

**Revisiting the Translator's Visibility:
Interactive Translators as Happy Mediators between Clients and End-users:
The case of Greater China**

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1 Introduction

Although there has been a huge revival of interest in the role of translators and their visibility since the cultural and social turn, much of the discussion seems to focus on studying the translator's relation to the text. The main objective of this research project is to take a sociologically-oriented perspective to study three issues: the translator's visibility, the translator's happiness and the translator's interactivity with clients and end-users. We concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's mediating role is visible between the client and the end-user. This study hypothesizes that (1) visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators and (2) visible translators are happier than invisible translators.

This dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter two reviews the previous work on the translator's visibility and their happiness. Chapter three explains the theoretical framework for this research in detail. Chapter four describes the overall research design of the study. Chapter five analyzes the research findings from the questionnaire. In the final chapter, limitations of the study and recommendations for further research are outlined.

2 Previous work on the translator's visibility and their happiness

2.1 Introduction

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 there has been a huge revival of interest in the role of translators and their visibility since the cultural and social turn, much of the discussion seems to focus on studying the translator's relation to the text. For example, Wendy Leech points out that some notable Translation Studies scholars such as Bassnett, Venuti and Toury center their discussions on "the power that a translator has in relation to the text rather than his relation to society as a professional being" (Leech 2005: 14). For this research project, we revisit the translator's visibility from the perspective of their intercommunicative functions with regard to their clients and end-users.

In addition to the translator's visibility, this research also examines the translator's happiness. Happiness at work, which is an important issue to all working individuals, has attracted much attention from multiple disciplines such as business management, sociology and psychology. However, the topic has never been investigated systematically by Translation Studies scholars because translation studies, which partly originated as a sub-discipline of contrastive linguistics, for many years chose to be linguistics-centered.

Our study hypothesizes that (1) visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators and (2) visible translators are happier than invisible translators. This chapter reviews the relevant literature on the translators' visibility and their happiness.

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*.

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)

Some theorists consider that a text should not make it obvious that it is a translation. 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).

In the beginning chapters of his book, Venuti focuses on discussing the relationship between the translator and the text within a socio-cultural context. In Chapter six, Venuti shares his own experience with readers by saying that a translated text, however, inevitably 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, he 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 highlights how translation has been seen as a private activity.

Although we use the term “visibility” for this research project, our focus is different from Venuti's. He talks about 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 between the client and the end-user.

In recent years, Translation Studies scholars have started to pay attention to the translator's professional status in the society. In addition, they have also begun to view translation as a professional social activity. In the following sections, we will first explain the definition of the translator's visibility as used for this research project. Based on the definition, we propose a new term, "The interactive acknowledged translator". Then, we continue to discuss some key terms related to the translator's visibility. After that, we offer an overview of some seminal empirical studies dealing with the translator's visibility.

2.2.1 Definition of the translator's visibility

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" (Király 2003: 13). Translators are also required to communicate effectively during the process of translation. Focusing on these professionals' inter-communicative functions, our working definition of the translator's visibility refers to situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users. It also applies to situations in which the translator's name can appear on their translated texts. This working environment allows translators to receive awareness, recognition, appreciation or criticism of their inter-communicative roles and work.

"Invisible translators" are defined as those who never, rarely or seldom have the opportunity to get in touch with their clients or end-users. In like manner, their name never, rarely or seldom appears on their translations.

Conversely, "visible translators" are those who not only can communicate with both their clients and end-users sometimes, often or very often, but also whose name

in like manner appears on their translations.

In fact, visibility and invisibility are only two extreme poles. Visibility is not a binary concept, it can be described along a continuum. Leech has used empirical research methods to study the visibility of the translator for her Masters' thesis. She reminds us "there are different types of invisibility that concern a translator" (Leech 2005: 15). In order to test our hypotheses, the visibility of the translator will be classified into several categories that concern the degree of direct communication between translators and their clients on the one hand, and end-users on the other as well as how often their names appear on their translations. The classification will be further explained in Chapter three.

2.2.2 *Key terms related to the translator's visibility*

The translator's visibility has been linked with various terms in the literature to discuss translation as a social activity and the status of translators in the society.

If we ask the general public this question: "What is translation?", we may get different answers from different people. And if we continue to ask people whether translation is a visible social activity, we may expect to hear this kind of answer: translation is invisible as it always takes place behind the scene. Wolfram Wilss (1999) points out that some people even think that translation is an inborn ability — a person growing up in a bilingual or multilingual environment can translate. Besides, "translation and interpreting are code-switching operations (transfer between languages) which can hardly be considered intellectually or emotionally glamorous" (Wilss 1999: 169).

When we read literature on translation as a social activity, we find that translation is often perceived to be a kind of secondary, mechanical, marginal and non-creative activity, as mentioned by Susan Bassnett in her book *Translation Studies*.

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). The translator’s low image is also apparent in Theo Herman’s study of metaphor and imagery in Renaissance translator’s discourse. “... a power relation between source and target texts is present in metaphors such as master/ servant, owner/ slave, sunlight/ candlelight, body/ shadow” (Hermans 1985, cit. Classe 2000: 1324).

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy (2006) carried out a questionnaire survey to investigate the image of translators between 1999 and 2004.

On the whole, these responses portray a relatively inferior cultural image of translators, 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)

Translation as a profession is also being seen as a peripheral (Hermans and Lambert 1998), thankless (Risku 2004), poorly paid (Venutoi 1995, Chan 2008), and a low status and even servile occupation (Bassnett 2002). Sela-Sheffy points out that translation is often seen as “a second-rate auxiliary occupation with only a secondary function in the production of texts (Sela-Sheffy 2006: 243). She (2006) even mentions that translation is not officially recognized as a profession by the Israel Income Tax authorities

Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen (2008) tell us that the lack of focus on the translator in TS is actually not surprising at all if we refer to James Holmes’ diagram in his 1972 essay “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies”, a text generally seen as creating a defining point in the establishment of Translation Studies as an independent discipline.

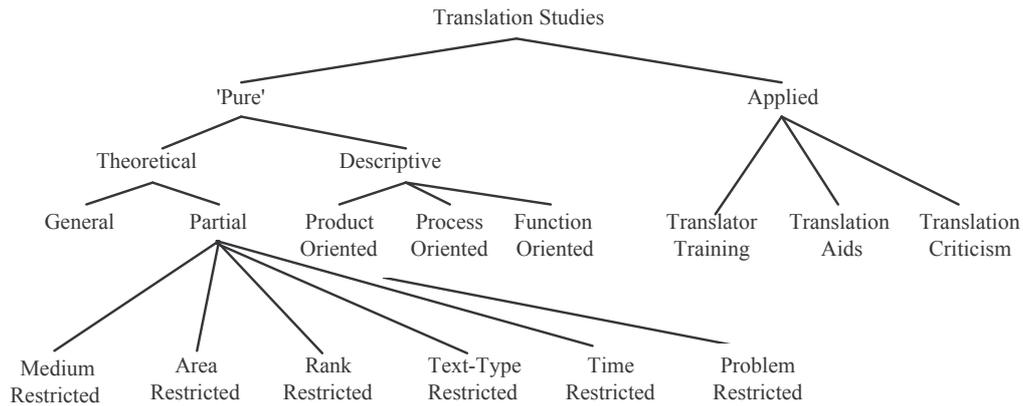


Figure 2.1: Holmes' conception of translation studies (from Toury 1995: 10)

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”

One 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. (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2008: 72)

This quotation helps to explain why the social status of the translator as a professional group has traditionally not been a central topic in Translation Studies. Our study takes a broader perspective so that we not only concern literary translators but also include non-literary translators.

Prunč has written a paper entitled “Priests, princes and pariahs. Constructing the professional field of translation” (2007) to investigate the various reasons for the discrepancy in the rather marginal status of the translator. He points out that translators are often forced into invisible roles, reducing them to the status of transcoders. In Prunč's view, translators consider the author as their master and the

client as the king. This kind of pariah habitus is engrained in the translators' character: "They continue to work for ever lower prices and rates and are both the victims and originators of the current price-cutting spiral which threatens not only their own existence but also the reputation of the translation profession" (Prunč 2007: 49).

It is worth pointing out that there is no empirical research to support some of the statements mentioned above. Our study aims to take an empirically-oriented approach to examine the translator's mediating role between clients and end-users.

2.2.3 *The Chinese perspective on the translator's visibility and status*

In the following section, we give a brief overview of the translator in the Chinese history, since we have chosen to study translators in the Greater China region.

In Chinese history, the first recorded activity of translation took place in the Zhou Dynasty (1045 BC). At that time, government officials handled translation assignments and took up interpreting responsibilities. Although translation at that time was very primitive, Jia Gongyan, an imperial scholar in the Zhou Dynasty, defined translation as an activity in which one written language is replaced by another without changing the meaning so that mutual understanding is possible.

China has a three-thousand-year history of translation, however, translation was always seen as a low-status occupation. From ancient China to the Qing Dynasty, the imperial government was the major patronage of translation activities. However, translation-related positions in the government rank system were often ignored because translators were basically not listed on the nine grades of official rank (or Nine rank system), except in the Jin and Qing dynasty. These two dynasties were not ruled by Han people, who form the majority of the Chinese population. The status of translators was higher because translators could help the imperial government to communicate with the Han people. Table 2.1 shows the ranking of translators from the

Tang dynasty to the Qing dynasty.

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	Mongolia, Chinese, Farsi	Not list on the nine grades of official rank
Ming	Chinese	Not list on the nine grade of official rank / to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Qing	Manchurian language, Mongolia, Chinese	Listed up to grade six/ to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ Court/ legation

Table 2.1: the ranking of translators from the Tang dynasty to the Qing dynasty

Source: Hung 2005: 129

As most of the translation activities were controlled and supported by the Imperial government, translation remained a kind of invisible activity in China until the imperial examination system was canceled in 1905, a few years before the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912.

Although China has a long history of translation, Translation Studies as an independent discipline has only been addressed since the 1980s. At that time, Chinese scholars were influenced by western translation theories and therefore began to view Translation Studies as an independent discipline.

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 TS, much research is still confined to the linguistic study of translation skills. “Too 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). There has not been a clear “social turn” in Chinese Translation Studies and research on the translator’s mediating role and their professionalism in the society is still rare.

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

In recent decades, there seems to be a trend towards giving a higher status for translation and greater respectability for the translator. In Bassnett’s view, translation has been becoming a visible humanistic social activity 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). Besides, she sees that “today translation is viewed as an act of invention that produces a new original in another language” (Bassnett 1999: i). There is also a growing belief that translators play an extremely important role in the construction of meaning in transcultural exchange because “translation as a social practice helps to identify the processes of negotiation based on positions of power” (Prunč 2007: 39). Additionally, a number of Translation Studies scholars emphasize that the last decade has brought increased visibility for translators. Carol Maier stresses “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).

2.2.5 *Empirical research on the translator’s visibility and their status*

In recent decades, Translation Studies has shifted from traditional prescriptivism

toward more empirically-oriented and descriptive. Andrew Chesterman (1998) tells us that some trends can be distinguished in Translation Studies in the 1990s.

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 perspective 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 used empirical research methods to investigate the translator's visibility in their workplaces, their social status and their job satisfaction. In addition, some Translation Studies scholars including Simeoni (1998), Hermans (1999), Gouanvic (2002, 2005), Sela-Sheffy (2005, 2006, 2008), Hanna (2005) and Wolf (2006) have mobilized French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theories of field, habitus and capital to explain translation phenomena. As we also use Bourdieu's theories to construct our theoretical framework, we will explain his concepts in more detail in the next chapter. In the following, we give an overview of some seminal studies using Bourdieu's concepts to investigate the status of the translator and their visibility.

Sela-Sheffy (2006) has conducted 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. Sela-Sheffy notes that translation is often seen as a second-rate auxiliary occupation, thus, literary translators try to find ways to make their status more reputable. In the research findings, a person's personality is 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 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. (Self-Sheffy 2006: 249-250)

Literary translators build their prestige mainly on personal artist-like glory. They will not put great emphasis on their well-educated background to seek differentiation from other professional groups. Instead, they present to the public that their choice to be translators is “not as a rational decision, fitting their education and social status, but rather as a destiny that has somehow been realized by chance” (Sela-Sheffy 2006: 251).

According to Self-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. (Self-Sheffy 2006: 251)

In addition to the above research, Sela-Sheffy has also 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 a transparent medium of textual

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

Dam and Zethsen have carried out an empirical research project entitled "Translator Status: A Study of Danish Company Translators" (2008) to examine the status of a group of translators working for 13 major Danish companies. The researchers explore the concept of "status" by using four parameters of occupational status including (1) salary, (2) education/ expertise, (3) visibility/ fame and (4) power/ influence. The analysis is based on the responses to two sets of questionnaires, one for the translator and one for the core-employee. The findings reveal that the translators have a relatively strong professional profile and a relatively high level of visibility in their companies. In order to understand the visibility of the translators, the two authors ask the respondents 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 are asked a question concerning the degree 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. When the core-employees are asked "How many of the company's translators do you know by name or by appearance?" The answers show that 71% of them say that they know "all", "most", or "quite a lot" of the company's translators.

These research results are quite opposite to general beliefs, i.e. that translators

are invisible and their status is relatively low. Dam and Zethsen explain that the relatively high degree of visibility may be attributable to the design of the study itself because “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” (Dan and Zethsen 2008: 91).

As one of the objectives of our research is to study the translator’s visibility from the perspective of inter-communicative functions, the questions asked by Dam and Zethsen may not be able to show the whole picture. The responsibility of a translator is to render a source text provided by the commissioner into a target text for readers. There are at least three parties, including the source-text provider/ the commissioner, the translator and the reader in the production of a translation. Therefore, occupying a central position in a company does not necessarily mean that an individual translator is visible, as the person may only be visible to colleagues.

2.3 Previous work on the translator’s happiness

In the previous section, we have explained that translation has been traditionally viewed as a low-status occupation and translators are thought to have been invisible and seldom recognized. Although there have been some attempts to study the translator’s professional status since the social and cultural turn, this is still not a central topic in Translation Studies. Worse still, very few studies ask whether translators are happy with their work and status or not.

If the translation profession is such an auxiliary occupation, why do people still keep their translation jobs? There must be some important factors which 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 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 responds to the question by saying: “I’ve never done anything else in life — administration, language teaching, or sailing to Mexico — that quite provided that satisfaction of translating a really lovely book into English. So for me at least that amply compensates for the lack of income.” Another translator adds his comments: “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, these people, who are probably translators, appear to attach greater importance to symbolic capital (in Bourdieu’s terms) than they do to economic capital. So do all translators have the same preference? Would this be the case only in the field of literary translation? At present, the topic of the translator’s happiness or their job satisfaction is a relatively uncharted area. In Andrew Chesterman’s article “Questions in the sociology of translation” (2006), he urges that the translation market, particularly in the business world and research on its functioning, 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)

There is no denying that some Translation Studies scholars are now investigating the translator’s status. But much of the focus is on literary and business translators. In order to give a complete picture, our study will cover different kinds of translators.

