounds set by censorship processes, anything saleable was exploited' (Sturge, 2004: 59). Any literary work with mass appeal yet not necessarily great artistic value has the potential to become a bestseller, a literary product mainly defined by commercial success. Following Vila- Sanjuan (2004: 459), a bestseller can be defined as 'a literary subgenre with its own identity, characterised by entertaining novels written without any literary pretension but with the clear aim of making the reader have a pleasant time and catch his or her attention from the very beginning' ('un subgenero literario con entidad propia al que pertenecerian un amplio segmento de novelas de entretenimiento, escritas sin pretensiones literarias pero con la intención clara de hacer pasar un buen rato al lector y atrapar su atencion desde el primer momento").

The specific characteristics of the bestselling novels that circulated in the Spanish market during the last years of Franco's dictatorship needed to be retained in translation so as to ensure the reproduction of the conditions that prompted their economic success. For Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2005: 163), an acceptable work of translation '(re)produces in the target text the capacity of a work of fiction to provoke the adherence of a reader to the source work of fiction'. This process requires the preservation of the source text's illusio (Bourdieu, 1990), which in turn 'is closely linked to the dynamics of a field, existing only in the action of agents equipped with the habitus and symbolic capital acquired in that field' (Gouanvic, 2005: 164). The structural characteristics prevalent in bestsellers at the time were indebted to traditional literary techniques common until the end of the 19th century, such as plots mainly based on a clear narrative focus and a selection of characters whose discourse is often represented in the form of dialogue (Yui, 1997: 170). A swift understanding of the plot is ensured through linear narrative progression and the exclusion of elements that could hinder the reader's understanding; in addition, this type of literary fiction needs to be entertaining, enjoyable and ideally offer a happy ending (Lopez Molina, 1997: 100). In these stories, 'larger than life'

characters (Zuckerman, 1996: 30) frequently perform extraordinary actions or recover from the most adverse circumstances, and their adventures tend to take place In exotic or at least 'interesting' settings (Vila-Sanjuan, 2004: 461). The escapist tendencies of readers appear to dictate narrative structure, choice of location, characters and storyline, since, of course, 'common day scenarios with no glamour [do] not sell' ('lo cotidiano y exento de glamour no vende'; Serven Diez, 2006: 51).

Many bestsellers are set in the United States, with storylines that echo their characters' search for the proverbial American Dream, for freedom, wealth and success in the land of boundless opportunities. Bestselling fiction drawing on the North American way of life was successful both in its source culture and in the repressive Spanish context under censorship. This is mainly because the translations tended to reproduce the fictional discourse developed within a given source text (d. Venuti, 1998), in an effort to also maintain what Gouanvic (2005: 163) describes as 'resemblance in difference'.

Bestsellers are a clear example of a genre where the target text tries to maintain the major literary characteristics of the source text in an effort to ensure the interest of the reader in the same way that the source text managed to do in its original context. In spite of this, the censorship was conducted through the official channels of state control, while the self-censorship exercised especially by practising translators had a significant Impact on the representation of gender in translated Spanish fiction at the time.

Gender and the Politics of the Masculine State

Spain remained a deeply Catholic country under Franco's authoritarian regime. Political and cultural repression resulted in the strict observance of sexual and religious morality through all channels of official and public discourse (Abelian, '1980: 88). Apart from the systemic protection of good morals as a central pillar of governance, the state clamped down on any controversies that could endanger the (spiritual) essence of the imagined community (cf. Anderson, 1991). The image and role of women and the question of gender need to be considered as vital elements for any analysis of translational politics, in terms of contextual, poetological and linguistic constraints. Linder (2004: 157) has rightly described the imposed moral and political order in Francoist Spain as a 'typically fervent version of male patriarchy within the institutions of marriage and the family', implying of course that those who held power in society and politics were male, with females tending to remain at the mercy of a state that was run by a male elite. As a result, two opposing gender realities coexisted in a cultural context where women had to be morally impeccable but men could indulge in extramarital affairs.

From the regime's very beginnings, the administration closely monitored the image and role of women in all cultural spheres, and the censors' reports show that gender was one of the most scrupulously surveilled areas in the translational field (for an extensive survey of official censorship files between 1970 and 1978, see Gomez Castro, 2009). Any instances of morally reprehensible female conduct were excised or altered, as were those instances that clashed with the ideals of the good mother or the virtuous wife.

