

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSLATOR IDENTITY: AN
INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHILEAN
TRANSLATION STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES AMID LOCAL AND
GLOBAL CRISES**

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Abstract

Research in translation psychology has shed light on some of the cognitive processes that underlie the translators' work, such as their personality traits or emotions. However, little has been written about the psychological processes that translation students experience during their training, particularly those concerning how, when and to what extent they perceive themselves as translators. This research examines how translation students develop their translator identity, encompassing their translation-related beliefs, self-perceptions and professional self-projections. Concretely, it examines the factors that are involved in its development: 1) the evolution of translation students' beliefs regarding translation, 2) the confidence they have in translation abilities or translator self-efficacy beliefs, 3) their commitment to becoming translators, and 4) the dynamics governing their student and translator identities. To do this, twelve participants from two Chilean undergraduate translator programmes engaged in five semi-structured interview rounds during the final two years of their studies. A total of fifty-four interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and examined using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which aims to describe the psychological processes underlying individual experiences.

The translation-related beliefs that emerged in the participants' narratives capture the conceptual development of translators' declarative and procedural knowledge of translation, and professional skills and attributes. Their translator self-efficacy beliefs develop mostly by means of successful controlled practice and grades but, as they advance in their programmes, they actively seek 'real' instances of practice to continue strengthening their confidence. The fluctuations in their commitment to their translator identity are described in four translator identity statuses, which change from participant to participant. Lastly, their student and translator identities progressively separate as they complete their programme.

These findings constitute an original contribution to the field of translation psychology by incorporating identity theory into translator studies to account for the students' personal stories as individuals. Moreover, the use of IPA to explore the experiences throughout their education from their first-person perspective gives the students a protagonist voice. These affordances provide additional research approaches by which translator education can be approached, examined and enriched.

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Dedication

I want to dedicate this work to my parents, Viviana and Néstor. This journey was only possible thanks to their everlasting teachings, endless love and continuous support throughout the years. I have been very fortunate to have them in my life and I hope this work does justice to all their effort and sacrifices.

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Introduction

What do translators do? How do they do it? These questions have been at the core of research in translation studies since the late 1950s (Hurtado Albir 2017). To explain what translators do, a series of models have attempted to describe translation competence, i.e. the set of skills and knowledge to translate that translators need (Hurtado Albir 2011). In addition, experimental neuroscientific research involving more recent methods, such as eye-tracking, key logging or magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), has provided detailed descriptions as to how the translation process cognitively occurs inside translators' minds (Carl, Bangalore, and Schaeffer 2016). However, when the question turns to the individuals, i.e. *who* translators are, literature becomes more limited. 'Translation psychology' emerged during the 1990s in distinction to the experimental research in the field and aimed to shift the focus from the translation process per se to the individuals who performed it (Jääskeläinen 2012). This move implied rethinking translation as a complex process involving human psychological factors that were succinctly addressed in the translation competence models. Research in this field has shed light on various aspects surrounding the human nature of translators, including the impact of their attitudes (Jääskeläinen 1999), personality traits (Wehrmeyer and Antunes 2020), tolerance to stress (Jääskeläinen 2000), and emotions (Hubscher-Davidson 2018) on the translation process.

However, all these studies have been carried out primarily with professional translators. Many questions still remain in translator education concerning how trainees become translators and, critically, *who* these individuals are. Questions like these are strongly connected to one of the most complex and widely discussed concepts in social psychology (Côté 2006): *identity*. Since individuals possess multiple identities that are social or personally-driven and enacted in different situations (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx 2011), translator trainees are not only translation students, but they also respond to a variety of identities that make them who they are: siblings, daughters, members of clubs, football fans, friends, etc. In this sense, the process by which they become fully professional translators results from a personal journey that leads to their identification with the profession at a particular point in their education and their lives.

This process of becoming professional translators varies from individual to individual as they experience their programmes from their own personal stories.

To account for this process, this study draws on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009), which explores the psychological processes that underlie individuals' experiences of the world. It is based on three philosophical principles: phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. Phenomenology focuses on how individuals interact with objects or situations in the world in situated experiences (S. Gallagher 2009; S. Gallagher and Zahavi 2012; Zahavi 2019). It enables the identification of the constant unchanging aspects associated with an experience, i.e. its essential constructs, to make generalisations as to how larger groups of people would experience a given situation. Hermeneutics is the process by which people provide meaning to that experience, mainly by contrasting it with who they have been in time (Ricoeur 1984). Idiography emphasises the importance of the particular in the understanding of the collective experience of a situation (Lundh 2015).

This study uses IPA to examine Chilean translation trainees' perceptions and self-perceptions as they experience their translation programmes and become professional translators. The systematic collection and analysis of their perceived experiences during such a process can elucidate how they conceptualise the translation occupation and where they stand in comparison to those constructs. In other words, this research explains how translation students develop their own *translator identity* using, essentially, two different approaches to identity theory: Berzonsky's (1990) and Burke and Stets's (2009).

Research context

Translation education at tertiary level is diverse and changes significantly across the world. The studies and proposals presented in Malmkjær (2004) and later in Sawyer, Austermühl and Enríquez Raído (2019) indicate that professional translators are usually trained at Master's or Bachelor's level. Several translation programmes in Europe tend to follow the first and have developed common policies, such as the European Master's in Translation competence framework (2017), which orientate the desired skills and professional abilities that translators graduating from these programmes should have or develop. A critical requisite of MA programmes is that candidates need to be proficient in at least two foreign languages (Torres-Simón and Pym 2019).

In Latin America, and particularly in Chile, translation is taught at BA level, which involves the concurrent development of language and translation competence

(Singer, Poblete, and Velozo 2021). Chilean translation programmes vary in length, curricula and focus, as summarised by Basaure and Contreras (2019). 'Technical' translation programmes, which would equate to an associate degree in the UK, last up to six semesters. 'Professional' programmes require a minimum of eight semesters of training, while the average BA (or *Licenciatura* in Spanish) involves between nine and twelve semesters. In their recent study, Basaure and Ahumada (2021) indicate that there are currently three technical programmes, one professional programme and twelve BA programmes.

This research focuses on translation education at BA level due to four key considerations. First, BA programmes stand out as the main formal means by which most translators are trained in Chile. Second, previous research concerning the development of translator identity in Chilean programmes (see Samaniego 2017; Singer, Rubio, and Rubio 2019; Singer, López, and Basaure 2020) has been conducted in BA programmes. Third, their length, usually five years on average, gives the researcher more opportunities to find curricular similarities which could constitute a common ground for the study. Fourth, the researcher had more access to BA programmes, which would allow him to obtain sufficient participants for this PhD study.

Consequently, this study focuses on two BA programmes from two Chilean universities, namely Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH) and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (PUCV). The curriculum of these programmes constitutes the contexts in which translation students embark on their journey of becoming translators. This research intends to use IPA to examine the situations and psychological processes that underlie the development of these students' translator identity as they experience their programmes.

Research design

The aim of this phenomenological qualitative research is to understand how students develop their translator identity as they advance in their translation training. In order to do this, this study analyses participants' narratives during the final two years of their translation programmes. For the purposes of this project, narratives are understood as significant experiential reported fragments of students' lives (Ewick and Silbey 2003). These narratives constitute the main datasets of this research and are obtained by interviewing twelve undergraduate participants from the two Chilean translation training programmes. These

participants are individually interviewed four to five times during the two-year span to follow their developmental journey as translation students.

