A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITIVE INQUIRY INTO TRANSLATORS'VISIBILITY AND JOB-RELATED HAPPINESS: THE CASE OF GREATER CHINA
Fung-ming Liu

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DOCTORAL THESIS

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Abstract

In the literature there are abundant references to the view that translators tend to be invisible and subservient (e.g., Simeoni 1998; Wilss 1999; Bassnett 2002; Risku 2004; Hermans and Lambert 2006; Sela-Sheffy 2006; Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008). It is therefore of relevance to determine whether all translational practitioners are indeed considered to be invisible, and to determine why practitioners do not abandon this profession in case they may be viewed as being subservient. There must be some important factors that motivate people to stay in the profession. However, the translator's job-related happiness has scarcely been researched in empirical Translation Studies. Our research employs a mixed-methods design combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to carry out a thorough investigation into the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. In the quantitative phase, analysis is based on 193 Chinese translators in the greater China region, which comprises Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and Macao. This study statistically shows that the more visible the translator, the more capital they receive. We have found that, in our sample, *visibility* is rewarding in terms of social exchanges and learning experience, but not in terms of pay and prestige, since we have statistically confirmed the hypotheses that more visible translators receive more social and cultural capital. This means that translators who are more visible may know more people and that they may feel that they are learning more. Further, we have confirmed that the more visible translators are happier. We have also maintained the hypothesis that the more visible the translator, the less the gap between capital sought and capital received. In addition, we have confirmed, in a statistically significant way, the hypothesis that the more visible the translator, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal

with translation. Our study also shows that the translator's visibility has a greater impact on job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

Further, our findings suggest that some social variables including sex, level of education, region that the translator lives in, the translator's major field of study and the time spent on translation are not related to visibility, capital received, or job-related happiness. Meanwhile, we have found that the appearance of the translator's name on translations is significantly related to visibility, the capital received and job-related happiness.

In the qualitative phase, three case studies explore in-depth the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. After analyzing the three interviews, we find that visibility not only nurtures the translator but also benefits the client, since translators feel that they can better receive their clients' feedback and that the translators are working in a way that their clients appreciate. Finally, we preliminarily suggest that visibility can help lower transaction costs, increase trust between players, and perhaps widen the success conditions — at least to the extent that the definition of success of a particular translation task can be negotiated.

Key words

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I, Anthony Pym, *Professor Titular* in the Department of English and German Studies of the

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HEREBY CERTIFY:

That the doctoral thesis *A Quantitative and Qualitative Inquiry into Translators' Visibility and*

Job-related Happiness: The Case of Greater China, presented by Fung Ming Christy Liu for the

award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision through the

Intercultural Studies Group of Rovira i Virgili University.

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HEREBY CERTIFY:

That the doctoral thesis *A Quantitative and Qualitative Inquiry into Translators' Visibility and Job-related Happiness: The Case of Greater China*, presented by Fung Ming Christy Liu for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision.

Leo T.H. Chan

Dated: 27 April, 2011

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1. Introduction

1.1 Invisibility: A myth?

In the literature, translators have often been depicted as invisible and subservient (see Hermans and Lambert 1998; Simeoni 1998; Wilss 1999; Bassnett 2002; Risku 2004; Sela-Sheffy 2006; Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008). Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen offer a survey of the literature and find that

> The translator is referred to as "a shadowy presence" (Steiner, quoted in Bassnett 2002: 77), invisible, seldom recognized (Venuti 1995: 1, 17) or anonymous (e.g. Koskinen 2000: 60), modest, self-effacing (Godard 1990 in Hatim 2001: 52), isolated (Risku 2004: 190), unappreciated (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995/2000: 92), passive (Risku 2004:190) and powerless (Snell-Hornby 2006: 172). (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 73)

Translation Studies scholars (e.g., Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008, 2009; Sela-Sheffy 2005, 2006, 2008) point out that the study of translators as a professional group is not a central topic in Translation Studies. Lung Jan Chan posits that this phenomenon "may reflect the fact that the translation professional is at an early stage of professional development" (Chan 2008: 2).

Are these views reflecting the reality of the workplace? At the level of practice, are all translation practitioners invisible? Are they all working behind-the-scenes and not communicating with people such as their clients and end-users? Is translation such an auxiliary occupation? Having received a formal education as a translator and having been in the media industry working as a journalist for a decade, I have often been

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contacted by translators from public relations agencies who would like to follow up the bilingual press releases and materials that they had sent to me. The communication is not one-way. As their names and contact information appeared on the materials they had sent to me, I contacted them when I had problems. These translators gave me the feeling that they experienced pleasure during the communication process. Also, I was of the impression that they were very happy when knowing that I was satisfied with their translated materials and found no problems with their work.

We start this chapter by asking whether invisibility is a myth because the concept of visibility/invisibility is not clear in Translation Studies (detailed discussion can be found in Section 2.2). In addition, there is a lack of empirical studies and data on the translator's visibility (cf. Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008). The Translation Studies literature often assumes an invisible translator; however, the translator at work, such as the translators handling my press releases, looks very visible to me. This aroused my curiosity and has led me to revisit the concept of the translator's visibility. In fact, the curiosity is not only mine. Claudia Angelelli (2001, 2004), Kumiko Torikai (2009), Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009) have similar doubts when they study interpreting and translation professionals. For example, Angelelli observes that "there exits a discrepancy between the role that is prescribed for interpreters […] and that which unfolds in practice, where interpreters bring the self to the interactions […]" (Angelelli 2004: 2-3). She further points out that "the professional ideology prescribes an invisible interpreter without necessarily addressing differences imposed by settings" (ibid: 3). Thus, she examines interpreters' visibility and their perceptions of their role through a survey administered across languages in Canada, Mexico and the United States. The questionnaire contained two parts. The first part had 13 background questions mostly targeting social factors of interpreters while the second part contained 38 visibility items concerning five visibility components including aligning with one of

the parties, establishing trust/facilitating mutual respect, communicating affect as well as message, explaining cultural gaps/interpreting culture and establishing communication rules. Angelelli finds that interpreters do not perceive their role as being invisible:

> Results from this study showed that interpreters in all settings perceived themselves as having some degree of visibility (within a continuum of visibility). This means that to some extent (sometimes greater, sometimes lesser), they perceived that they play a role in building trust, facilitating mutual respect, communicating affect as well as message, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow, and/or aligning with one of the parties to the interaction in which they participate. (ibid: 82)

Torikai starts her discussion by citing a comment published in *International Herald Tribune* about Viktor Sukhodrev, widely considered the king of interpreters, in order to explain the perspective that interpreters are invisible: "They are not meant to be seen. […] in actuality, what the interpreters say is what somebody else has said, and their own voices remain inaudible. Their voices are not meant to be heard" (Torikai 2009: 1). However, Torikai emphasizes that the work of interpreters should not be overlooked:

> […] the possibility exists that interpreters inadvertently play a role as mediator bridging the gap between two different languages in diverse communicative events, whether at official meetings, informal gatherings, secret summit meetings, or lectures and press conferences. (ibid: 6)

Torikai thus attempts to "collect the living memories of interpreters, who devoted themselves to mediating intercultural communication in the political and economic

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arena, specifically through life-story interviews of five pioneer simultaneous interpreters, to listen to the voices of the invisible" (ibid: 7). According to Torikai, the narratives of the five interpreters reveal that interpreters do not play an invisible role:

> The narratives of the five pioneers demonstrated that an interpreter is not simply an invisible linguistic conduit, but is an intercultural communication expert and coordinator, facilitating and mediating intercultural encounters. Interpreters play the role of *kurogo*, but their role is quite an autonomous one, ingenious and creative, with their own insight, judgment and decision-making, with their individual empathy, passion and determination. In that sense, it may well be concluded that the interpreters' presence as *kurogo* is definitely beyond invisibility, and beyond anonymity. (ibid: 180)

Although Angelelli and Torikai revisit the concept of visibility, their focus is on interpreters and their perceptions of their role. Our present study looks at translators and whether or not their mediating role is visible to clients and end-users. Our definition of "translator" includes people who do translation and/or interpreting as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly, either on a full-time, part-time or project basis. This does not include people who only handle oral renditions of spoken discourse from one language into another language.

Dam and Korning Zethsen observe that "the consensus amongst translators and translation scholars regarding translator status is that it is decidedly low" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 69). However, they doubt whether translator status is as low as often claimed. They thus carried out a questionnaire-based study in order to chart the status of the Danish translators as perceived by themselves and their fellow employees. The research findings reveal that the visibility of the company translators, who took part

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in the questionnaire survey, is "reasonably, though not overwhelmingly, high" (ibid: 91). Detailed discussion of the study can be found in Section 2.2.3.

1.2   Lest we forget translators are people

If the translation profession is such an invisible and subservient occupation, why do people not quit their translation jobs? There must be some important factors that motivate people to stay in the profession. Investigating the translator's job-related happiness is worthwhile if we really regard translators as people. The topic has never been investigated systematically by Translation Studies scholars because Translation Studies has a double origin: in linguistics and in literary studies. However, on both sides, the tendency in the twentieth century was to study texts, not people. Although there is no shortage of social approaches to translation and translators, there is a lack of focus on studying the people, and more particular, their job-related happiness. Anthony Pym (2006) reminds us that we can go back to Eugene Nida's works and the whole thrust of Descriptive Translation Studies in order to trace the social and cultural approaches to translation. However, those works are "fundamentally ways of studying texts […] texts were the thing" (Pym 2006: 2).

Our research places heavy emphasis on people, not texts, because we regard translators as important mediators during the translation process. They deserve our full attention. We concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's meditating role is visible to their clients and end-users. This investigation allows us to explicitly define visibility in terms of the workplace and formulate the various modes of visibility between translators, clients and end-users (see Section 3.4). Further, we attach great importance to whether translators are happy with their work. As mentioned above,

I had the impression that the translators who communicated with me about their translated materials were very happy when knowing that I was satisfied with their work. I am very curious about whether this type of translator is happier than those who do not communicate with their clients. Is there any relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness? The present research seeks to employ theories from social psychology to develop models that enable us to measure the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness.

1.3 Aim of the study

This research employs a mixed-methods design combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The rationale for combining the two approaches is that the quantitative data allow us to know whether or not the translator's visibility is associated with their job-related happiness, while the qualitative data and analysis explain the relationship in terms of the participants' perspectives and experiences. In the quantitative phase, the analysis is based on 193 Chinese translators in the greater China region, which comprises Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and Macao. In the qualitative phase, three case studies explore in-depth the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness.

For the quantitative phase of this study, the research questions are:

1. What is the relationship between the translator's visibility and the amount of capital that translators say they receive? Do visible translators receive more symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital than do invisible translators?

2. Does the translator's visibility affect their overall job-related happiness?

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3. Are there any correlations between the translator's visibility, their work experience (in terms of years of translation experience) and their job-related happiness?

Guided by these research questions, we have constructed five main hypotheses for this research. Our first hypothesis (H_1) examines the relationship between the translator's visibility and the amount of capital they say they receive:

H_1: The more visible the translators, the more capital they receive.

To gain a complete understanding of the translator's visibility and the various kinds of capital these professionals say they receive, we test the following lower-level hypotheses:

H_{1a}: The more visible the translators, the more symbolic capital they receive.

H_{1b}: The more visible the translators, the more economic capital they receive.

H_{1c}: The more visible the translators, the more social capital they receive.

H_{1d}: The more visible the translators, the more cultural capital they receive.

Our second hypothesis (H_2), which aims to find answers to our second research question, is that:

H_2: The more visible the translators, the happier they are.

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness, the following lower-level hypotheses will be tested:

H_{2a}: The more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received.

H_{2b}: The more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation.

Our third research question looks at the correlation between the translator's work experience, visibility and their job-related happiness. Therefore, these hypotheses will be tested:

H_3: The greater the work experience, the greater the visibility.

H_4: The greater the work experience, the greater the job-related happiness.

In order to compare the impact of the translator's visibility and their work experience on their job-related happiness, we test the following hypothesis:

H_5: The translator's visibility has a greater impact on the translator's job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

For the qualitative phase of this study, the guiding research questions are:

1. How do shifts in visibility affect the translator's job-related happiness and the capital received?

2. How does visibility enable translators to nurture themselves as well as improve the relationship between their clients and end-users?

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1.4 Structure of the thesis

This report on our research is structured as follows.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of research on the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. The concept of visibility in Translation Studies and the traditional view of the translator's visibility will be discussed. A brief overview of the translator in the Chinese history will be given, since we have chosen to study translators in the greater China region. Then we attempt to challenge the traditional view of the translator's visibility because over the past decade there seems to have been a trend towards giving a higher status to translators. We look at some empirical studies on the translator in order to see what the research findings tell us about the translator's visibility. The second part of the literature review deals with the translator's job-related happiness. We start our discussion by explaining the concept of happiness and surveying terms such as "happy", "well-being" and "job satisfaction" in order to defend why we have chosen to study "the translator's job-related happiness". Previous empirical research on the topic is also reviewed.

After the literature review, Chapter 3 presents our research questions, hypotheses, assumptions and the overall conceptual framework applied in the study. Key terms including "visibility", "capital" and "the translator's job-related happiness" are presented, defined and operationalized.

Chapter 4 describes the research design of the present study. The rationale for carrying out a mixed-methods design is discussed and justified.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology and procedures of the first phase, i.e. the quantitative phase. It explains how the hypotheses are tested, followed by a detailed explanation of the development and administration of the survey questions.

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Chapter 6 describes the results of the questionnaire survey. The demographic data of our subjects is presented. Then the hypotheses we have formulated for this research are tested and the findings are analyzed in an attempt to answer the research questions.

Chapter 7 presents the methodology and procedures of the second phase, i.e. the qualitative phase. After reporting on the subjects' comments on the two open-ended questions asked in the questionnaire survey, we explain how the quantitative and the qualitative data are connected in the mixed-methods design. We also justify our use of a case study approach. After that, we discuss how we select participants for our case studies and we develop an interview protocol for doing interviews. Lastly, a pilot interview is analyzed in order to improve our interview protocol and procedures.

Chapter 8 presents the findings obtained from the three case studies. The analysis is performed at two levels: within each case and across the cases.

Chapter 9 further discusses the findings obtained from our quantitative and qualitative analysis. After that, our findings will be compared with those of Angelelli (2001, 2004), Torikai (2009) as well as Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009).

Chapter 10 discusses the limitations of the present study and provides possible avenues for further research.

2. Previous work in the area

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed that the Translation Studies literature often assumes an invisible translator. Pym summarizes those views as follows: "translators are basically nurturers, helpers, assistants, self-sacrificing mediators who tend to work in situations where receivers need added cognitive assistance" (Pym 2008: 323). However, if the translation profession is such an auxiliary occupation, why do people not abandon their translation jobs? There must be some important factors that motivate people to stay in the profession. From Morry Sofer's point of view, most translators are happy with their work and careers, even though their roles are not visible to the general public:

> Translators are not as visible to the general public as dentists or policemen, and therefore seem to be a rare breed. The fact is, thousands of translators work full-time in international corporations and organizations, the U.S. Armed Forces, U.S. Government agencies, law firms, medical organizations, and many other entities. I happen to know a large number of those translation professionals. Many of them seem to be quite happy and fulfilled in their career, and are paid respectable though not outrageous salaries. (Sofer 2006: 133)

Unfortunately there is little empirical evidence to support any of these statements. In Translation Studies, the translator's job-related happiness is a relatively uncharted area. It seems that since client satisfaction is paramount in the field of translation (cf.

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Gouadec 2007), no one really cares whether translators are happy with their work and status.

The aim of our research is precisely to study empirically the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. The concern is whether or not the translator's meditating role is visible to clients and end-users. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital and psychologist Peter Warr's job-related framework are made use of to study the translator's job-related happiness. In particular, whether or not the translator's visibility affects their job-related happiness is crucial.

Job-related happiness has attracted much attention from multiple disciplines such as business management, sociology and psychology. However, there has been no prior empirical research specifically on the translator's job-related happiness, even though concepts more or less related to job satisfaction can be found (e.g., AIIC questionnaire surveys 2005, 2005-2006; Hermans and Lambert 2006; Tryuk 2007; Chen 2007; Chang 2008; Katan 2009a, 2009b; Setton and Guo 2009).

Scholars including Simeoni (1998), Angelelli (2001, 2004), Gouanvic (2002), Sela-Sheffy (2005, 2006, 2008) Wolf (2006) and Torikai (2009) have previously mobilized Bourdieu's theories of field, habitus and capital to explain translation and interpreting phenomena. Other scholars (Jänis 1996; Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008, 2009; Katan 2009a, 2009b) do not employ Bourdieu's concepts but nonetheless examine the role of the translator in an empirical way.

This chapter reviews prior research relevant to the two issues of the present study: the translator's visibility and the translator's job-related happiness. First the concepts of the translator's visibility are reviewed. Focus is placed on empirical studies and what researchers have found. Then the concept of happiness is evaluated, with particular attention to the approaches applied in our study. Prior publications on the job satisfaction of interpreters and translators are also examined.

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2.2 The translator's visibility

The translator's visibility has been a much discussed issue in Translation Studies since Lawrence Venuti used the term "invisibility" in his book *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995). According to Venuti, it is traditionally believed that "the more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text" (Venuti 1995: 2). Venuti cites a critic to prove the point:

> I see translation as the attempt to produce a text so transparent that it does not seem to be translated. A good translation is like a pane of glass. You only notice that it is there when there are little imperfections – scratches, bubbles. Ideally, there shouldn't be any. It should never call attention to itself. (Norman Shapiro, cit. Venuti 1995: 1)

Venuti uses the concept *invisibility* to describe the translator's situation in contemporary Anglo-American culture. He points out that:

> A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or nonfiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text — the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the 'original'. (Venuti 1995: 1).

In the first chapter of his book, Venuti focuses on the relationship between the translator and the text within a socio-cultural context. He discusses two types of translating strategy: domestication and foreignization. As Jeremy Munday puts it, "these

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strategies concern both the choice of text to translate and the translation method" (2008:

144). Venuti's whole book is basically against invisibility while advocating foreignizing

translation. In chapter six, Venuti highlights his own preferences by saying that a

translated text shows cultural differences:

> A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a
>
> glimpse of a cultural other, and resistancy, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of
>
> discontinuity, can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the
>
> gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gap between cultures. (Venuti
>
> 1995: 306)

In his final chapter ("Call to Action"), Venuti reminds Translation Studies

scholars of the importance of studying the translator's creativity. Venuti's book is

important because his metaphor of the "shadowy existence" of the translator and his

term "invisibility" explicitly demonstrates how translation has been seen as a private

activity.

Although we use the term "visibility" in our research, our focus is nevertheless

different from Venuti's. He discusses the in/visibility of the translator in the target text,

whereas we concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's mediating

role is visible to the client and the end-user. Our use of the concept is much closer to

that of Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009) as we focus on the translator's visibility

in the workplace, although Dam and Korning Zethsen did not ask translators about the

desirability of visibility. In addition, they pay no attention to the translator's actual

interactions with the client and/or the end-user.

What appears to be rather obvious is that, in the literature, the concept of

visibility is widely used by Translation Studies scholars to refer to the translator's

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discursive presence in translations. For example, in a forum titled "Visibility of the Translator and Readers' Receptions", reported in *Current Issues in Language and Society* (4: 1, 35-55), several Translation Studies scholars share their viewpoints on the relationship between visibility and the presence of the translator. Jean-Pierre Mailhac emphasizes that a distinction between visibility and presence should be made. From Mailhac's point of view, the translator is only visible to the reader in footnotes. "In my view, the translator is only visible to the reader, for example in footnotes, where the translator is saying 'Here I am, and I'm drawing your attention to this or that'. In other cases, I think, you have various degrees of presence, but not really visibility" (Mailhac 1997: 35). When Hans G. Hönig asks whether the name of the translator appearing on the cover of a book could be classified as visibility or presence, Mailhac adds that there are different dimensions of presence. He points out that the name of the translator appearing on the front page of a book is one type of presence but it is not visibility. This is because readers would not notice what additions or changes the translator has made and therefore the translator is not visible to the reader. He further stresses that "the only time he or she may become visible is if there is a translator's preface or footnotes" (ibid). Hans G. Hönig argues that presence aids visibility and presence and visibility are connected: "It's important that the readers know that there is a translator, and if you have a translator's preface explaining translation strategies, then the translator also becomes more visible" (Hönig 1997: 35).

Although these scholars focus their discussion on the translator's visibility and presence, they are not explicit about what visibility or presence mean in textual, communicative or social terms. For example, Mailhac suggests that a clear distinction should be made between visibility and presence, while Hönig thinks that presence supports visibility and the two things should be connected. It is a pity that they have not made these concepts clear.

Kaisa Koskinen suggests that "there are at least three distinct kinds of visibility. One might call them *textual*, *paratextual* and *extratextual* visibility" (Koskinen 2000: 99). Textual visibility refers to "the ways in which the translator makes his or her presence visible on the textual level, in the translation itself" (ibid). Paratextual visibility "refers to the translator's statements about their work outside or in the margins of the actual text" (ibid). Koskinen explains that extratextual visibility is related to the social status of translation:

> Different from other forms of visibility, demands for extratextual visibility are not primarily directed at translators themselves but at others dealing with translations. […] the demands have ranged from the requirement that the name of the translator be mentioned in publisher's publicity material to debates on the need to include specific translation criticism in newspaper reviews of translated books. (ibid)

Some may relate the translator's visibility to the presence of the translator's name on the translation or the publisher's publicity material. However, having a discursive presence in the target text or one's name printed on the translation does not really mean that the translator is visible to the people who consume the text. Emma Wagner notes that "we feel that we are not recognized […] we don't think that having our names on our translations would solve the problem. Really there are two problems: lack of appreciation and lack of professional recognition" (in Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 27). It is believed that being respected and appreciated is important to translators.

In the present research, as a working definition, the translator's visibility refers to situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users (details will be explained in Section 3.4 below). We give particular attention to the relations between translators, clients and end-users because we believe, with Donald C.

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Kiraly, that the responsibility of today's translators "extends far beyond 'translation competence' or the ability to create an equivalent target text in one language on the basis of a pre-existing text written in another language" (Kiraly 2003: 13). Translators are also required to communicate effectively during the process of translation. As Basil Hatim says, "the translator is, of course, both a receiver and a producer. We would like to regard him or her as a special category of communicator" (Hatim 1997: 1). Geoffrey Samuelsson-Brown even stresses: "I find that job satisfaction is enhanced if I have the opportunity to speak to the client or project manager and establish a more personal level of contact" (Samuelsson-Brown 2010: 42).

In what follows, the traditional view of the translator's visibility is first discussed. Then the Chinese perspective on the translator's visibility and status is examined. After that, we give an overview of some seminal empirical studies dealing with visibility.

2.2.1   *The traditional view of the translator's visibility*

The translator's visibility has been placed in various contexts in the literature. If we ask the general public "What is translation?", we will get different answers from different people. And if we continue to ask people if translation is a visible social activity, we may expect to hear this kind of answer: translation is invisible because it always takes place behind the scenes. Wolfram Wilss notes that the work of the translator is "a rather unspectacular affair which takes place out of the public eye" (Wilss 1999: 2).

Susan Bassnett points out that translation is "in short, a low status occupation. Discussion of translation products has all too often tended to be on a low level too" (Bassnett 2002: 12). As the Israeli scholar Rakefet Sela-Sheffy observes, translation is often regarded as "a second-rate auxiliary occupation with only a secondary function in the production of texts" (Sela-Sheffy 2006: 243). She mentions that translation is not

officially recognized as a profession by the Israel Income Tax authorities. Wilss (1999) argues that some people even think that translation is an innate or natural ability — a person growing up in a bilingual or multilingual environment can translate. On this view, "translation and interpreting are code-switching operations (transfer between languages) which can hardly be considered intellectually or emotionally glamorous" (Wilss 1999: 169). Daniel Gouadec makes the similar point that "many people still think that professional translation is just a matter of 'languages', that anyone who has translated at school can become a translator and that translating is something rather easy and straightforward" (Gouadec 2007: xiii).

In addition, translators are often portrayed as invisible language switchers. For example, when Angelelli (2001, 2004) investigates the interpreter's role, she notes that translators and interpreters are often viewed as "an invisible language switcher that can communicate the same meaning in a different language" (Angelelli 2004: 43). Hanna Risku (2004), when examining the similarities and differences in the competencies required for technical translation and technical communication, finds that the translator's role is passive and isolated. According to Erich Prunč, in his paper entitled "Priests, princes and pariahs. Constructing the professional field of translation" (2007), which investigates the various reasons for the rather marginal status of the translator, translators consider the author as master and the client as king. He points out that translators are often forced into invisible roles, which reduce them to the status of transcoders. This kind of pariah *habitus* may be engrained in the translator's character: "They continue to work for ever lower prices and rates and are both the victims and originators of the current price-cutting spiral (cf. Prunč 2003) which threatens not only their own existence but also the reputation of the translation profession" (Prunč 2007: 49). Sela-Sheffy (2006) has carried out a questionnaire survey to investigate the image of translators in Israel between 1999 and 2004. The subjects she studies reflect a

relatively inferior image of translators, some of them using "clichés such as 'kept in the shadow', 'behind the scenes' or 'craftsmen', and labeling their job 'an intellectual occupation lacking glamour' or hard (or 'dirty') and frustrating work" (Sela-Sheffy 2006: 245).

Further, some Translation Studies scholars do not consider translation to be a field (in Bourdieu's sense of a social space where people compete against each other). For example, when Michaela Wolf explores the state of feminist translation in German-speaking countries, she finds that the translation field only exists temporarily because it lacks institutionalization; for example, many translators work freelance and on the basis of short-term contracts. Although Wolf is not saying that translation is not important, she suggests that "it might be better to rather adopt the term 'translation space'" (Wolf 2006: 135):

> According to Bourdieu, agents are continuously struggling for permanent positions in a field. In order to guarantee such a position, the field must be quite strongly structured, with long-term positions and hierarchizations allowing for competitive struggle between the agents. This is not the case of the more or less continuous re-formulation and re-creation of the terms of the mediating processes required in the translation space by its very nature. (Wolf 2006: 136)

Esperança Bielsa, too, notes that "translation, especially in the English-speaking world, is a poorly paid activity, often regarded as marginal and of less significance than other forms of writing" (Bielsa 2009: 10).

The assumed marginal status of translation is not restricted to Western countries. Translation has also been regarded as a kind of invisible and secondary activity throughout Chinese history. China has over three thousand years of translation history but translation was always seen as a low-status occupation (see Table 2.1). From ancient

China to the Qing Dynasty, the Imperial government was the major patron of translation activities. Most of the translation activities were controlled and supported by the Imperial government until the Imperial examination system was canceled in 1905, a few years before the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912. Besides the Imperial government, merchants were another major patronage group sponsoring translation activities, as they frequently hired translators to accompany them to do business. For example, historical records show that merchants in the Han Dynasty were accompanied by translators in their trips to South-East Asia and India (see Hung and Pollard 2009).

Throughout Chinese history, translation-related positions in the government rank system were often ignored. Translators were basically not listed on the nine official ranks (in the nine ranks system), except in the Jin and Qing dynasties. These two dynasties were not ruled by Han people, who form the majority of the Chinese population. The status of translators was higher in those two dynasties because they could help the Imperial government communicate with the Han people. Table 2.1 shows the ranking of translators from the Tang dynasty to the Qing dynasty.

Table 2.1. The ranking of translators from the Tang dynasty to the Qing dynasty

Source: Hung 2005a: 129 (my translation)

Dynasty	Official language	Ranking/Job Duty (if any)
Tang	Chinese	Not listed on the nine rank system/Usher
Sung	Chinese	Not listed on the nine rank system
Liao	Qidan language (Qidan was an ancient ethnic group in China)	Not listed on the nine rank system
Jin	Jin language, Qidan language, Chinese	Grade nine
Yuan	Mongolian, Chinese, Farsi	Not listed on the nine rank system
Ming	Chinese	Not listed on the nine rank system/to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Qing	Manchurian, Mongolian, Chinese	Listed up to grade six/to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Court/legation

Having said that, translators did work beyond the limits set by government and commercial entities. The translation of Buddhist scriptures and missionary translations are two examples:

In the three thousand years from the Zhou Dynasty to the present, the bread-and-butter of the Chinese translator's work has always been in government and commerce. There are extant poetry translations dating back to at least the fourth century BC, but these early literary translations were mostly recorded as part of the experience of various diplomatic missions. There have been periods, however, when translation played a crucial role in China's cultural and social development, going far beyond the confines of government and commerce. The most significant of these periods relate to the translation of Buddhist scriptures, the work of Christian missionaries, the political and cultural events leading to the May Fourth Movement, and the emergence of the People's Republic of China and subsequent contact with European countries. (Hung and Pollard 2009: 370)

According to Eva Hung and David Pollard (2009), the translation of Buddhist scriptures could be divided into three phases: (1) Eastern Han Dynasty and the Three Kingdoms Period (c. CE 148-265), (2) Jin Dynasty and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (c. 265-589), and (3) Sui Dynasty, Tang Dynasty and Northern Song Dynasty (c. 589-1100). During the first phase, monks from Central Asia were the translators. Although most of the monk-translators did not have a good command of Chinese, they were respected translators thanks to their religious background and knowledge: "Because of the strong theological emphasis, the foreign monk — despite his lack of knowledge of the target language — was always billed as the Translator, while the person who did the actual writing in Chinese was credited as the Recorder" (ibid: 371). In the Jin Dynasty, some prominent foreign monks who learned Chinese and could translate orally initiated the second phase of the sutra translations. Some productive

monk-translators such as Kuramajiva (344-413) earned their reputation during this period. During the third phase, the Imperial government of the Song Dynasty (c. 984) further promoted Buddhist translations by establishing a Sanskrit school in order to foster a new generation of Buddhist translators. "However, the decline of Buddhism in India as well as a change in government policy led to a rapid decline in Buddhist translation activities towards the 1050s" (ibid: 372).

The arrival of Matteo Ricci marked the birth of the second wave of translation activities — missionary translation. Missionaries played an indispensable role because they translated a huge number of works related to mathematics, astronomy, geography, physics and religion.

These two waves of translation activities in China seem to have boosted the status of foreign monk-translators and missionaries, but not the country's translators. As cited above, those who helped the monk-translators do the actual writing in Chinese were not credited as translators but as recorders. Hung even adds:

> But the nature of religious translation itself called for the downplaying or obliteration of the translators' existence to facilitate the illusion that the Almighty and the prophets speak directly to the faithful. Thus, despite the frequent contact people had with translation work through religion, they were not always aware it. (Hung 2005b: vii)

Translation Studies as an independent discipline has only been addressed since the 1980s in China, despite the long history of translation. In the 1980s, Chinese scholars were influenced by Western translation theories and therefore began to view translation as an independent discipline:

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Around 1987, more than 20 scholarly articles were published to emphasize the significance of the establishment of this discipline, which in turn was expected to promote translation practice and translation teaching and to improve the social status of translators and researchers along the line as well. (Sun & Mu 2008: 53)

At present in Chinese Translation Studies, much research is still focused on the linguistic study of translation skills. For Sun and Mu, "[t]oo much attention has been paid to the so-called criteria for translation and translation techniques […] little research has been done on the nature and the process of translation, let alone the subjectivity of the translator" (Sun & Mu 2008: 71).

2.2.2   *Challenging the traditional view from a non-empirical perspective*

Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) tell us that the lack of focus on the translator in Translation Studies is actually not surprising at all. They refer to the diagram (Figure 2.1) in James S Holmes' 1972 essay "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies", a text generally seen as a defining point in the establishment of Translation Studies as an independent discipline.

Figure 2.1. Holmes' conception of translation studies (from Toury 1995: 10)
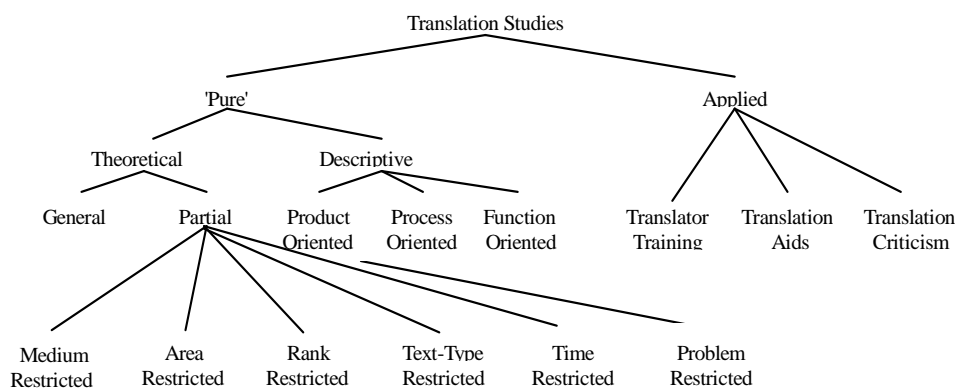
Dam and Korning Zethsen note: "As Pym (1998: 4) points out, repeated in Munday (2001:14), there is no mention of 'the individuality of the style, decision-making process and working practices of human translators involved in the translation process'" (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2008: 72). They further explain that "[o]ne area of translation research that does focus not only on the translator, but specifically on translator status falls under the cultural studies paradigm [...]. However, scholars working in this paradigm focus almost exclusively on literary translation" (ibid).

This explains why the social status of the translator as a professional group has traditionally not been a central topic in Translation Studies. Indeed, Andrew Chesterman (2009) makes a similar point when he argues that the focus on the translator is inadequately represented in the classic Holmes map. He points out that Holmes' own interest was in literary translation and therefore his "vision of Translation Studies was highly weighted towards texts rather than the people that produce them" (Chesterman 2009: 19). Having said that, Chesterman (2009) emphasizes that Holmes actually gave some space for future discussion about adding new sub-fields or new branches to his map. Chesterman thus proposes a new sub-field called "Translator Studies" (Figure 2.2), which allows Translation Studies scholars to look at the translator's agency in different ways, covering sociology, culture and cognition.

Figure 2.2 outlines "Translator Studies", which Chesterman suggests should cover "research which focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation, for instance on their activities or attitudes, their interaction with their social and technical environment, or their history and influence" (Chesterman 2009: 20).

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Figure 2.2. A sketch of Translator Studies proposed by Chesterman (Chesterman 2009: 19)
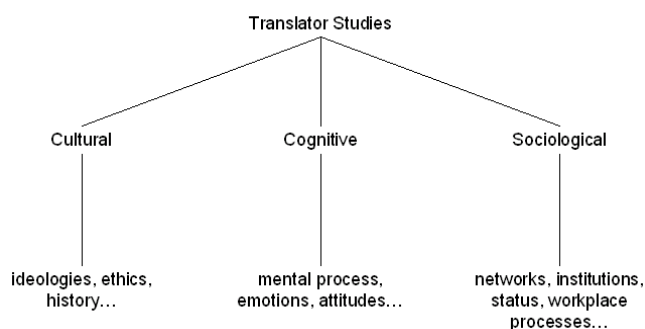
Over the past decade there seems to have been a slowly emerging trend towards giving a higher status and greater respectability to the translator. Many Translation Studies scholars have also noted a rise in translator visibility. Prunč points out that:

> It was not until the 1990s and the cultural turn in translation studies (Bassnett/Lefevere 1990) that translation studies finally also included the translators in its purview, as well as the translator's search for a way to cut through the labyrinth of socio-cultural constraints and their active role in the construction of cultures. (Prunč 2007: 41)

Although the quotation does not make it clear that the social-cultural system within which translation takes place has long been a part of Translation Studies, it tells us that there has been an increasing interest in studying the translator.

Carol Maier stresses that "the last two decades have brought significant changes for translators, who now find themselves in more visible situations, doing work undoubtedly considered useful" (Maier 2007: 253). M. Rosario Martín Ruano (2006) notes that the term "visibility" has become a catchword in Translation Studies. She notes, in 'Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator' (1996), that "Susan Bassnett declared 'visibility' to be the keyword in the 90s. In effect, the discipline in its entirety seems to have adopted this catchword" (Martín Ruano 2006: 50). In Bassnett's view, translation has become a visible humanistic social activity

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thanks to the advancement of electronic media and globalization: "Translation has a crucial role to play in aiding understanding of an increasingly fragmentary world" (Bassnett 2002: 193). Sofer shares similar viewpoints, although her discussion focuses on the translator in the United States. She observes that "during the last 25 years I have witnessed a dramatic change in the role of translators in this country and around the world. Opportunities for translators are growing as never before" (Sofer 2006: 16).

David Katan notes that "the academics are awarding translators creative, managerial and specialist roles, which almost automatically results in calls for the end of the invisibility of the translator" (Katan 2009a: 112):

> Ever since "the cultural turn", over 30 years ago, and the rise of the functional school, belief in the importance of the translator as much more than a (more or less) faithful copier has taken hold. Edwin Gentzler (2001: 71), for example, talks of a revolution which has broken "the two thousand year old chain of theory revolving around the faithful vs. free axis" and has empowered the translator. (Katan 2009a: 112)

Katan (2009a and 2009b) further emphasizes that metaphors are now pushing the translator away from office or room-bound photocopies and walking bilingual dictionaries to world travelers. He reveals that some scholars have suggested that translators

> are (or should become) mediators (Hatim/Mason 1990), "cultural mediators" (Katan [1999] 2004); "cross-cultural specialists" (Snell-Hornby 1992) "information brokers" (Obenaus 1995), or "cultural interpreters" (Gonzalez/Tolron 2006), particularly interpreters (e.g. Harris 2000, Mesa 2000), and "experts in intercultural communication" (Holz-Mäntäri 1984). (ibid)

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As there is no empirical support for most of the above-mentioned statements, we will now look at some empirical studies to see what the research findings tell us.

2.2.3   *Empirical research on the translator's visibility*

In recent decades, Translation Studies has shifted from traditional prescriptivism to become more empirically-oriented and descriptive. Chesterman (1998) tells us that this trend can be found in Translation Studies since the 1990s, seen in several movements:

> One is a broadening of interest from translational studies (focusing on translations themselves) to translatorial studies (focusing on translators and their decisions). Another is a move from prescriptive towards descriptive approaches. However, I think the most important trend has been the shift from philosophical conceptual analysis towards empirical research. (Chesterman 1998: 201)

In the past few years, some scholars have begun to view translation as a professional social activity. They have attempted to employ a sociological paradigm and have used empirical research methods to investigate the translator's social status and visibility in the workplace. The growing interest in translators is clearly evident in the themes of recent conferences and publications, e.g., "The Translator's Visibility" in Santa Barbara, California, in 2010, and "Profession, Identity and Status: Translators and Interpreters as an Occupational Group" in Tel Aviv, Israel, in 2009. Papers from the latter conference were published in two back-to-back special issues of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (4/2 2009, 5/1 2010), edited by Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger, with 14 contributions focusing on the translator's and interpreters' professional identities and status. In their introduction, Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger emphasize that questions of

identity and status are not yet central topics in Translation Studies. Little attention has been paid to the status and social formations of translators as specific professional groups. The two editors explain that the two-part special issue sets out to understand how translators and interpreters perceive themselves, what kind of capital they pursue, how they struggle to achieve the capital. Meanwhile, Dam and Korning Zethsen, who have been making a concerted effort to study the translator's status empirically in recent years, share a similar idea; they stress that the topic has received very little attention in Translation Studies: "So far, translator status has hardly even been researched — empirically or otherwise — as a subject in its own right" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 2).

As we have mentioned, we find that Translation Studies scholars including Simeoni (1998), Angelelli (2001, 2004), Gouanvic (2002), Sela-Sheffy (2005, 2006, 2008), Wolf (2006) and Torikai (2009) have mobilized Bourdieu's theories of field, habitus and capital to explain translation or interpreting phenomena. However, it should be noted that not all of them have used empirical methods. Since our present study employs an empirical method to examine the translator's visibility, we only pay attention here to those who have done this type of research. As Bourdieu's theory of capital is used as a theoretical framework, his concepts will be explained in more detail in the next chapter. The following gives an overview of some seminal empirical studies using Bourdieu's concepts to investigate the status of the translator. After that, other empirical works that do not employ Bourdieu's theories but nonetheless focus on the translator will also be reviewed.

Sela-Sheffy (2005) has used Bourdieu's sociology to study the translator's social status. In her article "How to be a (recognized) translator: Rethinking habitus, norms and the field of translation" (2005), she argues that translators should not be regarded as transparent textual producers. She uses Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus to

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explain the tension between the "constrained" and the "versatile" nature of the translator's work in Israel. Israeli translators report that translation is normally carried out in isolation and not as teamwork. Some of them even say that "they feel — or are seen as — introverts, uneasy at working with other people, preferring to work with papers instead" (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 18).

Sela-Sheffy (2006) has also carried out extensive research to examine how literary translators construct their public image in order to set themselves apart from their peers and gain extra symbolic capital as professionals. Although her paper focuses on literary translators, Sela-Sheffy points out that both literary and non-literary translators share a similar view of their professional status:

> For all their differences, literary and non-literary translators alike tend to complain about being undervalued, ignored and underpaid, and dependent on unfair market forces […]. In short, they resent the fact that their occupation is regarded as semi-professional, with undefined requirements and criteria and unclear boundaries, failing to gain recognition as either a formal "profession" or an individual "art" form. (Sela-Sheffy 2006: 224)

As translation is often seen as a second-rate auxiliary occupation, literary translators try to find ways to make their status more reputable. In her research findings, personality figures are an important admission card to enter the literary translation field, due to the lack of formal professional criteria and qualifications:

> Translators portray an idealized disposition of the "good translator", their background and lifestyle […]. By analogy to artists and poets, translators often present themselves as non-conventional individuals, living non-conventional lives, with unsociable, even eccentric

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personality […]. Another dominant component of this idealized disposition is a rich inner world, filled with imagination and emotional bonds with the fictional worlds of the texts. (ibid: 249-250)

According to Sela-Sheffy, establishing distinctive symbolic capital for the occupation has many advantages:

As translators, these people have already established themselves as personae that have a say in literary taste, with sovereignty as producers of their own cultural goods, sometimes even as policy makers in the market of translated literature, and therefore with the power to bargain for the terms and price of their work. (ibid: 251)

Literary translators build their prestige mainly on personal artist-like glory. They do not place an emphasis on their well-educated background in seeking to differentiate themselves. Instead, they present their choice to be translators "not as a rational decision, fitting their education and social status, but rather as a destiny that has somehow been realized by chance" (ibid: 250).

In addition, Sela-Sheffy (2008) has used about 250 profile articles and interviews, reviews, surveys of translators and other reports in the printed media from the early 1980s through 2004 to further examine the collective self-images of Israeli literary translators. She points out that there are different types of literary translators in Israel. For example, some prolific translators treat "their work as merely a means of livelihood" (Sela-Sheffy 2008: 619). And "[t]here are also those who have devoted themselves to translation but would not be interviewed, preferring to remain in the shadow" (ibid). However, there are literary translators trying to build their personae. These translators' attitudes suggest that "they view the images they adopt as important assets and expect to capitalize on them" (ibid: 620). They build their capital "by

mobilizing two central images, namely, their image as cultural custodians who perform a national-scale cultural mission, and their images as men of art" (ibid). Sela-Sheffy has found that some translators convert their accumulated symbolic capital into career advancement opportunities:

[…] individual translators seem to have already accumulated enough symbolic capital, which often also translates into further prestigious career-opportunities, such as literary critics and editors, and establish their status as public figures that have a say in literary taste in general, and as policy makers in the market of translated literature in particular. This capital evidently also advances their power to bargain for the terms and price of their work. (ibid)

Wolf (2006) has employed Bourdieu's theories to empirically examine translation practices in the field of feminist and women's literature. The research findings show that many women translators are not satisfied with the amount of economic capital that they receive. In order to increase their income, they have to translate less committed literature for commercial publishers. As most women publishers only own small publishing houses and financial reward is not one of the driving forces of the field, these publishers cannot provide translators with the opportunity to convert their cultural capital into economic capital. The female publishing field attaches great importance to cultural capital, and editors often require the translators to have knowledge of feminist issues. Thus, the cultural capital that the translators receive is related to a concern about women's issues. In addition, Wolf's research tells us that many women translators can only earn a limited amount of social capital because "many translators suffer from social isolation imposed on them through work at home, further aggravated by the

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increased use of the Internet – factors that tend to reduce social contact" (Wolf 2006: 139).

