

## **Why do many translators resist post-editing? A sociological analysis using Bourdieu's concepts**

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### **ABSTRACT**

More and more language service providers (LSPs) are now using a post-edited machine translation (PEMT) production model in addition to, or instead of, the traditional Translation-Editing-Proofreading (TEP) model, in order to cope with the growing demand for translation. As a result, translators are increasingly expected to work as post-editors in the PEMT process, but the reluctance of translators or resistance to this expectation is evident as they feel their professional skills and identities are sidelined by technology (Kelly 2014; Cadwell *et al.* 2017). This article attempts to provide a theoretical description of the translators' resistance to post-editing work using Bourdieu's concepts: capital, field and habitus. Bourdieu's sociological framework allows us to examine the positions of translators and post-editors in the field of translation and its mechanism of emotional impacts. For this purpose, I draw on qualitative and quantitative data collected in a focus group study with 16 UK translation project managers, a survey of 155 company websites and two training manuals for post-editors. The study will provide industry stakeholders, as well as translation educators, useful conceptualisation tools to understand the current situation surrounding social agency of translators and post-editors.

### **KEYWORDS**

Bourdieu, sociology of translation, translation technology, MT, post-editing, translation pedagogy.

## **1. Introduction**

An increasing amount of translation is now being produced by the process of post-edited machine translation (PEMT) alongside, or instead of, the traditional TEP (Translation-Editing-Proofreading) process. It is now generally accepted that translation is a human-machine interactional activity (O'Brien 2012; Alonso and Calvo 2015): all translators use technology in their translating process in one way or another. What is at issue, however, is the attitudes of some Language Service Providers (LSPs), normally large, technology-savvy ones, which are keen to limit the translators' role to post-editing of machine translation outputs. This shift of expectation concerning translators' responsibility has been met with a strong sense of fear, worry, discomfort and resistance by, if not all, many translators (Kelly 2014; Cadwell *et al.* 2017). Although the productivity of PEMT has been widely studied (Koponen 2016 provides a good overview) and some statistics are available about the extent of MT use in the industry (e.g. ELIA *et al.* 2017; Gaspari *et al.* 2015), studies on human aspects of MT use are still scarce (Kenny 2017: 6) and they tend to focus on translators' psychological states (e.g. Cadwell *et al.* 2016).

This article aims to answer the question: "Why do many translators resist post-editing?" from a sociological view point. It looks at post-editors as a new category of workers in the social system of translation whose position

in the system is yet to be determined. The aim is to illustrate the mechanism of the position taking of post-editors in the system and how that relates to the translators' resistance to post-editing.

The theoretical concepts used here are those of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, namely, field, capital and habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Conceptualisation of the social constructs of post-editors involved in the practice of PEMT, as well as those of translators in TEP, will provide tools for the current study, and, as we will see below, Bourdieu's concepts are effective for these purposes. I will particularly use the concept of capital to identify how the important human agents (i.e. post-editor and translators) in the translation practice are conceptualised by industry stakeholders (LSPs, project managers and clients), and as a result, how that is forming the field of translation and affecting the habitus of translators/post-editors. The current study aims to propose an effective theoretical method of approaching the social issues of PEMT. The outcomes will provide pointers for industry stakeholders (including translators and post-editors) as to how best to embrace and cope with the current technological developments in translation. More specifically, the outcomes will inform career planning for people who want to enter the language service industry either as a translator or a post-editor, translators who are already working in the industry and are receiving growing requests to work as post-editors, recruitment strategies of language service providers, and the syllabus designs of Translation Studies courses at universities.