In the following sections, we will explain the concept of happiness and other related terms, the Chinese perspective on happiness, previous work on the translator’s

happiness in Translation Studies, and views on the translator's happiness on the Internet.

2.3.1 *Definition and key terms related to happiness*

What is happiness? It 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 by a variety of philosophical, psychological and religious approaches. Here we are not going to discuss all the perspectives on happiness in detail. We will only relate the concept to work, to be more precise, i.e. the translator's happiness in relation to their work.

There is actually a rich literature on the psychology of happiness, more or less related to well-being or job satisfaction. Why? Should we change our mind and use the word “well-being” or “job satisfaction” instead of “happiness”? Peter 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).

We use the term “happiness” rather than “well-being” because we want to know about the translator's unhappiness as well. We strongly believe that unhappiness is essential to the definition of happiness. We do not want to only focus on the happy side and avoid talking about unhappiness.

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 such as the translator's ambivalence about their profession.

Our working definition of the translator's happiness contains two elements. First of all, the translator's happiness depends on the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and that the job allows the person to obtain it. Happiness is, however, not necessarily a selfish goal or a result of desire maximization. The second element for the working definition emphasizes the translator's long-lasting enjoyment of work through accomplishing worthy purposes.

We will discuss how to operationalize the translator's happiness in more detail in the next chapter.

2.3.2. *The Chinese perspective on happiness and when East meets West*

As we have chosen to study translators in the Greater China region, we will give a brief overview of the concept of happiness from the Chinese perspective.

According to Luo Lu (2001), the word *Fu* (Chinese: 福) or *Xingfu* (Chinese: 幸福) may be the closest equivalent 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 "宀" which symbolizes the roof of a house, "口" which implies people and "田" which represents land. Thus, the word *Fu* includes the meaning of "longevity, prosperity, health, peace, virtue, and a comfortable death" (Wu 1991 cit. Lu 2001: 409).

The Chinese conception of happiness is shaped by the three philosophies of

Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

Chinese culture has been molded by three philosophical traditions — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Briefly, Confucianism deals with human relationships, Taoism deals with life in harmony with nature, and Buddhism deals with people's immortal world. (Fang 1998: 26)

Among the three philosophies, Confucianism, which has been the most influential philosophy in China since the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, provides Chinese people with their basic identity, no matter where they are, although some differences may exist in different Chinese societies. Confucianism, which forms the foundation of the Chinese cultural tradition and provides the basis for the norms of the Chinese society, is worthy of discussion here.

Confucian philosophy provided the guiding principles adopted by the Chinese Communist Party to educate its citizens in order to preserve the traditional Chinese cultures and values among local people in China and to repel foreign ideas.

Traditionally, Marxism or Maoism as an ideology was the most powerful weapon for the national government to regulate or coordinate local society. With the decline in Marxist or Maoist faith, foreign ideas, such as capitalism, individualism, and political liberalism, gradually took over the ideological vacuum among local residents. (Zhao 2000: 18)

According to Xu Guangqiou (2001), Chinese cultures play an essential role in maintaining social stability in Chinese history. Thus, advocating Confucian ethical norms, such as being more concerned with righteousness than profit, can help to establish and maintain social harmony.

Confucianism is not only important to the Chinese societies but is also

influencing some western societies. For example, Geert Hendrik Hofstede, who is an influential Dutch cultural studies scholar with interests in the interactions between national cultures and organization cultures, has included Confucian ideas in his study of national work related values. 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 is about Individualism versus Collectivism. “Individualism implies a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and of their immediate family only”. 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” (Hofstede 1980: 45).
- (3) The Masculinity versus Femininity dimension is about “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, which was initially called Confucian work dynamism by Bond. Hofstede once explains:

Michael Bond calls it *Confucian work dynamism* – Confucian because the items on both poles of the dimension remind him some of the teachings of Confucius, and dynamism because the positive pole groups future-oriented items and the negative pole groups past-and-present-oriented items. In practical terms, the dimension refers to a long-term versus a short-term orientation in life. (Hofstede 2001: 354)

(5) The long-term versus a short-term dimension “deals with a society’s search for Virtue” (Hofstede & Bond 1988: 19). Hofstede and Bond originally “called this dimension ‘Confucian Dynamism’ to show that it deals with a choice from Confucius’ ideas” (Hofstede & Bond 1988: 16). As mentioned, 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 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).

Confucianism is a philosophy of living and is anti-individualistic. Happiness can only be achieved through “knowledge, benevolence, and harmony of the group” (Wu 1992: 31). Confucius focuses on the attainment of harmony. Social harmony can be achieved when the "Five Cardinal Relationships" (Chinese: 五倫 *wu lun*) are fulfilled. The Five Cardinal Relationships are ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother, and friend-friend. In addition, “Confucians regards happiness as spiritual, not material; as moral, not circumstantial” (Lu 2001: 411).

Happiness is to achieve this ultimate life goal through hard work and frugality to accumulate material resources, through intellectual labor and passing exams to obtain respectable social

status, through suppression of selfish and earthly desires to lead a virtuous life, and ultimately through fulfillment of one's social duties. (Lu 2001: 410)

This may help to explain why some of the Chinese translators see translation as a private/ invisible activity and translators are often secondary and subservient to the author's purpose. It is because traditional Chinese people are trained not to put emphasis on the individual's interest. It may also explain why some Chinese translators think that personal prestige is not important because the happiness of the translator should be self-identified, not other-judged.

Of course, the above-mentioned opinions are just anecdotal and have not been tested empirically. In addition, we should not apply these viewpoints to all Chinese people because not all Chinese people in the world are influenced by the Confucianism and traditional teachings in the same way.

2.3.3 *Previous research on the translator's happiness*

Anthony Pym (2006) has mentioned that if there is really a growing focus on mediators and their social contexts, it is perhaps in the field of community interpreting. For literature on the translator's happiness or unhappiness with their work, one needs to look at interpreting. There is a lack of literature on the topic in the written translation. However, we can find some research articles related to the subject in the interpreting profession.

Hong Hui-Fen (2002) has studied job stress among conference interpreters in Taiwan. The research findings show that conference interpreters in Taiwan are under tremendous job stress. In particular, respondents point out that they always worry about job insecurity.

Shih Yen-Ju (2004) has investigated the personality profile of conference

interpreters in Taiwan. According to the research findings, 60 percent of the total research population (30 conference interpreters participated in her research) suggested that the interpreting profession attracts practical, thorough and perseverant individuals who prefer to analyze facts and organize information.

Katie Chen (2007) in her M. Phil thesis “An Initial Investigation of Interpreter’s Work Values and Job Satisfaction in Taiwan” explores the interpreters’ view on work values and on their current job satisfaction in Taiwan. A total of 96 email invitations together with a questionnaire were sent to respondents 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-actualization, the sense of security and personal growth. However, the respondents point out that the interpreter’s job often fails to provide them with steady employment and sufficient room for professional development. Chen suggests that it is essential to enhance public understanding of the interpreting profession so as to safeguard interpreters’ interests and boost their autonomy.

Hermans and Lambert (1998/2006) have conducted an empirical study on the question of why job satisfaction is as low among translators in business environments as it seems to be. The two authors interview 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 part in the office; they can only occupy a peripheral position in their working environment. The research even reveals that translation is not a job conducive to happiness.

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

2.3.4 *Discussion on the Internet about the translator's happiness*

Given the paucity of discussion about the translator's happiness in academic publications in Translation Studies, opinions on the Internet websites are sought out.

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 some opinions already 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. The first comment about this particular survey goes: "a translator has a highly responsible job: increasing communication between people, and thereby reducing misunderstanding. This vocation is important because of the increase in world population and global trade."

Translator's opinions about their 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 the theoretical framework for this research in detail.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

As we have 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 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,

The translator is a key actor in the process of importing or exporting ideas, concepts, rationales, through 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, purchase, 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. The translator's own interests and decision-making process should also be studied.

Our research hypothesizes that visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators. In addition, we also hypothesize that visible translators are happier than invisible translators. In order to test these two hypotheses, we have to operationalize some terms, including visibility, capital and happiness.

This chapter discusses the overall theoretical framework applied in the present study. First of all, we define and explain how to operationalize the term “visibility” in detail. Then we use Bourdieu's concept of capital to discuss how to test the first hypothesis — visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators. After that, we develop a construct by using Bourdieu's sociology, Peter Warr's happiness model, Aristotle's happiness and the Chinese Confucian concept of happiness to carry out a preliminary study of the translator's happiness and to test our second hypothesis — visible translators are happier than invisible translators. The rationale of choosing these theories to construct our theoretical framework will be further justified in the following sections.

3.2 How to operationalize the term “visibility”?

Some people may relate the translator's visibility to the presence of the translator's name on the translation. However, in our view, having the name printed on the translation does not really mean that the translator is visible to the people who consume the text because there is no two-way communication between the individual translator and the end-user. Emma Wagner notes, “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" (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 27).

Before explaining how to operationalize the term "visibility" in detail, we now make a quick review of our working definition of the translator's visibility.

Our view of the translator's visibility focuses on these professionals' inter-communicative functions. The working definition of the translator's visibility refers to situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users. Additionally, clients and end-users can also directly interact with the translator. It also applies to situations in which the translator's name can appear on their translated texts. This working environment allows the translators to receive awareness, recognition, appreciation or criticism of their inter-communicative roles and work.

Invisible translators are defined as those who never, rarely or seldom have the opportunity to get in touch with their clients or end-users. Accordingly, their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations.

Conversely, visible translators are those who not only can communicate with both their clients and end-users sometimes, often or very often, but also whose name in like manner appears on their translations.

Guided by these working definitions, the visibility of the translator can be classified into several categories. Table 3.1 shows the classification of translators according to their visibility. Table 3.2 lists the characteristics of each of the category.

Our questionnaire allows respondents to give their answers by using frequency options (never/ rarely/ seldom/ sometimes/ often/ very often) which indicate the extent of their direct communication with their clients and end-users. After we have received a subject's completed questionnaire, we will then analyze their responses in a move to classify the translator as visible or invisible.

Invisible translators	Visible translators
The non-interactive unacknowledged translator	The interactive acknowledged translator
The non-interactive acknowledged translator	
The client-invisible acknowledged translator	
The client-invisible unacknowledged translator	
The end-user-invisible acknowledged translator	
The end-user-invisible unacknowledged translator	
The interactive unacknowledged translator	

Table 3.1: The classification of translators according to their visibility

Category of Translators	Client	End-user	Name
The non-interactive unacknowledged translator	X	X	X
The non-interactive acknowledged translator	X	X	O
The client-invisible acknowledged translator	X	O	O
The client-invisible unacknowledged translator	X	O	X
The end-user-invisible acknowledged translator	O	X	O
The end-user-invisible unacknowledged translator	O	X	X
The interactive unacknowledged translator	O	O	X
The interactive acknowledged translator	O	O	O

Table 3.2 The characteristics of each of the category of translators

Notes:

- ◆ For the columns entitled “Client” and “End-user”, “X” indicates that the translator never, rarely or seldom communicates with the party, while for the column entitled “Name”, “X” indicates that the name of the translator never, rarely or seldom appears on their translations.
- ◆ For the columns entitled “Client” and “End-user”, “O” implies that the translator sometimes, often or very often can communicate with the party while for the column entitled “Name”, “O” denotes the name of the translator sometimes, often or very often appears on their translations.

3.2.1 Invisible translators

Guided by our working definitions, the translator-types mentioned below are classified as invisible translators.

The non-interactive unacknowledged translator is invisible to clients and end-users. They never, rarely or seldom interact with clients or end-users and their names do not appear on their translations. For example, they are those people who (1)

work on instruction manuals, (2) work for translation agencies to render texts that are collective or corporate products.

In addition, some people who work behind the scenes are assumed to be translators without knowing ahead of time that translation is part of their job description. These people are also classified as non-interactive unacknowledged translators because they have no interaction with clients or end-users and their name does not appear on their translations.

In many companies, persons doing translations may be employed under a number of different job descriptions (e.g. bilingual secretary, documentation manager etc.), even when they are qualified translators, simply because the company does not recognize translation as a separate professional skill. This causes immense frustration for those involved because they feel that their qualifications and their work are not recognized for what they are worth and the translations produced are not given the consideration they deserve by the managers who commission the work.

In this kind of business context, translations are also frequently carried out by people with some vague knowledge of languages but lacking any kind of training or qualification in translation. It is a well known fact, in many companies, translations are done by whoever happens to be free or willing to do the work. (Gouadec 2007: 101)

For instance, a departmental secretary of an advertising agency is told to translate some marketing material for a corporate client. The secretary, hired principally to handle administrative work, has no choice but to do the translation. The person has no opportunity to communicate with the client in order to get a clear translation brief, nor does the person know whom the end-user will be.

The non-interactive acknowledged translator never, rarely or seldom

interacts with clients or end-users. However, their name sometimes, often or very often appear on their translations sometimes, often or very often. The translator whose name appears on the front page of the translated text is one of the examples.

The client-invisible acknowledged translator never, rarely or seldom interacts with the client but they interact with the end-user sometime, often or very often. Their names sometimes, often or very often appear on their translations. For example, in-house corporate communications officers may be one of the examples. Those people 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 need to translate are provided by their supervisors. However, they are always required to communicate with the end-user such as getting feedback from the end-user on the work they have produced. Additionally, their names often printed on the work they produced.

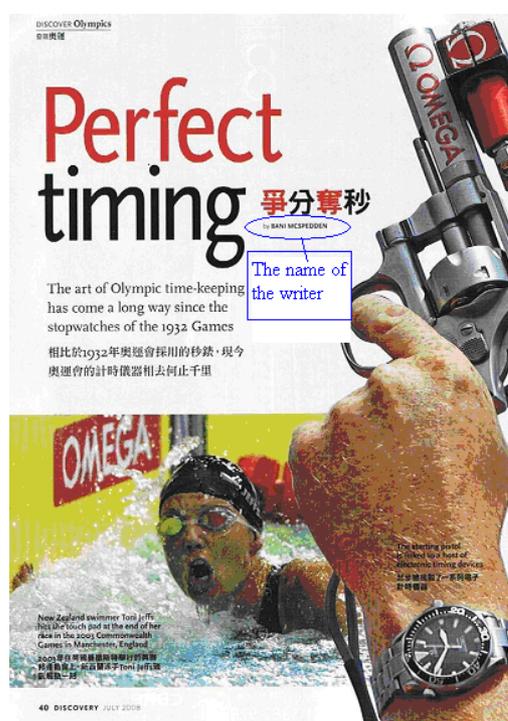
The client-invisible unacknowledged translator never, rarely or seldom interacts with the client but they sometimes, often or very often communicate with the end-user. However, their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations. The in-house translator who translates administrative notices is one of the examples.

The end-user-invisible acknowledged translator sometimes, often or very often interacts with the client but they never, rarely or seldom communicate with the end-user. These translators' names sometimes, often or very often appear on their translations. This is often seen in translators who work on bilingual publications such as bilingual magazines because they are required to interact with the client to get a clear translation brief such as the format or style before they start to do the translation. However, they do not interact with target-text readers, even though these translators' names appear on their translated texts.