Angelelli (2001, 2004) has hypothesized that there is a relationship between interpreters' social background and their self-perception along the visibility/invisibility continuum. In order to test the hypotheses, she administered a questionnaire survey (the Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory) to 967 interpreters from March to November 2000. She received 293 completed questionnaires by November 2000. "The statistical analyses performed indicated that there is a relationship between background factors such as age, income and self-identification with dominant/subordinate groups and the perceptions that interpreters have of their role" (Angelelli 2001: 96). Further, she finds that to smaller or greater extent her respondents "perceive that they play a role in building trust, facilitating mutual respect, communicating affect as well as message, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow and aligning with one of the parties to the interaction in which they participate" (ibid). Our present study also investigates whether there is a relationship between the translator's social background and their visibility. We will compare our findings with those of Angelelli in Chapter 9.

On the other hand, there are some empirical works that do not employ Bourdieu's concepts but nonetheless focus on examining the visibility or role of the translator.

Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) have examined the status of a group of translators working for 13 major Danish companies. They define the concept of "status" in relation to four parameters of occupational status: (1) salary, (2) education/expertise, (3) visibility/fame, and (4) power/influence. The analysis was based on the responses to two sets of questionnaires, one for the translators and the other for the core-employees, who are the employees carrying out "the work which defines the company (e.g., in a law firm, the lawyers; in a bank, the economists)" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 76). Prior to investigating the visibility/fame of the translators, they explain that:

The parameter of *visibility fame*, which was deemed to be an important factor in the Danish study of occupational status, is not wholly applicable to this study. Translators are by definition not famous […]. We therefore focused our research on the *visibility* part of the dual parameter of visibility/fame here — a concept frequently discussed in translation studies. (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 88)

As pointed out earlier, the two authors note that "translators are often described in the literature as physically and professional isolated (Hermans and Lambert 1998: 123, Risku 2004: 190)" (ibid), their first question relating to *visibility/fame* thus asked the translators where in the company their office or workplace is situated. They find that 41% of the translators answer that they are "in a central position". Generally speaking, the translators feel that they are placed in central or at least in "neutral" locations and they do not feel physically isolated in the company. When the translators were asked about the extent of their professional contact with other company employees, the responses again show that they do not feel professionally isolated and invisible. The answers are similar for the core-employees. The third question relating to *visibility/fame* was about the degree of visibility of the translator's work in the company. The results show that the mean value of the ratings is "statistically not very high and certainly lower than the translator's previous ratings with respect to their visibility in relation to their colleagues" (ibid 89). In addition to asking translators questions related to *visibility/fame*, the two authors asked the core employees about the degree of their knowledge of the company's translators. When the core-employees were asked "how many of the company's translators do you know by name or by appearance", the answers show that 71 percent of them say that they know "all", "most", or "quite a lot" of the company's translators.

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These research results run counter to the general belief that translators are invisible. Dam and Korning Zethsen explain that the relatively high degree of visibility may be attributable to the design of the study itself since "a visible translation function was a selection criterion for the companies that participated in the study, and use of the company's translation services was a selection criterion for the core-employee respondents" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 91). In addition to the translator's visibility, other findings are worthy of note because they are relevant to our present study. For example, they asked the translators whether their "work as a translator connected with prestige in the company". They also asked the core employees if "the work of the translators connected with prestige in your company". They find that the preferred answer for all respondents — translators and core employers alike — is the neutral middle choice (i.e. "to a certain degree"). The remaining answers represent a low or very low degree of prestige, or possibly none at all. Regarding the issue of perceived translator status, the translators were asked, "What is your status as a translator in the company?" whereas the core employees were asked, "What status do the translators have in your company?". The results concerning the question of status are quite similar to those relating to prestige. Most of the answers are in the category of "to a certain degree", although this time more responses can be found in the low-status category. These findings reveal that "both translators and core employees tend to rate the prestige and status of translators as rather low and certainly lower than might be expected considering the strong professional profile of the translators in this sample" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 83).

Prior to conducting the questionnaire survey, Dam and Korning Zethsen had expected their research to yield a relatively high-status picture of the translators chosen for their sample, as their subjects had a rather visible and strong professional profile. When they found that the responses of both translators and core employees participating

in their questionnaire surveys indicated a lower professional status than they had expected, the two authors (2009) then decided to use the same pool of data to identify possible correlations between low- and high-status answers. They stressed that they were interested in what characterizes the respondents who clearly hold a low- or high-status perception of translation respectively.

From a macro perspective, the authors' analysis shows that a strong professional profile of the translator correlates with relatively few low-status ratings. In the article, a translator with a strong professional profile is defined as one with state authorization, whose job denomination is "translator", and who dedicates most of his/her working time to translation. According to the findings, the translators with the strongest professional profiles tend to describe translation as a low-status profession less often than other groups of translators. Further, the proportion of low-status answers tends to increase with age, whereas the high-status answers decrease. These results seem to reflect relatively high self-esteem in young company translators, which gradually decreases as the age factor is included for consideration. The observation may indicate that the social environment fosters a low-status perception among translators:

> […] it is not the educational system that fosters a low-status perception among translators, but rather the social/professional environment in which they are immersed after graduation. This hypothesis is supported by the data we have on the translators' year of graduation […], which show that recent graduation correlates with high-status answers. There may be an alternative to the 'progressive disillusion' hypothesis, namely that translator status has changed over the years and that the more mature translators came in at a time when the status was lower than now. (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 7)

In my opinion, studying how the low- and high-status answers correlate with the respondents' age can help people understand more about the translator's perceptions of their status. However, the work experience variable should also be taken into consideration if we want to give a fuller picture. For example, let us say a 35-year-old man enters the translation profession. He is not "young" but he is definitely a novice translator. Therefore, it is not enough if we only analyze the correlation between the age of the translator and their perceptions of translator status. As one of the objectives of our research is to test the correlations between the translator's visibility, their work experience and the level of their job-related happiness, we believe that our result findings will help explain more about the translator's perception of their status.

Dam and Korning Zethsen have also found that the more time the translators spend on translation, the less they tend to see translation as a low-status activity. In our study, we also ask our subjects to tell us how much time they spend on translation-related assignments or activities (hours/week). A comparison between our questionnaire survey, which is targeted at Chinese translators in greater China, and Dam and Korning Zethsen's, which focuses on Danish company translators, may yield meaningful insights that could reflect differences between East and West (see Chapter 9).

David Katan (2009a, 2009b) has also carried out a global survey of around 1,000 translators and interpreters in order to "investigate the habitus of the translator and to compare it with the academic belief in functionalism and the empowerment of the translator either as a mediator or as a social agent" (Katan 2009a: 111). The survey was made available online from February to June 2008. The findings were first published in *Hermes* (Katan 2009a) and later another version which focused on analyzing the respondents' perception of their working world, their mindset, and the impact of

Translation Studies and university training on that world was published in *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Katan 2009b). Here we review some relevant major findings.

In the questionnaire, Katan asked the subjects what level of social status, regard and esteem their jobs gave them. They were given three choices: high, middling and low. The research findings show that the respondents who are translators perceive themselves as having at best a "middling" status. "More importantly, it should be noted that almost a third (31 percent) of the respondents classified the translator as having 'low' status" (Katan 2009a: 126). Through the questionnaire, Katan tried to understand what "low" status actually means and therefore he asked the respondents to "give an example of (an)other job(s) with the same status" (ibid: 127). The subjects' responses show that teachers and secretaries are by far the most popular choices, accounting for over 50 percent of both translators' and interpreters' responses: "It is notable that virtually no translator suggested 'consultant', nor indeed the much vaunted (by academics) 'expert' or 'specialist'" (ibid: 128). When the respondents were asked, "Where do you see competition coming from?", eight percent of the translators and 15 percent of the interpreters specifically mention "secretaries" as their competitors. Secretaries form part of a much wider threat, which can be broken down into two groups: non-specialist translation amateurs and subject-specialist translation amateurs: "These amateurs account for two-thirds (65%) of translator competition and nearly three-quarters of interpreter competition (72%)" (ibid: 131). Katan also emphasizes that "[i]t is extremely noteworthy that 'e-tools', machine translation or CAT tools, are viewed equally by interpreters and by translators as much talked about but as of yet not serious competitors" (ibid: 132).

Marja Jänis (1996) has conducted a survey to determine how translators of plays see their work and their position with respect to the theatre. She interviewed 18 translators (13 of whom translate plays from various languages into Finnish, while the

other five are translators of plays from Russian into Swedish and Czech). In the interview, Jänis asked the translators, "Is the translator a servant of two masters — the playwright, and the performing group and the audience?". According to her analysis, most of the translators consider themselves to be servants of the playwright:

> The idea of a translator whose work should preferably be forgotten but who is responsible to the
>
> playwright for correctly rendering the play into another language seems to prevail as the idea of a
>
> good translator. […] One of the interviewees remarked that the translator is the servant of the
>
> playwright and the playwright is the servant of the performers and the audience. (Jänis 1996: 352)

An important finding in Jänis's research is that the translators want visibility at work. In the interviews they expressed their desire to come to rehearsals, consult performers and cooperate with the performing group. The author concludes by suggesting that "more training in the field of translation will probably allow translators to demand recognition for the part they play in preparing theatrical performances" (Jänis 1996: 359).

2.3 Previous work on the translator's job-related happiness

2.3.1   Introduction

> We work to make a living, as we must. But is work just a matter of making a living? Or is there
>
> something more to it? Is work in itself a good thing for human beings? Should we count it among
>
> our blessings? Does it fill our lives with meaning, purpose and direction? Does it offer the

occasion for accomplishment, satisfaction, and self-fulfillment? Is it something we would be glad

to do even if we did not have to? (Hardy 1990: 4)

In the previous section, we explained that translation has traditionally been viewed as a low-status occupation and translators are seen as invisible and seldom recognized. Although there have been some attempts to study the translator's professional status in recent years, this is still not a central topic in Translation Studies. As we have asked, if the translation profession is such an auxiliary occupation, why do people still keep their translation jobs? There must be some important factors that motivate people to stay in the profession. For example, a translator wrote a weblog sharing his opinions on a survey of the literary translators' income across Europe. The survey was conducted by the Conseil Européen des Associations de Traducteurs Littéraires in 2007/2008. The blogger raised a question: "Why would someone become a literary translator, knowing full well that it will be a struggle to find publishers willing to publish the books you want to translate?" (Chad W. 2009). A translator responded to the question by saying, "I have never done anything else in life — administration, language teaching, or sailing to Mexico — that quite provided the satisfaction of translating a really lovely book into English. So for me at least that amply compensates for the lack of income." Another translator added: "Other than satisfaction, another element that brings (some, but not too few) people into literary translation is — sheer vanity: having their names published as the translator of a book!"

From these threads we find that these people, who are probably translation practitioners, appear to attach greater importance to symbolic capital (in Bourdieu's terms) than they do to economic capital. So does this apply to all translators? In this light, the topic of the translator's job-related happiness or their job satisfaction seems relevant to the discussion. Work is important not only because it is a necessity but also

because it takes up around a third of our lives. Worse still, most translators cannot avoid working long hours (Gouadec 2007). As the translator's job-related happiness has hardly ever been researched, we tried to find some answers to the above questions by doing a quick Google search in order to see whether or not translators attach importance to happiness. Entering the keywords "happy, translator" in the Google search box on October 21, 2010 immediately produced results that show many threads related to "International Translation Day" (also referred to as "Happy Translator's Day). Those responses, believed to be posted by translators, share how they celebrate September 30 every year in commemoration of St. Jerome, the patron saint of translators. The International Federation of Translators (FIT) has been promoting the day with an aim to advancing the translation profession. On September 30, 2009, several online translators' networks such as Proz.com and Translatorscafe.com even hosted a gathering of translators to celebrate the day together.

These threads suggest that translation practitioners do place an emphasis on job-related happiness. However, the topic is understudied, as pointed out by Chesterman in his article "Questions in the sociology of translation" (2006). Chesterman urges that the translation market, particularly in the business world, and research on its functioning, should be analyzed: "Key concepts here include job satisfaction, conflict resolution (disagreements and clashing role perceptions between clients and translators), and translation policy […] What kind of feedback systems are available?" (Chesterman 2006: 17).

2.3.2   *Why translator's job-related happiness?*

What is "happiness"? This seems to be a simple question but different people have different answers to it. The etymology of the word "happy" is the Middle English word

"hap" which means "good fortune". The concept of happiness has been defined in a variety of philosophical, psychological and religious themes. Warr points out that philosophical examinations of the concept have drawn attention to several uncertainties and ambiguities:

> A commonly made philosophical distinction has been between accounts that are either subject (experienced by a person himself or herself) or somehow independent of that person. Subjective forms of high or low happiness include the experience of pleasure or pain, and some theories (often labeled as "hedonism") assert that happiness should be viewed entirely in those terms; being happy would then be described as a preponderance of positive feelings over negative feelings. […] The second form of happiness […] often relates to standards that can exist independently of a person, addressing the notion that some actions or personal states are more fitting or appropriate than others (Veenhoven 1984). (Warr 2007: 9-10)

Warr labels the second form of happiness as "self-validation". In fact, "self-validation" has its roots in the writings of early Greek philosophers, in particular as articulated by Aristotle's concept of *eudaimonia* or "happiness as human flourishing". Although happiness can refer to individualistic criteria or involve short-term feelings, Aristotle's emphasis on happiness is on the long-term state as he regards happiness as the purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence. He says that "[…] if anything else is a gift of the Gods to men, it is probable that happiness is a gift of theirs too, and specially because of all human goods it is the highest" (Aristotle 2008: 12). Aristotle sees happiness as the ultimate goal, which can only be attained through cultivation of the virtues. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle views *eudaimonia* as the ultimate goal of human life as well as the outcome of all ethical activities. Although the Greek word "eudaimonia" is made up of two parts – "eu" means "well" and "daimon"

denotes "divinity" or "spirit" — he stresses that people aim to engage in all rational activities in their lives because every activity has an aim. Aristotle sees happiness as an activity of the soul in accordance with virtue (see Aristotle 2000). "Virtue" is a translation of the Greek word "arête", which literally means "excellence". In Warr's understanding of Aristotle's conceptualization, Aristotle "viewed happiness (with an emphasis on long-term state, rather than short-term feelings) as based on virtuous behavior in seeking the greatest fulfillment in living of which a person is capable" (Warr 2007: 10).

Virtue as moral action leading to happiness is also an idea found in the Chinese worldview, i.e., in Confucianism, which promotes the idea that "[…] a person must demonstrate a considerable number of desirable qualities, plus the five cardinal virtues of benevolence or *rén*, filial conduct or *xiào*, trustworthiness or *xìn*, loyalty or *zhōng*, and righteousness or *yì*" (Tan & Snell 2002: 362). Confucius places high emphasis on these virtues as he says: "the rule of virtue can be compared to the Pole Star which commands the homage of the multitude of stars without leaving its place" (Confucius 1979: 63). Confucianism is important to Chinese cultures because "Confucius was the first Chinese philosopher to formulate an earth-bound thought system" (Lu 2001: 410). According to Luo Lu (2001), the word *fu* (Chinese: 福) or *xingfu* (Chinese: 幸福) may be the closet equivalents of the English word "happiness". *Fu* first appeared in bone inscriptions in the Shang Dynasty, the first Chinese dynasty. In ancient China, this character represented the action of using two hands to present wine at the altar: "It is clear that the original meaning of *fu* is to worship a god, to express human desires and prayers" (Lu 2001: 409). In present times, the meaning of *fu* is more clearly defined. This Chinese character is made up of "一" which symbolizes the roof of a house, 口 which implies people, and 田 which represents land. Thus, the word *fu* includes the meanings of "longevity, prosperity, health, peace, virtue, and a comfortable death" (Wu

1991 cit. Lu 2001: 409). These meanings are well understood and widely used by Chinese people. For example, during the Chinese New Year, people put up a poster with the word on the door or the wall, showing their hope to be happy.

All in all, happiness is important and deserves discussion because it is a principal objective in human life. Here we are not going to discuss all the perspectives on happiness. We only relate the concept to work — or to be more precise — the translator's happiness in relation to their work. Our study understands "work" as something being paid financially. Although some translators regard translation as a kind of hobby and some of them translate voluntarily, these activities are not the concern of the present study.

There is a rich literature on the psychology of happiness, more or less related to well-being or job satisfaction. Why these different terms? Should we change our mind and use the word "well-being" or "job satisfaction" instead of "happiness"? Warr points out that "the words happiness and unhappiness are avoided by most academic psychologists in their professional life. Instead, they have often used terms that are less widely familiar, such as affect or well-being" (Warr 2007: 7). For many scholars, happiness equals well-being. We decide to use the term "happiness", not "well-being", because "the connotative meaning of happiness emphasizes associations that are more active and energy-related" (Warr 2007: 8), while the term "well-being" "tends to imply in many cases a sense of positivity that is desirable but inert" (Warr 2007: 8). The term "well-being" is often used to examine a single, short episode, for example, "an immediate reaction to an input from the environment" (ibid: 11). As our study focuses on the long term, we use the term "happiness" rather than "well-being". In addition, we do not use the term "job satisfaction" because job satisfaction is often interpreted in terms of needs that are satisfied. For example, Robert Schaffer (1953) interprets job satisfaction as an individual's needs being fulfilled:

> Overall job satisfaction will vary directly with the extent to which those needs of an individual which can be satisfied in a job are actually satisfied; the stronger the need, the more closely will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment. (Schaffer 1953: 3)

The term "job satisfaction" is not used in the present study, which not only focuses on whether or not the needs of the translators are fulfilled but also studies the affective feelings of the translators. Therefore, the term "job satisfaction" is less than adequate when compared to the term "job-related happiness". In a personal email communication, Warr says that "happiness itself is a wider construct which subsumes more specific ones. (And job satisfaction as traditionally studied is a very inadequate measure of other themes within happiness)" (Warr 2009).

If we see translation as a profession in our society and set out to understand what makes translators happy, we should not be shortsighted. Instead, it is necessary for us to study carefully the multifaceted aspects of their job and profession. We will discuss how to operationalize the term in more detail in the next chapter.

2.3.3 *Previous empirical research on the translator's job-related happiness*

Although there is no substantial prior empirical research on the translator's job-related happiness, literature more or less related to job satisfaction can be found. Pym (2006) mentions that if there is really a growing focus on mediators and their social contexts, it is perhaps in the field of community interpreting. Franz Pöchhacker (2009) gives a review of survey research among conference interpreters with the aim of understanding more about the interpreting profession. He examined a corpus of 40 survey research studies completed between 1930 and 2008, focusing on methodological issues and the

topics addressed. According to his analysis, the 40 surveys have addressed some fourteen topics including directionality, role, professional ecology, job satisfaction, employment or market, quality, nonverbal communication, personality, bilingualism, note-taking, qualifications, specialization, terminological tools and translating. Among these 40 surveys, seven of them deal with job satisfaction, while five of them are on employment or market. Thus, for literature on issues relating to the translator's happiness or satisfaction with their work, one should look at the field of interpreting, although we would state again that our present study does not include those who only handle oral rendering of spoken discourse from one language into another language.

In 2002-03, Malgorzata Tryuk (2007) conducted an anonymous pilot questionnaire among interpreters affiliated with professional organizations that endorse community interpreting in Poland. The questionnaire, which consisted of several multiple choice and open-ended questions, covered four areas: (1) the characteristics of the settings in which the interpreters worked and the mode of their interpreting; (2) job satisfaction and preparation; (3) norms applied, and (4) ethics. Tryuk distributed 300 copies of the questionnaire through the Internet, by post and at conferences, professional and personal meetings. Some 95 questionnaires were returned. With respect to the research results on job satisfaction, a considerable number of answers were positive evaluations. Only ten respondents were unsatisfied with their work. Besides, the respondents emphasized that "job satisfaction is also closely related to the whole atmosphere, the quality of interpersonal contacts, the intellectual rapport and the level of cultivation of the participants of the encounter" (Tryuk 2007: 99).

The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) also undertook a survey of members to collect information in order to create a portrait of the interpreting profession (AIIC 2005). The association administered a questionnaire to a total of 2903 interpreters in 2004 and obtained 931 valid responses. Some findings are worth

mentioning here. First of all, the overall job satisfaction is high among AIIC members: 81 percent of staff interpreters and 70 percent of freelancers say that they are highly satisfied with their work. There is a positive correlation between the degree of job satisfaction and the volume of work (i.e. days worked per year). Further, low satisfaction is related to not having enough work. In the following years (2005 and 2006), AIIC conducted the questionnaires again (AIIC 2005-6). The questionnaires were administered to nearly 2800 members in over 90 countries. The responses rates were 19.54% (2005) and 33.62% (2006). According to the results, the overall job satisfaction levels were again very high, with 76.8 percent of the respondents declaring that they are highly (= high and very high) satisfied with their work; "satisfaction increased in step with the workload, but the satisfaction threshold clearly depended on the respondents' main market" (AIIC 2005-6). The findings show that there is a positive correlation between age and the respondents' satisfaction level. The report explains that "in 2006 for example, younger (≤ 40 years) were more satisfied (over 83%) than the average population (76.8%)" (ibid). However, it is a pity that AIIC did not explain why there is a positive correlation between age and job satisfaction.

In addition to the empirical studies focusing on interpreters in Western markets, there are some empirical research studies that investigate interpreters in the Chinese markets.

Katie Chen's M.Phil. thesis "An Initial Investigation of Interpreter's Work Values and Job Satisfaction in Taiwan" (2007) explores interpreters' views of work values and their current job satisfaction. A total of 96 email invitations together with a questionnaire were sent out from September 11, 2007 to October 31, 2007. Thirty-six completed questionnaires were returned. The research results suggest that interpreters attach great importance to self-realization, in the sense of personal growth. However, the respondents point out that the interpreter's job often fails to provide them with

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steady employment and sufficient room for professional development. Chen then suggests that it is essential to enhance public understanding of the interpreting profession so as to safeguard interpreters' interests and boost their autonomy.

Woan-Shin Chang (2008) tried to find out how the conference interpreting profession could become professionalized. The author has found that "over the years, although the conference interpreters have gained, to a certain degree, client trust and professional status, the working condition and payment have not seen a significant improvement" (Chang 2008: 1).

There are only a few empirical research articles related to the happiness of translators, not interpreters.

Johan Hermans and José Lambert (2006) conducted an empirical study on why job satisfaction is as low among translators in business environments as it seems to be. They interviewed translators and translation agencies in Belgium. The findings reveal that the social and professional level of the translator is indeed low. For example, in-house translators are unable to occupy a central place in the office; they only occupy peripheral positions in their working environment. The research suggests that translation is not a job conducive to happiness:

> [T]ranslation remains in part a black market, since it is not necessarily labeled as translation; secretaries and friends of managers continue in many cases to produce business texts; this is the low-profile market. Since knowledge of a foreign language is sometimes supposed to be God-given, the general view is that there is no reason to spend much money on someone who just happens to know the necessary languages or who enjoys language games anyway. Such a job can be done by an assistant manager or secretary, or in certain cases even by a talented engineer, during working hours. It can also be done over the weekend or at home, when the 'real job' is

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over. As a result, no partner is happy: neither the commissioner of the translation nor those who perform it on the basis of a gentle(wo)man's agreement. (Hermans and Lambert 2006: 155)

In Section 2.2.3 we reviewed some key research findings from a global survey carried out by Katan (2009a and 2009b). We focused on discussing the respondents' perceptions of their status on a wider level. However, the survey also reveals that the respondents are quite satisfied with their job. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to express their present level of satisfaction in comparison with their expectations. They were given five choices: not at all, not very, fairly, pretty and extremely:

The majority of the group as a whole is either 'pretty' (50%) or 'extremely' satisfied (21%); and if we add 'fairly' satisfied we include 91% of all translating and interpreting respondents. […] So, it would appear that translators and interpreters are able to find immense satisfaction […] (Katan 2009a: 148-149)

Although the results regarding the respondents' satisfaction might be considered surprising, the majority of the respondents are from Europe and less than three percent of the total respondents are from greater China. Thus, the findings may not reflect the attitude and perceptions of translators in greater China. It would be interesting to see the comparison between our findings and the Western situations.

Robin Setton and Alice Guo Liangliang (2009) carried out a questionnaire survey with semi-open and multi-choice questions to study the patterns of professional practice, self-perceptions, job satisfaction and aspirations of translators and interpreters in Shanghai and Taipei. The authors do not mention when the questionnaire was distributed but they say that they received 62 completed questionnaires. According to the research findings, respondents in the sample are largely satisfied with their jobs as

translators/interpreters, with exactly half of them stating they are either "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their job. Only about five percent of the respondents are "dissatisfied". When the authors compare the differences in job satisfaction between translators and interpreters, they find that the interpreters are more satisfied with their jobs than the translators are with theirs.

2.3.4   *Discussion on the Internet about the translator's job-related happiness*

Given the paucity of discussion about the translator's job-related happiness in academic publications in Translation Studies, a look at opinions on Internet websites and blogs is relevant for our purposes.

The Internet has become an important communication tool. Today, people can express their views and exchange ideas with other people on blogs, share their opinions on Internet forums and join social networking websites to make friends or keep themselves up-to-date. Thus, we find opinions posted on Internet websites concerning translators' happiness with their work. For example, the job search portal www.careercast.com conducted a survey to find out the most satisfying career in America and released the results on its website in early 2009. According to the results, "teacher" ranked sixth while "author" ranked seventh. However, we cannot find "translator" among the top 100 jobs. Translator's opinions about their job-related happiness can also be found by doing a Google search. Here we can find comments like the following: "During all these years as translator I have had the greatest and most interesting time of my life. I was very successful with what I did, very often had to turn jobs down because I was completely booked and very happy with the money I received for my work […]", "Translation is a good job, as well as a good and regular income."

Although these quotes can only be considered anecdotal evidence, they tell us that translators, who are just human beings, like to share their experience and feelings about their work with other people. If we really regard translators as people, we need to know more about their needs and thoughts.

In the next chapter, we will explain in detail the theoretical framework for our research.

3. Research questions, hypotheses and theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, Translation Studies scholars have introduced Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital into Translation Studies in recent years. One of the reasons for this is that they have started to view translation as a human activity in order to come up with more meaningful research. Scholars want to know how translators interact with other human parties. As Gouadec says,

> [T]he translator is a key actor in the process of importing or exporting ideas, concepts, rationales, thought processes, discourse structures, pre-conceived ideas, machines, services, myths and so on. He is also a vital go-between in operations and actions involving international co-operation (customer information, extradition procedures, sales, purchases, exchanges, travel, etc.). He is in fact an extremely powerful and critical agent facilitating and even at times enabling economic, strategic, cultural, technical, literary, legal, scientific and ideological exchanges throughout the world. (Gouadec 2007: 6)

From this perspective, Translation Studies researchers should pay more attention to how translators communicate with people, not just with texts and languages. Although for many years Translation Studies, which partly originated as a sub-discipline of contrastive linguistics, chose to be linguistics-centered, the translator's own interests should also be studied. Our study focuses on the translator because understanding translation practitioners is a mission of Translation Studies itself. This viewpoint coincides with that of Chesterman and Arrojo (2000) when they stress that "TS studies

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the people and groups of people who actually do the translating" (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000: 153).

Although some empirical studies have attempted to examine the translator's status (e.g., Jänis 1996; Sela-Sheffy 2005, 2006, 2008; Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008, 2009; Katan 2009a, 2009b) and their job satisfaction (e.g., Hermans and Lambert 2006; Katan 2009a; Setton and Guo 2009), it is worth mentioning again here that there are no empirical studies looking at the translator's job-related happiness in association with whether their mediating role is visible to clients and end-users.

This chapter presents the research questions, hypotheses and the overall theoretical framework applied in the present study, defining and explaining how we operationalize the terms "visibility", "capital" and "job-related happiness". We also discuss how we develop instruments to measure the translator's job-related happiness.

3.2 Research questions

Our project employs models of social psychology to study two core issues: the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. We look at the correlations between the translator's visibility, their work experience and their job-related happiness. Whether or not the translator's mediating role is visible to the client and to the end-user is a key concern.

The first research question concerns the relationship between the translator's visibility and the amount of capital that translators say they receive. We seek to find out whether visible translators receive more symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital than do invisible translators.

The second research question focuses on the translator's job-related happiness. This is worth investigating because it not only affects the development of existing translation practitioners but also impacts upon the potential attraction for young people to enter the field. In particular, we would like to know whether or not the translator's visibility affects their job-related happiness. This question is important because, as we have mentioned in the previous chapter, many contemporary theorists assume that translators are invisible or subservient. However, they have never explicitly asked translators about the desirability of visibility. By raising questions about "happiness", we are implicitly asking to what degree translators benefit personally from their visibility.

Our study examines whether or not visible translators receive more preferred capital than invisible translators. Do they experience more positive feelings when they deal with translation-related assignments or activities? These questions are important because, if visibility bears no relationship to happiness, then moves in that direction may not actually be to the benefit of translators. After all, job-related happiness, which is an important issue to all working individuals, has attracted much attention from multiple disciplines. This is an important issue influencing both translators and the quality of the translations they produce.

The third research question aims to find out if any correlations exist between the translator's visibility, work experience and job-related happiness.

3.3 Hypotheses and assumptions

Guided by the above research questions, we have constructed five main hypotheses for this research. Our first hypothesis (H_1) is that:

H_1: The more visible the translators, the more capital they receive.

To gain a complete understanding of the translator's visibility and the various kinds of capital these professionals say they receive, we test the following lower-level hypotheses in this research:

H_{1a}: The more visible the translators, the more symbolic capital they receive.

H_{1b}: The more visible the translators, the more economic capital they receive.

H_{1c}: The more visible the translators, the more social capital they receive.

H_{1d}: The more visible the translators, the more cultural capital they receive.

In this study, we assume that the translator's work experience is a major factor affecting both the translator's visibility and the amount of capital that they say they receive. For example, the translator's visibility and the capital received may increase with more experience. Here we would like to highlight the point that "work experience" does not equal "expertise" in our study. As the focus of our study is on the visibility-capital relationship, the impact of the work-experience variable must be neutralized. Hence, we test our hypotheses with groups of translators having the same or similar experience distribution. We classify our subjects into three groups according to their years of work experience. The classification is given in Table 6.2.

Our second hypothesis (H_2), which aims to find answers to our second research question, is that:

H_2: The more visible the translators, the happier they are.

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness, we also test the following lower-level hypotheses:

H_{2a}: The more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received.

H_{2b}: The more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation.

In this research we assume that there are two factors affecting the translator's job-related happiness and visibility. These two factors are the translator's work experience and their personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. These assumptions are necessary and important because a positive correlation between visibility and happiness may also be due to variables like work experience and personal preference, in addition to other local conditions that can be tested in future research.

In this research we look specifically at the work experience factor. As pointed out, "work experience" does not equal "expertise" in this study since we only test the effects of the workplace on the emotional state of translators, not on how well they perform. It seems plausible that the more a person works, the more visible the person becomes, and the more capital the person accumulates. However, that is not the hypothesis we want to test. We neutralize the experience factor by testing the hypotheses only through groups of translators with the same or similar experience distribution (see Table 6.2). Here we also neutralize the translator's personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users, since personality may have some impact on a person's visibility

and the job-related happiness. For example, an introvert person would probably prefer working invisibly and therefore would be happier. We neutralize the personality factor by testing the hypotheses on groups of translators with the same or similar visibility preferences (see Table 6.29). Although our study recognizes that other factors such as the translator's cultural background may also have some impact on their visibility and job-related happiness, those other variables will be left for future research.

Our third research question looks at the correlation between work experience, visibility and job-related happiness. Therefore, we test these hypotheses:

H_3: The greater the work experience, the greater the visibility.

H_4: The greater the work experience, the greater the job-related happiness.

In order to compare the impact of the translator's visibility and their work experience on job-related happiness, we test the following hypothesis:

H_5: The translator's visibility has a greater impact on the translator's job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

3.4 Defining and operationalizing "visibility"

To say that a translator is "visible" means that their role goes beyond the linguistic level. Our working definition of the translator's visibility is based on situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users. This work environment allows translators to receive recognition, appreciation or criticism of their communicative role and work. Here it must be stressed that the communicative act does

not merely mean that one party sends a message to another. Our emphasis — on the communication between translators and clients on the one hand, and translators and end-users on the other — is that the communicative act can be beneficial for the parties concerned. For example, translators can receive feedback from their clients. Note that the present study focuses on the translator-client relationship but not the translator-employer relationship. In this study, a "client" is understood to be the company, brand, organization or corporate institution paying for the translator's translations. An "employer" refers to the translator's supervisor or the person who oversees the translator's translation assignments at work. In the questionnaire, we make a very clear distinction between "client" and "employer" by asking two questions in order to avoid confusion between the two terms.

"Invisible translators" are defined as those who never or seldom have the opportunity to communicate with their clients or end-users. Conversely, "visible translators" are those who can communicate with both their clients and end-users sometimes, often or very often.

In fact, visibility and invisibility are only two extreme ends of a spectrum. Visibility is not to be discussed in binary terms; it can be understood to stand in a continuum. Wendy Leech, who has used empirical methods to study the translator's visibility, reminds us "there are different types of invisibility that concern a translator" (Leech 2005: 15). Guided by our working definitions, the visibility of the translator is classified into four categories that relate to the degree of direct communication between translators and their clients on the one hand, and with end-users on the other (Figure 3.1). Our questionnaire allows the respondents to give their answers by using frequency options (never/seldom/sometimes/often/very often) that indicate the extent of their direct communication with their clients and end-users. After we received a subject's

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completed questionnaire, we analyzed the responses in order to classify the translator as relatively visible or invisible.

We characterize the following translator-types:

1. *The behind-the-scenes translator* is invisible to clients and end-users. They never or seldom communicate with the latter two parties. For example, they may work on instruction manuals or they are employed by translation agencies to render texts that are corporate products.

2. *The end-user-visible translator* never or seldom communicates with the client but does interact with the end-user sometimes, often or very often. Examples are in-house translators who render administrative notices, or in-house corporate communications officers who are responsible for producing bilingual materials, such as newsletters, for their companies. They do not have to communicate with their clients, as most of the materials that they translate are provided by their supervisors. However, they are always required to communicate with the end-user for purposes such as getting feedback on the work they have produced.

3. *The client-visible translator* sometimes, often or very often communicates with the client but they never or seldom interact with the end-user. This is often the case of translators who work on publications such as bilingual magazines, where they are required to communicate with the client to get clear instructions on aspects such as the format or style before they start to translate. However, they do not interact with target-text readers.

4. *The visible translator* sometimes, often or very often communicates with both the client and the end-user. In greater China, translators who translate press releases (Chinese-English) in public relations agencies can be classified as "visible translators". Although translation is their daily duty, they basically are not designated as "translators" in the company. Their job titles vary according to the

culture and business nature of the companies. Titles such as "Account Executive", "Communication Consultant", "Corporate Communications Specialist", "Marketing Communications Executive" and "Public Affairs Specialists" are commonly found in the public relations industry. These people can get in touch directly with the client (a brand, a corporate company or an organization) and with end-users (mainly journalists, reporters or correspondents).

To summarize, Figure 3.1 diagrammatically presents the characteristics of each of the categories for the visibility of the translator.

Figure 3.1. Visibility-based translator types
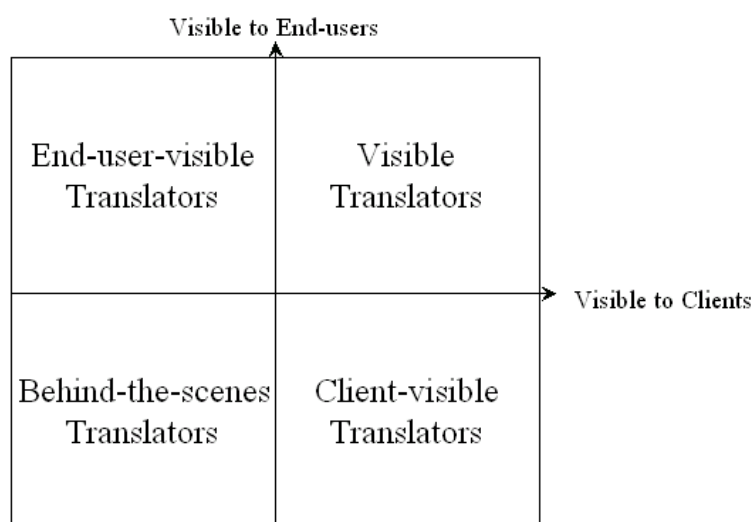
A word on how we obtained the data on the translator's visibility is in order. *Visibility* is a dependent variable in our hypotheses. In the first part of the questionnaire, we collect data concerning the translator's visibility by asking two questions. The first question is "Can you communicate directly with the client? Do not include 'your employer' in this question. A 'client' is meant a company/brand/organization/corporate institution paying for your translations." The second question is "Are you able to get in touch with the end-users of your translation work? 'End-users' refer to those who read

or use your translations, other than 'the client' and 'your employer'". The responses are scored as follows: 0 = never, 1 = seldom, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = very often. The two scores are added together to give a rough indication of the translator's visibility.

Concerns may be raised about the ambiguity of the modal verb here, since "Can you….?" could mean "Are you allowed to...?" or "Do you have the internal capacity to…?" (for example, a car *can* go at 200 kph, but it *can't* because the law prohibits it). Note, though, that the question-plus-answer format clearly refers to the *frequency* of occasions. As such, it could logically only concern the first sense, the presence or absence of external opportunity. Our research concerns the subjects' "opportunities to contact", rather than the number of actual contacts because we are concerned about the translator's preferences and the possibility that they can directly communicate with their clients and/or end-users. No subjects expressed any doubts about the meaning of the modal verb. More discussion of this issue, together with some evidence, can be found in Section 9.1 below.

3.4.1   *Does visibility matter?*

Why does visibility matter? Human contact is important if we highlight translation activity as a kind of human communication. Focusing on the translator's mediating role in their contact with clients and end-users implies recognition of the translator's communicative functions in cross-cultural communication. In the view of Biau and Pym (2006), working visibly may also help reduce the possibility of being mistrusted:

> Translation is still a service that depends on a high degree of trust between the translator and the client. Little constant high-paid work will come from unseen clients; the fees paid in different

countries still vary widely; the best contacts are probably still the ones made face-to-face by word of mouth. (Biau & Pym 2006: 7)

Leech (2005) points out that members of the visible professions such as doctors and teachers not only can enjoy widespread promotion of their profession but their interests are also "protected by visible associations, who also monitor standards and seek to protect their members and the public accordingly" (Leech 2005: 12). On the other hand, invisibility means less appreciation for work done:

If people are not aware of what a person does, or how they do it, then they may make unreasonable demands through simple ignorance. Invisibility also means under-appreciation, and therefore poor remuneration which, combined with lack of respect, can lead to poor morale amongst the members of a profession. A lack of status in society will not encourage future generations to enter the profession. Without the support of visible associations, individual practitioners will find it hard to promote their profession and to avoid poor standards affecting their reputation, their ability to find work and the appreciation they receive for their skills. (ibid 12-13)

Although we believe that studying the translator's visibility can help us gain a better understanding of translation as a social activity, caution has to be taken that not all translators or cultures like high visibility. For example, Geert H. Hofstede points out that women in some societies are not concerned about their visible roles. An example is "men going out to work and women staying at home to care" (Hofstede 1998: 11). Therefore, the present study seeks responses from our subjects in order to analyze whether translators actually like to communicate with their clients and end-users.

3.5   Defining "capital" and "the translator's job-related happiness"

In the following sections, we first review Bourdieu's theory of capital, discussing its missing gaps and the possible links between his theory and our study. Then Warr's happiness framework is examined to see how we can incorporate his notions into Bourdieu's sociology in order to develop a theoretical framework for our research.

3.5.1   Bourdieu's concept of capital

> In the past decade, research in translation and interpreting began to draw on Bourdieu's sociological theory. This interest in Bourdieu's work is part of a shift within translation studies away from a predominant concern with translated textual products and toward a view of translation and interpreting as social, cultural and political acts intrinsically connected to local and global relations of power and control (Cronin 2003). […] Bourdieu's work has also made a significant contribution to attempts within translation studies to focus more attention on translators and interpreters themselves — to analyze critically their role as social and cultural agents actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices.
> (Inghilleri 2005: 125-126)

The term "capital" we use in our research originates in Bourdieu's concept of various kinds of capital. The work of Bourdieu encourages Translation Studies researchers to examine how translators accumulate and deploy their capital. Bourdieu defines capital as "all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (Bourdieu 1977: 178). He identifies several types of capital, including those that are economic, social, symbolic and cultural. Economic capital is related to financial

resources. Social capital involves the person's interpersonal network, including family, friends, and acquaintances. Bourdieu gives a detailed definition:

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu 1997: 51)

Cultural capital, which can be understood to comprise forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions, has three forms of existence:

> [I]n the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (Bourdieu 1997: 47)

Symbolic capital is marked by the degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity status, consecration of honor and recognition:

> Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity. (Bourdieu 1997: 56)

This conceptualization is diagrammatically presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. A simplified description of Bourdieu's concept of the four kinds of capital

Type of capital	Content
Economic capital	Financial resources
Social capital	Interpersonal networks
Cultural capital	Knowledge
	Competences
	Dispositions
Symbolic capital	Degree of accumulated prestige
	Celebrity status
	Consecration of honor
	Recognition

3.5.2   *Working definition of the translator's job-related happiness*

Our working definition of the translator's job-related happiness contains two elements. First of all, happiness depends on the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain. Second, it is comprised of the affective feeling of positive emotions when an individual deals with translation. This definition incorporates both environment-centered and person-centered perspectives: the first element reflects the environmental perspective while the second element reflects the person-centered approach. Here we would like to emphasize again that this study focuses on the long-term dimension of the translator's job-related happiness. Attention is not given to the translator's current job-related happiness within a short time frame.

3.5.3   *Bourdieu's view on happiness and its missing links*

In this study we employ Bourdieu's theory of capital and Warr's job-related framework to develop a construct to measure the first element in the above definition of the translator's job-related happiness. We choose to use Bourdieu's sociology because his

theory of capital has been adopted by some Translation Studies scholars to carry out empirical research on how translators perceive their roles and what kinds of capital they pursue (e.g. Sela-Sheffy 2006; Wolf 2006). In addition, Bourdieu attaches importance to the happiness of social agents:

> Guided by one's sympathies and antipathies, affections and aversions, tastes and distastes, one makes for oneself an environment in which one feels 'at home' and in which one can achieve that fulfillment of one's desire to be which one identifies with happiness. (Bourdieu 2000: 150)

> [T]here is a happiness in activity which exceeds the visible profits – wage, prize or reward – and which consists in the fact of emerging from indifference (or depression), being occupied, projected towards goals, and feeling oneself objectively, and therefore subjectively, endowed with a social mission. (Bourdieu 2000: 240)

Work is undoubtedly of great importance to people, and happiness is essential to an individual. From Bourdieu's point of view, there is a causal relationship between self-realization and happiness:

> The paradoxes of the distribution of happiness […] are fairly easily explained. Since the desire for fulfillment is roughly measured by its chances of realizations, the degree of inner satisfaction that the various agents experience does not depend as much as one might think on their effective power in the sense of an abstract, universal capacity to satisfy needs and desires abstractly defined for an indifferent agent; rather, it depends on the degree to which the mode of functioning of the social world or the field in which they are inserted enables his habitus to come into its own. (Bourdieu 2000: 150)

Although Bourdieu suggests that people will be happy if their desire is fulfilled, it is a pity that he did not further construct a framework to explain this. Thus, we are not able to carry out the measurement solely by using Bourdieu's concept of capital because happiness, or the accumulation of happiness, is not actually considered a kind of capital in his theory. In addition, his categories of capital do not have psychological reality for the subjects. Therefore, these categories are inadequate for formulating survey questions. For all these reasons, we incorporate Warr's job-related framework to compensate for the deficiency in Bourdieu's. Warr's workplace psychology provides a useful link, serving as the basis for meaningful questions.

3.5.4   *Warr's framework*

Work, unpleasant or pleasant, is undoubtedly of great importance to us, with or without any religious connotations. […] The majority of adults spend much of their life in paid employment ("at work" or "working"), and that expenditure of time and effort is essential to earn money for oneself and one's family. The personal value of work comes partly from the demands and opportunities in a work role, exposing a person to goals, challenges, situations, and people not otherwise present in his or her life, but its importance derives also from consequences and indirect effects. (Warr 2007: 5-6)

Warr (2007), who has been studying happiness (and unhappiness) in work settings, has developed a framework of 12 key job determinants to examine why some people are happier or less happy than others. The determinants, focusing on job environments, are mediating factors associated with job-related happiness. According to Warr, a "good" job scores well across the determinants. Increases from low to moderate levels are likely to be associated with greater happiness, or conversely, their absence is

likely to indicate unhappiness. The 12 determinants share at least one characteristic with the concept of capital: they are both worth pursuing. In Section 3.6, we will explain how we incorporate Warr's job-related framework into Bourdieu's theory of capital in order to develop a construct to measure the first element of our definition of the translator's job-related happiness (the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain). After that, we explain how we handle the second element (the affective feeling of positive emotions when an individual deals with translation).