## **2. Bourdieu's key concepts**

Bourdieu's programme of sociology is known for his triad of capital, field and habitus. His programme (often called 'field theory') was developed to demonstrate the mechanisms through which a class of people (such as people belonging to a social class or a profession) occupy social spaces (the spaces where interactions and transactions of the stakes of the members belonging to the spaces occur). Capital is a resource that social agents invest in and exchange to locate themselves in the social spaces and hierarchies. In addition to economic capital (as the word 'capital' generally denotes in the everyday language), social agents possess other forms of capital, i.e. cultural capital (this includes upbringing and educational background), social capital (e.g. personal connections with persons of certain social standings) and symbolic capital (which confers legitimacy and prestige to the person in the form of, for example, professional titles) (Moor 2008). The social space in which they fight against other social agents for a desired position is called a field. The term 'field' comes from the original French term 'le champ', which is associated with a battle field as well as a playing field on which, for instance, a football match is played. This is different from the idyllic image of a meadow which the word 'field' may conjure up for English speakers (the French word for which is 'le pré'). Therefore, 'field' in the Bourdieusian framework should be understood as a place of competition and struggle (Thomson 2008: 66). Each field involves

its own 'game', played according to its own rules, which defines the stakes of the struggle as well as what counts as capital. A person's perceptions, appreciations and practice are governed by their habitus (Maton 2008: 50). Habitus is a system of dispositions structured through the person's past and present circumstances such as family history and education. Habitus is also closely related to capital as habitus is a form of expression of the composition of different forms of capital the person possesses in the field (Moor 2008: 102-103). Therefore, the three concepts are closely related in everyday lives, in that people's practice is governed by the logic produced by the formula [(habitus)(capital)]+field = practice (Bourdieu 1984: 101). This means that the ability to manoeuvre within a specific field is influenced by the person's habitus and capital. As such, deliberation of capital and field is crucial to the discussion of habitus and this is how I conduct my analysis in Section 5.

### 3. Bourdieu in Translation Studies

Translation Studies has adopted Bourdieu's concepts since the social turn in the 1990s, mainly within the studies of literary translation. The concept of habitus was first introduced to Translation Studies by Simeoni (1998) as an antidote to the prominence of norm theory in translation. Simeoni criticised norm theory, as it unfairly portrays translators as inherently subservient, and proposed the adoption of the concept of habitus as an influential factor in translators' decision-making about norms of translation. This approach was later adopted by other scholars, mainly for examining the habitus of translators as an influential factor in their translational decisions in literary translation (e.g. Gouanvic 2005; Hanna 2005; Sela-Sheffy 2005).

This epistemological shift was logical as a way of recognising translators as empowered social agents, but its application has been criticised. One such criticism focuses on the use of the concept of habitus in studying a single or a small number of translators. Bourdieu's concepts were originally developed to observe the conflicts and negotiations between groups of people, not the behaviour of a small number of individuals. Tyulenev (2010: 167) rightly states that in some studies "the term 'habitus' sounds rather like a sophisticated replacement for the pedestrian 'biography'" as they use the concept to portray translation as a translator's activity influenced by society or their upbringing, rather than using habitus to describe the social mechanism of translation. Indeed, it is possible to describe the influence of personal dispositions and educational background without using the term 'habitus', as, for instance, Yanabu (2010) did in his study of Japan's 19th-century educator Yukichi Fukuzawa's translation of the American Declaration. Excessive preoccupation with habitus over the directive role of capital is also problematic, not only in Translation Studies but also in Sociology (Burke 2016: 10). Using the concept like "intellectual hairspray" (Reay 2004: 432 citing Hey 2003) gives it unjustified emphasis without

doing theoretical work (Reay 2004: 432) and spoils the explanatory power of Bourdieu's theory.

In light of these criticisms, I will attempt to analyse the social mechanism of translation and post-editing in terms of position taking by the two groups of workers (post-editors and translators) in the field of translation. Here, I should emphasise that I use the concept of 'field' instead of the notion of 'profession' as the site of observation. Bourdieu rejects 'professions' as objects of studies because the notion of profession is:

"too real" to be true, since it grasps at once a mental category and a social category, socially produced only by superseding or obliterating all kinds of economic, social, and ethnic differences and contradictions which make the "profession" ... a space of competition and struggle (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 243).

The concept of field is more useful here because it enables the researcher to explain the world of translation as a heterogeneous site, in which different classes of agents struggle to take favourable positions, rather than a professional entity, which is already bound by common social associations and interpretations, including the researcher's (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 242). As such, the observation of the field and capital surrounding post-editors will free me from preconceptions of what social constructs the occupation of post-editors consists, or should consist.