The end-user-invisible unacknowledged translator sometimes, often or very

often interacts with the client but they never, rarely or seldom get in touch with the end-user. Their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations. This is seen in translators who work for inflight magazine publishers.

The image below is taken from the July issue of *Discovery*, a bilingual in-flight magazine published by Cathay Pacific. The English and Chinese languages appear on the same page. Although readers know that the English version is the source text because the byline at the beginning gives the name of the writer, they do not know who did the translation as the publisher does not give translators credit for their work.



The interactive unacknowledged translator is visible to clients and end-users as they sometimes, often or very often interact with both the client and the end-user. However, their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations. If the translator's name does not appear on the translated texts, end-users may not be able to get in touch with the translator directly. Although interactive unacknowledged translators are visible to both the client and the end-user, they are still classified as

invisible translators because end-users will only be contacted by the translator, not the other way around.

3.2.2 *The interactive acknowledged translator as fully visible translators*

Our research proposes a kind of translator who not only can communicate with their clients and end-users sometimes, often or very often, but also whose names in like manner appear on their translations. They are **the interactive acknowledged translator**.

Here we would like to give a specific example.

On November 4, 2008, I received an email message from “A” (a pseudonym), a Senior Consultant from a public relations agency called Hill & Knowlton in Hong Kong. The subject of the email was “Korean Air’s First Female Wings”. As I am a freelance journalist, I regularly receive press releases from different PR agencies. When I opened the email, two attachments including an English-language press release and a Chinese-language press release were found.

to © Christy Liu <christyliu@gnail.com>
date Tue, Nov 4, 2008 at 6:09 PM
subject [Press Release & Photo] Korean Air's First Female Wings

Korean Air's First Female Wings

HONG KONG, November 4, 2008 – Korean Air has appointed two female pilots as Captain for the first time in the history of both the airline and the civil aviation industry of Korea.

Pilots Soo-jin Shin and Soo-in Hong were officially appointed Captain after passing on November 3, 2008 the Captain Qualification Check, the final test to become an aircraft captain given by the Civil Aviation Safety Authority, a department under Korea's Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs.

Please download the photo from: <http://ftp.hillandknowlton.com.hk/KoreanAir/photo-Nov4.zip>



A (a pseudonym)
Senior Consultant
Hill and Knowlton Asia Ltd

HILL & KNOWLTON

In Greater China, translators who translate press releases (Chinese — English) in public relations agencies can be classified as “interactive acknowledged translators”. Although translation is their daily duty, they basically are not designated “translators” in the company. Their job titles vary according to the culture and business nature of their 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 directly get in touch with the client who represents a brand, a corporate company or an organization and end-users who are mainly journalists, reporters or correspondents.

In a public relations agency, a PR officer has to communicate with the client in order to produce press releases or bilingual materials. The person helps the client to arrange a press conference where end-users — such as journalists — are invited to join. At the press conference, the PR officer acts as a communication professional between the client and journalists. If the client has a tight budget and does not want to spend money on a press conference, the PR officer will send the prepared press release to journalists via email or fax. After sending out the material, the PR officer will call up journalists to do the follow-up work. Journalists can ask the PR officer for a translation of the press release or related materials if they need. If the PR officer already has a translation of the requested materials, the person will send them to the journalist. Otherwise, the PR officer will translate what the journalist requests after getting the approval from the client.

3.2.3 *Does visibility matter? Who wants to work visibly?*

Why does visibility matter? Focusing on the translator’s mediating role between the

client and the end-user implies the recognition of the translator's communicative functions in the cross-cultural communication. Pym has used an economic approach to explain the importance of two-way communications. In the view of Biau and Pym, 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)

Although we believe that studying the translator's visibility can help us have a better understanding of translation as a social activity, not all translators or cultures like high visibility. Hofstede points out that females 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, we will get responses from our subjects in order to analyze what kind of translators like to work visibly.

3.3 How to operationalize the terms "capital" and "happiness"?

In the following sections, we will first review Bourdieu's theory of capital, discuss its missing gaps and the connection between his theory and our study. After that, we will examine Peter Warr's happiness model, Aristotle's happiness and Chinese Confucian happiness to see how we can incorporate these into Bourdieu's sociology to develop a theoretical framework for our research.

3.3.1 *Bourdieu's concept of capital and its missing links*

The term “capital” we use here 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 (1997, 1986) identifies several types of capital, including economic, social, symbolic and cultural capital. Economic capital is related to financial resources. Social capital involves the agent’s interpersonal network, including the agent’s 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:

In the embodied state, i.e., 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. (Bourdieu 1997: 47)

Symbolic capital concerns 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)

The conceptualization is diagrammatically presented in table 3.3

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

Table 3.3: A simplified description of Bourdieu’s concept of the four kinds of capital

In addition to Bourdieu’s theory of capital, it is also important for us to have a basic understanding of the concepts of field and habitus, which are also developed by Bourdieu. “Fields” are

historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and own laws of functioning. The existence of specialized and relatively autonomous fields is correlative with the existence of specific stakes and interests [...] Interest is at once a conditioning of the functioning of a field, in so far as it was what ‘get people moving’. (Bourdieu 1990: 87)

“Habitus” is defined by Bourdieu as the system of “durable and transposable dispositions which function as the generative basis of structured objectively unified practices” (Bourdieu 1977: 72). The concepts of habitus, field and capital are closely interrelated. Within a social field, people struggle for the maintenance of power on the basis of their habitus and the various types of capital they have. From this point of view, we can imagine that translators, capital providers (such as clients and target text end-users) and the society as a whole are intertwined. If we want to understand translators, we should make an effort to know how translators interact with capital providers and the society.

3.3.2 *The translator’s happiness*

The study of the translator’s happiness as a research topic is a relatively uncharted territory in Translation Studies; I hope that my preliminary investigation into the translator’s happiness will throw some light on the subject.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, our working definition of the translator’s happiness contains two elements. First of all, the translator’s happiness depends on the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and that the job allows the person to obtain it. For this element, we will develop a construct to measure the amount of capital that translators hope for and what they say their jobs afford them. We will use a questionnaire survey to collect the data in order to carry out the analysis.

3.3.3 *Exploring what happiness means to the translator*

Happiness is, however, not necessarily a selfish goal or a result of desire maximization. Thus, the second element for the working definition emphasizes the translator’s long-lasting enjoyment of work through accomplishing worthy purposes.

It is necessary to understand how translators relate happiness and translation to work. In our questionnaire survey, we ask our subjects to draw on their feelings and comments to list three things that they like most about their jobs and three things they like least about their jobs. After collecting the statements from them, we will be able to analyze the differences between invisible and invisible translators. The results will also act as a guiding principle for me to further investigate what happiness and “worthy purposes” are to translators in my doctoral research. I will discuss a detailed explanation of the methodology in chapter four.

3.3.4 *Bourdieu's view on happiness*

We choose to use Bourdieu's sociology to construct a theoretical framework for examining the translator's happiness because he also 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)

There 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 and feeling oneself objectively, and therefore subjectively, endowed with a social mission. (Bourdieu 2000: 240)

Bourdieu sees happiness in purely individual terms as he regards all interpersonal relationships in terms of the struggles for capital. He does not advocate the concept of cooperation or mention the potential for shared happiness. Warr's

happiness model can be brought in to supplement what is lacking in Bourdieu's. The theories of Bourdieu and Warr can be made to work together to create a theoretical framework, because Warr's model requires multidimensional study which helps augment Bourdieu's.

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.

Warr has a notion of happiness similar to Bourdieu's and he posits a relation between the realization of one's desires and happiness. Warr points out that basically people are happy if they fulfill their goals. "People 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). In addition to this condition, Warr also reminds us that a happy person is also "somehow meeting a standard of fittingness in relation to what one should do" (Warr 2007: 38), compared to the one who has merely achieved what the person desires or wants. Warr labels this

notion as “self-validation”.

“Self-validation” has its roots in the writings of early Greek philosophers, and in particular as articulated by Aristotle’s *eudaimonia*. 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”, Aristotle only regards “eudaimonion” as “living well”. He emphasizes 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: “Happiness can be found in exercising the moral virtues” (Aristotle 2000: xii) Virtue is a translation of the Greek word “arête”, which literally means “excellence”. How can one make sure that the soul acts in accordance with virtue? On the Aristotelian view, the only way is through practice. In his conceptualization, “virtue particularly arose through contemplation about relationship with other members of society. Eudaimonia thus derived from thoughts or actions that are appropriate, worthwhile, or fitting in relation to one’s community” (Warr 2007: 10).

Virtue as moral action leading to happiness is also an idea found 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). As our study targets translators in the Greater China region, we cannot ignore the importance of taking Chinese philosophy into consideration when examining the translator in these Chinese societies. Confucianism is important to Chinese cultures because “Confucius was the first Chinese philosopher to formulate an earth-bound thought system” (Lu 2001: 410).

3.4 The happiness construct for this research

In what follows, we review Warr's happiness model, which contains 12 determinants measuring an individual's happiness, and then examine the relationship between the 12 determinants and Bourdieu's various kinds of capital.

3.4.1 Determinants related to symbolic capital

The first three Warr's determinants are:

- (1) Opportunity for personal control
- (2) Externally generated goals
- (3) Valued social position

These first three determinants can be classified 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).

The first determinant — opportunity for personal control — concerns a person's opportunity for gaining power. This issue "has often been studied in job settings, described as discretion, autonomy, absence of close supervision, self-determination or participations in decision making" (Warr 2007: 142). Our research aims to find out if translators like working independently (i.e. having autonomy) or not. What kind of translator can make decisions without having to follow "orders" or being controlled by anyone else?

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 own decisions during the translation process.

“Externally generated goals” refers to the presence of goals generated by a working environment.

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 “an environment that makes no demands on a person sets up no objectives and encourages no activity or achievement” (Warr 2007: 85). For the present research project, the translator’s externally generated goals are the expectations of clients and end-users. For example, if a translator receives some expectations from the client and the end-user, the person will be encouraged to achieve those goals. Thus, motivating expectations can be regarded as a kind of symbolic capital. We will examine if subjects put high emphasis on fulfilling the expectations from clients and end-users. What are the differences, in this regard, exist between visible translators and invisible translators?

The third determinant — valued social position — focuses on the respect a person can receive. This “characteristic affecting happiness or unhappiness is 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 the translation profession, it is

commonly assumed that translators place higher emphasis on professional pride and respect than on money.

For the translator or interpreter a higher consideration than money or continued employability is professional pride, professional integrity, professional self-esteem. We all want to feel that the job we are doing is important, that we do it well, and that the people we do it for appreciate our work. (Robinson 1997: 23)

In our project, we will investigate how visible and invisible translators view the matter of professional respect. Do they receive such symbolic capital through their work?

In addition to personal respect, corporate pride may also be essential to the translator's happiness. For example, do translators feel proud to be a part of their company? Or they just feel proud of being in their profession? Do they attach importance to their role of being a translation professional? Or is it that they actually do not care about their professional respect as long as they can use their language skills and work on texts? These aspects should also be studied.

3.4.2 *Determinants related to economic capital*

The above three determinants of Warr's refer to situations in which social agents can receive more symbolic capital through their work. The determinant below 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 Lung Jan (2008) has examined why translators are often underpaid in his PhD dissertation *Information Economics, the Translation Profession and Translator Certification*. 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 translators' status. It will be interesting to understand how translators perceive the remuneration they receive for the work they have done 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 on a regular basis. Therefore, we will ask the subjects whether they attach importance to long-term job security. Are their jobs long-term and secure?

3.4.3 *Determinants related to social capital*

In Warr's happiness modal, several determents 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.

The fifth determinant, 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?

The sixth determinant — 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. Thus, we would examine are they able to receive appreciation of their work from their clients and end-users.

The career outlook determinant concerns the "potential for movement to other roles" (Warr 2007: 134). This determinant can be studied together with the eighth determinant which is about the "variation in the conditions to which a person is exposed and in the activities he or she is required to perform" (Warr 2007: 183). People may dislike working in an 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 correlate with other negative environmental characteristics, such as low opportunity for control and for skill use. (Warr 2007: 184)

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

3.4.4 *Translation as a cooperative activity*

The sixth and the seventh determinants, as we have already mentioned, share a similar feature, that is, 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 overlooked — the possibility of cooperation. In our opinion, an important aspect to be considered in the translation process is how various parties work together to achieve a shared goal that brings mutual benefits to all. In the new era of globalization and advanced technology, 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. 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)

The notion of cooperation is absent from Bourdieu's sociology 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 together with people not only from the same profession and also other fields. In Bourdieu's habitus theory, he says that "the affinities of the habitus experienced as sympathy and antipathy are the basis of all forms of cooperation" (Bourdieu 1990: 128). However, "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).

3.4.5 *But do translators like cooperating with people?*

On a preliminary basis, we argue that translators can maximize their capital via the process of cooperation —working not only with people of similar background but

also with people occupying other habitus. From this perspective, our present study examine whether or not translators have a preference for cooperating with people and whether they work together with people from the same as well as from different professions. This investigation is essential because some translators may not like cooperating with people. Instead, they may prefer only working with texts. Thus, our study determines first if translators like cooperating with people. The research results will pave the way for us to further study the nature and the model of cooperation in translation.

3.4.6 *Determinants related to cultural capital*

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

(9) Opportunity for skill use and acquisition

(10) Environmental clarity

The 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). Michaela Wolf (2006) found that cultural capital has a higher priority than economic capital for female translators working in the field of feminist publishing. This also helps to explain why some translators work for free.

Our research will try to understand the differences between visible and invisible translators in terms of how they see the opportunity to use their skills and expertise. Can they apply their skills and expertise to their work? And are they able to learn new knowledge? Can they boost their professional qualifications?

The environmental clarity determinant 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 is classified as a kind of cultural capital because feedback, no matter positive or negative, may help sharpen the translator's skills and knowledge. In my opinion, feedback is as important as the translation instructions. Thus, our research looks at the differences between visible and invisible translators when they judge the feedback they receive from the client and the end-user. Do they receive feedback from the two parties regularly?

3.4.7 *Determinants help protect the translator's previously acquired capital*

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

(11) Equity

(12) Physical security

The eleventh determinant 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. Issues related to fairness are especially important to translators because the popular image of translators is that of being servants of other masters. These translators are always underpaid, undervalued, subordinate and rank low on the ladder of social or occupational status. As fairness is an abstract concept, we would use semi-structured interviews to explore this issue.

The last determinant — physical security — concerns a physically secure setting. Working in a physically secure setting will help protect translators’ previously acquired capitals. According to Warr, aspects related to physical security are often omitted from research into employee’s happiness. We also study this issue via semi-structured interviews.

