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Kristiina Abdallah

Translators in Production Networks

Reflections on Agency, Quality and Ethics

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ABSTRACT: TRANSLATORS IN PRODUCTION NETWORKS: REFLECTIONS ON AGENCY, QUALITY AND ETHICS

Over the past fifteen years, the field of professional translation has undergone major structural changes. As a result, translators often work as subcontractors in globalized production networks that consist of multiple actors. Studies focusing on translators' workplaces –falling under the rubric of sociology of translation – are few. Research that addresses the organizational characteristics of the work context of translators are particularly sparse. This dissertation makes a contribution towards contextual workplace studies, as it focuses on translating in production networks. My viewpoint is strictly that of the translator. Hence, this dissertation relies on multiple sources of data and blends different theoretical approaches. By employing a mixed methods approach my goal has been to study both agency and structure and to explore how translation production networks are organized and how their actors interact with each other. My research design is qualitative and ethnographically oriented. The data examined consist of translator interviews and my own observations and experiences, as well as student reflections on translating in production networks. General network theory (Barabási 2002), actor-network theory (Latour 1987) and agency theory (Eisenhardt 1989) are the major theories from which I draw – and they are used to provide complementary insights into translating in production networks. The objective of this thesis is not only to describe production networks and translators' agency therein but also – and perhaps more importantly – to try to understand, and thereby also help others to understand, their organizing principles, as well as to discover the conflict points, so that these might be resolved. Conflict resolution, however, is not the primary target of this thesis, nor could it be. Indeed, that would be a major undertaking that would require the collaboration of translators and their unions, the educational institutions and the translation industry in general, not to mention the representatives of the various users of translations. This dissertation is comprised of five articles, four of which are based on empirical data. The first empirical article provides a bird's eye view of the topology of translation production networks and focuses on the issue of trust. The second article, also based on empirical data, zooms in on one specific audiovisual translation production network paying particular attention to the actors, both human and non-human, and their interaction. The

third empirical article examines structure and agency, bringing to the fore the relevance of information and emotional aspects regarding translation quality. The fourth article examines students' reflections on translating in production networks as empirical data while it tackles questions of ethics. The fifth article, the only Finnish-language article in my thesis, is theoretical and concentrates on the issue of quality in production networks. The research findings of the various subsections of this thesis are parallel and, when analysed together, clearly indicate that production networks are a challenging working environment for translators, especially for translators who are recent graduates. The analyses reveal serious conflict points as to the cooperation between the actors, particularly regarding the issues of quality and ethics. Firstly, trust-building among the actors in production networks seems to present a challenge due to their self-organizing, undemocratic principles. Secondly, it appears that translating as an institution is currently under threat, as are users' rights in society. As production networks continue to exhibit emergent complex behaviour governed by their own internal workings and logic, translators' fiduciary duties towards the users of translations need protection. Thirdly, stringent competition at the expense of sustainable development may lead to abnegation of responsibility, thus lowering quality in the network. At its worst, such a situation can result in moral hazard arising in the network, as pressures from the rest of the network may motivate even translators to lower their ethical values. Finally, I argue that translators' currently restricted and narrow agency must be strengthened, so that translators have the opportunity to act as agents more effectively for themselves and the users, thereby improving translation quality.

Keywords: Agency, Translation Production Network, Quality, Ethics

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ABSTRAKTI: KÄÄNTÄJÄT TUOTANTOVERKOSTOISSA. POHDINTOJA TOIMIJUUDESTA, LAADUSTA JA ETIIKASTA

Käännösalalla on viimeisen viidentoista vuoden aikana tapahtunut voimakkaita rakennemuutoksia. Niiden seurauksena kääntäjä toimii usein alihankkijana useista toimijoista koostuvissa monikansallisissa tuotantoverkostoissa. Kääntämisen sosiologian alaisuuteen sijoittuvia kääntäjien työelämää kartoittavia tutkimuksia on vähän ja varsinkin sellaisia, joissa otetaan huomioon työn organisatorinen konteksti. Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkin kääntämistä nykyisin varsin yleisessä monista toimijoista koostuvassa, mutta vähän tutkitussa tuotantoverkoston kontekstissa. Keskityn tutkimuksessani vain kääntäjän näkökulmaan. Tutkimus on kvalitatiivinen ja etnografisesti orientoitunut. Väitöskirjassani nojaudun useaan aineistoon sekä teoreettiseen viitekehykseen. Miksaamalla aineistoja ja teorioita tarkoituksenani on ollut tutkia sekä tuotantoverkostojen rakennetta että kääntäjien toimijuutta niissä. Päätutkimuskysymyksissäni luotaan sitä, miten käännösalan tuotantoverkostot ovat rakentuneet ja miten niiden toimijat ovat vuorovaikutuksessa keskenään. Tutkimusaineistoinani ovat kääntäjähaastattelut, omat kokemukset ja huomiot eräästä audiovisuaalisen käännösalan tuotantoverkostosta sekä opiskelijoiden pohdinnat kääntämisestä tuotantoverkostoissa. Analysoin aineistoja kolmen teoreettisen kehyksen avulla, joita ovat yleinen verkostoteoria (Barabási 2002), toimijaverkkoteoria (Latour 1987) ja agenttiteoria (Eisenhardt 1989). Teorioiden avulla tarkoitukseni on luoda toisiaan täydentäviä katsauksia kääntämiseen tuotantoverkostoissa. Väitöskirjan tarkoituksena ei ole ainoastaan kuvata sitä, millaista kääntäminen tuotantoverkostoissa on vaan paremminkin ymmärtää, ja auttaa muitakin ymmärtämään, verkostojen järjestäytymisperiaatteet ja ongelmakohdat. Ongelmien ratkaiseminen ei kuitenkaan ole, eikä voikaan olla, tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus. Ongelmanratkaisu vaatii kollektiivista toimintaa: kääntäjien ja heidän edunvalvojiensa, kääntäjiä kouluttavien tahojen, kääntäjiä tutkivien sekä käännösteollisuuden toimijoiden yhteistoimintaa, jossa mukana tulisi olla myös käyttäjien edustus. Väitöskirja koostuu viidestä artikkelista, joista neljä perustuu empiiriseen aineistoon. Ensimmäisessä empiirisessä artikkelissa luon yleiskuvan kääntämisen tuotantoverkostojen topologiasta ja keskityn toimijoiden väliseen luottamukseen. Toisessa empiirisessä artikkelissa kohdistan katseen erääseen

audiovisuaalisen kääntämisen tuotantoverkostoon ja tarkastelen sen inhimillisiä ja ei-inhimillisiä toimijoita ja niiden vuorovaikutusta. Kolmannessa empiirisessä artikkelissa tutkin sekä verkoston rakennetta että kääntäjien toimijuutta ja keskityn informaation ja emotionaalisten tekijöiden merkitykseen kääntämisen laatuun vaikuttavina tekijöinä. Neljännessä empiirisessä artikkelissa tarkastelen opiskelijoiden pohdintoja kääntämisestä tuotantoverkostoissa ja keskityn yhteistoiminnan eettisiin kysymyksiin. Viides ja ainoa suomenkielinen artikkeli tässä väitöskirjassa on teoreettinen, ja pohdin siinä laadun olemusta kääntämisen tuotantoverkostoissa. Kun artikkeleita tarkastellaan yhdessä, voidaan todeta, että niiden tulokset ovat yhdensuuntaisia: tuotantoverkostot näyttäytyvät haasteellisina toimintaympäristöinä kääntäjille ja eritoten vastavalmistuneille. Tutkimustulokset paljastavat, että toimijoiden välisessä yhteistoiminnassa on ratkaisemattomia etiikkaan, laatuun ja luottamukseen liittyviä ongelmakohtia. Kuitenkin luottamuksen rakentaminen toimijoiden kesken on haasteellista, mikä johtuu näiden verkostojen itseohjautuvista ja epädemokraattisista toimintaperiaatteista. Näyttää myös siltä, että kääntäminen instituutiona ja käännöksiä tarvitsevien käyttäjien oikeudet ovat uhattuina. Kun tuotantoverkostoissa esiintyy tutkimuksessa kuvatunlaista, niiden omasta logiikasta kumpuavaa kompleksista toimintaa, kääntäjien velvollisuusetiikkaan perustuvaa luottamuksenvaraista suhdetta asiakkaaseen tulisi tukea. Jolleivät muut tuotantoverkoston toimijat tue kääntäjää hänen työssään, vaarana saattaa olla moraalikato, jonka seurauksena verkostoissa tuotettujen käännösten laatu laskee. Kääntäjien rajoitettua ja ahdasta toimijuutta tuotantoverkostoissa tulisikin vahvistaa, jotta heidän mahdollisuutensa toimia käyttäjien edustajina nostaisi verkostoissa tuotettujen käännösten laatua.

Avainsanat: Kääntäminen, toimijuus, tuotantoverkosto, laatu, etiikka

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I am deeply grateful to Dr Riitta Oittinen and Chancellor Krista Varantola of the University of Tampere for encouraging me to embark on the journey to become a scholar – I never dreamed of such a rewarding and inspiring future. Up to this very moment, this journey has been long and eventful. I have been very fortunate to have inspiring colleagues both in Tampere and in Joensuu where I have worked whilst writing this dissertation, and now in Vaasa, where I currently hold the position of a university teacher. It is unfortunately not possible to mention by name all my wonderful fellow workers both in Finland and abroad, as there are so many of you. But I thank you all from the bottom of my heart: thank you for your support – I cherish both the inspiring scholarly discussions, the fun and laughter, and even the occasional tears that we have shared, and still do. Some of you are not only colleagues but friends, for which I am truly grateful. I especially want to thank Professor Riitta Jääskeläinen who saw the significance of my MA thesis at the very beginning of my career – how encouraging it was for a budding postgraduate student to hear a professor mention one's work in her inaugural speech in 2005. Warm thanks are also due to Professor Sirkku Aaltonen, who enabled me to write this dissertation summary in August and early September of 2011 before embarking on my teaching career in Vaasa.

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Tampere, 2nd January 2012

Kristiina Abdallah

Previously Published Articles

I Abdallah, Kristiina and Kaisa Koskinen (2007) 'Managing Trust: Translating and the Network Economy', in Hélène Buzelin and Debbie Folaron (eds.) Translation and Network Studies, Special Issue of *Meta* 52(4): 673-687. URL: http://www.erudit.org/revue/meta/2007/v52/n4/017692ar.html

II Abdallah, Kristiina (2011) 'Quality Problems in AVT Production Networks: Reconstructing an Actor-network in the Subtitling Industry, in Adriana Serban, Anna Matamala and Jean-Marc Lavaur (eds.) *Audiovisual Translation in Close-up: Practical and Theoretical Approaches*, Bern: Peter Lang. 173-186.

III Abdallah, Kristiina (2010) 'Translators' Agency in Production Networks', in Tuija Kinnunen and Kaisa Koskinen *Translator's Agency*, Tampere Studies in Language, Translation and Culture, Series B 4, Tampere: Tampere University Press, 11-46. URL: http://tampub.uta.fi/english/tulos.php?tiedot=340

IV Abdallah, Kristiina (2011) 'Empowering Translators. Students' Ethical Reflections on Translating in Production Networks', in Mona Baker ja Carol Maier (eds.) Ethics and the Curriculum: Critical Perspectives, Special Issue of the *Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 5(1), 2011. 129-154.

V Abdallah, Kristiina (2007) 'Tekstittämisen laatu – mitä se oikein on?' [Subtitling quality – what is it?], in Riitta Oittinen and Tiina Tuominen (eds.) *Olennaisen äärellä. Johdatus audiovisuaaliseen kääntämiseen*. [Introduction to audiovisual translation] Tampere: Tampereen yliopistopaino. 272-293.

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Part I

1 Introduction

1.1 THESIS FOCUS, ITS IMPETUS AND ITS AIM

This doctoral dissertation focuses on translating in production networks. A production network consists of inter-firm relationships that bind a group of firms of different sizes, ranging from multinational companies to micro entrepreneurs (the owners of small businesses), into a larger economic unit (Sturgeon 2001: 2, Henderson et al. 2002: 445-46, Abdallah and Kaisa Koskinen 2007: 674, Folaron and Buzelin 2007). Free trade and globalization have made their mark in all areas of economic activity, shaping the emergent, dominant main operations model; this is true for the translation industry, and production networks have emerged in the wake of the current phenomenon. The viewpoint in the current thesis is strictly that of the translator, or the translator-to-be. As the translator is the actor who does the actual translating, he/she is, for that reason, considered a core actor, if not the core actor, of such networks. It is, therefore, appropriate to examine how such a central actor perceives translation production networks, particularly since translators' work has been hitherto considered largely invisible (Venuti 1995, Simeoni 1998: 12, Kaisa Koskinen 2000: 89-106, see also Dam and Zethsen 2008: 73) and their position has become marginalized in the industry (Austermühl 2005, Jääskeläinen 2007). For these reasons, translators can be rightfully considered a mute, silenced group in society. By giving voice to the translators and translators-in-training, and by contextualising their work, I wish to find out how they perceive their own agency in production networks and what they have to say about quality and ethics in this particular work context. Although production networks are ubiquitous in economic life, they have only recently been identified in Translation Studies, and are hence a new object of research.

This thesis falls under the relatively new domain of the sociology of translation (see, for instance, Inghilleri 2005, Wolf and Fukari 2007), and more specifically, under translators' workplace studies. Recently, Kuznik and Verd (2010) have criticised translators' workplace studies for failing to take into account the organizational characteristics of translators' work context. Kuznik and Verd do mention, however, a few studies which analyse translators' work by incorporating "the characteristics of the organizations as variables of study" including the rules and imperfections of translators' everyday work. Among these studies Kuznik and Verd include Lebtahi and Ibert 2000, Hébert-Malloch 2004, and Dam and Zethsen 2008, as well as Article I by Abdallah and

Kaisa Koskinen (2007). On the other hand, among the works that focus on the organisation and management of translation services, Kuznik and Verd include Gouadec's many recent publications, including *Translation As a Profession* 2007, Davico 2005, and Risku 2006. Finally, Kuznik and Verd also mention Risku 2000 and 2002 as an example of studies that have "incorporated the cognitive aspects of the work in the organizational, translation-related context". (Kuznik and Verd 2010: 28.)

This dissertation contributes towards contextualised and current knowledge, including complex, contingent and hard-to-research issues, specifically in the area of translators' workplace studies. My research findings are based on empirical evidence and are of importance to professional translators, Translation Studies scholars, and translation teachers. Indeed, they are especially relevant for translation studies graduates, who have often been forced to cross the wide divide between academia and professional translating ad hoc, on their own, learning by trial and error (for reports on this divide, see, for instance, Heltai 1997, Gamal 1994, POSI Project Report 1999, Chesterman and Wagner 2002, Kiraly 2003, Katan 2009, Baker and Maier 2011: 7). My current research is also of relevance to the other actors of translation production networks – translation companies and client companies, not forgetting translation users – for they are all stakeholders in translation production networks. I firmly believe that it is in the long-term interest of all these stakeholders to strive towards sustainable development in the translation industry.