Warr has a notion of happiness similar to Bourdieu's in that he posits a relation between the realization of one's desires and happiness. He notes that "[p]eople at work are happier if their jobs contain features that are generally desirable and if their own characteristics and mental process encourage the presence of happiness" (Warr 2007: 2). However, Warr emphasizes that happiness can be considered a short-term or long-term state. For example, subjective well-being may often be considered a short-term state because it often concerns a single or short episode. As we mentioned earlier, Warr labels the long-term perspective of job happiness as "self-validation":

> The importance of self-validation as an aspect of happiness is particularly clear in long-term perspectives. Much philosophical discussion concerns an entire life, rather than examining current happiness in a short episode. (Warr 2007: 12)

Recall that our study does not aim at measuring the translator's current job-related happiness on a short-term basis. Instead, we focus on the long-term dimension. For example, we measure the alignment between what translators want to receive and whether their jobs allow them to do so.

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3.5.5   Do all translators share the same perspective on happiness?

Hofstede's five dimensions tell us that people think or act in the context of their cultures. Originally, Hofstede's framework for assessing cultures consisted of four dimensions.

1. The Power Distance dimension addresses the issue of inequity in society and "indicates the extent to which a society accepts the fact that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally" (Hofstede 1980: 45).

2. The second dimension relates to Individualism versus Collectivism. Individualism "implies a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and of their immediate families only" (Hofstede 1980: 45). A collectivist society is "characterized by a tight social framework in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups; they expect their in-group (relatives, clan, organizations) to look after them, and in exchange for that they feel they owe absolute loyalty to it" (ibid).

3. The Masculinity versus Femininity dimension is related to "the extent to which the dominant values in society are 'masculine' - that is, assertiveness, the acquisition of money and things, and not caring for others, the quality of life, or people" (Hofstede 1980: 46).

4. The Uncertainty Avoidance dimension "indicates the extent to which a society feels threatened by uncertain and ambiguous situations and tries to avoid these situations by providing greater career stability" (Hofstede 1980: 45).

Hofstede and Michael Harris Bond later found a fifth dimension — a long-term versus a short-term dimension (Hofstede & Bond 1988):

5. This dimension compares the Long-term and the Short-term Orientation of life. "Long-term Orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented towards future

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rewards, in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, Short-term Orientation, stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present, in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of 'face' and fulfilling social obligations" (Hofstede 2001: 359).

Hofstede emphasizes that "everybody looks at the world from behind the windows of a cultural home and everybody prefers to act as if people from other countries have something special about them (a national character)" (Hofstede 2001: 453). From this perspective, happiness can be a very different thing in each culture. For example, with regard to Chinese and American cultures (which form the basis for discussion of Eastern and Western cultures here), Hofstede's results (1993) indicate that Americans would tend to place a high value on individualism whereas Chinese would emphasize collective or group-oriented mentality. Although translators in different cultures would have different viewpoints on their job-related happiness, we believe that the business culture in which translators work is becoming global and therefore there are common features across different cultural locations. It is within this frame that we study the subjects. Thus, our definition and methodology belong to the social psychology of the international workplace. While individual translators entering this business culture bring in their prior cultural dispositions, the clash of those dispositions with the workplace parameters will give us the data we need for the happiness variable.

3.6 Operationalizing "the translator's job-related happiness" and "capital"

In what follows, the framework for the first element of the translator's job-related happiness will be outlined. After that, we will explain how we develop a framework for the second element of the definition.

3.6.1 *The alignment of wish and reality*

3.6.1.1 *Determinants related to symbolic capital*

Symbolic capital concerns the degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity status, consecration of honor and recognition.

The first three of Warr's 12 determinants can be categorized as "symbolic capital" in Bourdieu's terms because "symbolic capital is not a particular kind of capital but what every kind of capital becomes when it is misrecognized as capital, that is, as force, a power or capacity for (actual or potential) exploitation, and therefore recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu 2000: 242). These three determinants are:

1. Opportunity for personal control

2. Externally generated goals

3. Valued social position.

"Opportunity for personal control" has often been studied in "job settings, described as discretion, autonomy, absence of close supervision, self-determination or participation in decision making" (Warr 2007: 142). Translation is a problem-solving and decision-making activity. But it will not be meaningful until we understand the extent to which translators can make their decisions during the translation process.

"Externally generated goals" refers to the presence of goals generated by a work environment:

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> Externally generated goals arise partly from physical deficits […], but also from obligations and targets deriving from formal and informal roles. These roles introduce requirements to behave in certain ways, to follow certain routines, to solve certain problems, and to be in specified locations at certain times. Role-generated requirements give rise to organized sequences of actions, drawing people toward objectives and often into interaction with others. (Warr 2007: 85)

Warr points out that "[a]n environment that makes no demands on a person sets up no objectives and encourages no activity or achievement" (Warr 2007: 85). For the present study, the translator's externally generated goals are the expectations of clients and end-users.

"Valued social position" focuses on the respect a person can receive. This characteristic is about "one's position in a social structure, in particular the potential afforded for esteem or recognition for one's social worth" (Warr 2007: 89). In this study we investigate whether the subjects receive professional respect through their work. In addition to respect, corporate pride may also be essential to translators. For example, do translators feel proud to be a part of their company? Or do they just feel proud to be in their profession? Are they treated as professional translators at work?

3.6.1.2   Determinants related to economic capital

According to Bourdieu, economic capital is related to financial resources. The following determinant listed by Warr can be categorized as a kind of economic capital:

4.   Availability of money.

In the translation field, it is commonly believed that translators are underpaid in many ways. Chan's PhD thesis, *Information Economics, the Translation Profession and*

Translator Certification (2008), examines why translators are often underpaid. He points out that the working conditions of translators are generally poor. He proposes that a translator certification system, combined with effective regulation and continued professional development, can function as a means to enhance the translator's status. In Dam & Korning Zethsen's study (2008), the translator's salary levels are reasonably high although "they are not as high as the average salary for MA graduates in the private labor market in Denmark" (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2008: 84). It will be interesting to understand how translators perceive the remuneration they receive for their work and whether they consider themselves to be paid fairly.

In addition to salary, long-term job security can also be viewed as a kind of economic capital. A permanent job or a long-term secure job will allow an individual to receive economic capital (in terms of social or economic security such as fringe benefits including pensions and insurance) on a regular basis.

3.6.1.3   *Determinants related to social capital*

Social capital involves the agent's interpersonal network, including the agent's family, friends and acquaintances. In Warr's framework, several determinants are related to social capital, since they allow social agents to maintain and strengthen their network. Those determinants include:

5.   Contact with others

6.   Supportive supervision

7.   Career outlook: opportunity for a shift to other roles

8.   Variation in job content and location.

"Contact with others" is important for several reasons:

> First, interpersonal contact can give rise to friendships and reduce feelings of loneliness. […] Second, contact with other people may provide help and support of many kinds. […] A third importance of interpersonal contact is in terms of social comparison […] people are motivated to compare their opinions and abilities with those others, in order better to interpret and appraise themselves […]. Fourth, contact with others is important in learning about appropriate behaviors through norms and routines […]. A fifth importance arises from the fact that many goals can be achieved only through the interdependent efforts of several people. (Warr 2007: 86-87)

When analyzing the translator's social networks, we should try to find out whether a working environment that provides translators with opportunities to strengthen their personal network is important to them. Does their work give them personal contacts?

"Supportive supervision" concerns leaders' positive considerations. In Bourdieu's view, social capital is a "capital of social relationships which will provide, if necessary, useful supports" (Bourdieu 1977: 503). It is often assumed that translators place emphasis on people's appreciation of their work and performance (e.g. Sofer 2006; Chesterman and Wagner 2002). It is believed that being appreciated is important to translators. For example, when Gabrielle Mauriello (1993) reviews her life as translator, she stresses that "I loved my profession very much and I wanted to be respected and appreciated" (Mauriello 1993: 733). In light of this, it is necessary to examine whether translators receive recognition for their work from their clients and end-users.

"Career outlook" concerns the "potential for movement to other roles" (Warr 2007: 134). This determinant can be studied together with the eighth determinant, "variation in the conditions to which a person is exposed and in the activities he or she is required to perform" (ibid: 183). People may dislike working in a monotonous

unchanging environment. In addition, "low variety" is likely to make people unhappy for two reasons:

> First, an absence of variation is often experienced as unpleasant in itself. People like some diversity in their experiences to balance the sense of comfort. [...] Second, low variety tends to be correlated with other negative environmental characteristics, such as low opportunity for control and for skill use. (ibid: 184)

These two determinants enable social agents to expand their existing interpersonal network, i.e. increase their social capital. Our research will investigate whether translators like to move between roles so that they are not limited to doing translation only. And are they provided with opportunities to move between roles?

3.6.1.4   *Translation as a cooperative activity*

The sixth and the seventh determinants share a similar feature as they allow social agents to expand their existing personal network and also provide them with opportunities to work with other people. This is what Bourdieu might have overlooked — the possibility of cooperation. This explains why Bourdieu does not see happiness as a capital because he sees social life in terms of exchange and therefore all things can be exchanged or converted into other kinds of capital. As we have mentioned, in the Western tradition, the notion of happiness comes from the Greek concept of virtue and reward. However, Bourdieu's sociology turns out to be individualistic, to the extent that he does not recognize virtues or final goals. Although he recognizes happiness, it is not part of his social model but is relegated to the realm of psychology. Here, we would like to ask if happiness is really so individualistic. Doesn't one's happiness make others happy? On a preliminary basis, we argue that translators can maximize their capital and

become happier through cooperation — working for mutual benefit not only with people of similar backgrounds but also with people of other habituses. Examining the complex interaction of several parties is crucial because translation is not a one-person activity. Instead, a set of actors are involved in the game. For example, Pym has argued that translating is by nature a cooperative act:

> To say that cooperation is the aim of translation is not to say that the translator is responsible for fixing or defining that aim. There are buyers and sellers, teachers and students, new ideas and ancient wisdom, all of which are able to seek cooperation across cultural differences. The translator is there to facilitate the search for cooperation, not to negotiate on behalf of one or other of the parties. (Pym 2000: 188)

The notion of cooperation is absent from Bourdieu's sociological model because he constructs his theory on the assumption that social agents compete for various types of capital:

> To enter a field (the philosophical field, the scientific field, etc.), to play the game, one must possess the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another. One must also possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' to be accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' in the most advantageous way possible. It means, in short, 'investing' one's capital in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or 'profit' from anticipation. Under normal circumstances, no one enters a game to lose. (Bourdieu 1991: 8)

Bourdieu only sees one game at a time. However, social agents need to work with people not only from the same profession but also from other fields. In Bourdieu's

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habitus theory, "the affinities of the habitus experienced as sympathy and antipathy are the basis of all forms of cooperation" (Bourdieu 1990: 128). However, as James Cunningham points out, "he is not referring to cooperation between agents with differing habitus but to agents with the same. In other words, Bourdieu is saying merely that people with the same habitus have a basis for cooperation" (Cunningham 1993: 1). Our study examines whether or not translators have a preference for cooperating with people and whether they work together with people from the same as well as other professions. The research will pave a way for Translation Studies researchers to further study the nature and the model of cooperation in translation.

3.6.1.5 Determinants related to cultural capital

In Warr's model, two determinants tally with Bourdieu's cultural capital:

9. Opportunity for skill use and acquisition

10. Environmental clarity.

"Opportunity for skill use and acquisition" can be categorized as a kind of cultural capital because it concerns the degree to which "an environment inhibits or encourages the use and development of a person's skills" (Warr 2007: 84). We ask the subjects to tell us whether they can apply their skills and expertise to their work. Are they able to learn new knowledge? Can they boost their professional qualifications?

"Environmental clarity" concerns the degree to which a person's job description is clear. An essential aspect "is the availability of feedback about the consequences of one's actions" (Warr 2007: 86). This determinant may be seen as contributing to a kind of cultural capital because feedback, whether positive or negative, may help hone the translator's skills and increase their knowledge.

3.6.1.6 *Determinants that help protect the translator's previously acquired capital*

The last two determinants help protect the translator's previously acquired capital. They are:

11. Equity

12. Physical security.

"Equity" focuses on two aspects: "the fairness of a person's relationship with his or her employer, and the fairness of one's organization's relationship with society more widely" (Warr 2007: 135). A fair environment not only puts the social agents in a better social position, but also allows them to protect their previously acquired capital so that the social agents can further accumulate capital. "Physical security" refers to a physically secure setting. Working in a physically secure setting will help protect translators' previously acquired capitals.

Table 3.2 seeks to simplify the above construct:

Table 3.2. A construct measuring the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain

Bourdieu's capital	Items derived from Warr's 12 determinants
Symbolic capital	Work independently
	Decision-making opportunities at work
	Fulfilling the expectation of the client
	Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user
	Professional respect
	The company's reputation in the industry
	The pride of the profession
	The role of being a translation professional
Economic capital	Salary
	Long-term job security
Social capital	A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network
	The client's appreciation of the person's translation work
	The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work
	Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only
	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions
Cultural capital	Opportunity to learn new knowledge
	Opportunity to improve translation skills
	Opportunity to boost professional qualification
	Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the client
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user

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Now that the theoretical framework for the first element of the definition of the translator's job-related happiness has been discussed in detail, we move on to explain how we collect data.

3.6.1.7 *The translator's satisfaction index*

The first element of the definition of the translator's job-related happiness concerns the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain. This definition allows us to measure whether the translators are satisfied with the capital that they receive. In order to make the measurement, we have to collect two kinds of data. First, we need to know how the subjects judge the importance of the four kinds of capital. In the questionnaire, we ask the subjects to indicate the level of importance for each of the statements concerning what they want to receive. The response categories are scored as follows: 0 = absolutely unimportant, 1 = unimportant, 2 = indifferent/no opinion, 3 = important, and 4 = extremely important. Second, we collect data on the four kinds of capital that the subjects say they receive. In the questionnaire, we ask the subjects to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statements concerning the capital that they say they receive. The response categories are scored as follows: 0 = strongly disagree, 1 = disagree, 2 = indifferent/no opinion, 3 = agree and 4 = strongly agree.

After getting the subjects' responses, we calculate the average gap between capital received and capital sought (ranging from –4 to 4). After mapping this, an index roughly representing the translator's satisfaction, ranging from 0 to 1, can be obtained.

3.6.2 *Affective feelings*

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This section explains the framework for the second element of the definition of the translator's job-related happiness.

Happiness is viewed as comprising the affective feeling of pleasant emotion (see for example Martin E.P. Seligman 2002). Figure 3.2 presents the "circumplex model of affect", which is among the most widely studied representations of affect (see for example Reisenzein 1994; Russell 1980, 2003; Warr 2007). The University of Sheffield's Institute of Work Psychology has developed a measure of affect (IWP Affect Questionnaire, Table 3.3), based on the circumplex affect model, to focus on job-related feelings from a person-centered perspective.

Figure 3.2. The "circumplex model of affect" (Russell 1980/2003) / a "two-dimensional view of subject well-being" (Warr 2007: 21)
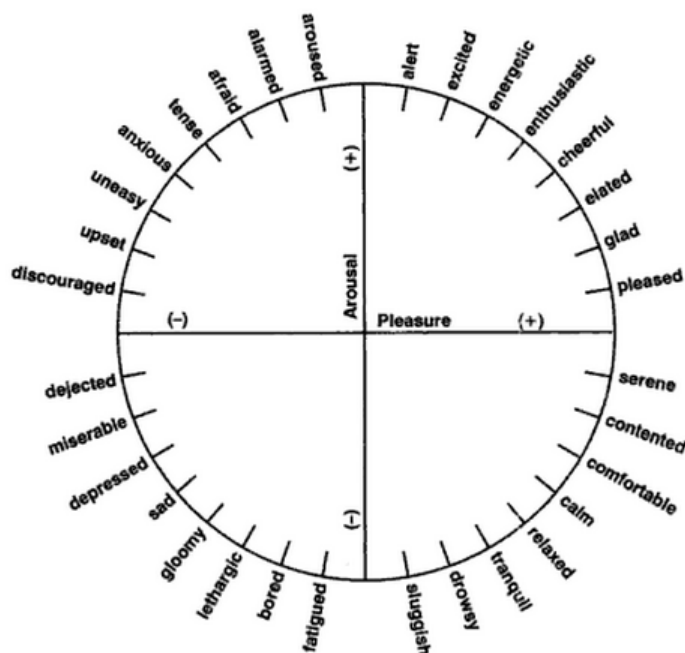
According to the institute, eleven intercorrelated measures can be envisaged by recording feelings in each quadrant:

1. Activated negative affect: top-left quadrant ("Anxiety")

2. Activated positive affect: top-right quadrant ("Enthusiasm")

3. Low activation negative affect: bottom-left quadrant ("Depression")

4. Low-activation positive affect: bottom-right quadrant ("Comfort")

5. The Anxiety-Comfort dimension: top-left and bottom-right quadrants

6. The Depression-Enthusiasm dimension: bottom-left and top-right quadrants

7. All negative affect: two left-hand quadrants

8. All positive affect: two right-hand quadrants

9. All activated affect: top-left and top-right quadrants

10. All low-activation affect: bottom-left and bottom-right quadrants

11. Total affect: all four quadrants

In our study, we use the IWP Affect Questionnaire[1] to examine the translators' feelings when they deal with translation. We have decided to make the IWP Affect Questionnaire part of the questionnaire because it focuses on the affect at work rather than general affect. Also, the IWP Affect Questionnaire affords us a more comprehensive understanding of the translator's feelings towards their work because the questionnaire covers all four quadrants listed in Figure 3.2.

Table 3.3 shows the IWP Affect Questionnaire. The question is: "For the past week, please indicate below approximately how often you have felt the following while you were working in your job. Everyone has a lot of overlapping feelings, so you'll have a total for all the items that is much greater than 100% of the time."

The explicit focus of the above questionnaire is on job-related feelings. The University of Sheffield's Institute of Work Psychology emphasizes that modifications can be made to the IWP Affect Questionnaire for particular professions or purposes. We have modified the IWP Affect Questionnaire to make it more applicable to our study. First of all, we changed the seven-point scale to the five-point Likert Scale. The choice of the five-point Likert Scale will be discussed in Section 5.2.2. In addition, the target

time period was changed. We ask our respondents to tell us in general how often they have the mentioned feelings while they are dealing with translation. There was a decision to change the target time period because our study stresses the long-term dimension; we do not aim at measuring the translator's current job-related happiness in a short period. In order to justify our decision to change the timeframe of the affect questionnaire, we did a statistical test to compare the "timeless" responses with the "past-week" responses. In fact, the statistical test is important because if there are any minor differences between the timeless responses and the past-week responses, they will be in favor of the variable we want to test.

Table 3.3. The IWP Affect Questionnaire

		Approximate amount of your time when at work in the past week						
		Never	A little of the time	Some of the time	About half the time	Much of the time	A lot of the time	Always
	I have felt:	0% of the time	1% to roughly 20%	Roughly 21% to 40%	Roughly 41% to 60%	Roughly 61% to 80%	Roughly 81% to 99%	100% of the time
1	Enthusiastic							
2	Nervous							
3	Calm							
4	Depressed							
5	Joyful							
6	Anxious							
7	Relaxed							
8	Dejected							
9	Inspired							
10	Tense							
11	Laid-back							
12	Despondent							
13	Excited							
14	Worried							
15	At ease							
16	Hopeless							

From January 15, 2010 to February 3, 2010, we got in touch again with the 54 subjects who had returned their completed questionnaires in November and early December 2009, in order to ask them the same questions about "past week". We intended to invite those people because we would like to make sure that these subjects could distinguish their feelings in the "timeless" and "past-week" timeframes when filling out the questionnaire.

By February 2010, we received responses from 30 subjects out of the 54. Although there are 16 items in the IWP affect questionnaire, our study mainly concerns positive emotions of the translator and therefore we only count the positive items (total eight items). The item responses were scored from 0 to 4. A paired-sample t-test (two-tailed) was performed in order to examine the differences between timeless responses and past-week responses. Table 3.4 shows that the mean values of the positive affective index for the timeless responses and the past-week responses are 0.4573 and 0.4604, respectively. The significant value is 0.906. The result suggests that there is no statistically significant difference between the responses to the two questions. Although there is no significant difference between the two responses, we still change the restricted time period to a timeless timeframe because our study focuses on the long-term dimension of the translator's job-related happiness.

Table 3.4. Paired-sample t-test (two-tailed) between timeless and past-week responses to the affective feeling questions

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Past-week Positive Affective Index	0.4604	30	0.17752	0.3241
Timeless Positive Affective Index	0.4573	30	0.16423	0.2998

Table 3.5 shows the modified version.

Table 3.5. The modified version of the IWP Affect Questionnaire for our study

	In general, please indicate approximately how often you have the following while you are dealing with translation. Everyone has a lot of overlapping feelings, so you'll have a total for all the items that is much greater than 100% of the time.				
I have felt:	Never/ Seldom	Some of the time	About half the time	Much of the time	Always
1 Enthusiastic					
2 Nervous					
3 Calm					
4 Depressed					
5 Joyful					
6 Anxious					
7 Relaxed					
8 Dejected					
9 Inspired					
10 Tense					
11 Laid-back					
12 Despondent					
13 Excited					
14 Worried					
15 At ease					
16 Hopeless					

3.6.3   The translator's positive affective index

The second element in the definition of the translator's job-related happiness concerns the affective feeling of positive emotions when an individual deals with translation. This definition allows us to measure the translator's positive affective index. Using a questionnaire, we collect self-report data concerning translators' the feelings when they

are dealing with translation. Initially, we only calculate the positive items (8 items) as we focus on the translator's positive feelings in this study, as guided by our definition. The item responses are scored as follows: 0 = never/seldom, 1 = some of the time, 2 = about half of the time, 3 = much of the time and 4 = always. After obtaining the subjects' responses, an average score ranging from 0 to 4 can be calculated. After mapping this, an index roughly representing the translator's positive affective feelings ranging from 0 to 1 is obtained.

Although our research focuses on the translator's happiness and we are thus primarily concerned with the positive items, the translator's negative feelings will also be briefly examined (see Section 3.6.5).

3.6.4   The translator's job-related happiness index

After obtaining the two scores (the satisfaction index and the positive affective index), the translator's job-related happiness index (that is, an average score of the two indexes) can be obtained (ranging from 0 to 1).

3.6.5   The translator's negative affective index

As the IWP questionnaire allows researchers to study people's negative feelings at work, our study utilizes this opportunity to measure the translator's negative affective feelings. We believe that understanding translator's negative feelings is worthwhile. For example, Karl Popper also places emphasis on understanding people's negative values when he discusses happiness, as he proposes the concept of "negative utilitarianism", which is an attempt to minimize suffering. He suggests that we should "replace the utilitarian

formula 'Aim at the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number', or briefly, 'Maximize happiness', by the formula 'The least amount of avoidable suffering for all', or briefly, 'Minimize suffering'" (Popper 1966: 235):

> Such a simple formula can, I believe, be made one of the fundamental principles (admittedly not the only one) of public policy. (The principle 'Maximize happiness', in contrast, seems to be apt to produce a benevolent dictatorship.) We should realize that from the moral point of view suffering and happiness must not be treated as symmetrical; that is to say, the promotion of happiness is in any case much less urgent than the rendering of help to those who suffer, and the attempt to prevent suffering. (ibid)

Popper stresses: "[i]nstead of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, one should demand, more modestly, the least amount of avoidable suffering for all" (ibid: 285). He proposed negative utilitarianism because "he believed that misery has a greater negative hedonic effect than happiness has a positive hedonic effect" (Lane 1991:496). He argues that we should fight against avoidable misery:

> [...] the greatest happiness principle of the Utilitarians can easily be made an excuse for a benevolent dictatorship, and the proposal that we should replace it by a more modest and more realistic principles — the principle that the fight against avoidable misery should be a recognized aim of public policy, while the increase of happiness should be left, in the main, to private initiative. (Popper 2002: 465)

With the questionnaire, we collect the data concerning the negative feelings felt when the translators deal with translation. We calculate these negative items (8 items) in order to obtain the translator's negative affective index. Item responses are scored as

follows: 0 = never/seldom, 1 = some of the time, 2 = about half of the time, 3 = much of the time and 4 = always. After getting the subjects' responses, an average score ranging from 0 to 4 can be calculated. After mapping this, an index roughly representing the translator's negative feelings ranging from 0 to 1 is then obtained. The index is such that the higher the score the translator obtains, the more negative feelings the person has at work.

The next chapter outlines the overall research design for the present study.

4. Research design

4.1 Overview

This chapter describes the overall research design of the study. Doing research involves the creation of objective knowledge about the world through systematic observation and analysis. Although there is no single method to do research, most of the approaches fall within two categories:

1. Quantitative (QUAN), which is generally numerical

2. Qualitative (QUAL), which is mostly non-numerical.

According to Earl R. Babbie (2007), the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is essentially the distinction between numerical and non-numerical approaches. The former is often associated with deductive or positivist research, and the latter with inductive or non-positivist research. Nowadays, the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approach (or a mixed-methods approach) is commonly adopted because it can create synergy and explore new insights:

> Every observation is qualitative at the outset, whether it is our experience of someone's intelligence, the location of a pointer on a measuring scale, or a check mark entered in a questionnaire. None of these things is inherently numerical or quantitative, but covering them to a numerical form is sometimes useful. (Babbie 2007: 23)

Scholars often point out that quantification can help to make observations more explicit while a qualitative approach can lead to a better understanding of the topic.

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Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie (1998) suggest when the two approaches are used in combination, this method often allows researchers to seek a more in-depth and complete analysis. They even call mixed-methods research the "third methodological movement" (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003: ix).

4.2 Characteristics of mixed-methods research

In my view, a mixed-methods approach is a preferable design for the present project for several reasons. First of all, translators are human beings; their values are not numerical, i.e., they are not divided into units of the same magnitude. Therefore, a merely quantitative approach is not enough for us to reach an in-depth understanding of the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. There is a need to enhance a quantitative study with a second source of data. In addition, the questions we are asking are rarely researched in an empirical way. A mixed-methods approach is deemed appropriate as it allows us to integrate the strength of both quantitative and qualitative methods. In this study, we use the term "mixed methods" because our research involves collecting and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data. John W. Creswell defines mixed-methods research as follows:

> *Mixed methods research* is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the

use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of

research problems than either approach alone. (Creswell 2007a: 5)

4.3 Types of mixed-methods design

After deciding on using a mixed-methods approach, we need to find a suitable and relevant design type for our present study. The range of mixed-methods design types exists in large numbers in the literature, for example, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) have identified nearly 40 types, but we can still classify them according to two major dimensions: time order (sequential vs. concurrent) and paradigm emphasis (equal status vs. dominant status). Based on these two dimensions, Creswell (2007a) proposes four major types of mixed-methods designs:

1. The triangulation design allows researchers to implement the quantitative and qualitative methods during the same timeframe and with equal weight;

2. The embedded design allows researchers to mix the different data sets at the design level, with one type of data being embedded within a methodology framed by the other data type; this particular design can use either a one-phase or a two-phase approach, includes the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data but one of the methods plays a supplemental role;

3. The explanatory design is a two-phased methods design. It starts with the collection and analysis of quantitative data. The qualitative phase is then to connect or explain the research results of the first quantitative phase. In this design, researchers basically place greater emphasis on the quantitative methods than the qualitative methods; and

4. The exploratory design is also a two-phase design but it starts with qualitative data to explore a phenomenon and then builds to a quantitative phase. A greater emphasis is often placed on the qualitative design.

Table 4.1 summarizes the four major designs.

Table 4.1. Four major types of mixed-methods designs (Adopted from Creswell 2007a: 85)

Design Type	Variants	Timing	Weighting	Mixing	Notation
Triangulation	• Convergence • Data transformation • Validating quantitative data • Multilevel	Concurrent: quantitative and qualitative at same time	Usually equal	Merge the data during the interpretation or analysis	QUAN + QUAL
Embedded	• Embedded experimental • Embedded correlational	Concurrent or Sequential	Unequal	Embed one type of data within a larger design using the other type of data	QUAN or QUAL
Explanatory	• Follow-up explanations • Participant selection	Sequential: Quantitative followed by qualitative	Usually quantitative	Connect the data between the two phases	QUAN → qual
Exploratory	• Instrument development • Taxonomy development	Sequential: Qualitative followed by quantitative	Usually qualitative1	Connect the data between the two phases.	QUAL → quan

Of these four designs, two seem to be irrelevant to our study. First of all, a triangulation design is not suitable because it stresses that both types of data are given equal emphasis. However, our study places greater emphasis on the quantitative phase. An exploratory design also does not seem to be applicable to our study as it "starts with qualitative data, to explore a phenomenon, and then builds to a second, quantitative phase" (Creswell 2007a: 77). Our project starts with a questionnaire survey in order to test our hypotheses and thus this exploratory design also does not suit our methodology.

Embedded design and explanatory design both seem to have some relevance for the present project. An embedded design allows one data set to provide a supportive, secondary role in a study based primarily on the other data type. Creswell (2007a)

stresses that it is a challenge to differentiate between a study using an embedded design and a study using other mixed-methods designs. He explains that "the key question is whether the secondary data type is playing a supplemental role within a design based on the other data type" (Creswell 2007a: 69). However, we do not think that the qualitative data we obtain only plays a supplemental role in our project because the qualitative data will allow us to gain some insights that could not be obtained solely through the quantitative phase. An explanatory design starts with the collection and analysis of quantitative data. The first phase is then followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data. Creswell notes that this design is well suited to a study in which a researcher needs qualitative data to explain results or to use the quantitative participant characteristics to guide purposeful sampling for a qualitative phase. The sequential explanatory design (quantitative followed by qualitative) obviously suits our research goals best.

4.4 A Sequential Explanatory Design

As mentioned above, a sequential explanatory design involves collecting qualitative data after a quantitative analysis, in order to explain and support the findings of the quantitative study (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998; Creswell 2007a). Creswell often calls this method a two-phase design.

Creswell (2007a) notes that developing a visual model indicating the procedural stages can help researchers properly carry out a mixed-methods research. After studying the guidelines and suggestions given by Creswell (2007a) and Nataliya V. Ivankova (2004), we have created a visual model (Figure 4.1) to show the procedures for the sequential explanatory design of our study.

Figure 4.1. The structure of the research methodology developed for this study
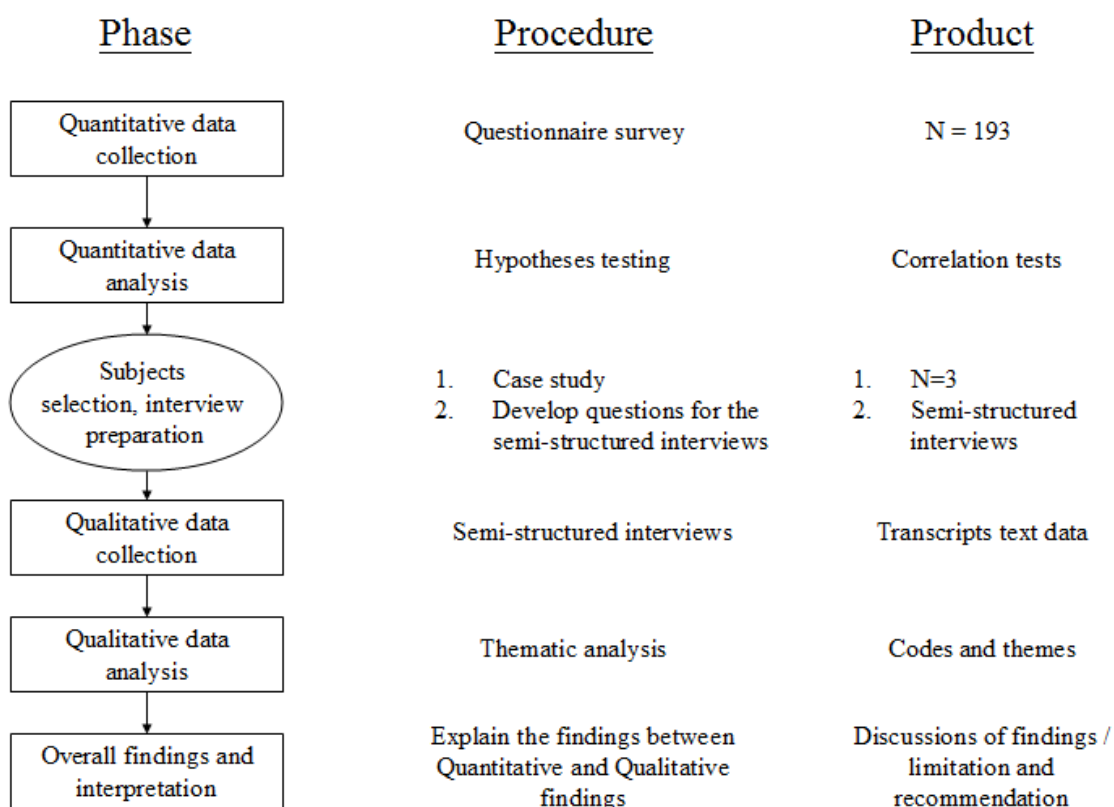
Our research first secures quantitative results from a sample of 193 subjects participating in our questionnaire survey and then follows up with interviews with three subjects who have had experience in shifting visibility. In the first phase, the quantitative hypotheses address the correlation between the translator's visibility, their work experience and their job-related happiness. A questionnaire was used to obtain data in order to test our hypotheses. The statistical results from the questionnaire guided us to develop the interview questions for qualitative data collection. Then we conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews with three selected participants. The details of the selection process will be further explained in Chapter 7.

5. Quantitative Phase

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explained the rationale behind the research paradigm and the research design. This chapter describes the methodology and procedures of the first phase, i.e. quantitative analysis. It begins by explaining how we test the hypotheses, followed by a detailed explanation of the development and administration of the survey questionnaire.

5.2 Procedures

5.2.1   Survey instrument scheme

After developing the various hypotheses, we have to find a tool to test them. A questionnaire survey method is appropriate for our study for several reasons. First of all, because there is no previous empirical research examining the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness, a new tool is thus needed for our study. Questionnaires can be custom-designed to meet the objectives of any type of research project (see McNabb 2004). According to Buckingham and Saunders (2004), questionnaires are best employed to gather information on large populations. The method will help us reach as many translators in the greater China region as possible.

There are several guidelines on how to design questionnaires (see Oppenheim 1992; Hague 1993 and Gillham 2007), and we have considered their advice prior to

designing our questionnaire. Our questions follow the theoretical framework already discussed in Chapter 3. In the questionnaire, we make the questions as neutral as possible in order to minimize bias.

Table 5.1 shows the survey instrument scheme we develop for our study.

Table 5.1. Survey instrument scheme developed for this study

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	ID
Work experience	Years of translation experience	Q5
Visibility	Communicate directly with the client	Q11
	Communicate directly with the end-user	Q13
Visibility preference	Like to communicate with the client	Q12
	Like to communicate with the end-user	Q14
Symbolic capital	Work independently	Q16 & Q38
	Decision-making opportunities at work	Q17 & Q39
	Fulfilling the expectation of the client	Q18 & Q40
	Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user	Q19 & Q41
	Professional respect	Q20 & Q42
	The company's reputation in the industry	Q21 & Q43
	The pride of the profession	Q22 & Q44
	The role of being a translator	Q23 & Q45
Economic capital	Salary	Q24 & Q46
	Long-term job security	Q25 & Q47
Social capital	A working environment that allows the translator to strengthen the personal network	Q26 & Q48
	The client's appreciation of the translator's translation work	Q27 & Q49
	The end-user's appreciation of the translator's translation work	Q28 & Q50
	Moving between roles so that the translator is not limited to doing translation only	Q29 & Q51
	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	Q30 & Q52
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions	Q31 & Q53
Cultural capital	Opportunity to learn new knowledge	Q32 & Q54
	Opportunity to improve translation skills	Q33 & Q55
	Opportunity to boost professional qualification	Q34 & Q56
	Opportunity to use skills and expertise at work	Q35 & Q57
	Feedback on the translated work from the client	Q36 & Q58
	Feedback on the translated work from the end-user	Q37 & Q59
The translator's affective feelings	Enthusiastic	Q60
	Nervous	Q61
	Calm	Q62
	Depressed	Q63
	Joyful	Q64
	Anxious	Q65
	Relaxed	Q66
	Dejected	Q67
	Inspired	Q68
	Tense	Q69
	Laid-back	Q70
	Despondent	Q71
	Excited	Q72
	Worried	Q73
	At ease	Q74
	Hopeless	Q75

For our study, the dependent variables are the translator's work experience, visibility, the translator's personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users, symbolic capital, economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and the translator's affective feelings.

The main independent variable influencing a translator's work experience is the year(s) of translation experience that the person possesses. In the questionnaire, respondents are asked to state how many years of translation experience they have.

The independent variables influencing a translator's visibility to the client and the end-user are (1) whether the translator can communicate with the client directly, and (2) whether the translator can communicate with the end-user directly.

In this study, there are two independent variables influencing a translator's personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. They are (1) whether the translator likes to communicate with the client, and (2) whether the translator likes to communicate with the end-user.

The independent variables concerning symbolic capital are (1) working independently, (2) having decision-making opportunities at work, (3) fulfilling the expectation of the client, (4) fulfilling the expectation of the end-user, (5) professional respect, (6) the translator's company reputation in the industry, (7) the pride of the translation profession and (8) the person's role of being a translator.

There are two independent variables affecting the economic capital. They are (1) salary and (2) an individual's long term job security.

The independent variables influencing the social capital are (1) a working environment that allows the translator to strengthen their personal network, (2) the client's appreciation of the person's translation work, (3) the end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work, (4) the opportunity to move between roles so that the translator is not limited to doing translation only, (5) the opportunity for the translator to

work with people of the translation profession and (6) the opportunity for the translator to work with people from different professions.

In relation to cultural capital, we have six independent variables: (1) the opportunity for the translator to learn new knowledge, (2) the opportunity for the translator to improve their translation skills, (3) the opportunity for the translator to boost their professional qualification, (4) the opportunity for the translator to use their skills and expertise at work, (5) feedback on the translator's translated work from the client and (6) feedback on the translator's translated work from the end-user.

The independent variables related to the translator's affective feelings are (1) enthusiasm, (2) nerve, (3) calm, (4) depression, (5) joy, (6) anxiety, (7) relaxation, (8) dejection, (9) inspiration, (10) tenseness, (11) a laid-back attitude, (12) despondency, (13) excitement, (14) worry, (15) ease, and (16) hopelessness.

5.2.2   *Measurement scales*

Most of the items in our questionnaire require scaled responses. Although an eleven-point end defined scale (for example from 0 = very dissatisfied to 10 = very satisfied) has been widely used to measure an individual's happiness (Cummins & Gullone 2000), our study employs the traditional 5-point Likert scale. The decision to use the Likert scale is that "the particular value of this format is the unambiguous ordinality of response categories" (Babbie 2007: 170). In addition, our pilot study indicated that the 5-point Likert scale was appropriate for this project. The details of the pilot study will be explained in Sections 5.2.5.2 and 5.2.5.2. Furthermore, Babbie (2007) points out that if respondents are provided with too many options such as "sort of agree", "pretty much agree", "really agree" and so forth, they may find it difficult to distinguish among the various choices while researchers would find it impossible to judge the

relative degree of agreement or disagreement intended by the various respondents. Use of the 5-point Likert scale can avoid this problem. Moreover, some research (for example see John Dawes 2002) has shown that the eleven-point end-defined scale produces data that is essentially the same as that produced by the 5-point Likert scale in terms of mean value, after allowing for the five point system to be re-scaled.

Our questionnaire is divided into five parts. The first part collects data on the background information of the subjects, their visibility at work and their personal preference for working in a way visible to their clients and end-users. Part two aims to find out how the subjects judge the importance of the various kinds of capital, i.e. what they want to receive from their work. The response categories in this part are: "absolutely unimportant", "unimportant", "indifferent/no opinion", "important" and "extremely important". Part three captures data concerning the various kinds of capital obtained, according to the subjects. The response categories are "strongly disagree", "disagree", "indifferent/no opinion", "agree" and "strongly agree". In part four, we ask the subjects to indicate how often they have the named affective feelings while they are dealing with translation. The response categories are "never/seldom", "some of the time", "about half of the time", "much of the time" and "always". In part five, we have two open-ended questions for our respondents. The first question solicits their views on the happiness or unhappiness of being a translation professional. The second question invites them to share their opinions on the role of a translation professional.

5.2.3   The population: Chinese translators in greater China

The subjects for this study are Chinese translators in the greater China region, which comprises the People's Republic of China (population over 1.3 billion), Hong Kong (population about seven million), Taiwan (population about 24 million) and Macao

(population about 0.5 million). When Philip M. Parker (2008) predicts the world outlook for translation and interpreting services in 2009-2014, he points out that Asia is the largest market as the region's demand for translation and interpretation services in 2009 is estimated to reach US$0.8 billion or 30.92 percent, followed by Europe with US$0.7 billion or 26.54 percent and North America and the Caribbean with US$0.6 billion or 23.74 percent of the world market.[2] Parker predicts that in 2014 the demand for translation and interpreting services in Asia will rise to reach US$1.05 billion or 32.93 percent of the world market. Among all the Asian countries, China tops the list, as the country's demand for these services is estimated to reach US$0.4 billion in 2014 or 13.21 percent of the world market, while Hong Kong is listed with US$14 million or 0.47 percent and Taiwan with US$34 million or 1.09 percent of the world market.

A translator is generally understood to be a person who translates written texts in a different language, especially as a job. When we place translators in the job market, however, it is noticed that people who are required to handle translation assignments do not necessarily hold the job title "translator". Thus we use a more liberal definition of translators, which includes people who do translation and/or interpreting as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly, either on a full-time, part-time or project basis. This does not include people who only handle oral renditions of spoken discourse from one language into another language.

5.2.4   *Sampling methods*

Although we will never be able to study every single member of the population that interests us, selecting samples that adequately reflect the population and adopting suitable sampling methods will help us to make our research relevant. Ideally, random sampling should be the best method because this method ensures that "each element has

an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process"
(Babbie 2007: 191). However, we do not know the categories of the translation
profession in greater China and we cannot reach them equally, so the quantitative phase
of this study thus cannot use a random sampling method. Instead, we use
non-probability convenience sampling (also known as accidental sampling) and
snowball techniques: "In convenience sampling, the researcher generally selects
participants on the basis of proximity, ease-of-access, and willingness to participate"
(Urdan 2005:3). This sampling method can give us some preliminary information for
investigation, but caution must be taken because convenience sampling does not allow
researchers to scientifically make generalizations about the total population.

5.2.5 *Pretesting the questionnaire*

In order to determine the validity and appropriateness of our questionnaire and research
design, we used a two-round testing method, including a pre-test and a pilot study.
Carrying out a pre-test is necessary because it can give us "an initial estimate of certain
quantities which can be used to determine the sample size needed for the desired degree
of accuracy in the main study" (Vitalis & Zepp 1989: 98).

5.2.5.1 *A Pre-test*

In early January 2009, a pre-test was conducted with the following aims: (1) to test the
questionnaire wording, (2) to examine the layout of the questionnaire, (3) to estimate
the response rate, and (4) to estimate the questionnaire completion time. Six translators
(three from Hong Kong, two from China and one from Taiwan) were invited to fill in
the questionnaire (Version 1). They were also asked to provide feedback on the
questionnaire. After doing the pre-test, changes were made to some questions. For

example, there was one question designed to find out whether or not the subject is visible to the client: "Are you able to communicate directly with your clients at work?". One respondent commented that the concept of "client" was not clear. She asked whether she should count her supervisor as her client, as she thought that she always "served" her supervisor. We dealt with the problem by listing two questions so as to avoid the ambiguity. The first question is: "Are you able to communicate directly with your employer at work? 'Your employer' means your supervisor or the person who oversees your translation assignments in your company." For this question, subjects are invited to choose an answer from the choices "never", "seldom", "sometimes", "often" and "very often". The second question is: "Can you communicate directly with the client? Do not include 'your employer' in this question. 'A client' is meant a company/brand/organization/corporate institution paying for your translations." For this question, subjects are also invited to choose an answer from the above-mentioned choices.

5.2.5.2   *A pilot study*

After the pre-test, a pilot study was carried out from January 31, 2009 to March 26, 2009 in order (1) to test the consistency reliability of our questionnaire, and (2) to test the methodology of the study, focusing on the sampling method and measurement scales.

In the period, 121 email messages were sent out to invite translators to take part in our questionnaire survey (Version 2). A total of 62 questionnaires were returned within the period. Two were not valid because they were not complete. Out of the 60 valid completed questionnaires, 38 of the respondents said they were women and 22 men. Data complied from the survey responses showed that 21 respondents were from Hong Kong, 28 were from China and 11 were from Taiwan.