#### **4. Methods**

The current study uses translation stakeholders' discourse (both verbal and in text) as a representation of their aspirations and judgements and analyses what forms of capital are used in that representation. To do this, it draws on three sets of data:

Dataset 1: Data collected in a focus group study with 16 translation project managers conducted in June 2016. The study was originally conducted to collect project managers' comprehensive views on technology use in translation covering topics such as CAT tools, crowdsourcing business model and digital communication tools (for details of methods and outcomes, see Sakamoto *et al.* 2017). Only relevant data from the study is selected for the current research, which is the data offered in the discussions about machine translation use by their translators. The participants were employees of 15 UK translation companies. The size of the companies ranged between one (in effect a freelance translator who deems oneself as their own project manager; there were two participants who belonged to this category) to 150. The average size of the companies was 25. In the online questionnaire administered at the time of participant recruitment, only one participant said their company offered a PEMT service as part of their service portfolio, eight said their companies did not offer a PEMT service, and seven did not answer the question.

Dataset 2: Information collected from LSPs' websites. The websites of two groups of companies (Groups A and B) were surveyed to build this dataset. Group A: 155 companies which were members of the Association of Translation Companies (ATC: UK's translation industry association) as of 11 November 2017. This group was chosen as a sample of established and active LSPs in the UK at the time of the study. The websites were accessed between 11 November and 16 December 2017 using the website addresses available on the ATC's website. After excluding websites which were either not accessible, under construction, or not in English (the researcher's working language) data from 147 companies were valid for use in this study.

Group B: Twenty companies listed as the top 20 LSPs in the UK in 2016 in terms of turnover (Dranch 2016: 6). One of them was defunct at the time of the survey, so the websites of 19 companies were examined. Group B was added in order to add more relevant information to the study with an assumption that larger companies are more active in adopting new technologies (and this was the case as explained below).

Eleven companies in Group B also belonged to Group A, making the total number of websites to survey 155.

Texts on the websites were surveyed using the search command "site:" in the *Google* search engine, picking up webpages which included terms such as 'post-editing', 'post-edited', 'machine' and 'MT'. Those pages were scrutinised and the sections of the texts in which post-editors, post-edited machine translation (PEMT), machine translation (MT) or any other related topics were stated were collected.

Dataset 3: Post-editors' training manuals provided by two LSPs belonging to Group A (and one of them also belonged to Group B) which were available online.

In this article no companies will be identified by their names to avoid reputational risks which may arise to the companies.

## **5. Forms of capital endowed to translators and post-editors**

Using the three datasets, this section aims to identify the forms of capital endowed to experienced translators and post-editors in the field of translation by examining the accounts of LSPs' project managers (Section 5.1), LSPs' official websites (Section 5.2) and post-editing training manuals (Section 5.3).

### **5.1. Project managers' views from focus group study**

In dataset 1, the project managers conceded the move to PEMT in the industry was inevitable. The overall attitudes of the project managers to

PEMT were, however, predominantly negative. Some explicitly said they would never offer PEMT service to their clients and others, though they did not deny the possibility of moving to the service, showed a cautious stance. Only one participant showed a positive attitude, saying PEMT is the way forward in the industry. The largest reason behind this cautiousness was their concerns about the reactions of translators when they are asked to take on post-editing work. Project managers were worried that their freelance translators would not be happy about doing post-editing work for two reasons. One is that post-editing is “boring” (as often perceived in the literature as “linguistic janitorial work” (Kelly 2014) which is “boring and demeaning” (Moorkens and O’Brien 2017:109). The other is that post-editing work brings less remuneration than traditional human translation. Project managers said their clients are becoming technology savvy and are increasingly asking for PEMT services for higher productivity and lower fees. As a result, project managers feel it inevitable that the cost-saving effort will have to be passed on to translators who do the post-editing work. For those two reasons, project managers are worried that, if PEMT becomes the central work for translators, skilled translators may stop working for them or may even leave the industry for other professions.

That said, project managers do not think translators should accept their fate and resign themselves to transforming into post-editors. Instead, they believe translators “need to retain their original skillset in order to be able to work with different jobs” and this original skillset is what a “normal translator” should maintain. One project manager summarised the definition of a “normal translator” as:

someone who has a linguistic and domain capability, may or may not use translation tools, has at least five years of experience, and they are paid to complete a document from beginning to the end to a high level.