My research goes beyond a mere description of the present situation. Perhaps even more importantly, it also aims to explain and develop it by providing conceptual tools and concrete means for professional translators, translation teachers, and students to help them survive and make sense of the challenges in production networks. In this sense-making exercise, it has been my goal to theoretically approach those issues that appeared problematic to me personally as a novice translator and that still continue to be equivocal to translators at large in production networks, namely agency, quality and ethics, and to explain these in a pragmatic manner. Based on my own experiences and previous work – my Master's Thesis from 2003 – the preliminary premise in the current research is that there are inherent conflicts regarding quality and cooperation among the actors in production networks[1]. In the current work, I wanted to find out whether the premise is valid: Are there problems related to translators' agency and translation quality, and, if there are, which factors might be contributing to these problems?

The developmental element of this dissertation also means that it has an action research ethos to it. According to McKernan (1996: vi), "[a]ction research is research by practitioners to solve their own problems and to improve their professional practice". Although I no longer consider myself a practitioner[2] per se, it is important to point out that this research project started when I was a practising translator, trying to make sense of the quality-related problems in my work in an audiovisual translation production network in 1999-2000. In other words, my roles as a researcher and practitioner are

[1] When I wrote my MA thesis in the early 2000s, I was not yet familiar with the (then-emergent) term *production network*; instead, I spoke about co-operative environments.

[2] I was working as a translator alongside my studies from 1997 until May 2000. After a brief stint as a technical writer, I have held various positions at the Universities of Tampere (2001-2010), Eastern Finland (2010-2011) and Vaasa (from 2011).

intertwined to a certain extent. Whereas descriptive research tends to be based on theoretical discourse, action research "enters the arenas of practical discourse" (Pålshaugen 2006: 283). That is exactly what I have been doing throughout the course of my research: I have entered the arenas of practical discourse by collaborating with the practitioners on numerous occasions in various arenas, discussing my research findings with them and in so doing I have engaged in a continuous dialogue with them. This dialogue has been mostly conducted via The Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (Suomen kääntäjien ja tulkkien liitto SKTL), Akava Special Branches (AEK ry) and the Union of Translation Industry Professionals (Käännösalan asiantuntijat KAJ ry)[3].

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is the nature of the working environments of translation production networks, from the point of view of the translator? That is the main research question of this thesis. This larger question is approached by investigating who and what the actors in translation production networks are, what their collaborative relations are like, and how these are presently organized. By posing these macro-level research questions it is also my aim to examine the micro level: What is the nature of translators' agency in translation production networks? How are quality and ethics understood and experienced by translators therein? In other words, I start by mapping the topology and organizing principles of translation production networks (Article I, co-authored with Kaisa Koskinen) 'Managing Trust: Translating and the Network Economy'. In Article II 'Quality Problems in AVT Production Networks: Reconstructing an Actor-network in the Subtitling Industry', I identify the various actors, both human and non-human, paying special attention to their interaction. Then I proceed to examine how the structure of production networks – the four principal-agent dyads – affects translators' agency and how translators construct their agency in this economic configuration (Article III 'Translators' Agency in Production Networks'). In Article IV 'Towards Empowerment: Students' Ethical Reflections on Translating in Production Networks', I examine students' reflections on the professional ethical dilemmas encountered by micro-entrepreneur translators in production networks. In other words, the fourth article seeks to answer

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[3] See, for instance, the programme of the International Translation Day in Finland (Kansainvälinen kääntäjienpäivä): http://www.sktl.fi/toiminta/seminaarit/kansainvalinen-kaantajienpaiva-2/ , my popularized article on Translators' Agency in Production Networks called Laadun haasteet käännösalan tuotantoverkostoissa [Quality problems in translation production networks] http://www.kaj.fi/files/301/Kajawa_jasenlehti_4_10_LR.pdf , and an article called Käännösalalle halutaan laatuluokitus [A quality classification system is needed for the translation industry] http://www.digipaper.fi/Yhteenveto-lehti/8473/index.php?pgnumb=18 and Kääntäjä kahden eettisen järjestelmän ristipaineessa [Translator and the dilemma of two ethical systems] http://www.kaj.fi/files/369/Kajawa_3_11.pdf Recently, in 2010 and 2011, I have been invited to participate in some of the audiovisual translators' meetings, while their union lawyers were conducting negotiations on minimum terms of employment. As of 2012, I have been nominated chair of the teachers' and researchers' section of the Finnish Translators' and Interpeters' Association.

how translation production networks manifest themselves as the future working environment for translation students. Finally, in Article V 'Tekstittämisen laatu – mitä se oikein on?' [Subtitling quality – what exactly is it?] – the only article written in Finnish – I concentrate on the concept of quality and I argue that the current product-centred quality standards are no longer appropriate in the new economic environment that includes multiple actors.

Traditionally, Translation Studies has been either text and product-oriented or philosophical in nature. Answers to research questions have been mainly sought in texts. Only quite recently has the focus shifted from texts to translators (Chan 2008, Dam and Zethsen 2009, Chesterman 2009, Hekkanen 2010, Kuznik and Verd 2010: 28; see also Jääskeläinen 2007) and, consequently, it is now suitable to go beyond the text in search of answers to research questions. Anthony Pym (1998) was one of those scholars who first started calling for the need to study translators in order for us to understand the essence of translations. In this dissertation, translators occupy centre-stage, as answers to the research questions posed have been sought by interviewing translators themselves.

1.3 LIST OF MAIN CONCEPTS

Not unlike any academic text, the current thesis includes a large number of concepts, without which it would be impossible to engage in theoretical discussion. The majority of these concepts will be defined in the articles. To facilitate the task of the reader, I present below the core concepts that arise in this dissertation in alphabetical order.

Adverse selection refers to a process in which unwanted consequences, such as the lowering of quality, arise, because principals and agents do not have access to joint information. An example of one such case occurs when the principal cannot make certain, pre-contractually, if the agent has the skills and the abilities to do the work for which he/she is being paid.

Agency: Ability to act. In Article III, in the context of agency theory, agency refers to the translator's *ability to act for* the user/reader in production networks. Note, however, that in Article II, according to the basic tenets of actor-network theory, agency – the *ability to act* – is not only granted to humans but also to *non-human actors*.

Agent: The party hired by the principal to do the work on his/her behalf, usually for a fee.

Asymmetric information: Unequal information between principals and agents.

Complete information: Information that is freely available to all market actors, principals and agents alike.

Complex system: A large network of relatively simple components with no central control, in which emergent, sometimes even unwanted, complex behaviour is exhibited.

Co-operation: An act or instance of working or *acting together for a common purpose or benefit*, joint action, willingness to cooperate. In economics: the combination of persons for purposes of production, purchase, or distribution for their *joint benefit*. In sociology: activity shared for *mutual benefit*. (Dictionary.com, Random House 2011; italics mine.)

Dyad: Principal-agent relationship, as between a client and a translator. Note that single dyads are not networks. However, if several dyads are observed together, as in Article III, they can be perceived as a network.

Ethical dilemma: A complex dilemma between two competing ethical imperatives and/or systems.

Freelance translator: A person who, in Finland, works in the grey area between an employee and a micro-entrepreneur. A freelancer pays for his/her tools, and is partly responsible for Finnish statute benefits contributions, which include his/her health benefits, pension security payments and holiday compensation. Freelancing is considered atypical or 'non-standard' work, and it is especially common among women (Eurofound 2009: Atypical work).

In-house translator: Monthly paid translator in a translation company or other company or institution. Typical or standard form of work.

Inscription: Materials, actors, and texts can be 'translated' into inscriptions that allow agency to occur at a distance.

Intermediary Principal: Client companies and translation companies act as intermediary principals in production networks. The client company acts as an intermediary principal in relation to the translation company and the translation company acts as an intermediary principal in relation to the translator.

Micro-entrepreneur: A self-employed person, who, like a freelancer, is responsible for Finnish statute benefits contributions, which include his/her health benefits, pension security payments and holiday compensation.

Moral hazard occurs in the network when one party takes risks at the expense of the other parties in such a manner so as to benefit the risk taker economically from his/her risk-taking, whilst the other parties end up paying for the negative consequences, should the risk materialise.

Outsourcing: The contracting out of activities previously performed inside the company to an outside entity or a subcontractor. The decision to outsource company activities is generally based on the desire to save money, *improve quality* or concentrate on the company's core competencies. (Eurofound 2008: Outsourcing, italics mine.)

Primary Principal: The reader or user in translation production networks who needs translations for comprehension. Note that translations are often necessary for the equal rights of citizens to be realised in society.

Principal: The party who delegates work to an agent to do the work on their behalf.

Production network: A set of inter-firm relationships that bind a group of firms of different sizes into a larger economic unit.

Quality: Multidimensional concept, along the lines of Total Quality, includes three dimensions: product quality, process quality and collective quality.

Random network: Most nodes have the same amount of links and follow a bell curve distribution.

Scale-free network: There is no typical node in this type of network. The majority of nodes have only a few links, whereas the highly connected nodes called hubs have a huge number of links, and what is more, the hubs grow exponentially, thus making scale-free networks highly hierarchical. A useful metaphor is an airline route map or the World Wide Web.

Subcontracting translator: An individual, self-employed translator who undertakes to perform a particular translation assignment for another company, usually a translation company, under a contract, at his/her own risk. Lately, there have been cases of *compulsory, unwilling self-employment* in the translation industry (see also Eurofound 2009: Finland: Self-employed workers, italics mine).

'Translation': A key concept in actor-network theory, ANT. Note that in ANT, 'translation' is not equivalent to the general concept that denotes inter-lingual translation, as is also the case in Translation Studies. Actor-networks are formed in negotiations, in which a focal actor, such as a translation company, tries to *convince*, or 'translate', the other actors to accept its definition. In this context, 'translation' includes "all the *negotiations, intrigues, calculations, acts of persuasion and violence* thanks to which an actor takes or causes to be conferred on itself *the authority to speak or act on behalf of another actor*..." (Callon and Latour 1981: 279, italics mine). Note also that when the ANT version of 'translation' is referred to in this dissertation summary, inverted commas are used.

1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE

This dissertation consists of three parts: Part I comprises the dissertation summary, Part II presents the conclusions of the dissertation and Part III consists of the articles themselves.

Part I, the dissertation summary, is divided into chapters. Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the work and presents the major concepts used; Chapter 2 discusses the methodological issues of the dissertation as well as research ethics; Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical foundations of this work; and finally, Chapter 4 presents the findings of each of the articles separately.

Part II is the conclusion and discussion of the dissertation, and it draws together the dissertation's major findings. It also discusses the limitations of the current work and presents the theoretical contributions and pragmatic implications arrived at during the course of the research project. In this section, I also review how the five articles form a coherent whole. Finally, I discuss possible future research agendas based on the findings of the dissertation. Part II ends with a postscript that gives voice to the interviewees so that we get a glimpse of what is going on in their lives at the end of this research project.

Part III consists of the articles themselves. The five independent articles form the core of the dissertation and they have been previously published (2007-2011). In these articles, the theoretical foundations of the research are developed and the analyses of the data conducted. As is the case in most article dissertations, there is a certain amount of repetition in the articles. To provide one such example, the central concept of a production network is defined in each article. This is due to the fact that it provides the context for the entire dissertation, and the claims made in the current work only apply to this particular economic configuration.

2 Methodological Issues

In this chapter I will focus on the practical side of my work by discussing the data and methods that I have relied on in conducting the research. At the end of the chapter I will also discuss the ethical considerations of my research, as they are directly connected with the empirical data and its analysis.

2.1 MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

To answer his/her research questions, the researcher has to devise a reseach strategy. In mixed methods research, the researcher selects a strategy that employs more than one type of research method (Brannen 2005: 1). This doctoral dissertation employs a mixed methods approach. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) have described mixed methods research as a third movement and a growing trend in research methodology after quantitative and qualitative methods (see also Cresswell and Garrett 2008). I have employed various methods in order to provide **complementary** views of what it is like for a translator, and particularly a micro-entrepreneur translator, to work in a translation production network. Consequently, my aim has been to approach the issue at hand as if I were a photographer, by providing various snapshots of the phenomenon under study, always from the viewpoint of the translator. For this reason, my research is based on more than one method, different data and a theoretically multidisciplinary approach.
Employing mixed methods, allows me to approach the complex phenomenon of a production network (macro level), as well as translators' agency therein (micro level) within the scope of one research undertaking. Moreover, a mixed methods approach allows me to reflect on these phenomena more extensively and reliably than would be possible within the scope of only one methodology (see Brannen 2005: 8). Brannen (2005: 25), drawing on Lincoln and Guba (1987), discusses quality criteria pertaining to qualitative mixed methods research and presents the following: credibility/trustworthiness, fittingness and auditability (see also Ilpo Koskinen et al. 2005: 253-277).

To return to my research undertaking, I seriously doubt that this type of research could have been approached within one methodology only; instead, the desire to study both agency and structure and to record change presupposes a multidisciplinary, more complex approach. As Cresswell and Garrett (2008) point out, research approaches must be developed constantly in response to the complex world and its problems (see also Brannen 2005: 8). Given the recent interest and progress made in complex systems research and network theory, it is hardly surprising that mixed methods research has gained such popularity over recent years. Mixed methods are particularly well suited to study that which is complex, convoluted and contingent.

Complex systems research has, in fact, greatly influenced this work. I was fortunate enough to take part in the very first complex systems course organized by Dr. Béla Patkai at the Tampere University of Technology in 2005, and my attending the course proved to be a decisive moment. The course, and particularly the lecture delivered by Dr. John L. Casti, opened my eyes to "the fingerprints of complexity" in systems: instability, irreducibility, adaptability, and emergence[4] (Casti 2005) and this enabled me to redefine my initial research questions in more detail. Attending this course also gave me the tools to look for answers to my research questions more widely, across disciplinary borders, and to integrate the various theories that I have used in my research to understand better the big picture of production networks. At this juncture, I believe it appropriate to quote a passage from my lecture diary dated 5 June, 2005:

> According to Professor Casti and the other CS researchers, there seems to be a kind of a paradigmatic shift going on in the sciences. Historically scientists, in their separate fields, have focused on understanding the individual parts of a system, but are now becoming more interested in the big picture of the larger system. Equipped with deepening knowledge of the components of the system under study, researchers are starting to comprehend that it is not possible to understand the entire system based on its individual parts only. Systems – whether they consist of cells, people, nodes, companies – are composed of huge numbers of interacting components, and their joint behaviour cannot be predicted by the behaviour of the individual, separate components. Therefore, if we want to study complex systems, such as translation production networks, we have to examine how the components of the system are **organized** and how they **interact**. Only then can we see how the entire system functions.

That is precisely what I have tried to do in my research: by adopting a mixed methods approach, I have examined how translation production networks are organized and how their actors interact with each other. In this context, Justa Holz-Mänttäri's functional, system-theoretical model of translational action (1984) is definitely worthy of mention, since it was pioneering in its time. Nevertheless, while it is true that Holz-Mänttäri's model does see translation as a co-operative effort, it is not applicable to this research undertaking. Her model presents co-operation in a simplified manner oriented towards a single, overall purpose (see Pym 2000 for a discussion on the concept of co-operation), and as such, does not allow for the complexity of the actors' differing goals and interests, which can even be conflicting, as presented in Article III. (For a critical review on Holz-Mänttäri's work and functionalism in general, see de León 2008: 13.)

