Typology of Capitals Expected and Received by Iranian Translators

Mohsen Kafi, Masood Khoshsaligheh*, Mohammad Reza Hashemi Ferdowsi University of Mashhad

Abstract

Translation Studies, as a fledgling yet developing focus in humanities, has undertaken a move away from linguistic orientations and towards sociological concerns. Hence, there has been increasing research using Bourdieu's sociology as their framework. The current study is a quantitative research which uses Bourdieu's notion of capital in order to investigate the expected and received capitals of prospective and practicing Iranian translators, respectively. For that matter, a 24 item questionnaire instrument was adapted and used for data collection. The collected data was analyzed using a number of inferential statistical procedures including exploratory factor analysis, t-test, and one-way ANOVA. As for the participants, 225 practicing translators and 178 prospective translators took participated in this cross-sectional survey study. The results indicate that the expected capitals of prospective Iranian translators significantly differ from the received capitals of practicing Iranian translators. Moreover, the received capitals of male practicing translators were significantly higher than those of female translators based on their own perception. However, work experience did not prove to have a significant effect on the level of perception of capitals received by practicing translators.

Keywords: Bourdieu, sociological capitals, practicing translators, prospective translators, Iran

1. Introduction

Translation Studies (TS) has witnessed a move away from the mere consideration of texts as the products of the translation process towards the view of translation as a social practice which involves the cooperation of many agents including the commissioner, translator, and receiver in a specific social context (Wolf 2010). One of the main research areas within the sociology of translation is the study of translators and interpreters as the main agents in the translation action. Chesterman (2009) names this new array of researches as translator studies, which has the potential to become a new discipline itself. The domain of translator research includes the study of the translators' social backgrounds, their effort for promoting their professional status, their professional identity and their self-image as translators (Sela-Sheffy 2010). Two opposing ideas exist regarding the status of translators. On the one hand, several scholars (e.g., Gentzler 2001; Baker 2008) believe that translators are no longer mere decoders of texts, but they are cross-cultural professionals who currently enjoy a higher professional status. On the other hand, a group of scholars (e.g., Muzii 2006; Sela-sheffey 2006) point to a trend towards deprofessionalization and insist that translators are regarded as auxiliary manpower.

In order to explore the social aspects of translation, TS scholars have drawn on the ideas and works of a number of sociologists in recent years, especially Pierre Bourdieu. Gouanvic (2005: 148) believes that since Bourdieu's theory of cultural action is a "sociology of the text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner", it could be useful for studying the issues

^{*} Corresponding author: khoshsaligheh@um.ac.ir

present in the translation world. The current study draws on the four basic types of capital introduced by Bourdieu (1986) in order to determine the expected and received capitals of Iranian practicing and prospective translators. To the authors' best of knowledge, no study has to date used Bourdieu's notion of capital to compare the expectations of prospective translators with the current situation of practicing translators. Hence, this study aims to determine the expected and received capitals of prospective and practicing Iranian translators, as well as to investigate the relevance of gender and work experience on the received capitals of practicing Iranian translators. Specifically, the study attempts to address the following questions:

- 1. Are the results of the study valid and reliable?
- 2. How does the typology of translation career related capitals in the Iranian context classify?
- 3. What capitals do prospective Iranian translators expect to achieve the most?
- 4. What capitals do practicing Iranian translators currently receive the most?
- 5. Is there a significant difference between the expected achievement and the received achievement of capitals by prospective and practicing Iranian translators?
- 6. Is there a significant difference between the level of received capitals by male and female practicing Iranian translators?
- 7. Is there a significant difference between the level of expected capitals by male and female prospective Iranian translators?
- 8. Is there a significant difference between the levels of received capitals by practicing Iranian translators of varying years of work experience?

2. Sociological Capitals and Translation

2.1 Concept of Capital

Marx was the first notable scholar to bring up the notion of capital in 1849 (Lin 2002). He believed that capital emerges from the relations between capitalists and laborers in the processes of producing and consuming commodity, and it is the investment of resources in order to produce profit, an idea which has persisted in the subsequent theories of capital (Lin 2002). The evolution of the notion of capital in the second half of the 20th century has led to a *neoclassic theory of capital* which takes issue with the previously-held idea of class differentiation and introduces more human-based concepts such as human capital, social capital, and cultural capital (Smith 1937; Bourdieu 1986, etc.). Therefore, a correspondence was made between investment in physical and human capital (Woodhall 1987). Felicio, Couto, and Caiado (2014) consider human capital as being made up of four constructs, namely knowledge, experience, professional proficiency, and cognitive ability. Wright et al (1995) also believe that knowledge, education, and experience are the main characteristics of human capital which provide better opportunities for individuals who possess them. According to Lin (2002), the main difference between physical and human capital is that human capital is the extra value embedded in the individuals