Table 3.4 tries to simplify the above construct:

Types of capital	The name of the determinant — the wording we use in the questionnaire survey (the source of the determinant)
Symbolic capital	The opportunity for personal control – work independently (Warr’s first determinant)
	The opportunity for personal control – Decision-making opportunities at work (Warr’s first determinant)
	Externally generated goals – Fulfilling the expectation from the client (Warr’s second determinant)
	Externally generated goals – Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user (Warr’s second determinant)
	Valued social position – Professional respect (Warr’s third determinant)
	The company’s reputation in the industry (derived from Warr’s third determinant)
	The pride of the person profession (derived from Warr’s third determinant)
	The person’s role of being a translation professional. (derived from Warr’s third determinant)
Economic capital	Availability of money – Salary (Warr’s fourth determinant)
	Long-term job security (derived from Warr’s fourth determinant)
Social capital	Contact with others – A working environment that allows the person to strengthen his personal network. (Warr’s fifth determinant)
	Supportive supervision – The client’s appreciation of the person’s translation work (Warr’s sixth determinant)
	Supportive supervision – The end-user’s appreciation of the person’s translation work (Warr’s sixth determinant)
	Career outlook: opportunity for a shift to other roles & Variation in job content and location – Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only. (Warr’s seventh & eighth determinants)

	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession. (derived from Warr's seventh determinant, the eighth determinant and cooperation theory)
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions (derived from Warr's seventh determinant, the eighth determinant and cooperation theory)
Cultural capital	Opportunity for skill use and acquisition – Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work (Warr's ninth determinant)
	Opportunity for skill use and acquisition – Opportunity to learn new knowledge (Warr's ninth determinant)
	Opportunity for skill use and acquisition – Opportunity to improve the person's translation skills (Warr's ninth determinant)
	Opportunity for skill use and acquisition – Opportunity to boost the person's professional qualification (Warr's ninth determinant)
	Environmental clarity – Feedback on the translated work from the client. (Warr's tenth determinant)
	Environmental clarity – Feedback on the translated work from the end-user. (Warr's tenth determinant)
Determinants help to protect translators' previously acquired capitals.	Equity
	Physical security

Table 3.4: The relationship between Bourdieu's capital theory and Warr's happiness model

After the theoretical framework has been discussed in detail, the next chapter explains the methodology.

4. Methodology

4.1 Overview

This chapter describes the overall research design of the study. Section 4.2 introduces this study's research approach. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 describe the overall research design including the objects of study, research questions, hypotheses and our survey

instrument scheme. Section 4.5 explains the development of the questionnaire, a pilot test, sampling methods and data collection strategies.

4.2 Introduction

Adopting a suitable research approach is to a research project what water is to fish. According to *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (7th edition), “research” means “a careful study of a subject, especially in order to discover new facts or information about it”. Doing research involves a process of 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, which is generally numerical
- (2) Qualitative, which is mostly non-numerical

According to 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 we call it mixed-method approach) is commonly adopted because this mixed-method approach 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/ subject/ issue. Figure 4.1 shows the dual approach we use for this study:

Structure of the research methodology

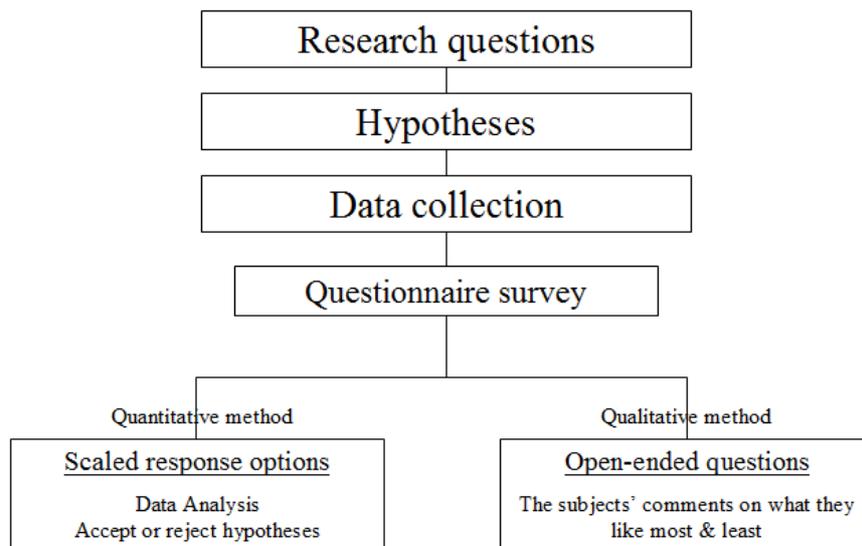


Figure 4.1: The structure of the research methodology developed for this study.

4.3 Research questions

In recent years, scholars have been trying to connect Translation Studies with Sociology and Cultural studies, our project takes a sociologically-oriented perspective to study the three issues: the translator's visibility, the translator's happiness, and the

translator's interactivity with clients and end-users.

The focus of our research on the translator's visibility is on these professionals' inter-communicative functions. We concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's mediating role is visible between the client and the end-user. Our working definition of the translator's visibility refers to situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users. It also applies to situations in which the translator's name can appear on their translated texts. Our first research question is to find out whether or not visible translators can obtain more symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital than invisible translators if we assume that these four kinds of capital which comprises 22 determinants are of the same value.

Secondly, as translators are important mediators between the text and people, it is worthwhile investigating their happiness. We would like to know what differences exist between visible translators and invisible translators. Is the former group happier than the latter?

Thirdly, we would like to know how translators judge the importance of the various kinds of capital (i.e. what they want to receive) and whether or not they can earn what they hope for. Are there any differences between visible and invisible translators?

4.4. Hypotheses

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

H_1 : Visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators.

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}: Visible translators receive more symbolic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1b}: Visible translators receive more economic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1c}: Visible translators receive more social capital than invisible translators.

H_{1d}: Visible translators receive more cultural capital than invisible translators.

Our second hypothesis (H₂) is that:

H₂: Visible translators are happier than invisible translators.

A mixed-method approach, including quantitative and qualitative analysis, is employed in this study to answer the three research questions and to test the above hypotheses. Comparatively speaking, my analysis for this dissertation will be more quantitative. Although I know that translators do not have the same values, quantitative method can act as a guideline helping me to conduct qualitative analysis, which will take the form of detailed case studies in my PhD dissertation.

4.5 Developing the questionnaire

4.5.1 A survey instrument scheme

There are many guidelines teaching how to set questionnaires (Oppeheim: 1992; Hague: 1993 and Gillham: 2007). We have considered those books' advice prior to designing the questionnaire. With the theoretical framework as discussed in the

previous chapter, it became possible to develop a new questionnaire for our study. In the questionnaire, questions were developed with the assistance of Professor Anthony Pym and Professor Leo Chan Tak-hung. In addition, we made the questions as neutral as possible in order to minimize bias. Appendix 4 lists the complete questionnaire. Table 4.1 shows the overall survey instrument scheme.

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	ID
Visibility (V)	Communicate directly with the client (VCC)	Q10
	Communicate directly with the end-user (VCE)	Q12
	Name appears on the translations (VNT)	Q14
Symbolic capital (SY)	Work independently (SYWI)	Q 15 & Q37
	Decision-making opportunities at work (SYDM)	Q16 & Q38
	Fulfilling the expectation from the client (SYCE)	Q17 & Q39
	Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user (SYEE)	Q18 & Q40
	Professional respect (SYPR)	Q19 & Q41
	The company's reputation in the industry (SYCR)	Q20 & Q42
	The pride of the profession (SYPP)	Q21 & Q43
	The role of being a translation professional. (SYEP)	Q22 & Q44
Economic capital (E)	Salary (ES)	Q23 & Q45
	Long-term job security (EJS)	Q24 & Q46
Social capital (SO)	A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the personal network. (SOPN)	Q25 & Q47
	The client's appreciation of the person's translation work (SOCA)	Q26 & Q48
	The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work (SOEA)	Q27 & Q49
	Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only. (SOMR)	Q28 & Q50
	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession. (SOWTP)	Q29 & Q51
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions (SOWDP)	Q30 & Q52
Cultural capital (C)	Opportunity to learn new knowledge (CL)	Q31 & Q53
	Opportunity to improve translation skills (CTS)	Q32 & Q54
	Opportunity to boost professional qualification (CPQ)	Q33 & Q55

	Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work (CUS)	Q34 & Q56
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the client. (CCF)	Q35 & Q57
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user. (CEF)	Q36 & Q58

Table 4.1: Survey instrument scheme for this study

For our study, the dependent variables are in/visibility (V), symbolic capital (SY), economic capital (E), social capital (SO) and cultural capital (C).

The independent variables influencing a translator's visibility to the client and the end-user are whether (1) the translator can communicate with the client directly (VCC); (2) the translator can communicate with the end-user directly (VCE); and (3) the translator's name appears on the translations (VNT). Our questionnaire allows respondents to answer using frequency options (never/ rarely/ seldom/ sometimes/ often/ very often) which indicate the extent of their direct communication with clients and end-users. Invisible translators are defined as those who never, rarely or seldom have the opportunity to get in touch with their clients or end-users. Accordingly, their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations. As we discussed in the previous chapter, the non-interactive unacknowledged translator, the non-interactive acknowledged translator, the client-invisible acknowledged translator, the client-invisible unacknowledged translator, the end-user-invisible acknowledged translator, the end-user-invisible unacknowledged translator and the interactive unacknowledged translator are examples of invisible translators.

Conversely, visible translators are those who not only can communicate with both their clients and end-users sometimes, often or very often but also whose names in like manner appear on their translations. The interactive acknowledged translator is the visible translator.

The independent variables causing the symbolic capital are: (1) working independently (SYWI); (2) decision-making opportunities at work (SYDM); (3)

fulfilling the expectation from the client (SYCE); (4) fulfilling the expectation from the end-user (SYEE); (5) professional respect (SYPR); (6) the translator's company reputation in the industry (SYCR); (7) the pride of the translator's profession (SYPP) and (8) the person's role of being a translation professional (SYEP).

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

The independent variables influencing the social capital are (1) a working environment that allows the translator to strengthen his personal network (SOPN); (2) the client's appreciation of the person's translation work (SOCA); (3) the end-user's appreciation of the person's work (SOEA); (4) the opportunity to move between roles so that the person is not limited to doing translation only (SOMR); (5) the opportunity for the person to work with people of the translation profession (SOWTP) and (6) the opportunity for the person to work with people from different professions (SOWDP).

For cultural capital, we have six independent variables. They are (1) the opportunity for the translator to learn new knowledge (CL); (2) the opportunity for the translator to improve his translation skills (CTS); (3) the opportunity for the translator to boost his professional qualification (CPQ); (4) the opportunity for the person to use his skills and expertise at work (CUS); (5) feedback on the person's translated work from the client (CCF) and (6) feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user (CEF).

4.5.2 *Measurement scales*

Most of the items in our questionnaire require scaled responses. We have used the traditional 5-point Likert scale for most of the items. The decision to use the 5-point Likert scale is because "the particular value of this format is the unambiguous ordinality of response categories" (Babbie 2007: 170). Babbie points out that if

respondents are provided too many options such as “sort of agree”, “pretty much agree”, “really agree” and so forth, researchers would find it impossible to judge the relative strength of agreement intended by the various respondents. The 5-point Likert scale can avoid this problem.

The questionnaire is divided into four parts. The first part collects data on the background information of the subjects and their visibility at work. 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 contain “absolutely unimportant”, “unimportant”, “indifferent/ no opinion”, “important” and “extremely important”. Part three captures data concerning the various kinds of capital that the subjects say they obtain. The response categories are “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “indifferent/ no opinion”, “agree” and “strongly agree”. In part four, we asked the subjects to indicate how happy they are with their work at present. The response categories are “very unhappy”, “unhappy”, “slightly unhappy”, “lightly happy”, “happy” and “very happy.”

4.5.3 *The population: Chinese translators in Greater China*

The subjects of this study are Chinese translators who mainly handle Chinese and English translation in the Greater China region, which refers to the People’s Republic of China (population over 1.3 billion), Hong Kong (population about seven million) and Taiwan (population 24 million).

According to *The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (7th Edition), a translator is a person who translates writing or speech into a different language, especially as a job. When we relate translators to the job market, it is commonly found that people who are required to handle translation do not necessarily hold the job title as “translator”. Thus, we use a more liberal definition of translators, which

includes all full-time, part-time, freelance or project-based individuals who do translation as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly. How large is the statistical population of our study? It is a very difficult question since we are not able to get a correct figure for translators in Greater China. As we are now at the exploratory stage and therefore we will try to get as many subjects to participate in our study as possible. Although we are never able to study every single member of the population that interest us, selecting samples that adequately reflect the population and adopting suitable sampling methods will help us to make our research more complete and relevant.

4.5.4 Sampling methods

As we are not able to know the population, this survey does not use a random sampling method. Instead, non-probability convenience sampling (also known as accidental sampling) and snowball techniques are used.

“In convenience sampling, the researcher generally selects participants on the basis of proximity, ease-of-access, and willingness to participate” (Urdan 2005:3). Although this sampling method can give us some preliminary information for investigation, cautions have to be taken because convenience sampling does not allow researchers to scientifically make generalizations about the total population.

4.5.5 Pretesting the questionnaire

In order to determine the validity and appropriateness of our developed questionnaire and the research design, a pilot test was conducted in January 2009. Carrying out a pilot 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).

No matter how carefully researchers design a data-collection instrument such as questionnaire, there is always the possibility — indeed the certainty — of error. They will always make some mistake: an ambiguous question, one that people cannot answer [...] The surest protection against such errors is to pretest the questionnaire in full or in part. (Babbie 2007: 257)

Our pilot test aimed to examine the wording and layout of the questionnaire as well as to estimate the response rate. Six translators, including three from Hong Kong, two from China and one from Taiwan, were invited to fill in the questionnaire for us. They were also asked to provide detailed feedback in the questionnaire. After doing the pilot test, changes were made to some questions on the questionnaire. For example, there was one question meant to find out whether or not the subject is visible to the client. The question was: Are you able to communicate directly with your clients at work? By “A client” is meant a company/ brand/ organization/ corporate institution paying for your translations. A respondent commented that this question would be confusing. After listening to this piece of comment, we then found a way to deal with the problem by listing two questions on the questionnaire 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 told to choose an answer from choices including “never”, “rarely”, “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. By “A client” is meant a company/ brand/ organization/ corporate institution paying for your translations. For this question, subjects are also told to choose an answer from the above-mentioned choices.

4.5.6 *Administering the questionnaire*

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

After completing the pilot test, we continued to invite people to participate in our survey. As I have been in the media industry for ten years, I have established some relationship with some publishers, media companies, advertising agencies, public relations agencies and translation agencies in Greater China. I sent an email message, together with the questionnaire as well as a cover letter, to my contacts to ask for their assistance in completing the questionnaire (please refer to appendix 1 for the email message and appendix 4 for the questionnaire).

In addition to inviting my personal contacts, subjects were located from the following Internet websites:

- (1) **www.facebook.com**: we sent invitations to some of the registered members of the Facebook's social networking groups including Hong Kong PR Network (819 members as at March 4, 2009), Interpreti-traduttori-翻譯-interpreters-translator (19 members as at March 4, 2009), Are you a translator or interpreter? Join applied language solutions (1861 members as at March 4, 2009), Chinese translation society (46 members as at March 4, 2009), Translator pride (288 members as at March 4, 2009), Taiwan translator & interpreters (53 members as at March 4, 2009) and Hong Kong journalists & writers (732 members as at March 4, 2009).
- (2) **www.proz.com**: We sent invitations to some of the Chinese translators who handle Chinese and English translation in Greater China (9446 registered Chinese members as at March 4, 2009).