As an emerging methodology, there is some disagreement among scholars as to whether a mixed methods approach requires a researcher to mix qualitative **and**

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[4] A complex system produces "behaviour that cannot be predicted from knowledge of its parts obtained in isolation". These "emergent properties" are probably the single most distinguishing feature of complex systems. "Everyday tap water illustrates the general idea, as its component parts — hydrogen and oxygen — are both highly flammable gases yet combine to produce a compound that is neither. Thus, the properties of being a liquid and noncombustible are emergent properties arising from the interaction of the hydrogen and oxygen 'agents'." (Casti 2005.)

quantitative methods, or whether one can mix quantitative methods **or** qualitative methods within the scope of one research project (see, for instance, Brannen 2005: 14-17, Cresswell and Garrett 2008, Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). I wish to underline here that as the current work is exploratory, it is also pragmatically-oriented. That is to say, not only have the research questions been refined throughout the course of the project but the methods used have also been selected during the project based on "what works" (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003).

Admittedly, one could argue that mixed methods research is nothing but post-positivist triangulation "in new clothing", and that this new clothing is necessary for epistemological reasons (see Brannen 2005: 12-13). Be that as it may, in mixed methods research, as in triangulation, 1) the researcher employs more than one type of research method; 2) he/she works with different types of data; 3) there is more than one researcher in the project; and/or 4) **the researcher employs different theories to answer his/her research questions** (Denzin 1978). This last point is particularly relevant for my research: I have borrowed theories, concepts and models from other disciplines in order to be able to answer the research questions set for this thesis. It was Denzin (1978) who first developed a typology that includes data, investigator, theory and methods triangulation. The point is that by employing a mixed methods approach, or using triangulation, the researcher is able to increase the credence of his/her research. Such a claim is based on the belief that each theory or method generally provides only one perspective on the research object. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 68-72.) In addition, each of the methods, data, and theories can be viewed as complementing the findings obtained and it is this complementary view that I have been striving for in this work.

Brannen (2005: 4) points out that mixed methods research comes close to ethnography and action research – in all these research strategies, or methodologies, it is common for the researcher to employ more than one method. I have employed a mix of qualitative methods in this research in order to provide supplementary perspectives on production networks. In so doing, I have been "shamelessly eclectic" (Rossman and Wilson 1994), as I have mixed theories and also, to some extent, data in the current research.

Since I have used only mixed qualitative methods – i.e. I have not used quantitative methods – my study can be referred to as **Multimethods QUAL study**. This term refers to "designs in which the research questions are answered by using two [or more] QUAL data collection procedures or two [or more] QUAL research methods". (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; additions in parentheses mine; see also Brannen 2005: 14-17.) Moreover, within the framework of mixed methods research, my current research can be classed under the **transformative-emancipatory paradigm** which addresses social injustice and power issues in society (Mertens 2007). The overall goal of my thesis has been to underline the importance of sustainable development in the field of translation. Thus, by employing a mixed methods approach, the idea has been to "bring to the light those who have remained in the dark" and lived a "shadowy" existence (Kaisa Koskinen 2008: 1, see also Dam and Zethsen 2008: 73).

The data that I have examined in this dissertation includes: 1) longitudinal translator interviews conducted between 2005 and 2011; 2) student discussions and learning diaries from 2009; as well as 3) my own experiences and observations, having been part of one translation production network in 1999-2000, as well as discussions with professional translators since 2003. On the other hand, my approach to mixed methods, theoretically speaking, is based on: 1) general network theory (Barabási 2002); 2) actor-network theory ANT (Latour 1987); and 3) agency theory (Eisenhardt 1989). As previously mentioned, the impetus to mix methods stems from the fact that the research object is complex and there is no one fixed method available that could be applied satisfactorily in exploratory research such as this.

2.2 HOW IT ALL STARTED

This doctoral dissertation dates back to my personal experiences of having worked as a micro-entrepreneur-translator from May 1999 until May 2000 in an audiovisual translation production network. I have described those experiences in my Finnish-language MA thesis [Subtitling quality in the digital age: challenges and solutions], in which I was trying to make sense of the actors' logic regarding quality. The findings showed that the actors – the translator, the translation company and the client company – defined quality using different criteria, and this fact lead to problematic outcomes regarding quality and co-operation. In the spring of 2003 when I completed my MA thesis, I was invited, as a keynote speaker[5] at a Doctrina seminar in Helsinki, to give a presentation to an audience of translators and coordinators of translation companies. The title of my presentation was "Ethics as part of the definition of quality" and it received enthusiastic feedback from the audience, concluding in lively discussion. Although my MA thesis was based on an ethico-moral approach and could be labelled as individual action research, in retrospect, it was somewhat naive. In it, I confined myself to describing the case, contextualising it as best I could, disapproving of it, and suggesting a way to remedy the situation. In other words, the theoretical foundation upon which I founded my observations of the case was modest, to say the least. However, the thesis was important to me personally and it was also the start of a long and winding, multidisciplinary journey. In fact, in Article II of my dissertation, I return to the case once more and examine it within the framework of actor-network theory.

The beginning of an exploratory research project such as mine cannot always be characterised by the image of 'smooth sailing'. As my research plan was hazy and sketchy at the beginning, there were people who expressed their doubts about it, particularly its scope. In fact, they even questioned whether such research could be counted as belonging to Translation Studies at all. To some, my research looked more like sociology. I am therefore truly grateful to Chancellor Krista Varantola, Dr Riitta Oittinen, and especially Professor Kaisa Koskinen, who believed in my work and encouraged me to continue despite early challenges. The turning point occurred in 2005 when the University of Graz in Austria organised a conference called "Translating and Interpreting as a Social Practice", in which I participated.[6] Clearly, after that conference, I did not have

[5] I thank Kaisa Koskinen for recommending me to the director of Doctrina and for giving me this early opportunity to speak about my work.

[6] I took part in a panel, which discussed actor-network theory and which was chaired by Dr Hélène Buzelin.

to justify my research project any more, because the Graz conference lent legitimacy to sociological work such as mine within Translation Studies.

2.3 ETHNOGRAPHY AS A METHOD

Scholars have pointed out that mixed methods research comes close to ethnography but is, nevertheless, separate from it (Brannen 2005, Cresswell and Garrett 2008). Initially, it was difficult for me to distinguish between these two methodologies, and it is therefore appropriate to mention ethnography as a method briefly here. This is particularly so, since I only learned about mixed methods research in 2009, during the Methodology Festival in Jyväskylä, Finland. In fact, I had previously referred to my own work as having an ethnographic orientation, as evidenced in the articles included in this thesis.

Kaisa Koskinen discusses ethnography at length, emphasising that it is open-ended and theoretically emergent, and that it must engage the researcher with the object of study. This intrinsic subjectivity posits the researcher as a 'marginal native' in the research and requires extensive reflexivity. (Kaisa Koskinen, 2008: 5-10; 36-37.) The same can be said of the current research, too. In actual fact, it could be argued – as Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 18) have done – that the qualitative researcher is always part of his/her research process, for he/she selects and analyses the concepts, collects and analyses the data, and finally writes the report (see also Latour and Woolgar 1979). In other words, the researcher's own subjective views are present throughout the research process, whether he/she is conscious of it or not. This is the case for my research, too; my own views and experiences are firmly weaved into it. According to the ideology of ethnography, I admit that this is **my** research and the interpretations herein are **mine**. The challenge, however, for the researcher in a project like this is that the work should ultimately reflect the real lived world and the experiences of those involved in the research project. This becomes more complicated when the researcher is, as is the case in this study, part of the study itself (see Kaisa Koskinen 2008: 8-10). One way to overcome this challenge, according to Kvale 1996, is to explore which of the researcher's interpretations receives support from the community that has been under his/her ethnographic eye. In the current research undertaking, the community refers to translators and to translation students: it is their views and opinions that I have interpreted. Consequently, in order to ascertain whether my interpretations are supported by these communities, I have engaged them and verified data and impressions with them directly in a number of ways. I have taken part, during the entire trajectory of the research project, in numerous seminars, conferences and meetings, in which practising translators and/or translation students[7] have been present, and, in front of them and together with them, and generally at their request, I have spoken about my research and research findings and sought their feedback.

[7] We cannot overlook my role as an educator either: for over ten years now, I have been teaching translation students at three universities in Finland.

2.4 RESEARCH DATA AND METHODS

In this section I discuss the data that I have collected and the methods that I have used to obtain the research material for my doctoral dissertation.

The data has been obtained through fieldwork and consists of the following three subsections:

- In-depth interviews with eight Finnish translators, conducted between the years 2005 and 2011.
- Ongoing participant testimonies and discussions with practitioners since 2003, as well as my own observations and experiences of having been part of one audiovisual translation production network from May 1999 until May 2000.
- Students' reflections on the professional ethical dilemmas encountered by micro-entrepreneur translators in production networks.

As previously mentioned, I am part of my own research in that I also draw on my own experiences of having been part of one audio-visual translation production network. Since my own experiences working in a production network were rather negative, I wanted to learn what other translators in different positions had to say about their work in similar settings. In order to gain a wider perspective on this issue, I went beyond micro-entrepreneur translators like I had been myself to include in my data collection freelancers and in-house translators in translation companies. To gain deeper perspective into translators' working life in production networks, I also included the reflections of 24 students in the data. The underlying assumption behind this inclusion is that translators-in-training will, most likely, work as translators at one point or another during their work trajectories. A second reason for this inclusion is that in Finland, it is not at all uncommon for students to be recruited by multinational translation companies as subcontractors while still in training, before they have completed their studies. Moreover, from a purely academic point of view, it is interesting to observe how a newcomer perceives the goings-on in the translation industry. In the following, after having emphasised the role of field notes in a research project such as this, I discuss research interviews and interview data and briefly touch upon student discussions and learning diaries.

As this research has taken seven years to complete, it is hardly surprising that I have collected a large amount of material of various types. There are, for example, hundreds of pages – several boxes full – of newspaper and magazine clippings and copies of e-mail messages and various articles. I continued collecting such materials because some parts of my research grappled with highly topical questions that are under-examined. In addition, I have also made my own notes, writing down important quotations, phrases, and opinions expressed by various people occupying different positions in relation to my research topic, and, then, often supplemented these remarks by adding my own thoughts and impressions on them. Moreover, I have made notes on the numerous discussions that I have conducted with various people on matters pertaining to my research. It is significant that all the people who are part of this research have also known of my research. In fact, that is the reason why many people have wanted to talk with me in the first place. I call these people **research participants**[8] here, for they have participated in

[8] I became aware of this idea reading Anna Rastas' doctoral thesis (2007: 74-75).

this research, although not actively. To a certain degree, their opinions serve as background material in this dissertation. I have two notebooks that I have carried with me to various meetings and conferences, both at home and abroad. These notebooks, or **field notes** if you prefer, are full of handwritten notes, with loose pages in between. It goes without saying that the material has not been gathered in any systematic way; quite the contrary. However, these notebooks and papers are important because first, they have been used as comparison materials against the data that have been collected systematically (see Rastas 2007: 64-65), and, second, they contain notes on participant testimonies and my discussions with the practising translators and translation company representatives. In short, the contents of these notebooks have been used to provide a general view and form an impression of the goings-on in the translation industry from 2003 up to the present day.

As I wanted to know how translators perceive their work in translation production networks, which are a relatively poorly understood working environment and under-researched for that matter, the only feasible option available for me was to conduct research interviews. Although I considered conducting focus group interviews, I decided that, given the sensitive context, personal interviews were the only option. After all, it is easier to build trust with research participants, as personal interviews better guarantee anonymity and confidentiality. Consequently, I talked to the translators and listened to their views on their work. By conducting interviews I was able to "obtain knowledge about human experience and the life world of those that I interviewed" (Kvale 1996: 72). According to Kvale, "[a]n interview is a **conversation**, an inter change of views, in which two people, the researcher and the interviewee, talk about **a theme of mutual interest**" (1996: 36, highlights mine). The interviews that I conducted are actually best described as conversation and the themes of the conversations were related to the interviewees' work. The essence of the interview as a method is **intersubjective interaction** between the researcher and the interviewee (ibid: 66, highlighting mine); therefore the data obtained is not, by any means, objective or subjective, but intersubjective and it is this **relationship**[9] that is the locus of knowledge here (ibid: 45, highlighting mine). An example of this intersubjective interaction is that although none of the interviewees mentioned the word production network in so many words, they certainly tried to talk about it. To be more precise, the entire concept of a production network was practically unknown to them, yet some of them tried to understand its logic by talking about their work in it in great detail. Generally, there was a lot of conceptual confusion in that they, for instance, talked about clients, even though, in actual fact, they referred to a translation company. In this intersubjective interaction, in these conversations, it has been my task as the researcher to articulate the interviewees' musings as theoretically coherent knowledge.

The interviewees were selected using a purposeful sampling method (see Patton 1990: 169–186), with the idea of including translators in different **positions** in production networks and at different **stages** of their careers. I opted for this selection since I wanted to learn whether there are differences in how translators in different positions and/or

[9] The idea of relationship is central to this dissertation and the various theories used in it. Network theory, actor-network theory and agency theory are all based on the study of relationships, although they rely on different concepts.

stages perceive production networks. Qualitative reseach often focuses on small samples, which are purposefully selected. The point of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases which are studied in depth. "Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling." (ibid.: 169, see also Ilpo Koskinen et al. 2005: 272-277.)

Informal interviews were selected as the appropriate method and setting for extracting information about the interviewees' work experiences. The underlying idea behind these interviews was to collect the informants' workplace experiences in an **ongoing** fashion by following their career trajectories longitudinally. The interviews were carried out between 2005 and 2011. The first three interviews took place in 2005. Other interviewees were added in 2006 and 2007, so that by 2008 the data comprised eight interviewees altogether. Seven of these informants were interviewed three times during the course of the research process, while one informant was interviewed four times. My last contact with these interviewees took place in 2011. The longitudinal process proved valuable, as it showed how the interviewees perceive their working environments, how they construct their agency, and how they negotiate their way in the various production networks over the course of several years. In this way, it was possible to gather in-depth information on work-related phenomena and to discover **change and movement** in the data. For two reasons, the interviewees were initially divided into three categories of employment, those of in-house translator, freelancer, and subcontractor. The first reason behind this classification was that I had expected these different positions to have an impact on how the translators perceive production networks; the second reason was motivated by the different legal and economic implications for the employer and the employee that corresponds to each of these three categories. To illustrate this point, consider that the employer is partly responsible for the pension pay and holiday remuneration of his/her in-house salaried staff. Thus, one would expect the micro-entrepreneur translator to be paid considerably more because he/she is solely responsible for the provision of these said benefits. Another significant feature of my interview method was that interviewees' names and other identifying factors were altered to quarantee their anonymity. Such a procedure was of utmost importance in a small country like Finland, in which the number of professional translators[10] is relatively small. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and the extracts in the articles are my own translations, as verbatim as possible for the message to be conveyed between the two very different languages of Finnish and English.

The first interview session was conducted so that the interviewees would have the opportunity to share some personal background information and then talk about their work as a translator. The interviewees were also asked how they understand the concept of translation quality and whether they have encountered problems regarding quality, and, if so, what kinds of problems.