2.2 Capitals of Bourdieu

In order to effectively interact in a field, individuals and institutions rely on a series of resources, which Bourdieu calls capitals. He believes in the existence of other forms of capital in addition to Economic capital found in Marxism. According to Bourdieu (1986: 81), "Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to

appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor". The word 'accumulated' indicates that capital is not obtained at once; rather, agents must struggle and work continuously to accumulate capital and through it, maintain their position in the field (Alkhamis 2012). Individuals who possess a larger amount of capital have a better chance to succeed. According to Inghilleri (2005: 143),

Bourdieu's theorization of the social suggests that acts of translation and interpreting be understood through the social practices and relevant fields in which they are constituted, that they be viewed as functions of social relations based on competing forms of capital tied to local/global relations of power, and that translators and interpreters, through the workings of the habitus and illusio, be seen as both implicated in and able to transform the forms of practice in which they engage.

Bourdieu (1986) believes that in order to account for the functioning of the social world, all forms of capital must be reintroduced. Hence, he introduces four types of capital which are namely economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) state that these capitals are interrelated and may be converted into one another on certain occasions.

2.2.1 Economic Capital

As the name suggests, economic capital is in the form of material wealth that could be directly converted into money and institutionalized through property rights (Goldthrope 2007). In fact, economic capital is the base and root for the other types of capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), on certain occasions, it is possible to convert economic capital into other forms of capital and vice versa. Alkhamis (2012) gives the example of some Saudi private publishers who choose books for publication based on the symbolic and cultural capitals attached to them such as their appearance on the bestseller's list of famous magazines, a choice which would probably lead to a higher economic capital.

2.2.2 Social Capital

Social capital is a concept which has been used in many studies across various fields of research since the 1990s. According to Adam and Roncevic (2003), social theory is being revised by means of social capital. They argue that among the three social scientists who have had significant influence on the discourse of social capital, Bourdieu's conceptualization shows more signs of empirical analysis. Bourdieu (1985: 248) defines social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". Following the same path, Portes (1998) defines social capital as the capacity to gain benefits through membership in networks and other social groups. Paxton (1999: 93) argues that social capital consists of two separate components, "objective associations between individuals and a subjective type of tie, which must be reciprocal, trusting, and involving positive emotions". Unlike other forms of capital, social capital is created from the relations between and among actors and is not a natural or social given; rather, it is the result of neverending efforts on the part of individuals and the institution as a whole (Bourdieu 1986). Davidsson and Honig (2003) argue that emotional relationships and relationships which contribute to the removal of gaps between individuals are among the sources of social capital. Lin (2002) provides four explanations for the usefulness of resources found in social networks. He states that these social networks facilitate the flow of information, exert influence on the agents, may be perceived by the organization as the individual's social credentials, and finally, reinforce identity and recognition. As for its application, social capital can be used to analyze and describe almost all sociological entities or situations.

As for the translation field, the social capital of translators consists of their relationships with other translators, publishers, clients, end-users, marketing agents, and the government bodies active in the process of translation and publication. Translators who enjoy a stronger network of social relationships would probably have more job opportunities, which would contribute to an increase in their economic capital.

2.2.3 Cultural Capital

Dumais (2002) believes that cultural capital functions as a means of power, or a way for groups to gain dominance in a field. Also, Bourdieu (1993: 7) defines cultural capital as "a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts".

Bourdieu (1986) believes that cultural capital could be transformed into economic capital on certain occasions, and it may be institutionalized in the form of academic degrees and qualifications. He distinguishes among three forms of cultural capital:

- Objectified cultural capital, which refers to "cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc" (Bourdieu 1986: 243).
- Embodied cultural capital, which is the disposition to appreciate and understand cultural goods, such as expertise in a field of arts, or mastery of a language. This form of capital includes the mental and artistic abilities of an individual acquired through the process of socialization. Embodied cultural capital is not transmitted through genes; rather, it's received over time from the family and the surrounding environment and also requires investment on the part of the individual. These investments result in the transmission of external wealth into the habitus of an individual (Bourdieu 1986).
- Institutionalized cultural capital, which refers to educational credentials and the credentialing system, such as university degrees and academic qualifications (Dumais 2002). Institutionalized cultural capital also contributes to the social status and prestige of individuals (Bourdieu 1986).