The first interview, or anchor, aims to gather the initial perceptions students hold about themselves, translation and their own process of becoming a translator. The follow-up interviews, or assessment interviews, expand on the initial constructs they previously outlined in the anchor and also examine the incorporation of new ideas or beliefs. Finally, the exit interview deals with their final experiences and reflections at the conclusion of the two-year period, which should match the participants' successful completion of their programmes. The interviews are audio-recorded, transcribed and then analysed using the IPA methodology, which involves examining each interview for descriptive, linguistic or conceptual elements that may be salient enough to constitute an emerging theme. A cross-referencing process of the emerging themes generates the super-ordinate themes, i.e. the constructs that most participants regard as relevant or significant in their experiences during a particular semester. The super-ordinate themes are examined across all interview rounds to determine the essential constructs associated with the process of translator identity development.

The super-ordinate themes are analysed and explained employing two theoretical models that account for the development of one or multiple identities. In this study, both models, explained in detail in Chapter 1, present a verification system in which individuals compare their identity-related actions to what they hold as appropriate for an enacted identity. In other words, students compare what they are doing or they experience versus what they believe they should be doing or how the experience should have been. If these two elements are congruent, identity verification is achieved, which favours the consolidation of actions and constructs. When this does not occur, students modify their behaviour so that it matches their identity-related constructs. This process of identity verification results in additional outcomes that provide possible explanations as to how the super-ordinate themes engage in the process of the development of the participants' translator identity.

Research questions

The purpose of this study was initially to explore how and when translation trainees start 'feeling' like professional translators during their training and, critically, what the psychological factors involved in such a process were. These ideas guided the main research question of this thesis:

- How do students develop their translator identity during the last two years of their undergraduate programmes in Chile?

During the execution of this research, two significant crises occurred in the chosen settings. The first one was the Chilean social unrest, which started in mid-October 2019 (Ansaldi and Pardo-Vergara 2020). This crisis involved a series of demonstrations demanding better social rights, which also led to episodes of extreme violence throughout the country. These situations decreased as the first preventive measures for the COVID-19 pandemic were taken by the authorities. Therefore, due to the local and global crises that occurred while conducting this study, the main question has been adapted so that it reflects the contextual factors involved in the participants' experience of their translator education:

- How do Chilean translation students develop their translator identity amid local and global crises during the last two years of their programmes?

This general research question can be separated into four specific research questions (RQs). It is important to note that this section presents a general description of theoretical concepts in the wording of the RQs to facilitate the understanding of these technicalities.

First, it is necessary to define what translator identity is and how it is developed during students' training. This means understanding how students conceptualise the professional translator, skills and knowledge required and, vitally, how they position themselves in comparison to those conceptualisations. Thus, RQ1 aims to explore the elements that comprise students' translator *identity standard (IS)*, i.e. the set of beliefs, goals and values that constitute the core of their translator identity:

1. What are the constructs that constitute participants' translator *identity standard (IS)* and how do they develop during the final two years of their translation undergraduate programme?

This study intends to address this question by systematically tracking the changes in the essential constructs that configure students' translator IS. This is done in three stages: first, the anchor interview is carried out to outline the beliefs that students associate with their translator identity. Second, the assessment and exit interviews examine these perceptions and additional ones during the two-year period. Third, participants' translator IS can be described in terms of the

generalisations made from their individual developmental accounts at specific times and particularly at the conclusion of the study.

Second, this study also examines the extent to which the students are confident in their abilities to translate, which Haro-Soler (2017, 2018a, 2018b) calls *self-efficacy beliefs*. These differ from the concept of self-esteem, which relates to a more overall general self-perception that encompasses other identities. This research analyses the development of participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs during their studies and how these impact the construction of their translator identity:

2. What role do participants' *translator self-efficacy beliefs* play in their translator identity development?

This study aims to examine the participants' narratives in order to identify the critical experiences that strengthen or hinder their translator self-efficacy beliefs. In other words, it intends to find the key instances in the participants' education that contribute to their translator confidence and how these experiences ultimately engage in the process of developing their translator identity.

Third, the study intends to explore the issue of how much trainees want to become the translators that they envisage in their translator IS. In other words, it examines translation students' commitment to their translator identity. Marcia (1966) suggests that the level of commitment to an identity in different situations can be outlined by means of four *identity statuses* that describe how committed to an identity individuals are and the influence social external factors have on such commitment. This study discusses how students' commitment develops and fluctuates over time by identifying the experiences that promote or undermine their level of commitment to their translator identity:

3. How do participants' experiences foster or hinder the consolidation of their translator *identity statuses*?

Participants' translator identity statuses can be distinguished by analysing their narratives to find indicators of students' level of commitment that match Marcia's (1966) definitions of the different identity statuses. These statuses can be determined for every interview round, which provides a longitudinal overview of the development of commitment. This research documents how the situations

experienced in the programme can influence participants' translator identity statuses in the context of translator education.

Fourth, this study intends to shed light on the student-translator transition, i.e. the process whereby trainees begin their programme 'feeling' like students and conclude them either identifying themselves as translators or not. In other words, it explores the possible interaction dynamics between the participants' student and translator identities during their final two years of their undergraduate studies:

4. How do participants' *student identity* and *translator identity* interact with each other during the final years of their undergraduate training?

The potential interaction between these two identities is crucial to the understanding of the development of translator identity during participants' undergraduate studies. This study examines how participants conceive themselves as students and translators as they progress in their programmes. It also identifies the critical experiences that generate changes in the engagement, enactment and prominence between these two identities.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 deals with the conceptual framework of the thesis. First, it introduces the notion of translator identity. The chapter then presents identity theory and the relevant theoretical ground for this work, i.e. self-theory (Berzonsky 1990) and identity control theory (Burke and Stets 2009). These theories are used to conceive a model that describes how translator identity and its associated constructs can be verified and developed. The chapter then contextualises the concept of occupational identity (Skorikov and Vondracek 2011) in translator education and examines the notions of self-efficacy beliefs (Haro-Soler 2018a; 2020). These elements inform the design of a holistic, multiple-level model to understand the development of translator identity in the context of undergraduate translator education.

Chapter 2 discusses the methodological dimensions of this work. It begins by presenting the philosophical areas of knowledge that inform the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009): phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. It then describes the contexts where this qualitative longitudinal study takes place, i.e. the translation studies programmes at Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH) and Pontificia

Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (PUCV). The chapter later explores the curricular similarities and differences between them to determine a common ground to conduct this research. It also describes the participants of the study and the design of the three types of semi-structured interviews: anchor, assessment and exit. The chapter concludes by explaining the process in which IPA is used throughout the study and with an overview of the data collected from the participants' narratives.

Chapter 3 presents the interpretation of the narratives of the anchor interview. It is separated into three main sections. The first one explores participants' pre-university academic performance, i.e. their grades at secondary school and university entry exams scores. The second section details participants' academic results in their first three years of undergraduate studies. The third section discusses the super-ordinate themes emerging from participants' narratives in terms of self-perception, student identity and translator identity.

Chapter 4 explores the evolution of the previous super-ordinate themes in the narratives conducted in two of the assessment interviews. These capture the participants' experiences dealing with the social unrest in 2019. It first analyses changes in terms of the structure of the IS, particularly in terms of the translators' declarative and procedural knowledge of translation and their professional skills and attributes. It then discusses the influence of what students refer to as 'personality traits' and 'practice' in the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs. This is followed by the examination of the factors engaging in the process of commitment to translator identity. The chapter later analyses the super-ordinate themes associated with practice, group dynamics and grades to theorise about the apparent relationship between the student and translator identities.