Although this participant used the term “normal” with a hint of sarcasm as if project managers now have to work with “abnormal” people, this concept of properties of highly-skilled translators was shared with other participants. In the Bourdieusian framework, these properties of a “normal translator” can be deemed to be forms of capital, more specifically, cultural capital as they are knowledge- and skill-based, learned through study and experience over time. Such capital can then be translated into symbolic capital.

Bourdieu postulates that cultural capital can be in three different states: embodied, objectified or institutionalised. Objectified capital takes a form of an object such as artefact, and institutionalised capital would take a form such as qualification. But the cultural capital the project managers recognise in their translators is in the embodied state, such as their knowledge and skills. The disadvantage of embodied capital is that, since it is incorporated in the person’s disposition, it is not transferrable to other people. It also takes time for the person to acquire embodied capital. This

is why embodied capital has a high level of symbolic value, but at the same time, because knowledge is available for anybody to share, it is difficult to enjoy regulatory protection.

As explained above, project managers' accounts also showed their perceptions about post-editing work, i.e. boring and low-paid. These properties are not typical characteristics of cultural capital. Therefore, it can be said that project managers grant quite opposite kinds of capital to post-editors and to translators. In order to extend this examination of post-editors' capital, we now turn to dataset 2.

## **5.2. LSPs' views displayed in their websites**

Out of the 155 LSPs surveyed, the number of companies which stated on their websites that they offer PEMT services (under menu items such as 'Services' or 'What we do') was 20 out of the 147 companies (14% of the total) in Group A and 8 out of 19 (42%) in Group B. These totals include cases in which the service had a name other than PEMT (such as 'Draft Quality Translation') but where the description in the website confirmed that the service was equivalent to PEMT. In addition, 14 companies from Group A and 4 from Group B stated or implied in different parts of their websites (i.e. in areas other than designated service description pages) that they offer PEMT services. For example, a company stated in a blog post that they offer a webinar for would-be post-editors, and two companies stated in their recruitment pages that they are recruiting post-editors. Including these companies, 34 companies (23%) in Group A and 12 companies (63%) in Group B could be understood to offer PEMT services. Across the two groups, 37 out of 155 companies (24%) are thought to be offering PEMT services based on the information on their websites.

The websites of these 37 companies are the target of examination here, but it is also worthwhile to point out that, beside these 37 companies, 39 companies provided some sort of negative comments about machine translation in their websites. They included remarks such as "While some translation services rely on machine translations, we only work with native professional translators with a minimum of five years' experience in their field" or "All translations are carried out by humans ensuring an accurate, reliable and high quality translation." Though these are the companies that do not offer PEMT services and those remarks are about machine translation, not PEMT, it is interesting that, while some companies are offering PEMT services, about the same number of companies emphasise the shortfalls of machine translation and importance of human translators on their websites. This shows that polarised approaches to MT exist in the industry.

Among the 37 websites identified as offering PEMT services, I first examined who the companies say do the job of post-editing. Eighteen companies stated either 'translators' or 'linguists' do their post-editing work (and 8 of

them used other terms described below as well). Here, 'a linguist' is considered to be a synonym of 'a translator' as the word is commonly used to mean a translator in the localisation industry. Looking at the remaining 19 companies, 10 companies did not mention the job title of the people who do the post-editing work, and 9 companies used other terms such as 'post-editor', 'editor', 'proofreader', 'reviewer' or rather vaguely 'our specialist team', 'language experts' or 'localisation experts'.

The fact that ten companies did not state on their websites who undertake their post-editing work may be significant because it may indicate that these companies do not have a clear policy of who to hire to do the work. However, just as in Bourdieu's claim already cited above, a concept of profession (here, a job title such as translator, post-editor or proofreader) is already bound by common social associations and interpretations and does not necessarily reflect the true perceptions the stakeholders have about the actual job. Therefore, more detailed analysis was necessary.