The publication of censored North American bestsellers in Spanish translation stimulated the introduction of a new, subversive moral code and inspired a gradual change in the public representation of gender, and the same occurred in terms of cinematic

representations of womanhood and femininity (Gutierrez Lanza, 2011: 318). From the late 1960s onwards, the transformation of traditional values, especially in relation to sexual morals, became more noticeable, because the fascist regime's ''corrective'' measures of public morality and religiosity that had been in force since the end of the Civil War had not really taken root among the people' (Gutierrez Lanza, 2002: 151). Qualitative changes in aesthetic and moral judgement had started at a slow pace, yet quickly gained momentum towards the end of the regime, not least because of the wider ideological impact of (largely student-led) Western liberalisation movements.

The relationship between censorship and the representation of gender can be readily glimpsed when analysing the portrayal of women in foreign source texts and their Spanish translations. It can reasonably be claimed that official censorship and self-censorship gave rise to a number of strategic translational options that were systematically applied within a national literary field governed by totalitarian political values. While the authorities strove to maintain the political status quo, publishers and translators, consciously or unconsciously, strove to circumvent cultural repression with similar techniques yet divergent ideological objectives. Under liberal political regimes, the translator's voice may float to the surface in differing shades, tones and nuances (Hermans, 1996), but translational mediations under totalitarian conditions conceal it, as a consequence of the sheer might of institutional coercion and strategic acts of self-censorhip on the part of the agents in the translational field. Nevertheless, a revolutionary subcultural tide bound to overcome traditional gender roles and sexual morals swept through the Western world of the late 1960s and 1970s, representing an incendiary change in public attitude that would not stop at the gates of a backward-looking fascist state. The translation of American bestsellers in Francoist Spain, therefore, provides valuable insights into the official reaction to increasingly liberal representations of gender and sexuality, as well as into the evolving and shifting patterns of literary expression and translational mediation.

Gender-Induced Translation Choices in Bestsellers

North American bestsellers could be submitted to the censorship office either in their source language or in the translated form. Most commonly, censors would receive a translated version of a specific novel, with its most controversial aspects likely to have been already expurgated by the translator or other agents, mindful of the novel's potential to be banned from circulation. It is not difficult to find examples of both non-official and official gender filtering carried out by those involved in the translation process and/or the censorship authorities. This exemplifies the close links between internal self-censorship and state coercion during the translation process. The following translation examples, which demonstrate the interaction of authoritarian control with the subjective intuitions of self-censorship, are taken from three North American bestsellers. Among the main translation techniques used to deal with controversial and potentially objectionable topics are modification and elision.

Strategic Modification

Modification strategies may generally include 'any kind of textual alteration either formal or semantic' ('cualquier tipo de alteración textual de tipo formal o semántica'; Bandin Fuertes, 2007: 201; see also Chesterman, 1997: 92). In order to achieve a more nuanced description of

translational decision-making, we can distinguish the two sub-strategies: moderation and commutation.

The concept of moderation was introduced by Merino (1986: 287; revisited by Valero Garces, 2007: 160) as an analytical tool to pinpoint the connotative modification of a given source expression. Moderation could be accomplished by various means and differing degrees of textual manipulation. A translator's resort to euphemisms, for example, would frequently serve to anticipate and block an unfavourable interpretation of the text on the part of the authorities. Mario Puzo's bestselling novel The Godfather (1969) exemplifies this strategy very well: it was first submitted in English to government censors, who highlighted numerous passages with explicit sexual content and asked to see the Spanish translation of the book; yet, even though the Barcelona-based publisher, Grijalbo, and the translator, Angel Arnau, were able to work from the censored English text, the authorities demanded further amendments upon the submission of the finished translation, requesting the moderation and excision of additional erotic passages (censorship file 13192-70). Hence, only upon further moderation was the Spanish title, El padrino, allowed circulation within the literary field. The readers of both the English original text and its Spanish version are presented with a hierarchically gendered world that pushes women into the narrative background, where their only concern is to look after the family, to look attractive and - against the backdrop of the sexually liberalised atmosphere of the late 1960s - to be ready for an occasional erotic encounter. Whereas the female members of Don Corleone's family are subordinated to the male hierarchy, as demanded by the moral codes of the mob, the men are devoted both to the family's business and to the family itself, as fittingly and ominously stated by one of the novel's male characters, Michael Corleone: 'Don't ever take sides ... against the family' (Puzo, 1969: 243). While the women are fully conscious of their subordinated social position and largely comply with the role models of the good wife and mother - gender stereotypes, of course, that were promulgated by the Spanish regime - some are depicted in a way that was deemed excessively liberal and thus contradicting the ideological requirements of strict Catholicism, as in the case of Johnny Fontane's second wife, 'his former movie co-star [who] is a nymphomaniac' and who 'proves not to be a one woman man [sic] and sleeps with as many men as she wishes too' (Daginawalla, 2013: 5). An obvious example of translational moderation relates to a conversation between the aforementioned crooner Johnny Fontane, Vito Corleone's godson, and Sharon Moore, a young and aspiring actress who auditions for a small part in a Hollywood movie, where she professes that she would never think of making love with just anyone, because 'It's just that [have to be turned on to do it with a guy, you know what I mean?' (Puzo, 1969: 158). In the back-translated censored version, this became 'The truth is that I need to feel something to give myself to a man' ('La verdad es que debo sentir algo, para entregarme a un hombre'; Puzo, 1970: 164). The erotic connotations of 'to be turned on' are erased in the Spanish target text, transmuting this female character into a more acceptable kind of woman, who acquiesces to sexual advances only when feeling in love. Similarly, where the maid of Don Corleone's daughter attempts to refute the stereotype that depicts women from Las Vegas as being sex-obsessed, stating that 'I'm not really a swinger like most of the girls here in Vegas' (Puzo, 1969: 308), the back-translated Spanish version simply reads 'I'm afraid I am somewhat different from girls in Vegas' ('Me temo que soy algo diferente de las chicas de Las Vegas'; Puzo, 1970: 309). Originating from Las Vegas, the maid is seen as a pleasure-seeker because of her affair with Sonny Corleone. She has the audacity to sleep with him during his sister's wedding, so the expression was moderated in order to offer a more gentle image of women from a city usually associated with licentiousness.