- (3) www.chinatranslation.org is an Internet portal for translators and interpreters in China. We sent invitations to some of the registered members.
- (4) www.cntranslators.com has 49834 registered members as at March 4, 2009. And we also sent invitations to some of the registered members.

After we had obtained the subject's email address from the website, an e-mail message was sent out to the address to invite the recipient to fill out the questionnaire (see Appendix 2 for the message). After receiving the recipient's confirmation, we would send the questionnaire along with a cover letter via e-mail. (refer to appendix 3 to read the cover letter and appendix 4 to read the questionnaire).

The decision to find samples from the above-listed websites is made because these websites have a huge number of registered translation practitioners who handle Chinese-English translation. This method of getting convenience samples is one of the most effective ways of reaching the maximum number of target subjects within a short period of time. However, some would doubt that we might have bias against non-Internet users. But the fact is that the Internet has become the translator's best friend nowadays. Morry 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)

From January 31 to March 26, 2009, 121 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. When a completed questionnaire had been received, a thank-you note with a link to the online survey (www.surveymonkey.com) were to be sent to the respondent. The objectives of the thank-you note are to (1) express gratitude and (2) ask the person to pass on the link to as many other potential respondents as possible. By March 26, 2009, a total of 62 questionnaires were returned within the period. Two were not valid because they were submitted unfinished. We will analyze the findings from the completed questionnaires in the next chapter.

4.5.7 *Increase 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) Advance explanation of selection — we sent an email message (appendix 1 & 2) in order to inform the respondent of the study in advance, 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 promise confidentiality.
- (3) Reminders — a reminder was sent to those who did not return the questionnaire after a week or two.

After the methodology has been discussed in detail, the next chapter explains the research findings from the questionnaire.

5 Findings from the questionnaire

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research findings from the questionnaire. First of all, we present the demographic data including the background information, educational, employment profiles of the respondents. We also show how we categorize our respondents according to their visibility at work. Then, the hypotheses we have formulated for this research are tested and the research findings are analyzed in a move to answer the research questions we asked. After that, we analyze what translators like most and least at work according to the replies provided by our respondents. Finally, we report on the additional comments our respondents have written for the questionnaire.

Here we give a quick review of our research objectives, questions and hypotheses.

The main objective of our project is to take a sociologically-oriented perspective to study three issues: the translator's visibility, the translator's happiness, and the translator's interactivity with clients and end-users.

The focus of our research on the translator's visibility is on these professionals' inter-communicative functions. We concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's mediating role is visible between the client and the end-user. Our working definition of the translator's visibility refers to situations in which translators can directly communicate with clients and end-users. It also applies to situations in which the translator's name can appear on their translated texts. Our first research question is to find out whether or not visible translators can obtain more symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital than invisible translators if we assume that these

four kinds of capital which comprises 22 determinants are of the same value.

Secondly, as translators are important mediators between the text and people, it is worthwhile investigating their happiness. We would like to know what differences exist between visible translators and invisible translators. Is the former group happier than the latter?

Thirdly, we would like to know how translators judge the importance of the various kinds of capital (i.e. what they want to receive) and whether or not they can earn what they hope for. Are there any differences between visible and invisible translators?

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

H_1 : Visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators.

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

H_{1a} : Visible translators receive more symbolic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1b} : Visible translators receive more economic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1c} : Visible translators receive more social capital than invisible translators.

H_{1d} : Visible translators receive more cultural capital than invisible translators.

Our second hypothesis (H_2) is that:

H_2 : Visible translators are happier than invisible translators

A mixed-method approach, including quantitative and qualitative analysis, is employed in this study to answer the three research questions and to test the above hypotheses. Comparatively speaking, my analysis for this dissertation will be more quantitative. Although I know that translators do not share the same values, quantitative method can act as a guideline helping me to conduct qualitative analysis, which will take the form of detailed case studies in my PhD dissertation.

5.2 *Quantitative analysis*

Babbie (2007) emphasizes that researchers working on quantitative analysis need to convert data into a machine-readable format so that computers can read and manipulate the data. As our data are collected through questionnaires, we have done our coding on the questionnaire itself.

All the subjects participating in this survey were asked to fill out a questionnaire, which can be found in Appendix 4.

Our questionnaire is divided into four parts. Part one collects data on the subjects' background information as well as their visibility at work. Part two finds out how the subjects judge the importance of the various kinds of capital, i.e. what they want to receive. The response-categories in this part are scored as follows: 1= absolutely unimportant, 2= unimportant, 3= indifferent/ no opinion, 4= important and 5= extremely important. Part three collects data concerning the various kinds of capital the subjects say they obtain. The response-categories are scored as follows: 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent/ no opinion, 4= agree and 5= strongly agree. In part four, we asked the subjects to indicate how happy they are with their

work at present. The response-categories are scored as follows: 1= very unhappy, 2=unhappy, 3=slightly unhappy, 4=slightly happy, 5=happy and 6=very happy.

The data from the completed questionnaires were first entered into an Excel file. Then we moved Excel data into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). We use t-tests and descriptive statistics to do the quantitative analysis.

5.3 Profile of the respondents

The participants of this study are translators who work full-time, part-time or are project-based by which we mean people who do translation as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly. From January 31 to March 26, 2009, 121 email messages were sent out to invite the email receivers to take part in our questionnaire survey. 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 said they are women and 22 men. Data compiled from the survey responses show that 21 respondents are from Hong Kong, 28 are from China and 11 are from Taiwan.

According to the data presented in table 5.1, more than two-third (68.3%) of the respondents reported that they are between the ages of 20 and 34, with the age category of 35-39 being the answer provided by 16.7% of the respondents. About 12% of the respondents stated that they are between the ages of 40 and 50.

Age	Frequency	%
20-24	2	3.3
25-29	20	33.3
30-34	19	31.7

35-39	10	16.7
40-44	4	6.7
45-50	3	5.0
51-60	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Table 5.1. Age distribution of respondents (mean values)

Table 5.2 shows that our respondents had translation experience ranging from 1 to 20 years, with a mean working experience of 6.6 years. It is worth noting that we have tried to examine the correlation of the translator’s visibility with the subjects’ work experience. However, we could not find any correlation between the two variables. It may be thanks to the insufficient data for testing the correlation at the moment. But I will try again to do the correlation test in my doctoral research.

Year of experience	Number of Respondent	Percent
0 - 5	33	55.0
6 - 10	16	26.7
11 - 15	7	11.7
16 - 20	4	6.6

Table 5.2 Years of experience working as a translation practitioner

As we have mentioned, we define translators to include all full-time, part-time or project-based individuals who do translation as part of their jobs and are paid accordingly. In our questionnaire, respondents were asked to give their job titles. Six respondents (10%) reported that their job title is “Translator”. Other job titles include “Account Manager” at PR agencies, “Communications Consultant”, “Corporate Communications Manager”, “Marketing Manager”, “Project Officer”, “Editor”, “Technical Translator”, “Freelance Translator” and so on.

Regarding the level of education received by the respondents, table 5.3 shows that more than half of the respondents (55%) have obtained a Master’s degree. 40% of

the subjects have received a Bachelor's degree.

Education	Frequency	Percent
Master	33	55.0
Bachelor	24	40.0
College	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Table 5.3. The highest educational qualification the subjects received

In terms of the educational background of the respondents, it is worth noting that most of them were not translation graduates although they are now translation practitioners. The data show that only 11 people (18 %) have degrees in translation. Other respondents graduated in programs such as English (10 people), Communications Studies (4 people), Electrical Engineering (3 people), Journalism (3 people), Biochemistry (2 people), Business Administration (2 people), Communication and Information System (2 people), Law (2 people), Business Management (1 person), Chemistry (1 person), China Business Studies (1 person), Construction (1 person), Criminology (1 person), Global Business Analysis (1 person), Industrial Management Engineering (1 person), International Cultural Communication (1 person), International Relations (1 person), Japanese Studies (1 person), Marketing (1 person), Mechanical Engineering (1 person), Media Management (1 person), Psychology (1 person), Sociology (1 person), Statistics (1 person), Telecommunication (1 person), Tourism Management (1 person). Three respondents did not mention their major even they were asked in the questionnaire.

5.3.1 *Visible translators vs. Invisible translators*

Table 5.4 shows that 16 respondents (26.7 %) are classified as visible translators. These people say that they not only can communicate with both their clients and end-

users sometimes, often or very often, but also their names in like manner appear on their translations.

As can be seen from the same table, 44 respondents (73.3%) are categorized as invisible translators, as these people stated in the questionnaire that they never, rarely or seldom have the opportunity to contact their clients and end-users, and that their names never, rarely or seldom appear on their translations.

In/visibility	No of respondents	%
Invisible	44	73.3
Visible	16	26.7
Total	60	100

Table 5.4: The in/visibility of our respondents

Table 5.5 shows that over half of the invisible translators are from China (23 people), only about one-third of the respondents who are categorized as invisible translators are from Hong Kong, and only nine are from Taiwan.

As we can see from the same table, over half of the visible translators (nine people) are from Hong Kong; five are from China while two are from Taiwan.

Area	Total respondents	Invisible translators	%	Visible translators	%
Hong Kong	21	12	57.1	9	42.9
China	28	23	82.1	5	17.9
Taiwan	11	9	81.8	2	18.2

Table 5.5: Country respondents including invisible and invisible translators currently working

As discussed in Chapter four, we have eight translator-types concerning the different levels of the translator’s visibility. After getting our respondents’ responses, the distribution of these types is as in table 5.6.

In/visibility	Category of Translators	No of respondents	Client	End-user	Name
Invisible	The non-interactive unacknowledged translator	15	X	X	X
	The non-interactive acknowledged translator	5	X	X	O
	The client-invisible acknowledged translator	1	X	O	O
	The client-invisible unacknowledged translator	4	X	O	X
	The end-user-invisible acknowledged translator	4	O	X	O
	The end-user-invisible unacknowledged translator	9	O	X	X
	The interactive unacknowledged translator	6	O	O	X
Visible	The interactive acknowledged translator	16	O	O	O

Table 5.6 The number of respondents in each of the category of translators (eight types)

Notes:

- ◆ For the columns entitled “Client” and “End-user”, “X” indicates that the translator never, rarely or seldom communicates with the party, while for the column entitled “Name”, “X” indicates the name of the translator never, rarely or seldom appears on their translations.
- ◆ For the columns entitled “Client” and “End-user”, “O” implies that the translator sometimes, often or very often can communicate with the party while for the column entitled “Name”, “O” denotes the name of the translator sometimes, often or very often appears on their translations.

It is worth pointing out here that we only have one client-invisible acknowledged translator (see table 5.6). This person does not interact with the client but does interact with the end-user, and her name appears on the translations. According to the information provided by the respondent, she is an in-house corporate communications manager. She is responsible for translating as well as producing bilingual materials such as newsletter for her company, which is a listed company in Hong Kong. She stated in the questionnaire that she seldom has the opportunity to get in touch with the client or the source-text author because the materials she needs to translate are often provided by her supervisor on behalf of the client that may be her company’s major investors, colleagues from other departments, etc. Although she does not interact with clients, she is always required to communicate with the end-user such as getting feedback from the end-user on the work she has produced.

Additionally, her name is often printed on the texts she produced.

Table 5.7 shows that most of the visible translators in our sample are young people. According to the data, over 60 percent of the visible translators are under the age of 30. Nearly one-third of the visible translators are between the ages of 30 and 34. In terms of professional identity, these visible translators can be classified into three categories including those who (1) translate press materials at public relations agencies, (2) are communications managers of hotels or listed companies, and (3) are freelance translators who directly work for clients but not for translation agencies.

Age	No of visible translators	%
20-24	1	6.3
25-29	9	56.3
30-34	5	31.3
35-39	0	0
40-44	1	6.2
45-50	0	0
51-60	0	0

Table 5.7. The translator's visibility and their ages

5.4 Testing the hypotheses

5.4.1 Hypothesis 1 — Visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators

In our study, we hypothesize that visible translators receive more symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital than invisible translators. As we have already explained how we operationalize the term “in/visibility”, we now explain how we got the data on the various kinds of capital.

In the third part of the questionnaire, we collect the data concerning the four kinds of capital that our subjects say they receive from their work. The response-

categories are scored as follows: 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent/ no opinion, 4= agree and 5= strongly agree. In order to test the first hypothesis, we adopt the following steps.

Since we have the amount ($f_i(x)$) the translators (x) say they receive on every determinant (total: 22 determinants) of capital (i), we can determine the total amount $\sum_i f_i(x)$ of capital that translators say they receive. After that, the average total amount $\overline{\sum_i f_i(x)}$ can be obtained.

Finally, we can test this on our hypothesis concerning the difference between invisible translators (I) and visible translators (V).

$$H_1: \overline{\sum_i f_i(V)} > \overline{\sum_i f_i(I)}$$

Table 5.8 shows the result of the independent t-test (one-tailed) and the relative mean values for hypothesis 1. It shows that the mean value for visible translators is 6.6 percent higher than that for invisible translators. The p-value is well below 0.05, which means that hypothesis 1 is confirmed in a statistically significant way. We can thus conclude that, in our sample, visible translators generally receive more capital than invisible translator.

	<i>Invisible Translator (I)</i>	<i>Visible Translator (V)</i>
$\overline{\sum_i f_i(x)}$	3.48	3.71
p-value (< 0.05?)	0.0325	

Table 5.8 t-test for hypothesis 1

Although we have proved that visible translators receive more capital than invisible translators, we are still interested in gaining a complete understanding of the

relationship between the translator's visibility and the various kinds of capital they say they can obtain. Thus, we are now going to see whether our data support the four lower-level hypotheses, which are derived from the first hypotheses as discussed in the previous chapter. These four lower-level hypotheses are:

H_{1a}: Visible translators receive more symbolic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1b}: Visible translators receive more economic capital than invisible translators.

H_{1c}: Visible translators receive more social capital than invisible translators.

H_{1d}: Visible translators receive more cultural capital than invisible translators.

For these four hypotheses, we conduct four independent samples t-tests by SPSS to test whether or not these lower-level hypotheses can be accepted.

5.4.2 Hypothesis 1_a-1_d— *Visible translators receive more symbolic/ economic/ social/ cultural capital than invisible translators*

Just as hypothesis 1, we can extract the average total amount of symbolic capital ($\overline{Sy(x)}$) (total 8 determinants), economic capital ($\overline{E(x)}$) (total 2 determinants), social capital ($\overline{So(x)}$) (total 6 determinants) and cultural capital ($\overline{C(x)}$) (total 6 determinants) the translators x say they receive in order to test on our four lower-level hypothesis between invisible translators (I) and visible translators (V).

Among the four kinds of capital, the amount of symbolic capital that visible as well as invisible translators say they receive is nearly the same (3.7 and 3.66 respectively) and the two groups receive similar amount of cultural capital (3.72 and 3.55 respectively). However, visible translators obtain far more social capital than invisible translators do (3.75 and 3.25 respectively). Additionally, the former group

obtains more economic capital than does the later (3.56 and 3.18 respectively).