After the data had been collected from the pilot study, an internal consistency reliability analysis was performed. Reliability analysis (alpha scale) was performed by SPSS in order to determine the reliability coefficient for (1) part two of the questionnaire, which contains 22 items concerning the various kinds of capital that the respondents want to receive, and (2) part three of the questionnaire, which contains 22 items concerning the various kinds of capital that the subjects say they obtain. These 44 items as a whole measure the translator's satisfaction index, i.e., the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain.

The reliability analysis results are displayed as a standardized alpha in Table 5.2. The standardized alpha for the 22 items in part two is 0.7911. The result indicates a scale of high reliability. For the 22 items in part three of the questionnaire, a standardized alpha of 0.8614 is obtained. The result also indicates high reliability.

Table 5.2. Reliability analysis (alpha scale) results for the pilot

Questionnaire	Standardized alpha
22 items in part 2	0.7911
22 items in part 3	0.8614

The standard alpha results show that reliability is established for the part of our survey instrument which measures the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain. Thus, we continue to use the same questions to collect data concerning the alignment of wish and reality (the translator's satisfaction index) in our main study.

In the pilot study, the 5-point Likert scale was used to collect data concerning the capital that the respondents want to receive and the capital that they say they obtain, while a 6-point scale was adopted to get data concerning the translator's visibility. The 6-point scale was also used to ask the respondents a question about their happiness with

their present work. After doing the pilot study, we decided to use the 5-point Likert scale in the main study.

Some questions in part four of the questionnaire were deleted after doing the pilot study because we did not find any logical relations between those questions and our research questions. Those questions asked the subjects to indicate whether they (1) enjoy translating, (2) enjoy using their language abilities at work, (3) find happiness when working on texts, (4) find happiness after accomplishing a complex translation task on their own, and (5) find happiness if they can work with people in order to accomplish a complex translation task.

Since more hypotheses were developed after the pilot study, more questions have been added to the questionnaires in order to collect relevant data. In the first part of the questionnaire, three questions have been added: we ask the subjects to tell us (1) how much time (such as hours per week) they spend on translation-related assignments or activities, (2) whether they like communicating with clients, and (3) whether they like communicating with the end-users. The first question can help us understand more about the relationship between the translators' working time, their visibility and their job-related happiness. The second and third questions are necessary and important for us to neutralize the translator's visibility preference when testing the hypotheses. These two questions also allow us to examine the relationship between visibility and the translator's personal preference for visibility.

Second, an extra part, which asks the subjects to indicate roughly how often they have certain affective feelings while they are dealing with translation, has been added. This part is important for analyzing the second element of our working definition of the translator's job-related happiness, i.e., the translator's positive emotions when they deal with translation.

Third, we have added two open-ended questions to the last part of the questionnaire. In the "comment section" of our pilot study, the respondents wrote a lot about the role and the (un)happiness of being a translator. In view of this, two open-ended questions are added. The first question invites the respondents to share their views on the happiness or unhappiness of being a translation professional. The second question asks them to share their views on the role of a translation professional.

5.2.6   *Administering the questionnaire*

The questionnaire survey is self-administered in the sense that respondents are asked to complete the questionnaire themselves. The questionnaire was prepared in two formats: a Word document and an online version on www.surveymonkey.com.

After completing the pre-test and the pilot study, a finalized questionnaire (Version three, see Appendix C) was prepared for distribution. On November 3, 2009 we started to invite translators to participate in our questionnaire study. As I have been in the media industry for ten years, I have established relationships with media companies, advertising agencies and public relations agencies in greater China. I sent an email message, together with the questionnaire as well as a cover letter, to my contacts asking for their assistance in completing the questionnaire. In addition to inviting my personal contacts, subjects were located through the following Internet websites:

1. **www.facebook.com**[3]: We sent invitations to some of the registered members of Facebook's social networking groups: Hong Kong PR Network (1,144 members as at January 10, 2010), Interpreti-traduttori-翻譯-interpreters-translator (63 members as at January 10, 2010), Are you a translator or interpreter? Join applied language solutions (2,060 members as at January 10, 2010), Chinese translation society (74

members as at January 10, 2010), Translator pride (381 members as at January 10, 2010) and Taiwan translator & interpreters (66 members as at January 10, 2010).

2. **www.proz.com**: We sent invitations to the Chinese translators who handle Chinese and English translation in greater China (6,135 Chinese members doing English - Chinese translation as at January 10, 2010).

3. **www.translationdirectory.com** has 566 members doing English-Chinese translation and 232 members doing Chinese-English translation as at January 10, 2010.

4. **www.outra.com** is an Internet portal for translators and interpreters in China. It has 2,762 registered members as at January 10, 2010.

After obtaining a subject's email address from the website, we sent an e-mail message to invite the recipient to fill out the questionnaire (see Appendix A for the message). After receiving confirmation, we sent the questionnaire along with a cover letter via e-mail (Appendix B, the cover letter; Appendix C, the questionnaire).

The decision to find samples from the above-listed websites was made because these websites have a huge number of registered Chinese translators. This method of doing convenience sampling is one of the most effective ways of reaching the maximum number of target subjects within a short period of time. It might be thought that we were biased against non-Internet users. This may be so. But the fact is that the Internet has become the translator's best friend nowadays. Sofer (2006) points out that digital technology, as it relates to translation, is in a constant state of change:

> More work is now being transmitted electronically by e-mail attachment rather than by fax. The Internet has become a routine tool for translators — from work search to word search. And a

growing number of translators has become involved in the translation of such computer-based material as websites, a process now generally referred to as localization. (Softer 2006: 79)

In fact, the most important point here is not just the use of the Internet. We are actually utilizing the power of online translator's networking sites. Some Translation Studies scholars (e.g., McDonough 2007 and Chan 2008) have mentioned that these online networking sites now play a vital role in the way the profession is practiced. Since the online networking site is a new communication phenomenon, we would certainly expect there to be a bias over-representing young translators in our study. This is also suggested by the age breakdown in Table 6.1.

From November 3, 2009 to February 6, 2010, a total of 1,130 email messages were sent out to invite the email receivers to take part in our questionnaire survey. In addition to the convenience sampling method, we also used snowball techniques. By March 12, 2010, a total of 193 questionnaires were returned. The findings from the completed questionnaires are analyzed in Chapter 6.

5.2.7 *On the response rate*

Many guidelines on questionnaire design, like those of Oppenheim (1992), provide suggestions for increasing the response rates. We adopted the following strategies to increase our response rates:

1. Advanced explanation of selection — we sent an email message (Appendix A) in order to inform the respondent of the study in advance. We told them how and why they were chosen.

2. Benefits and confidentiality ― we let the subjects know that our research would be beneficial to them, i.e. they will be able to see the results of the study. We also promised confidentiality and anonymity.

3. Reminders ― a reminder was sent to those who did not return the questionnaire after two weeks.

Now that we have described the methodology and procedures of the quantitative analysis, the next chapter will discuss the results of the questionnaire survey.

6. Quantitative Results

This chapter describes the results of the questionnaire survey. First, we present the demographic data, including the background information, educational and employment profiles of the respondents. Then the hypotheses formulated for this research are tested and the research findings are analyzed in a move to answer the research questions.

6.1 Participants' demographic information

The participants in this study were translators in greater China. This includes people who do translation and/or interpreting as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly, either on a full-time, part-time or project basis. This does not include people who only handle oral renditions of spoken discourse from one language into another language.

Of the 193 translators who completed the questionnaire, 84 (43.5 percent) were male and 109 (56.5 percent) were female, showing a relatively good representation of both sexes in our study, regardless of the convenience sampling and snowball techniques employed. The distribution of our sample is significantly different from other visibility-related questionnaire surveys, whose subjects were mostly women. For example, 87 percent of the translators taking part in the survey carried out by Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) were women, as were 70 percent of the interpreters participating in Angelelli's survey (2004). While our present study includes more men, it may not involve a more representative sampling of the profession; however, it is a relatively good area sampling as we also test sex differences.

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Table 6.1 summarizes the demographic data collected:

Table 6.1. Demographic data of respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Sex		
Males	84	43.5
Females	109	56.5
Age		
20-24	22	11.4
25-29	70	36.3
30-34	50	25.9
35-39	29	15.0
40-44	13	6.7
45-49	7	3.6
≥ 50	2	1.0
City where they live		
Hong Kong	25	13.0
China	140	72.5
Taiwan	27	14.0
Macao	1	0.5
The highest level of education		
High School	1	0.5
College	16	8.3
Bachelor's	102	52.8
Master's	66	34.2
PhD	5	2.6
Other	2	1.0
Not Stated	1	0.5
Major field of study		
Translation	19	9.8
Non-translation	167	86.5
Not Stated	7	3.6
Experience (years)		
≤ 3	70	36.3
> 3, ≤ 7	69	35.8
> 7	54	28.0

* Numbers may not total 100 percent due to rounding.

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The age distribution (shown in Table 6.1) may suggest an over-representation of young translators in this study. More than one-third of the subjects (36.3 percent) were between 25 and 29 years of age. This is opposite to the aforementioned visibility-related surveys, whose subjects were more mature. For example, the 30-39 age group was the largest in the survey carried out by Dam and Korning Zethsen, while the majority of the respondents of Angelelli's study were between 40 and 49. The over-representation of young translators in this study may be due to the sampling method, as we recruited participants from online social networking sites (see 5.2.6). We thus cannot ignore the possibility that there may be some bias favoring young translators in our sample. A further discussion will be found in Chapter 10.

Data compiled from our survey responses show that 25 subjects (13.0 percent) were from Hong Kong, 140 (72.5 percent) were from China, 27 (14.0 percent) were from Taiwan, and only one (0.5 percent) subject was from Macao. Although we employed convenience sampling to recruit subjects, a degree of area sampling was used to ensure that our sample was applicable to the greater China region. Here we try to do some calculations to see how our sample reflects the greater China translation market. Beninatto and DePalma (2008) estimate that about 700,000 people on the planet "would call themselves professional translators". In Section 5.2.3, we discussed Parker's estimation of the world's demand for translation and interpreting services. On the basis of Parker's data, the demand for translation and interpreting services in China would have been about 11 percent of the world total in 2008. Then there might be about 77,000 people who would call themselves "professional translators" in China. Parker's data suggested that the demands for translation and interpreting services in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan were about 0.46 percent, 0.02 percent and 1.07 percent respectively in 2008. These percentages would represent about 3,220, 140 and 7,490 people who would call themselves "professional translators" in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan

respectively. As a result, our sample roughly represents 0.18 percent, 0.78 percent, 0.71 percent and 0.19 percent of the populations in China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan respectively. Although the calculations may not accurately reflect the real situation, they can at least be considered anecdotal evidence.

According to Table 6.1, our subjects have translation experience ranging from 0.25 to 28 years, with a mean work experience of 5.94 years. Seventy people (36.3 percent) have less than three years of experience, 69 (35.7 percent) have three to seven years of experience, and 54 (28 percent) have more than seven years of experience.

Regarding the highest level of education achieved, one participant (0.5 percent) reported high school education only, 16 (8.3 percent) reported college education, 102 (52.9 percent) reported undergraduate education, 71 (36.8 percent) reported some postgraduate education, of which 5 reported completing a doctorate. One subject (0.5 percent) did not state the highest level of education he/she achieved, while two subjects (1.0 percent) selected "other" category. It is interesting that most of the graduates were not translation graduates, although they are now translation practitioners. The data show that only 19 participants (9.8 percent) had degrees in translation. Other respondents graduated in programs such as English, Communication Studies, Journalism, and Business Administration. Note that the numbers may not be added to 100 percent due to rounding, as we state it at the bottom of Table 6.1.

In our questionnaire, respondents were asked to give their job titles. A total of 23 respondents (11.9 percent) reported that they were in-house translators, including three English Translators, one Junior Translator, two Senior Translators and 17 Translators. Other job titles, given in Appendix H, include Account Manager at public relations agencies, Communications Consultant, Corporate Communications Manager, Marketing Manager, Project Officer, Editor, Technical Translator and Freelance Translator. In our sample, most of the subjects were freelance translators (and they did not state that they

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have another full-time job besides translating). According to Appendix H, 78 subjects (40.4 percent) stated that they were freelance translators. Some respondents had another full-time job in addition to being a freelance translator (e.g., two respondents stated that they were lecturers and freelance translators). Our use of social networking sites to recruit translators for our study may have resulted in a possible over-representation of freelance translators in our sample.

The majority of the respondents (120 people, 62.2 percent) were from the translation sector, because translation was their full-time job (see Appendix I). It should be noted that seven subjects were from my own contacts, including three from the media sector, three from the public relations sector and one from the publishing sector. Another larger group of respondents came from the public relations sector (9 people, 4.7 percent). In addition, there are 11 respondents (5.7 percent) who teach full-time and are also freelance translators. Some freelance translators had another full-time job, and these jobs came from various fields such as administration, teaching, engineering, human resources, information technology, law, marketing and trading.

6.2 Testing the hypotheses

Here we give a quick review of our hypotheses. Our first hypothesis (H$_1$) examines the relationship between the translator's visibility and the amount of capital they say they receive:

H$_1$: The more visible the translators, the more capital they receive.

To fully understand the translator's visibility and the four kinds of capital they say they receive, we test the following lower-level hypotheses:

H_{1a}: The more visible the translators, the more symbolic capital they receive.

H_{1b}: The more visible the translators, the more economic capital they receive.

H_{1c}: The more visible the translators, the more social capital they receive.

H_{1d}: The more visible the translators, the more cultural capital they receive.

Our second hypothesis (H_2) examines the relationship between visibility and job-related happiness:

H_2: The more visible the translators, the happier they are.

We also test these two lower-level hypotheses:

H_{2a}: The more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received.

H_{2b}: The more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation.

Our third and fourth hypotheses examine the correlation between the translator's work experience, visibility and job-related happiness:

H_3: The greater the work experience, the greater the visibility.

H_4: The greater the work experience, the greater the job-related happiness.

In order to compare the impact of the translator's visibility and work experience on the translator's job-related happiness, we will test the following hypothesis:

H_5: The translator's visibility has a greater impact on the translator's job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

6.2.1   Testing method

Prior to testing our hypotheses, we need to understand the nature and pattern of our variables, so we can select the most appropriate testing method.

Our first main hypothesis (H_1)—the more visible the translators, the more capital they receive—involves two continuous dependent variables: the translator's visibility and the capital received. In the first part of the questionnaire, we collected data concerning the translator's visibility by asking two questions: (1) "can you communicate directly with the client?"; and (2) "are you able to get in touch with the end-user of your translation work?". The response categories were scored as follows: 0 = never; 1 = seldom; 2 = sometimes; 3 = often; 4 = very often. To gain a rough index, the two scores were added together and mapped to the range of 0 to 1, for a score roughly representing the translator's visibility.

In the questionnaire, we collected data concerning the four kinds of capital received (including 22 determinants). The response categories were scored as follows: 0 = strongly disagree; 1 = disagree; 2 = indifferent/ no opinion; 3 = agree; and 4 = strongly agree.

A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to determine the normality of the two continuous dependent variables, in order to decide the situations in which the use of parametric or non-parametric tests may be appropriate. The results showed that, in our

sample, the translator's visibility was not normally distributed (p = 0.002), while the distribution of the capital received by our respondents was normal in shape (p = 0.087). Thus, the translator's visibility index did not match the necessary prerequisite for the use of parametric tests, and so non-parametric tests were employed for the first main hypothesis.

For the four lower-level hypotheses (H_{1a}, H_{1b}, H_{1c}, H_{1d}), which posit positive relationships between visibility and the amount of symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital received by our subjects, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was again used to determine the normality of these continuous variables. Since we knew that visibility was not normally distributed, we focused on the distribution of symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital received. The results showed that, in our sample, the amounts of symbolic capital (p = 0.003), economic capital (p = 0.004) and social capital (p = 0.002) received by our subjects were not normally distributed. However, the distribution of the amount of cultural capital (p = 0.062) received was normal in shape. Further, none of the 22 determinants (variables) related to the four kinds of capital were normally distributed (p < 0.001 for all determinants). The tests thus indicated that we should use non-parametric tests to handle the four lower-level hypotheses, although parametric tests could be used for fine-grained analysis of cultural capital in the absence of visibility.

Our second main hypothesis (H_2)—the more visible the translators, the happier they are—involves two continuous dependent variables: the translator's visibility and the translator's job-related happiness. It should be noted that the calculation method was explained in Section 3.6. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was again used to determine the normality of the translator's job-related happiness. The result showed that, in our sample, the distribution of the translator's job-related happiness was in normal shape (p = 0.891). Although job-related happiness was normally distributed, we were still unable

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to use the parametric test, because the distribution of visibility was not in normal shape. Therefore, we employed non-parametric tests for the second main hypothesis, although parametric tests could also be used for fine-grained analysis of job-related happiness in the absence of visibility.

For the two lower-level hypotheses (H_{2a}, H_{2b}), which posit positive relationships between visibility, satisfaction and positive affective feelings, Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests were employed to test the normality of these continuous variables. As we already knew that visibility was not normally distributed, we tested the distribution of satisfaction and positive affective feelings. The results showed that, in our sample, satisfaction ($p = 0.220$) and positive affective feelings ($p = 0.406$) were normally distributed. In addition, the normality of the satisfaction indexes of the 22 determinants related to the four kinds of capital was tested, and none were normally distributed ($p < 0.001$ for all determinants). This means that non-parametric tests should be used when testing the two lower-level hypotheses. In order to analyze the translator's negative affective feelings, non-parametric tests would be used because negative affective feelings were not normally distributed ($p = 0.003$), according to the results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test.

The third, fourth and fifth hypotheses (H_3, H_4, H_5) examine the relationship between the translator's work experience, visibility and job-related happiness. Since the visibility and job-related happiness variables had already been tested, only the work experience variable (continuous) was tested, using a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. The results showed that, in our sample, work experience was not normally distributed ($p < 0.001$). This means that non-parametric tests should be adopted when testing these three hypotheses.

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6.2.2 H_1 — The more visible the translators, the more capital they receive

Our study hypothesizes that the more visible the translators, the more capital they receive. This implies a positive relationship between the translator's visibility and the capital received. As mentioned in Section 3.3, the translator's work experience may be a factor influencing the translator's visibility and the amount of capital received; thus, the impact of work experience must be neutralized when testing the hypothesis. As a result, we tested the first hypothesis by grouping translators with the same or similar level of experience. We classified the subjects into three groups according to their years of work experience (Table 6.2). Table 6.2 shows how important it is to neutralize the work experience factor if we want to examine the visibility-capital relationship, because the translator's visibility (mean) and capital received by the translators at work (mean and median) rise slightly with more experience.

Table 6.2. Type of translator by years of work experience

Translator type	Years of work experience	Number of subjects	Translator's visibility		Capital received	
			Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Novice	≤ 3	70	0.3679	0.3750	2.4727	2.4773
Experienced	> 3, ≤ 7	69	0.3986	0.3750	2.5876	2.6818
Senior Experienced	> 7	54	0.4074	0.3750	2.6810	2.6818
Total		193	0.3899	0.3750	2.5721	2.6364

Since we have the amount translators say they receive on each determinant of capital (total: 22 determinants), we can calculate the average amount of capital received, and test to see if this is positively correlated with the translator's visibility.

Using SPSS, we retrieved the Spearman's rho correlation between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the average amount of capital received

(normally distributed). A one-tailed test was performed, since a positive relationship between the variables was expected. Table 6.3 shows that the correlation between the translator's visibility and the average amount of the capital received is strong (correlation coefficient = 0.321), with an extremely high level of significance ($p < 0.001$). When we tested the hypothesis on the groups of translators with the same or similar level of work experience, the correlations are moderate to strong with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the capital received by the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators are 0.245 (moderate), 0.285 (moderate) and 0.451 (strong), with $p = 0.021$, 0.009 and < 0.001 respectively.

Table 6.3. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the average amount of capital received

	Translator's visibility			
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.321	0.245	0.285	0.451
p-value	< 0.001	0.021	0.009	< 0.001
Mean capital*	2.5721	2.4727	2.5876	2.6810
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

We can conclude that, in our sample, hypothesis H_1 is confirmed in a statistically significant way. This hypothesis holds even when the work experience factor is neutralized.

In addition to confirming the hypothesis, Table 6.2 also shows that the more experienced translators received more capital, since the amount of capital (mean and median values) rises slightly with more experience. This phenomenon suggests that both visibility and work experience have a positive impact on the amount of capital that the

translators receive. Our fifth hypothesis, discussed later in this Chapter, will look at the impact of these two factors on the translator's job-related happiness.

We have confirmed that the more visible translator receives more capital. However, as emphasized earlier, visibility and invisibility are only two poles, and there are different types of visibility that concern a translator. We have thus classified translators into four categories based on the extent of their direct communication with their clients and end-users (as explained in Section 3.4): (1) the behind-the-scenes translator, who never or seldom communicates with clients and end-users (65 respondents); (2) the client-visible translator, who never or seldom communicates with end-users but sometimes, often or very often communicates with clients (58 respondents); (3) the end-user-visible translator, who sometimes, often or very often communicates with end-users but never or seldom communicates with clients (16 respondents); and (4) the visible translator, who sometimes, often or very often communicates directly with clients and end-users (54 respondents).

We performed an ANOVA test to investigate the differences in the average amount of capital received (normally distributed) by the four visibility-based translator types. The result indicates statistically significant differences between the average scores for the four types of translators ($p < 0.001$). The descriptive statistics are listed in Table 6.4. According to the mean and median values, the visible translator received the greatest amount of capital, followed by the end-user-visible translator, the client-visible translator and the behind-the-scenes translator.

Table 6.4. Descriptive statistics – the average amount of capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean capital received	Median capital received	Minimum capital received	Maximum capital received
Behind-the-scenes	65	2.4098	2.4091	1.4091	3.1364
Client-visible	58	2.5392	2.6136	1.7273	3.2273
End-user-visible	16	2.7074	2.6591	2.2727	3.4091
Visible	54	2.7626	2.7727	1.4545	3.7273
Total	193	2.5721	2.6364	1.4091	3.7273

Table 6.5 shows the results of the Scheffe post-hoc tests. The difference between the behind-the-scenes and the visible translators is significant ($p < 0.001$), as is the difference between the client-visible and the visible translators ($p = 0.031$). These results imply that the visible translator receives more capital than the behind-the-scenes and the client-visible translators to a statistically significant extent. While the visible translator also receives more capital than the end-user-visible translator on average, the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 6.5. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA – Multiple comparisons of capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator type (I)	Translator type (J)	Mean difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.1294	0.345	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-0.2976	0.064	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-0.3528	< 0.001	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.1682	0.512	No
Client-visible	Visible	-0.2234	0.031	Yes
End-user-visible	Visible	-0.0552	0.970	No

The post-hoc tests cannot allow us to confirm, in a statistically significant way, that the visible translator receives more capital than the end-user-visible translator. To try and answer this, we tested the four lower-level hypotheses that examine the relationship between the translator's visibility and the four kinds of capital received.

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THE CASE OF GREATER CHINA
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DL: T. 1360-2011
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As done for the first hypothesis (H_1), we extracted the average amount of symbolic capital (8 determinants), economic capital (2 determinants), social capital (6 determinants) and cultural capital (6 determinants) the translators said they received. Using SPSS, the Spearman's rho correlation between the translator's visibility and the four kinds of capital received was retrieved. A one-tailed test was performed for each of the lower-level hypotheses, since a positive relationship between the variables was expected. The results are shown in the sections that follow.

6.2.3 H_{1a} — The more visible the translators, the more symbolic capital they receive

The results of Spearman's rho correlation test, given in Table 6.6, show a weak correlation between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the average amount of symbolic capital received (not normally distributed) (correlation coefficient = 0.173), with a high level of significance (p = 0.008). Only the correlation between the translator's visibility and the symbolic capital received by the senior experienced translators is strong (correlation coefficient = 0.370), with a high level of significance (p = 0.003). As the results we obtained are not coherent, our first lower-level hypothesis, that the more visible translators receive more symbolic capital, can only be confirmed for the senior experienced translators. This means that only the more visible senior experienced translators enjoy more prestige and a higher status.

A positive correlation was expected between the translator's visibility and the symbolic capital received, but this can only be confirmed for the senior experienced translators. In order to explain this result, we performed eight Spearman's rho correlation tests (one-tailed) to look at the actual determinants (not normally distributed). Table 6.7 shows that the more visible senior experienced translators have more opportunity to make decisions at work (correlation coefficient = 0.345, p = 0.005);

better fulfill the end-user's expectations (correlation coefficient = 0.313, p = 0.011); are more proud to be a part of the company (correlation coefficient = 0.252, p = 0.033); and have a better recognized role as a translator (correlation coefficient = 0.242, p = 0.039). These results imply that the more visible senior experienced translators enjoy more prestige and a higher status.

Table 6.6. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the average amount of symbolic capital received

| | Translator's visibility | | | |
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.173	0.014	0.103	0.370
p-value	0.008	0.453	0.199	0.003
Mean symbolic capital*	2.7740	2.6339	2.7935	2.9306
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

The results in Table 6.7 also show that the novice and experienced translators do not benefit much from visibility in terms of the amount of symbolic capital received. For the novice translators, there are negative relationships between their visibility and their opportunity to work independently (correlation coefficient = -0.170), and the recognition of their role as a translator (correlation coefficient = -0.049). Although the results for these determinants are not significant (p > 0.05), they still suggest that the more visible novice translators may have less opportunity to work independently, and may feel that their translator's role is unrecognized.

For the experienced translators, there are negative relationships between their visibility and their opportunity to work independently (correlation coefficient = -0.139, p = 0.128) and their performance in fulfilling client expectations (correlation coefficient = -0.099, p = 0.210). Again, although these results are not statistically significant, they still suggest that the more visible experienced translators may have less opportunity to

work independently or to properly fulfill the expectation of their clients. Having said that, the more visible the experienced translators, the more professional respect they obtain (correlation coefficient = 0.218, p = 0.036).

Table 6.7. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the determinants of symbolic capital received

		All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Work independently	Mean*	3.2124	3.0714	3.2609	3.3333
	Correlation Coefficient	-0.041	-0.170	-0.139	0.149
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.287	0.079	0.128	0.142
Decision-making opportunities at work	Mean*	2.5596	2.3714	2.5507	2.8148
	Correlation Coefficient	0.178	0.042	0.150	0.345
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.007	0.364	0.109	0.005
Fulfilling client expectations	Mean*	2.8187	2.7286	2.7681	3.0000
	Correlation Coefficient	0.022	0.048	-0.099	0.104
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.379	0.345	0.210	0.228
Fulfilling end-user expectations	Mean*	2.6684	2.5286	2.6667	2.8519
	Correlation Coefficient	0.151	0.120	0.026	0.313
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.018	0.161	0.415	0.011
Professional respect	Mean*	2.8031	2.6000	2.8406	3.0185
	Correlation Coefficient	0.127	0.010	0.218	0.130
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.039	0.468	0.036	0.174
The company's reputation in the industry	Mean*	2.4249	2.4000	2.3768	2.5185
	Correlation Coefficient	0.140	0.029	0.198	0.252
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.026	0.405	0.051	0.033
The pride of the profession	Mean*	2.9171	2.8429	2.9855	2.9259
	Correlation Coefficient	0.034	0.001	0.098	0.019
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.317	0.495	0.212	0.447
The role of being a translation professional	Mean*	2.7876	2.5286	2.8986	2.9815
	Correlation Coefficient	0.073	-0.049	0.064	0.242
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.158	0.344	0.300	0.039

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

In order to have a thorough understanding of the relationship between visibility and symbolic capital, we examined the differences in the amount of symbolic capital (not normally distributed) received by the four visibility-based translator types. The result of the Kruskal-Wallis test indicates statistically significant differences ($p = 0.038$). The descriptive statistics are given in Table 6.8. On the other hand, post-hoc tests (Table 6.9) show no statistically significant difference between the four types of translators. However, Table 6.8 still suggests that the end-user-visible translator, by mean rank, receives the greatest amount of symbolic capital, followed by the visible translator, the client-visible translator, and finally the behind-the-scenes translator.

Table 6.8. Descriptive statistics – the average amount of symbolic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean symbolic capital received*	Median symbolic capital received	Mean rank for symbolic capital received
Behind-the-scenes	65	2.6596	2.7500	81.21
Client-visible	58	2.8103	2.8750	101.19
End-user-visible	16	2.8984	2.9375	109.44
Visible	54	2.8356	3.0000	107.82
Total	193	2.7740	2.8750	-

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

Table 6.9. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of symbolic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-19.98	0.042	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-28.23	0.043	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-26.61	0.014	No
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-8.25	0.638	No
Client-visible	Visible	-6.63	0.477	No
End-user-visible	Visible	1.62	0.933	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

In order to further investigate any possible differences in the amount of symbolic capital received by the four types of translators, and to find out whether differences exist in any of the determinants (not normally distributed) of symbolic capital, we performed Kruskal-Wallis tests, crossing each of the determinants with the four visibility-based translator types. Table 6.10 indicates the existence of differences for one determinant (i.e., decision-making opportunities at work) for the four types of translators. However, the post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.11, only shows a statistically significant difference between the visible and the behind-the-scenes translators ($p = 0.005$). This means that visible translators statistically have greater opportunity to make decisions at work than behind-the-scenes translators.

Table 6.10. Kruskal-Wallis test results for the eight determinants of symbolic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Mean Rank for symbolic capital				p-value
	Behind-the-scene	Client-visible	End-user-visible	Visible	
Work independently	99.17	101.90	87.81	91.85	0.557
Decision-making opportunities at work	85.35	91.08	117.09	111.43	0.013
Fulfilling the expectation of the client	91.48	103.97	106.34	93.39	0.362
Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user	87.51	96.16	115.28	103.91	0.127
Professional respect	87.82	100.57	90.25	106.21	0.194
The company's reputation in the industry	85.84	99.49	99.16	107.12	0.145
The pride of the profession	88.89	103.83	105.91	96.79	0.356
The role of being a translation professional	90.42	100.10	111.38	97.33	0.432

Table 6.11. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the "decision-making opportunities at work" determinant across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-5.71	0.586	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-31.74	0.021	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-26.08	0.005	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-26.01	0.078	No
Client-visible	Visible	-20.35	0.045	No
End-user-visible	Visible	5.66	0.765	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

Table 6.10 also indicates that, if we look at the highest mean rank, the end-user-visible translator has more opportunity to make decisions at work, feels better able to fulfill the expectations of clients and end-users, takes more pride in the profession, and receives more recognition for his/her role as a translator. However, it should be noted that these results are not statistically significant.

In this study, we expected the visible translator to receive the greatest amount of symbolic capital, but it is actually the end-user-visible translator who (by mean rank) enjoys more prestige and a higher status than other types of translators. We speculated that the cause of this difference is related to something in the nature of the end-user-visible translators (e.g., their job titles, the sector they are from, sex, age, regional location, work experience, level of education, major field of study, the time spent on translation-related assignments and whether or not their names appear on their translations). However, after completing the relevant tests, we find that these factors are not the causes. Thus, we cannot draw any conclusions based solely on the data we have gathered so far.

Overall, for symbolic capital, we can only confirm that the more visible senior experienced translators receive more symbolic capital, to a statistically significant

extent, because they have more opportunity to make decisions at work, feel better able to fulfill the end-user's expectations, are more proud to be a part of their company, and have a better recognized role as a translator. On the other hand, the novice and experienced translators seem not to benefit from visibility in terms of the amount of symbolic capital received. The more visible novice translators may have less opportunity to work independently or to be recognized as translators, while the more visible experienced translators may have less opportunity to work independently or to fulfill client expectations, although it should be noted that the more visible the experienced translators, the more professional respect they obtain. Further, we found that the end-user-visible translator, who sometimes, often or very often communicates with the end-user but never or seldom communicates with the client, receives the greatest amount of symbolic capital by mean rank. This may be due to the fact that they feel they have more opportunity to make decisions at work, can better fulfill the expectations of clients and end-users, take more pride in their profession, and have a better recognized role as a translator.

6.2.4 H_{1b} — *The more visible the translators, the more economic capital they receive*

The results of the Spearman's rho correlation test, given in Table 6.12, show a weak correlation between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the average amount of economic capital received (not normally distributed) (correlation coefficient = 0.167), with a high level of significance (p = 0.010). Table 6.12 also shows that the correlations between visibility and the economic capital received are moderate in the case of the novice translators (correlation coefficient = 0.217) and the senior experienced translators (correlation coefficient = 0.227), with high levels of significance

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(p = 0.035 and 0.050 respectively). However, the correlation between visibility and the economic capital received is weak in the case of experienced translators (correlation coefficient = 0.078) and insignificant (p = 0.262). As the results we obtained are not coherent, our second lower-level hypothesis, that the more visible translators receive more economic capital, can only be confirmed for the novice and senior experienced translators. In other words, the more visible novice and senior experienced translators may feel that they are earning more and have a more secure job.

Table 6.12. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the average amount of economic capital received

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.167	0.217	0.078	0.227
p-value	0.010	0.035	0.262	0.050
Mean economic capital*	2.1062	1.9857	2.1667	2.1852
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

In this study, we expected the more visible translator to receive more economic capital. However, our statistical tests cannot confirm this once the work experience factor has been neutralized. In order to explain this phenomenon, we performed two Spearman's rho correlation tests (one-tailed) to look at which determinant gave the low scores.

Table 6.13 shows that, from a macro perspective, there are statistically significant relationships between the translator's visibility and the two determinants (salary and long-term job security) of the economic capital received (correlation coefficients = 0.129 and 0.153, with p-values = 0.037 and 0.017 respectively). This suggests that the more visible the translators, the more money they earn and the more job security they have. However, when we look at the relationship between the three groups of translators

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(novice, experienced and senior experienced) and the two determinants of economic capital, the results of the Spearman's rho correlation tests, as shown in Table 6.13, reveal that only the more visible senior experienced translators are earning more money (correlation coefficient = 0.304, with p = 0.013), while only the more visible novice translators feel that they have more job security (correlation coefficient = 0.253, with p = 0.017).

Table 6.13. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the determinants of economic capital received

		All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
	Mean*	2.0155	1.8857	2.0145	2.1852
Salary	Correlation coefficient	0.129	0.111	0.013	0.304
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.037	0.180	0.457	0.013
	Mean*	2.1969	2.0857	2.3188	2.1852
Long-term job security	Correlation coefficient	0.153	0.253	0.107	0.094
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.017	0.017	0.191	0.249

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

When we study the differences in the amount of economic capital (not normally distributed) received by the four visibility-based translator types—behind-the-scenes, client-visible, end-user-visible and visible translators—the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test indicates statistically significant differences (p = 0.044). The descriptive statistics, given in Table 6.14, show that, by mean rank, the end-user-visible translator is ranked highest, followed by the visible translator, the client-visible translator, and finally the behind-the-scenes translator.

However, the post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.15, show no statistically significant difference between the four types of translators in terms of the economic capital received.

Table 6.14. Descriptive statistics – the average amount of economic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean economic capital received*	Median economic capital received	Mean rank for economic capital received
Behind-the-scenes	65	1.8769	2.0000	81.57
Client-visible	58	2.1724	2.0000	102.13
End-user-visible	16	2.3125	2.2500	111.25
Visible	54	2.2500	2.5000	105.84
Total	193	2.1062	2.0000	-

Table 6.15. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the economic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-20.56	0.043	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-29.68	0.042	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-24.27	0.016	No
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-9.12	0.602	No
Client-visible	Visible	-3.71	0.740	No
End-user-visible	Visible	5.41	0.770	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

In order to further investigate any possible differences in the amount of economic capital received by the four types of translators, and to find out whether differences exist in any of the determinants (not normally distributed) of economic capital, we performed Kruskal-Wallis tests, crossing each of the determinants with the four visibility-based translator types. The results, given in Table 6.16, show no significant difference (p > 0.05) between the economic capital received by the four types of translators.

Table 6.16. Kruskal-Wallis test results for the two determinants of economic capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Mean rank for economic capital				p-value
	Behind-the-scene	Client-visible	End-user-visible	Visible	
Salary	84.25	103.23	108.13	102.35	0.125
Long-term job security	84.51	98.48	109.66	106.69	0.095

How can we explain these results? We have logically speculated that the cause of the difference is related to something in the nature of the end-user-visible translators (e.g., their job titles, the sector they are from, sex, age, regional location, work experience, level of education, major field of study, the time spent on translation-related assignment and whether or not their names appear on their translations). However, after completing the relevant tests, we find that once again, these factors are not the causes. Therefore, we still cannot draw any conclusions based solely on the data we have gathered so far.

Overall, for economic capital, we can only confirm that the more visible novice translators and the more visible senior experienced translators receive more economic capital, to a statistically significant extent, because the novice translator has more job security, while the senior experienced translator earns more money. Further, we observe that, by mean rank, the end-user-visible translator receives the greatest amount of economic capital, followed by the visible translator, the client-visible translator, and finally the behind-the-scenes translator. Although the differences are not statistically significant, and we cannot explain the results based on the data we have collected, this relationship is worth noting because we expected the visible translator to receive the greatest amount of economic capital, whereas it is the end-user-visible translator who actually earns more money and has greater job security than the other types of translators.

6.2.5 H_{1c} — The more visible the translators, the more social capital they receive

Table 6.17 shows that, for hypothesis H_{1c}, all the correlations are positive and strong, with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the social capital received (not normally

distributed) are 0.299 (novice translator), 0.363 (experienced translator) and 0.315 (senior experienced translator), with p = 0.006, 0.001 and 0.010 respectively. In addition, the overall correlation between the two dependent variables is strong (correlation coefficient = 0.323) with an extremely high level of significance (p < 0.001). Therefore we can conclude that, in our sample, the third lower-level hypothesis—that the more visible translators receive more social capital—has been statistically confirmed. This means that the more visible translators feel that they know more people.

Table 6.17. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the average amount of social capital received

| | The translator's visibility | | | |
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.323	0.299	0.363	0.315
p-value	< 0.001	0.006	0.001	0.010
Mean social capital*	2.3886	2.3048	2.4034	2.4784
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

To explain why the more visible translators receive more social capital, we performed 24 Spearman's rho correlation tests (one-tailed). According to Table 6.18, the more visible translators can make more valuable personal contacts (p = 0.001), have more opportunity to move between roles (p = 0.008), have a greater chance to work with people both in the same profession (p = 0.043) and in different professions (p < 0.001), and have more opportunity to receive recognition from clients (p = 0.002) and end-users (p < 0.001) when they have done a good job. Then, we examine whether the results are coherent for the three experience groups.

As Table 6.18 shows, the novice translator, whose translation experience does not exceed three years, seems to benefit greatly from visibility, because the more visible the novice translators, the more opportunity they have to work with people, no matter

whether the people are from the same profession (p = 0.033) or different professions (p = 0.021). The more visible the novice translators, the more opportunity to receive recognition from clients (p = 0.016) and end-users (p = 0.036) they have. Meanwhile, the more visible experienced translators, whose translation experience is between three and seven years, can make more valuable personal contacts (p = 0.001), have more opportunity to move between roles (p = 0.005) and have a greater chance to work with people from different professions (p < 0.001). Finally, the more visible senior experienced translators, whose translation experience exceeds seven years, have more opportunity to receive recognition from clients (p = 0.012) and end-users (p = < 0.001) when they have done a good job.

Table 6.18. Spearman's rho correlation tests between translator visibility and determinants of social capital received

		All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network	Mean*	2.3523	2.3286	2.3478	2.3889
	Correlation coefficient	0.235	0.171	0.363	0.196
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.001	0.078	0.001	0.078
Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only	Mean*	2.6321	2.6857	2.5797	2.6296
	Correlation coefficient	0.173	0.083	0.306	0.117
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.008	0.247	0.005	0.200
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	Mean*	2.0052	1.8429	2.0435	2.1667
	Correlation coefficient	0.124	0.221	0.091	0.014
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.043	0.033	0.228	0.459
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	Mean*	2.1813	2.1714	2.1884	2.1852
	Correlation coefficient	0.254	0.244	0.389	0.145
	p-value (1-tailed)	< 0.001	0.021	< 0.001	0.148
The client's appreciation of the person's translation work	Mean*	2.7720	2.5714	2.8406	2.9444
	Correlation coefficient	0.211	0.257	0.086	0.307
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.002	0.016	0.242	0.012
The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work	Mean*	2.3886	2.2286	2.4203	2.5556
	Correlation coefficient	0.257	0.217	0.147	0.436
	p-value (1-tailed)	< 0.001	0.036	0.114	< 0.001

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

When we investigated the differences in the amount of social capital received by the four visibility-based translator types, the Kruskal-Wallis test indicates a statistically significant result ($p < 0.001$). The descriptive statistics are given in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19. Descriptive statistics – the average amount of social capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean social capital received*	Median social capital received	Mean rank for social capital received
Behind-the-scenes	65	2.2308	2.1667	82.18
Client-visible	58	2.2241	2.1667	81.90
End-user-visible	16	2.4792	2.5833	102.28
Visible	54	2.7284	2.8333	129.50
Total	193	2.3886	2.5000	-

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

Table 6.19 shows that, by mean rank, the visible translator receives the greatest amount of social capital, followed by the end-user-visible translator, the behind-the-scenes translator, and finally the client-visible translator. The post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.20, indicate that the difference between behind-the-scenes and visible translators is significant ($p < 0.001$), as is the difference between client-visible and visible translators ($p < 0.001$). These results mean that, to a statistically significant extent, the visible translator knows more people than the client-visible and behind-the-scenes translators. As the difference between the visible translator and the end-user-visible translator is not statistically significant, we can only say that, by mean rank, the visible translator knows more people than the end-user-visible translator.

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Table 6.20. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the social capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	0.28	0.947	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-20.10	0.118	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-47.32	< 0.001	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-20.38	0.137	No
Client-visible	Visible	-47.60	< 0.001	Yes
End-user-visible	Visible	-27.22	0.025	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

In order to further investigate whether differences exist in any of the determinants (not normally distributed) of social capital received by the four types of translators, we performed Kruskal-Wallis tests, crossing each of the determinants with the four visibility-based translator types. Table 6.21 indicates significant differences for four determinants, including (1) a working environment that allows the subjects to strengthen their personal networks; (2) moving between roles; (3) the opportunity to work with people from different professions; and (4) the opportunity to receive the appreciation of end-users for the subjects' translations. The post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.22, show that the visible translators can better strengthen their personal networks in their workplaces, have more opportunity to move between roles, have a greater chance to work with people from different professions, and have more opportunity to receive the end-user's recognition than do the client-visible and the behind-the-scenes translators. Meanwhile, the end-user-visible translators have more opportunity to move between roles than do the behind-the-scenes and the client-visible translators. Also, the end-user-visible translators have a greater chance to receive recognition from their end-users than the client-visible translators.

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Table 6.21. Kruskal-Wallis test results for the six determinants of social capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Mean Rank for social capital				p-value
	Behind-the-scene	Client-visible	End-user-visible	Visible	
A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network	86.22	85.16	109.06	119.11	0.001
Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only	87.12	82.97	126.28	115.29	< 0.001
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	91.12	98.56	78.31	107.94	0.166
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	84.65	85.53	98.94	123.62	< 0.001
The client's appreciation of the person's translation work	89.52	98.69	77.88	109.86	0.053
The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work	89.22	77.06	113.66	122.85	< 0.001

Overall, for social capital, we can confirm in a statistically significant way that the more visible translators receive more social capital. In addition, we have found, to a statistically significant extent, that the visible translator knows more people than the client-visible and behind-the-scenes translators. The visible translator also knows more people than the end-user-visible translator by mean rank, although the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 6.22. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis tests – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the four determinants of social capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?
A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	1.06	0.848	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-22.84	0.090	No
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-32.89	0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-23.90	0.098	No
	Client-visible	Visible	-33.95	0.001	Yes
	End-user-visible	Visible	-10.05	0.364	No
Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	4.16	0.632	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-39.16	0.005	Yes
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-28.16	0.003	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-43.32	0.003	Yes
	Client-visible	Visible	-32.32	0.001	Yes
	End-user-visible	Visible	10.99	0.531	No
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.88	0.971	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-14.29	0.256	No
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-38.97	< 0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-13.41	0.297	No
	Client-visible	Visible	-38.09	< 0.001	Yes
	End-user-visible	Visible	-24.68	0.038	No
The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	12.16	0.278	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-24.44	0.110	No
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-33.64	0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-36.60	0.007	Yes
	Client-visible	Visible	-45.79	< 0.001	Yes
	End-user-visible	Visible	-9.20	0.478	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

6.2.6 H_{1d} — The more visible the translators, the more cultural capital they receive

Table 6.23 shows that all the Spearman's rho correlations between visibility (not normally distributed) and the cultural capital received (normally distributed) are positive and at least moderate, with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the cultural capital that the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators say they receive are 0.336 (strong), 0.238 (moderate)

and 0.422 (strong), with p = 0.002, 0.024, 0.001 respectively. Further, the overall correlation between the translator's visibility and the average amount of cultural capital received is strong (correlation coefficient = 0.321), with an extremely high level of significance ($p < 0.001$). Thus we can conclude that, in our sample, the fourth lower-level hypothesis—that the more visible the translators the more cultural capital they receive—has been confirmed in a statistically significant way. This means that the more visible translators feel they are learning more.