As this interview data was accumulating incrementally, I realised that to transcribe everything would be a slow and time-consuming process (Ilpo Koskinen et al. 2005: 318)

[10] In 2011, there were approximately 1900 members in the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL web pages).

that would hardly be justified in the context of my research project. I was convinced of this, since the interview material also contained a lot of information that was not directly relevant to the research as such. I saved the sound files and text files on my computer. Together with subsequent interview sessions, I made notes and added text files to the folders during the course of the research project. I then continued listening to the sound files and/or reading the notes that I had taken, looking for answers to my research questions and searching for re-occurring themes. Naturally, each time that I returned to the files, I made notes of my findings; in this way more text and text files were produced and I discovered emerging patterns (See Patton 2002: 380–84, McLellan et al 2003.)

The fineness of detail and the level of accuracy in transcription is ultimately a question of expediency (Ilpo Koskinen et al 2005: 318, McLellan et al. 2003: 66). Ilpo Koskinen et al. (2005: 318-325) list five levels of accuracy in transcription, which I have modified and included underneath.

Table 1: Transcription levels (modified from Ilpo Koskinen et al. 2005: appendix)

Transcription level and the researcher's interest	**How is it done**	**How long does it take to transcribe 1 hour of recorded speech**	**Pros and cons**
Level 1: to get the facts, views and interpretations	While listening to the recording, you write down the main points to get a general view of the contents	Approximately 2 hours	Fast and efficient, allows for more interviewees to be added. Inaccurate, difficult to interpret, difficult to check the interpretations made, includes a lot of researcher interpretation, the vividness of the report suffers
Level 2: to get the facts, views and interpretations as well as quotations for the report	As at level 1, but level 2 also includes verbatim transcription of phases that include the most interesting data or the most apt quotations	Approximately 2-4 hours	Fast and efficient, allows for more interviewees to be added, vividness is a bonus. Includes two phases: transcription can be completed only after one has made an interpretation of the data
Level 3: as above, but one wants to select material that cannot be planned in	You transcribe the recording "verbatim". May also include expletives and	Approximately 6-12 hours depending on the quality of the recording and the speaking rate of	Pleasant when writing the report, as it is easy to select quotations from the data, vividness is a bonus. Arduous

detail beforehand	dialect	the interviewee	
Levels 4-5: one wants to account for the interaction (level 4: sound recording)(level 5: video recording)	You transcribe the recording using special markings. (See discourse analysis and conversation analysis)	Approximately 20-80 hours depending on the number of speakers, recording quality etc.	Shows how people construct realities for each other by taking turns, shows details of interaction, transcendental accuracy and vividness. Arduous and slow. If one is not interested in interaction, this level is unnecessary, requires knowledge of discourse or conversation analysis

In transcribing the interview material of this thesis, I have applied accuracy level 2. First, I strived to get a general view of the data by listening to each file carefully and by writing down key words, and then I summarised the contents of the interview file in question. Having done that, I then listened to the sound file again and selected some, to my mind relevant and illuminating, parts of the interview to be used as quotations in the articles. These quotations have been transcribed word for word and they also include such non-verbal elements as laughter, sighing, and longer pauses. The quotations selected are somewhat longer, and as such, provide an appropriate level of context (see the articles for examples). Since the interviews were conducted in Finnish, the quotations included in the articles are my translations.

The data for Article IV consists of the learning diaries of 24 students and their virtual learning environment discussions (154 messages). All data were collected during the 2009 Translators' and Interpreters' Professional Business Skills course at the University of Tampere. In addition to the weekly lectures, part of the coursework was conducted online. Data collection was straightforward, since all the material was already available in the Moodle virtual learning environment in textual form. All learning diaries and discussion forum messages were copied from the learning environment and pasted into one Word file. Next, all identifiers were removed from the text: student names, identification numbers and corresponding photographs and images if there were any. Consequently, the research material consisted of 263 pages altogether.

For the purposes of the study, I have selected those extracts from the data in which the students reflect on the professional ethical concerns and dilemmas faced by translators as micro-entrepreneurs in production networks. Since the course was conducted in Finnish, all messages and diary entries were written in Finnish; the extracts selected from the data and cited in English are my own translations.

As was the case with the translator interviews, the students' anonymity has been guaranteed, and pseudonyms used whenever referring to individual students.

2.5 ACTION RESEARCH AND RESEARCH ETHICS

This section discusses ethical issues pertaining to this dissertation. First, it deals with action research as a methodology and then it discusses the research ethics by which I have been bound throughout this process.

As mentioned earlier, this dissertation has an action research orientation. Action research does not subscribe to traditional positivist views on research objectivity. Accordingly, the action researcher does not believe that human action becomes tainted or unnatural if it is subjected to observation and, consequently, he/she does not try to observe its target of enquiry in secrecy. Quite the contrary, the research goals are explained to those that are under the researcher's inquiring eye, and, more importantly, the researcher hopes that the work will positively influence those with whom he/she collaborates. Consequently, the researcher does not maintain distance from those that are under observation, but rather interacts with them openly. This **interaction** has also meant that as soon as I had analysed and completed one section of this research project, I immediately released the results to the community of translators (see Järvinen 2004: 7). The dual goals of reciprocity and data verification were achieved by adopting this approach, i.e. I was able to give back what I had received, while allowing me to receive feedback on the findings I had obtained. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 127.) Furthermore, the feedback on the research results could be considered **participant validation**, in which the results are tested against the opinions of the research participants (Ilpo Koskinen et al. 2005: 258-262).

Action research is an **iterative** process: the researcher reflects on practice, takes an action, reflects on the action taken, and takes further action. For this reason, the research cannot be planned in great detail beforehand; instead, it takes shape whilst it is being conducted. The idea here is to provide a deeper understanding of practice and to improve it. (Riel 2010.) Action research can be conducted together with others who also want to improve their practice, but it can also be conducted individually. Put simply, you scrutinise your own work, systematically, and check that it is as it should be, in your mind. (McNiff 2002.)

As action research is practitioner-based, its central idea is **self-reflection**. Consequently, action researchers often do research on themselves. As in any other scientific undertaking, there are, naturally, different approaches to action research. Yet, the researchers seem to agree that action research is based on **values** such as the need for justice and democracy, the right of all people to speak and be heard, and the need to experience integrity in our personal and professional lives. (McNiff 2002.) There is, therefore, clearly an **emancipatory** element in action research. For that reason, I have included action research under the section of this thesis summary that discusses ethical issues. There is no one generally accepted definition for action research. According to Gilmore et al. (1986), action research aims to contribute

> both to the **practical concerns** of people in an **immediate problematic situation** and to further the goals of social science simultaneously. Thus, there is a dual commitment in action research **to study a system** and concurrently **to**

> **collaborate with members of the system in changing it** in what is **together** regarded as a desirable direction. Accomplishing this twin goal requires the active **collaboration** of researcher and client [read researcher and interviewee and the translator community], and thus it stresses the importance of **co-learning** as a primary aspect of the research process. (Gilmore et al. 1986: 161, highlighting mine.)

This definition is well-aligned with the idea behind my current research project. After all, in this work, it is my aim to study both structure (translation production network) and agency (translators' ability to act in it) and to help translators and especially translation students to comprehend the organising principles of the system and to change it, if they so desire. The point of co-learning, on the other hand, means that not only have those translators that I have interviewed learned from our collaboration but I, too, have also learned from them. Even more importantly, translators at large, as well as translation company and client company representatives, have benefited from this co-learning throughout the entire trajectory of this research project (2004-2011)[11].

Action research is always **goal-oriented** and it is, therefore, never value-free. Hence, the reader can rightfully ask on which values the goals in the current research are based, and who defines these goals. (Jyrkämä 1983: 70-73, Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 129.) So, I shall ask rhetorically: By what right have I meddled with the real lived world of translators and translators-to-be and particularly those that I have interviewed? As I explained in the introduction, I wanted to study translators' agency in production networks firstly, because I had personal experience translating therein and secondly, because I had encountered quality-related challenges in my work but most importantly, because I had not been able to make sense of the logic of production networks. Since its very inception, the **values** upon which this research has been built, and to which I wish to contribute, are **sustainable development** and **socially responsible behaviour** in the translation industry, **social justice** and **equal rights** of its stakeholders and finally **users' rights** (see also Mertens 2007: 216 on transformative mixed methods research). As the research has been conducted interactively with the interviewees and, at least in part, with the community of translators, it is fair to say that its goals have been defined collectively by me and the community of translators.

This research project is deeply rooted in sociological and ethical questions. The impetus for this work has been my wish to **improve the practice and working conditions** of professional translators and the desire to **facilitate students' entry into the profession**. For this reason, the entire research undertaking is based on examining a real-life problem and attempting to solve it. In sum, by conducting this research, I have wanted to make a positive difference to society. I have strived to conduct the study in compliance with the

[11] A recent example of this co-learning occurred when Lorella Cattaruzza of the European Commission's Directorate General for Translation (DGT) gave a presentation at the EU Commission in Brussels on quality at a workshop called "Working together for quality". She referred to Article III and its findings and recommended the workshop participants to read it. Her presentation will be published on the DGT's Europa web page under 'Help' for translators (private communication 19 May, 2011 (Cattaruzza-Abdallah).

recommendations set out by the Finnish National Advisory Board on Research Ethics 2009 on good scientific practice in the Humanities.

Ethical issues arose primarily because my work concerns human beings: it is based on translator interviews and student diaries and discussions. Most importantly, I had to take extra steps to make sure that there would be no negative repercussions for the informants. For that reason, I have protected the anonymity of both the interviewees and the students by not revealing their real names. I have also taken extra steps to obscure the identities of those interviewed, by not mentioning, for instance, their work places.

But protecting the anonymity of the informants was not the only ethical issue for this research project. I also had to consider how the goal of my research affects those interviewed, or, for that matter, the entire profession. In this regard, I can only hope that my research results will help translators to better navigate the pitfalls of production networks. Interestingly, this desire was also articulated by several of the interviewees when they accepted to be part of this research project, so it can be argued that we shared the same goals.

Another ethical issue arose when two of the interviewees experienced a strong emotional response during the first interview session, and, consequently, we had to interrupt the session for a while. These interviewees showed symptoms of stress when they spoke about their unpleasant experiences at work. In the case of at least one informant, the interview session could have been said to have been therapeutic, in that the young translator had wanted to hide her experiences from others, for reasons of shame and self-blame, until she had the courage to discuss the matter with me. In fact, she had come to me of her own volition, wanting to tell her story and to warn other students concerning work-related exploitation. Taking part in this research seemed to be an empowering, ‘emancipatory’ experience for at least this translator.

3 Major Theoretical Frameworks Applied

Consistent with the notions of mixed methods research, this thesis relies on several theoretical frameworks. The various theories that ground the analysis of my data include general network theory, actor-network theory and agency theory, all of which have allowed me to gain complementary insights into the object under study: translators and their agency in production networks. The theories selected have been applied pragmatically, as tools, and methods, not as grand theories per se. Somewhat experimental in its approaches, it is precisely its theoretical eclecticism that may also be considered this research project's strength. Hence, my decisions regarding theoretical frameworks have been determined by practical issues and my research questions; they are of necessity diverse and heterogenous. This eclectic approach has allowed the inclusion of elements and considerations that, until quite recently, had fallen outside the purview of Translation Studies (see, for instance, Buzelin 2005 and 2007 on the usefulness of actor-network theory to Translation Studies). However, as Brannen (2005: 5) points out, practical relevance should never be a substitute for theoretical relevance. Ultimately, it will be the task of the reader, and especially the thesis examiners, to decide how the current work succeeds in integrating the various theories used in its analyses. All throughout this research project, I have relied on blending various theories, hoping that by so doing I would be able to provide multifaceted perspectives on the complex object of my research, and thereby also increase the credibility, fittingness and auditability of my findings.

In the following subsections, I will briefly present the three major theoretical frameworks that inform my research: general network theory, actor-network theory and agency theory, respectively. Naturally, I have often reflected at great length on why I chose[12] these specific theories. Equally importantly, I have contemplated the common thread that runs through them all. Certainly, they all focus on **relations**, or links, and each of them can be used to investigate the organising principles, or **structure**, of production networks, **and agency**. For this reason, these theories force the researcher to attempt to record **change**, or at the very least, to be aware of it. Kaisa Koskinen and Tuija Kinnunen (2010: 7) state that "[a]gency is not a static and measurable entity but a relational, fluid and constantly evolving series of acts, a 'flow'." In order for us to make

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[12] The verb 'choose' may sound simplistic here at first blush. In reality, it took me years of searching to find and decide on the theories that would be appropriate for my analyses. Over the course of the years, I have attended numerous conferences and seminars, crossed disciplinary borders, read up on various theories, and written dozens of pages of summaries. Throughout this search, the guiding light has always been my research aims and questions.

sense of agency, we must observe it in its social context. Consequently, agency and structure are always mutually dependent: agency maintains structure, and this structure constrains agency. Kaisa Koskinen and Kinnunen further make the point that whatever the structure, the actors do have agency, even if this agency is structured by the context. Nor are structures permanent but constantly negotiated by their agents. (ibid. 7-8.) Issues of power and empowerment are, to some extent, addressed in Articles II and IV of this thesis. However, the researcher who wants to focus on power issues[13] can, to some extent, deal with such questions by relying on general network theory, actor-network theory (see Hekkanen 2010: 35-38) and/or agency theory in his/her investigations. The point being that since the above theories discuss agency and structure, they can be used to address questions of power and empowerment, as well, as these issues are always intertwined with those of agency and structure. However, should the issue of power be the actual object of investigation, the researcher may well turn to Bourdieusian sociology and its concepts of *habitus* and *field* to study the power struggles between the agents relying on this already well-established framework in Translation Studies. Bourdieu's concepts have indeed already been applied in Translation Studies by scholars such as Simeoni 1998, Gouanvic 1999, Inghilleri 2005, Wolf 2006 and 2007, Buzelin 2005, Sela-Sheffy 2006, Kung 2009, Bogic 2009.

3.1 GENERAL NETWORK THEORY

Article I, the only co-authored article in the dissertation, "Managing Trust: Translating and the Network Economy" is based on Albert-Lázsló Barabási's[14] model of real-world networks. By leaning on this theory in our analysis, Kaisa Koskinen and I were able to explain the topology of translation production networks. Barabási's work was groundbreaking in the late 1990s and he revolutionised network theories, when he discovered that real-world networks, such as the World Wide Web and economic networks, are scale-free, not random, as had been previously maintained (Erdös and Rényi 1959). It is no wonder that in his present work Barabási is integrating complex systems and network research.

When Barabási was researching the World Wide Web, he discovered that most nodes have only a few links, whereas a small proportion of nodes are highly connected. According to Barabási (2002: 74-76), there are certain mathematical laws that affect the

[13] I contemplated on focusing on the issue of power in more detail in 2008 when I took part in the Power: Forms, Dynamics and Consequences Conference in Tampere, but decided to leave that line of investigation to my future work instead.

[14] Barabási did not work alone but had a group of junior researchers (Réka Albert and Hawoong Jeon, among others) working with him when he made his discoveries. However, being the main scholar, his name is widely known. At the time of writing this summary, Barabási holds the post of professor at Northeastern University, Boston, where he directs the Center for Complex Network Research. He also holds appointments in the Departments of Physics, Computer Science and Biology, as well as in the Department of Medicine, Harvard Medical School and Brigham and Women Hospital, and is a member of the Center for Cancer Systems Biology at Dana Farber Cancer Institute. (BarabasiLab.) It is readily discernible that Barabási's complex network research findings are applicable to a wide variety of disciplines, including Translation Studies.

emergence of networks. As a result, random networks, such as a road map, can be best described by using a bell curve, i.e. most nodes have, on average, the same number of links. On the other hand, scale-free networks such as an airline route map have a completely different distribution of links; there is no typical node in the network. The majority of nodes have only a few links, but then there are a few hubs – highly connected nodes – and these define the nature of the topology of the network. According to Barabási's findings, these hubs grow exponentially, thus making scale-free networks highly hierarchical (ibid.)