	Invisible Translators	Visible Translators
$\overline{Sy(x)}$	3.66	3.70
$\overline{E(x)}$	3.18	3.56
$\overline{So(x)}$	3.25	3.75
$\overline{C(x)}$	3.55	3.72

Table 5.9 Average total amount of capital (mean values) for four lower-level hypotheses for H_1

Table 5.10 shows the results of the statistical analysis (the four independent one-tailed t-tests). As we can see from the table, the p-values for H_{1b} and H_{1c} are below 0.05, which mean that H_{1b} and H_{1c} are confirmed in a statistically significant way. However, H_{1a} and H_{1d} are not confirmed because of statistical insignificance.

Hypothesis	p-value (< 0.05?)
H_{1a}	0.3960
H_{1b}	0.0420
H_{1c}	0.0025
H_{1d}	0.1165

Table 5.10 p-values for four lower-level hypotheses for H_1 (one-tailed)

After testing the above hypotheses, we now summarize what we have found for the four kinds of capital. Among the four kinds of capital, the amount of symbolic and cultural capital that visible as well as invisible translators receives is nearly the same. Therefore the two lower-level hypotheses stating that visible translators receive more symbolic and cultural capital than invisible translators are not confirmed in a statistically significant way. However, visible translators receive more economic

capital than invisible translators and the former group obtains far more social capital than does the latter. Thus, the lower-level hypotheses stating that visible translators receive more economic and social capital than invisible translators are confirmed in a statistically significant way.

5.4.3 *Hypothesis 2 — Visible translators are happier than invisible translators*

Our second hypothesis states that visible translators are happier than invisible translators. As explained in chapter two, our working definition of the translator's happiness contains two elements. First of all, the translator's happiness depends on the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain. Happiness is, however, not necessarily a selfish goal or a result of desire maximization. The second element for the working definition emphasizes the translator's long-lasting enjoyment of work through accomplishing worthy purposes. The second hypothesis serves to test the first part of the definition of the translator's happiness. I will carry out the investigation of the second part of the definition in my PhD project.

In order to test this second hypothesis, we have collected two kinds of data. First, we need to know how the subjects judge the importance (i.e. what they wish to receive) of the four kinds of capital, which include 22 determinants as explained in the previous chapter. In the questionnaire, we asked the subjects to indicate the level of importance for each of the statements concerning what they want to receive and their view of the importance of the 22 determinants related to the four kinds of capital. The response-categories in this part are scored as follows: 1= absolutely unimportant, 2= unimportant, 3= indifferent/ no opinion, 4= important and 5= extremely important.

Second, we have to collect the data concerning the four kinds of capital our subjects say they earn. In the questionnaire, we asked the subjects to indicate the

extent to which they agree or disagree with the statements concerning the capital that they receive. The response-categories are scored as follows: 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent/ no opinion, 4= agree and 5= strongly agree.

We adopt the following steps to do the testing.

Just as with Hypothesis 1, we already have the amount ($f_i(x)$) the translators say they (x) receive on every determinant (total: 22 determinants) of capital (i). In order to test our second hypothesis, the amount ($P_i(x)$) the translators hope to gain on every kind of capital must also be considered.

We use the following steps to calculate the translator's happiness, that is, the alignment between what individuals wish to receive and what they say their job allows them to obtain.

Firstly, we have this formula: $\frac{f_i(x)}{P_i(x)}$, which can interpret the level of the alignment between what an individuals wishes to receive and what the person says he obtains.

Here we use an example to explain the calculation. For instance, the following are evaluations of the proposition "I am well-paid". The response-categories were strongly disagree (=1), disagree (=2), indifferent/ no opinion (=3), agree (=4) and strongly agree (=5). A subject chose "disagree" so the score for this question was 2. When the subjects were asked to indicate how important salary is to them (i.e. they want to obtain it) with the response-categories including absolutely unimportant (=1), unimportant (=2), indifferent/ no opinion (=3), important (=4) and extremely important (=5). The person stated that salary was extremely important. Thus, the score for this question was 5. Using the above formula ($\frac{f_i(x)}{P_i(x)}$) to do the calculation, the alignment between the amount of salary that the person wishes to receive and the amount of salary that the person says he receives is 0.4.

However, it is worth noting that there may be some cases where the subjects say they get more than they expect and that will give us a score greater than one. For example, a subject may think that professional respect is important (a score of 4) and surprisingly the person strongly agrees (a score of 5) that his job brings him professional respect. This will give a score of 1.25, which is greater than one.

Secondly, for each translator we can determine the average level of the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the person says he receives from the job:

$$\overline{\sum_i \frac{f_i(x)}{P_i(x)}}$$

We can test this on our hypothesis concerning the difference between invisible translators (I) and visible translators (V).

$$H_2: \overline{\sum_i \frac{f_i(V)}{P_i(V)}} > \overline{\sum_i \frac{f_i(I)}{P_i(I)}}$$

Table 5.11 shows the result of the independent t-test (one-tailed) and the relative mean values for hypothesis 2. It shows that the mean value for visible translators is 6.7 percent higher than that for invisible translators. The p-value is well below 0.05, which means that this hypothesis is confirmed in a statistically significant way. We can thus conclude that, in our sample, visible translators are generally happier than invisible translators.

	<i>Invisible Translator (I)</i>	<i>Visible Translator (V)</i>
$\overline{\sum_i \frac{f_i(x)}{P_i(x)}}$	0.89	0.95

p-value ($< 0.05?$)	0.0295
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Table 5.11 t-test for hypothesis 2

In order to confirm the validity of the above result, we asked the subjects to tell us how happy they are with their work now in the questionnaire. The response-categories are scored as follows: 1= very unhappy, 2=unhappy, 3=slightly unhappy, 4=slightly happy, 5=happy and 6=very happy.

Here we also try to use t-test to do the analysis.

From the subjects' (x) answers to the question concerning their happiness level ($H(x)$), we can test on whether visible translators (V) have a higher happiness level than invisible translators (I).

Table 5.12 shows the result of the independent t-test (one-tailed) and the relative mean values. It shows that the mean value for the visible translator's happiness level is 14.3 percent higher than that for invisible translators. The p-value is well below 0.05, which means that our proposition is confirmed in a statistically significant way. We can thus further confirm that, in our sample, visible translators generally have a higher happiness level than invisible translator.

	<i>Invisible Translator (I)</i>	<i>Visible Translator (V)</i>
$H(x)$	4.27	4.88
p-value ($< 0.05?$)	0.022	

Table 5.12 t-test for the happiness level of in/visible translators

5.5 *What translators hope for vs. what they say they earn*

As we have already proved our hypotheses to be correct, we now analyze how the

respondents judge the importance of the various kinds of capital that they want to receive, what they say they can obtain and the differences between visible and invisible translators.

5.5.1 *Translators attach the greatest importance to cultural capital*

Among the four kinds of capital, the respondents place the greatest emphasis on cultural capital (see table 5.13). On a scale of 1 (absolutely unimportant) to 5 (extremely important), the average score for this dependent variable is 4.17.

In addition to cultural capital, the respondents also attach importance to economic capital (4.04), followed by symbolic capital (4.02). However, these people put the least emphasis on social capital (3.84).

Types of capital	Mean
Symbolic Capital	4.02
Economic Capital	4.04
Social Capital	3.84
Culture Capital	4.17

Table 5.13 Amounts of the four kinds of capital the respondents hope for

5.5.2 *Three things top the wish list of visible and invisible translators*

We find something interesting when analyzing what the visible and invisible translators hope for. Among the 22 determinants relating to the four kinds of capital, the first three determinants these two groups emphasize the most are almost the same things.

Table 5.14 shows that visible translators attach the greatest importance to the opportunity to learn new knowledge (4.50), followed by the opportunity for them to use their skills and expertise (4.44) and fulfilling the expectation from the client (4.38).

Determinants	Mean
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.50
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	4.44
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.38
Salary	4.31
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	4.19

Table5.14 The top five wish list of visible translator

Table 5.15 shows that invisible translators put the greatest emphasis on fulfilling the expectation from the client (4.36), followed by the opportunity to improve their translation skills (4.27) and the opportunity to learn new knowledge (4.27).

Determinants	Mean
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.36
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.27
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.27
Professional respect	4.27
The client's appreciation of my translation work	4.25

Table5.15 The top five wish list of invisible translator

It is worth noting that none of the respondents expressed that fulfilling the expectation from their clients is unimportant. According to our data, only three respondents indicated that they are indifferent to whether or not they can fulfill their clients' expectations. There are 25 respondents saying that fulfilling the expectations from their clients is extremely important while 32 respondents stating that fulfilling the expectation from clients is important.

5.5.3 *Translators report low levels of economic capital*

One of the important findings is that economic capital, compared with other types of capital, is what the translators in our sample, no matter visible or invisible, say they

receive the least. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean values of economic capital that the invisible and visible translators say they obtain are 3.18 and 3.56 respectively (see table 5.16).

Types of capital	All respondents	Invisible translator	Visible translator
Symbolic capital	3.68	3.66	3.70
Economic capital	3.28	3.18	3.56
Social capital	3.39	3.25	3.75
Cultural capital	3.59	3.55	3.72

Table 5.16 Amounts of the four kinds of capital in/visible translators say they obtain (mean values)

According to our data, two respondents said that they considered themselves to be very poorly paid. These two people are invisible translators, including one non-interactive acknowledged translator and one end-user-invisible acknowledged translator. They are both from China with five years' experience in translation.

In addition, our data also show that two respondents state that their jobs are very insecure. Coincidentally, these two people are non-interactive unacknowledged translators. Comparatively speaking, non-interactive unacknowledged translators are the people lacking confidence in the future of their jobs. We have 15 non-interactive unacknowledged translators participating in our questionnaire survey and almost half of them (six people, 47%) state that they strongly disagree or disagree that the future of their jobs is secure.

5.5.4 *The disparity between wish and reported reality*

As we have already reported on the amount of the four kinds of capital that our respondents want to receive and the amount of the capital that our respondents say they can receive, we now analyze the disparity between the respondents' wish and the reality.

Among the four kinds of capital, the discrepancy between hopes and reported reality is greatest in the case of economic capital (see table 5.17). The mean value of the economic capital that the respondents want to obtain is 4.04 while the mean value of what they say they can earn is 3.28.

Types of capital	All respondents	Invisible translator	Visible translator
Symbolic capital (hope to receive)	4.02	4.03	4.00
Symbolic capital (they say they obtain)	3.68	3.66	3.70
Economic capital (hope to receive)	4.04	4.01	4.13
Economic capital (they say they obtain)	3.28	3.18	3.56
Social capital (hope to receive)	3.84	3.84	3.83
Social capital (they say they obtain)	3.39	3.25	3.75
Cultural capital (hope to receive)	4.17	4.16	4.19
Cultural capital (they say they obtain)	3.59	3.55	3.72

Table 5.17 The comparison between what in/visible translators want to receive and what they say they obtain (mean values)

Table 5.17 shows that the second greatest disparity between what the translators want to receive and what they say they can obtain it is seen in the cultural capital (4.17 and 3.59 respectively), followed by social capital (3.84 and 3.39 respectively). The smallest disparity is the symbolic capital, as the mean value of the symbolic capital the respondents want to obtain is 4.02 and the mean value of what they say they can earn is 3.68.

If we take a micro perspective to analyze the 22 determinants, table 5.18 shows that the greatest disparity in our sample is the feedback on the translator's translated work from their end-users, followed by their reported salary and feedback on their translated work from their clients. The second largest disparity is salary. The smallest disparity among the 22 determinants is the translator's independent working opportunity. The data show that all translators, whether visible or invisible, say they

can work more independently than they hope for. It means that all translators have more independence than they want. For visible translators, the mean value of what they want to obtain is 4.0 and the mean value of what they say they can earn is 4.13. The mean value of invisible translators wants to obtain is 3.95 and the mean value of what they say they obtain is 4.27.

22 determinants	Hopes¹	Reported reality²	Disparity indexes³
Feedback on my translated work from the end-user	3.93	2.78	-1.15
Salary	4.20	3.20	-1.00
Feedback on my translated work from the client	4.08	3.25	-0.83
The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	4.08	3.32	-0.77
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	3.83	3.22	-0.62
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.37	3.80	-0.57
The client's appreciation of my translation work	4.20	3.65	-0.55
The company's reputation in the industry	3.90	3.35	-0.55
Professional respect	4.20	3.67	-0.53
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	4.28	3.77	-0.52
Long-term job security	3.88	3.37	-0.52
Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user	4.13	3.63	-0.50
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	4.15	3.68	-0.47
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	3.60	3.22	-0.38
My role of being a translation professional	3.85	3.47	-0.38
A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network	3.72	3.40	-0.32
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.33	4.02	-0.32
The pride of my profession	3.95	3.67	-0.28
Decision-making opportunities at work	3.82	3.58	-0.23
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.22	4.05	-0.17
Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only	3.62	3.52	-0.10
Work independently	3.97	4.23	0.27

1 Hopes — The amount of the determinants the translators hope for

2 Reported reality — The amount of the determinants the translators say they receive

3 Disparity indexes — the level of the alignment between what the translators wish to receive and

what they say they obtain.

Table 5.18 The disparity indexes between what the respondents in our sample hope for and what they say they obtain

For visible translators, the largest disparity is the salary they say they can earn, followed by the feedback they say they can obtain from their end-users on their translated work and the opportunity they say they can learn new knowledge (see table 5.19)

22 determinants	Hopes¹	Reported reality²	Disparity indexes³
Salary	4.31	3.50	-0.81
Feedback on my translated work from the end-user	3.88	3.13	-0.75
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.50	3.88	-0.63
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	4.44	3.81	-0.63
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.38	3.75	-0.63
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	4.19	3.63	-0.56
My role of being a translation professional	3.75	3.25	-0.50
Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user	4.06	3.69	-0.38
The company's reputation in the industry	4.06	3.69	-0.38
Feedback on my translated work from the client	4.06	3.75	-0.31
Long-term job security	3.94	3.63	-0.31
The pride of my profession	3.88	3.56	-0.31
A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network	3.75	3.44	-0.31
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	3.94	3.69	-0.25
Decision-making opportunities at work	3.88	3.69	-0.19
Professional respect	4.00	3.88	-0.13
The client's appreciation of my translation work	4.06	4.06	0.00
The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	3.81	3.81	0.00
Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only	4.00	4.00	0.00
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	3.44	3.50	0.06
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.06	4.13	0.06
Work independently	4	4.13	0.13

Table 5.19 The disparity indexes between what the visible translators in our sample hope for and what

they say they obtain

According to table 5.20, the biggest disparities for invisible translators are related to the feedback or the appreciation that they say they can obtain from their clients and end-users. For invisible translators, the largest disparity is the feedback they say they can obtain from their end-users on their translated work, followed by the salary they say they earn and the end-users' appreciation of their translation work.