Table 6.23. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the average amount of cultural capital received

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.321	0.336	0.238	0.422
p-value	< 0.001	0.002	0.024	0.001
Mean cultural capital*	2.6416	2.5881	2.6377	2.7160
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

To explain why the more visible translators learn more, we performed 24 Spearman's rho correlation tests (one-tailed) to look at the correlations between actual determinants (not normally distributed) and visibility (not normally distributed). Table 6.24 shows that the more visible translators, no matter what their level of experience, receive more feedback from clients and end-users, since the results are significant ($p < 0.05$) for all the three "experience" groups of translators. Further, the more visible novice translators, whose translation experience does not exceed three years, have more opportunity to boost their professional qualifications (p = 0.018), while the more visible senior experienced translators, who have more than seven years' translation experience, have a greater chance to use their skills and expertise (p = 0.036).

Table 6.24. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the determinants of cultural capital received

		All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	Mean*	3.1969	3.2143	3.1739	3.2037
	Correlation coefficient	0.093	0.015	0.097	0.196
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.099	0.452	0.213	0.078
Opportunity to improve translation skills	Mean*	3.2228	3.2143	3.1884	3.2778
	Correlation coefficient	0.027	-0.083	0.030	0.204
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.356	0.248	0.403	0.070
Opportunity to boost professional qualification	Mean*	2.8549	2.7857	2.8116	3.0000
	Correlation coefficient	0.197	0.250	0.188	0.176
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.003	0.018	0.061	0.102
Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work	Mean*	2.8342	2.7571	2.7971	2.9815
	Correlation coefficient	0.127	0.134	0.067	0.247
	p-value (1-tailed)	0.039	0.135	0.293	0.036
Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	Mean*	2.0777	1.8857	2.1739	2.2037
	Correlation coefficient	0.303	0.389	0.260	0.227
	p-value (1-tailed)	< 0.001	< 0.001	0.015	0.049
Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	Mean*	1.6632	1.6714	1.6812	1.6296
	Correlation coefficient	0.340	0.336	0.293	0.436
	p-value (1-tailed)	< 0.001	0.002	0.007	< 0.001

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

An important observation from Table 6.24 is the negative relationship between the visibility of the novice translators and their opportunity to improve their translation skills (correlation coefficient = -0.083), although it should be noted that the result is not significant (p = 0.248). This suggests that the more visible novice translators may have less opportunity to improve their translation skills, although we have already found that these same visible translators have a greater chance to boost their professional qualifications. While we cannot explain this difference based solely on the data we have collected, we suspect that the "professional qualifications" may not always be related to translation. For example, some visible novice translators are public relations executives;

their visibility may boost their professional qualifications in communication or public relations, but not in translation. This may be an area for future research.

When we examined the differences in the amount of cultural capital (normally distributed) received by the four visibility-based translator types, the result of the ANOVA test indicates statistically significant differences between the average scores for the four types of translators ($p < 0.001$). The means are given in Table 6.25.

Table 6.25. Descriptive statistics – the average amount of cultural capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean Cultural Capital Received	Median Cultural Capital Received	Minimum Cultural Capital Received	Maximum Cultural Capital Received
Behind-the-scenes	65	2.4333	2.5000	1.1667	3.5000
Client-visible	58	2.6149	2.6667	0.3333	3.6667
End-user-visible	16	2.8125	2.7500	2.3333	3.6667
Visible	54	2.8704	2.8333	1.5000	4.0000
Total	193	2.6416	2.6667	0.3333	4.0000

Table 6.25 indicates that the visible translator receives the greatest amount of cultural capital, followed by the end-user-visible translator, the client-visible translator, and the behind-the-scenes translator. However, the Scheffe post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.26, only allow us to statistically confirm that the visible translator receives more cultural capital than does the behind-the-scenes translator ($p < 0.001$).

Table 6.26. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA - Multiple comparisons of the cultural capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.1816	0.293	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-0.3792	0.080	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-0.4370	<0.001	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.1976	0.612	No
Client-visible	Visible	-0.2554	0.083	No
End-user-visible	Visible	-0.0579	0.985	No

In order to further investigate whether differences exist in any of the determinants (not normally distributed) of cultural capital received by the four types of translators, we performed Kruskal-Wallis tests, crossing each of the determinants with the four visibility-based translator types. The results, given in Table 6.27, show significant differences for only two determinants: the feedback that the subjects receive from clients ($p < 0.001$) and from end-users ($p < 0.001$). The post-hoc tests (Table 6.28) indicate that the visible translator receives more feedback from the client than does the behind-the-scenes translator. Further, visible and end-user-visible translators receive more feedback from the end-user than do behind-the-scenes and client-visible translators.

Table 6.27. Kruskal-Wallis test results for the six determinants of cultural capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Mean Rank for cultural capital				p-value
	Behind-the-scene	Client-visible	End-user-visible	Visible	
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	89.35	106.28	91.78	97.79	0.252
Opportunity to improve translation skills	94.77	102.74	92.38	94.89	0.742
Opportunity to boost professional qualification	86.64	99.68	99.75	105.78	0.214
Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work	87.05	96.72	102.16	107.76	0.134
Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	75.38	100.52	101.06	118.05	< 0.001
Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	76.89	80.17	134.84	128.06	< 0.001

Table 6.28. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis tests – Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the two determinants of cultural capital received across the four visibility-based translator types

	Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-25.14	0.012	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-25.69	0.071	No
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-42.67	< 0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.55	0.967	No
	Client-visible	Visible	-17.53	0.103	No
	End-user-visible	Visible	-16.98	0.234	No
Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-3.28	0.732	No
	Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-57.95	< 0.001	Yes
	Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-51.17	< 0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	End-user-visible	-54.67	< 0.001	Yes
	Client-visible	Visible	-47.89	< 0.001	Yes
	End-user-visible	Visible	6.78	0.603	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083.

Overall, for cultural capital, we have confirmed, to a statistically significant extent, the hypothesis that the more visible translators receive more cultural capital, because the more visible translators, no matter their level of experience, receive more feedback from clients and end-users. The more visible novice translators have more opportunity to boost their professional qualifications, while the visible senior experienced translators have a greater chance to use their skills and expertise. Finally, we have found that the visible translator receives more feedback from the client than the behind-the-scenes translator, while the visible and the end-user-visible translators receive more feedback from the end-user than do the behind-the-scenes and the client-visible translators.

6.2.7 H_2 — *The more visible the translators, the happier they are*

The second hypothesis examines the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. As mentioned in Section 3.3, the translator's work experience and their personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users may be factors influencing their visibility and job-related happiness. The impact of these two factors must thus be neutralized when testing the hypothesis. As a result, we tested the second hypothesis by grouping translators with the same or similar level of experience, and grouping translators with the same or similar preference for being visible to clients and end-users.

In the questionnaire, subjects were asked two questions to indicate whether they liked communicating with clients and end-users. Response categories were scored as follows: dislike very much = 0; dislike = 1; no opinion/indifferent = 2; like = 3; and like very much = 4. A rough visibility preference index can be obtained by adding together the subjects' responses to the two questions; the resulting sum can then be mapped to the range from 0 to 1. Table 6.29 shows that 96 subjects expressed a desire to be visible to clients and end-users; 95 respondents had no preference; and 2 subjects stated that they wanted to be invisible to clients and end-users. These two translators—a female freelance translator and a male translator—were from China. According to their responses, the female freelance translator, who had more than 10 years' translation experience, was a behind-the-scenes translator because she never communicated with her clients and end-users at work. She stated that she very much disliked communicating with clients and end-users. The male translator, who had 2.5 years' translation experience, was also a behind-the-scenes translator because he seldom communicated with his clients and end-users. He stated that he disliked communicating with the two parties.

Table 6.29. Type of translator by visibility preference

Types of translator	Visibility preference index	Number of subjects	Mean of translator's visibility	Median of translator's visibility
Desire to be invisible	<= 0.25	2	0.1250	0.1250
Tend to have no preference	> 0.25, < 0.75	95	0.3697	0.3750
Desire to be visible	>= 0.75	96	0.4154	0.3750

Using SPSS, the Spearman's rho correlation between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the job-related happiness index (normally distributed) was tested. A one-tailed test was performed, since a positive relationship between the variables was expected. Table 6.30 shows that the correlation between the two variables is relatively strong (correlation coefficient = 0.296) with an extremely high level of significance ($p < 0.001$). When we tested the hypothesis on the groups of translators with the same or similar level of experience, the correlations are moderate to strong with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the job-related happiness index of the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators are 0.227 (moderate), 0.236 (moderate) and 0.483 (strong), with $p = 0.029$, 0.026 and < 0.001 respectively.

We then performed an ANOVA test in order to examine the differences terms of the job-related happiness index (normally distributed) between the three "experience" groups of translators (the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators). The result shows that there is no significant statistical difference ($p = 0.340$) in the job-related happiness indexes between the three groups of translators, although the descriptive statistics suggest that the senior experienced translator is on average happier (mean value = 0.4815) than are the experienced (the mean value = 0.4604) and novice translators (mean value = 0.4602). To a great extent, these results are expected. Senior experienced translators are expected to be happier; otherwise, they would not have

stayed in the profession for such a long time (they had more than seven years' translation experience according to our classification system).

Table 6.30. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the job-related happiness index (translators with the same or similar work experience)

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.296	0.227	0.236	0.483
p-value	< 0.001	0.029	0.026	< 0.001
Happiness Mean*	0.4663	0.4602	0.4604	0.4815
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

In order to neutralize the visibility preference factor, we tested the hypothesis on the basis of groups of translators with the same or similar visibility preferences. Table 6.31 shows the correlation results. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the job-related happiness index of the translators who have no visibility preference and those who desire visibility are 0.218 (moderate) and 0.351 (strong), with p = 0.017 and < 0.001 respectively. Since there were only two subjects who desire invisibility, we ignored this group when checking coherence.

Table 6.31. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the job-related happiness index (translators with the same or similar visibility preference)

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Desire to be invisible	Tend to have no preference	Desire to be visible
Spearman's rho correlation	0.296	1.000	0.218	0.351
p-value	< 0.001	.	0.017	< 0.001
Happiness Mean*	0.4663	0.4709	0.4554	0.4769
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.1250	0.3697	0.4154

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

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We then performed an ANOVA test in order to examine the differences in terms of the happiness indexes (normally distributed) between the three "visibility preference" groups of translators. The result shows that there is no statistically significant difference ($p = 0.257$) in the happiness indexes between the three groups of translators, although the descriptive statistics suggest that the translators who desire to be visible are on average happier (mean value = 0.4769) than the translators who want to be invisible (mean value = 0.4709) and those who have no visibility preference (mean = 0.4554). These results suggest that translators who want to be visible may be happier than the other translator groups, although we cannot say that the other groups are unhappy.

We further investigated the translator's job-related happiness by taking into consideration their visibility level and their preference for visibility. For example, are the people who want to be visible and actually are visible happier than those who are visible but have no preference for visibility? In order to carry out the investigation, we divided the translators into three groups according to their visibility index (the grouping scale is same as that for dividing the groups for the translator's visibility preference). Translators belonging to Level 3 have the highest visibility level (visibility index is >= 0.75). Subjects in Level 2 also enjoy a certain level of visibility (visibility index is > 0.25, < 0.75), while people belonging to Level 1 have the lowest level of visibility (visibility index is <= 0.25).

Table 6.32. Type of translator by visibility index

Translator types	Visibility index	Numbers of Subject			
		Total	Desire invisibility	Tend to have no visibility preference	Desire to be visible
Level 1	<= 0.25	84	2	46	36
Level 2	> 0.25, < 0.75	76	0	33	43
Level 3	>= 0.75	33	0	16	17

According to Table 6.32, there are 33 subjects belonging to Level 3, of which 17 desire to be visible and 16 have no visibility preference. No subjects in this level express a desire for invisibility. As there are only two independent groups, an independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was employed to examine whether or not differences in terms of the happiness index exist between the subjects who want to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work (happiness mean = 0.5473) and those who also enjoy high visibility but have no visibility preference (happiness mean = 0.4798). The results show that the difference in terms of the job-related happiness between the two groups of translators is significant (p = 0.042). This means that those who desire to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work are happier than those who also enjoy high visibility but have no visibility preference.

Table 6.33. Happiness index for translator types (by visibility level)

Translator types	Mean happiness index			
	Total	Desire Invisibility	Tend to have no visibility preference	Desire to be visible
Level 1	0.4449	0.4709	0.4385	0.4517
Level 2	0.4689	-	0.4672	0.4702
Level 3	0.5146	-	0.4798	0.5473

There are 76 respondents in Level 2, of which 43 desire to be visible (happiness mean = 0.4702) and 33 have no visibility preference (happiness mean = 0.4672). No subjects in this level express a desire for invisibility. An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was employed to examine the differences in terms of the happiness index between the two groups that reported similar visibility levels but had different personal preferences for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. The result shows no statistical difference (p = 0.880). This means that visibility preference is not related to the job-related happiness of those subjects who have a middle level of visibility.

There are 84 subjects belonging to Level 1, of which 36 desire to be visible (happiness mean = 0.4517) and 46 have no visibility preference (happiness mean = 0.4385). Only two subjects in this level express a desire for invisibility (happiness mean = 0.4709). An ANOVA test was employed to examine the differences in terms of job-related happiness between these three groups. The result shows no statistical difference in terms of the job-related happiness between these three groups of translators (p = 0.726). This means that personal preference for visibility is not related to the job-related happiness of those subjects who have a low visibility level.

Now we can offer a brief conclusion. In our sample, we have confirmed, in a statistically significant way, the hypothesis that the more visible the translators, the happier they are. This hypothesis holds even after neutralizing the factors of work experience and translator's visibility preference. We have also found that those who desire to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work are happier than those who also enjoy high visibility but have no visibility preference.

The sections that follow test the two lower-level hypotheses.

6.2.8   *H_{2a} — The more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received*

Our study hypothesizes that the more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received. This implies a positive correlation between the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the satisfaction index (normally distributed). The Spearman's rho correlation between the two variables (one-tailed) is given in Table 6.34, which shows that the correlation between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index is moderate (correlation coefficient = 0.273) with a high level of significance (p < 0.001). When we tested the hypothesis on groups of translators with

the same or similar level of experience, the correlations are moderate to strong, with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index of the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators are 0.207 (moderate), 0.229 (moderate) and 0.417 (strong), with p = 0.043, 0.029 and 0.001 respectively. These results suggest that the more visible translators are more satisfied with the capital they receive, even when the work experience factor is neutralized.

Table 6.34. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index (translators with the same or similar work experience)

| | The translator's visibility | | | |
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.273	0.207	0.229	0.417
p-value	< 0.001	0.043	0.029	0.001
Satisfaction Mean*	0.4435	0.4308	0.4439	0.4596
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

In order to further investigate possible differences in terms of the translator's satisfaction index (normally distributed) between the three "experience" groups of translators, we conducted an ANOVA test. The result indicates statistically significant differences between the average scores for the three groups of translators (p = 0.007). According to Table 6.34, the senior experienced translator, whose translation experience is between three and seven years, is most satisfied with the capital received (mean value = 0.4596), followed by the experienced translator (mean value = 0.4439) and then the novice translator (mean value = 0.4308).

The Scheffe post-hoc tests, whose results are given in Table 6.35, show that the difference between novice and senior experienced translators is significant (p = 0.007). This implies that senior experienced translators are more satisfied with the capital they receive than are novice translators.

Table 6.35. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA - Multiple comparisons of the satisfaction index across the translator types (by level of experience)

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Novice	Experienced	-0.0132	0.297	No
Novice	Senior Experienced	-0.0288	0.007	Yes
Experienced	Senior Experienced	-0.0157	0.223	No

In addition to the translator's work experience factor, we also neutralized the translator's visibility preference factor when testing this lower-level hypothesis. Table 6.36 shows that the Spearman's rho correlations are weak to strong with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index of the translators who have no visibility preference and those who express a desire to be visible are 0.185 (weak) and 0.352 (strong), with $p = 0.036$ and < 0.001 respectively. It should be noted that there were only have two subjects who expressed a desire to be invisible; therefore, this group of translators was ignored when we checked coherence. We then performed an ANOVA test to investigate the differences in terms of the satisfaction indexes (normally distributed) between the three types of translators who have a different preference for working in a way visible to their clients and end-user. The result shows that there is no statistically significant difference ($p = 0.884$) in the satisfaction indexes between the three groups of translators.

Table 6.36. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index (translators with the same or similar visibility preference)

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Desire invisibility	Tend to have no preference	Desire to be visible
Spearman's rho correlation	0.273	-1.000	0.185	0.352
p-value	< 0.001	0.500	0.036	< 0.001
Satisfaction Mean*	0.4435	0.4261	0.4441	0.4434
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.1250	0.3697	0.4154

* For reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean).

In order to investigate whether translators who desire to be visible are more satisfied than other translators, an independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was thus

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employed to examine whether or not differences in terms of the satisfaction index exist between translators who want to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work (Table 6.37: satisfaction mean = 0.4659) and those who also enjoy high visibility but have no visibility preference (Table 6.37: satisfaction mean = 0.4538). The results show that the difference in terms of the satisfaction index between the two groups of translators is not statistically significant (p = 0.477). This means that those who desire to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work are not more satisfied than those who also enjoy high visibility but have no visibility preference.

Table 6.37. Satisfaction index for translator types (by visibility level)

Translator types	Mean satisfaction index			
	Total	Desire invisibility	Tend to have no visibility preference	Desire to be visible
Level 1	0.4326	0.4261	0.4347	0.4302
Level 2	0.4485	-	0.4525	0.4454
Level 3	0.4601	-	0.4538	0.4659

Recall (Table 6.32) that there are 76 respondents belonging to Level 2, of which 43 desire to be visible (satisfaction mean = 0.4454, Table 6.37) and 33 have no visibility preference (satisfaction mean = 0.4525, Table 6.37). No subjects in this level express a desire for invisibility. An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was employed to examine the difference between the two groups that reported a similar level of visibility but had a different personal preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. The results show no statistical difference (p = 0.566). This means that visibility preference is not related to the satisfaction of those subjects who have a middle level of visibility.

There are 84 subjects belonging to Level 1, of which 36 desire to be visible (satisfaction mean = 0.4302, Table 6.37) and 46 have no visibility preference

(satisfaction mean = 0.4347, Table 6.37). Only two subjects in this level express a desire

for invisibility (satisfaction mean = 0.4261, Table 6.37). An ANOVA test was employed

to examine the differences in terms of satisfaction index between these three groups.

The result shows no statistical difference ($p = 0.903$). Thus, personal preference for

visibility is not related to the satisfaction of those subjects who have a low visibility

level.

After completing all the statistical tests, we can conclude that, in our sample, we

have confirmed, in a statistically significant way, the hypothesis that the more visible

the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received. We can

say that the more visible translators are more satisfied with the capital they receive.

However, when considering the translator's satisfaction index, a micro perspective

might lead us to wonder whether or not the more visible translators are more satisfied

with every kind of capital that they say they receive. In the sections that follow, we

report on the Spearman's rho correlation tests (one-tailed) that were performed for each

type of capital, in order to examine the relationship between the translator's visibility

(not normally distributed) and the satisfaction index and its related determinants (not

normally distributed).

6.2.9   *Alignment of wish and reality — symbolic capital*

Table 6.38 indicates that the more visible translators are more satisfied with their

professional respect (the correlation coefficient = 0.129, $p = 0.037$). However, a

negative correlation indicates that these same visible translators are dissatisfied with the

opportunities they have to be recognized as translators (with a correlation coefficient

of –0.028, with $p = 0.351$), although it should be noted that the results are not

significant. What do these results tell us? Why are the more visible translators satisfied

with the respect they receive as professionals while may be dissatisfied with the opportunities they have to be recognized as translators?

Translators are often required to have not only translation skills but also knowledge of other subjects. For example, a translator working for a financial firm needs to have financial knowledge, while a translator at a public relations agency is expected to have skills in dealing with the media. Thus, we may suspect that the more visible translators' satisfaction with professional respect is not necessarily related to their translation work. This would explain the apparent paradox.

From a macro perspective, the more visible translators are not more satisfied with the amount of symbolic capital they received, since five out of the eight determinants of symbolic capital show negative correlations. In particular, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between the translator's visibility and their satisfaction index with respect to fulfilling the expectations of their clients (correlation coefficient $= -0.154$, $p = 0.016$). This implies that the more visible translators do not always feel that they fulfill their clients' expectations. In addition, it is also noticed that there are negative correlations between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction indexes on determinants including "working independently" (-0.091), "fulfilling the expectation of the end-user" (-0.002), "pride of the profession" (-0.054), and "the role as a translation professional" (-0.028). Although these correlation coefficients are not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$), these results still suggest that the more visible translators may be less satisfied with the opportunity to work independently, with their performance in relation to fulfilling the expectation of their end-users, with pride in their profession, and with their role as a translator.

Table 6.38. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index on determinants of symbolic capital

	Mean*	Spearman's rho correlation	p-value
Work independently	0.5408	-0.091	0.103
Decision-making opportunities at work	0.4657	0.105	0.072
Fulfilling the expectation of the client	0.4346	-0.154	0.016
Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user	0.4333	-0.002	0.489
Professional respect	0.4365	0.129	0.037
The company's reputation in the industry	0.4527	0.089	0.110
The pride of the profession	0.4870	-0.054	0.229
The role of being a translation professional	0.4838	-0.028	0.351

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

6.2.10 Alignment of wish and reality — economic capital

The Spearman's rho correlation between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction indexes on determinants of economic capital (one-tailed) are given in Table 6.39. The results indicate that there are statistically significant correlations between the translator's visibility and salary (correlation coefficient = 0.133, p = 0.033) as well as long-term job security (correlation coefficient = 0.133, p = 0.032). These results suggest that the more visible translators are more satisfied with both their salary and job security.

Table 6.39. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index on determinants of economic capital

	Mean*	Spearman's rho correlation	p-value
Salary	0.3705	0.133	0.033
Long-term job security	0.4216	0.133	0.032

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

6.2.11   Alignment of wish and reality — social capital

According to the results shown in Table 6.40, the more visible translators enjoy the smallest discrepancy between hopes and reported reality among the six determinates related to social capital. This means that the more visible translators are more satisfied with their working environment, which allows them to strengthen their personal networks (correlation coefficient = 0.261, p < 0.001), gives them opportunities to move between roles (correlation coefficient = 0.121, p = 0.046), work with people within the translation profession (correlation coefficient = 0.165, p = 0.011) and from different professions (correlation coefficient = 0.216, p = 0.001), and to receive recognition of their translation work from their clients (correlation coefficient = 0.225, p = 0.001) and end-users (correlation coefficient = 0.296, p < 0.001).

Table 6.40. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index on determinants of social capital

	Mean*	Spearman's rho correlation	p-value
A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network	0.4385	0.261	< 0.001
Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only	0.4987	0.121	0.046
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	0.4061	0.165	0.011
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	0.4294	0.216	0.001
The client's appreciation of the person's translation work	0.4417	0.225	0.001
The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work	0.4087	0.296	< 0.001

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

6.2.12   Alignment of wish and reality — cultural capital

We can see from Table 6.41 that the more visible translators are more satisfied with the opportunity to boost their professional qualifications, and to receive feedback on their translation work from their clients and end-users (p = 0.002, < 0.001 and < 0.001, respectively).

Table 6.41. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the satisfaction index on determinants of cultural capital

	Mean*	Spearman's rho correlation	p-value
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	0.4858	0.054	0.229
Opportunity to improve translation skills	0.4922	0.073	0.155
Opportunity to boost professional qualification	0.4631	0.205	0.002
Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work	0.4462	0.083	0.126
Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	0.3789	0.253	< 0.001
Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	0.3420	0.286	< 0.001

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

What follows is a summary of what has been found with respect to the relationship between the translator's visibility and their satisfaction. It has been confirmed statistically that the more visible the translators, the less the gap between capital sought and capital received, even when the work experience and visibility preference variables have been controlled. We can say that the more visible translators are more satisfied with the amount of capital they receive. Among the four types of capital (which include 22 determinants), the more visible translators are more satisfied with money earned and job security, but not satisfied with the amount of symbolic capital that they say they receive. Among the six determinants related to social capital, it has been confirmed that the more visible translators are more satisfied with all the six

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determinants. Regarding the determinants related to cultural capital, the more visible translators are more satisfied with opportunities to boost their professional qualifications and to receive feedback on their work from clients and end-users.

6.2.13   *H_{2b} — The more visible the translators, the more and greater feelings of positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation*

This study hypothesizes that the more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation. This implies that the translator's visibility (not normally distributed) and the translator's positive affective index (normally distributed; see section 3.6.3) are positively correlated. The Spearman's rho correlation between the two variables (one-tailed), the results of which are given in Table 6.42, shows that the correlation between the translator's visibility and the positive affective index is moderate (correlation coefficient = 0.259) with a high level of significance ($p < 0.001$). When this hypothesis was tested on the basis of groups of translators with the same or similar experience distribution, the correlations are moderate to strong, with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the positive affective indexes of the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators are 0.204 (moderate), 0.207 (moderate), and 0.420 (strong), with $p = 0.045$, 0.044, and 0.001 respectively. These results mean that the more visible translators have more and greater positive emotions when they deal with translation, even though the work experience factor was neutralized.

Table 6.42. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and the positive affective index (translators with the same or similar work experience)

| | The translator's visibility | | | |
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.259	0.204	0.207	0.420
p-value	< 0.001	0.045	0.044	0.001
Positive Affective Mean*	0.4890	0.4897	0.4769	0.5035
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

After testing the hypothesis, we were still interested in knowing the differences between the three "experience" groups of translators (the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators). An ANOVA test to investigate this was performed; however, the result shows that there is no significant statistical difference (p = 0.659) in the positive affective indexes of the three types of translators, although according to the mean values, senior experienced translators have more positive feelings than novice and experienced translators.

In addition to the work experience factor, this lower-level hypothesis was also tested by neutralizing the translator's visibility preference factor. Table 6.43 shows the Spearman's rho correlation results. The correlations are moderate with high levels of significance. The correlation coefficients between the translator's visibility and the positive affective indexes of the translators who tend to have no visibility preference and those who express a desire for being visible are 0.184 (weak) and 0.303 (strong), with p = 0.037 and = 0.001 respectively.

Although it can be said that the more visible translators have more and greater positive emotions even when the visibility preference factor has been neutralized, will there be some differences in terms of positive affective feelings between the three types of translators who have different visibility preferences? An ANOVA test to look at this

was performed. The result shows that there is no statistically significant difference (p = 0.164), although the translators who want to be invisible on average have more and greater positive feelings (0.5156) than those who express a desire to be visible (0.5104) and those who have no visibility preference (0.4668). These results suggest that translators who want to be invisible have more positive feelings, although we cannot say that the others have more negative feelings.

Table 6.43. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and their positive affective index (translators with the same or similar visibility preference)

| | The translator's visibility | | | |
	All	Desire to be invisible	Tend to have no preference	Desire to be visible
Spearman's rho correlation	0.259	1.000	0.184	0.303
p-value	< 0.001		0.037	0.001
Positive Affective Mean*	0.4890	0.5156	0.4668	0.5104
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.1250	0.3697	0.4154

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

We now investigate whether the subjects who want to be invisible and actually are invisible have more positive feelings that those who are also invisible but express a desire for visibility.

Table 6.44. Positive affective index for translator types (by visibility level)

| Types of the translator (according to visibility level) | Mean positive affective index | | | |
	Total	Desire to be invisible	Tend to have no visibility preference	Desire to be visible
Level 1	0.4572	0.5156	0.4423	0.4731
Level 2	0.4893	-	0.4820	0.4949
Level 3	0.5691	-	0.5059	0.6287

Recall (Table 6.32) that there are 84 subjects belonging to level 1 (the lowest visibility level), of which 36 desire to be visible (positive affective feelings mean of

0.4731, see Table 6.44) and 46 tend to have no preference for visibility (positive affective feelings mean of 0.4423, see Table 6.44). Only two subjects in this level express a desire to be invisible (positive affective feelings mean of 0.5156, see Table 6.44). An ANOVA test was employed to examine the differences in terms of positive affective feelings between these three groups. The result shows no statistical difference (p = 0.587). This means that personal visibility preference does not affect the positive affective feelings of the subjects who have a low level of visibility.

Seventy-six respondents belonged to level 2, of which 43 desire to be visible (positive affective mean of 0.4949, see Table 6.44) and 33 tend to have no visibility preference (positive affective mean of 0.4820, see Table 6.44). No subjects in this level want invisibility. An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was employed to examine the differences between the two groups that reported similar visibility levels but had different personal preferences for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. The result shows no statistical difference (p = 0.705). This means that visibility preference is not related to the positive affective feelings of the subjects who have a middle level of visibility.

Thirty-three subjects belonged to level 3 (the highest level of visibility), of which 17 desire to be visible and 16 tend to have no visibility preference. No people in this level express a desire for invisibility. An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was used to examine whether or not differences in terms of positive affective index exist between the translators who want to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility (positive affective feelings mean of 0.6287, Table 6.44) and those who also enjoy high visibility but tend to have no preference for working in a way visible to clients and end-users (positive affective feelings mean of 0.5059, see Table 6.44). This result shows that the difference is significant (p = 0.045). This means that the subjects who desire to

be visible and actually enjoy high visibility experience more positive feelings at work than those who also enjoy high visibility but tend to have no preference for visibility.

What follows is a summary of the findings. Recall that the focus is on the visibility-happiness relationship; therefore, the influences of the work experience factor and the translator's visibility preference factor have been neutralized when testing the hypotheses. Our study statistically proved that the more visible the translators, the happier they are. It was also confirmed that the more visible the translators, the smaller the gap between capital sought and capital received. In addition, it was statistically confirmed that the more visible translators experience more and greater feelings of positive emotions when they deal with translation. An interesting finding is that the people who desire to be visible and actually enjoy high visibility at work are happier and experience more positive feelings at work than those who also enjoy high visibility but tend to have no preference for visibility.

6.2.14   *Negative affective feelings*

It has been mentioned in previous chapters that examining the translator's negative affective feelings is worthwhile if a full understanding of the translator's happiness is to be gained. In order to do this, a Spearman's rho correlation test was performed to determine whether there were any relationships between visibility (not normally distributed) and the translator's negative affective feeling index (not normally distributed). Table 6.45 shows that the correlation between the translator's visibility and their negative affective index is very weak (the correlation coefficient = 0.069) and insignificant (p = 0.170). This result implies that the more visible translators do not have more negative feelings. When we examined the relationship between visibility and negative affective feelings on the basis of groups of translators with the same or similar

experience distributions, the correlations are also not significant (p > 0.05), although weak correlations (correlation coefficients of 0.144 and 0.188 respectively) have been found for experienced and senior experienced translators respectively. For novice translators, no correlation is found (correlation coefficient of −0.040) between the two variables.

Table 6.45. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and their negative affective index (translators with the same or similar work experience)

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Novice	Experienced	Senior Experienced
Spearman's rho correlation	0.069	-0.040	0.144	0.188
p-value	0.170	0.370	0.119	0.087
Negative Affective Mean*	0.2102	0.2330	0.2206	0.1672
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.3679	0.3986	0.4074

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

Although there was no relationship between visibility and negative affective feelings, we were still interested to know the differences in terms of the negative affective feelings (not normally distributed) between the three "experience" groups of translators (the novice, experienced and senior experienced translators). For example, would novice translators experience more negative feelings when undertaking translation work than experienced translators because they did not have enough work experience to handle translation assignments and their negative emotions at work? A Kruskal-Wallis test was performed as part of the investigation. The descriptive statistics are shown in Table 6.46. The result indicates that the differences are statistically significant (p = 0.006) between the groups of translators. Post-hoc tests (Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment), the results of which are given in Table 6.47, show that the difference between novice and senior experienced translators is significant. Also,

the difference between experienced and senior experienced translators is significant. These results imply that senior experienced translators have fewer negative feelings than other groups of translators.

Table 6.46. Descriptive statistics — negative affective index across three experience groups

	Mean negative affective index*	Median negative affective index	Mean rank for negative affective index
Novice	0.2330	0.2500	108.77
Experienced	0.2206	0.1875	100.48
Senior Experienced	0.1672	0.1875	77.30
Total	0.2102	0.2188	-

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

Table 6.47. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test - Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the negative affective index across the translator types (by level of experience)

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0167?*
Novice	Experienced	8.29	0.334	No
Novice	Senior Experienced	31.48	0.003	Yes
Experienced	Senior Experienced	23.18	0.016	Yes

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 3, i.e., 0.0167

In addition, the relationship between visibility and negative affective feelings was examined by neutralizing the translator's visibility preference factor. Table 6.48 shows that no Spearman's rho correlation is found between the two variables. The correlation coefficient between the translator's visibility index (not normally distributed) and the negative affective indexes (not normally distributed) of the translators who tend to have no preference for visibility and those who express a desire to being visible are 0.112 and 0.039 with low levels of significance (p = 0.141 and 0.352 respectively). In other words, the more visible translators do not have more negative feelings when they deal with translation-related assignments even when the visibility preference factor has been

neutralized. Note that only two subjects want to be invisible; therefore, these two subjects were ignored when doing the analysis.

In order to further investigate possible differences in negative affective feelings between the three types of translators who have different visibility preferences, a Kruskal-Wallis test was employed. The result indicates that there is no statistical difference ($p = 0.844$). The descriptive statistics, given in Table 6.49, show that, in terms of mean rank, translators who tend to have no preference for visibility (97.99) have more negative feelings than those who desire to be visible (96.47) and those who want to be invisible (75.50).

Table 6.48. Spearman's rho correlation tests between the translator's visibility and their negative affective index (translators with the same or similar visibility preference)

	The translator's visibility			
	All	Desire to be invisible	Tend to have no preference	Desire to be visible
Spearman's rho correlation	0.069	1.000	0.112	0.039
p-value	0.170		0.141	0.352
Negative Affective Mean*	0.2102	0.1719	0.2105	0.2106
Mean visibility*	0.3899	0.1250	0.3697	0.4154

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

Table 6.49. Descriptive statistics — the negative affective index across the three groups of translators with different visibility preferences

	Mean negative affective index*	Median negative affective index	Mean rank for negative affective index
Desire to be invisible	0.1719	0.1719	75.50
Tend to have no preference	0.2105	0.1875	97.99
Desire to be visible	0.2106	0.2188	96.47
Total	0.2102	0.2188	-

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

6.2.15   Visibility-happiness relationship

The present study emphasizes that the translator's visibility can be described as a continuum and, therefore, the translators have been classified into four categories indicating the extent of their direct communication with their clients and end-users. In Section 3.4, we introduced the four types of translators. They are the behind-the-scenes translator (65 respondents), the client-visible translator (58 respondents), the end-user-visible translator (16 respondents), and the visible translator (54 respondents). In this section, we examine the differences in terms of the happiness index, the satisfaction index and the positive affective index between those who can communicate with their clients and/or end-users and those who cannot.

We conducted an ANOVA test to investigate possible differences in terms of happiness (normally distributed) between the four visibility-based translator types. The result shows that there is significant difference ($p < 0.001$) in the happiness index between the four types of translators. An important observation (see Table 6.50) is that the happiness index (mean values) of the visible translators (0.5047) is the highest, followed by the end-user-visible (0.4973), then the client-visible (0.4563), and finally the behind-the-scenes translators (0.4355).

Table 6.50. Descriptive statistics — the happiness index across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean happiness index	Median happiness index	Minimum happiness index	Maximum happiness index
Behind-the-scenes	65	0.4355	0.4332	0.2372	0.6690
Client-visible	58	0.4563	0.4517	0.2926	0.6761
End-user-visible	16	0.4973	0.4886	0.3565	0.6449
Visible	54	0.5047	0.5043	0.3196	0.7060
Total	193	0.4663	0.4631	0.2372	0.7060

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Scheffe post-hoc tests, the results of which are given in Table 6.51, show that the difference between visible and behind-the-scenes translators is significant ($p < 0.001$). In addition, the difference between visible and client-visible translators is also significant ($p = 0.033$). In other words, it cannot be confirmed that the visible translator is the happiest translator-type, but they are happier than client-visible and behind-the-scenes translators in a statistically significant way. Also, visible translators on average are happier than end-user-visible translators.

Table 6.51. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA - Multiple comparisons of the job-related happiness index across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.0208	0.614	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-0.0618	0.087	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-0.0692	<0.001	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.0410	0.414	No
Client-visible	Visible	-0.0484	0.033	Yes
End-user-visible	Visible	-0.0074	0.993	No

6.2.16   Visibility-satisfaction and visibility-affective relationships

ANOVA tests were used to examine differences in terms of the satisfaction and positive affective indexes between the four types of translators.

The results show that there are significant differences in the satisfaction index ($p = 0.001$) and the positive affective index ($p = 0.002$) between the four groups. Tables 6.52 and 6.54 indicate that the satisfaction and the positive affective indexes (mean values) of the visible translators (0.4649 and 0.5446 respectively) are the highest, while the two indexes for the behind-the-scene translators are the lowest (0.4297 and 0.4413 respectively) between the four translator types.

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According to the mean values given in Table 6.52, visible translators are the most satisfied type of translator (0.4649) followed by end-user-visible (0.4517), client-visible (0.4369), and finally behind-the-scenes translators (0.4297). Scheffe post-hoc tests, the results of which are given in Table 6.53, indicate a statistically significant difference between visible and client-visible translators (p = 0.030). The difference between visible and behind-the-scenes translators is also statistically significant (p = 0.002). These results imply that the visible translator is more satisfied than client-visible and behind-the-scenes translators. Again, we can only say that the visible translator is more satisfied than the end-user-visible translator on average, since the difference is not statistically significant (p = 0.827).

Table 6.52. Descriptive statistics — the satisfaction index across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean satisfaction index	Median satisfaction index	Minimum satisfaction index	Maximum satisfaction index
Behind-the-scenes	65	0.4297	0.4375	0.3182	0.5284
Client-visible	58	0.4369	0.4460	0.3125	0.5284
End-user-visible	16	0.4517	0.4545	0.3693	0.5170
Visible	54	0.4649	0.4659	0.3580	0.5625
Total	193	0.4435	0.4489	0.3125	0.5625

Table 6.53. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA - Multiple comparisons of the satisfaction index across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.0072	0.882	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-0.0220	0.460	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-0.0351	0.002	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.0148	0.766	No
Client-visible	Visible	-0.0279	0.030	Yes
End-user-visible	Visible	-0.0132	0.827	No

Table 6.54 shows that visible translators on average have more positive feelings (0.5446) than end-user-visible (0.5430), client-visible (0.4758), and behind-the-scenes

translators (0.4413). Scheffe post-hoc tests (Table 6.55), however, only indicate a statistically significant difference between visible and behind-the-scenes translators ($p = 0.005$). These results imply that visible translators have more positive feelings than behind-the-scenes translators. Also, visible translators on average have more positive feelings than client-visible and end-user-visible translators, although the differences are not statistically significant.

Table 6.54. Descriptive statistics of the positive affective index across the four visibility-based translator types

	N	Mean positive affective index	Median positive affective index	Minimum positive affective index	Maximum positive affective index
Behind-the-scenes	65	0.4413	0.4375	0.1563	0.8438
Client-visible	58	0.4758	0.4688	0.1875	0.8750
End-user-visible	16	0.5430	0.5313	0.3438	0.8125
Visible	54	0.5446	0.5313	0.2500	0.9063
Total	193	0.4890	0.4688	0.1563	0.9063

Table 6.55. Scheffe post-hoc tests for ANOVA - Multiple comparisons of positive affective index across the four visibility-based translator types

Translator Type (I)	Translator Type (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.05?
Behind-the-scenes	Client-visible	-0.0344	0.679	No
Behind-the-scenes	End-user-visible	-0.1016	0.141	No
Behind-the-scenes	Visible	-0.1032	0.005	Yes
Client-visible	End-user-visible	-0.0672	0.502	No
Client-visible	Visible	-0.0688	0.141	No
End-user-visible	Visible	-0.0016	1.000	No

All in all, it is found that visible translators are happier and more satisfied than client-visible and behind-the-scenes translators in a statistically significant way. In addition, visible translators have more positive emotions when dealing with translation-related assignments than behind-the-scenes translators in a statistically significant manner. An important finding from the above statistical tests is that visible

translators are only on average happier, more satisfied and have more positive feelings than end-user-visible translator.

6.2.17   H₃: The greater the work experience, the greater the visibility

In order to test hypothesis H_3, we used a Spearman's rho correlation (one-tailed) to examine the relationship between the translator's work experience and their visibility. An insignificant weak positive correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.083, p = 0.126), which indicates that the hypothesis cannot be confirmed in a statistically significant way. This means that the more experienced translators do not have greater visibility at work.

6.2.18   H₄: The greater the work experience, the greater the job-related happiness

We also used a Spearman's rho correlation test (one-tailed) to examine the relationship between the translator's work experience and the translator's job-related happiness. An insignificant weak positive correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.094, p = 0.097), indicating that the hypothesis cannot be confirmed. This result implies that the more experienced translators are not happier.

6.2.19   H₅: The translator's visibility has a greater impact on the translator's job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience

Since H_4 cannot be confirmed, work experience does not have a positive impact on happiness in a statistically significant way. Thus, there is no need to test the fifth hypothesis, since the statistical tests that have been done allow us to logically confirm

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that the translator's visibility has a greater impact on the translator's job related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

6.2.20   Conclusion on hypotheses testing

To summarize the findings, seven of our 11 hypotheses have been statistically confirmed from the data collected in this study.

Our first hypothesis, that the more visible the translators, the more capital they receive, has been confirmed. Among the four kinds of capital, the correlations between the translator's visibility and the symbolic as well as the economic capital that the translators say they receive are weak and insignificant. Therefore, the two lower-level hypotheses—the more visible the translators, the more symbolic and economic capital they receive—are not statistically confirmed. However, the correlations between the translator's visibility and the social as well as the cultural capital that the translators say they receive are strong and significant. Thus, the two lower-level hypotheses, that the more visible the translators the more social and cultural capital they receive, are confirmed in a statistically significant way. These test results suggest that people may not receive more money or enjoy higher prestige/status when they are visible to their clients and end-users. However, when they are visible, they do have a stronger social network, and they feel that they are learning more.

The second hypothesis, that the more visible the translators, the happier they are, has been confirmed. We have also confirmed that the more visible the translators, the less the gap between capital sought and capital received. In addition, it has also been statistically proven that the more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation.

Our third hypothesis, that the greater the work experience the greater the visibility, cannot be confirmed. The findings suggest that the more experienced translators are not necessarily more visible to their clients and end-users. This may be because the kind of visibility we are talking about is not something that people spend years working to achieve. Also, it cannot be confirmed in a statistically significant way that more work experience results in greater job-related happiness. In view of this, it is logically proven that the translator's visibility has a greater impact on job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience.

6.3 Further analysis

In the first part of our questionnaire, we collected data on the background information of the subjects. Questions including sex (nominal), age (ordinal), regional location (nominal), level of education (ordinal), major field of study (the highest level) (nominal), time spent working on translation-related assignments (continuous, but not normally distributed, $p = 0.001$, given by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test), and whether or not the translator's name appeared on the translations were asked (continuous, but not normally distributed, $p < 0.001$, given by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test). In this part, the relationship between the seven background variables including sex, age, regional location, level of education, major field of study, time spent working on translation-related assignments, and whether the translator's name appeared on the translations and the five variables including visibility (not normally distributed), capital (normally distributed), job-related happiness (normally distributed), work experience (not normally distributed), and visibility preference (not normally distributed, $p < 0.001$, given by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test) will be examined.

6.3.1   Sex

The relationship between sex and the translator's visibility was investigated using an independent sample Mann-Whitney U test (two-tailed). The mean ranks of visibility are 97.16 for women and 96.79 for men. The test comparing the translator's visibility across sexes finds no significant difference (p = 0.963). The result suggests that sex is not related to the level of the translator's visibility.