Cultural capital has become the most popular among all the concepts brought up by Bourdieu (Dumais 2002) and it has been carefully studied by the sociologists of education. According to Sullivan (2002), the possession of cultural capital and a more prestigious habitus facilitates the process of succeeding in education. All the three pre-mentioned types of capital make up symbolic capital which is defined by Bourdieu (1998: 102) as

an ordinary property (physical strength, wealth, warlike valor, etc.) which, perceived by social agents endowed with the categories of perception and appreciation permitting them to perceive, know and recognize it, becomes symbolically efficient, like a veritable magical power: a property which, because it responds to socially constituted 'collective expectations' and beliefs, exercises a sort of action from a distance, without physical contact.

Symbolic capital is mostly individual and brings integrity, respect, or credit for the person holding it (Bourdieu, 1986). It is usually called prestige, fame, and reputation. Symbolic capital is not real; rather, it exists until it is considered valuable by others. The accumulation of symbolic capital by individuals in any field contributes to their success in that field. According to Cronin (1996), in the academic field, the accumulation of awards, qualifications, prizes, and promotions are key aspects in the reward system.

2.3 A Sociology of Translation

Wolf (2010) believes that the current move towards a sociology of translation is based on a number of approaches within Translation Studies including the cultural turn (Lefevere & Bassnett 1990), Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury 1995), the poly-system theory (Even-

Zohar 1990) and Lefevere's rewriting theory (1992). Translation as a social practice is central to the work of Lefevere. Furthermore, she states that functionalist approaches to translation including Holz-Manttary's translatorial action theory (1984), Reiss and Vermeer's Skopos theory (1984), and Christiane Nord's text analysis (1988) are also believed to be sociologically motivated. In the following paragraphs, some studies which have been conducted in the realm of the sociology of translation are discussed.

New approaches in sociology reject the separation of individuals and the social structure (Inghilleri 2005). According to Gouanvic (2005), Bourdieu's cultural action theory takes into account both the institution and its agents. The study of translators and interpreters as the main agents in the translation practice has become one of the main research domains in Translation Studies. C. Liu (2013) attempted to investigate the correlation between the translators' visibility and their job-related happiness and found that the more visible the translators, the happier they are. She also concluded that the gap between the expected and received capitals is lower for the more visible translators. J. Liu (2012) studied the habitus of translators in a given society at a given period of time and concluded that the habitus of translators influences their practice of translation and this habitus cannot be considered in separation from its relationship to the foreign culture. In another study done by Choi and Lim (2002), the researchers investigated the status of Korean translators and interpreters and concluded that Korean interpreters enjoy a higher status than Korean translators. Pym (1998) suggests that researchers who are active in the realm of historical translation research should move away from the mere consideration of texts and contexts towards the study of translators as central figures in the process of translation. In a study conducted by Silbermann and Hänseroth (1985), the researchers discuss the activities of translators by the means of the sociology of profession and the sociology of literature (as cited in Wolf & Fukari 2007). Wolf (2006) focuses on gender-related issues by studying the position of female translators who work for female publishers in German-speaking countries. In another study conducted by Wolf (2003), the restraints that prevailed in the translation field during the Nazi era are discussed. Wolf claims that the Nazi regime used translators as instruments to champion its ideological stance (As cited in Wolf 2007). Simeoni (1998) aims at integrating the notion of translator habitus into the polysystem theory and states that the habitus of translators is the result of an adapted social and Cultural background. Gouvanic (2005: 162) seeks to adapt Bourdieu's sociological theory of symbolic goods to translation and states that "the translator intervenes as an agent who confers on the author and on the work of a quantity of capital by submitting it to the logic of a target literary field, and to its mechanisms of recognition".

3. Method

3.1 Research Design

Primarily, the current study aims to determine the typology of the translation career related capitals and compare the expected and received capitals by Iranian translators. To compare the expected and received capitals, a longitudinal study during a course of several years would fit and make sense. Nevertheless, due to a number of practical issues such as maturation and attrition of the participants which can threaten the validity of the results (Dörnyei 2007) as well as the requirement of taking a period of several years (for translation students to train and complete a degree and make a career in professional translation) to complete the project, the study instead used a cross-sectional survey study in which during a short period of time (here a month) two groups of participants, namely prospective translators (translation students who are

planning to have a career as a professional translator) and practicing translators (professionals who translate as their career and their main source of income) were invited to contribute.

The study used the delimitation of focusing on translation in English-Persian language pair which by far comprises the largest portion of the Iranian translation market. Accordingly, the final results would not be generalized to translators of other language pairs such as French-Persian, or Russian-Persian, among others.

3.2 Participants

Using a criterion sampling technique, the first group of selected participants were practicing translators with at least one year of full-time translation work experience as their main source of income. The mean work experience was 4.7 years. The participants held or were completing a BA, MA, or PhD in Translation Studies, English Literature, TEFL, or Linguistics from 11 universities (e.g., Allameh Tabataba'i University, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Isfahan University, Birjand University, Tehran University) based at various corners of Iran including Tehran, Mashhad and Isfahan, among others. Translators who were not formally trained in translation or languages were not included in the study. Eventually, 225 practicing translators completed the questionnaire of this study, among which 141 (62.7%) were female and 84 (37.3%) were male. The average age of the participants was approximately 30 years.