The two distinct laws that govern vertical, scale-free networks are growth and preferential linking (Barabási 2002: 90-91). The law of growth means that as the network grows, nodes that connected to the network earlier are in a stronger position to link than are the newcomers. The reason for this is that the nodes that began networking earlier have had more time to attract links than those nodes that have connected to the network later in time. Preferential linking, then, means that 'the rich get richer' or, in other words, the highly connected hubs attract ever more links. (Barabási 2002: 92.)

The fitness of a node or its capability to attract links is not inconsequential, either. When a new node enters the network, it will evaluate what it will gain by connecting to a given hub (Barabási 2002: 99-100), but it generally needs to connect to one of the hubs in order to survive. However, as the sudden emergence of Google as a major hub has proved, an especially fit node can become a winner almost overnight: in the case of the Google search engine, fitness was the decisive factor, not age (Barabási 2002:100-101). Given the self-organising principles of networks above, it becomes clear that they are not always the open, dynamic and democratic systems they are sometimes depicted to be (see Heiskala 2004 on Castells). Instead, they can be hierarchical, undemocratic and harsh for newcomers (Barabási 2002: 61). Some have even argued that because of their structure, vertical networks cannot sustain social trust and participation (Putnam 1994: 174).

Notwithstanding, network economy is a system characterised by interaction and mutual dependency. This is so because nodes must be connected in order to survive; in a network, no one node can exist or act alone. Whereas an individual node can always be replaced, its failure will affect its neighbouring nodes. In general, though, networks are robust and resistant to failures that generally affect the smaller nodes, whose neighbouring nodes then tend to absorb the failure (Barabási 2002: 115). But networks are not invincible and they do have their Achilles' Heel. According to Barabási, networks are vulnerable to targeted attacks directed towards the major hubs (Barabási 2002: 117-120).

3.2 ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

An actor-network is the act that is under observation, which is connected with its influencing factors and elements. In this case I am dealing with translating in production networks. Actor-network theory focuses on the analysis of processes rather than products, and by so doing it aims to account for the hybrid character of the latter (Buzelin 2005: 196). Since objects are seen as an integral part of actor-networks, this approach is useful to a researcher interested in translators' workplace studies, given that the theoretical framework allows the description of a complex structure with its heterogeneous elements and their relationships. Indeed, Hélène Buzelin (2005) has argued that actor-network theory (henceforth ANT) provides a complementary approach to Bourdieusian analyses and that these two theories together help overcome certain limitations in Translation Studies (for an in-depth presentation of ANT and its relevance to Translation Studies, see Buzelin 2005). For other applications of ANT in Translation Studies, see Jones 2009, Kung 2009, Bogic 2009, Hekkanen 2010). The most radical feature of ANT is that anything that has the power to act and to affect others can be an actor, i.e. that being an actor is not limited to only human beings. Consequently, money, as well as technical artefacts, entities, concepts, organizations, professions, skills, and written texts called *inscriptions* are all actors (Callon 1986). ANT helps us grasp the complexity and the non-linear character of the translation process as well as the hybridity of the translating agent (Buzelin 2005: 212). What is important to note is that in ANT, structure is not predetermined, but it is seen as emerging from action and the relations of the various actors (Law 1992). As Latour (1996: 370) puts it: order and universality and how they come about must be accounted for.

ANT is interested in tracing how networks are constructed (Latour 1996: 378, see also Hekkanen 2010: 9). In his seminal, controversial article on the domestication of scallops, Callon (1986) described the emergence of an actor-network using the term '*translation*'[15]. Actor-networks are formed in negotiations, in which a focal actor, in our case study the translation company, tries to 'translate' or convince the other actors to accept its definition (Callon 1986; Law 1992). According to Callon and Latour (1981: 279), 'translation' in the ANT context includes "all the negotiations, intrigues, calculations, acts of persuasion and violence thanks to which an actor takes or causes to be conferred on itself the authority to speak or act on behalf of another actor […]". 'Translation' is a continuously changing process, and that is the reason why Callon (1986) has actually divided it into four stages: 1) *problematization*, in which the focal actor establishes itself as an obligatory passage point between the larger network and the actors that it seeks to represent; 2) *interessement*, in which actors' interests are aroused and in which the terms of their involvement in the actor-network are negotiated. At this point, the focal actor also strives to 'translate' the network, or, to put it differently, to convince the other actors that the roles it has defined for them are acceptable; 3) *enrolment*, in which the actors accept the roles that have been defined for them; and, finally, 4) *mobilization* of allies, in which the focal actor maintains its crucial position as well as the commitment of the actors it claims to represent. 'Translation' in the ANT sense is further enforced by circulating inscriptions into the actor-network, thus ensuring that the focal actor's interests are protected.

Inscriptions, especially in textual form, are central in the process of 'translation', because they carry work to other people and institutions, thereby making action possible at a distance. Texts also present work in such a way that its meaning and significance are irrefutable. Texts not only help leverage credibility but they also stabilize work, so that it can then travel across space and time (Law 1992, Van House 2000). According to ANT, an

[15] In the ANT context, the term 'translation' does not carry the same meaning as in translation proper or inter-lingual translation (transferring a message from one language to another).

actor's ability to circulate inscriptions is crucial and power-inducing in the network (see Callon 1987, Latour 1987). It therefore follows that power, too, is an emergent property in actor-networks, not preordained. Indeed, the central task of the researcher, according to ANT, is to find out **how power is generated**. John Law summarises this nicely: "Napoleons are no different in kind to small-time hustlers, and IBMs to whelk-stalls. And if they are larger, then we should be studying how this comes about – how, in other words, size, power or organization are generated" (Law 1992: 2). The point is that the researcher must **follow the actors** by observing, **from the inside**, how the network is built and/or **read inscriptions**. This can only be achieved by doing ethnographic research. (Latour 1997; see also Buzelin 2005: 198; emphasis mine.)

3.3 AGENCY THEORY

Agency theory addresses **principal-agent relationships**, which are "a pervasive fact of economic life" (Arrow 1985: 37) and which can be discovered anywhere where someone works or acts on someone else's behalf (Eisenhardt 1989: 58, Kivistö 2007: 11). The theory is well-suited to **complement** network-based workplace research conducted by myself and others in Translation Studies (see Folaron & Buzelin 2007), as it **explains the consequences of delegating authority** (Lyne and Tierney 2003). On its own, though, the theory cannot explain complex economic behaviour, although it does attempt to revise the shortcomings of the standard neoclassical model of economic theory which assumes perfect competition, perfect information and rational behaviour of the actors (see Barabási 2002, König and Battiston 2009: 24).

Agency theory, also called the principal-agent theory, can be applied to analyse co-operation from an economic point of view in principal-agent relationships (Eisenhardt 1989: 72, Kivistö 2007: 2). It forces us to consider the role of **incentives**, **interests** and **information** in organisational thinking, as it assumes that much of organisational life is, at least to some extent, based on people's self-interest, opportunism and goal conflicts (Eisenhardt 1989). Much of the criticism levied against agency theory is based on the very same issues for which it has received credit, and hence the theory has even been considered Machiavellian and dangerous. (Kivistö 2007: 41–49, 191–193.) At any rate, the theory promises to explain how to best organise commercial relationships in which one party, the principal, delegates authority and determines the work that another party, the agent, undertakes and performs on behalf of the principal (Eisenhardt 1989: 58).

Agency relationships can be reciprocal, but they can also be coercive. The contract is a central concept in the theory and it is seen as "an instrument enabling different forms of co-operation and control between the principal and the agent" (Kivistö 2007: 12). It has been said that agency theory arises from mistrust, control, and compliance, as it assumes that once principals delegate authority to agents, they cannot simply trust the latter but need not only economic incentives but also certain instruments to monitor their agents' actions (ibid.: 1–3, 41–42).

Furthermore, as befits this particular research, agency theory deals with problems and consequences of delegating authority in principal-agent relationships, such as the difficulties arising under conditions of goal conflicts and asymmetric information.

Asymmetric information arises when principals and agents do not communicate to each other all the relevant information needed in an economic undertaking. This lack of communication may be accidental or intentional. (Boatright 2002: 155, Chan 2008: 21–25, 28–31, Kivistö 2007: 56–67.) Agency theory assumes that agents are generally more risk averse than their principals (Eisenhardt 1989: 61–62), and agency problems tend to surface when principals and agents have different attitudes towards risk (Kivistö 2007: 16–17) and when the desires and goals of the principal and the agent are in conflict with each other (Kivistö 2007: 68–78, Eisenhardt 1989: 58). Ultimately, from the point of view of successful co-operation, principals and agents should reconcile their different tolerances for risk. Hence, agency theory maintains that agency problems can be resolved by certain types of **contracts** and by various **information monitoring systems**, which curtail agent opportunism because the agent will realise that he/she cannot deceive the principal. (Eisenhardt 1989: 60–64.)

Korten (1999: 66) discusses the importance of complete information in market theory, emphasising that information should be freely available to all. This would require, then, that when buyers and sellers, or principals and agents, enter into business relationships and sign contracts, they should be fully aware of the attributes and the quality of the goods or services in question. Agency theory, however, adopts a different reference point from that of market theory by assuming that asymmetric information and uncertainty is present in most business relationships. This being the case, opportunistic action tends to occur, leading to adverse selection and moral hazard (Boatright 2002: 157).

Adverse selection, also called the "lemon" problem (see Akerlof 1970, Chan 2005), refers to a process in which unwanted results, such as the lowering of quality, arise, because principals and agents do not have access to joint information. An example of such a case occurs when the principal cannot make sure, pre-contractually, if the agent has the skills and the abilities to do the work for which he/she is being paid (Kivistö 2007: 78–82, Chan 2005, 2008: 39–40, 143). Adverse selection has also been called "hidden information" (Arrow 1985: 38). **Moral hazard**, on the other hand, may arise in situations where the principal cannot monitor, post-contractually, the agent's actions and where the self-interested agent pursues his/her private goals at the expense of the principal's goals. Furthermore, agency theory assumes that when it is difficult for the principal to observe the agent's actions, the agent tends to produce poor quality or exercise too little effort in the work required. (Kivistö 2007: 22–24, 82–102.) To put it differently, moral hazard occurs when the party with more information about its actions or intentions behaves inappropriately from the perspective of the party with less information. An example of this occurs when the principal cannot be certain if the agent has put enough effort into his/ her work or if he/she has acted oppportunistically, or shirked from what was agreed (Eisenhardt 1989: 61). Arrow has called this phenomenon "hidden action" (1985: 38).

Agency theory, applied as I have done in this thesis, is one means to approach the complexity of production networks. It provides a useful tool to examine economic co-operation, the flow of information, and the relationships of the various actors' concerned. It also brings home the point that when delegating authority to an agent, the principal needs not only trust but he/she must also devise economic incentives to ensure that the agent acts in the principal's best interest. Moreover, the principals should have some means of monitoring their agents' actions (Kivistö 2007: 1–3, 41–42).

4 Research Findings

In this chapter, I will provide a brief introduction to each of the articles, and after having first summarized the article, I will discuss its research findings.

4.1 LACK OF TRUST AND INCREASING TRANSACTION COSTS

The first article, 'Managing Trust. Translating and the Network Economy', co-authored by Kaisa Koskinen and me, aimed to chart contemporary developments in the field of professional translation. It attempted to answer the question: what are production networks like as a working environment from the translator's point of view. To answer this question, we have leaned on Albert-Lázsló Barabási's model of real-world networks to uncover the organising principles of translation production networks. The idea was to gain a bird's eye view of the said networks. We used empirical evidence from interviews with six Finnish translators (at the time we wrote this article in 2007 the analysed data contained the interviews of only six translators), but rather than quantitatively calculating the links of these interviewees, we combined the data with sociological studies of social capital and trust. In this exercise, we used Richard Sennett's (2006) approach to social capital, paying special attention to the judgements the interviewees made of their involvement in their networks. According to Barabási, real-world networks are scale-free and therefore fundamentally undemocratic.

Based on our analysis, we argue that the network model is becoming prevalent in the translation industry. However, we question its viability over the long term. This misgiving is based on the finding that there is excessive competition in the translation industry, often at the expense of sustainable development. Moreover, trust-building seems to be difficult due to the self-organising, undemocratic principles of the networks. We also claim that the problems of trust and loyalty may turn the system, which now may seem profitable, into one that is vulnerable and costly to maintain (see also Putnam 1994: 178). Anthony Pym (2004: 5) has pointed out that by building trust, companies can reduce transaction costs. In this article, we argue that the opposite is also possible and, accordingly, reduced trust is bound to increase transaction costs. We claim that in production networks, transaction costs may be growing because lack of trust and the ensuing informational asymmetry and uncertainty in quality-related issues make a credible commitment to agreements difficult to secure (see also Chan 2005 and 2008). The costs of measuring the performance of the different actors, of controlling and invigilating the field, and of enforcing commitment to contractual agreements may eventually outweigh the cost-efficiency that outsourcing and competitive bidding were initially supposed to bring about (Nee 1998: 2-3). A lack of trust and the actors' differing opinions about quality may hamper communication to the extent that the client may need to resort to corrective measures. If translators' discontent grows and many exit the field, the translation companies will need to invest considerable time and resources in recruiting and training new translators.

We conclude our analysis by claiming that Barabási's findings can be used not only by Translation Studies scholars in explaining the organising principles of production networks but also by professional translators as a conceptual tool in making sense of their current working environment. By becoming familiar with the rationale of the environment, translators can develop strategic thinking which is necessary in networks.

4.2 QUALITY AS THE LOCUS OF CONFLICT

Article II, 'Quality Problems in AVT Production Networks: Reconstructing an Actor-network in the Subtitling Industry', approached production networks within an actor-network theoretical framework. Its analysis was based on a case study first discussed in my 2003 MA thesis titled [*Subtitling quality in the digital age: Challenges and solutions*], a description of my own observations and experiences as part of the production network under study from May 1999 to May 2000. It is, in other words, an insider's view on what took place in the said network complemented by my co-workers' insights and written inscriptions produced on the case. When translators become involved in such economic networks, they are confronted by a rationale quite different from that involved in traditional, expertise-based dyadic relations between the client and translator, as presented in standard translation theories which emphasize translator expertise (Reiss and Vermeer 1984, Holz-Mänttäri 1984). Relying on concepts borrowed from actor-network theory, my aim was to explore how the collective was formed, why and how the actors within this specific audiovisual translation production network experienced quality-related problems and, finally, to reflect on how such problems might be avoided in the future. With the help of actor-network theory I wanted to demonstrate what translation quality in this particular network consisted of. Due to its central premise of including non-human elements in the analysis framework, actor-network theory assisted us in seeing how power was actually generated and distributed in the network. Furthermore, since the researcher applying an actor-network theoretical framework analyses processes rather than products, I could show how social order was initially established through 'translation', and that, after struggles and conflicts between the actors, the actor-network under study failed. John Law has emphasised the need to study failing networks (Law 1992: 384-385), because they are easier to discover than networks which function as a single block, in unity, thereby concealing the networks behind them. In other words, failing networks become visible, whereas functioning networks tend to become black boxes, as Buzelin pointed out in her presentation in Graz in 2005.