An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was performed to analyze the relationship between sex and the capital that the respondents said they received. The means of the capital received are 2.5325 for women and 2.6234 for men. An independent sample t-test comparing the amount of capital that the respondents said they receive across sexes finds no significant difference (p = 0.132). This result also suggests that sex is not related to the amount of capital that the translators say they receive.

The relationship between sex and the translator's job-related happiness index was investigated using an independent sample t-test (two-tailed). The means are 0.4616 for women and 0.4723 for men. An independent sample t-test comparing the index across sexes also finds no significant difference (p = 0.413). The result tells us that sex is not related to the translator's job-related happiness.

Further, an independent sample Mann-Whitney U test (two-tailed) was performed to investigate the relationship between sex and the translator's visibility preference. The mean ranks of the visibility preference are 93.38 for women and 101.70 for men. An independent Mann-Whitney U test comparing the translator's visibility preference across sexes finds no significant difference (p = 0.292). This result implies that sex is not related to the translator's personal preference for working in a way that is visible to their clients and end-users.

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In order to examine the relationship between sex and the translator's work experience, an independent sample Mann-Whitney U test (two-tailed) was performed. The mean ranks for work experience are 88.91 for women and 107.50 for men. A significant positive relationship between the two variables is found (p = 0.021). This result suggests that the male translators in this sample have more translation experience than the women translators.

The above tests show that sex is not related to the translator's visibility, capital received, the translator's job-related happiness and the translator's visibility preference. However, we find that, in our sample, the male translators have more translation experience than the women translators.

6.3.2 Age

The relationship between age and the translator's visibility was calculated using a Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed). No correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.025, p = 0.731) between the two variables. We also used the Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed) to examine the relationship between age and the amount of capital received. An insignificant weak positive correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.133, p = 0.065) between the two variables. This result suggests that the older the translator, the more capital they may receive. The Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed) was also used to examine the relationship between age and the translator's job-related happiness index. No correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.089, p = 0.220), indicating that the relationship between age and the translator's job-related happiness is not statistically significant.

The relationship between age and the translator's visibility preference was also investigated using the Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed). No correlation is found

(correlation coefficient = −0.035, p = 0.627). Another Spearman's rho correlation test (two-tailed) was performed to study the relationship between age and the translator's work experience. A significant positive relationship between the two variables is found (correlation coefficient = 0.678, p < 0.001), indicating that the older the translator, the more work experience they have.

These Spearman's rho correlation tests suggest that age is not related to the translator's visibility, visibility preference and job-related happiness. However, logically enough, it was found that age is related to the translator's work experience. In addition, the older the translator, the more capital they may receive.

6.3.3   Regional location

A Kruskal-Wallis test was used to analyze the differences in terms of the translator's visibility between the regions that the subjects live. The result shows that no significant difference (p = 0.082).

ANOVA was used to compare the differences in terms of the capital received between the regions that the subjects lived in. Again, no significant difference (p = 0. 749) is found. We can see that, in our sample, the region where the translators live has no impact on the amount of capital that these professionals say they receive.

ANOVA was again used to analyze the differences in terms of the job-related happiness index between the regions that the subjects lived in. No significant difference (p = 0. 217) is found.

The Kruskal-Wallis test was used to examine the differences in terms of the translator's visibility preference between the regions that the subjects lived in. A significant result (p = 0.002) is found. Table 6.56, which gives the mean ranks, indicates

that translators in China have the strongest desire for visibility, followed by those in Macau, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Table 6.56. Descriptive statistics of the Kruskal-Wallis test for the translator's visibility preference across four regions where the translators live

	N	Mean visibility preference*	Median visibility preference	Mean Rank for visibility preference
Hong Kong	25	0.6100	0.6250	70.58
China	140	0.7188	0.7500	106.33
Taiwan	27	0.6343	0.5000	73.94
Macau	1	0.6250	0.6250	74.50
Total	193	0.6924	0.6250	-

* for reference only (non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean)

The results of the post-hoc tests (Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment), given in Table 6.57, indicate that the difference between translators in China and translators in Hong Kong is significant. In addition, the difference between translators in China and translators in Taiwan is also significant. These results suggest that translators in China have a greater desire for visibility than translators in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Since only one subject from Macao participated in the study, this subject was ignored when doing the post-hoc analysis.

Table 6.57. Post-hoc tests for Kruskal-Wallis test — Mann-Whitney U tests with Bonferroni adjustment - Multiple comparisons of the translator's visibility preference across regions where translators live

Region (I)	Region (J)	Mean Rank Difference (I-J)	p-value	< 0.0083?*
Hong Kong	China	-35.75	0.002	Yes
Hong Kong	Taiwan	-3.36	0.900	No
Hong Kong	Macau	-3.92	0.923	No
China	Taiwan	32.38	0.006	Yes
China	Macau	31.83	0.624	No
Taiwan	Macau	-0.56	0.786	No

* Due to the Bonferroni adjustment, the result can only be treated as significant if the p-value <= 0.05 / 6, i.e., 0.0083

The Kruskal-Wallis test was again used to investigate the differences in terms of the translator's work experience between the regions that the subjects lived in. The result shows no significant difference (p = 0.125).

In summary, the region that the subjects live in does not have an impact on the translator's visibility, capital received, their job-related happiness and their work experience. However, it is found that translators in China have a greater desire for visibility than translators in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

6.3.4   Level of education

In the questionnaire, subjects were asked to state their highest level of education and 190 subjects answered. One subject did not give an answer while two only stated "other". In view of this, these three subjects were ignored when doing the statistical test.

Level of education was compared using a Spearman's rho correlation coefficient (two-tailed). No correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.068, p = 0.350) between the translator's visibility and the translator's level of education. The same testing method was used to compare the translator's level of education with the amount of capital that the subjects said they received. No significant correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.101, p = 0.164) between the two variables.

The same testing method was again employed to compare the relationship between the translator's level of education and the translator's job-related happiness index. An insignificant weak negative correlation was found (correlation coefficient = –0.116, p = 0.111), indicating that the correlation between the two variables is not statistically significant.

The relationship between the translator's level of education and their visibility preference was also investigated using a Spearman's rho correlation coefficient

(two-tailed). No correlation is found (the correlation coefficient of -0.082, p = 0.259) between the two variables. In addition, the same testing method was used to examine the translator's level of education and their work experience. No correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.090, p = 0.218) between the two variables.

These Spearman's rho correlation tests show that the translator's level of education is not related to their visibility, capital received, job-related happiness, work experience, and visibility preference.

6.3.5   Major field of study

In order to examine the relationship between the translator's major field of study and their visibility, we classified our subjects into two groups (translation major and non-translation major). In our sample, 167 subjects (86.53%) stated that they did not major in translation while 19 subjects (9.84%) reported that they majored in translation. Seven subjects (3.63%) did not answer this question. The mean ranks of the translator's visibility are 106.13 for the translation major subjects and 92.06 for the non-translation major subjects. An independent Mann-Whitney U test (two-tailed) comparing the translator's visibility across these two groups finds no significant difference (p = 0.275).

An independent sample t-test (two-tailed) was performed to study the relationship between the translator's major field of study and the amount of capital that the subjects said they received. The means for the capital received are 2.6435 for the translation major subjects and 2.5705 for the non-translation major subjects. The result of the test shows that there is no significant relationship between the two variables (p = 0. 470).

Additionally, another independent sample t-test was performed to investigate the relationship between the translator's major field of study and the translator's job-related happiness index. The means for the job-related happiness index are 0.4679 for the

translation major subjects and 0.4677 for the non-translation major subjects. According to the result, there is no significant difference between the two groups (p = 0. 993).

Another Mann-Whitney U test was performed to examine the relationship between the translator's major field of study and their visibility preferences. The mean ranks of visibility preference are 94.50 for the translation major respondents and 93.39 for the non-translation respondents. The result of the Mann-Whitney U test shows that there is no significant difference between the two groups (p = 0.930).

Further, the relationship between the translator's major field of study and their work experience was calculated using an independent sample Mann-Whitney U test (two-tailed). The mean ranks of the work experience are 97.74 for the translation major subjects and 93.02 for the non-translation major subjects. There is no significant difference between the two groups (p = 0.716).

The results of these independent sample tests suggest that the translator's major field of study is not related to visibility, the capital received, job-related happiness, visibility preference, and work experience.

6.3.6   *Working time*

In the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to indicate how much time they spent on translation-related assignments/activities. A total of 188 subjects answered this question, while five people did not respond. According to the subjects' responses, the mean working time was 23.47 hours per week. The mean working time here is for reference only since non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean.

We used a Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed) to study the relationship between the translator's visibility and their working time. No significant relationship is found (correlation coefficient = 0.044, p = 0.551). The same testing method was used to

examine the relationship between the translator's working time and the capital received. No significant relationship is found between the two variables (correlation coefficient = 0.018, p = 0.802). The relationship between working time and the translator's job-related happiness index was calculated using a Spearman's rho correlation (two-tailed). No correlation is found (correlation coefficient of –0.035, p = 0.635) between the two variables.

Another Spearman's rho correlation was also used to examine the relationship between the translator's working time and their visibility preference. No significant relationship is found (correlation coefficient = 0.075, p = 0.307). The same method was used to test the relationship between the translator's working time and their work experience. A weak significant correlation is found (correlation coefficient = 0.168, p = 0.021) between the two variables. This result implies that the more experienced translators have longer working hours.

The above Spearman's rho correlation tests suggest that the translator's working time is not related to visibility, the capital that they say they receive, job-related happiness, and visibility preference. However, it seems that the more experienced translators spend more time on translation-related assignments.

6.3.7   The translator's name on the translations

In the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to indicate if their names appeared on their translations. They were provided with five choices including never, seldom, sometimes, often, and very often. A total of 192 subjects answered, while one subject did not respond. Table 6.58 shows the number of responses in each category. The response categories were scored as follows: never (0), seldom (1), sometimes (2), often (3), and very often (4). According to the subjects' responses, the mean value is 1.15. Again, the

mean value here is for reference only since non-parametric tests do not rely on the distribution parameters, e.g., mean.

Table 6.58. The number of responses in each category concerning the names of translators on their translations

The response category	Number of subjects
Never	66
Seldom	60
Sometimes	48
Often	8
Very often	10
Missing	1

The relationship between the appearance of a translator's name on translations and the translator's visibility was investigated using a Spearman's rho correlation test (two-tailed). A positive moderate relationship is found (the correlation coefficient = 0.262, $p < 0.001$), indicating that there is a significant relation between the two variables. In other words, the more visible the translators, the more often their names appear on their translations.

Another Spearman's rho correlation test (two-tailed) was performed to examine the relationship between the appearance of a translator's name on translations and the capital that they said they received. A positive strong relationship is found (correlation coefficient = 0.318, $p < 0.001$), indicating there is a significant relation between the two variables. This implies that the translators whose names appear more often on their translations receive more capital.

In addition, another Spearman's rho correlation test (two-tailed) was performed to calculate the relationship between the appearance of a translator's name on translations and the translator's job-related happiness index. A positive moderate relationship is found (correlation coefficient = 0.200, $p = 0.006$), indicating there is a significant

relation between the two variables. This suggests that translators whose names appear more often on theirs translations are happier.

A further Spearman's rho correlation test (two-tailed) was performed to investigate the relationship between the appearance of a translator's name on translations and the translator's visibility preference. No correlation is found (correlation coefficient = −0.083, p = 0.251) between the two variables. When the same testing method was used to study the relationship between the appearance of a translator's name on translations and the translator's work experience, a positive moderate significant relationship is found (correlation coefficient = 0.201, p = 0.005), indicating that the more work experience translators have, the more often their names appear on their translations.

All these correlation tests suggest that, in our sample, the appearance of a translator's name on translations is related to the translator's visibility, the capital received, job-related happiness and work experience, but it is not related to the translator's visibility preference. Although the last correlation cannot be explained, it can be speculated that a translator's name on translations is related to the person's discursive presence in translations, while visibility preference is about the subject's personal preferences for working in a way that is visible to clients and end-users. Those whose names often appear on their translations do not necessarily like communicating with their clients and end-users. This result is a prompt to re-think the concept of visibility when using the term, since it is a little ambiguous (See Section 2.2).

6.3.8   *Summary of findings from the quantitative data analysis*

The results of our study suggest that, for this sample, the more visible the translators, the more capital they receive. Among the four kinds of capital, the hypotheses that more

visible translators receive more social and cultural capital have been statistically confirmed. This means that the more visible translators may know more people and may feel that they are learning more. However, the hypotheses that the more visible translators receive more symbolic and economic capital cannot be confirmed in a statistically significant way. Thus, it cannot be said that the more visible translators enjoy greater prestige or earn more money, although we have found that the more visible senior experienced translators do enjoy greater prestige and earn more money while the more visible novice translators have greater job security.

The second hypothesis, that the more visible the translators, the happier they are, has been confirmed. The hypothesis that the more visible the translators, the less the gap between capital sought and capital received has also been shown to be accurate. In addition, the hypothesis that the more visible the translators, the more and greater positive emotions they experience when they deal with translation has been confirmed in a statistically significant way. Our third and fourth hypotheses, that greater work experience correlates with greater visibility and greater job-related happiness, cannot be confirmed. Therefore, there is no need to test our fifth hypothesis — the translator's visibility has a greater impact on job-related happiness than does the translator's work experience — because it is logically proven.

In general terms, in this sample, it was found that visibility is rewarding in terms of social exchanges and learning experience, but not in terms of pay and prestige.

Our findings also reveal that some social variables including sex, age, level of education, region in which the translator lives, the translator's major field of study, and the number of hours spent working on translation-related assignments are not related to the translator's visibility, the amount of capital received, or the translator's job-related happiness. What was found to be significantly related to the translator's visibility, the

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capital received, and job-related happiness is the appearance of a translator's name on translations.

6.3.9   Limitations of the quantitative data analysis

The sample size in this study is relatively small compared with the population (see discussion on Parker's projections in Section 5.2.3). Our study includes a wide range of translators (see Appendices H and I) and, therefore, there may be very few representatives of a particular kind of translator role or professional position in some cases. Although this study targets Chinese translators in greater China, the findings are perhaps not specific to Chinese cultural or commercial situations because the questionnaires do not include culture-related items. The following is a list of the findings that were unexpected or could not be explained.

1.   Why is there no correlation between visibility and symbolic capital? We can only confirm that the more visible senior experienced translators receive more symbolic capital. Why this is not so for novice and experienced translators?

2.   It is unexpected that neither the novice nor the experienced translators benefit from visibility in terms of the amount of symbolic capital they say they receive. Both the more visible novice and experienced translators may have fewer opportunities to work independently. In addition, the more visible novice translators may feel that their translator role is unrecognized while the more visible experienced translators may feel that they cannot always fulfill the expectations of their clients.

3.   Why would the more visible translators be less satisfied with opportunities to work independently, their performance in fulfilling the expectations of

their end-users, the pride of their profession and their role as translators? Our statistical tests indicate negative relations but there is no obvious explanation for this.

4. Among the four visibility-based translator types, it was expected that the visible translator would receive the greatest amount of the four kinds of capital; however, this was only confirmed for social and cultural capital. This is because end-user-visible translators enjoy higher status, earn more money, and have greater job security job than other types of translators. We speculated that something in the nature of the end-user-visible translators (such as job title, the sector that they are from, sex, age, regional location, work experience, level of education, major field of study, time spent working on translation-related assignments and whether or not their names appear on their translations) caused the differences. However, the tests that were carried out indicate that these factors are, in fact, not related. As a result, no conclusions can be drawn or even any suggested reasons offered based solely on the data that was gathered.

5. Why is there no relationship between visibility and economic capital for the experienced translator? The findings show that more visible senior experienced translators earn more money while the more visible novice translators have greater job security. However, there is no relationship between visibility and the economic capital that the more visible experienced translators say they receive.

6. Why is it that the more visible novice translators may have less opportunity to improve their translation skills?

7. The quantitative data analysis suggests that there is a significant relationship between the translator's visibility and job-related happiness. However, it is

still impossible to conclude that translators are happier because they are visible or vice versa. This question can only be answered in situations where there has been a change in the translator's visibility, such as from invisible to visible or vice versa. Furthermore, in the quantitative phase the visibility-happiness relationship was what was focused upon. Are there other variables that could be affecting the translator's job-related happiness?

After analyzing the quantitative data, a qualitative approach is needed. However, prior to embarking on interview analysis, our questionnaire survey asked the subjects two open-ended questions. At the beginning of the next chapter, their replies will be report.

7.   Qualitative phase

7.1   Analysis of open-ended questions

Prior to entering the qualitative phase, our questionnaire survey asked the subjects two open-ended questions and, therefore, in the coming section some of their replies will be reported.

In the questionnaire the subjects were first asked to share their views on their happiness or unhappiness in relation to being a translation professional. Second, they were asked their opinions about the role of a translation professional.

7.1.1   *The subjects' comments on their un/happiness in relation to being a translation professional*

Among the 193 subjects who participated in our questionnaire survey, 128 answered the first open-ended question. The great majority of the opinions regarding un/happiness in relation to being a translation professional were similar to the results that were reported in chapter six, as their answers focused on the four kinds of capital and/or affective feelings they had in relation to translation work. In this study, the definition of the translator's job-related happiness is both environment-centered (the four kinds of capital comprising 22 determinants) and person-centered (the various kinds of affective feelings). The following steps were adopted to report on the respondents' replies (Creswell 2007b: 148-149). First, all the responses were read carefully so that we could carry out a preliminary exploration of the data. Second, Qualitative Software and Research (QSR) NVIVO 8, a qualitative analysis software package, was used to code

the subjects' responses, which were linked to the 22 determinants of the four kinds of capital as well as the affective feelings. Third, the frequency of codes was counted. The thematic data are shown in Table 7.1. Five main themes have been identified, covering the range of responses.

It is worth noting that comments from six subjects are irrelevant to this question. For example:

Subject 71:   Define happiness/unhappiness?

Subject 77   Being an interpreter can be knowledgeable bit by bit, but hardly be professional in any of these fields.

Subject 71's response does not answer the question, while the comments from subject 77, who is a full-time financial analyst and a freelance business translator, are not relevant to the translation profession as her opinion only focuses on the interpreting profession.

In addition, it is also worth noting here that there were occasions where a respondent's answer fell into more than one category. For example:

Subject 1: good payment, being respected.

The subject's response is related to both economic capital and symbolic capital; therefore, there were more than 128 answers to the first open-ended question, although 128 subjects answered the question.

Table 7.1. Responses to the first open-ended question — the subjects' comments on un/happiness related to being a translation professional.

Categories	Determinants	Count
Symbolic Capital	Work independently	20
	Decision-making opportunities at work	0
	Fulfilling the expectation of the client	8
	Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user	3
	Professional respect	13
	The company's reputation in the industry	1
	The pride of the profession	16
	The role of being a translation professional	7
Economic Capital	Salary	37
	Long-term job security	11
Social Capital	A working environment that allows the person to strengthen their personal network	7
	Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only	3
	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	7
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions	9
	The client's appreciation of the person's translation work	19
	The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work	7
Cultural Capital	Opportunity to learn new knowledge	22
	Opportunity to improve translation skills	12
	Opportunity to boost professional qualifications	0
	Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work	15
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	2
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	1
Affective Feelings		65

The open-question data reveal that some translators want to be paid according to the quality of their translation work. Subject 59's opinions about the issue of pay are worth mentioning. She says:

Most translators think that the translation salary is [translator salaries are] too low but the translation work is not easy to do. Nearly all the translation must be done in an urgent way, so you often have to work into the night and your health cannot be insured [assured]. […] The

competition is not in an orderly way. The students in universities are taking advantage of their

very low prices to enter the translation market or would rather have no pay to get their experience,

which greatly disturbs the translation market, and the quality of translation cannot be guaranteed.

(From subject 59)

Subject 59 stresses that "pay-for-performance" is important for translators — a fact that is mentioned by other subjects in different ways. For example, subject 72 said, "seeing the service rates seriously dragged down by those cheap but bad quality translators is the most disappointing moment." Subject 62 comments that:

The work itself is satisfying and sometimes exciting when you are wrestling with a term or a

sentence and suddenly the perfect translation flows into your head [flashes across your mind]. It is

satisfying in that you know you have done a good job and you feel happy about that, but you will

feel even happier if you get paid according to your quality. (From subject 62)

Subject 81 attributes the problem of low pay to the lack of opportunities to communicate with clients, with the result that "translators are not able to receive the amount of salary that they expect" (Subject 81).

Eleven comments from the open-ended questions were concerned with job security. The open-question data show that the issue of job security is critical because there is no formal certification system, regulations, or continued professional development for translators through which they can seek status enhancement in the translation market in greater China (cf. Chan 2008). Job security worries freelance translators most. Among the 11 comments relating to job security, nine of them were written by freelance translators. Subject 73 said, "I am happy because it is a job that I love to do. But sometimes I feel anxious when I feel confused about my future." Subject

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156 said that most of her unhappiness came from difficulty in finding a job, although she added, "it is more a feeling of frustration than unhappiness, because I wouldn't have become a freelance translator if it made me unhappy." Subject 158's viewpoint reflects the pros and cons of being a freelance translator:

> I am happy as a freelancer translator and interpreter since I can decide what kind of assignments I can take and switch my roles between a translator and interpreter. I find it dull to work as a full time translator in a translation agency because you can't choose the work that is assigned to you, you seldom meet people outside of the translation circle, and the pay is in general not satisfying. However, freelancers have to deal with uncertainty. It is not easy for people who have financial burden. (From subject 158)

In addition to economic capital, there were 68 comments related to the translator's job-related un/happiness where symbolic capital is referred to. In particular, respect and professional pride are essential to the translator's job-related un/happiness. For example, subject 155 said:

> I like doing translation and enjoy the process of completing my work step by step. I am also proud to be able to help communicating [communicate] knowledge and information and see my translation works lined up on my bookshelf. However, few people respect me as a translation professional. (From subject 155)

Our open-question data suggest that our subjects attach great importance to being respected by their clients. For example, subject 65 said, "happiness is determined by the respect from the clients" while subject 75 said, "I feel very happy and take pride in my job, for I cannot only earn more money but also win the respect from others". Subject

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109 noted, "When you cannot be recognized or agreed by your clients, you will be unhappy. But when the clients send praise to you for the job done, it will make you more than happy." Subject 131's comments are worth noting because his responses show some relationship between the quality of translation, self-worth, and pride. He said:

> Properly handling two or more different languages and paraphrasing rightly are essential to people who use the translation, which is also important to translators, because the procedure and the result of translation make them feel fulfillment of [and] self-worth and bring their own skills to play. Besides, their excellent work most of times will bring them end-users' praise, which will definitely make them feel proud and confident. I guess self-worth realization, pride and confidence stemming from translation will give them happiness. (From subject 131)

In order to be respected, our subjects place great emphasis on fulfilling the expectations of client, end-users and/or themselves. Subject 20 said, "Whenever I exceed my own expectation or others' expectation, I will feel terrific." Subject 147 said, "I would be happy if the clients or end-users are satisfied [with my] translation works, however, it might make you unhappy or depressed if all your translation works are rejected by either clients or end-users." Subject 60 attributes her job-related unhappiness to the "unrealistic expectation of the clients" although she "really likes the profession."

According to our findings, there are 52 comments with regard to the translator's job-related un/happiness where social capital is concerned. In Section 3.6.1.4, we made the preliminary argument that translation is a cooperative activity. Translators can maximize their capital and become happier through working with other people. The open-question data indicate that the majority of those who responded stressed that

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happiness in relation to being a translator lies in the opportunity to meet, help, or work with people. For example, subject 136 notes that the happiness she experiences as a translator is as a result of always having the opportunity to work with other people, and she gets along with them. Subject 60's opinions are similar but she expresses them in a different way, saying that she feels unhappy at work when there is "insufficient communication with other professionals". Subject 23 said, "Sometimes, doing free translation for friends or even strangers without pay is a good experience of helping others", while subject 115 mentions that working with different clients from different fields helps expand her network. Subject 72 noted, "The happiness of being a translation professional comes from the recognition of quality service from the clients. Receiving calls from new clients referred by happy clients is another wonderful source of happiness."

There are 52 comments on the translator's job-related un/happiness where cultural capital is concerned. In particular, learning new things and improving translation skills are the two major factors that make the subjects happy. For example, subject 50 mentions that translation provides her with "a good opportunity to learn something new". Subject 95 emphasizes that she enjoys the process when she has to find information in order to complete a translation because she can learn new things. Subject 116's rationale is worth noting as her thoughts underline how much translation is a problem-solving activity, so translators can learn and seek improvement through the process.

> I do this job partly for money, partly for improving my translation skill. Sometimes, I work for little money. I would consider whether it is worthwhile […] Sometimes, I have done a bad job. I would feel somewhat upset but then I would find the problem and solve it. (From Subject 116)

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In addition to comments relating to the four kinds of capital, 65 comments related to various kinds of affective feelings experienced by the subjects. Our open-question data reveal that stress is the major factor affecting the translator's job-related happiness. The comments written by subject 152, who is a financial translator in Hong Kong, is worth noting:

Being a financial translator in HK is very stressful because sometimes I need to meet tight deadlines and have to deal with unreasonable requirements from clients or printers. For example, sometimes clients or printers may flow in [give me] a big task with a tight deadline, and they may flow in [give me] certain amounts of mark-ups while I am drafting it, and then sometimes the clients would put blame on translators for failing to meet the deadline required by the Stock Exchange because of their own problems. However, I am also proud of my work because at the end of the world those clients cannot translate their documents by themselves and have to rely on translators. Also, the feeling of being able to finish drafting a task by myself is good. Moreover, though most Hong Kong people can understand and write both English and Chinese, not many of them can use the languages well enough to become a translator, so I consider being a translation professional is a thing that worth for me to be proud of. (From subject 152)

Occupational stress is prevalent among translators because they not only have to face time pressure but also need to manage the entire translation process which requires a lot of patience, in addition to linguistic knowledge and translation skills. Subject 144 pointed out that translation is a hard job that takes patience. Subject 162 said, "Translation can be a lot of fun, especially if I get to do something I am interested in. The unhappiness may appear when the deadline is approaching or I get stuck with the terms I don't know how to translate." Some respondents pointed out that occupational

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stress can lead to physical health problems that make them feel unhappy about being a translator. For example, subject 109 said:

> Most of the time, I have to sit in front of the computer for a long time. I think [it] is not good for health. But, in order to finish my task, I have to do this. And most of the time, the time limit from a translation office is usually very tight, and we need to stay up in the night to finish the work. In [Because of] this aspect, I want to give up, sometimes. (From subject 109)

One interesting finding is that a few subjects used metaphors to describe their affective feelings. For example, subject 110 said, "every tick-tat on the keyboard is just every brick and stone. […] When the bridge is built up successfully, our translation project is completed and happiness is borne at that." Subject 42, who is a Chinese-to-English translator rendering business, legal, sales, and marketing materials in China, used drug-taking as a metaphor to describe the happiness associated with being a translator. He said:

> The happiness: Above all, translating is like taking drugs to me. I always feel amazed at the process of transferring meaning from one language to another. I believe that I was born with this passion. (From subject 42)

As the subjects' responses to the first open-ended question have now been analyzed, the subjects' comments on the role of a translation professional will now be examined.

7.1.2   The subjects' comments on the role of a translation professional

As this study focuses on the communication between translators and their clients on the one hand and end-users on the other, using "the translator's communicative role" as a conceptual framework, relevant themes were found from clustering the subjects' responses. The following strategies were employed to analyze the subjects' replies. First, the responses were read through carefully. Then, QSR NVIVO 8 was used to code the data and reduce them into themes that were guided by the conceptual framework and were relevant to the study. After that the frequency of codes were counted.

About 59 percent of the respondents (114 respondents) shared their viewpoints on the role of a translation professional. Five main themes have been identified, covering the range of responses. These themes are summarized in Table 7.2. It is worth noting that 36 subjects' comments were irrelevant to this question because they did not answer the question or their answers were not relevant to the question which focuses on the role of the translator. For example:

Subject 1:   Hard work

Subject 54:   Dance with words and characters are my favorite.

Subject 67:   Try your best

In addition, it is also worth noting that there were occasions when an answer from a respondent fell into more than one category. For example:

Subject 122: They are often ignored when no one needs translation. But they play an important

role in the communication of people who use different languages.

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The subject points out that translators are important people because they are facilitators of communication; however, their role is not well recognized.

Table 7.2. Responses to the second open-ended question — the subjects' comments on the role of a translation professional

Themes	Count
The communicative role of a translator when dealing with clients	17
The communicative role of a translator when dealing with end-users	7
Facilitator	59
- Facilitator of communication	33
- Facilitator of cultures	17
- Facilitator of knowledge	9
Unrecognized role	15

The first theme emphasizes the communicative role of a translator when dealing with clients. Seventeen comments related to this theme stress that the most important role of a translator is to help the client and meet their needs. For example, subject 42 said, "A translation professional is the client's reliable helper to ensure the success of their business with accurate interpretation of paperwork". Subject 48 said that translators can help their clients "save time and money", while subject 49 noted that translators should "help the client to meet the demand of the end-user". Subject 117 pointed out that a translator should be "open-minded" and be able "to adjust your translation with [to the] clients' needs". Subject 155 emphasized that "a translation professional has to know his or her own capability" in order to make their clients satisfied. Although these comments reveal that the subjects attach great importance to their communicative role, they also seem to assume the subservience of the translator.

The second theme concerns the communicative role of a translator when dealing with end-users, and seven comments relate to this theme. Subject 134 said that a translator is an "introducer of end-users" (i.e. introducing new information to the

end-users). Subject 105 noted that a translator should be accountable to end-users while subject 157 stressed that a translator has to be always "passionate towards the end-users".

The third theme concerns the facilitating role of a translator. There are three sub-themes in this category with "facilitator of communication" between persons or groups being the most common response, with 33 comments relating to this sub-theme. For example, subject 6 said, "We are providing a service to bridge people who are monolingual to material that is otherwise incomprehensible to them". Subject 47 points out that a translator is "someone who bridges two groups of people", while subject 56 emphasized that "a translation professional plays a vital role in breaking language barriers and bridging communication." Subject 109 shared a similar notion saying, "To some extent, we are like a bridge without which the people on the two banks of the river can never reach each other."

The next sub-theme within the category refers to the translator as a facilitator of cultures. Subject 38 shared his opinions and experience:

> A translation professional acts mainly as a bridge between different cultures. In my company, I translate business proposals, government publications, company regulations, CVs etc. Foreign staff can therefore understand government policies and apply for work visas and residential permits in China. (From subject 38)

The final sub-theme concerns the translator acting as a facilitator of knowledge, and nine comments relate to this sub-theme. For example, subject 11 said that a translator is a "transformer and distributor of information" while subject 39 noted that a translator "can let people know 'new things' in another language".

The fourth theme emphasizes that the role of the translator is unrecognized. Fifteen comments relate to this theme. Among these 15 comments, seven stress that translators in fact play an important role although their role is not recognized. For example, subject 129 pointed out that translators "are important for all walks of live. But they are overlooked and treated like slaves". Subject 122 also said that translators are often ignored although they "play an important role in communication".

The following sections show how we conducted the qualitative interviews.

7.2 Connecting quantitative with qualitative data

In our last chapter we examined the relationship between the translator's visibility, the amount of capital that the translators say they receive, their work experience and their job-related happiness. However, there are things we have found which we cannot explain or do not expect (see Section 6.3.9). For example, it is still impossible for us to conclude that translators are happier because they are visible or vice versa. This question can only be answered in situations where there has been a change in the translator's visibility, such as from *invisible* to *visible* or vice versa. Second, our statistical tests reveal that the more visible translators receive more social and cultural capital. On a preliminary basis, we argue that our findings suggest that the type of visibility in the field of translation is rewarding in terms of social exchanges and learning experience, but not in terms of pay and prestige. It implies that translators may be happy when they find that the translation process or their mediating role can nurture themselves, their clients and end-users, even though they are not satisfied with their salary and do not enjoy a high social standing.

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As mentioned in the methodology chapter, we employed the mixed-methods sequential explanatory design for this research project. According to Creswell (2007a), the overall purpose of the mixed-methods sequential explanatory design is that the qualitative data help explain the initial quantitative results. Thus, the second (qualitative) phase in this study focuses on explaining the results from the statistical tests we obtained in our first (quantitative) phase. First of all, an attempt is made to understand how a shift in visibility affects the translator's job-related happiness. Second, we try to find out how visibility enables translators to nurture themselves as well as improve the relationship between their clients and end-users. We also try to determine how visibility brings happiness to translators. The next section discusses why we use a case study approach. Then we will explain the case selection methods and how an interview protocol was developed.

7.3 Qualitative phase: case study as a method

During this intermediate phase where the quantitative and qualitative methods are connected, the main task is to select an appropriate method in order to answer our research questions (Ivankova 2004, 2006). We have decided on a case study approach because we believe that the method is appropriate for three reasons. First of all, since there was no prior empirical research featuring the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness, a case study approach can allow us to learn from individual cases. Second, the concept of job-related happiness is quite abstract, and case studies can help us obtain an in-depth understanding of what the concept means in practical situations. Third, the case study method is often employed in explanatory research for the examination of "how" and "why" questions (Yin 2003).

The method suits our research design because our second phase is of an explanatory nature that mainly deals with "how" questions.

7.4 Case selection

In a sequential explanatory mixed-methods study, case selection is the first connecting point between the quantitative and the qualitative phases (Ivankova 2004, 2006; Creswell 2007a). In the qualitative phase of our study, a multiple case study design is used to collect and analyze data. According to Creswell (2007b), case study research should not include more than four to five case studies because "this number should provide ample opportunity to identify themes of the cases as well as conduct cross-case theme analysis" (Creswell 2007b: 128). Thus, three cases are featured in this research project. Originally, a two-stage case selection procedure was used. We first employed a stratified sampling method in order to classify our subjects into three groups according to their levels of visibility. After the stratification, we originally decided to use a purposive sampling method so as to focus on a typical case for each group (see Table 7.3) and thus we attempted to invite the relevant people (recruitment email, Appendix D). However, none of the respondents from Level 3-5 (four subjects) and Level 6-8 (three subjects) replied to our invitation.

Table 7.3. Participants per group with means (for case selection)

Group (according to the translator's visibility)	Total number of participants	Group mean (job-related happiness index)	Standard error of the mean	Number of mean case
Level 0-2	84	0.44	0.009457	9
Level 3-5	76	0.46	0.009519	4
Level 6-8	33	0.51	0.016702	3

* Number of mean case is the cases with mean scores within one standard error of the mean

Therefore we decided to change to the expert sampling method. One of the questions that we need to address in the qualitative phase is how a shift in visibility affects the translator's job-related happiness. We invited the subjects who have had those shifts. As I already know some of the subjects, I deliberately selected those I knew. This strategy not only shows that I have established rapport with the subjects but also reveals how their visibility has changed. I believe that the expert sampling method is appropriate because "it serves as the best way to elicit the views of persons who have specific expertise in the study area" (Singh 2007: 431).

After the confirmation was received from the three subjects, interview questions were sent to them (see Appendix F).

7.5 Development of interview protocol

An interview protocol was developed to explain and explore the results of the quantitative phase. Robert K. Yin emphasizes that "one of the most important sources of case study information is the interview" (Yin 2003: 89). He reminds researchers that during the interviews researchers have to follow their own line of inquiry, as reflected by their case protocol, and ask questions in an unbiased manner. He suggests that interviews need to be "guided conversations rather than structured queries" (Yin 2003: 89). Following these guidelines, semi-structured open-ended interviews were arranged with three interviewees. The interviews were carried out on a one-to-one basis and based on an interview guide. We prepared 18 questions (see Appendix F). We informed the interviewees of the objective of our research before we started the interview. In addition, we obtained their consent to record the interviews and use the transcripts (see Appendix G).

We divided the interview into three parts. The first part is meant to understand how the participant became a translation practitioner. The second part focuses on the various kinds of capital that the participants say they receive and the relationship between their shifts in visibility and their job-related happiness. The third part is aimed at understanding the participants' job-related happiness. We listened to the participants' stories about their un/happy memories of how they dealt with translation.

7.6 Pilot interview

Several case study experts such as Creswell (2007b), Yin (2003) and Gillham (2000) suggest doing pilot interview. Bill Gillham stresses that "the pilot interview is an advanced stage of development: close to the real thing. You will have been coming near it as you 'trial' your questions" (Gillham 2000: 53). Therefore, our interview protocol was piloted on one subject, Participant A, who falls into the category of the "visible" group.

We conducted a semi-structured telephone interview with Participant A on June 13, 2010 (Interview protocol for the pilot study, Appendix E). The interview was conducted in Cantonese and recorded via the recording system of my mobile phone. The interview lasted about 23 minutes. The participant, who had taken part in our questionnaire survey, did not ask for the interview questions prior to the interview, although I had explained the objective of the interview, the focus of my research project and the structure of the interview to her on the phone before I formally started. In addition, she was informed that all the information she provided would be kept in strict confidence. I promised her that her name would not be revealed in any reports that

result from my project. In addition, she was also informed that the parts to be cited would be translated into English by me.

With regard to Participant A, the analysis was performed at two levels: within the case, and reflection on the case. We first described and analyzed the case; then we reflected on what was learned from the case. This two-level analysis is necessary and useful because a case study is an exploration of a "bounded system" (Creswell 2007b), thus a detailed description of the case will allow readers to understand the particular context. Reflecting on the case will allow us to gain insight into issues which are important to our study. After doing this two-level analysis, we improved on our initial interview questions.

Participant A was 32 years of age and lives in Hong Kong. She received her Bachelor's degree in Telecommunication from a US university. She did not receive any formal training in translation and interpreting. In addition, she did not take any translation-related courses before graduation. Since graduation, she has worked for four companies (including the one she was working for at the time of our interview). With the exception of her first job, translation was part of what she did in all the other jobs.

Participant A started to deal with translation-related assignments at work after she joined a financial information service provider in Hong Kong (i.e. her second job). She was 27 when she joined the company. She worked for the company for three months and was a corporate communications executive. Besides herself, there were three people in her department including a designer, a senior corporate communications executive and a corporate communications manager. Translation was part of Participant A's job as she was responsible for translating corporate communication materials including press releases, speeches, marketing materials and the company's newsletters from English to Chinese and vice versa. In her role as translator, she was invisible to the clients — the senior management writing the press releases, the assistants of the senior management

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writing the speeches, and the heads of the company's various departments selecting the source texts for translation. Her supervisor, who was the manager of the corporate communication department, assigned translation tasks to her. Further, she was unable to communicate with the end-users — journalists, prospective investors, media companies and her colleagues in the company — because her supervisor was the main contact point. If she could choose it, Participate A said she would like to communicate with both her clients and end-users because "I could understand the needs of the clients and directly receive comments from the clients and end-users."

Participant A said that she was not satisfied with the salary at the time because "the pay was low and it didn't meet my expectations". The job did not allow her to strengthen or expand her social network. She did not learn much new knowledge or improve her translation skills. She said she did not care whether or not she was respected and whether her role was recognized. "I did not understand why. But when you now ask me this question, I remember that I did not care whether I was respected or not at that time."

After Participant A finished translating an assigned text, she was required to print a copy of the target text and then give it to her supervisor. Her supervisor then used a pen to correct her work. Participant A felt nervous when her supervisor asked her to come to collect the corrected version:

> I would be afraid when her facial expressions showed that she was not satisfied with my translation. She would not say anything. She would not scold me but her silence and facial expressions made me feel helpless. In fact, I was very worried when I saw the correction marks on my translation.

As Participant A did not communicate well with her supervisor, she took extra care when handling her translation assignments in order to avoid making mistakes. She said she felt happy when few corrections were made to her translation. However, she would feel unhappy, frustrated and even a little scared when there were many correction marks on her work.

After quitting her job with the financial information service provider, Participant A joined a multi-disciplinary organization as a business development officer. She worked for the organization for two years. The organization's mission is to help Hong Kong firms increase their competitiveness. For example, the company regularly provides local firms with training programs. Seminars, events and forums are also held regularly so that the company's consultants can interact with the local firms and offer them professional advice. Within the company, Participant A was responsible for organizing events. Thus, she had to prepare bilingual materials including speeches, presentations, invitations, project rundowns and proposals. She was largely visible to the clients — her consultant colleagues, senior management and guest speakers. She had to communicate directly with the clients in order to get the source text and understand the objective of a translation task. Participant A thought that her role was very important and her translations were useful because she had the responsibility to help her clients, especially her consultant colleagues, convey their messages effectively to the end-users. She believed that her translations were one of the factors leading to the success of the events organized.

Although Participant A could communicate with her clients, she was not able to communicate with the end-users: "The end-users were those who attended our events. I could see them in the venue but I did not have the opportunity to interact with them […]. If I had had such opportunities, I would have produced better translations." Sometimes, she was afraid that the end-users did not like her translation, and thus they would not

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come to her organized events anymore, and finally her company, especially her consultant colleagues, would bear the brunt.

> The role of my consultant colleagues was to offer professional advice to local firms. Our events were a main platform for my consultant colleagues to meet the representatives of the local firms. If my translation couldn't convey the message to the end-users clearly, they would not be interested in our events and our services. This could have serious consequences for my consultant colleagues. Therefore, I always hoped that I could communicate with the end-users so that I could understand their technical languages. This would help improve the quality of my translation.

Most of the time, Participant A was happy and enthusiastic when dealing with her translation-related assignments: "I would do my best to handle translation-related assignments because I thought that I played an important role in the team."

Participant A said that the salary was "okay". To a certain extent, she was happy with the opportunity to learn new things and improve her translation skills because she could handle a wide variety of source texts such as speeches, project rundowns and invitations. The job also allowed her to strengthen and expand her social network, since she had to work with the clients and her teammates in order to complete her translation assignments. Besides, she thought that she was a respected translator. She said her role was recognized by her clients.

Later, participant A joined a container terminal operator that operates several terminals in Hong Kong and China. She worked there as a project officer. At the time of our interview, she was with the company's Hong Kong office. Her department is a central hub of the company, handling all communication materials. Translation was thus a part of her job duty. She handled Chinese and English translations. She was fully visible to the clients — her colleagues from other departments, senior managements and

vendors using her company's terminal services. However, she could only sometimes communicate directly with the end-users, who were, for example, business partners of the company, and prospective vendors. Participant A said that she often felt excited during the translation process because she knew that the end-users reading her work were important people for her company. "These people may be our business partners or even government officials. I need to do the job well because my work may have some impact on the reputation of my company."

According to Participant A, she was well-paid, and she was "satisfied with it". Her job allowed her to work with people, so she could strengthen her social network. She learned many technical terms related to the logistics profession during the translation process, and she felt that she was a respected translator because she always received comments and feedback from her clients, supervisors, and sometimes the end-users.

Participant A would be enthusiastic, inspired and very excited when she knew that she was involved in a big project. This kind of opportunity became a motivating factor encouraging her to make an effort to translate the materials properly. She did not mention much negative feeling, except that she felt anxious when she did not know how to translate some technical terms.

Reflections

The pilot interview with Participant A helps us understand some of the quantitative results. Among the four kinds of capital, the experience of Participant A suggests that the more visible she is, the more social and cultural capital she receives. Participant A was not able to strengthen her social network when she worked for the financial information service provider (i.e. her second job) because she was invisible to both the clients and the end-users. Her supervisor was the only person giving her instructions

and assignments, but she could not get along with her supervisor. There was a lack of communication and thus Participant A felt that she could not learn new things or improve her translation skills at work. As she was not happy with the job, she quit after three months. It was at her third job that she enjoyed more visibility because she was in closer contact with the clients. She had a strong feeling of responsibility that she needed to help her clients, especially her consultant colleagues, to convey their messages to the end-users effectively. She thought that the relationship between her consultant colleagues and the end-users could be nurtured by her translations. In addition, Participant A liked being a part of the team. Being a team member provides her with opportunities to be nurtured by other teammates through collaboration. In her third and fourth jobs, she could strengthen and expand her social network. She could also learn new knowledge and her translation skills could be sharpened. For example, she learnt how to deal with logistics-related knowledge and terms.

As a result of this pilot interview, some changes were made in our interview protocol. In the background section, two questions about entering the translation profession were added as probes, so that we can understand more about the background of the interviewees and obtain a richer case description. We asked subjects "Did you plan to become a translator before graduation?" and "Did you expect translation to be part of your job duties at work?". These questions were added because they would help us understand whether the subjects had a preference for a translation-related job before they entered the job market or chose a particular job. Instead of "How many clients did you have to serve?", question 2B was altered to "Who were your clients?", as "How many" was too restrictive and the participants might have difficulty answering the question. Participant A found it a bit difficult to answer Question 3C (how would you describe your personality). We then decided to focus on the personality type. We ask: "What type of person are you? For example: Extrovert or Introvert?". Besides, two

questions — "What do you like most about your job? Can you explain why?" and "What do you like least about your job? Can you explain why" — were deleted because they were found to be repeating questions 3A and 3B. The revised interview protocol is listed in Appendix F.