The second group of participants consisted of first year students of English translation as prospective translators. Two criteria were set to select the participants of this group: the participants did not have any experience of paid translation work and expressed willingness to work as full-time translators in the future. A total of 178 prospective translators studying at four universities in Iran including Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Islamic Azad University of Tehran (Central Campus), and Imam Reza International University responded to the questionnaire. The second group included 131 (73.6%) female and 47 (26.3%) male participants on an average age of approximately 23 years.

3.3 Instrument

In order to collect the necessary data, a questionnaire instrument, developed and validated by Liu (2013), was adapted and used. Liu employed Bourdieu's theory of capital and the job-related framework of Warr (2007) to develop an instrument for a research on translators' visibility and happiness. She operationalized the concept of capital by using Warr's job-related framework which contains 12 determinants for examining the reasons why some people are happier at work. Liu (2013: 127) developed "a construct to measure the alignment between what an individual wishes to receive and what the job allows the person to obtain". Table 1 depicts the items of the original questionnaire instrument.

Bourdieu's capitals	Items derived from Warr's (2007) 12 determinants
Symbolic Capital	Work independently
	Decision-making opportunities at work
	Fulfilling the expectation of the client
	Fulfilling the expectation of the end-user
	Professional respect
	The company's reputation in the industry
	The pride of the profession
	The role of being a translation professional
Economic Capital	Salary
	Long-term job security

Social Capital	A working environment that allows the person to strengthen the				
Social Capital	personal network				
	1				
	The client's appreciation of the person's translation work				
	The end-user's appreciation of the person's translation work				
	Moving between roles so that the person is not limited to doing				
	translation only				
	Opportunity to work with people of the translation profession				
	Opportunity to work with people from different professions				
Cultural Capital	Opportunity to learn new knowledge				
	Opportunity to improve translation skills				
	Opportunity to boost professional qualification				
	Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work				
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the client				
	Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user				

Table 1. Questionnaire Items Developed by Liu (2013)

The items enumerated in Table 1 were used as the basis of items to include in the questionnaire instrument for data collection in this study; however, considering the culture and context-specificity of the use of survey questionnaires, to establish content validity and adapt the list to the Iranian context, the items were subjected to the revisions and comments of a number of Iranian TS scholars in addition to a focus group of practicing Iranian translators (n=7). As a result, some of the items were merged and a few more were added to the list. Namely, the fifth item representing symbolic capital (i.e., professional respect) was divided into "social respect for the translator" and "social respect for the translation profession". The rationale behind this division was that many professions, per se, may have the respect of the public, but the practicing members of those professions may not enjoy a decent reputation in some time periods. According to Venuti (1995), the translators' status has usually been peripheral. However, the practice of translation has often been valued (Prunč 2007). Regarding the category of Economic capital, an item on "balance between work and payment" was added. At first, it may seem that it overlaps with "good salary". However, the added item examines the balance between effort and reward. According to Siegrist (2002: 261),

All major contracts in social life, including the work contract, are based on the principle of reciprocity. A fair balance between the costs invested in cooperative activities and the gains received in turn is a prerequisite of a trustful social exchange and individual well-being.

As a result of these additions, a questionnaire with 24 items was adapted and finalized. The questionnaire was used for both groups of participants. Prospective translators marked the level of expectation to achieve each item on the questionnaire on a semantic scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1= very low, 2= low, 3= moderate, 4= high, and 5= very high), whereas practicing translators marked their perceived achievement of each questionnaire item on the scale of 1 to 5. 3.4 Procedures

As for practicing translators, the questionnaire was designed as a Google form. The link of the created form was sent via e-mail to 470 individuals who had an academic background in translation or English language and literature. The list of emails was obtained from the contact list of two professors of applied linguistics and translation studies at Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, as well as social networks including Linkedin.com and Academia.edu which are

considered as suitable networks for getting in touch with scholars and professionals. The respondents were asked to include their demographic information including gender, place of study, education level, work experience, and age.

A total of 141 practicing Iranian translators completed the questionnaire in a period of approximately one month (August 2015). Since the goal of this study was to include more than 200 practicing Iranian translators in the sample, another 84 questionnaires were collected by the researchers through personally attending classes on translation at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Imam Reza University, Khayyam University, and Islamic Azad University of Tehran (Central Campus). Hence, a total of 225 professional Iranian translators participated in this study. As for prospective Iranian translators, the goal was to collect about 200 questionnaires. The researchers attended a number of BA classes at four Iranian universities including Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Imam Reza University, and Islamic Azad University of Tehran (Central Campus). Overall, 178 first-year undergraduate students who were planning to practice translation professionally participated in the study. To address the research questions, a number of inferential statistical procedures including exploratory factor analysis, scale reliability analysis, independent samples *t*-test, and one-way ANOVA in addition to descriptive statistics were used on SPSS ver. 21 for the analysis of the data.