For this purpose, descriptions of skills required for the people who do the post-editing job (whatever job titles they are given) were examined as these descriptions suggest the forms of capital the companies recognise in workers they deem suitable for post-editing work. Nine websites out of the 37 provided statements about required skills. For example, one website said in a blog post that "Machine translation output will require post-editing by human translators familiar with working with this technology." In this case, the attribute of 'technological skill' was noted as a required skill for a post-editor. Apart from the skills of 'translators' and 'linguists', the skills mentioned as requirements for post-editors were (in the order of frequency of appearance, selecting those mentioned by more than one company): training (4 companies), bilingual skills (4), specialist subject knowledge (4) and technological skills (2).

Specialist subject knowledge and bilingual skills were the skills that appeared most often in the analysis. While some research tries to define post-editors' required skills in a one-or-the-other approach, i.e. monolingual subject experts may be more suitable for post-editing work than bilingual non-subject experts (Temizöz 2016), both of those qualities seem to be valued by LSPs offering PEMT services. In addition, the websites emphasise the importance of specific training for post-editors, saying, for example, that their post-editors are "specifically trained for post-editing machine translation content". One company particularly said it is "committed to continuously training [their] present and would-be linguists" by "construct[ing] an e-learning course that will assist many linguists to become successful post-editors". LSPs therefore acknowledge that post-editing skills involve something distinctively different from "traditional" translating skills and we can understand these skills as certain forms of capital the LSPs are keen to endow their post-editors with through training. The contents of post-editor training manuals are examined next in order to shed more light on these desired forms of capital.



### **5.3. What training manuals say**

It is understood that post-editing guidelines vary between different companies and institutions (Hu and Cadwell 2016). The sample is limited here. My aim is to identify some indication of typical capital that LSPs recognise in post-editors.

While pointing out that “MT does not replace the need for human translation and human translators”, the training materials emphasise that post-editing is a very different task from translating, where “experience is the single most important factor” and “undertaking some training to help you become more efficient post-editors” is recommended. This emphasis on the need for training and experience can be interpreted as the keen efforts of the LSPs to endow new kinds of capital to the people who are willing to become post-editors.

Notably, the importance of time efficiency and resultant cost saving are stressed in the training materials (“The post-editing speed is linked to the price charged for MTPE [machine translation post-editing]”), which links to the necessity of limitation of activities undertaken by post-editors. This limitation of activities relates to three stages of post-editing: assessment of the usability of MT output, the actual editing of the outputs and checking the quality of edited segments. For the first stage, they recommend post-editors to “[r]ead the source segment first and then the MT output” (note the prescription of even eye movement) to “see what exactly needs to be fixed” (requirement of setting a limit of activity right at the beginning of an editing process). To do this, one LSP says post-editors should “not rush ahead without taking time” but the other suggests spending “up to 2 seconds looking at an MT segment”. For the second stage, the manuals insist that post-editors “[f]ocus on accuracy, without under-editing or over-editing”. To achieve this, some examples of items to edit are provided (e.g. change the singular/plural forms of a noun to make it agree with the verb, but do not correct an uppercase/lowercase mistake). For the third stage, a quality assurance check (presumably using a CAT-tool function) is compulsory. According to one of the manuals, as a post-project measure the post-editor may be asked how much time was spent on the post-editing and give feedback on the quality of MT output. This is so that, if the final quality is poorer than expected, the LSP can “advise the client and discuss delivery times and rates again”.

It is notable that the high degree of prescriptiveness in the training manuals with a lot of dos and don'ts, akin, I would say, to a cognitive and intellectual straightjacket, is explicitly related to the need for time- and cost-saving. Given this high degree of prescriptiveness at a cost of creative freedom and autonomy, this group of LSPs can be understood to be attaching high values to the economic capital of post-editors, rather than their cultural capital. Here, the economic capital is measured in terms of the degree of

engagement with the cost-saving (thus profit-making) efforts of the companies. Post-editors with an ability to bring cost-saving to the companies' operations are recognised as possessing legitimate capital, namely, economic capital. This is in stark contrast to the project managers in dataset 1: they stressed the value of translators' cultural capital, which is generated through their intellectual activities (translation), which requires linguistic and subject-specific knowledge and experience.