Although Article II contains but one empirical ethnographic case study and therefore no large-scale generalisations can be made based on this analysis alone[16], some preliminary conclusions can be drawn as to why the actors experienced quality-related problems in their actor-network. Firstly, the actors defined quality using different criteria; secondly, as there was no collective definition of quality jointly agreed upon through

[16] The situation is, however, somewhat different when the results of the case study are combined with the other subsections of the thesis, or with other work by other scholars with similar results.

consensus, there was no real alignment of interests of the actors regarding quality; thirdly, the novice translators were powerless in defending their rights and their definition of quality, one important reason being that they were not able to circulate quality-related inscriptions in their actor-network; fourthly, the novice translators lacked a functioning model for quality and consequently failed to analyse the complex network they were part of; and finally, the novice translators' attempts to apply their quality criteria by holding on to their professional ethics as well as to their agency for the viewer worked against them in their actor-network. The novice translators ended up carrying the responsibility for quality on their shoulders and, even worse, they became the scapegoats for poor quality.

The contributions of actor-network theory do not end here, however. Not only does ANT work as a useful tool in this analysis, but it can also point to solutions to the quality-related problems that are uncovered. Thus, actor-network theory provides **hope**, as well, to those striving towards sustainable development in the field of audiovisual translation, as it maintains that, by acting differently and by attempting to strengthen their peripheral location in the actor-network, translators *can* acquire more agency. We must not forget that while translation companies are specialists in marketing, translation technology and project management, some of them do not seem to consider translating per se to be their core competency. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that often such companies have few translators in-house, or their translators, particularly in the GILT industry (globalization – internationalization – localization – translation), seem to be pushed to the margins, barely worthy of mention in the companies' annual reports (see Austermühl 2005, Jääskeläinen 2007: 9-10). Translators, on the other hand, by virtue of their academic training, are experts in translating. Actor-network theory clearly emphasises that the actor's size does not matter[17], whereas inscriptions do indeed matter (see Latour 1987 and Law 1992).

In Article II, I have argued that one of our tasks as Translation Studies scholars is to help translators develop inscriptions for use in production networks and to help them resolve quality-related conflicts such as the one presented in Article II. Our initial aim could be to strive towards improving the peripheral location to which translators are relegated. A good starting point would be to ask, in Law's (1992) words: "How does a centre come to speak for and profit from the efforts of what has been turned into a periphery? How is it that a manager manages?" And, more specifically, how can translators make their definition of quality irrefutable? How can they present this definition in such a way that it carries across the boundaries of the different actors? To begin answering these questions, we need to understand the organising principles of actor-networks. I therefore agree with Buzelin (2005) that actor-network theory can help both professional translators and translation scholars to make better sense of the organising principles and actors of their current work environment.

[17] Note that in this respect ANT differs from the general network theory which emphasises the size of the actor.

4.3 ASYMMETRIC INFORMATION AND MORAL HAZARD

Article III, 'Translators' Agency in Production Networks', which is perhaps the most focal of the articles, examined translators' agency in production networks. In this paper, I approached translators' agency through translators' own experiences. Here, I was interested in ascertaining the kinds of opportunities and resources that are available to translators to exercise their agency in production networks, and more importantly, to see the way in which translators are able to act for the primary principal, i.e. the reader. In seeking answers to these questions, I drew upon my interview data, which included in-depth interviews conducted with eight Finnish translators between 2005 and 2009. At the start of the interview process, three (3) of these translators worked as subcontractors, one (1) as a freelancer and four (4) as in-house translators, that is, they worked for various translation companies. The translators were divided into these categories because first, the categories have different economic implications for the translators, and second, by using these categories, we can identify the different positions that these translators hold during the interview process. The interviewees were selected using a purposeful sampling method (see Patton 1990: 169–186), with the idea of including translators in different positions in production networks and at different stages of their careers.

Agency theory was the theoretical framework relied on in the analysis of the translator experiences. This theory had not, to my knowledge, been directly applied in Translation Studies before, although Chan (2005, 2008) had looked at the translation profession and translator certification from an information economics framework, basing his argumentation on the concepts of asymmetric information and adverse selection, which are central concepts in agency theory, too. Agency theory focuses on principal-agent relationships, which are "a pervasive fact of economic life" (Arrow 1985: 37) and which can be discovered anywhere where someone works or acts on someone else's behalf (Eisenhardt 1989: 58, Kivistö 2007: 11). The theory is well-suited to complement network-based research conducted by myself and others in Translation Studies (see Folaron and Buzelin 2007), as it explains the consequences of delegating authority (Lyne and Tierney 2003). Any shortcomings in agency theory were complemented by Barbalet's thesis on the emotional nature of agency. In Article III, I argued that there are delegation failures between principals and agents in translation production networks, such as informational asymmetries and goal-conflicts, and these conditions, in some cases, give rise to moral hazard and asymmetry of commitment.

The results of the analysis of the translator interviews suggest that production networks manifest themselves as a challenging working environment for the translator, as pressures from the rest of the production network may impose certain unethical behaviour on the translator, despite translators' desire to act ethically. The interviews reveal dilemmas of collective action, with severe problems arising from asymmetric information and goal conflicts between principals and agents, such as moral hazard and asymmetry of commitment. The factors that discourage the emergence of true co-operation and the creation of quality outcomes (translations) according to this research are: a) lack of mutual trust between principals and agents, b) lack of support for the translator, and c) lack of necessary information. Thus, translation production networks manifest themselves as an economic configuration with low social capital.

In reality, the primary principal consists of multiple principals with divergent preferences. This fact can lead to agent behaviour in the client company such that it in actual fact pleases none of the principals (Lyne and Tierney 2003). I do not allege that the present problematic state of affairs has been planned on purpose, for, like all complex systems, production networks do exhibit **emergent complex behaviour with no central control** (Mitchell 2006: 1195, highlighting mine). My research, however, has shown that such self-organisation in production networks does indeed express consequences that no one could have possibly intended. Nevertheless, these consequences affect translators' agency, role and socio-economic status negatively. Furthermore, by degrading translators' working conditions, these emergent consequences have, according to the interviewed translators, lowered translation quality, which has repercussions for the primary principals, ie. the readers. Such deterioration of translation quality also refutes the much-touted claim in economics that outsourcing, the construction of production networks and stringent competition promote economic efficiency.

Indeed, six translators said that they had experienced conflictual situations in production networks. Five of them had also suffered from the consequences of asymmetric information and distrust, and had even occasionally undergone **quality-related ethical stress** in their professional work. This stress was due to the fact that the translators would have liked to do their work well, i.e. to act in the best interests of the primary principal by fulfilling the requirements of their professional ethics, but they did not receive support from the intermediary principals in this task. Furthermore, the translator's position in the network was laden with requirements of subservience (see Simeoni 1998), because the translator was the **agent for two principals**, the reader and the translation company, whose demands, goals and interests were not aligned. Therefore, the translator was obliged to solve alone the conflict between his/her own morality, his/her professional norms, the requirements of the working environment and common sense which told him/her that "this is not my fault, they don't pay me by the hour, why should I worry about it as no one seems to care" (Kaija, freelancer). For that reason, some of the translators felt the need to resort to moral hazard by retaliating in kind with the company that had demonstrated asymmetry of commitment in their relationship. Hayes and Silver (2003) aptly remind us that people have feelings and they do not want to become 'suckers' (see also Barbalet 1996).

Some of the translators had also clearly become suspicious of the fact that the translation company acted in a dual role in production networks. If speed, flexibility and low price are the main criteria (see also Jääskeläinen 2007: 10) for translation quality, the question that comes to one's mind is: Who benefits from such a definition? At least some translators feel that the beneficiary is the translation company who, by lowering the translator's remuneration, exacts a higher profit. Additionally, if the translation company is not risk averse, it might even take the risk of lowering translation quality at the expense of the primary principal (see Article II for one such account). Translators, on the other hand, generally want to produce good work; they strive for this because of not only the primary principal and their professional ethics but because they also derive inner satisfaction from doing their work well (see also Sennett 2006).

The conclusion of my analysis was that translators' agency and ability to act in the interests of the primary principal is presently highly restricted in translation production networks. Therefore, as long as such an economic configuration enjoys institutional and structural protection from national and international competition authorities and other political bodies, Translation Studies scholars, translator associations, translator educators, and translation companies should rise to the challenge of looking for ways to solve moral hazard problems by creating incentives that prevent quality cheating and promote, instead, sustainable development in the industry.

4.4 CONTEXT-DEPENDENT ETHICS REQUIRES EMPOWERMENT

Article IV, 'Empowering Translators. Students' Ethical Reflections on Translating in Production Networks', approached production networks from the viewpoint of translation students. It argued that for translators-in-training to make a smoother transition from university to working life, educators need to prepare them for the conflicting expectations that often arise in production networks. Instead of learning merely about the traditional, dyadic relation between the translator and the client that positions the translator as an expert in the spirit of skopos theory, students must also become familiar with the process and challenges of professional translation in complex production networks – such networks being the defining feature of present-day economic life (Abdallah and Kaisa Koskinen 2007, Folaron and Buzelin 2007). The hierarchical structure, extreme division of labour, and involvement of multiple actors that characterise production networks make them a breeding ground for ethical dilemmas, such as moral hazard. Moral hazard occurs when one party takes risks at the expense of the other parties in the production network in such a manner so as to benefit the risk taker economically from his/her risk-taking, whilst the other parties end up paying for the negative consequences, in the event the risk materialise.

The Translators' and Interpreters' Professional Business Skills course at the University of Tampere was designed precisely to address such challenges. Its purpose was to bridge the gap between translating as presented in mainstream theory and translating as a professional practice in a complex network environment (for more information on the evolving position of the translator in research and in practice, see Jääskeläinen 2007). The key objective of this course has been to help students enter their working life more empowered and better equipped to face the challenges presented by production networks. Since 2005, when the course was first introduced, professionals at different stages of their careers who share a background in Translation Studies have been invited to talk to MA-level translation students about their work and career paths. These professionals, in the capacity of mentors, have been encouraged to speak openly about possible ethical dilemmas they have encountered in their work, and to elaborate on how they have coped with and/or resolved the ethical dilemmas they faced. This type of practical expertise is highly context-specific, and such tacit knowledge develops through practical experience rather than formal training. Hence the importance of inviting actual experts in the field into the classroom, since for this form of expertise to be acquired by students, they have to be exposed to real-life experiences of teachers and visiting lecturers in the first instance (Tynjälä 1999:358-59, Hänninen 2007:10). The educational ideology adopted for this specific course was radical education.

In Article IV, I examined students' reflections on the professional ethical dilemmas encountered by micro-entrepreneur translators in production networks. Such dilemmas arose from the fact that translators face conflicting expectations regarding their role in this economic configuration. On the one hand, there are the professional ethical expectations – the fiduciary duty to develop a legal and ethical relationship of trust with clients – that require translators to act as agents for translation users. On the other hand, as managers of their own small businesses, translators are forced by economic necessity to increase their efficiency and productivity. To put it differently, they have to work quickly in order to make a living because of the low, and falling, wages paid by the translation companies that hire them as agents and that expect translators to do the work on their behalf (see Chan 2005, 2008, Jääskeläinen 2007: 10). More importantly, given that subcontracting translators act as micro-entrepreneurs in production networks, their position is ultimately no different from that of multinational translation companies: an independent translator's small business has the right to make a profit, just like any large multinational company. This is a basic business ethics tenet that applies to all equally.

The conflicting expectations placed on the translator in production networks mean that translators as micro-entrepreneurs have to operate concurrently within two different ethical systems, that of utilitarian business ethics and that of translators' deontological ethics as outlined in the various codes of conduct provided by professional associations (for instance, in the Translator's Charter of the International Federation of Translators). The analysis offered in this study suggested that reflecting on situated ethical dilemmas of a collaborative nature is a useful approach in sensitising students to the tensions triggered by the conflicting expectations of their deontological ethics and those associated with business ethics. Perhaps more importantly, such reflections on ethical issues seem to be empowering for the students. Not unlike Tymoczko (2007:316-17) and Baker (2006, 2008) and Baker and Maier (2011), I have argued that translators' professional ethics cannot be guided by theoretical, universal statements that are presented inconsistently across the curriculum and that focus only on deontological issues. Instead, ethical issues need to be situated, and their complex and collective nature must be exposed. For this undertaking, radical education provided a useful methodology for both the teacher and the student. The three-phase model of ideology critique outlined in section 2 of Article IV (Giroux 1997, Giroux and McLaren 2001, Suoranta 2005) provided the teacher's toolkit in planning and delivering the Translator's and Interpreter's Professional Business Skills course. The data analysis drew on Rest's (1986, 1994) Four-Component Model of Morality to examine how students proceed through various stages to become empowered moral agents.

4.5 ETHICS AS PART OF THE DEFINITION OF QUALITY

Article V [Subtitling quality – what exactly is it?] [18] considered subtitling quality. Although the case referred to was situated in the subtitling industry (see also Article II), I argued that the findings are relevant to translating in general. In this theoretical article, I argue for total quality definition that covers not only product and process quality but also the social factors involved in production. Quite recently, at the end of 2010, the International Organization for Standardization launched a new, international standard, ISO 26000, which provides guidelines for social responsibility. Unlike the other ISO standards, this standard is voluntary. Nevertheless, it encourages organizations and companies to discuss issues of social responsibility with their stakeholders. (International Organization for Standardization 2011.) It is rewarding for me as a scholar to note that this standard comes close to the quality model that I have presented in Article V and advocated since 2004.

In Article V, I presented several reasons why product-centred quality definition is inadequate in the new economic environment and why in audiovisual translation, and in translating and in Translation Studies in general, we should embrace a wider quality definition that accommodates ethical aspects, as well. In Finland the field of audiovisual translating is divided into two distinct markets: that of the public sector, (YLE, the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation), and the private sector. Article V focused on subtitling quality in the private sector, which includes the client company, evinced by a television channel as well as a translation company as an intermediary actor. In the private sector, along with the developments that have taken place in information technology, the client companies have outsourced their own translating and, consequently, translation companies have gained ground as intermediary actors between translators and their clients. Outsourcing has increased the number of actors in translating and more actors now participate in the definition of quality. Consequently, the definition of translation quality and the assessment of actors' responsibilities and duties – or ethics – have become more complicated. Actors' differing quality criteria have had their effect on the concept of translation quality, which has caused conflicts between the actors. In particular those doing the actual translating, that is, the translators, have found themselves between a rock and a hard place. A problematic issue in production networks concerns the definition of translation quality. Yet, presently, the exact criteria for quality are not explicated to all the actors on the various levels of the network, and a new challenge seems to be connected to the flow of information. (Abdallah in Pesonen 2006: 18-19.) My interview data reveals a very important point, namely that the translator on the lowest level of the network does not always get enough information in order to produce quality work: "Some of the information seems to disappear along the way". I have argued here that the definition of quality by the various actors together, in collaboration with each other, is the focal requirement in production networks that consist of multiple actors. In such a collective undertaking, normativity and a clear definition of the various actors' rights and duties, or ethics, is absolutely mandatory. Trust and co-operation, as well as

[18] This article was written in Finnish and its original title is: Tekstittämisen laatu – mitä se oikein on?

the quality of the process and product, all improve when the actors know the extent and the boundaries of their accountability. The point of such collective norms is to direct the actors and to ensure that even the weaker parties' rights are upheld. Without rules and clear agreement, quality control is not possible in the new economic environment, and adherence to the rules must not be a constraint applied only by the actors themselves. Rather, there should be some means to monitor their compliance to the rules. (Heikkonen 1989: 14.) I have, in fact, argued that a quality classification system should be developed by the actors (Abdallah 2003; see also Jääskeläinen 2007: 10). Such a system could act as an open monitoring instrument that aligns the present differing quality criteria of the various actors in production networks (see also Articles II and III, where a similar conclusion is reached based on actor-network theory and agency theory, respectively). Moreover, I have posited that the structural change that has taken place in the translation industry, the collective definition of quality and the European-wide quality standard (Reuss 2005 ja SFS-EN 15038) presuppose that translators take action to update their professional quality definition and their deontological ethics.