22 determinants	Hopes¹	Reported reality²	Disparity indexes³
Feedback on my translated work from the end-user	3.95	2.66	-1.30
Salary	4.16	3.09	-1.07
The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	4.18	3.14	-1.05
Feedback on my translated work from the client	4.09	3.07	-1.02
The client's appreciation of my translation work	4.25	3.50	-0.75
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	3.80	3.05	-0.75
Professional respect	4.27	3.59	-0.68
The company's reputation in the industry	3.84	3.23	-0.61
Long-term job security	3.86	3.27	-0.59
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.36	3.82	-0.55
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	3.66	3.11	-0.55
Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user	4.16	3.61	-0.55
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	4.23	3.75	-0.48
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	4.14	3.70	-0.43
My role of being a translation professional	3.89	3.55	-0.34
A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network	3.70	3.39	-0.32
The pride of my profession	3.98	3.70	-0.27
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.27	4.02	-0.25
Decision-making opportunities at work	3.80	3.55	-0.25
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.27	4.07	-0.20
Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only	3.48	3.34	-0.14
Work independently	3.95	4.27	0.32

Table 5.20 The disparity indexes between what the invisible translators in our sample hope for and what they say they obtain

5.6 *The correlation between the translator's visibility and their happiness*

For our study, the independent variables influencing a translator's visibility to the client and end-user are whether (1) the translator can communicate with the client directly (VCC), (2) the translator can communicate with the end-user directly (VCE) and (3) the translator's name appears on the translations or not (VNT). Here we study the correlation of VCC, VCE and VNT with regard to the translator's happiness (H2).

In the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to indicate the frequency with which they can communicate with their clients and end-users directly. They were also asked to indicate how often their names appear on their translations. The frequency labels are "never", "rarely", "seldom", "sometimes", "often" and "very often".

By SPSS, Pearson Correlation among VCC, VCE, VNT (with ranking from 0 to 5 representing the frequency labels including never, rarely, seldom, sometimes, often, very often) and H2 has been retrieved. A one-tailed test has been used here since a positive relation among the variables is expected. The results are listed as follows:

		H2	VCC	VCE	VNT
H2	Pearson Correlation	1	.280(*)	.286(*)	.079
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.015	.013	.274
VCC	Pearson Correlation	.280(*)	1	.364(**)	.380(**)
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.015		.002	.001
VCE	Pearson Correlation	.286(*)	.364(**)	1	.144
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.013	.002		.137
VNT	Pearson Correlation	.079	.380(**)	.144	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.274	.001	.137	

Table 5.21: Correlation table for the study

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

5.6.1 *All correlations are positive*

The results show that all three correlations are positive (including the correlation between H2 and VCC, the correlation between H2 and VCE as well as the correlation between H2 and VNT) since positive signs for the correlations have been found from the results.

5.6.2 *Correlation is statistically significant between H2 and VCC, also for H2 and VCE*

The correlations between H2 and VCC (correlation coefficient is 0.280), H2 and VCE (correlation coefficient is 0.286) are moderate with high level of significance because their significant values are 0.015 and 0.013, which are less than 0.05 respectively.

5.6.3 *Correlation is weak and statistically insignificant between H2 and VNT*

However, the results show that there is a weak correlation between H2 and VNT. The correlation coefficient is only 0.079. Moreover, its correlation is also insignificant with significant value 0.274 only.

According to the abovementioned correlation results, we will focus on discussing the translator's interactivity with clients and end-users without taking the VNT independent variables into consideration in the following discussion. In fact, studying the translator's interactivity with clients and end-users is worthwhile because we found that little work has been carried out so far on this aspect.

5.7 *The translator's interactivity with clients and end-users*

As we have emphasized, the translator's interactivity with their clients and end-users is relatively uncharted territory as a research topic. Now we go on to investigate who can interact with these two parties. What are the differences between those who can interact with their clients or end-users and those who cannot?

Translators are classified into four types according to the level of interaction between them, their clients and their end-users. The four types of translators are the non-interactive translator who never, rarely or seldom interacts with clients or end-users (20 respondents), the client-invisible translator who never, rarely or seldom communicates with the client but they sometimes, often or very often interacts with the end-user (5 respondents), the end-user-invisible translator who sometimes, often or very often gets in touch the client but they never, rarely or seldom interacts with the end-user (13 respondents). The last type is the interactive translator who sometimes, often or very often communicates with their clients and end-users directly (22 respondents).

In the following, we will analyze the relationship between the four kinds of translators and the four kinds of capital which contains 22 determinants.

5.7.1 *The client-invisible translator likes symbolic capital the most*

In order to understand how our subjects view the importance of symbolic capital (i.e. how much they want to receive from their work), we asked them to indicate the level of importance for the eight independent variables that comprise the symbolic capital. The eight independent variables are: (1) working independently; (2) decision-making opportunities at work; (3) fulfilling the expectation from the client; (4) fulfilling the expectation from the end-user; (5) professional respect; (6) the person's company reputation in the industry; (7) the pride of the person's profession

and (8) the person's role of being a translation professional. The response-categories in this part are scored as follows: 1= absolutely unimportant, 2= unimportant, 3= indifferent/ no opinion, 4= important and 5= extremely important.

Table 5.22 shows that client-invisible translators, compared with other translators, place the greatest emphasis on symbolic capital.

Determinants related to the symbolic capital	Non-interactive translators	Client-invisible translators	End-user-invisible translators	Interactive translators
Work independently	3.90	4.20	3.85	4.05
Decision-making opportunities at work	3.85	4.20	3.62	3.82
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	4.35	4.60	4.38	4.32
Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user	4.10	4.60	4.15	4.05
Professional respect	4.25	4.60	4.23	4.05
The company's reputation in the industry	3.80	4.00	3.85	4.00
The pride of my profession	4.00	4.20	3.85	3.91
My role of being a translation professional	4.00	3.40	3.85	3.82

Table 5.22 The amount of the eight determinants of the symbolic capital the four types of translators want to receive (mean values)

The client-invisible translators, compared with other translators, put the greatest emphasis on the first seven but least emphasis on the last. They attach the greatest attention to (1) working independently (4.20, 7.7% higher than the grand mean); (2) decision-making opportunities at work (4.20, 9.9% higher than the grand mean); (3) fulfilling the expectation from the client (4.60, 5.3% higher than the grand mean); (4) fulfilling the expectation from the end-user (4.60, 11.4% higher than the grand mean); (5) professional respect (4.60, 9.5% higher than the grand mean) and (6) the pride of their profession (4.20, 6.3% higher than the grand mean).

An important finding is that almost all of the respondents attach the same level of importance to their company's reputation in the industry (the range is from 3.8-4.0).

Among the eight determinants comprising the symbolic capital, they attach the greatest importance on fulfilling the expectation from their clients (4.37) followed by professional respect (4.20) and fulfilling the expectation from their end-users (4.13).

5.7.2 *The client invisible translator is not well recognized as translation professional*

As we have reported earlier (see section 5.4.2), our respondents (whether visible or invisible) say they receive nearly the same amount of symbolic capital.

In the questionnaire, we asked the subjects to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree that (1) they can work independently, (2) they are allowed to make important decisions at work, (3) they think they can always fulfill the expectation from their end-users, (4) they think they can always fulfill the expectation from their end-users, (5) their work brings them professional respect, (6) they feel proud to be a part of the company, (7) they take pride in their profession, i.e. they are proud of being a translation professional and (8) they are treated as a professional translator.

One of the important findings as shown in table 5.23 is that client-invisible translators, when compared to other translators, do not obtain much recognition for their role as a translation professional (2.8, 19.3% lower than the grand mean).

Determinants related to the symbolic capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
Work independently	4.25	4.00	4.38	4.18
Decision-making opportunities at work	3.70	3.80	3.31	3.59
Fulfilling the expectation from the client	3.85	3.80	3.92	3.68
Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user	3.60	3.80	3.85	3.50
Professional respect	3.55	3.60	3.54	3.86
The company's reputation in the industry	3.15	3.40	3.15	3.64
The pride of my profession	3.70	3.20	3.69	3.73

My role of being a translation professional	3.75	2.80	3.46	3.36
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Table 5.23 the amount of the eight determinants of the symbolic capital the four types of translators say they receive (mean values)

5.7.3 *The interactive translator likes economic capital the most while the client-invisible translator likes it the least*

In the questionnaire, we asked the subjects to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree that (1) they are well-paid and (2) their jobs are secure.

Interactive translators and client-invisible translators have an opposite preference for economic capital, as the former group attaches the greatest importance to economic capital while the latter puts the least emphasis on it as suggested by the figures in table 5.24, which represent the respondents' responses to question concerning how they view the importance economic capital which comprises two independent variables including salary and long-term job security.

In comparison with other types of translators, the interactive translators have the highest concern about salary (4.32, 2.8% higher than the grand mean).

However, the client-invisible translators, compared with other translators, place the least emphasis on salary (3.60, 14.3% lower than the grand mean) and long-term job security (3.40, 12.4% lower than the grand mean).

The determinants related to the economic capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
Salary	4.20	3.60	4.23	4.32
Long-term job security	3.95	3.40	3.85	3.95

Table 5.24 The amount of the two determinants of the economic capital the four types of translators want to receive (mean values)

5.7.4 *The interactive translator earns more economic capital while the non-interactive translator earns less*

An important finding is that the non-interactive translators, compared with other translators, receive the least amount of economic capital. Additionally, the disparity between the amount of economic capital that the non-interactive translators hope for and that they say their jobs allow them to obtain it is the largest. The mean value of what this type of translators wants to obtain is 4.08. However, the mean value of what they say they obtain is 3.0 (see table 5.25).

The determinants related to the economic capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
Salary	3.00	3.20	3.08	3.45
Long-term job security	3.00	3.40	3.62	3.55

Table 5.25 the amount of the two determinants of the economic capital the four types of translators say they receive (mean values)

5.7.5 *Translators value the appreciation of their work by clients and end-users*

In a move to understand how our subjects view the importance of social capital (i.e. how much they want to receive from their work), we asked them to indicate the level of importance for the six independent variables that constitute the social capital. The six independent variables are (1) a working environment that allows them to strengthen their personal network, (2) their clients' appreciation of their translation work, (3) their end-users' appreciation of their translation work, (4) the opportunity for them to move between roles so that they are not limited to doing translation only, (5) the opportunity for them to work with people of the translation profession and (6) the opportunity for them to work with people from different profession.

Table 5.26 shows that among the six determinants comprising the social capital, our respondents place the greatest emphasis on their clients' appreciation of their translation work and their end-users' appreciation on their translation work.

5.7.6 *Translators like working with people from different professions*

It is worth pointing out that our respondents attach greater importance to the opportunity to work with people from different professions than the opportunity to work with people from the translation profession as indicated by the figures in table 5.26.

As we can see from the same table, one of the interesting findings is that the client-invisible translators, compared with other translators, place the greatest emphasis on the opportunity to work with people from different professions (4.0, 4.7% higher than the grand mean) and the least emphasis on the opportunity to work with people from the translation profession (3.0, 16.7% lower than the grand mean).

The determinants related to the social capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
A working environment that allows the me to strengthen my network	3.85	4.00	3.31	3.77
The client's appreciation of my translation work	4.25	4.20	4.46	4.00
The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	3.95	4.60	4.46	3.86
Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only	3.60	4.00	3.23	3.77
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	3.75	3.00	3.62	3.59
Opportunity to work with people from different professions	3.75	4.00	3.69	3.95

Table 5.26 the amount of the six determinants of the social capital the four types of translators want to receive (mean values)

5.7.7 *The non-interactive translator receives the least amount of social capital*

In the questionnaire, we asked the subjects to indicate the extent to which they agree

or disagree that (1) their work brings them valuable personal contacts, (2) when they do a good job, they receive recognition for it from the client, (3) when they do a good job, they receive recognition for it from the end-user, (4) they can move between roles and they are not limited to doing translation only, (5) they always have the opportunity to work with other translation professionals and (6) they always have the opportunity to work with people from different professions.

Table 5.27 shows that non-interactive translators, compared with other translators, report the least amount of social capital (3.05, 10% lower than the grand mean) they can earn. Although this type of translator places emphasis on the appreciation of their clients and end-users for their work, they cannot achieve what they wish. The disparity between what they hope for and that they say their jobs allow them to achieve is the largest. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean value of the amount of appreciation that the non-interactive translators want to receive from their clients on their translations is 4.25. However the mean value of what they say they obtain is 3.05. Regarding the end-user's appreciation of their translation work, the mean value of what the non-interactive translators wants to obtain is 3.95. But the mean value of what they say they receive is 2.65.

The determinants related to the social capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network	3.35	3.40	3.31	3.50
The client's appreciation of my translation work	3.05	3.40	3.92	4.09
The end-user's appreciation of my translation work	2.65	3.60	3.38	3.82
Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only	3.20	4.20	3.00	3.95
Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession	3.15	2.60	3.23	3.41

Opportunity to work with people from different professions	2.90	3.80	2.77	3.64
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Table 5.27 the amount of the six determinants of the social capital the four types of translators say they receive (mean values)

5.7.8 *The end-user-invisible translator likes cultural capital the most while the client-invisible translator likes it the least*

Among translators, the end-user-invisible translators (4.28) and the client-invisible translators (3.93) have opposite preferences for cultural capital, since the former attaches the greatest importance to this capital while the latter puts the least emphasis on it (see table 5.28).

For cultural capital, we have six independent variables as explained in the previous chapter. They are (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 translation professional to use their skills and expertise at work; (5) feedback on the person's translated work from the client and (6) feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user. Now we are going to analyze the relationship between what our respondents want to earn and what they say they receive.

The end-user-invisible translators, compared with other types of translators, place the highest emphasis on the opportunity to improve their translation skills (4.38, 3.8% higher than the grand mean), the opportunity to boost their professional qualification (4.31, 3.9% higher than the grand mean), the opportunity to use their skills and expertise at work (4.38, 2.3% higher than the grand mean), and the feedback on their translated work from the clients (4.23, 3.7% higher than the grand mean)

On the other hand, the client-invisible translators, when compared with other translators, place the least emphasis on cultural capital. Out of the six independent variables constituting the cultural capital, the client-invisible translators have little concern for five of them. In comparison with other translators, this type of translator attaches the least importance to the opportunity to learn new knowledge (4.20, 3% lower than the grand mean), the opportunity to improve their translation skills (3.80, 10% lower than the grand mean), the opportunity to boost their professional qualification (3.6, 13.3% lower than the grand mean), the opportunity to use their skills and expertise at work (4.00, 6.5% lower than the grand mean), and the feedback on their translation work from their clients (3.80, 3.3% lower than the grand mean).

Although this type of translator does not care too much about the feedback on their translated work from their clients, they place the highest emphasis on the feedback on their work from their end-users (4.2, 6.9 higher than the grand mean). This phenomenon is understandable because client-invisible translators are invisible to their clients but can communicate with their end-users. They therefore have a higher concern for the feedback they receive from their end-users.

Determinants related to the cultural capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.25	4.20	4.23	4.50
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.30	3.80	4.38	4.14
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	4.15	3.60	4.31	4.18
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	4.20	4.00	4.38	4.36
Feedback on my translated work from the client	4.05	3.80	4.23	4.09
Feedback on my translated work from the end-user	3.75	4.20	4.15	3.91

Table 5.28 the six determinants of the cultural capital the four types of translators want to receive

(mean values)

5.7.9 *The non-interactive translator is disappointed by the amount of feedback they receive from clients and end-users*

Table 5.29 shows that the level of feedback that the non-interactive translators receive is relatively low. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean value of the amount of the feedback the non-interactive translators say they receive from their clients on their translation work is 2.75, 15.4% lower than the grand mean. In addition, the mean value of the amount of the feedback this type of translators say they receive from their end-users on their translation work is 2.2, 20.9% lower than the grand mean.