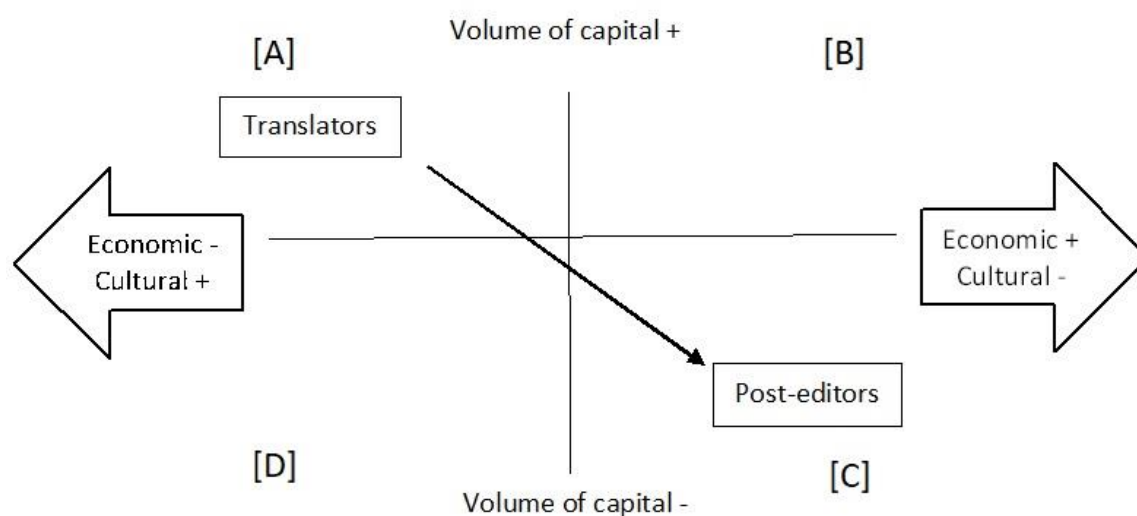
## 6. Translators' and post-editors' positions on Bourdieu's map

Using the outcomes above, this section presents the positions of translators (using data from section 5.1) and post-editors (sections 5.1-3) in the field of translation using a graphical representation following Bourdieu's well-known diagram in his seminal *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (1984: 128-129). In the diagram Bourdieu depicted 1960s French social classes based on data about people's tastes and life-styles, but he claims the structure and mechanism of capital and field demonstrated in his study can be transferred and adopted in other dissimilar areas of practice (1984: 170). The diagram is useful in our context to visualise the different forms of capitals endowed to translators and post-editors as analysed above.

The diagram's horizontal axis represents capital configuration (or asset structure) - the balance between cultural and economic capitals. Bourdieu holds that "the structure of the distribution of economic capital is symmetrical and opposite to that of cultural capital" (1984: 120), so a person whose cultural capital is highly valued has relatively lower-valued economic capital, and vice versa. And the vertical axis represents the total volume of capital possessed, which equates to power and status. Transformation of capital configuration influences the vertical position (Bourdieu 1984: 114-115).

Dataset 1 showed that project managers recognise high cultural capital in highly-skilled, experienced translators working in the traditional TEP production model. Therefore, the weight of cultural capital is high with these translators in comparison to the weight of economic capital (hence placed near the left pole of the horizontal axis). In contrast, post-editors' capital composition is understood as high in economic capital and low in cultural capital, for the reasons explained in the previous section based on datasets 1 and 3: agents around post-editors, i.e. end clients who request a PEMT service and LSPs which are keen to train post-editors, highly value the cost-saving property of post-editing rather than the intellectual property of the work. Therefore, post-editors are placed near the right pole of the axis. The vertical axis shows the total volume of capital, i.e. power and status of the agents. In this study, this was determined by their remuneration. While this study has not dealt with remuneration in concrete figures, datasets 1 and 2 indicate the stakeholders' general views that PEMT is a less lucrative

job than traditional translation work. As a result, in Figure 1, translators are placed higher on the vertical axis than post-editors.



**Figure 1. The positions of translators and post-editors in the field of translation.**

(Note: In Figures 1 and 2 “Translators” and “Post-editors” refer to the roles, not to individuals, as the same individual can be both a translator and post-editor.)