The transition to network economy has changed the professional field for translators, and consequently, the new challenge for educators lies in providing students with up-to-date information so that they can manage with conflicting expectations in the workplace. Clearly, the (audiovisual) translators' lobbyists and unions have their own challenges to face, too.

In Article V, I have also argued that the concept of translation quality can be clarified and made more transparent in the new environment. This could be accomplished by transferring the focus from product quality towards process and collective quality, and by including ethics as part of the definition of quality. And the viewers, or users that watch subtitled programs, should have the opportunity to assess the quality of the subtitling **beforehand**, based on specific publicly available criteria. In fact, the quality level of the subtitling might well affect the linguistically proficient viewer's choice of either watching the DVD in its subtitled version or in the original version without subtitles. I concluded the analysis conducted in Article V by claiming that as production networks cannot function without translators, improving translators' working conditions therein is of paramount importance to the users and the entire industry.

Part II

5 Conclusion and Discussion

The aim of my dissertation was to make a contribution to studies focusing on the translators' workplace, thusfar under-examined. (Chan 2008: 2, Dam and Zethsen 2008, Kuznik and Verd 2010). The thread that connects the findings of my five articles is the concept of the production network and translating therein. Production networks have been recently identified as the prevailing working environment in the present-day translation industry (Article I, see also Folaron and Buzelin 2007), and yet, this economic configuration has been barely examined in Translation Studies.

Relying on empirical findings in four of its five articles, this thesis provided answers to the major research questions set out at the beginning of the thesis: 1) What is the nature of the working environments of translation production networks, from the point of view of the translator? 2) Who and what are the actors in production networks? What are the actors' relations like? How is collaboration between the actors presently organised? 3) What is the nature of translators' agency in translation production networks, and how are quality and ethics understood and experienced by translators therein?

Three of the empirical articles (I, II and III) examined the structure, or organizing principles, of translation production networks. All four empirical articles demonstrated how this structure affects translators' agency in such economic networks. Furthermore, all five articles also addressed issues pertaining to quality and ethics, and I argued, particularly in Article V, that ethics and quality are central concepts in production networks, yet these concepts have remained fuzzy, thus impeding the development of true co-operation between the actors. Article IV concentrated on students' ethical reflections on translating in production networks. Students' perceptions were included in my research, because students are the future work force and, in order for them to enter working life more empowered to face the challenges of production networks, they need to be made aware of the organising principles of that particular economic configuration in order to better navigate them. In addition, it is not uncommon for students in Finland to be recruited as micro-entrepreneurs in production networks, particularly in the field of audiovisual translation. Finally, from a purely scholarly stance, it was enlightening to see how students perceive tho goings-on in the translation industry.

The results of these analyses suggested that production networks manifest themselves as **a challenging working environment**, as pressures from the rest of the network may impose certain behavior on translators, despite their desire to act ethically in the interest of the user. The translator interviews revealed **dilemmas of collective action**, with severe problems arising from **asymmetric information** and **goal conflicts** between principals and agents. My research revealed that the factors that discourage the emergence of true collaboration and the creation of quality outcomes – translations – were **lack of mutual trust** between principals and agents, **lack of support for the translator**, and **lack of necessary information**. Translation production networks, therefore, manifested themselves as an economic configuration with **low social capital**. As Putnam (1994: 167) has argued, social capital refers to features such as trust, norms, and networks, which facilitate co-ordinated action. According to Sennett (2006: 63-64), a network has low social capital if those that are part of it feel that they are not being heard and appreciated, or worse still, if they feel that they are being used. Feelings, or **emotions**, were, in fact, strongly present in my interview data. That comes as no surprise, as Barbalet (1996) has convincingly argued that **agency is always emotionally generated**.

The analyses conducted also emphasised the point that translators are not solely responsible for the quality attained in production networks. Instead, they highlighted the role of collective decision-making (see also Kuznik and Verd 2010: 42) and revealed the impetus for the other actors, both human and non-human, in influencing translators' decisions. To put it differently, the translating agent is much more than the translator (Buzelin 2005: passim).

My commitment in conducting this research has been to encourage translators and translators-in-training to hold fast to their agency and not to accept dominant economic discourses at face value. I have sought to encourage translators to engage in negotiations and debates with the more powerful actors in production networks – for translators are, beyond any doubt, legitimate stakeholders in these networks.

5.1 WHERE THIS WORK MEETS OTHER WORKPLACE STUDIES

In the early 2000s, when I was searching for research that would have included translation companies as intermediaries between translators and their clients, I was surprised to find that there was little, if any, research on the subject. The only work that I discovered and that was directly relevant to my research undertaking[19], was Petra Kaseva's Master's thesis of 2001 at the University of Helsinki. In her empirical work, Kaseva had discovered the focal role of translation companies. Intriguingly from my point of view, she called her research phantom-hunting: translation companies were the phantoms, and she had come to the same conclusion as I had – there was no empirical research on the role of translation companies in the theoretical literature of Translation Studies. Besides Kaseva's thesis, Anthony Pym's *Method in Translation History* (1998) was also decisive to my work, as it brought home the point that if I want to understand **why** translations are the way they are, I should not study texts and their linguistic features but, instead, translators and the other actors involved in a translation commission.

Since those early years, research has greatly improved to the extent that lately scholars have even made a call for translator studies (Chesterman 2009). Even more

[19] Admittedly, I concentrated on research written in English or Finnish only.

significantly from the perspective of this research, translators' workplace studies have received much needed empirical attention. In this section, I will discuss the interface between this thesis and other works that also address translators' workplace issues. Here, I will concentrate on business translation, although I am aware that there is a considerable amount of important work carried out in the field of literary translation, particularly in the framework of actor-network theory (see Buzelin 2005 and 2007, Jones 2009, Kung 2009, Bogic 2009 and Hekkanen 2010) as well as Bourdieusian sociology (see Simeoni 1998, Gouanvic 1999, Lindqvist 2002, Wolf 2006). Further, Kaisa Koskinen has conducted extensive ethnographic studies on EU translators (see, for instance, Kaisa Koskinen 2008).

Helle V. Dam and Karen Zethsen (2008) have drawn our attention to the fact that **translators' occupational status** has received hardly any attention as a research topic. In spite of this, they found many references to translation as a low-status profession in the literature. This, to my mind, is proof of the fact that much of the earlier research conducted in Translation Studies is philosophical in nature and not based on empirical findings. Over the past years, Dam and Zethsen have engaged in an extensive empirical research project that charts the occupational status of company, agency and freelance translators in Denmark. Their results regarding **the company translators** show that

> even high-profile members of the translation profession face serious challenges in terms of occupational prestige and status: their salaries are generally lower than they should be, their level of expertise is not sufficiently recognized and their influence is limited to the point of being virtually non-existent. (Dam and Zethsen 2009.)

Dam and Zethsen conclude that **empowerment of translators is needed** but do not, as yet, provide any answers to how such empowerment could be accomplished. This thesis meets their research undertaking in that it provides some answers to the question posed by the authors regarding translators' influence. If we agree that influence can be included under the concept of agency – the ability to act for self and the user – the analyses in Articles I, II and III of this thesis demonstrate that translators' agency is constrained by the structure and organising principles of production networks. As the analysis of the case study in Article II reveals, **translators lack power-inducing inscriptions** that would strengthen their agency and work on their behalf in networks that consist of multiple actors. I have argued that by creating an inscription to align the various actors' differing definitions, quality could be rendered more transparent to all actors, including users. Abnegation of responsibility concerning quality could also thereby be eliminated, and, with such measures in place, translators' agency would become stronger. Moreover, such an inscription could be seen as an instrument that erases quality cheating in production networks and builds much-needed trust among the actors.

Studies focused on in-house staff members elucidate the nature of translation companies, and combine with my own research to be quite revelatory. Hanna Risku conducted empirical studies on **project managers** in a translation service company (2004 and 2009). The current thesis complements her findings in that it provides an alternative viewpoint – that of the translator, the person whose work is managed by the project managers studied by Risku. Kuznik and Verd (2010), relying on Stelmach's quantitative study (2000), have also studied a translation company, and re-interpreted the activities carried out by **two in-house staff members.** Their findings reveal "the almost residual presence of translation itself in the in-house jobs of the translation agency analyzed" (ibid. 42). The authors find it paradoxical that "[w]hen the real situations of work in the agency are observed, one notices the management of the translation, but not the translation activity itself" (ibid.). In her ethnographic field study on an international translation company in Vienna, Risku also observed that the company she studied had outsourced its target text production and that the company staff focused on project management, co-ordination and quality assurance activities (Risku 2009). Although Kuznik and Verd and Risku have studied in-house staff, their findings, combined with mine, emphasise the ironic fact that translating is not considered a core competence in translation companies. Instead, the work of translation companies focuses on project management activities.

Based on the analyses conducted in Articles II and III, it seems that translators' ability to create quality products is at risk in translation production networks. Asymmetric information and moral hazard might become the unintended, yet emergent consequences in production networks. As agency theory focally emphasises, information is a key factor in economic affairs; those parties with better information are in a position of power. Andy Ljung Chan demonstrated earlier that the adverse selection present in the translation industry is due to asymmetric information, which accounts for the reason why most translators are under-paid. Further, Chan has claimed that as a result of adverse selection 'good' translators tend to leave their positions as translators, thus ceding space in the industry for 'bad' translators (Chan 2005, 2008: 143). My current research supports Chan's finding that quality is indeed at risk in the translation industry. However, unlike Chan, I have not created a dichotomy by dividing the interviewed translators into 'good' and 'bad' ones, but have approached the problem of quality from a wider, more complex perspective. Still, the fact remains that four of the eight interviewees in my research data had exited the translation industry by the time of their second interviews, and by the time of their last interview session in 2011, only three translators still worked in the translation and localisation industry, as micro-entrepreneurs. Not one of them worked as an in-house translator in a translation company.

The findings of the various research projects presented in this section have wider relevance not only for society at large but also for the educational institutions that train translators and other multilingual communicators.

5.2 METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This doctoral dissertation has attempted to answer the call put out back in 2005 at the "Translating and Interpreting as a Social Practice" conference held in Graz, Austria. The scientific aim of the conference was to elaborate a theoretical and methodological framework, substantiated by empirical studies, to help analyse the social implications of translating in contemporary contexts. In this thesis I have examined translating in the context of production networks, and I have based my research on empirical studies. I have also attempted to elaborate a theoretical and methodological framework by presenting an analysis framework for production networks, drawn from and inspired by an amalgam of three different theories.

5.2.1 Mixed methods research

As any research project is bound to comprise more than one research question, it is not unheard of that these questions might implicate different epistemological stances. These research questions are sometimes framed in greater detail, and even changed, during the course of the research undertaking. Sometimes the advantages of the research being conducted are only discovered *post hoc*, and only then does the researcher draw conclusions regarding his/her research undertaking. (Brannen 2005: 8-9, 17.) Much along the lines of Julia Brannen's observations, my research has presented one means of dealing with the complexity and challenges of a research object that cannot be captured by dominant and 'sanctioned' methodologies in Translation Studies. By presenting **an application of mixed methods methodology in workplace studies**, it has also been my aim to encourage other aspiring researchers, and perhaps even some more seasoned scholars, to undertake a mixed methods approach in their own research, when appropriate. Adopting a mixed methods approach might indeed prove very helpful to struggling and brave scholars, for whom the established Translation Studies methods fail to address the research questions born of a different ontological position. (For an interesting account of a changed research project, see Brannen 2005: 17-18.) Research questions, often intriguing albeit challenging, or indeed intriguing for the very reason they ARE challenging must not be abandoned, as they make a distinctive contribution to the Translation Studies canon, as I hope my research has done in some small measure.

5.2.2 Theoretical implications for the study of agency and structure

This thesis has presented one avenue to study both agency and structure within the scope of one research undertaking. By combining the discoveries made in **the general network theory** regarding the organising principles of real-world networks with **Richard Sennett's (2006) approach to social capital**, the thesis has shown how two very different epistemological approaches can be combined within one analysis framework. Moreover, by incorporating **the analysis of a single case study of a translation production netwo**rk relying on the basic concepts of **actor-network theory**, including not only human but also non-human actors, my thesis has answered how translation production networks are organised, and how their actors interact with each other. Furthermore, the findings of the subsections of my research that relied on network approaches were complemented by the insights of **agency theory**. Agency theory focuses on the economic collaboration between principals and agents, or to use more traditional terminology in Translation Studies, between commissioners and translators. In my analysis of the translator interviews, the shortcomings of agency theory were complemented by ideas borrowed from the **sociology of emotions** (Barbalet 1996).

In summary, the theoretical contributions of agency theory and actor-network theory to Translation Studies are not slight, for both of these theories bring to the fore the various **actors' differing interests**. In so doing, they improve on the existing models of Vermeer's skopos theory (Reiss and Vermeer 1984) and Holz-Mänttäri's action theory (1984), which have received criticism for their overly simplistic assumptions of the translation process (see Hönig 1992, Pym 2000, de Leon 2008: 13-14). Moreover, all three theoretical approaches relied on in this dissertation remind us of the significance of information between the actors. I must, however, confess here that I have applied the insights of agency theory in an unconventional manner.[20] Finally, the analysis conducted in Article II confirms Buzelin's claim that translation – in the Translation Studies sense as inter-lingual translation – is a site of tension, conflict and resistance and that the translating agent includes much more than just the translator (Buzelin 2005: 215).

All the subsections of the research in Articles I, II and III confirmed the findings obtained: **translators' agency in production networks is restricted and narrow**. Furthermore, when these findings are viewed in light of the undemocratic principles of production networks and their hierarchical structure, there is hardly any doubt that **translators' ability to act as agents for the users must be solidified and consolidated**, as long as we operate in the present mode of production.