Chapter 5 discusses the participants' positioning concerning their translator-related beliefs at the conclusion of this study in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. It expands on the previous conceptualisations of the professional translator and their flexibility. It then discusses the impact of the professional internship on the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs. This is followed by the analysis of the influence of the COVID-19 crisis and future job prospects on the students' translator identity statuses. Lastly, it examines their reconceptualisations of 'real' translation practice, group emotional support and the value of academic

performance. These inform the last part of the student-translator identity model that accounts for the dynamics between these two identities.

Chapter 6 revisits the RQs of the study with the findings emerging from participants' narratives. It first describes the evolution of constructs in the translator identity standard (IS) and proposes a model for its development. The chapter then analyses the sources of self-efficacy beliefs in the translator training process and the extent to which these have impacted the participants of this study. It also explains how commitment is developed as trainees become professional translators by proposing a cyclic dynamic model. Lastly, it analyses the interdependence between the translator and student identities throughout the period of time concerning this study and suggests a four-stage model that accounts for their engagement as the participants finish their studies.

The thesis concludes with a final section that summarises the findings of each of the RQs of the study and the relevance these have for the field of translator education. In addition, it acknowledges the limitations of the study and outlines potential ideas for further research.

Chapter 1 Translator identity development: processes and models

In recent years, 'translation psychology' (Bolaños-Medina 2016; Jääskeläinen 2012; Núñez and Bolaños-Medina 2018) has gained increasing attention as a subfield in translation studies. Research in this field includes the role of translators' attitudes in the translation process (Jääskeläinen 1999), the impact of translators' personality traits on their performance (Hubscher-Davidson 2009) and the role of emotions in translation (Hubscher-Davidson 2013, 2016, 2018). In the context of translation education, some studies have focused on translation students' perceptions about their motivations (Hubscher-Davidson 2007) and their confidence (Haro-Soler 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b), while others have documented learning and teaching experiences in the translation classroom (e.g. Alcalde 2014; Li, Zhang, and He 2015; Tsai 2020). However, literature on how trainees become translators is rather scarce and there are very few studies on its potential development to date (see Svahn 2016, 2020b). Consequently, this study aims to examine this under-researched topic within translation psychology by exploring the development of translator identity in undergraduate students during the last two years of their programme.

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate an integrative approach to identity in order to understand how translation students experience their programmes and the impact those experiences have on the development of their translator identity. Concretely, this study proposes two holistic models for identity development in the context of translator education: one that explains the processes whereby translator identity can be potentially developed and a second one that focuses on the concurrent enactment of the student and translator identities to examine their potential connections and interactions. These models constitute a critical input for the analysis of trainees' narratives of their experiences in the programme by which they manage to develop their translator identities.

As to the structure of this chapter, section 1.1 introduces the notion of identity and translator identity. It also integrates two perspectives on identity to develop the theoretical rationale for this study, namely self-theory (Berzonsky 1990) and identity control theory (Burke and Stets 2009). Section 1.2 proposes a model for translator identity development, whose procedural systematisation of identity stems from Burke and Stets (2009), with incorporated concepts from the works of Berzonsky (1990, 2011), S. Gallagher and Zahavi (2012) and Grotevant (1987).

Section 1.3 discusses potential interruptions to the translator-identity model. Section 1.4 presents a model for concurrent multiple identities with a focus on student and translator identities, which sheds light on how translator identity develops and the relationship between these two identities. Lastly, section 1.5 concludes by reviewing how these constructs can be used to address the RQs that drive this study.

1.1 Merging identity theory and translator education

This section introduces the concept of identity and how it originates. It then defines translation identity and the factors that appear to be involved in its development. Lastly, it identifies two approaches to identity theory, namely self-theory (Berzonsky 1990) and identity control theory (Burke 1980, 2004; Burke and Stets 2009), which are merged to generate a holistic framework that can help elucidate how translator identity develops by addressing the RQs of this study.

1.1.1 Defining identity: principles and origins

Identity is one of the most complex and analysed issues in social sciences (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Burke 2004; Côté 2006). Although the term 'identity' is widely used in popular culture, it is difficult to define. Recent empirical studies have explored the notion of identity in several areas of people's lives, such as ethnicity (Burke and Harrod 2021; Grindal, Kushida, and Nieri 2021), race (Kiecolt et al. 2021; Reichelmann and Hunt 2021), family (Stets and Lee 2021), religion (Brenner 2021) and friendship (Markowski 2021). A common aspect of all these studies is that identity is used to accompany other features, e.g. mother 'identity', ethnic 'identity', or friend 'identity'. It is only then that the concept is given a full definition. In other words, the notion of identity alone would seem to mark different dimensions that constitute the self.

For instance, consider the case of Amanda, a Chilean Christian in her late teens who is in the second year of her translation undergraduate programme. During her first semester, she has proved to be a responsible and dedicated student. This is something she is familiar with, as she stood out for her remarkable academic performance during her secondary education. Additionally, she is part of the university women's football team, which requires her to practise three times a week. As a young enthusiastic Christian teenager, she actively engages with her local church activities, and regularly goes out with her friends. She lives in San

Miguel, a middle-class residential area in Santiago, with her parents and sister. One day, she hopes to become a well-known translator and work in an international organisation such as the UN.

What makes Amanda who she is? Is it the fact that she is a teenager or a daughter? If so, how does either of these characteristics impact on her being part of the school football team? These questions illustrate two critical principles concerning identity. The first one is that individuals appear to hold multiple identities (Burke and Stets 2009; James 1890; Rattansi and Phoenix 2005; Serpe and Stryker 2011). According to Sedikides and Brewer (2001), these multiple identities can be classified into three possible levels: personal, role and social identities. *Personal identities* involve self-definition, including goals, beliefs and values, while *role identities* account for the identities held in relation to other people, e.g. teacher, son, spouse, co-worker, etc. *Social identities* encompass individuals' identification with groups and social categories of which they are part. In Amanda's example, her personal identities are reflected in that she is Chilean, Christian and a teenager, as well as in her goal of becoming a translator. The fact that she is also a daughter, a sister and a classmate accounts for her role identities, whereas being a member of her local church and part of the university football team reflect her social identities. These levels assume that identities can co-exist and co-occur as people experience their lives; for example, being an undergraduate student could be regarded as a role identity as well as a social identity. The second principle suggests that each of individuals' multiple identities is an agent that calls for a particular behaviour and, thus, the 'person becomes the link between the various agencies that exist within [that] person' (Burke and Stets 2009, 7). In other words, individuals determine which of the many identities they hold they enact. From such a perspective, Amanda not only responds to one sole identity to be who she is; she encompasses all the identities mentioned above. Considering these two principles, Vignoles, Schwartz and Luyckx (2011, 4) provide an integrative, operative definition of *identity*, understood as 'the confluence of the person's self-chosen or ascribed commitments, personal characteristics and beliefs about herself; roles and positions in relation to significant others; and her membership in social groups and categories'. The co-existence of these three identity levels are illustrated in Figure 1.1:

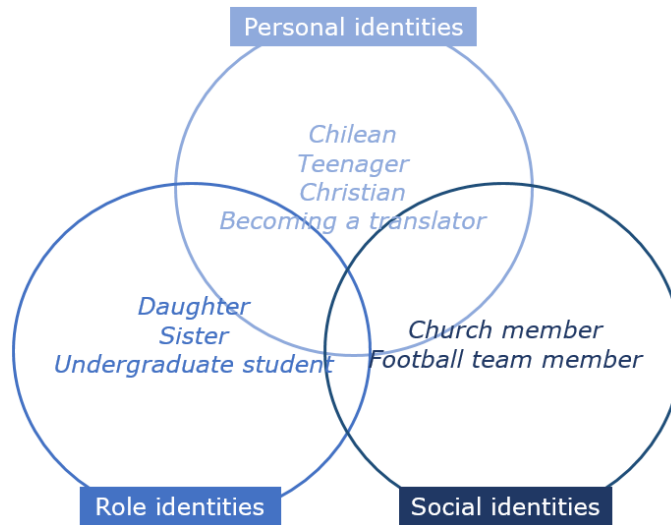


Figure 1.1 Amanda's identities adapted from Sedikides and Brewer (2001).