8. Qualitative Analysis

8.1 Data collection and analysis

We conducted semi-structured telephone interviews with three purposefully selected participants in July and August of 2010. Ka Man and Lai Ling are from Hong Kong while Shan Shan is from Taiwan — the names of these three participants are fictitious. We sent the interview questions to the participants well in advance of the scheduled calling time. The interviews were recorded via the recording system of my mobile phone. Two interviews were conducted in Cantonese, and the other in Mandarin. We informed the participants that the interview would be recorded and transcribed (see the Research Participant Release Form in Appendix G). We also returned to the three participants later to conduct some shorter follow-up interviews in order to clear up some points and get additional information. These interviews were mainly conducted via email and telephone in August and September of 2010. All three participants responded to the follow-up interviews as requested.

After conducting the three interviews, we immediately transcribed the recordings verbatim (in Chinese). The three interviews yielded 24 transcribed pages (single spacing) of textual data for analysis (nine pages for Ka Man's interview, nine pages for Shan Shan's interview and six pages for Lai Ling's interview). The transcriptions of the interviews were double-checked. The transcriptions were not rendered into English in full, but the parts that we are citing have been translated into English by me.

In this qualitative phase, we employed a multiple case study design in which the analysis was performed at two levels: within each case and across the cases (Yin 2003,

Ivankova 2004). The workflow related to this two-level analysis is presented in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1. The workflow of the multiple case study qualitative data analysis
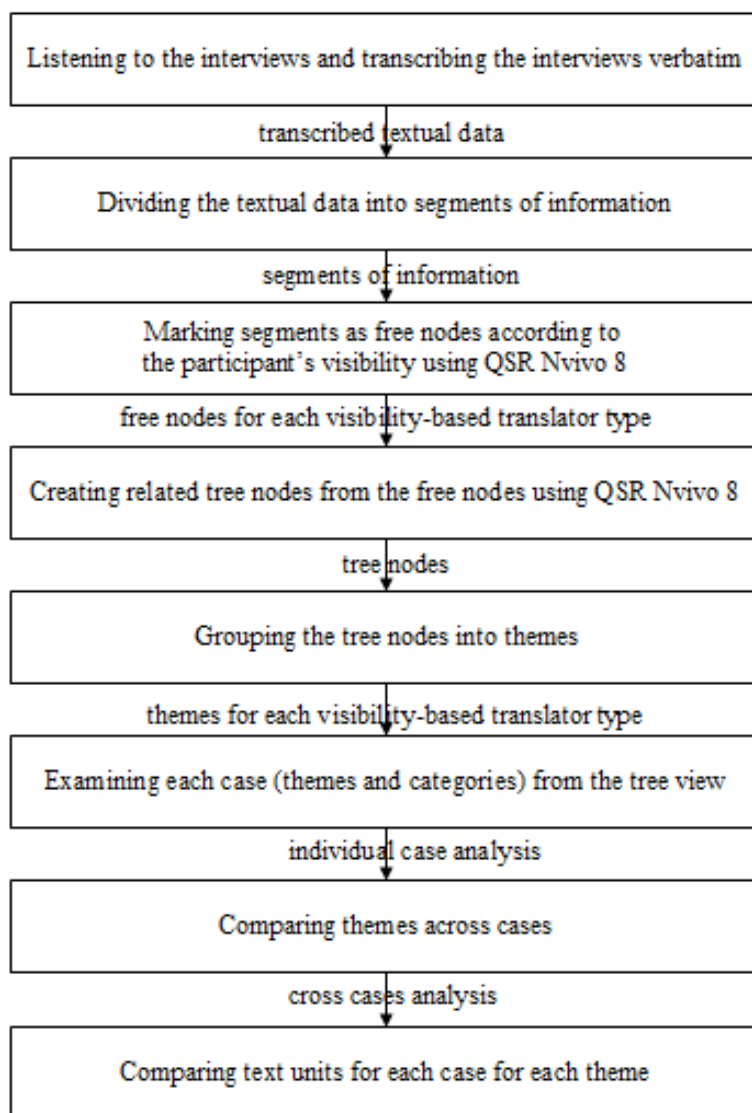
We used QSR NVIVO 8 to perform the open-coding and analysis of the text data. We adopted the strategies suggested by Ivankova (2004) to handle the first level: "A researcher provided a detailed narration of the case, using descriptions to present and situate the case, the thematic analysis of the initial codes, and illustrative quotes to augment the discussion and provide the participants' perspectives" (Ivankova 2004:

131). We first situated each case within its context. When we analyzed the qualitative data, we also took into consideration the participants' responses to our questionnaire survey. Pym urges that "any understanding of translators as people must seek to explain why they become translators and why they stop working as translators" (Pym 1998: 166-167). We thus believe that a detailed description of each case is necessary and helpful because complex subjects (like how they entered the translation field and how they learnt the ropes) should be examined if we really hope to understand each case thoroughly.

After each individual case was analyzed, a cross-case thematic analysis was performed to uncover commonalities and differences among the three participants. We also used the matrix features of QSR NVIVO 8 to count the text units (sentences) coded to the themes.

8.2   Qualitative findings

8.2.1   *Individual case study*

After analyzing the three interviews, we identified three themes related to the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness: (1) visibility and modes of communication, (2) visibility and capital received, and (3) visibility and affective feelings. We now present each case with its related themes and categories.

Case study 1: Ka Man

I have known Ka Man for four years. Earlier, I had invited her to take part in the questionnaire survey for the present research project. She was then selected to further participate in our qualitative phase because I knew that she had experienced shifting visibility.

On July 6, 2010, I asked Ka Man whether she would be interested in doing a telephone interview for my research project in a chat room (Windows Live Messenger). I described the objective of the interview and explained why she was selected. She agreed that I could interview her on July 12. She also asked for the interview questions so that she could make preparations for the interview. On July 10, I sent the interview questions (see Appendix F) to her.

On July 12, I conducted a semi-structured telephone interview with Ka Man. It was conducted in Cantonese and recorded via the recording system of my mobile phone. The interview lasted about 51 minutes. I explained the objective of the interview, the focus of my research project and the structure of the interview to Ka Man before I started interviewing her. She was informed that the information she provided would be kept in strict confidence. I promised her that her name would not be revealed in any reports derived from my project. In addition, she was also informed that the part to be cited would be translated into English by me. After the interview, Ka Man signed and returned the Research Participant Release Form.

After the telephone interview, I conducted a follow-up interview with Ka Man in the chat room (Windows Live Messenger) on July 13 because I would like to clarify some points.

On December 2, 2010, I sent the English-language narrative, as shown below, to Ka Man in order to get her feedback on its accuracy. Getting such feedback is important.

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According to Ivankova (2004), using member checking is a useful verification procedure because it helps ensure the accuracy of the case. On Dec 8, Ka Man sent a reply to me stating that she agreed with the English-language narrative. Here is the narrative of Ka Man's interview:

> Many people think that translation is an innate ability. That is not true. If translators can work visibly, people will be able to understand more about translation […]. Translators deserve credit and more public attention. But most translators suffer in private. For example, I was a translator doing screen translation. Audiences did not know I was the translator because I was often not credited. However, my role and efforts were important.
>
> (From the interview with Ka Man)

Ka Man was 24 and lives in Hong Kong. She knows Cantonese, Mandarin, English and Japanese. She received a BA in Contemporary English Studies with a minor in Translation from Lingnan University, Hong Kong. When she was an undergraduate student, she took three translation courses: an introductory course in Chinese to English translation, an introducing course in Chinese to English interpreting, and a course in translating popular culture. Right after completing the Bachelor's degree, Ka Man did a Master of Arts in Japanese Studies for the Professions offered by the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The emphasis of the program is on written and spoken communication. Students are required to complete ten subjects before being awarded the Masters qualification. Ka Man chose two translation courses: a course in Japanese, English and Chinese translation, and a course in Japanese, English and Chinese interpreting.

According to Ka Man, even before graduation she had decided to become a translator: "I planned to become a translator after graduation. I wanted to do something

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related to Chinese and Japanese translation." She strove to gain solid and practical translation experience when she was studying. She took up freelance translation jobs in order to prepare herself to become a translator. She took three freelance translation jobs while she was studying. After graduation, she worked for two companies (including the one she was working for at the time of the interview). These two full-time jobs required the handling of translation-related assignments. Ka Man emphasized that she liked translation very much:

> I freelanced for a film entertainment company. I handled Japanese and Chinese screen translation. […] Without my translation, audiences could not understand the movie. They could not enjoy watching the movie. […] To me, my role is important because my efforts and translations benefit people.

Ka Man's happiness was derived from being able to use her language skills to benefit people. After using QSR NVIVO 8 to analyze the interview with Ka Man, the themes and categories in her case are presented in Table 8.1.

(1) Start working as a client-visible translator

Mode of communication

Ka Man started her translation career when she joined a comic book publisher as a freelance translator. She joined the company when she was a year 1 student at the university. She was still freelancing for the publisher at the time of our interview: "I am responsible for translating Japanese comic books into Chinese […] I love reading comic books … This job gives me the opportunity to read comic books and gain practical translation experience." Ka Man was visible to the client, who was the publisher: "The client directly communicates with me and assigns the source texts to me […] At the

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very beginning of our cooperation, the client gave me some guidelines. I followed the instructions carefully when I worked on the text." Although Ka Man was visible to the client, she was unable to communicate with the end-user, who was the reader buying the translated comics. Ka Man said that because she did not have any practical translation experience when she joined the company, she was particularly interested in getting feedback in order to improve herself. In fact, while answering the questionnaire survey, Ka Man indicated that feedback on her translations from the clients and end-users was extremely important to her. During the interview, she stressed that feedback was extremely useful and important to inexperienced translators: "[At that time] I did not have the opportunity to get in touch with the end-users. But I did give my translated comic books to my friends, who are interested in reading translated comic books, in order to get their feedback."

Table 8.1. Themes and Categories in Ka Man's case (Results of the QSR NVIVO 8 from Ka Man's transcript)

Themes	Categories
Visible to clients but invisible to end-users	
Mode of communication	Communicating with clients
	Receiving instructions from clients
	Unable to communicate with end-users
Capital received	Respect
	Client feedback (*)
	Translation skill (*)
	Salary (*)
	Working independently
	Personal network (*)
	New knowledge
Affective feelings	Happiness (*)
	Nervousness (*)
	Ease (*)
Visible to both the client and the end-user	
Mode of communication	Bridging clients and end-users
Capital received	Respect
	Personal network
	Translation skills
	Salary
Affective feelings	Ease
	Happiness

(*) different situations in different jobs

Capital received

Ka Man said that she was satisfied with the salary. The freelance job allowed her to keep strengthening her translation skills: "It's my first translation job. I did not know the proper rate at that time. Even now they are still paying me the same rate. I think it is okay. I would like to keep this freelance job as I can keep reading comic books and practicing my translation skills." However, Ka Man said that the job did not allow her to strengthen or expand her social network, as she could only communicate with the client. When she was assigned a text, she translated it herself. She knew that the publisher would review her translated work but she seldom received comments or feedback from the publisher: "I feel that they trust my abilities… At the very beginning, they gave me instructions… Later, they let me handle the assignments and translate in whichever way I preferred." Ka Man said she had no strong opinions about whether or not she was respected: "I haven't thought about this… But when you now ask me this question, I think I am respected because they keep giving me translation assignments. I think that's a kind of respect."

Affective feelings

It was Ka Man's first freelance job and she was a happy freelance translator: "I did not have any unhappy memories. All the memories were happy." She loved reading comic books very much and the job gave her the opportunity to keep reading Japanese comic books. Ka Man said she felt at ease when translating the assigned Japanese comic books into Chinese:

> The client gave me instructions at the very beginning. Then, they trusted my abilities. The client is
>
> very understanding. When I am busy, I just have to tell them and they will try to make special

arrangements for me. Therefore, I always feel at ease when dealing with my client's assigned work.

(2) Continually working as a client-visible translator

Mode of communication

In addition to working for the comic book publisher, Ka Man took up another freelance job when she was a Year 3 student at the university. She freelanced for a film entertainment company whose business ranges from film financing and distribution to exhibition and processing. Ka Man was responsible for subtitling movies and TV programs from Japanese to Chinese and vice versa.

> I wanted to translate movies. When I was an undergraduate student, I always browsed the official websites of the film entertainment companies in Hong Kong to see whether they had any plans to hire translators […]. I sent my resume to a film entertainment company and this company, which later contacted me. So I started to do freelance for it.

Ka Man did not receive any formal training in Japanese—Chinese screen translation: "Although the course 'Translating Popular Culture' did refer to screen translation, the examples studied mainly dealt with Chinese—English screen translation." In light of this, Ka Man had to take extra care when translating from Japanese, because she lacked the expertise.

In her role, Ka Man was visible to the client — the person in charge of all Japanese-Chinese translation assignments at the film entertainment company. The client directly communicated with Ka Man and gave her the movies or TV programs to be

translated. According to Ka Man, she received the images and scripts of the movie or TV program from the client at the same time:

> My client would try to give me more time to translate the movies as they wanted me to watch them … enjoy them.... I was usually given one month to do the translation […]. However, the deadlines for translating TV programs tended to be tight. I did translate a one-hour TV program within three days.

Ka Man worked closely with the client in order to understand the aims of the task and get detailed instructions: "At the beginning, my client gave me strict guidelines on the style… the number of words per line. […] After finishing the translation, my work would be reviewed by my client." Ka Man said that she sometimes received feedback from the client. Although she was visible to her client, she was invisible to the end-users — the audiences watching the movies or TV programs:

> I did not have the opportunity to communicate with the end-users. But I had a special experience. Once I translated a Japanese movie and the Japanese crew, together with the actor, came to Hong Kong for the promotional activities. My client appointed me as their interpreter, accompanying the Japanese crew and the actor at the movie's premiere. After the movie had been shown, the moviegoers attending the premier were asked to express their opinions. That was the first and the only time that I had directly listened to the end-users' feedback. Luckily, the feedback and comments were positive.

Ka Man worked for the film entertainment company for about one year. She quit the job because she was fully pre-occupied with her studies (the MA program) and thus "did not have extra time to keep this freelance job".

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Capital received

According to Ka Man, the film entertainment company paid her very well: "I was very satisfied with the salary. However, this freelance job was quite demanding. The more assignments I got the more pressure I felt." Ka Man stressed that her translation skills were strengthened because she learnt how to handle screen translation: "That is very different from translating literature." She felt that she was a respected translator: "My client understood the difficulties of Japanese-Chinese translation. Thus, we respected each other." Further, this freelance translation job provided Ka Man with the opportunity to attend various events such as the movie premieres, so she could strengthen her social network.

Affective feelings

During the interview, Ka Man described how she always felt nervous and anxious: "I felt very nervous, especially when I imagined that there would be many people going to cinema to watch the movie that I was subtitling." Although this freelance job was not an easy one, Ka Man did have some unforgettable happy memories: "I was happy after completing the translation. It meant that my efforts and work would benefit people as they could understand the movie. The little effort I made could bring some fun to the viewers." Ka Man said that the only unhappy thing about the job was having to meet deadlines:

> Meeting tight deadlines was a challenge. I tried translating a one-hour TV program in three days… At that time, I was studying for my MA. I woke up at 7:00 in the morning to work on the translation… I sat in front of the computer to translate until I went to school to attend classes in the afternoon.

(3) Still continually working as a client-visible translator

Mode of communication

In addition to the comic book publisher and the film entertainment company, Ka Man also freelanced for a mothering magazine publisher when she was a university student (she re-joined the company after quitting her first full-time job and she was working for the company at the time of the interview). The company is authorized by a publisher in Japan to translate Japanese articles into Chinese and distribute the "Hong Kong version" in the city. "It was my full-time summer job in my third year of university. I was responsible for rendering Japanese mothering-related articles into Chinese for the company. After the summer, I changed to become a freelance translator."

When Ka Man was working full-time during the summer, she was visible to the clients, who were the publishing manager and the chief editor of the company. Ka Man said that her clients did not know any Japanese. Therefore, she played an important role in helping her clients understand the source texts. According to Ka Man, the company mainly relied on freelance translators to render all the Japanese texts into Chinese. The company's editorial team basically commissioned freelance translators to handle the translation. The team did not do the translation but it edited the translated texts done by freelancers.

Although Ka Man could always communicate with her clients, she was not able to get in touch with the end-users, the readers buying the mothering magazine. "I tried to give the magazine to some of my friends to read in order to obtain their feedback."

Capital received

Ka Man said that she was not satisfied with the salary: "The pay was a bit low." She could not strengthen her social network because she worked almost exclusively with the

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clients. However, she thought that her translation skills were strengthened. She learnt some mothering knowledge and the relevant terms. Ka Man felt that her role as a translator was respected because "the client trusts my abilities… My name was printed on the magazine… even though I was a freelancer."

Affective feelings

Ka Man felt at ease when dealing with the translation assignments. "I felt at ease… the more I do, the faster and easier it became. I did not feel any pressure. Sometimes I treated it as a break from a day of stress." Ka Man said she was happy to be freelancing for the publishing company because the client kept including her name on the editorial page of the magazine: "It was all about respect. Although I was just a freelancer, they printed my name on the editorial page of the magazine." However, Ka Man felt sorry and unhappy when she failed to meet the editorial deadlines: "I was studying at that time. Sometimes I was very busy and could not meet the deadlines. I felt especially sorry and unhappy. My expectations weren't fulfilled. I was also afraid and worried that my client would be affected."

(4) Shifting from being a client-visible translator to becoming a visible translator

Mode of communication

Right after graduation (with a Master's degree), Ka Man joined an apparel buying company, headquartered in Japan, as an Assistant Merchandiser. She worked for the Hong Kong office. It was her first full-time job after graduation. She was 22 years old when she joined the company:

> It's a small-scale company. […] One of my job responsibilities was to assist the boss, who is Japanese, to communicate with our Chinese colleagues in China. […] My boss was my employer, supervisor, and also my client. In fact, translation was not my main duty. I just helped my boss to translate some materials into Chinese. […] My boss could speak English but he did not like to communicate directly with the Chinese colleagues in English… Instead, he wanted me to translate his words and instructions into Chinese for our colleagues.

Ka Man worked for the company for six months. She quit because she "did not have much opportunity to engage in translation". Although she was dissatisfied because she had limited opportunity to handle translation-related assignments, she thought the mediating role that she played between her boss and her Chinese colleagues was important: "If I was not there, how could my boss communicate with the Chinese colleagues effectively?"

Capital received

Ka Man said that the salary was "okay". However, she was not happy with the opportunity to improve her translation skills. Worse still, the job did not allow her to strengthen her social network because she only helped her client, who was also her supervisor and employer, to communicate with her colleagues in China. However, she thought that her client respected her role. "My boss respected my role… because I helped him communicate with the workers in China."

Affective feelings

Ka Man felt at ease when dealing with translation-related assignments. She did not have many negative feelings. Instead, she felt happy while translating. Having said that, Ka

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Man was not satisfied with the limited opportunity to handle translation-related assignments. Therefore, she only worked for the company for six months.

(4) Shifting from being a visible translator to becoming a client-visible translator

Mode of communication

After leaving the apparel buying company, Ka Man rejoined the mothering magazine publishing company as a translator. She was still working for the company at the time of our interview. In her role as a full-time translator, Ka Man was responsible for rendering Japanese articles into Chinese, editing the translations done by freelance translators, and conducting interviews with people, such as doctors, in order to write feature stories for the title. "As I had freelanced for the company before, I understood the company's culture, their requirements and expectations."

Ka Man was invisible to the end-users (readers buying the mothering magazine), but she was visible to her clients (colleagues including the publishing manager, the chief editor and the head of the advertising department). Ka Man could interact with these people directly:

> I am the only person who knows Japanese in the company. My company regularly receives magazines from the publisher in Japan. When we receive a new issue, I have to translate the contents page of the issue immediately for my chief editor, who can consider the themes or articles for an upcoming issue.

According to Ka Man, the work on an issue often starts with several meetings to discuss the themes and stories. The meetings were often attended by the chief editor and the head of the advertising department. The head is involved because the person needs

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to understand the themes for the upcoming issue so that the company's advertising representatives can sell the issue to advertisers: "My translation [the contents page] not only allows my chief editor to commission freelancers to do the translation but also helps our advertising representatives sell our upcoming issue to advertisers."

Capital received

Among the four kinds of capital, Ka Man attached the greatest importance to cultural capital, followed by social capital. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean values of the amount of cultural and social capital that Ka Man wants to receive are 3.83 and 3.50 respectively. Meanwhile, she placed equal emphasis on economic and symbolic capital (3.00).

Ka Man said that she was not satisfied with her current salary because "it does not meet my expectations… My company needs people who know Japanese… The most important point is that I am the only person who knows the language. Therefore, I think I deserve better remuneration." As she is the only person who knows Japanese, Ka Man thought that her role was important and respected. However, she felt that the job no longer allowed her to improve her translation skills. She could only learn things related to mothering issues. When Ka Man was freelancing for the company earlier, she was curious to know the end-user's feedback because she wanted to improve her translation skills. But during the interview Ka Man said that she was no longer interested in knowing the end-user's feedback on her translations because she was confident of her translation skills and abilities. She noted that the job allowed her to strengthen and expand her social network because she had to interview people such as doctors in order to write feature stories.

Affective feelings

Ka Man said that she felt happy when working on translation because "it seems that my colleagues think that I am capable of handling my work. […] I am a helpful staff in the company." Ka Man described that she felt at ease when translating. She did not feel any pressure when dealing with translation-related assignments, as she was the only person who could read Japanese. "I love translating articles more than writing feature articles. […] Sometimes I ask my chief editor not to assign freelancers to do the translation because I would like to take up more translation assignments."

Case study 2: Shan Shan

I have known Shan Shan for two years. She was selected because I knew that she had experienced shifting visibility. She was very helpful with our questionnaire survey and shared her thoughts and insights with me. I believed she would be willing to further share her experience with me in an interview and her experience would be relevant to our study on the relationship between the translator's job-related happiness and visibility. Therefore, on July 27, 2010, I sent an invitation (via Facebook) to Shan Shan to ask whether she would be willing and interested in being interviewed over the phone. The invitation described the goals of the interview. Shan Shan sent me a reply, saying that she would be happy to be interviewed and would like to know how the interview would be conducted. I then sent a reply to Shan Shan to express my appreciation and explain to her that the telephone interview could be conducted at a time most convenient for her. In addition, I sent the interview questions (see Appendix F) to her so that she could prepare for it. Later, I received Shan Shan's reply stating that she could do an interview on the next day. Thus, I conducted a semi-structured telephone interview with Shan Shan on July 29. The interview, lasting about 28 minutes, was conducted in Mandarin and recorded via the recording system of my mobile phone. Before I started

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the interview, I explained the objective of the interview, the focus of my research project and the structure of the interview over the phone. I also informed her that all the information she provided would be kept in strict confidence. I promised her that her name would not be divulged in any reports that result from my project. In addition, she was also informed that the parts to be cited would be translated into English by me. After the interview, Shan Shan signed and returned the Research Participant Release Form.

When analyzing Shan Shan's case, I contacted her again to clarify some points. I conducted a follow-up interview with Shan Shan on August 19. I sent nine questions to her via Facebook. On August 24, she sent her answers to me.

On December 4, I sent the English-language narrative, as shown below, to Shan Shan in order to get her feedback on its accuracy. On Dec 6, she sent me a reply stating that she approved the narrative. Here is the narrative:

> The translator is more than a walking dictionary. […] Although they do not enjoy high social status and prestige, they are important communicators. They help two (or more) people who cannot communicate to understand each other. Translators are there to enable people not only to talk to each other, but more importantly to understand each other.
>
> (From the interview with Shan Shan)

Shan Shan was 29 and lives in Taiwan. She knows Mandarin, Japanese and English. She received her Bachelor's degree in Psychology from a university in the United States. She did not receive any formal training in translation and interpreting. In addition, she did not take any translation courses before graduation. Shan Shan had not expected to become a translator. After graduation, she worked for three companies

(including the one she was working for at the time of the interview). All these jobs required her to handle translation-related assignments.

After entering the job market, Shan Shan found that she had to receive some translation and interpreting training so that she could better handle translation-related assignments at work. She took a Master's degree in Translation and Interpreting at National Taiwan Normal University. "My first job required me to do translation. […] Some of my friends introduced the translation program to me." She took two years to complete the program. She said that the program helped her understand more about the translation profession, including aspects such as translation standards and procedures. She could apply what she learnt from the program to a workplace situation.

During the interview, Shan Shan emphasized that translators play an important role in nurturing the relationship between clients and end-users, "[…] especially when both parties cannot understand each other's language. I think translators can help clients and end-users understand each other."

Using QSR NVIVO 8 to analyze the interview with Shan Shan, we obtained the themes which are presented in Table 8.2.

(1) Start working as a visible translator

Mode of communication

After graduation, Shan Shan joined a Taiwan recruitment consultancy, which specializes in job placements. She was 22 years old when she joined the company. She worked there for about one year. Translation was part of her job as she was responsible for translating contracts and providing interpreting services at meetings. She was visible to the clients who commissioned her company to hire people. Besides, she was also visible to the end-users — the job applicants. "[…] I did not really dislike communicating with

the end-user, but I would prefer clients to be present when I was communicating with end-users." Shan Shan was visible to the clients, but she was not given much guidance or instruction because her supervisors and clients did not really know how to translate. Thus, Shan Shan worked independently. Although her clients did not know much about translation, Shan Shan attached great importance to the feedback from her clients: "Feedback from the clients was definitely required so the accuracy of the contract could be ensured." When doing our study survey, Shan Shan indicated that feedback on her translations from the client was extremely important to her.

Table 8.2. Themes and Categories in Shan Shan's case (Results of the QSR NVIVO 8 from Shan Shan's transcript)

Themes	Categories
Visible to both the client and the end-user	
Mode of communication	Communicating with clients
	Communicating with end-users
Capital received	Respect
	Personal network (*)
	New knowledge (*)
	Translation skills (*)
	Salary
Affective feelings	Anxiety (*)
	Concentration
	Happiness (*)
	Pressure (*)
	Ease (*)
Visible to clients but invisible to end-users	
Mode of communication	Communicating with clients
	Preference for not communicating with end-users
Capital received	Respect
	Personal network
	New knowledge
	Salary
Affective feelings	Enjoyment
	Concentration
	Happiness

(*) different situations in different jobs

Capital received

In her first job, Shan Shan was visible to both her clients and end-users. Her supervisors did not understand much about translation, so she had to work closely with the clients.

Worse still, her clients also did not understand much about translation. Therefore, she had to take extra care when translating. But the problem for her at that time was that she had not received any translation and interpreting training. Therefore, she decided to take a Master's degree in Translation and Interpreting. Having said that, Shan Shan stressed that the job allowed her to improve her knowledge and skills: "It was my first job, I learnt new knowledge, including technical terms and communication skills. [I learnt] how to translate in a way that facilitated the business deal." Shan Shan was satisfied with her salary: "It was my first job. I was satisfied with it." She felt that her role was respected. In addition, her first job allowed her to strengthen and expand her social network because she had to communicate with different people in order to complete her tasks. In the survey, she indicated that the opportunity to work with people from different professions was important to her, although she had no strong feelings about the opportunity to work with people in the translation profession.

Affective feelings

In her first job, Shan Shan was required to translate contracts. "I was focused and I needed to stay focused when translating the contracts." She noted that most of the time she was anxious but sometimes she felt at ease. She would feel extremely happy when she knew that a deal had been completed. She did not mention any negative feelings and she also could not recall any unhappy memories.

(2) Continually working as a visible translator

Mode of communication

After leaving the recruitment consultancy, Shan Shan joined a retail company as an in-house translator. She worked there for six months. Shan Shan was responsible for

translating documents for meetings, where she also provided interpreting services. She was fully visible to her clients, who were her fellow colleagues in the company. She said that her clients were very demanding. She always had to work very closely with the clients in order to fully understand the objectives and special requirements. To a great extent, Shan Shan was also visible to the end-users, who were also her fellow colleagues. For example, when her overseas colleagues came to Taiwan to attend meetings, she had to translate meeting documents assigned by her clients for them. Also, she had to act as an interpreter at the meetings. Shan Shan worked for the company for six months, quitting because of "unbearable pressure".

In her first and second jobs, Shan Shan was visible to the clients and the end-users. Because of this experience, she knew that she liked communicating with clients but did not like communicating with end-users. Although she was provided with opportunities to communicate with the end-users, she did not use all of them. "I do not like communicating with end-users… I like communicating with clients because clients know what they need. [Communicating with them allows me to] know their ideas. It helps me perform my work better." In the survey, Shan Shan highly rated (1) the importance of fulfilling the expectation of the client, (2) the client's appreciation of her translation work, and (3) the feedback on her translated work from the client. These three determinants were extremely important to her. Although fulfilling the expectations of end-users was also important to her, she indicated that she was indifferent to the end-user's appreciation and their feedback.

Capital received

Shan Shan said that her company paid her very well. In the survey, she indicated that the opportunity to learn new knowledge and improve her translation skills was extremely important to her. However, she did not learn much new knowledge or improve her

translation skills: "I did not learn new knowledge. […] My translation skills were not improved. I was just using my own knowledge and language skills to handle the translation-related tasks and interpreting assignments." Besides, the job did not allow Shan Shan to strengthen or expand her social network. Although she was fully visible to clients and end-users, she stressed that all of them were her fellow colleagues in the company and thus her social network was not expanded. All in all, she thought that she was a respected translator. Her role was recognized. In her second job, she always felt that she was not able to render the source texts properly. However, she could not solve the problem because she lacked the opportunity to learn new knowledge and improve her translation skills. When answering the survey, she indicated that her salary was an extremely important factor. During the interview, she emphasized that the company paid her very well. However, she explained that the salary could not compensate for the pressure. She left the company after six months.

Affective feelings

Shan Shan had already completed the MA in Translation and Interpreting when she worked for the retail company. What she had learnt could be used in the workplace. However, she could not manage the huge pressure:

> The pressure was unbearable. I was very anxious. Sometimes my clients had high expectations of me. They expected a high degree of accuracy. I also had to handle interpreting assignments. I felt extremely nervous when I had to deliver interpreting services at the international meetings where there were many people. That was huge pressure!

Shan Shan said that she did not have any happy memories working for the retail company: "I felt that I had so many assignments to handle every day. I had high

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expectations of myself. I wanted to make my translations perfect." As Shan Shan could not manage the pressure and found no happiness at work, she quit after six months.

(3)   Shifting from being a visible translator to becoming a client-visible translator

Mode of communication

After leaving the retail company, Shan Shan joined a construction company. She worked there as a translator for five years and was still with the company at the time of the interview. She was responsible for translating documents such as contracts, minutes, memos and construction regulations. She was visible to the clients, who were property developers. However, she was largely invisible to the end-users. According to Shan Shan, this mode of visibility well suited her personal visibility preference because she could always communicate with her clients but did not need to communicate with the end-users. It seemed that Shan Shan could effectively interact with her clients, as she strongly agreed that when she did a good job, she received recognition from her clients.

Capital received

Among the four kinds of capital, Shan Shan attached the greatest importance to cultural capital. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean value of the amount of cultural capital that Shan Shan wanted to receive is 3.33. She placed the same emphasis on social and economic capital (3.00). The mean value of the amount of symbolic capital that she wanted to receive is 3.13.

Shan Shan said the salary was "okay": "Although the salary of my second job was better, I could not endure the pressure." She was very happy with the opportunity to strengthen and expand her social network. When answering the questionnaire survey, Shan Shan indicated that it was extremely important to her to be able to move between

roles so that she was not limited to doing translation. Besides, a working environment that allowed her to strengthen her personal network was also important. She agreed that her current job brought her valuable personal contacts. In addition, she strongly agreed that she could move between roles and she was not limited to doing translation only: "I have many opportunities to meet people because the translation assignments that I handle are important. Most of them are big projects. This means that I am required to work with different people. I like teamwork." Further, the job also allowed her to learn new knowledge: "It is not really related to translation. But I am learning many new things and terms related to the construction field during translation. I understand more about the field." She added: "I believe the opportunity to learn things other than translation is also crucial to a translator." Besides, Shan Shan felt that she was a respected translator and she was quite satisfied with the working environment.

Affective feelings

During the interview, Shan Shan said that she enjoyed her work very much: "I still have to stay focused when translating. Most of the time I enjoy my work very much." She was happy to be able to communicate with her clients because most of her clients were cooperative. They were willing to interact with her, discuss problems and find ways to solve them together. "I feel happy when the translation problems are solved." Shan Shan described herself as an extrovert. She liked teamwork in the workplace: "Although I do not actively take the initiative to build new social networks, I am not afraid of joining new groups or meeting new friends. I also live well in a new environment. I would try to adopt myself and get used to new places." Although most of the time Shan Shan did enjoy her work, she would feel unhappy when her clients misunderstood her. However, she believed that this kind of problem could be solved via communication.

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At the time of the interview Shan Shan enjoyed her translation job and felt proud of her role: "I am satisfied with the materials that I need to translate and the overall working environment." She was passionate about her translation career and devoted herself to gaining more translation experience.

Case study 3: Lai Ling

I have known Lai Ling for five years. She was selected because I knew that she had been working in the public relations industry since graduation. I also knew that she had experienced shifting visibility. Lai Ling was invited to do the questionnaire for me. On July 20, 2010, I called her to ask her whether she would be willing and interested in having a telephone interview for my research. I also explained the goals of the interview and the objectives of my research to her. She agreed to help and would like to look at the interview questions first. Thus, on the next day, I sent an email together with the interview questions to her. On Aug 1, she sent a reply saying that she would like to have the interview on Aug 7. Finally, I conducted a semi-structured telephone interview with her on that day. The interview was conducted in Cantonese and recorded via the recording system of my mobile phone, lasting about 29 minutes. Before I started, I explained the objective of the interview, the focus of my research project and the structure of the interview to her over the phone. I also told her that all the information she provided would be kept in strict confidence. I promised her that her name would not be revealed in any reports resulting from my project. In addition, she was also informed that the parts that I would cite would be translated into English by me. After the interview, Lai Ling signed and returned the Research Participant Release Form.

When analyzing Lai Ling's case, I contacted her again to clarify some points. I conducted a follow-up interview with Lai Ling on September 16. I did a very short face-to-face interview with her, which lasted about three minutes.

On December 6, I sent the English-language narrative, as shown below, to Lai Ling in order to get her feedback on its accuracy. On Jan 12, 2011, Lai Ling sent me a reply stating that she approved the narrative. Here it is.

Translators are important people. […] If a translator is not a thinking person, the people who co-operate with him will bear the brunt. […] Some people can translate quickly; however, that doesn't mean that their translations are of the best quality. It is really a matter of attitude. Translators should be responsible. These attitudes help make the communication effective.

(From the interview with Lai Ling)

Lai Ling was 27 years old and lives in Hong Kong. She received her Bachelor's degree in English for Professional Communication from City University of Hong Kong. The program is aimed at equipping its graduates for entrance to the media industry or language-related fields. Lai Ling received some training in translation, as she took some translation-related courses before graduation: "We had to learn copywriting, news writing… therefore we had the chance to learn some translation skills." Lai Ling expected that translation to be part of her job before she graduated: "When I was about to graduate, I expected to take up translation work. I believed that I was able to handle translation assignments." After graduation, she worked for four companies (including the one she was working for at the time of our interview). Except for the second and the third jobs, translation was always part of her job duty.

During the interview, Lai Ling emphasized that translation nurtured not only her language abilities but also her understanding of practical business operations and

communication. She added that "bilingual experts or translators tip the scales in Hong Kong, which is a bilingual city. […] My language abilities have been strengthened because of translation. […] My interpersonal skills have also been improved during the process of cooperating with different people."

After using QSR NVIVO 8 to analyze the interview with Lai Ling, we present the themes and categories in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3. Themes and categories in Lai Ling's case (Results of the QSR NVIVO 8 from Lai Ling's transcript)

Themes	Categories
Invisible to both the client and the end-user	
Mode of communication	Do not communicate with end-users
	Do not communicate with clients
	Consulting the supervisor first
Capital received	Respect
	Salary
	Personal network
	New knowledge
Affective feelings	No happy moment
	Huge pressure
	Nervousness
	No enjoyment
	Worry
Visible to both the client and the end-user	
Mode of communication	Communicating with the clients directly
	Communicating with the end-users directly
Capital received	Respect
	Personal network
	New knowledge
	Salary
Affective feelings	Happiness
	Tiredness

(1) Start working as an invisible translator

Mode of communication

After graduation, Lai Ling joined a financial service company in Hong Kong as a corporate communications officer in the corporate communication department. She was

21 years old when joining the company where she worked for eleven months. There were only two people in the department: Lai Ling and her supervisor.

> I was responsible for administrating the company's website… I also had to translate, distribute press releases and produce the company's bilingual newsletters.[…] As the company's senior management spoke English, I basically handled English-to-Chinese translation in the company.

To a great extent Lai Ling was invisible to the clients, who were the senior management and heads, or senior staff members of the company's various departments. The texts that she had to translate were assigned by her supervisor: "I was a junior staff in the company at that time, so I basically didn't have the opportunity to communicate with the clients directly… But if I really had to get some important information, I could send emails to them and cc the email to my supervisor."

Although Lai Ling said that she could send emails to get in touch with the clients, she admitted that she seldom did so because she always consulted her supervisor first. Further, Lai Ling was not able to communicate with the end-users — journalists receiving her translated press releases, or her colleagues or the company's business partners reading her bilingual newsletters or translated materials.

Capital received

Lai Ling said that the opportunity for her to strengthen and expand her social network was "reasonable". She explained: "I was a fresh graduate and that was my first job. I thought the opportunity to meet people was reasonable… It was my first job… I could not make any comparisons." Lai Ling said that the job afforded her the opportunity to learn "valuable knowledge". She noted: "That was my first job. I learnt things such as project management, writing and how to handle tasks." Further, she said that the salary

was "okay". She emphasized: "I was a fresh graduate at that time so I thought that my salary was reasonable." Lai Ling said that she was a respected staff member in the company; however, she was not sure whether she was a respected translator. "Translation was part of my job. However, my company evaluated my overall performance… But I believe that my translation performance was acceptable."

Affective feelings

During the interview, Lai Ling was asked to describe her affective feelings so that we could understand more about her experiences when she engaged in translation-related activities.

> In my first job, I was a bit nervous (when handling translation-related assignments) because it was my first job. In addition, different people may have different interpretations of a text. Therefore, I felt nervous when working on translation. I would be curious to know the feedback. I would also like to know if I made any mistakes. […] My anxiety could be alleviated after I got the feedback. The feedback I obtained at the time was mostly positive.

In her first job, Lai Ling could not recall any happy memories when dealing with translation-related activities. She explained that getting feedback from her supervisor and meeting deadlines worried her most at that time. She described the situation as follows: "I had to meet deadlines. I had to get feedback and obtain approval from my supervisor so that the translated materials could be distributed as soon as possible. It was huge pressure… My first job was not very enjoyable."

Lai Ling was with the financial service company's corporate communications department for eleven months, before moving to a subsidiary of the company. The subsidiary is a public relations company serving corporate brands in greater China. She

worked there as an Account Executive. Her job duty was mainly to assist the Account Director to serve the company's corporate clients: "I supported the team leader and delivered PR services to the clients." According to Lai Ling, she was not required to translate because most of the translation assignments were handled by her fellow colleagues in China. She worked for the company for eleven months.

After leaving the PR company, Lai Ling joined a property developing company as a Corporate Communication Officer. She was 23 years old when joining the company.

> I performed various internal and external communication-related tasks. […] But I didn't have to translate because that was done by my fellow colleagues in China. I handled the company's newsletters… and also had to manage some ad-hoc projects, such as helping the company launch a theme song campaign.

(2)   Shifting from being an invisible translator to becoming a visible translator

Mode of communication

After leaving the property developer, Lai Ling joined an international public relations agency in Hong Kong. She was 25 years old at that time. She worked there as Manager. She was still with the company at the time of our interview. According to Lai Ling, her team was mainly responsible for serving property and lifestyle companies in greater China. She was fully visible to the clients, who were representatives of the property or lifestyle companies. In addition, she was visible to the end-users, who were mainly journalists from the media industry: "I have to handle translation assignments such as press releases. I also have to translate the materials assigned by my clients." In addition

to serving the clients, Lai Ling was also involved in the company's business development.

As the job title of Lai Ling was Manager, her clients had higher expectations of her. "I take extra care of the quality control. I carefully check the translated texts, whether they are done by me or my junior staff… No offence to anyone, I re-translate a text if I find that the translator does not fully understand the source text." When a translation was checked and ready, Lai Ling would send her translation to her clients directly in order to obtain feedback and approval before distributing it to the journalists. Lai Ling said that she got in touch with the end-users mainly to check whether they received the materials she sent to them. She would also see whether they needed help. According to Lai Ling, her end-users seldom asked her questions related to language issues.

Capital received

Among the four kinds of capital, Lai Ling attached the greatest importance to economic capital. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean value of the amount of economic capital that Lai Ling wants to receive is 4.00. She placed the same emphasis on social and cultural capital (3.67) while attaching the least importance to symbolic capital (3.38).

When answering our survey, Lai Ling indicated that salary and long-term job security were extremely important to her. She said that she was satisfied with her current salary. However, she stressed that "when I have accumulated more work experience I believe that I deserve more. Overall, I am satisfied." Her job allowed her to learn new things, especially through cooperation: "The team is large and we need to handle various tasks. That is a kind of challenge… but at the same time I can improve my interpersonal skills." Lai Ling placed great emphasis on the opportunity to learn new knowledge. While answering the survey, she indicated that the opportunity to learn

new things was extremely important to her. She agreed that her current work enabled her to increase her knowledge. As Lai Ling's job duties involved business development, she said that her social network was thus strengthened and expanded:

> PR agencies are profit-making companies. We are not an NGO (non-governmental organization). Each team has to meet its business target. We regularly visit our clients to secure existing business and to meet new clients in order to seek new business opportunities.

While responding to our questionnaire, Lai Ling indicated that a working environment which allowed her to strengthen her personal network and gave her opportunities to move between roles so that she did not only have to do translation work was extremely important to her. Lai Ling strongly agreed that her work brought her valuable personal contacts. Besides, she strongly agreed that her work afforded her opportunities to move between roles and she was not limited to doing translation only. Further, Lai Ling indicated in the survey that professional respect was extremely important. During the interview, she said that she was a respected translator because she often received positive feedback from her clients.

Affective feelings

During the interview, Lai Ling said that she started feeling tired of translating:

> I have been translating for some years. Frankly speaking, I am a bit tired of it, especially since my workload keeps increasing. I have begun to think of assigning more translation tasks to junior staff. […] Besides, my feeling is that my translation speed decreased… In my first job, the language barrier was the major obstacle I had when translating texts... I think I have overcome this problem but now I have higher expectations with regard to the quality of my translations.

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> Translation has become a time-consuming task. Maybe my translation speed has not really gone down but I am not satisfied with it. Apart from translation, I have to handle various tasks. From a business perspective, it is not worth a manager's time to be translating texts.

Lai Ling noted that translation is a source of great happiness: "We send the translations to our clients in order to obtain their feedback and approval. I am happy when few corrections are made to my work. I am very satisfied." During the interview, Lai Ling did not mention many negative feelings, except that she felt extremely unhappy when someone asked her to translate a text at the wrong time.

> I am unhappy when I do not have enough time to handle all my tasks. When I am busy and you ask me to translate a text immediately, I will be very unhappy. I also feel very unhappy if junior staff members do not translate the assigned texts properly.

At the time of the interview, Lai Ling expected that her future jobs would involve translation because companies in Hong Kong need bilingual experts and translators to bridge the language gap in order to foster their business development. She said that she would continue to work for the company because "I still have room for improvement".

8.2.2   Cross-Case Analysis

After analyzing the three cases individually, we can now compare them with reference to the three themes, including visibility and modes of communication, visibility and capital received, as well as visibility and affective feelings. Note has to been taken that these themes differ in number (Table 8.4). The discussion below shows what we have found from the analysis of the three themes.

Visibility and modes of communication

(1) Visible to clients — receiving feedback and recognition

Although the three participants were visible to their respective clients at the time of the interviews, the mode of communication differed. For example, the clients of Ka Man were mainly her fellow colleagues (the publishing manager, the chief editor and the advertising head), while Shan Shan and Lai Ling served corporate clients.