4. Results

4.1 Typology of Capitals of Iranian Translators

To address the first two research questions, that is, if the results of the study are valid and reliable, and how the typology of translation-career related capitals in the Iranian context classify, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was run on the data derived from the responses of both the prospective and practicing Iranian translators (n=404). The original questionnaire designed by Liu (2013) was tentatively categorized according to the four types of capital introduced by Bourdieu (e.g., 1986). However, to come up with an empirically-supported categorization of the items in relation to the Iranian translators, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted.

Regarding the suitability of the data for factor analysis, the initial investigation of the correlation matrix proved that most of the items have correlation coefficients of 0.3 and above. Also, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (KMO) yielded a value of just over 0.9, which was higher than the minimum threshold of 0.6 (Pallant 2005). The value of the Barlett's Test of Sphericity was also significant (p<.05) (Dziuban 1974). Overall, these three determinants proved that the dataset is suitable for EFA.

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sam	.907		
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Sphericity Approx. Chi-Square		
	df		
	Sig.	.00	

Table 2. KMO and Bartlett's Test

The next step was to determine the number of components to be extracted. In the existing literature (Pallant 2005; Field 2005, etc), three methods have been proposed for determining the number of components to be extracted. These methods are based on investigating the eigenvalues and scree plot, and parallel analysis. By looking at the table of "Total variance explained", it was

seen that five items have eigenvalues above one. Also, the scree plot indicated a break after the fifth component. As a result, five components were retained for extraction, components which explained approximately 70% of the total variance.

Varimax rotation method was used to better adjust the initial results. Except from three items which were omitted due to lack of loading or double loadings, all items were strongly loaded on one of the five components, the lowest loading being .525. Table 2 demonstrates factor loadings after applying the Varimax rotation method. The EFA results fully establish the construct validity of the findings.

Factors	Total	Percentage of Variance	Cumulative Percentage
1	4.48	21.36	21.36
2	3.41	16.24	37.60
3	3.12	14.87	52.47
4	1.95	9.30	61.78
5	1.67	7.98	69.76

Table 3. Total Variance Explained by the Five Factors

As for the internal consistency of each factor, Table 2 also shows the results of scale reliability analysis for each factor, each of which is well above the minimum threshold of 0.7 (Field 2005) and clearly indicate the reliability of the findings. These reliability results in addition to those of the EFA are strong evidence for the validity and reliability of the findings of the survey study, and hence the first question is addressed.

Variables	Loadings	Reliability
Factor 1		.76
05- Social respect for the translator	.84	
10- Long-term job security	.83	
09- Good salary	.79	
11- Balance between the work and the payment	.77	
06- Social respect for the translation profession	.77	
08- Role of being a translation professional	.59	
Factor 2		.76
18- Opportunity to learn new knowledge	.82	
19- Opportunity to improve translation skills	.78	
20- Opportunity to boost professional qualification	.70	
21- Opportunity to use the person's skills and expertise at work	.58	
16- Opportunity to work with people in the translation profession	.56	
17- Opportunity to work with people from different professions	.52	
Factor 3		.74
14- End-user's appreciation of the translation work	.77	
23- Feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user	.65	
13- Client's appreciation of the translation work	.65	
22- Feedback on the person's translated work from the client	.62	
15- Opportunity to play different roles apart from translation	.54	

Factor 4		.82
04- Fulfilling the expectations of the final end-user	.88	
03- fulfilling the expectations of the client	.83	
Factor 5		.79
01- work independently	.86	
02- decision-making opportunities	.72	

Table 4. Factor Loadings after Applying the Varimax Rotation Method

The factors were labeled by considering the shared theme of their representing items in addition to considering the items with the highest loadings on each factor. As such, the list below presents an empirically-supported typology of capitals which prospective and practicing Iranian translators expect and receive, respectively:

- Factor 1: **Income and Social Status:** social respect for the translator, social respect for the translation profession, long-term job security, good salary, balance between the work and payment, the role of being a translation professional.
- Factor 2: **Improvement Opportunities:** opportunity to learn new knowledge, opportunity to improve translation skills, opportunity to boost professional qualification, opportunity to use one's expertise and skills at work, opportunity to work with people from the translation profession, opportunity to work with people from other professions.
- Factor 3: **Feedback Reception:** End-user's appreciation of the translation work, client's appreciation of the translation work, feedback on the person's translated work from the end-user, feedback on the person's translated work from the client, opportunity to play different roles apart from translation.
- Factor 4: **Fulfilling Expectations:** fulfilling the expectations of the client, fulfilling the expectations of the end-user.
- Factor 5: **Independence:** decision-making opportunities, having independence at work.