The question as to how Amanda came to develop, display and hold these identities has divided the identity theory literature (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx 2011). Waterman (1986) suggests that identities are discovered, i.e. that one's true potential exists before it is discovered by individuals, while others claim that such potential is constructed or built by people. Researchers that ascribe to the latter constructivist stance differ in the extent to which individuals are responsible for creating their identities. Some theorists, such as Berzonsky (1990), suggest that identity is the result of a *personal construction*, i.e. individuals play a vital role in the generation of their own identities. This position highlights the value of individuals' *agency*, understood as 'the aspect of the self that is ultimately responsible for the deliberate, planned, and intentional actions of the individual' (Baumeister and Vohs 2012, 181), in the process of identity construction. In this view, Amanda is the one creating her student identity, as she is aware that this will allow her to develop the skills to be a translator later on and, therefore, chooses to study hard to obtain satisfactory academic results, that is, she exercises her agency. On the other hand, researchers like Stryker (2002) take a *social construction* stance, which proposes that it is the social environment that provides the conditions from which identities can be developed by individuals through social interaction. In his view, identities emerge from the way people label their identities within the framework of society: Amanda is a student because of the Chilean society she is in. It is expected that teenagers attend school and do well enough to continue further studies at university. Thus, these social conventions allow her to develop an identity according to the established standards. She is not just any

student, but an example of an ideal student in the eyes of her society. Her peers recognise this in her, which in turn allows her to label herself as an outstanding Chilean undergraduate student.

In a conciliatory way, Vignoles, Schwartz and Luyckx (2011) suggest that both personal and social stances engage in identity construction: people do have agency in the configuration of their own identities, yet this process is embedded in a broader, particular social context that must be acknowledged. In Amanda's case, the translation programme constitutes the main social context from which she can acquire the knowledge and skills to work as a translator by exercising actions that can help her develop her translator identity. This integrative position presupposes that the concept of identity is sufficiently flexible to permit the coexistence of apparently different views on its development. Hence, it is possible to adapt, complement or take parts from different theories concerning the phenomenon of identity to create a model that holistically describes how translation students like Amanda develop their identities as translators during their undergraduate studies.

1.1.2 From occupational identity to translator identity

When asked what she wanted to be when she grew up, Amanda would always say she wanted to study something related to languages. During her secondary school years, she found out what translators did and wanted to become one. She searched for professional prospects, potential income and what translators said about the occupation. Although most information seemed to point out that it was not a very financially promising career, she did see it as something she could do the rest of her life and decided to study translation at university.

Amanda's story describes a critical point in the development of her occupational identity. *Occupational identity* refers to 'the conscious awareness of oneself as a worker' (Skorikov and Vondracek 2011, 693). According to the FAME Consortium (2007), it involves a lifelong process of development. Initial constructs concerning this identity can be tracked to individuals' childhood when they observe their family members' reactions to their work and learn what professions are socially praised and stigmatised (Danto 2003). By mid-childhood, children already have some notions as to which future occupation they would like to perform. For most people, occupational identity and vocation reach a critical point during their adolescence, where individuals are expected to decide which profession to choose (Erikson 1968; Flum and Blustein 2000; Lapan 2004). At that point, occupational identity acquires

a profession-specific label upon individuals' commitment to a profession, for instance, translation. Thus, in the context of this research, students' occupational identity morphs into their *translator identity* from the moment they commit to becoming professional translators. Although translator identity, in its broader sense, could also be enacted by bilingual individuals, this thesis focuses on its development in students who formally engage in translation education programmes.

In Amanda's case, during her first year in the programme, she was exposed to theories about translation and did some initial translation practice. She found translation fascinating and presented accurate translation proposals in her translation course units. She obtained high grades for her work, which has made her feel confident in her career choice. Since those first sessions, she has continuously engaged in class discussions and has tried to make the most out of her learning experience, hoping that one day she will become the translator she wants to be.

This brief account presupposes that Amanda's translator identity results from the emergence of a series of events within the translation programme and the exercise of her agency regarding these situations. Tan, Van der Molen, and Schmidt (2017) suggest five factors that are relevant in the development of Amanda's translator identity. The first three are 1) knowledge of the occupation, 2) having the professional as a model, and 3) experience with the occupation. These three factors are generally provided by the translation training programmes in which trainees develop their translation competence, understood as the declarative and procedural knowledge needed to translate (Hurtado Albir 2011). In other words, the undergraduate programme generates the social structure that grants students the opportunity to relate themselves to the practices and values of the occupation (Buyx, Maxwell, and Schöne-Seifert 2008) and develop their set of constructs and beliefs about translation.

The other two factors proposed by Tan, Van der Molen, and Schmidt (2017) are student-specific, namely 4) preference for the occupation and 5) professional self-efficacy beliefs. The first one refers to how they conceive the translation occupation and the extent to which they identify themselves with it, i.e. how much they want to become translators. Self-efficacy beliefs would relate to 'the confidence that [they have] in their abilities to translate' (Haro-Soler 2017b, 119). These two

factors involve the value trainees give to the different experiences within the programme and how these impact on their confidence as translators.

Therefore, Tan, Van der Molen, and Schmidt's (2017) first three factors configure a core set of beliefs that students hold about the translation profession while the other two result from a comparative exercise between this collection of translation-related constructs and their self-perceived performance. Consequently, translator identity at undergraduate level encompasses 1) the way in which translation students conceive the translation occupation, and 2) the extent to which they believe they have or are developing the necessary translation competence and skills to perform as effectively as they envisage (Singer 2021).

Based on these theoretical considerations, *translator identity* can be understood as the students' conceptualisations, self-perceptions and self-projections about the translation occupation. These three aspects are closely related to one another since the notions that trainees hold about translation and the profession are compared to their own performance, which then enables them to visualise themselves professionally in the future. Although there is no precedent of this approach to translator identity in the translation studies literature, it is vital to discuss how it dialogues with other similar concepts and discussions in the field.

1.1.3 'Translator identity' in the literature of translation studies

The notion of translator identity is strongly related to two theoretical concepts in the literature of translation studies. The first of these concepts is the *translator self-concept* (Kiraly 1995, 100), which encompasses four critical abilities that translators have: 1) understanding the purpose of the translation, 2) understanding the translation requirements, 3) assessing the translators' own skills and abilities to produce the translation, and 4) the ability to carry out and evaluate the translation. In other words, it refers to the translators' awareness of the translational situated process and the act of translating itself. In recent years, empirical studies have shed light on how professional translators' self-concept differs from those still in training at BA and MA levels (Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2013), how language directionality strengthens translator self-concept (Hunziker Heeb 2016), or how self-concept develops during translator education (Svahn 2016). The findings from these studies indicate that the translator self-concept is a complex evolving construct that is informed by practical experiences, which allows both students and professionals to reflect on the extent to which they

have become more capable, skilled and aware of the translation process and their professional practice.