As we have already mentioned, the client-invisible translators attach the least importance to cultural capital. We now see that this type of translator earns the least amount of some determinants comprising cultural capital. The client-invisible translators do not have much opportunity (1) to learn new knowledge (3.6, 10.4% lower than the grand mean), (2) to improve their translation skills (3.8, 6.2% lower than the grand mean), (3) to boost their professional qualification (3.4, 7.6% lower than the grand mean), and (4) to use their skills and expertise at work (3.2, 15.1% lower than the grand mean).

Determinants related to the cultural capital	Non-interactive translators	Client invisible translators	End-user invisible translators	Interactive translators
Opportunity to learn new knowledge	4.10	3.60	4.15	3.95
Opportunity to improve my translation skills	4.00	3.80	4.08	4.14
Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	3.80	3.40	3.77	3.59
Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	3.85	3.20	3.92	3.73
Feedback on my translated work from the client	2.75	3.40	3.38	3.59
Feedback on my translated work from the end-	2.20	3.80	2.77	3.09

user				
------	--	--	--	--

Table 5.29 the amount of the six determinants of the cultural capital the four types of translators say they receive (mean values)

5.8 Qualitative data

The open-ended questions in the questionnaire asked the subjects to write down three things they like most and least. Here we going to analyze the responses provided by the visible and invisible translators in our sample.

5.8.1 Aspects the in/visible translators like most

Table 5.30 shows that the three aspects the informants say they like most are the opportunity for them to gain new knowledge (38.33%), the chance to enhance their translation and language skills (26.67%) as well as freedom (25%). As some of our respondents are freelance translators, it is understandable that freedom is an essential quality making these people happy. And we have also checked that this quality is always found to be mentioned by the freelancers in our sample. Other aspects considered important are the opportunity for them to meet people from different professions (20%) and harmonious interpersonal relationships (11.67%). As visible translators are often required to communicate with people, table 5.30 shows that they place greater emphasis on the opportunity to meet people from different professions and harmonious interpersonal relationship than invisible translators. Comparatively speaking, invisible translators attach greater importance on whether or not they can gain new knowledge, enhance their skills and have freedom at work.

Aspects making translators unhappy	No of Mentions (n = 60)	%	No of Mentions (visible	%	No of Mentions (invisible	%

				translator) (n = 16)		translator) (n = 44)	
1	Gain new knowledge	23	38.3	4	25.0%	19	43.2%
2	Enhance skills – both translation and language skills	16	26.7	2	12.5%	14	31.8%
3	Freedom	15	25.0	6	37.5%	19	43.2%
4	Meeting people from different professions	12	20.0	5	31.3%	7	15.9%
5	Harmonious interpersonal relationship	7	11.7	5	31.3%	2	4.6%

Table 5.30 Aspects the respondents in our sample like the most

5.8.2 *Aspects the in/visible translators like least*

Table 5.31 shows that the three aspects the informants say they like least are being under-paid (28.3%), meeting tight deadlines (23.3%) and long working hours (21.7%).

All respondents, both visible and invisible, say that being under-paid is the thing making them most unhappy. The result matches the findings as reported in section 5.5.3. One of an interesting findings is that more visible translators complain about long working hours than invisible translators. Another interesting finding as we can see from the same table is that about 25 percent of the invisible translators are unhappy if they have to translate poorly written source texts or boring materials.

However, none of the visible translators mention this aspect.

	Aspects making translators unhappy	No of Mentions (n = 60)		No of Mentions (visible translator) (n = 16)		No of Mentions (invisible translator) (n = 44)	
		%	%	%	%		

1	Under-paid	17	28.3	4	25.0	13	29.5
2	Meeting tight deadlines	14	23.3	3	18.8	11	25.0
3	Long working hours	13	21.7	8	50.0	5	11.4
4	The lack of the opportunity to interact with people	12	20.0	1	6.3	11	25.0
5	Have to translate poorly written source texts or boring materials	11	18.3	0	0.0	11	25.0

Table 5.31 Aspects the respondents in our sample like the least

5.8.3 *The subjects' comments on their happiness*

In the 60 completed questionnaires, we found that visible translators did not give much comment in the open-ended questions but invisible translators shared their feelings and opinions with us. Thus, we report on the comments contributed by the invisible translators in our sample.

Some of their comments on their happiness and their existing work are similar to those findings we have already reported in the previous sections. For example, we have reported that non-interactive translators are disappointed with the amount of feedback that they receive from their clients and end-users. Subject 21, a non-interactive unacknowledged translator, echoes his opinions by saying that: “I have no feedback from the end-users or the companies. It is very bad, I think. Besides, I have no chance to get along with other people.”

Many of the invisible translators who gave their comments share a common vision as they stated that translation is a meaningful activity because translators can help people from different communities speaking different languages to communicate. Subject 40's opinion regarding this point of view is worth mentioning. The person, who is a non-interactive acknowledged translator, said the following:

Although translation is tiring, under-paid, least known, it is still my favorite profession because

God endows me with the aptitude as a translator and I will use it to bridge the gap between the people speaking different languages.

In addition, invisible translators also emphasize the challenging nature of translation and the satisfaction that people can obtain after completing a difficult translation assignment. Subject 23, who is a non-interactive unacknowledged translator, said that translating texts is fun and translation gives her lots of satisfaction. She explained: “Putting a bit of effort into crafting how the meaning can be presented in another language tactfully is challenging.”

According to some invisible translators, making translation as a life-long profession requires patience, time and passion. Subject 18, who is a non-interactive acknowledged translator, stressed: “It (translation) is hard work but it brings you happiness when you finish a difficult task.” In addition, people should have patience and passion to make translation become a life-long profession. Subject 11 also commented: “It takes time to be a good translator; it takes more time to be regarded as a good translator; and it takes much more time to be paid as a good translator.” Subject 34 , who is a non-interactive unacknowledged translator, even stated: “translation can be torture and enjoyment at the same time, just like life.”

6 Limitations and recommendations for further research

The findings of the current study should be interpreted as a small part of a big story. We acknowledge the following limitations of this study and thus suggest recommendations for further research.

6.1 The translator's happiness

Our working definition of the translator's happiness contains two elements. First of all, the translator's happiness at work depends on the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and that the job allows the person to obtain it. Happiness is, however, not necessarily a selfish goal or a result of desire maximization. The second element for the working definition emphasizes the translator's long-lasting enjoyment of work through accomplishing worthy purposes. In the minor dissertation, we have only investigated the first part of the definition as our second hypothesis serves to test the first part of the definition of the translator's happiness.

In my doctoral research, I will carry out the investigation of the second part of the definition. I will ask the subjects to tell me (1) what are the worthy purposes of the translation profession from their perspective; (2) how do they see their job as a translation professional; (3) when do they find happiness from their work and (4) when do they feel unhappy of being a translation translator.

6.2 Degrees of the translator's visibility

Besides, we only focused on the comparison between visible and invisible translators in the minor dissertation. These categories may be enough for the minor dissertation and will be too simple for a PhD dissertation. Since I have degrees of visibility in the present study, I will use them to identify potential correlations between different variables in the questionnaire (e.g. age and work experience), the subjects' interactivity with clients and end-users, the various kinds of capital they want to receive and the various kinds of capital they say they can obtain it in my doctoral

research.

6.3 Methodology

First, our pool of data (60 valid completed questionnaires) is relatively small. In addition, we used the non-probability convenience sampling method and snowball techniques may introduce bias against non-internet users. To overcome this weakness, some strategies need to be considered. In my doctoral research, a larger sample will be required and I will do some kinds of sector sampling such as translators from different kinds of employment.

Second, I used two scales in the study. The 5-point Likert scale was used to collect data concerning the capital that the respondents want to receive and the capital they say they earn from their work while the 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, I think it would be more normal to see a 5-point Likert scale throughout the research.

Third, the questionnaire we developed for the minor dissertation is very long. Having done the pilot, some questions in part four will be removed. Those questions ask 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 when working on texts, (5) find happiness after accomplishing a complex translation task by their own and (6) find happiness if they can work with people in order to accomplish a complex translation task. These questions will be asked in the interviews rather than in the questionnaire.

Fourth, in this minor dissertation, we relied very much on the questionnaire

which has given us quantitative data about the translator's happiness and their visibility. In my PhD research, I need to interact with the subjects, i.e. to do interview to obtain more qualitative information.

Fifth, we did not compare our research findings with other questionnaires. In my doctoral research, I will compare my questionnaire with the questionnaires that other scholars have used. I will also compare my findings with the results those scholars have got. This comparison is worth doing because the Chinese situation can be compared with the other situations.

6.4 Conclusions

This study examined the translator's visibility and their happiness. The focus of our research on the translator's visibility is on these professionals' inter-communicative functions. We concentrate on issues concerning whether or not the translator's mediating role is visible between the client and the end-user. We hypothesize that visible translators not only can receive more economic, symbolic, social and cultural capital but they are also the happiest mediators among translation practitioners. The results of the pilot study have proven that visible translators receive more economic and social capital than invisible translators although the two groups obtain similar amount of symbolic and cultural capital. Additionally, our second hypothesis stating that visible translators are happier than invisible translators is also confirmed. As we have emphasized in chapter two that visibility and invisibility are only two extreme poles. And visibility is not a binary concept; it can be described along a continuum. Further research will be conducted to investigate the correlation between the level of the translator's interactivity with their clients and end-users as well as other variables in the questionnaire such as the age, work experience, the capital that the subjects

want to receive and the capital that they say they can obtain them.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

The copy below is the letter sent in advance to the respondent who has previously contacted in order to inform them about the study and invite their participation.

Dear XX (the name of the person),

I am writing to you as I want to ask you for a favor. You know I am now doing a PhD in Translation and Intercultural Studies. I am currently working on a project regarding the status of Chinese translators. Would you be so kind as to help me by filling out a short questionnaire? I really hope that you can take part in my research project. You will be able to read and use the results so that you can think about your profession and your work.

Attached is the questionnaire. I hope you can help me. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Christy LIU Fung-ming

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix 2

The copy below is the letter sent in advance to the respondent 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 from 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. Would you be so kind as to help me by filling out a short questionnaire? I hope you can help me. If you don't mind, would 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 and use the results so that you can think about your profession and your work.

Thank you very much.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Christy LIU Fung-ming

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix 3

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 how translators find happiness and their social status.

This questionnaire takes about 15 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 Fung-ming

Doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain.

Appendix 4

Part 1: Personal questions

1. What is your gender?
2. How old are you?
 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-50 51-60
3. Where are you from (such as city)?
4. What is your highest education level and major?
 High school College Bachelor Master 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 you normally translate?
8. What kind of company (such as translation agency/ public relations agency/ publishing company) do you work for?
9. 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)?
If never, skip to question 10
 never rarely seldom sometimes often very often
Any comments?
10. 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)?
If never, skip to question 12
 never rarely seldom sometimes often very often
Any comments?
11. How do you communicate with these clients?
 email fax phone face-to-face meeting other methods
Any comments?
12. 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”).
If never, skip to question 14
 never rarely seldom sometimes often very often
Any comments?
13. What kind of feedback do you receive from them?
 email fax phone face-to-face meeting other methods
Any comments?
14. Does your name usually appear on your translations?
 never rarely seldom sometimes often very often
Any comments?

Part 2: Please indicate how important the following aspects (i.e. you want to obtain them) are to you from your work:

Instruction:

If you want to tick “Important”, please do it like this:

	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
Work independently	[]	[]	[]	[X]	[]

Please indicate the level of importance for each of the following statements are to you at work:

	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
15. Work independently.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
16. Decision-making opportunities at work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
17. Fulfilling the expectation from the client.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
18. Fulfilling the expectation from the end-user.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
19. Professional respect	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
20. The company’s reputation in the industry.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
21. The pride of my profession.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
22. My role of being a translation professional.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Please indicate the level of importance for each of the following statements are to you at work:

	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
23. Salary	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
24. Long-term job security	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Please indicate the level of importance for r each of the following statements are to you :					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
25. A working environment that allows me to strengthen my personal network.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
26. The client's appreciation of my translation work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
27. The end-user's appreciation of my translation work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
28. Moving between roles so that I am not limited to doing translation only.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
29. Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
30. Opportunity to work with people from different professions.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Please indicate the level of importance for r each of the following statements are to you at work:					
	Absolutely Unimportant	Unimportant	Indifferent/ No opinion	Important	Extremely Important
31. Opportunity to learn new knowledge	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
32. Opportunity to improve my translation skills	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
33. Opportunity to boost my professional qualification	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
34. Opportunity to use my skills and expertise at work	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
35. Feedback on my translated work from the client.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
36. 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
37. I can work independently.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
38. I am allowed to make important decisions at work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
39. I think I can always fulfil the expectation from the client.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
40. I think I can always fulfill the expectation from the end-user.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
41. My work brings me professional respect.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
42. I feel proud to be a part of the company.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
43. I take pride in my profession. I am proud of being a translation professional.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
44. 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
45. I considered myself to be well paid, giving the job responsibilities and performance expectations.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
46. 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
47. My work brings me valuable personal contacts.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
48. When I do a good job, I receive recognition for it from the client.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
49. When I do a good job, I receive recognition for it from the end-user.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
50. I can move between roles and I am not limited to doing translation only.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
51. I always have the opportunity to work with other translation professionals.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
52. 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
53. My work as a translation professional enables me to increase my knowledge	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
54. My work enables me to improve my translation skills.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
55. My work boosts my professional qualification.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
56. I can always apply my skills and expertise to my work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
57. I often receive feedback from the client concerning a text I have translated.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
58. I often obtain feedback from the end-user concerning my work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Part 4: Your feelings about your job

59. How happy you are with your work now?

- Very unhappy
- unhappy
- slightly unhappy
- slightly happy
- happy
- Very happy

Any comments?

60. If you were free to go into any job you wanted, what would you choose?

- Take the same job? Take a different job?

Any comments?

61. If you were free to go into any profession you wanted, what would you choose?

- Take the translation profession? Will not go into the translation profession?

Any comments?

62. What do you like most about your job? Please list three things:

First thing:

Second thing:

Third thing:

63. What do you like least about your job? Please list three things:

First thing:

Second thing:

Third thing:

Please indicate your level of frequency for each of the following statements.

	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Not at all
64. I enjoy translating.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
65. I enjoy using my language abilities at work.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
66. I find happiness when working on texts.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
67. I find happiness after accomplishing a complex translation task by my own.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
68. I find happiness if I can work with people in order to accomplish a complex translation task.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Additional Comments:

As the researcher is interested in doing follow-up interviews to make this study more complete, we would appreciate your participation by telling us your preference and giving us your contact details. Thank you for your kind cooperation in this effort.

I would like to participate in the follow-up interviews. Here is my contact information:

My name: _____

My email address: _____

I do not want to participate in the follow-up interviews.

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire!