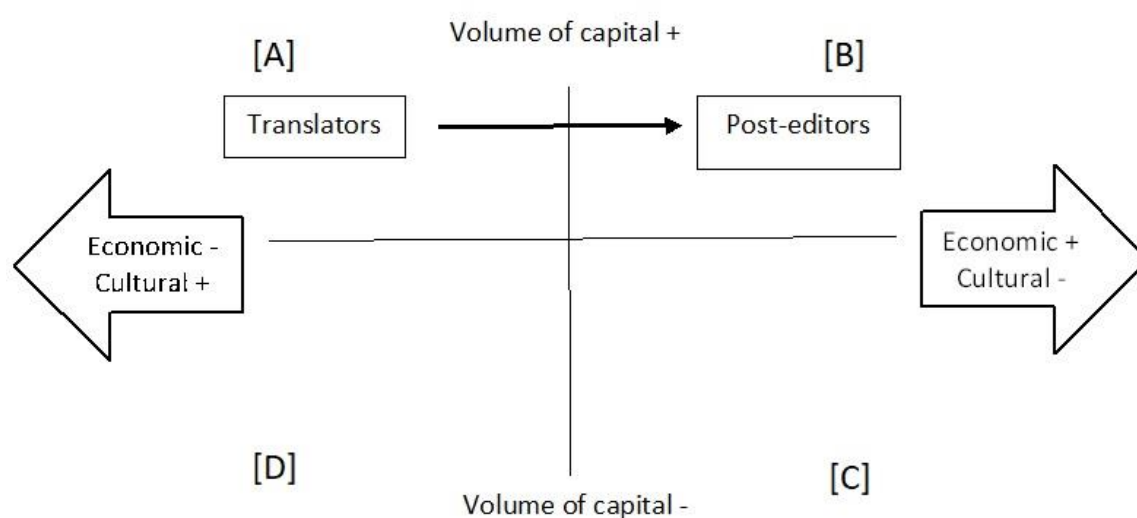
Bourdieu (1984: 114) maintains that there is a third dimension to this diagram, namely, change in the two properties (capital composition and total volume of capital) over time. With this change, social categories (a profession such as translator) evolve and move in the social space, subject to a decline or a rise, while the dispositions of the members of the category change with time too, sometimes getting younger or older, or poorer or richer (Bourdieu 1984: 101). The change is often caused by collective or individual events (Bourdieu 1984: 110), which, in our contexts, are the rise of MT technology and an introduction of the PEMT work model. This will force the agents who belong to the category to move to another position in the field, and the mechanism of the movement is determined by the structure of the social space, which affects levels of aspirations and expectations about possible movements, or what Bourdieu calls the “field of possibles” (1984: 110). In other words, while one may think that a movement within the field is purely to do with the individual agent’s will and determination, the likely trajectory of the movement for the whole group of agents is governed by the structure of the space and its relations to the agents’ capitals.

The consequence of such move is important here. Subsequent to a change of position in the field, the initial capital of the group of people will become mismatched with the new position in the field, causing what Bourdieu calls the ‘hysteresis effect’ or the ‘Don Quixote effect’ (1984: 109). The disjuncture between the capital possessed by the agent and its new position in the field causes unsettled, anxious and sometimes resentful feelings that operate below the level of consciousness.

I argue that this is what is happening to translators who are now increasingly expected to take on post-editing work. Traditionally, the strategy for translators to preserve a highly-regarded professional position in the field was to remain at the position [A] by maintaining the original capital (cultural capital and the resultant symbolic capital). Admittedly, this is not easy because, as I mentioned in Section 5.1, this capital does not enjoy a regulatory protection: upkeep of the position is a struggle already. The pressure for translators to take on post-editing work is mounting. Engaging in post-editing work, however, entails a change of position in the field (as indicated by the arrow in Figure 1). This movement makes the capital they originally acquired in position [A] be ill-adapted in the new position [C], causing a hysteresis effect. Not only is the composition of the newly granted capital in [C] completely reversed from the original capital structure, the total volume of the capital also reduces. This will, as a result, lead to their feelings of resistance to post-editing.