Göpferich (2008) further adds that translator self-concept is also related to the translators' social responsibility and role, which Toury (1995) terms *translatorship*. This second critical concept emphasises the social dimension of translation, which presupposes that translators develop professional values and skills in order to perform their role. According to Meylaerts (2008), such a developmental process involves a dynamic dialogue in which trainees' personal stories engage with the collective history and norms of the translation occupation. This co-constructed set of translation-related values appears to develop when it is exercised outside the educational context, such as in institutions and organisations, as suggested by Flynn and Gambier (2011). In Svahn's (2020b) view, it is this social enactment of the occupation that allows trainees to eventually become translators.

Studies on translatorship have not only explored the agency, visibility and accountability in their profession (Solum 2017; Refsum 2017) but also have embraced the concept when discussing the role of translators in activism and minority languages (Koskinen and Kuusi 2017). Similarly, Paloposki (2016) has drawn on this concept as a means to historically reconstruct the features of translators' social role during the 19th century in Finland. These various dimensions of the construct are coherent with Jansen and Wegener's (2013) claim that translators can hold *multiple translatorships* in the sense that they become agents that play several social roles within and outside their occupation.

The notions of translator self-concept and translatorship display a series of similarities with the idea of identity. First, at their most basic level, both concepts imply the awareness of the individual as a translator. Second, these concepts imply a personal and a social aspect of the occupation, which is nurtured by the experiences lived by individuals. Third, Jansen and Wegener's (2013) multiple translatorships echo the notion that people hold *multiple identities* (Burke and Stets 2009; James 1890; Rattansi and Phoenix 2005; Serpe and Stryker 2011). Consequently, it would seem that the notion of identity could encompass the translator self-concept and translatorship. In addition, the concept of *translator identity* further articulates these concepts in two ways. First, it acknowledges the existence of a core of translation-related beliefs that allows translators to perform effectively. This results from the continuous reflective exercise between what the

translation requires and the metacognitive self-assessment of the students' own abilities to comply with it. This core of beliefs acquires relevance in social contexts where the value of the translation task and occupation emerges. Second, the concept of identity indicates *self-continuity* across time (Erikson 1950, 1968; Arciero and Bondolfi 2011; S. Gallagher and Zahavi 2012; Zahavi 2019). In other words, it acknowledges students' past experiences, especially those connected to their commitments in adolescence to their occupational identity, in the interpretation of the situations that eventually led to the development of their occupational development. Thus, translator identity is a temporally flexible construct that moves across a time continuum, drawing on translation students' previous past experiences to shed light on how they perceive their current training and future professional prospects.

It is this second feature of translator identity that provides a temporal dynamism to the apparent present-anchored nature of Kiraly's (1995) self-concept. This, in turn, allows the appropriation of the values about the occupation into the trainees' personal life stories, which is deemed as a prerequisite for the social role of translatorship. Therefore, it is possible to theorise that Kiraly's (1995) self-concept and Toury's (1995) translatorship address the issue of *what* translators *do*. Translator identity, as proposed in this study, aims to temporally and emotionally integrate these with the students' personal lives in order to understand *who* these translators *are* in their process of becoming translators.¹

Since the development of translator identity is likely to begin in the translation classroom (see Malmkjær 2004; Sawyer, Auster Mühl and Enríquez Raído 2019), many of the trainees' multiple identities could also be enacted, especially their *student identity*. Unlike their incipient translator identity, trainees have probably enacted their student identities during most of their lives (Erikson 1968; Skorikov and Vondracek 1998, 2007) and have generated their own beliefs regarding education, classrooms, teachers and themselves as students. This research hypothesises that student identity also plays a relevant role in the development of trainees' translator identity.

¹ The movement suggested in translator identity is also promoted in the notion of translators' psychological capital (see Hubscher-Davidson 2020).

Consequently, this research turns to the use of theoretical models to explain: 1) how the set of beliefs or values for each of these two identities develops and operates, and 2) how these two identities interact with one another during students' journey to become translators. The next section presents two theories that deal with both of these issues, namely self-theory (Berzonsky 1990) and identity control theory (Burke 1980, 2004; Burke and Stets 2009).

1.1.4 Self-theory: self-continuity

Erikson's (1950, 1968) view on identity in adolescence is a fundamental principle to identity theory and this research. He affirms that, in order to actively engage with the world, individuals need to perceive a sense of continuity across time. McAdams (1985, 2011) suggests that this temporal continuum is achieved by means of self-narratives, i.e. internalised personal stories that provide individuals with a sense of coherence, unity and purpose over time. These self-narratives help people explain who they are in their present by drawing primarily on a selective recreation and interpretation of their autobiographic past.

Self-narratives provide a sense of *self-continuity* in time in which individuals recognise themselves in the past, present and future. This allows individuals to compare and recognise their behaviour as typically theirs. In other words, they perceive their actions as their own when these correspond to their self-narratives. This can be exemplified in Amanda's case. Her previous successful academic performance as a student during high school is part of her identity, which enables her to recognise her current high performance in her translation undergraduate programme as a self-continuity of who she has been. Thus, she identifies that behaviour as her own.

Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) proposes that individuals explain their self-continuity by means of a *self-theory*, understood as a 'cognitive structure of a loosely organized system of personal constructs, assumptions, hypotheses, beliefs, schemas, and postulates relevant to the self interacting in the world' (Berzonsky 2011, 56). In his view, self-theory constitutes an *implicit* 'core' of constructs that engages in the interpretation of the present self by allowing the integration and structuring of new experiences. Berzonsky (1990) emphasises the role that self-theory plays in individuals' evaluation of their present to determine courses of action to achieve their *future* goals. This emphasis on future projection marks a difference with self-

narratives in that the latter mostly relies on past recreation and interpretation in the understanding of the present.

Berzonsky (1988) also claims that, in addition to holding goals, beliefs and values, self-theory provides the procedural knowledge and operational structures that orientate the execution of necessary cognitive or physical efforts to face everyday situations. Efforts that prove to be inefficient generate negative feedback that signals to individuals that such identity constructs need to be adjusted or modified. For example, Amanda knows that preparing two days in advance for a translation exam is sufficient to do well. Depending on the topic, she might consider dedicating a couple of hours more, but she knows that no more than two days are needed. However, if she does not do well in a test following that approach, she might reconsider the time she requires to perform as well as she normally does. She could decide that studying three or more days in advance in future instances will help her to be better prepared for her next exam. Thus, self-theories can be understood as a flexible, ongoing collection of constructs that evolves as individuals face situations containing self-relevant information in their daily lives.

Two critical elements in the understanding of these perceptions in people's self-theory are Marcia's (1966) concepts of exploration and commitment, which were originally outlined by Erikson (1968, 1950) in the context of identity development during adolescence. *Exploration* refers to the stance or period when individuals evaluate and try out different identities as they choose from meaningful options. *Commitment* involves 'the degree of personal investment the individual has expressed in a course of action or belief' (Kroger and Marcia 2011, 33-34). For instance, Amanda's commitment to becoming a translator is the result of a process in which she explored a variety of potential occupational options during her high school years. She decided to be a translator and, consequently, carried out a series of actions according to that choice, such as prioritising certain subjects or comparing different university programmes. In other words, based on her commitment, she aligns her behaviour to meet her goal. As a translation student, her commitments to her student identity can be easily recognised in the way she takes notes in class and actively participates by asking relevant questions.