The emerged factor solution—categorization of the retained items—adequately presents the empirically-supported typology of translation career related capitals in the Iranian context which addresses the second question of the study. As could be seen, the manifest categories differ from the theoretical typology of capitals advocated by Pierre Bourdieu. For instance, the items pertaining to economic and symbolic capitals are in a single category, and the second category, includes items which generally pertain to cultural and social capitals of Bourdieu. Hence, the categories have been renamed based on the representing items with the highest loadings as well as the main theme of the entire category.

4.2 Expected and Received Capitals

In response to the third research question regarding what capitals prospective Iranian translators expect to achieve the most, the capitals can be ranked, based on the descriptive statistics, from the most highly expected to the least: 1. Income and Social Status (M= 4.28), 2. Improvement Opportunities (M= 4.28), 3. Fulfilling Expectations (M= 3.98), 4. Independence (3.74), and 5. Feedback Reception (M= 3.67).

In response to the fourth research question regarding what capitals practicing Iranian translators currently receive the most, the capitals can be ranked, based on the descriptive statistics, from the most highly received to the least: 1. Fulfilling Expectations (M= 3.61), 2. Independence (M= 3.16), 3. Improvement Opportunities (M= 2.99), 4. Feedback Reception (M=

2.70), and 5. Income and Social Status (M= 2.42). As clearly noticed, the most highly expected capital, Income and Social Status, is the least achieved capital. As for the other types of capital, the same is true and the expectations and achievements hardly match.

In order to address the fifth question and indicate if there is a significant difference between the expected achievement and the received achievement of capitals by Iranian translators, multiple independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to compare the mean ratings of expected achievement and mean ratings of the received achievement of capitals by prospective and practicing Iranian translators, respectively. Independent samples *t*-test is a statistical method for comparing the mean scores of two groups or conditions (Field, 2005). The results indicated that there is a significant difference between the expected and the received achievement by the participants across all types of capital (see Table 5).

There is a significant difference between the mean rating of the received achievement of income and social status (M= 2.42, SD= .77) and that of the expected achievement of income and social status (M= 4.28, SD= .58; t (400.3) = -26.69, p= .00) by Iranian practicing and prospective translators, respectively.

There is a significant difference between the mean rating of the received achievement of improvement opportunities (M= 2.99, SD= .72) and that of the expected achievement of improvement opportunities (M= 4.28, SD= .58; t (400.3) = -26.69, p= .00) by Iranian practicing and prospective translators, respectively.

There is a significant difference between the mean rating of the received achievement of feedback reception (M= 2.70, SD= .73) and that of the expected achievement of feedback reception (M= 3.67, SD= .67; t (401) = -13.69, p= .00) by Iranian practicing and prospective translators, respectively.

There is a significant difference between the mean rating of the received achievement of fulfilling expectations (M= 3.61, SD= .71) and that of the expected achievement of fulfilling expectations status (M= 3.98, SD= .89; t (335.37) = -4.59, p= .00) by Iranian practicing and prospective translators, respectively.

There is a significant difference between the mean rating of the received achievement of independence (M= 3.16, SD= .91) and that of the expected achievement of independence (M= 3.74, SD= .83; t (401) = -6.59, p= .00) by Iranian practicing and prospective translators, respectively.

		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
F1	Equal variances assumed	16.27	.00	-26.69	401	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-27.55	400.30	.00
F2	Equal variances assumed	.72	.39	-10.33	401	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-10.39	387.24	.00
F3	Equal variances assumed	2.02	.15	-13.69	401	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-13.84	392.71	.00
F4	Equal variances assumed	11.94	.00	-4.71	401	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.59	335.37	.00
F5	Equal variances assumed	1.03	.30	-6.59	401	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-6.66	392.71	.00

Table 5. Independent Samples t-tests for expected and received achievement of capitals by Iranian translators

4.3 Capitals across Genders

In order to address the sixth research question to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of received achievement of capitals by male and female practicing Iranian translators, multiple independent samples *t*-tests were conducted, and as the results show, there was a significant difference between the level of expected achievement of male and female practicing translators in terms of two of the five capitals (see Table 6). A detailed description of the independent-samples *t*-tests for each of the components is presented below:

There was no significant difference between the level of expected achievement of the female (M= 2.41, SD= .75) and the male practicing translators (M= 2.43, SD=.80; t (223) = -.24, p= .80) in terms of income and social status.