All three participants emphasized the importance of communicating directly with their clients, and saw it as positively affecting their job-related happiness. According to the three participants, the main benefits for those who can communicate directly with the clients are: the chance to obtain feedback and the opportunity to receive recognition. At the time of our interviews, all three participants were highly visible to their clients. They could have face-to-face communication with their clients. The three participants stressed that feedback from the clients was an important factor leading to the accomplishment of a translation-related assignment. For example, Lai Ling emphasized that she had to receive her clients' feedback on her translated press releases before distributing them to journalists.

(2) Visible to clients — receiving clear instructions

Working in a way visible to the clients can allow the translator to receive detailed instructions. In Ka Man's case, she often received clear instructions from her clients at the beginning of the cooperation. However, not all clients understood the nature of translation and therefore the instructions could be decided upon the discussion, or even negotiation, between the client and the translator.

(3) Visible to clients — building trust

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The mediating role of the translator is especially obvious and important during the process of discussion because some clients rely very much on the expertise of the translator to make the translations relevant to the end-users. For example, Lai Ling's clients were property or lifestyle brands. Her responsibility was to provide her clients with full and professional public relations service. As a result, she normally did not receive instructions. Instead, things would be decided after discussing with the clients. Trust could be built between the two parties if the translator could communicate directly with the clients.

(3) Visible to clients — suffering pressure directly

The participants highlighted the fact that the pitfall of working in a way visible to the client is that one has to put up with pressure directly from the latter. When translators find that they are not able to cope with the pressure, they may choose to quit the job. For example, Ka Man and Shan Shan quit their jobs because they were not able to manage the "unbearable pressure". In Shan Shan's case, the pressure was always from the client. During the interviews, these two participants stressed that high pay cannot compensate for it.

(4)   Invisible to end-users — curiosity about end-users' feedback

The value placed on direct communication with end-users differs from one participant to another. Ka Man placed great emphasis on communicating with end-users when she was an inexperienced translator. Although she was largely invisible to her end-users when she was an inexperienced translator, curiosity about obtaining feedback was an important motivator driving Ka Man to get in touch with the end-users. For example, she gave her translated comic books to her friends in order to obtain their feedback.

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(5) Visible to end-users — less important than being visible to clients

Shan Shan did not like communicating with end-users. She thought that the end-user could not help her improve her translations. From her point of view, communicating with the client was more important and worthwhile than communicating with the end-user. As she was not interested in communicating with the end-user, she worked for a company where she was visible to the client but invisible to the end-user at the time of the interview.

Visibility and capital received

(1) Economic capital

We observed that the visible translator was more likely to earn more. For example, Shan Shan was very satisfied with the salary that she earned when she worked for the retail company, where she was visible to both her clients and end-users. She said that the company paid her very well, although she gave up this "well-paid job" because she could not bear the pressure. She only worked for the company for six months. Lai Ling, who was a manager at an international public relations company in Hong Kong, was also satisfied with her salary. She was a visible translator because she needed to communicate directly with her clients in order to have all the assignments translated properly before distributing them to the end-users. Also, she had to communicate directly with the end-users, who were mostly journalists, to ensure that they found no problem with her translations.

Meanwhile, Ka Man, who was a client-visible translator at the time of our interview, was not happy with her current salary. But she was still working for her company and did not have any plans to leave. Why did she stay on? During the interview, she emphasized that her current salary did not meet her expectations.

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However, she was the only person who has competence in Japanese in the company. Her clients, including the chief editor and the advertising head, would have problems and may not be able to manage their work well without Ka Man's assistance with Japanese-Chinese translation. She thought that she was an important person in the company, helping and nurturing these clients. Therefore, she had no plan to quit the job.

(2) Cultural capital

The opportunity to improve translation skills affected the participants' job-related happiness at work. Ka Man and Shan Shan quit their jobs because they sought opportunities to improve their translation skills. A careful look at the narratives of the three participants shows that inexperienced translators can benefit most if they can communicate directly with their clients because they can then understand the objectives and requirements of the tasks in order to better plan their translation procedures and strategies. Ka Man benefited most when she was an inexperienced translator freelancing for the comic book publisher and the film entertainment company. She gained solid and practical translation experience through communicating with her clients.

The opportunity to learn new knowledge was important in all three cases. Shan Shan and Lai Ling, who were older than Ka Man, more concerned with the opportunity to learn non-translation knowledge. When these two participants were inexperienced translators, they sought to improve their translation skills. When they had accumulated some practical translation experience, they increasingly became more concerned with the opportunity to learn knowledge beyond that related to translation. Working in a way visible to both the clients and end-users affords translators more opportunity to increase non-translation knowledge such as interpersonal skills. This was emphasized by Lai Ling, who was a manager working for an international public relations agency where she could communicate directly with the clients and end-users.

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(3) Social capital

Working visibly with clients and/or end-users does not necessarily mean that the translator's social network can be expanded. For example, when Shan Shan worked for the retail company, she was fully visible to her clients and end-users. However, she said that her social network was not strengthened because her clients and end-users were basically her fellow colleagues.

In the interviews, all three participants emphasized the importance of moving between roles so that they were not limited to doing translation only. To a great extent, they were satisfied with such an opportunity. For example, Ka Man, who was a client-visible translator working for a mothering magazine publisher at the time of our interview, not only handled Japanese-Chinese translation assignments but was also required to interview people such as doctors in order to write feature articles. She also needed to edit the translations done by her company's freelance translators. Lai Ling was working for an international public relations agency at the time of our interview. She was visible to both her clients and end-users. Her team provided public relations services to property developers and lifestyle brands in Hong Kong. Apart from handling translation and public relations assignments, her job involved business development. Her social network was thus expanded.

(4) Symbolic capital

The three participants did not talk much about symbolic capital. When they were asked whether or not their work brought them professional respect, they normally replied that they felt they were respected. The way they responded to the question and their voices suggested that they were not concerned very much with prestige and status.

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Visibility and affective feelings

(1)   Visible to clients

Ka Man and Shan Shan had the experience of working as client-visible translators. Ka Man felt at ease working on translation because she often received instructions from her clients at the beginning of the interaction. She also pointed out that translation was an easy activity for her because the more she did it, the faster and easier it became. Shan Shan also felt at ease when her clients had completed business deals or projects, as it meant that her clients were satisfied with her translations. These two participants said that they enjoyed the process of communicating with clients. For example, Shan Shan enjoyed solving translation problems together with her clients. However, Ka Man felt nervous when deadlines were approaching, whereas Shan Shan had felt nervous working on the texts and had to stay focused when she was an inexperienced translator. Besides, Ka Man would feel sorry and unhappy when she could not meet deadlines, while Shan Shan would feel unhappy when her clients did not understand her.

(2) Visible to both clients and end-users

In this study, Shan Shan and Lai Ling had worked visibly in relation to both the client and the end-user. However, it seemed that these two participants did not enjoy their translation jobs very much. For example, Lai Ling was a little tired of translating and felt that it had become a time-consuming activity. She said that she only felt happy when she found that her clients made few corrections to her translations. Meanwhile, when Shan Shan worked for the retail company, she could not bear the pressure because her clients, her supervisor and sometimes her end-users gave her demanding expectations and requirements. Shan Shan could not recall any happy memories. This explained why she only worked for the company for six months.

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITIVE INQUIRY INTO TRANSLATORS'VISIBILITY AND JOB-RELATED HAPPINESS:
THE CASE OF GREATER CHINA
Fung-Ming Liu
DL: T. 1360-2011
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8.2.3 *Themes by cases*

We used the matrix queries function of QSR NVIVO 8 to count the number of text units (sentences) per each theme across the three cases. The most frequent theme the participants have discussed was the four kinds of capital that they said they received as related to their translation jobs. (n = 68) (see Table 8.4). They also discussed their affective feelings when they dealt with translation-related activities (n = 47) far more than they discussed the modes of communicating with their clients or end-users (n = 28).

Table 8.4. Themes by cases with counts of text units*

Count Row Percent Column Percent Themes	Ka Man	Shan Shan	Lai Ling	Total
Modes of communication	12 42.9 19.7	7 25.0 12.7	9 32.1 33.3	28 100.0
Capital received	36 53.0 59.0	20 29.4 36.3	12 17.6 44.4	68 100.0
Affective feelings	13 27.6 21.3	28 59.6 51.0	6 12.8 22.3	47 100.0
	61 100.0	55 100.0	27 100.0	

* A text unit is a sentence coded by the researcher to a theme.

An examination of the text unit counts per each participant showed that Ka Man and Lai Ling discussed the capital that they said they received (59.0% and 44.4% respectively) significantly more than their modes of communicating with their clients and end-users (19.7% and 33.3% respectively) and their affective feelings when they dealt with translation-related activities (21.3% and 22.3% respectively).

Shan Shan, who was from Taiwan, discussed her affective feelings when she dealt with translation-related activities (51.0%) more than the capital that she said she received (36.3%) and her modes of communicating with her clients and end-users (12.7%).

To summarize, the most discussed theme was the capital that the participants said they received. They were less eager to talk about their modes of communicating with their clients and end-users and their affective feelings when they deal with translation-related activities.

9. Discussion

This chapter further discusses the findings that we obtained from our quantitative and qualitative analyses. Then, we compare our findings with those of Angelelli (2001, 2004), Torikai (2009) and Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009).

9.1 Discussion — Visibility nurtures both the translator and the client

Our mixed-methods sequential explanatory study has provided insights into the issues of the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods has allowed us to obtain a deeper understanding of the research problems we posed and the hypotheses we formulated. The contributions made by our study stem from the fact that there was no prior empirical research on the relationship between the translator's visibility and their job-related happiness. The quantitative phase of our study found that, in our sample, visibility is considered to be rewarding in terms of social exchanges and learning experience, but not in terms of pay and prestige. We further investigated this type of visibility by carrying out three case studies. Among the four kinds of capital, the three participants were most willing to talk about issues related to cultural and social capital. For example, they explained how they communicated with their clients and/or end-users and what they learnt during the process. However, when they were asked questions about their salary or remuneration, they normally gave such answers as "okay," "reasonable," or "a bit low." When they were invited to say more, they would say "okay; I am satisfied" or, "I am not satisfied as I think I deserve to earn more", and that was all. After that, they had no further comments on the matter. Their

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responses suggested that they had nothing to say and wanted to switch to another topic. The situation was similar when the three participants were asked questions relating to symbolic capital. They would say that they never or seldom thought about whether or not they were respected. When asked to give an answer, they would say something like, "I haven't thought about this. But when you now ask me this question, I think I am respected." Their voices gave me the impression that they did not care very much about their prestige or status. In fact, according to their responses to our questionnaire survey, among the four kinds of capital, the three participants attached the least importance to symbolic capital. However, they were more active and became talkative when discussing issues relating to cultural and social capital. They even gave us detailed descriptions of what they learnt and would like to learn. They also explained how their social networks had expanded and what kind of people they had met. Our qualitative analysis suggests that when translators are visible to their clients, they are more likely to benefit from social exchanges and learning experiences, although they may not be satisfied with their salary and do not necessarily feel that they are highly respected.

After analyzing the three interviews, we find that visibility is beneficial not only to the translator but also to the client. In fact, the three participants emphasize the degree to which their clients benefit from their translations and from communicating with them. They are even willing to sacrifice their interests, such as their economic capital, to keep working for the client if they find that their communicative role benefits their clients. For example, Ka Man, who was a translator working for a mothering magazine publisher at the time of our interview, was not satisfied with her salary. However, she did not have any plans to leave the company because she thought that her clients could benefit a lot by communicating with her. She also thought that her translations were extremely important to her clients. Without her translations, her clients could not work smoothly.

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Anyone who has ever been a translation practitioner knows that there is not a perfect way to accomplish a translation task. When Pym (2004) discusses risk management in cross-cultural communication, he emphasizes that, when translation is compared with non-mediated communication, costs are relatively high, trust between participants is relatively low, and the success conditions are relatively tight. All in all, Pym stresses that translation is an expensive act. Our present study has found that when there is interaction, the translators feel they are working in such a way that their clients and end-users appreciate their work. In light of this, we may suggest that visibility can help lower transaction costs, increase trust between those involved, and perhaps widen the success conditions — at least to the extent that the definition of success of a particular translation task can be negotiated.

We recall that when we measured the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain, six of the 22 determinants are related to trust. We can thus attempt to determine the relationship between visibility and trust. The six trust-related determinants are: fulfilling the expectation of the client; fulfilling the expectation of the end-user; the client's appreciation of the person's translation work; the end-user's appreciation of the person's translated work; the client's feedback on the person's translation work; and the end-user's feedback on the person's translation work. A Pearson Correlation between the translator's visibility and the trust-related determinants shows that the correlation between the two variables is fairly strong (coefficient of 0.344), with a high level of significance (p<0.001). Therefore, on a preliminary basis, our findings suggest that visibility can indeed help to increase the trust between translators, clients and end-users. Of course, this is only a preliminary indication. Further research into the relationship could benefit both the translator and the client. Although our study does not include direct data on transaction costs, one might argue that greater trust between client and

translator should correspond to lower costs because less communication is required to keep a check on what people are doing. For example, Ka Man communicated with her clients more often at the beginning of the cooperation because she had to receive instructions. Later on, less communication was needed because her clients trusted her abilities and thus did not need to check on what she was actually doing. Ka Man actually has the opportunity to contact her clients; she mostly contacted them at the beginning of their mutual endeavor but the more trust she developed, the fewer actual exchanges were needed. This suggests that the client trusted the translator. The translator also developed a kind of trust in the client, at least to the extent that the translator becomes aware that the clients are not going to change their minds every other day. However, it should be noted that Ka Man's opportunity to communicate with her clients did not really decrease. Instead, she simply did not use all the opportunities available. This evidence exemplifies why our questionnaire asked the subjec*ts: "Can you* communicate directly with the client?" and "Are you *able to* get in touch with the end-user of your translation work?" because our research is concerned with the subjects' "opportunities to contact" rather than the number of actual contacts, as we explained in Chapter 3.

9.2 Comparison with previous visibility-related empirical studies

Our theoretical framework allows us to infer that, in our sample, the more visible translators are happier because they are able to know more people and feel that they are learning more. As cited in Chapters 1 and 2, Angelelli (2001, 2004) and Torikai (2009) draw on Bourdieu's sociology to study visibility, while Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009) do not employ Bourdieu's theories but nonetheless focus on the translator's status.

Here we offer a brief overview of how Angelelli, Torikai, Dam and Korning Zethsen understand visibility, before comparing our findings with those of their relevant studies.

Angelelli (2001, 2004) investigates the interpreter's visibility "through a methodology in which interpreters are asked to state their perceptions about their role" (Angelelli 2004: 4). What Angelelli proposes is not just a linguistic mode of visibility:

> Visibility means that the interpreter's role goes beyond the role of language switching. The interpreter does not simply decode and encode the parties' messages cross-linguistically to bridge a communication gap (as generally described in the literature or prescribed by the professional associations). A visible interpreter expands beyond the "transparent language boom box" to the "opaque co-participant" and exercises agency within the interaction. (Angelelli 2001: 13-14)

Angelelli defines the visibility of the interpreter as "the manifestations of the interpreter's behaviors to manage social factors as the interpretation unfolds" (2001: 14). She uses a survey to explore interpreters' perceptions of their roles in cross-cultural communication. As mentioned earlier, the survey contains five components of visibility: (1) aligning with one of the parties; (2) establishing trust/facilitating mutual respect between the parties; (3) communicating affect as well as message; (4) explaining cultural gaps/interpreting culture; and (5) establishing communication rules. Angelelli administered the survey in Canada, Mexico and the United States in order to measure interpreters' perceptions of their roles across different settings such as courts, hospitals, business meetings, international conferences and schools.

Torikai (2009) uses oral history to feature five pioneer simultaneous interpreters in post-war Japan. She draws on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and practice in order to address three primary research questions: (1) what kind of people became interpreters in post-WWII Japan, and why and how did they become interpreters? (2)

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How did they perceive their role as interpreters? And (3) what kind of role did they actually play in Japan's foreign relations? In her study, Torikai points out that Japan's interpreters are depicted as "*kurogo*" or "*kuroko*", which literally mean black (*kuro)* attire *(go)*. A *kurogo* is a person who dresses all in black with a black hood, and "invisibly" moves props for actors on the stage. Although they are in fact visible and indispensable in the theater, they are always regarded as a shadow figure: "The tacit agreement is that *kurogo* is an invisible presence on stage, not meant to be seen by the audience. Interpreters are expected to play more or less the same role as *kurogo*" (Torikai 2009: 3). Based on case studies of the five interpreters, Torikai's research attempts to illuminate the roles of interpreters, which has been commonly depicted as "invisible" and "transparent." In order to understand better how interpreters perceive their invisible/visible roles, Torikai also compared her findings with Angelelli's questions which select five factors, including self-identification with the dominant or subordinate group, gender, age, education and income, to examine the relationship between interpreters' social backgrounds and their perceptions of visibility. Torikai juxtaposes Angelelli's research findings against hers (Torikai 2009: 155-157). After doing the comparison, Torikai concludes that:

In summary, on the first question of whether a relationship exists between interpreters' social backgrounds and their perceptions of visibility, as far as the five interpreters under study are concerned, no significant relationship was observed between their social backgrounds and their perceptions of visibility, except for their age and for their being pioneers in the field. (Torikai 2009: 157)

Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009) carried out a questionnaire-based investigation of the status of Danish company translators. As pointed out earlier,

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visibility was one of the elements in their definition of the translator's status: "The concept of status and how to define it were considered in relation to four parameters of occupational status: (i) salary; (ii) education/expertise; (iii) visibility/fame; and (iv) power/influence" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 71). These two authors operationalize visibility by asking about the physical position of translators in their companies, their professional contact with other company employees, their perception of the degree of visibility of their work in the company, and whether or not their names are known by their company's employees (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2008: 88-91). This Danish study consisted of two sets of questionnaires, one for translators and one for core employees. However, our comparisons here will focus only on the answers provided by the translators, since our study and those done by Angelelli and Toriaki only deal with translator/interpreter respondents.

Sex

When Angelelli examined the relationship between sex and visibility, she found that "male and female interpreters do not perceive their role differently" (Angelelli 2004: 69). Torikai's life-story interviews also revealed that "none of the four male interpreters in the study brought up the issue of gender" (Torikai 2009: 156), although the only female interpreter, Sohma, admitted that she faced a gender bias. She recalled that she was not given a chance to interpret when she visited the United States with the Diet members. In addition, she was not allowed to go into a meeting place in Korea because she was a woman. After analyzing the five interviews, Torikai came to this conclusion:

Aside from Sohma's passing remark about women possibly being more suited for interpreting, the

question of gender in relation with the perception of the interpreters' role was never taken up, and

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no difference was detected in this regard between the male interpreters and the female interpreters in this study. (ibid)

Dam and Korning Zethsen examined the relationship between "sex and the so-called *clear low-status* and *clear high-status ratings* found in the questionnaire data" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 2). No correlation was found between the two variables.

Our present study investigated the relationship between sex and the translator's visibility (see Section 6.3.1). We have found that sex was not related to the level of the translator's visibility. Further, we examined the relationship between sex and the translator's personal preference for working in a way visible to their clients and end-users. The result suggested that sex was also not related to the translator's preference for visibility.

After making the comparisons, we find that sex is not related to the visibility or status of translators or interpreters.

Age

Angelelli's study found that "the older participants perceived themselves as being less visible" (Angelelli 2004: 69). Torikai pointed out that Angelelli's research results were consistent with the invisibility tendencies identified in her five case studies. The Danish study also found that "the proportion of low-status answers tends to increase with age, whereas the high-status answers decrease" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 7). In our study, the relationship between age and the translator's visibility has been investigated (see Section 6.3.2) and no correlation has been found. Further, we investigated the relationship between age and the translator's visibility preference. Again, no correlation was found. It seems that our research findings contradict those of Angelelli, Torikai, and

Dam and Korning Zethsen. However, the majority of the respondents in Angelelli's study were between 40 and 49 years of age. In Torikai's study, "the pioneers all belong to the oldest age bracket of over 69 […], their ages at the time of the interview being 92 for Nishiyama and Sohma, 73 for Muramatsu and Kunihiro, and 69 for Komatus" (Torikai 2009: 156). Further, most of the respondents taking part in the Danish study were between 30 and 39 years of age. In our study, the majority of the subjects were between 25 and 29 years of age. Our subjects were much younger, thus their visibility may be different from that of senior translators or interpreters. As we do not have a wide range of well-distributed age groups, we cannot make the same comparisons.

Education

Angelelli's study found that "the level of formal education (not limited to the field of interpreting) was not related to the interpreter perception of visibility" (Angelelli 2004: 70). Torikai's interviews with the five pioneer interpreters in Japan did not yield any obvious relationship between the subjects' levels of formal education and their perceptions of visibility. The Danish study investigated the relationship between status and state authorization. The researchers found "no real difference between the proportion of high-status answers in the group of state-authorized translators (13%) and in the group of non-authorized translators (14%)" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 10). Our study has also found no correlation between the translator's visibility and level of education (see Section 6.3.4). We also examined the relationship between the translator's level of education and visibility preference. Again, no correlation was found between the two variables. The relationship between the translator's major field of study and their visibility was also investigated (see Section 6.3.5). We classified our subjects into two groups — translation major and non-translation major — in order to carry out the investigation. The results showed that the translator's major field of study was not

related to their visibility. In addition, we found no relationship between the translator's field of study and their visibility preference.

Economic capital

Angelelli's study found that "the participants with higher income tended to perceive themselves as being less visible" (Angelelli 2004: 70). She used the Spearman's rho coefficient to examine the relationship between income and visibility. The results showed that "a moderate negative correlation was found [r(286)= -0.178, p=0.003 <0.01], indicating a significant relationship between these two variables" (ibid). The Danish study found that "the less money the translators make, the more they tend to perceive translation as a low-status occupation; and vice versa, the more money they make, the less they tend to see it as a low-status occupation" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 15). Torikai's study did not address the factor of income. However, she argues that "[…] as high-profile interpreters who publish and lecture extensively, it is easily imagined that they enjoy higher incomes than do average interpreters" (Torikai 2009: 157). Our findings (see Section 6.2.4) suggest that the translators who are more visible earn more money and their jobs are more secure.

Social capital

The Danish survey investigated the relationship between the translator's professional contacts within the company and their perceptions of their status. The results suggest that "an increasing degree of professional contact correlates with both a decreasing amount of low-status responses and an increasing amount of high-status answers — and vice versa" (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 22). Our study finds that translators who are more visible feel that they know more people (see Section 6.2.5). Angelelli did not examine the relationship between visibility and social capital directly. However, her

definition of visibility contained five components, of which three would more or less empower interpreters to strengthen or expand their social networks: (1) aligning with one of the parties; (2) establishing trust/facilitating mutual respect between the parties; and (3) communicating affect as well as message. As Angelelli emphasizes, "interpreters do not perceive their role as invisible. Results from this study showed that interpreters in all settings perceived themselves as having some degree of visibility (within a continuum of visibility)" (Angelelli 2004: 82). We thus assume that Angelelli reveals a generally positive relationship between *visibility* and *social capital.* As Torikai did not directly examine any elements related to social capital, we cannot make comparisons or venture speculations in this regard.

We now try to summarize what we have found from the comparisons. First of all, our findings agree with those of Angelelli, Torikai and Dam and Korning Zethsen in that sex and education are not related to the translator's visibility. Our findings are also in agreement with those of Angelelli and Dam and Korning Zethsen, since we have found that visibility is positively correlated with economic and social capital. Torikai did not directly address these issues so we cannot make any comparisons. However, it seems that, in one aspect, our research findings contradict those of Angelelli, Torikai, and Dam and Korning Zethsen, since we are not in agreement on the relationship between visibility and age. It should be noted that we do not have a wide range of well-distributed age groups and thus we cannot make exactly the same comparisons.

Comparisons between the three studies have been completed and in the next chapter the limitations of the present study will be stated and discussed. In addition, possible avenues for future research will be outlined

10. Limitations and possible avenues for future research

Our research, which combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, has generated some important and interesting findings. However, there are limitations and biases that cannot be overlooked. The statistical significance of the findings is one of the major problems of this research. Our quantitative analysis is based on 193 Chinese translators in greater China. Although the sample size is enough upon which to base statistics, the sample size does not represent the vast field in any controlled way. In addition, our qualitative analysis is based on three cases, with two participants from Hong Kong and one from Taiwan. Given this small sample size, the findings obtained not only cannot be generalized but also cannot be assumed to represent Chinese translators in Mainland China.

A second problem is that our study covers a wide range of translators. We have 193 respondents covering more than 80 job titles (see Appendix H). The representatives of a particular kind of translator role or professional position might be very few in some cases.

A third problem is that the technique we adopted was not controlled, since a convenience sampling method was used. This may limit the extent to which findings can be generalized. Further, the use of online social networking sites to recruit subjects may lead to a possible over-representation of freelance translators in our sample. In our questionnaire survey, a little over 25% of the subjects were freelance translators. This may be due to the sampling method we used because the subjects participating in our questionnaire survey were mainly recruited from online social networking sites such as Proz.com, which allows its members to look for freelance translation jobs. In addition, this method may also over-represent young translators. This explains why the majority

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of the subjects in our sample are relatively young as most of them are between 25 and 29 years of age. Having said that, online social networking sites have been increasingly popular as a means for Translation Studies researchers to recruit research participants. As Julie McDonough observes,

> The large number of networks focusing on translation or a related profession demonstrates that formal and informal networks are playing an increasingly important role in the way the profession is practiced. The fact that membership in many online networks is steadily increasingly also indicates that both professionals and non-professionals are interested in interacting with colleagues, companies or more professional professionals. (McDonough 2007: 811)

Chan used online translator networking sites "to generate a list of translation companies" (2008: 224). He thus sent invitation emails "to these companies asking them to participate in the survey on translator certification and the translation profession" (ibid). We believe that the findings generated from our study can be particularly useful for future research on the relationship between translators and online social networking sites.

A fourth problem is that the response rate of our questionnaire survey is a little low when compared with the response rates for similar surveys. We sent out 1,130 email messages to invite the receivers to take part in our questionnaire survey but at the end we only received 193 completed and valid questionnaires, representing a response rate of 17%. It should be noted that seven of the completed and valid questionnaires were filled out by the researcher's personal contacts. Angelelli (2001, 2004) sent out 967 questionnaires and finally received 293 completed surveys, representing a response rate of 30.3%. She recruited participants through directories of international organizations (e.g., AIIC for conference interpreters), national associations (National Association of

Judiciary Interpreters and Translators for court interpreters), state-level organizations (such as The California Health Care Interpreters Association) and also through her personal network. Having said that, if we compare our response rate to those that used a similar method to recruit participants, our response rate is perhaps not that low. For example, Chan (2008) also recruited vendor managers to take part in his "translation industry certification survey" via online portals. Chan sent out 375 email messages and received 70 completed questionnaires, representing a response rate of 18.67%.

The "low" response rate for our study may be due to the fact that our questionnaire is quite long (seven pages including two open-ended questions). The respondents may have found it tiresome halfway through and thus did not finish it. This may also explain why 91 subjects did not complete their questionnaires even though they had promised to work on them. We sent a courtesy reminder to them, but we still had no response from these subjects. Although the questionnaire is long, it has nevertheless been useful for collecting the data that allow us to test our hypotheses. We would argue that the relatively low response rate is in part compensated for by the richness of the data received (see Chapter 6). We must also allow, however, for the fact that we may have surveyed a particularly dynamic and electronically interactive segment of the population of translators, thus finding more visibility than is the general case.

A fifth problem is that our study leaves some questions unanswered. For instance, would the results be different if we used a larger sample size and recruited participants from different sources? It would also be interesting to use other sampling methods to replicate the present study. For example, since it is commonly stated that the translation market is highly segmented, we can use a stratified sampling method to replicate the present study in order to explore the relationship between different homogeneous groups. Further, in the present study we did not examine the relationship between

visibility, job-related happiness and a person's personality. Some empirical studies (see McNiel & Fleeson 2006) have found that a change in personality leads to a change in a person's subjective well-being. Ye (2008) suggests that people are more flexible when they are young:

> If we are going to change people's personality to make them happier, work needs to be done as early as possible. As Caspi et al.'s (2005) review has shown, most changes in personality happen during the period before young adulthood. People's personality becomes more and more stabilized when they enter their middle or older ages. (Ye 2008: 173)

We can replicate the present study with the same sample of participants some years later to ascertain the subjects' visibility and their personal preferences for working in a way visible to clients and end-users. Thus we could determine whether they change their visibility and visibility preference when they get older, and, if they do change their visibility preference, whether these changes make them happier.

In fact, there are further good reasons for replicating the present study with the same sample of participants some years later. A longitudinal study would allow us to study empirically the subjects' possible changes in visibility and how the shift in visibility affects job-related happiness. Babbie points out that longitudinal studies "are often the best way to study changes over time" (Babbie 2007: 103). Although we used qualitative methods to address how shifts in visibility affected the translator's job-related happiness, the three cases were not enough to paint a thorough picture because none of the three participants had experience working as an end-user-visible translator.

In spite of all the limitations, we believe that our findings have already produced some important insights for future investigation into the translator's visibility, their

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job-related happiness and the relationship between these two variables. The present study also helps us have a more in-depth understanding of translators. One of the intentions behind conducting this research was to let translation practitioners know that there is someone who cares about their job-related happiness and their irreplaceable mediating role. Although work on my thesis now comes to an end, I will not stop at this point. I will continue to study translators and listen to their voices and stories.

Notes

1. Permission has been obtained from The University of Sheffield's Institute of Work Psychology to use the IWP Affect Questionnaire.

2. Note that Parker's projections were made prior to the global economic recession of 2008-2009. In addition, he did not take local factors into account when making the projections.

3. Facebook is one of the online platforms for recruiting subjects. However, it does not operate in mainland China. Therefore, we recruited participants from www.ourtra.com, an Internet portal for translators and interpreters in China.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment email to translators (questionnaire survey)

The copy below is the letter sent in advance to the respondents not previously contacted in order to inform them about the study and invite their participation.

Dear XX (the name of the person),

How are you? It is my pleasure to send this note to you. I found your contact information on XXX (the place where I get this person's contact information). I am Christy Liu, a doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies. I am currently working on a project regarding the status of Chinese translators and their job-related happiness. Would you be so kind as to help me by filling out a questionnaire? I hope you can help me. If you don't mind, could you please give me a reply so that I can do the arrangement? I really hope that you can take part in my research project. You will be able to read the results so that you can understand more about your profession and your work.

Thank you very much.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Christy LIU

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix B: A Cover letter to accompany the questionnaire

Dear XX (the name of the person),

Thank you very much for accepting to do this survey, which aims to investigate the status of Chinese translators and their job-related happiness.

This questionnaire takes about 20 minutes to fill out. I would be grateful if you would help complete and submit it at your earliest convenience. I assure you that your responses will be completely confidential and that you will receive the final results of the study once it has been completed.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Christy LIU

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix C: Questionnaire

Part 1: Personal questions

1. What is your gender?

2. How old are you?

   [ ] 20-24   [ ] 25-29   [ ] 30-34   [ ] 35-39   [ ] 40-44   [ ] 45-49   [ ] 50-60

3. Where do you live (such as city)?

4. What is your highest education level and major?

   [ ] High school   [ ] College   [ ] Bachelor   [ ] Masters   [ ] PhD   [ ] Other

   Major field of study at the highest level:

5. How many years of translation experience do you have?

6. What is your current job title?

7. What kind of materials do you normally translate?

8. How much time (such as hours/ week) do you spend on translation-related assignments/ activities?

9. What kind of company (such as translation agency/ public relations agency/ publishing company) do you work

   for?

10. Are you able to communicate directly with your employer at work? ("Your employer" means your supervisor

    or the person who oversees your translation assignments at work)

    [ ] never   [ ] seldom   [ ] sometimes   [ ] often   [ ] very often

    Any comments?

11. Can you communicate directly with the client? (Do not include "your employer" in this question. "A client" is

    meant a company/ brand/ organization/ corporate institution paying for your translations)

    [ ] never   [ ] seldom   [ ] sometimes   [ ] often   [ ] very often

    Any comments?

12. Do you like communicating with clients?

    [ ] dislike very much   [ ] dislike   [ ] no opinion/ indifferent   [ ] like   [ ] like very much

    Any comments?

13. Are you able to get in touch with the end-user of your translation work? ("End-users" refer to those who read

    or use your translations, other than "the client" and "your employer")

    [ ] never   [ ] seldom   [ ] sometimes   [ ] often   [ ] very often

    Any comments?

14. Do you like communicating with end-users?

    [ ] dislike very much   [ ] dislike   [ ] no opinion/ indifferent   [ ] like   [ ] like very much

    Any comments?

15. Does your name appear on your translations?

    [ ] never   [ ] seldom   [ ] sometimes   [ ] often   [ ] very often

    Any comments?

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Part 2: Please indicate how important the following aspects (i.e. you want to obtain them) are to you:

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following statements are important to you:					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
16. Work independently.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
17.Decision-making opportunities at work.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
18. Fulfilling the expectation of the client.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
19. Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
20. Professional respect	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
21. My company's reputation in the industry.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
22. The pride of my profession.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
23. My role of being a translation professional.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following statements are important to you:					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
24. Salary	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
25. Long-term job security	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following statements are important to you:					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
26. A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
27. The client's appreciation of my translation work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
28. The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
29. Moving between roles so	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

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that I am not limited to doing translation only					
30. Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
31. Opportunity to work with people from different professions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following statements are important to you:					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
32. Opportunity to learn new knowledge	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
33. Opportunity to improve my translation skills	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
34. Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
35. Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
36. Feedback on my translated work from the client	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
37. Feedback on my translated work from the end-user	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Part 3: Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent/ No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
38. I can work independently	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
39. I am allowed to make important decisions at work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
40. I think I can always meet the client's expectation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
41. I think I can always meet the end-user's expectation	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

42. My work brings me professional respect	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
43. I feel proud to be a part of the company	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
44. I take pride in my profession. I am proud of being a translation professional	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
45. I am treated as a professional translator at work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent/ No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
46. I considered myself to be well paid, given the job responsibilities and performance expectations	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
47. I believe that the future of my job is secure	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent/ No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
48. My work brings me valuable personal contacts	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
49. When I do a good job, I receive recognition for it from the client	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
50. When I do a good job, I receive recognition for it from the end-user	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
51. I can move between roles and I am not limited to doing translation only	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
52. I always have the opportunity to work with	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

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	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent/ No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
other translation professionals					
53. I always have the opportunity to work with people from different professions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent/ No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
54. My work as a translation professional enables me to increase my knowledge	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
55. My work enables me to improve my translation skills	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
56. My work boosts my professional qualification	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
57. I can always apply my skills and expertise to my work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
58. I often receive feedback from the client concerning a text I have translated	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
59. I often obtain feedback from the end-user concerning my work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Part 4: In general, please indicate below approximately how often you have the following while you are dealing with translation. Everyone has a lot of overlapping feelings, so, for all the items, you will have a total that is much greater than 100% of the time.

	In general, please indicate the approximate amount of your time while you are dealing with translation				
	I have felt:	Never/ Seldom	Some of the time	About half of the time	Much of the time	Always

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60	Enthusiastic					
61	Nervous					
62	Calm					
63	Depressed					
64	Joyful					
65	Anxious					
66	Relaxed					
67	Dejected					
68	Inspired					
69	Tense					
70	Laid-back					
72	Despondent					
72	Excited					
73	Worried					
74	At ease					
75	Hopeless					

Part 5: Your perspective

76. Could you share your views on the happiness or unhappiness of being a translation professional?

77. Could you share your views on the role of a translation professional?

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire!

Appendix D: Recruitment e-mail to the case study participants

Dear (name of the person),

I am Christy Liu, a PhD student at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain. I am conducting a research project entitled "A Quantitative and Qualitative Inquiry into Translators' Visibility and Their Job-related Happiness:

The Case of greater China". The purpose of the study is to investigate the translator's mediating role and their job-related happiness.

A few months ago you were asked to complete our Translator's Job-related Happiness Questionnaire. I appreciate your help and cooperation very much and want to let you know that I have obtained some interesting results. After doing the quantitative analysis, I really would like to interview you in order to further obtain your insight to understand in more depth how you find happiness at work.

I am asking you to participant in an interview which can be conducted via telephone or at a location convenient for you. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be conducted at the time most convenient for you. The interview questions will be sent to you prior to the interview. I really hope that you will be able to participate in this study. I assure you that all the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be revealed in any reports that result from my project. Thank you very much for your help. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best regards,

Christy LIU

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix E: Interview protocol (pilot study)

Interview:

Interviewee:

Date:

Time:

Place:

Length of interview:

Part 1: Background information about the interviewee:

1.   Please tell me about yourself.

    A   What is your education background?

    B   Did you study translation? Did you take any translation-related courses?

2.   Tell me about your experiences when you communicate with your clients and end-users.

    A.   How many jobs did you have before this job? How many of them involved translation duties?

    B.   For the first job that involved translation duties, how many clients (a client represents a company/ brand/ organization/ corporate institution) did you have to serve and what business did/ do they do? Could you communicate with them?

    C.   Would you please continue to share your experience in the second job and so on.

    D.   Do/ Did you like communicating with your clients (present and previous jobs)?

    E.   Can you tell me some happy and unhappy memories that you dealt with your clients (present and previous jobs)?

    F.   When you are assigned a translation assignment, do you know who will be the end-users of your work?

    G.   Do/ Did you communicate with the end-users of your translation work (present and previous jobs)?

    H.   How do/ did you communicate with them (present and previous jobs)?

    I.   Do/ did you like communicating with the end-users (present and previous jobs)?

    J.   Can you tell me some happy and unhappy memories that you dealt with them (present and previous jobs)?

3.   How do you find happiness at work?

    A.   How would you describe your typical emotional state when you deal/ dealt with translation-related activities (present and previous jobs)?

    B.   Are/ were you satisfied with the salaries, the opportunity to learn new knowledge (translation-related and non-translation), the chance to strengthen your social network and the respect as being a translator? (present and previous jobs)

    C.   How would you describe your personality?

    D.   What do you like most about your job? Can you explain why?

    E.   What do you like least about your job? Can you explain why?

    F.   What motivates you to continue working in the profession?

Appendix F: Revised Interview protocol (main study)

Interview:

Interviewee:

Date:

Time:

Place:

Length of interview:

Part 1: Background information about the interviewee:

2.   Please tell me about yourself.

    A   What is your education background?

    B   Did you study translation? Did you take any translation-related courses?

    C.   Did you plan to become a translator before graduation?

    D.   Did you expect translation to be part of your job duties at work?

2.   Tell me about your experiences when you communicate with your clients and end-users.

    A.   How many jobs did you have before this job? How many of them involved translation duties?

    B.   Who were your clients (a client represents a company/ brand/ organization/ corporate institution)? What business did/ do they do? Could you communicate with them?

    C.   Would you please continue to share your experience in the second job and so on.

    D.   Do/ Did you like communicating with your clients (present and previous jobs)?

    E.   Could you tell me some happy and unhappy memories that you dealt with your clients (present and previous jobs)?

    F.   When you are assigned a translation assignment, do you know who will be the end-users of your work?

    G.   Do/ Did you communicate with the end-users of your translation work (present and previous jobs)?

    H.   How do/ did you communicate with them (present and previous jobs)?

    I.   Do/ did you like communicating with the end-users (present and previous jobs)?

    J.   Can you tell me some happy and unhappy memories that you deal/ dealt with them (present and previous jobs)?

3.   How do you find happiness at work?

    A.   How would you describe your typical emotional state when you deal/ dealt with translation-related activities (present and previous jobs)?

    B.   Are/ were you satisfied with the salaries, the opportunity to learn new knowledge (translation-related and non-translation), the chance to strengthen your social network and the respect as being a translator (present and previous jobs)?

    C.   What type of person are you? For example: Extrovert or Introvert?

    D.   What motivates you to continue working in the profession?

Appendix G: Research Participant Release Form

I voluntarily agree to participate in the research project entitled "A Quantitative and Qualitative Inquiry into Translators' Visibility and Their Job-related Happiness: The Case of greater China".

I understand that the research is being conducted by Ms Liu Fung Ming Christy, a PhD student at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain, in order to investigate the translator's mediating role and their job-related happiness.

I understand that the research project which may involve me is my participation in a few telephone interviews.

I grant permission for the interview to be tape-recorded and to be used only by Ms Liu for analysis of interview data. I grant permission for the data generated from the interviews to be published in the dissertation and future publications.

I understand that the reports and publications will contain no identifiable information in regard to my name.

_____

Research Participant

_____

Date

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Appendix H: Job titles of respondents

Job Title(s)	Frequency	Percent
Account Executive	1	0.52
Account Manager	1	0.52
Administrative Assistant	1	0.52
Administrative Specialist, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Admissions Consultant, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Advertising Services Officer	1	0.52
Assistant Engineer of Aircraft Maintenance, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Assistant Fund Manager, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Assistant Production Manager	1	0.52
Assistant to the Manager of Business Department, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Associate	1	0.52
Associate Professor of English Teaching, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Attending Physician, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Branding Executive	1	0.52
CEO	1	0.52
Clerk	1	0.52
Communication & Development Assistant, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Corporate Communications Manager	1	0.52
Editor	2	1.04
Engineer & Consultant	1	0.52
Engineer, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
English Instructor, Freelance Translator, Freelance Journalist	1	0.52
English Teacher, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
English Translator (in-house)	3	1.55
English Tutor, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Export Salesman, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Financial Analyst, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Financial Translation Officer	1	0.52
Foreign Trade Salesman	1	0.52
Freelance Interpreter & Translator	1	0.52
Freelance Medical Writer, Freelance Medical Translator	1	0.52
Freelance Translator	78	40.41
Game Operations Supervisor, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
High Engineer	1	0.52
Instructor, Freelance Translator	1	0.52

International Marketing Executive, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Interpreter, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
IT, Freelance Translator	2	1.04
Junior Translator (in-house)	1	0.52
Lecturer, Freelance Translator	2	1.04
Manager	1	0.52
Marketing Analyst, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Marketing and Development Officer	1	0.52
Marketing Manager	1	0.52
Mechanical Engineer	1	0.52
Newspaper Editor	1	0.52
Office Clerk	2	1.04
Officer, Freelance Translation	1	0.52
Paralegal, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
PR Executive	1	0.52
PR Manager	1	0.52
President & CEO	1	0.52
Production Manager's Assistant, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Project Manager	2	1.04
Project Manager, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Project Officer	1	0.52
Project Planning & Administration Manager	1	0.52
R&D Scientist, Freelance Translation	1	0.52
Registered Cost Engineer	1	0.52
Researcher, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Sales Admin assistant manager	1	0.52
Sales Engineer, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Sales Manager	1	0.52
Secretary	1	0.52
Senior Account Executive	2	1.04
Senior Assistant Editor	1	0.52
Senior Associate	1	0.52
Senior Proof Reader	1	0.52
Senior Software Engineer	1	0.52
Senior Translator (in-house)	2	1.04
Service Manager; Freelance Translation	1	0.52
Software Engineer, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Student, Freelance Translator	8	4.15

Supervisor	1	0.52
Teacher	1	0.52
Teacher, Freelance Translator	3	1.55
Teacher, Freelance Writer, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Technical Manager	1	0.52
Trading Manager, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Trainer, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Translator (in-house)	17	8.81
Tutor, Freelance Translator	1	0.52
Total	193	100.00

Appendix I: Work sectors of respondents

Sector(s)	Frequency	Percent
Administration	1	0.52
Administration & Secretarial	3	1.55
Administration & Secretarial (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Administration (full-time), Translation (freelance)	2	1.04
Advertising	2	1.04
Automotive	1	0.52
Communication (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Construction	1	0.52
Engineering	3	1.55
Engineering (full-time), Translation (freelance)	3	1.55
Finance (full-time), Translation (freelance)	3	1.55
Human Resources (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Interpreting (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
IT	1	0.52
IT (full-time), Translation (freelance)	2	1.04
Legal (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Marketing	4	2.07
Marketing (full-time), Translation (freelance)	2	1.04
Media – News Agency	1	0.52
Media – Newspaper	1	0.52
Media – TV	1	0.52
Medical	1	0.52

Medical (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Public Relations	9	4.66
Production (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Publishing	2	1.04
Publishing (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Sales Administration	1	0.52
Sales (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Science (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Servicing (full-time), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Teaching	1	0.52
Teaching (full-time), Publishing (freelance), Translation (freelance)	1	0.52
Teaching (full-time), Translation (freelance)	11	5.70
Teaching (full-time), Translation (freelance), Media – Newspaper (freelance)	1	0.52
Trading	2	1.04
Trading (full-time), Translation (freelance)	2	1.04
Translation	120	62.18
Total	193	100.00