The example above suggests that individuals are expected to go through a period of exploration before commitment can be made to a particular identity. If commitment is successful, then the identity is consolidated; if not, the individual

goes back to a process of exploration (Crocetti et al. 2008; Luyckx et al. 2011). Thus, it can be argued that, as individuals face their daily lives and experience different situations, the commitments held in their self-theory are challenged. According to Berzonsky (2011), people's self-theory is likely to suffer only minor adjustments if they are in a fairly stable environment, while, in rapidly changing contexts, previously verified constructs might be invalidated and completely modified.

More recent experimental research using self-theory has shed light on the correlations between the different ways in which individuals process their identities and other significant factors, such as self-regulation and depression (Berzonsky and Kinney 2021), commitment (Berzonsky and Papini 2021) and self-esteem (Soenens, Berzonsky, and Papini 2015). The results of these studies describe how the attitude in the configuration of self-theories critically plays a role in predicting their subsequent behaviour. This suggests that individuals are compelled to verify their commitments by means of their agency, which presupposes that they maintain their self-theories in adverse scenarios, or modify them as needed, depending on whether or not individuals are able to verify their behaviour.

The next section analyses the potential ways in which the context where identity-related behaviour is enacted engages in the process of verifying and developing people's self-theories, specifically by using identity control theory (Burke 1980; 2004; Kerpelman, Pittman, and Lamke 1997).

1.1.5 Identity Control Theory: valuing social structure

Burke and Stets's (2009) approach to identity theory is based on the assumption that identities are forged by the interaction between society and individuals' response to it, i.e. they consider, as Stryker and Vryan (2003) do, that people are born into society and it is the various groups and institutions within it that allow individuals to become who they are. In such a context, they propose two cyclical loop models for identity theory: one for a single identity and another for multiple enacted identities. The purpose of their models is to systematise how identity can be verified by means of *identity control theory* (ICT), i.e. how individuals can control or regulate their identity-related behaviour based on their perceptions of the environment. However, for this research, such control is regarded as a proxy for development, i.e. the models account for identity development by means of self-regulated behaviour.

Burke and Stets (2009) propose that individuals determine the appropriateness of their behaviour based on their perceptions of others' reactions to it. In their view, people compare their perceived enacted behaviour to the constructs they held in their *identity standard* (IS), i.e. the set of *meanings* that govern that particular identity (Burke and Stets 2009). These meanings in the identity IS correspond to the values, goals, beliefs and motivations that orientate identity-related behaviour. The purpose of the models proposed by Burke and Stets's (2009) is to illustrate how individuals attempt to find 'an equilibrium' between what they perceive and what they think should be done to enact a particular identity, which is determined by the IS (Berezin 2010, 221). When an equilibrium is achieved, i.e. the behaviour matches what individuals regard as appropriate for a given situation, the identity is verified: people are who they believe they are. For example, Amanda's meanings for her student identity involve obtaining outstanding grades, attending her classes, taking detailed notes, engaging with her lecturers, etc. Whenever she behaves like that, her student identity is confirmed because she sees herself as the good student she believes herself to be. This makes her feel confident in her student skills and happy whenever she obtains the results she wishes.

Amanda's account summarises the results of the identity verification process, in which individuals 1) continue enacting that behaviour as part of an identity (Burke and Reitzes 1981; Burke and Stets 2009), 2) develop a higher sense of self-esteem (Cast and Burke 2002), and 3) experience positive emotions associated with the verification of their identities. With regard to the latter, Stets and Trettevik (2014) affirm that individuals continue enacting verified behaviour as a means to minimise or eliminate negative emotions. Similarly, the link between emotions, self-esteem and identity verification has been empirically supported by more recent studies which indicate that the development of an identity is either fostered or undermined by individuals' verification of their identities (Stets and Burke 2014a; 2014b; Brandl and Bullinger 2017; Burke 2020; Serpe, Stryker, and Powell 2020).

A significant aspect of Burke and Stets's (2009) models is that they are conceived from a present-anchored perspective, i.e. experiences are presented as temporally isolated fragments without explicit acknowledgement of individuals' past. In other words, the situation happens in a given present that only accounts for a specific situation, as the emphasis is on the resulting behaviour and not the development of the IS. Following the integrative view proposed by Vignoles, Schwartz and Luyckx (2011), this study suggests that Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) self-theory can

conceptually expand Burke and Stets's (2009) IS in the cycle. By doing this, the proposed models could account for the ways in which perceived experiences are processed in an IS that acknowledges individuals' story, and how this, in turn, generates meaningful identity-related behaviour.

The combination of Burke and Stets's (2009) and Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) theories results in a comprehensive approach to identity development that offers two affordances for the purposes of this research. First, Berzonsky's (1990) self-theory provides a more profound understanding of trainees' student and translator identity standards and explains how these develop across time, which complements Burke and Stets's (2009) models so that they can expand the present-anchored, episodic perspective of the different events and situations that trainees experience during their studies. Second, the combination of these two theories fosters the creation of a system that allows the verification of both behaviour and IS constructs within the same verification cycle. To date, this is the first study that merges these two approaches to identity theory to address the development of translator identity. Figure 1.2 shows how these two theories are integrated for the purposes of this study.

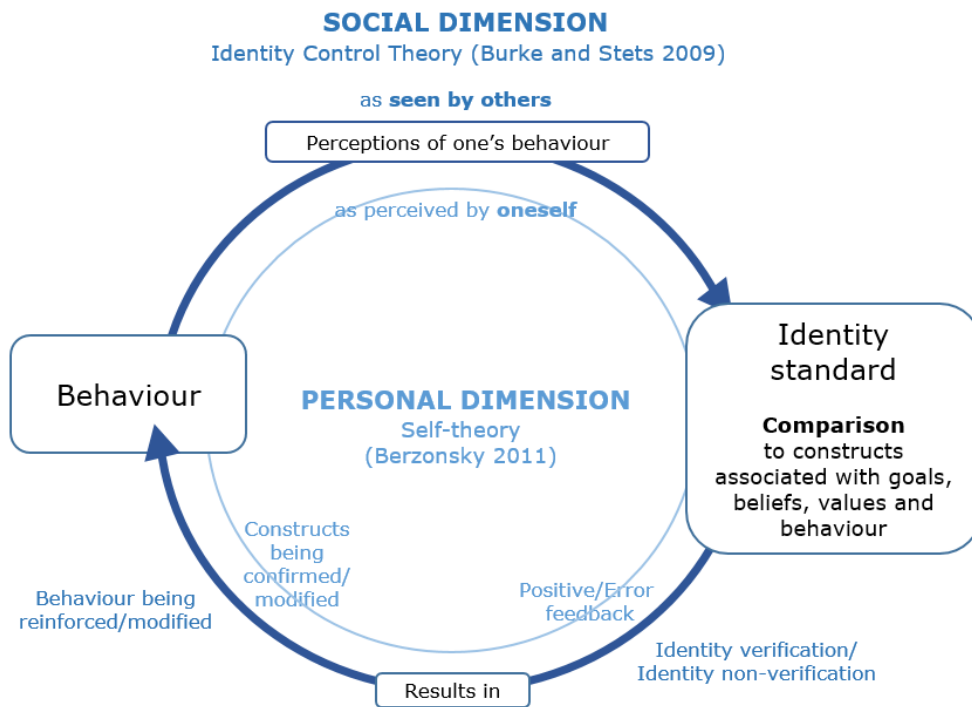


Figure 1.2 Integration of self-theory and identity control theory.