5.2.3 Radical education and the empowerment of students

For translators to act as full agents in production networks, their agency needs to be strengthened. In the true spirit of action research, I have attempted in this thesis to provide answers in order to affect real change regarding problematic outcomes. In this endeavour, I have suggested in Article IV that **radical education** provides a useful method for the teacher towards empowering students. I see **empowerment as key** in preparing translators-in-training for the challenges of translation production networks, for the students are, or at least some of them are, the future workforce in such networks. It is my belief that empowered translators are better able to **assert their agency in defending their rights and those of the users** in production networks, even if that means that they have to rise to the challenge of resisting the dominant economic discourse of the more powerful actors.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

As the idea for my research originated in practice, my thesis also includes models and practical tools for professional translators, translator educators and translation students to better navigate the pitfalls of production networks. These models can be approached as **instruments that facilitate empowerment** in a field where those doing the actual work suffer from lack of influence and appreciation.

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[20] This point was brought to my attention by Dr Jussi Kivistö, Department of Management at the University of Tampere, who kindly read Article III before its publication. According to Kivistö, my approach to agency theory was "unconventional but highly interesting".

5.3.1 Three-dimensional quality model

Article V presented a simple, three-dimensional quality model to be used by professional translators and translation teachers. This model illustrates how the outermost, invisible third dimension called social quality affects process quality, which in turn affects product quality. The point of the model is to emphasise the importance of social quality in production networks that consist of multiple actors. The social-quality dimension includes issues connected to collective quality. Collective quality – including the level of quality to be aimed at and produced in a particular production network – should be agreed upon by the various actors together. The model presented in Article V is based on the concept of total quality, and therefore it also includes ethical aspects. It emphasises the point that in production networks, quality is not only a feature of the product; it relates to the action concerned – in our case translating – in its entirety: decision-making, production, marketing, customer relations and relations between the various stakeholders, including micro-entrepreneur translators (see Kopperi 1999). This model has been developed to remind the actors, whether principals or agents, that **quality is a multidimensional concept which also includes ethical issues** between the actors in production networks.

It has been highly rewarding to notice that at the end of 2010, The International Standards Organization launched a new standard, ISO 26000, based on the ideas of **sustainable development**. Albeit voluntary, this new standard emphasises the responsibility of an organisation to act in a **socially responsible and ethical manner** towards its stakeholders (The International Standards Organization). The new standard comes very close to the quality model proposed in this thesis.

5.3.2 Ideology critique model for the teacher

Article IV claimed that radical education can be used by the translation teacher as a method to empower students. In 2009, I applied this didactic method in the Translators' and Interpreters' Professional Business Skills course at the University of Tampere. The practical question that arises in this connection is how the teacher can accomplish empowerment in students. According to Juha Suoranta (2005: 21-23), the answer lies in the model of ideology critique developed by Giroux and McLaren (2001) as a tool for the teacher to foster an investigative, critical-theoretical attitude in himself/herself and his/her students. Ideology critique is the most powerful method of radical education, because it engages with the roots of specific social phenomena (Giroux 1997: 85-86).

Suoranta sees ideology critique as consisting of **a three-phase learning cycle**. First, the teacher needs to **disassemble her/his own beliefs and habitual thoughts** about the subject matter in question by viewing them critically. This can be accomplished by asking, for instance, whose ideas and ideology he/she is endorsing in the classroom. In other words, the teacher needs to approach the subject matter from the perspective of the diverse workings of power that impinge on it.

Second, the teacher needs to engage in a politics of **resistance**, to become an "engaged intellectual" (Giroux 2003: 5-6, see also Baker 2008). In this, the point is, according to Giroux (2003)

> to make the pedagogical more political by identifying the link between learning and social transformation, provide the conditions for students to learn a range of critical capacities in order to expand the possibilities of human agency and recover the role of the teacher as an oppositional intellectual... (Giroux(2003: 7).

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the teacher needs to foster an atmosphere of **hope** in the classroom (Giroux 1997, Freire 1998). This, to my mind, can be achieved by **encouraging students to develop their own agency and by envisioning alternative ways of acting**, since action is a concrete expression of hope (Suoranta 2005: 47). This model claims that change, in this case empowerment, can be achieved by strengthening students' agency.

5.3.3 The topology of production networks

The structure and organising principles of production networks differ greatly from those of the traditional dyadic relation between translator and client. The traditional relation emphasises the importance of direct contact and the ability to negotiate the brief and the fee (see, for instance, Reiss and Vermeer 1984, Holz-Mänttäri 1984), and this thesis has presented, in a graphical form, the topology of production networks. The model, as Kaisa Koskinen and I have suggested in Article I, can be applied by practising translators **as a map to navigate the terrain** of this economic configuration. As I have previously pointed out, there still are dyadic relations between translators and their direct clients – without intermediaries – and these relations are often experienced and expressed as more rewarding by translators. In such relations, the translator can generally exercise his/her full agency and expertise, which has positive repercussions on the translation quality as well.

5.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

As the goal of this work has been to study translators and their agency in production networks, **other viewpoints and contexts** have necessarily fallen outside the scope of these observations. However, other scholars, namely Risku, Dam and Zethsen, and Kuznik and Verd, among others, have provided insights into the work of project managers and company translators, as has Kaisa Koskinen 2008 on EU in-house translators. Literary translating and translators have been examined by scholars such as Buzelin (2005, 2007), Bogic (2009) and Hekkanen (2010).

As this work has been limited to qualitative enquiry, it could be argued, especially by researchers within the positivist research paradigm, that **the sample size** of this work is too small and that larger-scale, preferably quantitative, studies are needed to complement these findings.

Another limitation of this research is inevitably its **single-country focus** and, certainly, more studies are needed which focus on translators and their work in other countries (see, however, Chan 2008, Dam and Zethsen 2008, Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009, Kuznik and Verd 2010).

But since I have conducted this thesis within **the paradigm of praxis** [21] (O'Brien 1998), my point has not been to aim at generalisability per se. Rather, as an action researcher, my aim has been to transform the way the research participants, students and translators at large perceive production networks, thereby striving to empower them so that things could be changed for the better in the translation industry, according to the ideas of sustainable development.

Moreover, another clear limitation of this work is connected to **gender-related issues**. Based on the results, it would seem that the gender of the interviewee has an effect on the way the interviewee perceives and acts on the goings-on in the translation industry. However, as the data size is small and the research is qualitative in its approach, no conclusions on gender-related issues, quantitative or qualitative, can be drawn based on this research.

Regarding the issue of agency, it would have been interesting to explore the degree to which **technology and social networking software** have enabled translators to build a community of peers for themselves (see, for instance, McDonough 2007, Risku and Dickinson 2009, Pym 2011) and to what extent such technologies have played a role in bolstering translators' empowerment (Ihander 2010). I did not, however, pursue such research in this work, although certain implications of the Finnish audio-visual translators' uprising in 2009 were felt, particularly among the students, during the course of this research project.

And finally, to end this section on research limitations, I wish to emphasise that the dissertation results are strictly **context-specific**: they are limited to **production networks only**. Although the basic structural logic and organising principles presented in this research are undeniably ubiquitous for all production networks, **we cannot generalise from the results to all production networks**. For that reason, more research is needed, so that best practices for production networks could be identified.

5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Power issues have certainly cropped up now and again in this thesis, so clearly it could be revealing to focus on issues related to power in greater detail than was possible within the scope of the current research undertaking. Nevertheless, based on the analyses conducted in Articles I, II and III, it is clear that the power relations between the actors in production networks are currently unbalanced. Yet voicing dissent is hardly a viable option, and definitely not an easy strategy to inculcate, so translators will likely have to

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[21] O'Brien (1998) claims that epistemologically action research goes under a praxis research paradigm rather than under positivist or interpretive paradigms. The focus of this research has not been in objective fact-finding or even in the discovery of subjective meanings per se. Instead, my aim has been to uncover the logic and organising principles of production networks and to ultimately provide tools for practising translators and translation researchers to act on them.

rely on other coping strategies, as explained in detail in Article III. In any case, the three major theories that inform the theoretical framework of this thesis also allow for the analysis of power relations to be conducted, at least to some extent. A more comprehensive analysis of the actors' power struggles could be accomplished by complementing these analyses by **Bourdieusian sociology** and its concepts of habitus and field. Such work has already been conducted by Buzelin 2005 and 2007, Jones 2009, Kung 2009 and Bogic 2009, among others, who have combined both Latourian and Bourdieusian approaches in their empirical analyses.

In order for micro-entrepreneur and freelance translators to be able **to negotiate for** better fees and **sustainable working conditions**, it would be worthwhile to conduct action research by assisting translators, for instance, to **keep track of their work hours in a systematic way**. Up until now, at least in Finland, no such systematic, large-scale record-keeping has been attempted, to my knowledge. As **quantitative data** is highly appreciated by economists, translators should be prepared to provide such data and answer questions, such as: 1) How long does it take, on average, to translate one page of legal text? 2) How long does it take to download the source material to be translated? This is particularly relevant in the audiovisual translation industry. 3) How long does it take, on average, to produce ten minutes of subtitles for an action movie? 4) How long on average does it take to perform a spell check for a translation consisting of five pages? [22] The preceding questions are merely examples meant to illustrate the kind of quantitative data that translators should be ready to provide in order to justify higher wages. Before any averages can be arrived at, however, a considerable number of translators, both novices and more experienced professionals, would need to keep records of the time they require for each phase of a specific translation task. I have conducted some early negotiations with the audiovisual translators' section of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters on such systematic record-keeping together with other researchers from the University of Eastern Finland. Such record-keeping has the potential to be advantageous for all translators, regardless of their areas of industry specialisation. More importantly, the results of such an exercise could serve as powerful inscriptions in production networks, in the Latourian sense of the word. As this thesis has argued for **inscriptions** to be created and used as non-human actors to work on translators' behalf in production networks, there is still a lot of research to be carried out in this respect. The researcher interested in such work should preferably work together with translator unions and associations in the spirit of action research.

Another important inscription, or instrument, that has been proposed in this thesis is a quality classification system. The idea behind such a system is to align the actors' definitions of quality, which currently differ. As my thesis has revealed that there are quality conflicts between the actors, **a comprehensive quality classification system that extends over the entire translation production network** is urgently needed. The design and implementation of such a system requires co-operation between the translators and their unions, Translation Studies scholars, educational institutions and the other actors in

[22] For phases before, during and after translation, see Gouadec 2007. It is important that translators are aware of these phases and that micro-entrepreneur translators bill those phases in which they participate to the translation companies they work for.

translation production networks, that include the translation companies and the client companies that need translations, such as pay TV providers, television channels, and the like. It is my belief that those translation companies and client companies that value social responsibility and believe in sustainable development in the translation and localisation industry will be willing to co-operate in such an undertaking.

5.6 POSTSCRIPT: WHAT ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES?

It is only appropriate to conclude this thesis with a short section focusing on the eight interviewees. After all, the reader may well be interested in learning how those interviewees' professional lives were faring by the end of the interview process in 2011. As previously mentioned, their **work trajectories** were observed over the course of several years, starting in 2005 and ending in 2011. My last contact with six of them took place in 2011, and this occurred through Facebook chat, while two were interviewed over the telephone. The following table presents these interviewees' **job title**, **job position**, and **line of industry** as recorded in 2011. Moreover, the interviewees were asked **whether they were satisfied in their current job and position**.

Table 2: The eight translators at the end of the interview process in 2011

Interviewee	Job title	Job position	Industry	Job satisfaction
Kari (male)	Manager	In-house	Software	Highly satisfied
Jussi (male)	Translator	Micro-entrepreneur	Translation & Localisation	Satisfied with the work, not satisfied with the goings-on in the industry
Lea (female)	Translator	Micro-entrepreneur	Translation & Localisation	Not satisfied, quality conflicts persist
Miia (female)	Administration	In-house	Education	Satisfied, although work does not directly correspond to education
Maija (female)	Manager	In-house	Documentation	Highly satisfied
Kaija (female)	Teacher	In-house	Education	Not very satisfied, prefers translating

				but pay too low in the translation industry
Matti (male)	Translator	Micro-entrepreneur/co-operative	Translation & Localisation and Documentation	Satisfied
Rea (female)	Manager	In-house	Communication	Satisfied that she left the translation industry, not very satisfied with the present job

Five of the eight interviewees are currently salaried employees, **paid monthly**, compared to their first interview session when only four of them were salaried employees. Three of them now work in a **managerial position** compared to the first round of interviews when none of them held such a position. Interestingly, **the industries** that the interviewees now work in **cover a wider range than at the outset**: three of the eight interviewees act as **micro-entrepreneurs** in the translation and localisation industry; one of them works in a **co-operative** and does work for both the **translation and localisation industry**, as well as the documentation industry; two work in the **education industry**, one in the **software industry**, one in the **documentation industry** and one in the **communications industry**. Compared to the first round of interviews when six of the interviewees worked in the translation and localisation industry and two had just left the translation industry, the variation in these industries is now clearly higher.

But what exactly does this mean, and what are the implications of these findings? Why has it been worthwhile to follow these interviewees' working lives longitudinally? First, the longitudinal interview process reveals that there is considerable **movement** in the working lives of those interviewed. **Career trajectories** are not static, quite the contrary. Secondly, the **university education** that these translators have received in Translation Studies seems to have prepared them rather well for the challenges of present-day working life. Many of these interviewees have quite successfully transferred from one position to another over the years. Three of them have experienced short spells of unemployment but have managed to find work again within a few months. Indeed, three of them have even risen to managerial positions. Thirdly, only three of them work as translators, as micro-entrepreneurs, to be precise. Surprisingly, however, **none of them works as an in-house translator in a translation company**, compared to the beginning of the interview process when four translators, i.e. half of them, held a salaried position (paid monthly) in a translation company. This finding confirms what Kuznik and Verd (2010) and Risku (2009) have already noted, that **translating is nowadays a residual activity in translation companies**. More importantly, my findings combined with theirs do have **serious implications for translator education.** As there is hardly any point in training translators for badly paid jobs in the translation and localisation industry, translator training must prepare its students for the more demanding positions in the industry. For this reason, translators will fare better in the job market if, for instance, **project management skills** are integrated into the translation curriculum. Those translators who want to, or are forced to, work as micro-entrepreneurs would certainly benefit from training in **business skills**. Nevertheless, it seems justified to draw the conclusion that people with formal translator training[23] need not be overly concerned about their job prospects. If their work is not appreciated by or in demand in the translation industry, they certainly seem to find work in other industries that value their competencies. Excellent skills in at least two languages, the ability to produce user-friendly texts in different genres in both languages, sound, general academic skills combined with the ability to conduct research on a wide variety of subjects, the ability to work in a team, critical thinking skills, and the eagerness to tackle the challenges of ever-evolving computer-assisted tools and software programmes are all highly appreciated, regardless of the industry in question. Moreover, through minor area specialisation, each student can tailor his/her training to better correspond to their interests and the requirements set by various industries. Nor must we forget that useful skills are learned in each workplace and that our skills sets accumulate over the course of our career trajectories. But that is another story altogether.

[23] The name and nature of these university programmes will likely require updating. For instance, the programme at the University of Tampere, Finland is called Multilingual Communication and Translation Studies, because not all those who study in this programme will become translators or interpreters.

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KRISTIINA ABDALLAH

Translators in Production Networks Reflections on Agency, Quality and Ethics

This dissertation focuses on translators and their work in production networks. My goal has been to explore how translation production networks are organized and how their actors interact with each other. The research findings reveal serious conflict points as to the cooperation between the actors, particularly regarding the issues of quality and ethics. As production networks continue to exhibit emergent complex behaviour, translators' fiduciary duties towards the users of translations need protection.

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