The modification strategy of commutation requires that 'the original information remains secret and the information provided is completely different from the original' ('la información original permanece en secreto y se comunica una información totalmente diferente de la original'; Vilches, 1989: 31; revisited by Gutierrez Lanza, 2000, in a study of censorship and cinema in Francoist Spain). The commutation technique was a convenient self-censorship device, allowing the translation agents to screen the source text for objectionable content and to modify potentially offensive passages. This strategy can be well illustrated by recourse to Irwin Shaw's Rich Man, Poor Man, from 1969. The book reflects on critical social issues within North American society from the end of World War ll up to the end of the 1960s, by centring on the fortunes and misfortunes of the German-American Jordache family. Upon initial examination by Spain's official censors, the English original received an 'official silence', which meant that its explicit sexual language and pornographic scenes were not officially approved yet its commercial distribution was not blocked (censorship file 8762-72). The subsequent Spanish translation, Hombre rico, hombre pobre, translated by J. Ferrer Aleu and published in 1972 by Plaza & Janes, in Barcelona, contains numerous watered-down versions of passages referring to sex, prostitution, divorce or contraception. For example, where in the original the Jordaches' daughter, Gretchen, is told by a man that 'You were going to go down there and get laid' (Shaw, 1969: 55), the Spanish translation has him stating that she was 'going there to get raped' ('Usted iba allí para que la violasen'; Shaw, 1972: 65). So, while the English-language narrative depicts the girl as actively looking for sex, the Spanish version spins a misogynous tale of victimisation which blames Gretchen for her own potential rape. Elsewhere, Gretchen lasciviously proclaims 'I'm horny and unlaid and disappointed' (Shaw, 1969: 346); rather than sexually aroused and unsatisfied, she is merely 'angry and disappointed' in the Spanish translation ('Estoy cabreada y defraudada'; Shaw, 1972: 379). In these examples, self-censorship in conjunction with the translation strategy of commutation have effected drastic changes in propositional content that result in psychologically skewed representations of the novel's female characters.

Strategic elision

North American bestsellers geared for circulation on the Spanish market under Franco's regime were also subject to stringent strategies of elision. Unlike moderation and commutation strategies, whose main aim is to divert the attention of the reader from a potentially controversial topic to a less problematic one, elision consists of simply deleting the problematic content, with no need for rewording (this is termed 'omission' by Chesterman, 1997: 109-110). This text-altering technique, as with all the translation strategies highlighted here, could be carried out by government officials, by translators or editors. Most of the time, however, non-governmental agents such as translators or editors would themselves omit parts of a given source text in order to forestall any potential confrontation with official censorship. Harold Robbins's novel The Betsy (1971) serves as a good example of the employment of this coercive procedure. Harold Robbins remains one of the most prolific; and most widely published authors of all time, and his novels have fast-paced storylines and all the ingredients of sex, money, power and violence that readers around the world were (and still are) craving. Just like Robbins's exhilarating and bawdy depictions of American life in the 20th century, the publication history of The Betsy in Spain was nothing short of eventful. It entered the official book control system through a Spanish translation from Argentina entitled Betsy. The translation had been carried out by Raquel Albornoz, who recently acknowledged that she had