In summary, the integration of self-theory into identity control theory could provide holistic frameworks to support the interpretation of translation students' experiences in their programmes. These theories can provide the rationale which can contribute to addressing the RQs of this research. First, the two theories define the dimensions involved in the conceptualisation of the *translator* IS and how these develop over time. Second, the theories account for the development of students' confidence as translators and how it can fluctuate as they experience their programmes. As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, this study ascribes to Haro-Soler's (2017b, 2018a, 2018b) terminology, i.e. students' self-confidence in the specific enactment of their translator identity are their translator *self-efficacy beliefs* and not self-esteem, which is thought to concern the overall individual (Pajares 2000; Haro-Soler 2017b). Third, the inclusion of Marcia's (1966) *exploration* and *commitment* are critical in understanding students' identification with their translation identity as well as recognising the critical situations and experiences that foster or undermine their commitment to it. Fourth, the models used in these theories could also outline the processes that engage when multiple identities are enacted and, thus, orientate the student-translator identity interaction.

In the next section, Burke and Stets's (2009) single-identity model is presented as a theoretical starting point which is complemented with Berzonsky's (1990) self-theory. It is important to mention that other contributions from the literature, especially S. Gallagher and Zahavi (2012) and Grotevant (1987), are also integrated to increase the model's potential to account for the development of translator identity.

1.2 Towards a holistic model for identity development

Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) and Burke and Stets's (2009) theories conceive the process of identity development similarly, although they emphasise different aspects. Berzonsky (1990, 2011) highlights the relationship between individuals' perceptions and the changes these provoke in their self-theory, whereas Burke and Stets (2009) focus on the connection between the meanings held in the IS and individuals' enacted behaviour. This section aims to integrate both perspectives into a model that describes translator identity development. This starts by presenting Burke and Stets's (2009) loop model for a single enacted identity to which elements from Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) self-theory and S. Gallagher and

Zahavi's (2012) phenomenological concepts are integrated. It concludes by proposing a model to assist the interpretation of the development of trainees' translator identity.

1.2.1 Identity verification and development: a single identity

Burke and Stets's (2009) model can be exemplified by Amanda's behaviour in one of her lectures. She is talking loudly to a classmate during a lecture and the professor looks at her disapprovingly and stops his explanation. She shyly looks back at the professor and apologises. The professor then resumes the lecture and Amanda remains quiet the rest of the lecture. This sequence of situations encapsulates the key elements that operate in a loop system, which occur in a homeostatic, continuous fashion during the enactment of an identity. This circuit is illustrated in Burke and Stets's (2009) model for the verification of one identity in Figure 1.3 below.

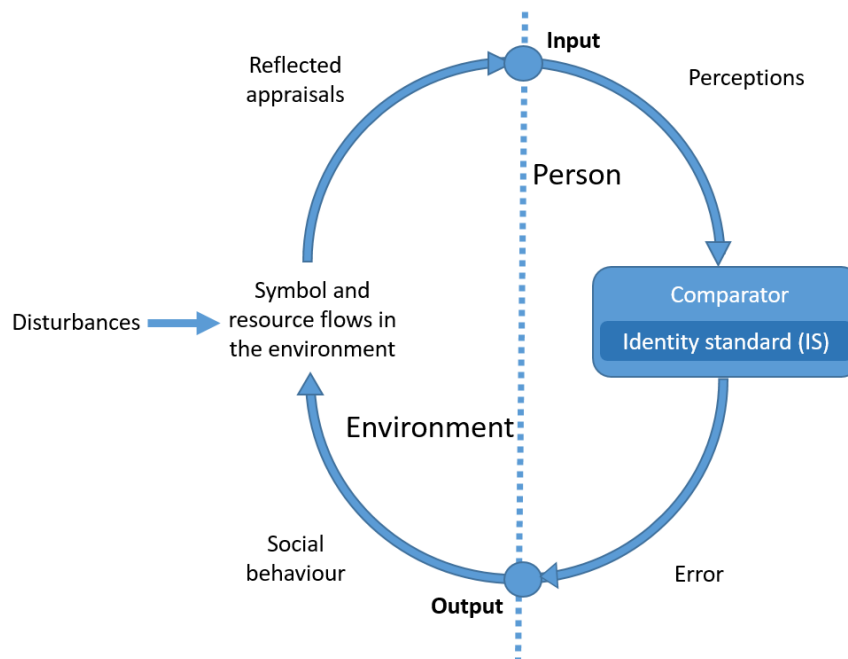


Figure 1.3 Burke and Stets's (2009) model for identity control.

The process begins when there is a disturbance in the environment. This means that a situation occurs that alters the cultural and socially agreed conventions that regulate people interaction in a particular context, which Burke and Stets (2009) refer to as *symbols and resources*. In Amanda's example, this occurs when she talks loudly in class. This causes the professor to produce a particular behaviour,

namely his silence and serious look. Individuals' interpretations of how others might be judging their behaviour are referred to as reflected appraisals. Amanda interprets her professor's behaviour as a sign that her behaviour does not correspond to the situation. Her behaviour becomes the input in the form of *perceptions*. These perceptions are then compared to the *identity standard (IS)*, which holds the goals, meanings, beliefs and values associated with an identity. In the model, the IS is embedded inside the comparator, whose role is to evaluate the extent to which Amanda's current behaviour matches that of her student IS. In this case, the comparator produces an error signal that tells Amanda that her enacted behaviour is not appropriate, which leads her to modify that behaviour. This results in her apologising and remaining silent during the rest of the lecture, which constitutes the *output* of the process. The professor acknowledges her apology and change in behaviour and resumes the class, which in turn makes Amanda realise her current behaviour is appropriate in the eyes of others and her own IS.

According to Burke and Stets (2009), whenever behaviour matches the meanings of the IS, identity is *verified*, leading to the consolidation of that behaviour, positive emotions and an increase in self-esteem. This link between behaviour and self-esteem has also been found by scholars applying ICT to other fields, such as management (Brandl and Bullinger 2017) and counselling (Burke and Harrod 2005; Sheppard, Hood, and Creed 2020). Like in Amanda's example, studies in these fields support Burke and Stets' (2009) premise that changes in behaviour are required when identities cannot be verified. If an identity is still not verified after continuous adjustments to behaviour, self-esteem could be hindered and negative feelings could emerge, such as anxiety or distress.

This model provides three key affordances for the understanding of the student and translator identities in this study. The first one is its procedural nature, i.e. identity development is conceived as an ongoing, continuous process. The second is the notion of identity verification, understood as the positive correlation between enacted behaviour and the IS, as the process whereby identities develop. The third one is its acknowledgement of the impact that social structures have on the way individuals configure their identities.

These affordances can be used to inform the design of a model that accounts for the translation identity development. To do this, three of the components, namely

perceptions, IS and *output*, need to be expanded and arranged in the same loop fashion. The following subsection analyses the role of perceptions in the identity verification process.