There was a significant difference between the level of expected achievement of the female (M=2.90, SD=.72) and the male practicing translators (M=3.15, SD=.70; t (401) = -2.52, p=.01) in terms of improvement opportunities. The male practicing translators who participated in this study claimed to have more improvement opportunities than their female colleagues.

There was a significant difference between the level of expected achievement of the female (M= 2.58, SD=.77) and the male practicing translators (M= 2.89, SD= .64; t (223) = -3.06, p=.002) in terms of feedback reception. The male practicing indicated that they received more feedback from clients and users compared to female practicing translators.

There was no significant difference between the level of expected achievement of the female (M=3.59, SD=.67) and the male practicing translators (M=3.64, SD=.78; t (223) = .51, p=.61) in terms of fulfilling expectations.

There was a significant difference between the level of expected achievement of the female (M=3.02, SD=.90) and the male practicing translators (M=3.39, SD=.89; t (223) = -3.05, p=.003) in terms of independence. The male practicing translators enjoyed a higher degree of independence at work as compared to their female counterparts.

		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
F1	Equal variances assumed	.32	.57	246	223	.80
	Equal variances not assumed			242	164.93	.80
F2	Equal variances assumed	.53	.46	-2.52	223	.01
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.54	179.16	.01
F3	Equal variances assumed	2.77	.09	-3.06	223	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.21	199.09	.00
F4	Equal variances assumed	2.70	.10	512	223	.60
	Equal variances not assumed			49	155.40	.62
F5	Equal variances assumed	.04	.83	-3.05	223	.00
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.05	175.51	.00

Table 6. Independent Samples t-test for the level of received achievement of capitals by female and male practicing Iranian translators

Multiple independent-samples *t*-tests were conducted in order to address the seventh research question which aimed to determine if there is a significant difference between the level of expected achievement of capitals by male and female prospective Iranian translators. As can be seen in Table 7, the results did not indicate any significant difference in the expected capitals

of the male and female prospective translators. In other words, the null hypotheses could not be rejected.

		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
F1	Equal variances assumed	.01	.91	.46	175	.64
	Equal variances not assumed			.48	83.09	.63
F2	Equal variances assumed	.07	.78	1.06	175	.28
	Equal variances not assumed			1.04	76.29	.29
F3	Equal variances assumed	.51	.47	1.61	175	.10
	Equal variances not assumed			1.56	74.84	.12
F4	Equal variances assumed	.03	.84	.94	175	.34
	Equal variances not assumed			.94	79.33	.34
F5	Equal variances assumed	.00	.99	-1.24	175	.21
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.26	81.56	.20

Table 7. Independent Samples t-test for the level of expected achievement of capitals by female and male prospective Iranian translators

4.4 Capitals and Work Experience

In order to address the eighth research question, Practicing translators were divided into three groups based on their work experience (group 1: up to 2 years of experience; group 2: from 2 to 5 years of experience; group 3: more than 5 years of experience). This categorization was done by equally dividing the translators according to their years of work experience. Multiple one-way ANOVA tests were conducted, the aim of which were to investigate if there were any significant differences across the three ranges of work experience in terms of the received capitals of practicing Iranian translators. The results of the ANOVA are presented in Table 8.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Between Groups	.99	2	.49	.83	.43
F1	Within Groups	130.97	221	.59		
	Total	131.96	223			
	Between Groups	1.03	2	.51	.96	.38
F2	Within Groups	118.08	221	.53		
	Total	119.16	223			
	Between Groups	.93	2	.46	.85	.42
F3	Within Groups	121.60	221	.55		
	Total	122.54	223			
	Between Groups	 1.41	2	.70	1.37	.25
F4	Within Groups	113.43	221	.51		
	Total	114.84	223			
	Between Groups	4.54	2	2.27	2.75	.06
F5	Within Groups	182.07	221	.82		
	Total	186.62	223			