not dared to self-censor the text, attributing any possible changes to the official authorities in her country for the simple reason that, at the time, Argentina itself was reeling under a repressive dictatorial regime with its very own censorial mechanisms (personal communications, January 2005 and May 2006). Nonetheless, in Spain this translation was deemed by two official censors to be pornographic and unpublishable, as the implementation of cuts would have affected too many passages and would have rendered the story line incomprehensible. Yet, within the following three months the book's fortunes changed in dramatic fashion, from being regarded as dangerous and reprehensible - and thus forcing the publisher, Luis de Caralt, to abandon any publishing plans - to being introduced on the Spanish market. It has become a well-established idea in research on Francoist cultural repression that 'censorship was not passively "suffered" by Spaniards; they developed strategies to counter its effects' (Labanyi, 1996: 213), and one of these strategies was the resubmission of a book under a different title and cover. Translated by Domingo Manfredi Cano, yet with all pornographic and controversial scenes expurgated or modified, Los ejecutivos (The Executives) eventually managed to bypass official inspection. Unaware of the new title's true identity, the censors allowed this cornerstone of North American mass literature to enter into the Spanish literary system through official channels. In a bold move that might be termed literary camouflage in fact, a readjustment to the Illusio (Bourdieu, 1990) in the repressive translational field - Luis de Caralt managed to secure publication of a commercially promising work (censorship file 1349-73). The novel revolves around an automobile tycoon and his love life, and the storyline routinely hinges on passages that depict 'in graphic detail the frenzied copulation between the elderly head of a car dynasty and his young daughter-in-law' (Wilson, 2011: 27). Just like in many other North American bestsellers at the time, the female characters in Los ejecutivos are at ease with any kind of sexual proposal, a circumstance which had to be softened in the second translation before its resubmission to the authorities. Any hints at readiness for casual sex were not tolerated; unsurprisingly, source text passages with graphic sexual content such as 'Her legs were open too. Her pantyhose were soaked' (Robbins, 1971: 103) were deleted before the novel's official submission. Additionally, repressive legislation such as the ban on the sale of contraceptives (which was lifted only in 1978) played a role in self-censoring strategies, as evident in the preemptive elision of the sentence '1 brought everything to the Riviera with me except my B.C. pills' (Robbins, 1971: 376).

The end of the regime in 1978 brought about a change in official policies and public attitudes towards sex and morality, and this gradually became reflected in the patterns of writing and translation techniques in the national literary field, including an increasing 'permissiviness threshold' ('umbral de permisividad'), as highlighted by Gutierrez Lanza (2000: 176).

Power Plays or the Game of the Possible

In an early contribution to the historical understanding of Francoist censorship, Janet Perez (1984) employs the phrase 'the game of the possible' to discuss the various techniques of dissent available for coming to terms with the restrictions of cultural oppression. Perez's notion reminds us of the Bourdieusian prerogative to situate the fortunes of translation within sociological parameters, within fields of conflict where people have to struggle for capital while acquiring a specific (eel for the social game. Official censorship became part of the *iIllusio*, the *raison d'etre* of cultural agents in an extremely conservative country like Franco's Spain. Translational agents participated within a literary field that became structured around self-

censoring dispositions, which gradually became integrated into the literary field's illusio, Literary activities, on the whole, are 'subjected to guidelines or practices sometimes predetermined which represent, to a greater or lesser degree, an instrument of social control' ('sujeta a pautas o prácticas muchas veces predeterminadas que representan, en mayor o menor grado, un instrumento de control social'; Carbonell i Cortes, 1999: 216). This is why in cultural fields of intense state intervention a specific transindividual habitus - a predilection towards instinctual self-censorship - becomes a decisive element of the modus operandi of intercultural agents. From the 1980s onwards, translators and editors began to yield to the market demands of a system that became increasingly defined through capitalist values. The new interdependencies of slowly globalising national markets and cultural tastes had an impact on Spanish cross-cultural mediation, the consequence being that 'the moral tolerance threshold was gradually being raised' (Gutierrez Lanza, 2011: 318). This transformed a sociocultural field where, until then, the dynamics of literary gender representation had been strongly opposed to the rights, freedoms and interests of female citizens. Maintaining the image of women as upholders of the nation's morality (Linder, 2004: 157) had been an clement of crucial significance for the authoritarian state, and proved, unquestionably, one of the principal ideological concerns in a very conservative literary field characterised by repressive translation practices.

Note

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