The deliberation of total volume of capital needs some more attention, though. I stated earlier that the decision of the total volume of capital of post-editors in my diagram is not what my empirical data can support (surveying actual incomes of translators and post-editors is out of the scope of this study). Depending on the actual remuneration of post-editors, their position on the vertical axis will differ. In his discussion about economy of post-editing, Vashee (2013: 144) maintains a fair pay scheme is necessary to ensure a stable and motivated workforce, suggesting:

given the current negative impression of PEMT held by many (if not most) translators, it is advisable to err on the side of caution and adopt a generous scale for post-editing that pays more per hour than straight translation work.



**Figure 2. The positions of translators and post-editors based on Vashee's (2013) pay scale model.**

He also proposes a concrete pay scale model where a post-editor takes a higher remuneration than a traditional TEP translator per day. This kind of pro-post-editor view about pay structure is not compatible with the perceptions collected in my data, and whether this kind of pay scale model has been adopted in any corner of the industry is unknown to me, but if it does get adopted, the position of post-editors in the field will be different: this can now be illustrated as in Figure 2. In this case, a translator who becomes a post-editor moves in the field horizontally, which will cause a lesser level of the hysteresis effect. This means that the feelings of resistance by translators will be weaker.

Although hypothetical at this stage, Figure 2 presents at least a healthier (if not totally satisfactory) model of introduction of the PEMT production process for translators.

## 7. Conclusion

Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework the present study has described the social positions of post-editors and translators (the prime candidates to become future post-editors) in the field of translation. It has allowed us to understand the struggle of position-taking of these two different groups of stakeholders using the concept of capital and why the shift of workflow from the traditional TEP model to a new PEMT model is facing translators' resistance. Figures 1 illustrated this visually, and Figure 2 suggested a possible method of easing their resistance by arranging post-editors' pay scale in such a way to control the trajectory of their movement in the field of translation when they transform into post-editors.

Inevitably, the discussion will need further refinement in future. Post-editing is a relatively new kind of occupation in the language service industry and its position in the field of translation is still not cemented. In addition, there is a culture of silence among the practitioners when it comes to use of MT in the translation process (Sakamoto *et al.* 2017). Therefore, evidence for the current discussion is still limited and is in the state of flux. As more consensus is achieved across different stakeholders about PEMT's standard productivity, which is currently varied due to different levels of MT output quality, and the usability of PEMT in different translation scenarios, more evidence will become available to refine the current discussion.

However, I believe these outcomes can have some application value for various industry stakeholders even in the present state. They can inform the career planning of people who already work as translators in the language service industry, or the people who want to enter the industry either as a translator or a post-editor, or both. The outcomes can also be used for the planning of pay scale models and recruitment strategies of language service providers.

In concluding the article, I wish to add that the outcomes of the current research will also be useful for translation educators, and the concept of habitus (which I did not explore until this point of the discussion for the reason I stated in Section 3) is particularly helpful here. Change in the capital composition and the total volume of capital influences the habitus of the members belonging to the field. To summarise the complex concept of habitus crudely, the inner self (habitus) of the member is shaped by the outer social (field) via the mechanism of capital composition (Maton 2008: 49). Educational ethos and the syllabi of university translation courses are, probably unconsciously, decided according to the educators' desire as to what kind of capital they want to endow their students with, which will eventually shape the habitus of the students. The conceptual framework used in the current article will allow the educators to assess their syllabus in terms of the students' habitus. For example, in the module of translation technologies, what kind of habitus is the module aiming to develop in the students? Where in the diagram of the translation field does the educator wish to place their students when they leave the course to enter the industry? Kenny and Doherty (2014) present a clear view on this, though without using the concept of habitus, by maintaining that limiting the role of a translator to the post-editing stage of the PEMT production system causes the disempowerment of translators. In other words, they propose to design the translation technology module in such a way to produce students with a habitus which deserves empowerment in the industry. Habitus is a complex concept though. It is my hope that the framework presented in this article, by using the concepts of capital and field as operational apparatus, provides educators with an easy-to-access conceptual tool to help them design a syllabus which can nurture students with resilient, highly-motivated and autonomous habitus. In any social space, "understanding the rules of the game is a central component of successfully navigating the field" (Burke 2016: 17). Educators have a responsibility to equip students with the most fitting forms of capital and nurture the right habitus for them to become an empowered stakeholder in the field of translation, so that they can navigate the field confidently and successfully.

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