Table 8. One-way ANOVA for the Dependent Capitals on Experience Levels

As could be seen in Table 8, there was no significant difference between the participants with different levels of experience as to any of the five categories. In other words, work experience does not significantly relate to the perception of the level of received capitals of practicing Iranian translators.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The main purpose of this study concerned the differences in the expected and received capitals of prospective and practicing Iranian translators. The results indicated that the level of perception of the received capitals are significantly lower than the level of expectation of capitals to achieve by the Iranian translators. In other words, translators do not achieve any capital as much as they hope and their expectations are not met. The stark contrast between highest expectation of achieving Income and Social Status, while being the least realized of the five types of capital is intriguing. The low status of translators has been shown in a number of other empirical studies. In a somewhat similar research, Choi and Lim (2002) discuss the status of translators and interpreters in South Korea and argue that Korean translators are less honored than interpreters reflected in their lower income. Hermans and Lambert (1998) draw on an empirical study involving the translation market in Belgium and state that the position of translators is peripheral and even when they work in a company, they are considered as lowerlevel employees. Also, Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) studied the status of a group of Danish company translators and found that despite the participants' high practicing profile, their practicing status is lower than expected. Regarding the discrepancy between the expected and received capitals of Iranian translators, it is worth noting that this discrepancy between the expectations of newcomers and the realities of the field is not limited to the translation profession. Marso and Pigge (1987) worked on the expectations of beginning teachers and the realities of the field and found that the prior-to-employment expectations of beginning teachers are significantly higher than on-the-job realities. In another study by Rindfuss, Cooksey and Sutterlin (1999), the researchers found that regardless of age differences, the occupational expectations of more than half of the men and women are not met at work.

The findings of this study indicated that male practicing translators receive more capitals than female translators. This finding is in contrast with Liu (2013) who found no significant relationship between the gender of translators and their received capitals. Further research on the relationship between gender and receiving capitals can confirm if it is a cultural and context-specific phenomenon. The difference between male and female practicing translators in the current study was significant in improvement opportunities, feedback reception, and independence. According to Rau (2007), individuals who have less learning opportunities at work, experience a lower degree of independence. Hence, it can be concluded that more learning opportunities may result in higher degrees of independence, which seems to be backed in the current study. Moreover, feedback reception is considered as an aspect of learning opportunity which helps the individual compare their goals with what they have actually received (Hacker 2002). In other words, the less feedback a translator receives, the less learning opportunity they enjoy, and the less independent they experience at work.

The expected economic capital of male and female prospective translators was equal; a result which is in line with Sallop and Kirby (2007) who found no significant difference in the salary expectations of male and female graduating business students. However, female participants put higher emphasis on improvement opportunities, feedback reception, and fulfilling the expectations of clients and end-users, factors which fall under the categories of

cultural and social capitals advocated by Bourdieu (1986). This finding is consistent with the results of Murrell, Frieze, and Frost (1991) who claimed that instead of prioritizing economic issues, women tend to pay higher attention to their interest in the job and its social and cultural aspects including the opportunity to work with new people and cultural match between their objectives and those of the profession they are about to enter. Also, Marini and Brinton (1984) state that the occupational expectations of young boys mostly revolve around status and monetary issues, while young girls are mostly concerned with personal satisfaction and emotional issues. Regarding the fifth category, male participants put higher emphasis on independence at work. This finding is in line with Tannen (2001) who claims that men often seek independence more than women do. Also, Cross and Madson (1997) argue that as opposed to women, men are in a never-ending quest for independence.

Overall, by considering the limitations of the current study such as a fairly small and nonprobability sample, the results seem to indicate that the degree of capitals expected by prospective Iranian translators is significantly higher than the received capitals of practicing Iranian translators. Namely, most probably the expectations of prospective translators would not be met in real-world translation profession. In this regard, unless appropriate measures are taken and better fitting conditions occur for improving the economic, cultural, social, and symbolic situation of the translation profession, a sustainable prospect for the profession can be hardly envisioned which can directly translate into the exit or never-entrance of talented intercultural mediators from the Iranian field of translation. More specifically, the income and social status of translators which is the main concern of prospective translators should be improved through specific laws and regulations such as by reasonably regulating payment for translation services and prevention of unqualified individuals from entering the professional translation market, thus raising the economic and social status of the profession. In connection with improvement opportunities, in-service trainings and useful material related to the practice of translation should be provided for translators by relevant institutions and organizations. Regarding the independence sought, translators should be given the right to accept and reject translation projects based on their time schedule, interests, risk study, and others.

As for suggestion for further research, longitudinal observational studies are recommend to determine to what extent the findings of this study can be corroborated. Other future studies on this topic may focus on cross-cultural comparison of the expectations of prospective translators and the realities of the field in other cultures and locales. Also, qualitative research may be conducted in the form of interviews with professional translators, publishers, and other agents in the translation field to seek solutions and strategies for the improvement of the overall situation of translators in the Iranian context and worldwide.

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Authors

Mohsen Kafi Graduate Student of Translation Studies Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran

Email: <u>kafi_mohsen@yahoo.com</u>

Masood Khoshsaligheh Assistant Professor of Translation Studies Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran

Email: khoshsaligheh@um.ac.ir

Mohammad Reza Hashemi
Associate Professor of Translation Studies
Department of English Language and Literature,
Faculty of Letters and Humanities,
Ferdowsi University of Mashhad,
Iran

Email: hashemi@um.ac.ir

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