1.2.2 Perceptions and experiences: the input

As illustrated previously in Figure 1.1, Burke and Stets's (2009) model is composed of two distinct dimensions: a personal dimension, which encompasses individuals' perceptions and understanding of identities, and an environmental dimension, which presents the world where people live and where identity-related behaviour is enacted. According to the system, individuals' perceptions of their current actions generate the input that goes from the environment into the person, while the output, social behaviour, connects people to the environment. Since this study focuses on students' perceptions of their experiences in their translation programmes, it is necessary to further detail two critical elements of the model so that it provides a more individual-oriented perspective.

First, it is important to differentiate conceptually between the environment and individuals' interaction with it. On the one hand, the environment, i.e. context including other people, objects, images, situations, etc., constitutes how the world is given to the individual. For this study, these external elements are referred to as *alterity* (S. Gallagher 2009; S. Gallagher and Zahavi 2012; Zahavi 2014). On the other hand, the way in which individuals make sense of alterity by living their lives on a moment-by-moment basis is called *ipseity* (Arciero and Bondolfi 2011; Zahavi 2014). For example, in a classroom, Amanda's alterity consists of her lecturers, classmates, books, pens, the university buildings, a class, exams, etc., while her ipseity includes her paying attention to her lecturers' explanation, writing down notes, or talking to her friends about an upcoming football match. By continuously connecting individuals to alterity, ipseity provides them with a sense of continuity of their selves, i.e. people recognise themselves as the agents of their lives. This philosophical differentiation emphasises individuals' perceptions of their ipseity as primary source of input for the configuration of their identity standards.

Second, this research emphasises students' agency in the construction and development of their translator identity. To do so, it is imperative to complement the socio-constructive stance presented in Burke and Stets (2009) with a phenomenological understanding of this process. According to S. Gallagher and Zahavi (2012), phenomenology places a strong emphasis on how experiences are

perceived by individuals in terms of the value they hold for them. There are four critical aspects to people's perceptions: situatedness, intentionality, incompleteness and temporality. Phenomenology conceives perceptions as first-person interpretations that are *situated*, i.e. they are 'pragmatically immersed in worldly contexts' (S. Gallagher 2009, 39). This means that perceptions are temporally anchored to ipseity, which provides a social and cultural context (Berzonsky 1990; Nöe 2007; Varela, Thompson, and Rosch 1991). In addition, perceptions have *intentionality*, which means that when individuals perceive a situation or object, they direct their consciousness towards it. According to Zahavi (2019), the objects of which we are intentionally conscious are given signification by individuals, granting them meaning in the world. Moreover, perceptions are always *incomplete*, i.e. individuals perceive only part of the situation or object either because of the physical location or personal decisions and biases. Lastly, there is the *temporality* of perceptions, which suggests that while they are interpreted in the present, they also consider the past and future. This temporal interpretation fosters individuals' self-continuity. In Arciero and Bondolfi's (2011) view, perceptions capture how people's self-continuity is constantly challenged by unexpected events and situations in their ipseity. These four features of perceptions foster individuals' appropriation of experiences. This refers to people's capacity to perceive the coherence of their self-continuity in ipseity, which allows them to recognise an experience as their own. By appropriating experiences, individuals integrate them into their personal stories and, therefore, their IS.

1.2.3 Identity standard: the identity core

The IS contains the set of meanings that individuals hold about an identity. This is the core of Burke and Stets's (2009) model, as it accounts for people's beliefs associated with a particular identity, i.e. what it is, its value for the individual and the required behaviour to enact it. In Amanda's case, as pointed out in previous sections, her student identity has the meaning of being academic, which implies attending classes, engaging in group discussions, doing her homework, having good grades, etc. That is how she conceptualises identity and the necessary behaviour to enact it adequately. In addition, the model suggests that the IS is located inside the comparator, which assesses the extent to which individuals' perceptions match the IS. As a result, it also produces an error signal that

corresponds to the degree of similarity between the IS and the performed behaviour.

However, a major limitation to this model is related to its lack of temporality, i.e. it is present-anchored in time. This means that the IS only accounts for a present situation, excluding potential connections individuals make with their past selves and individuals' sense of continuity. Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) self-theory accounts for this temporal continuity, which allows individuals to have the resources to cope with and interpret ipseity in terms of their self-continuity. Thus, for the purposes of this study, there are two significant considerations regarding the IS. First, although Burke and Stets's (2009) term 'IS' is used in this research, it encompasses critical features of self-theory. This integration positions the IS as 1) a live, dynamic, flexible set of constructs that are developed concurrently with the identity, and 2) a temporally coherent core that dialogues with individuals' past and future to make sense of enacted behaviour in the present. Second, the inclusion of self-theory characteristics into the IS presupposes a comparative exercise between individuals' current enacted behaviour and their identity-related constructs and temporality. This means that the figure of the comparator in Burke and Stet's (2009) model can be understood as an inherent part of the IS itself. This repositioning highlights the autonomy of the IS in the processing of perceptions and its development.

Grotevant (1987) proposes that there are two ways in which perceptions can be incorporated into what he terms identity structure – or IS in this study. On the one hand, *assimilation* suggests that information is incorporated into an existing construct, while on the other hand *accommodation* involves adapting the construct so that it can include the new information. It is hypothesised that individuals are likely to attempt to assimilate new meanings first. Whenever individuals are unable to assimilate these meanings, i.e. there is a continuous systematic incongruence between IS and behaviour, accommodation is required (Luyckx et al. 2011). This last stage assumes changes in how identities are understood and, therefore, modifications in individuals' IS are carried out (Kerpelman, Pittman, and Lamke 1997). Furthermore, Luyckx et al. (2011, 80) claim that a proper balance between assimilation and accommodation must be carried out to achieve 'a mature, flexible and coherent identity'.

Therefore, the notion of IS is reconceptualised by incorporating Berzonsky's (1990) self-theory, which temporally connects a present situation with the individuals' previous experiences and self-continuity. This shift also allows the IS to develop by means of the assimilation or accommodation of the input perceived. This generates identity-related behaviour as well as a series of outcomes that are significantly valuable for identity development.

1.2.4 Behaviour, identity statuses, self-efficacy beliefs and emotions: the outputs

This subsection discusses the possible outputs of the identity development process. In Burke and Stets's (2009) work, two potential outputs are mentioned: behaviour and self-efficacy beliefs. However, this study proposes the existence of two additional results. First, according to Dunkel (2005), commitments to an identity foster a sense of continuity. Hence, by understanding the levels of exploration and commitment individuals associate with an identity, it is possible to determine its different identity statuses (Marcia 1966). Second, individuals' emotional engagement in the process can also be regarded as an output of the model. These emotions underlie the subsequent identity verification process by supporting the enactment of identity-related behaviour. Consequently, the identity verification process results in four outcomes, namely *IS constructs and behaviour, identity statuses, self-efficacy beliefs and emotions*.

A) IS constructs and behaviour

In Burke and Stets's (2009) model, the error signal produced by the comparator determines the output of the process, which primarily consists of identity-related behaviour. They argue that behaviour in itself is not relevant; it is the meanings and value that it holds in the environmental flow –or ipseity in this study– that are vital for the assessment of such behaviour. In other words, if the perceived meanings match those of the IS, then there is no change in ongoing behaviour. Whenever there is correspondence between the input and the IS, there is identity verification (Burke and Stets 2009). This results in the enacted behaviour being verified. On the other hand, if there is a discrepancy between the two, behaviour needs to be modified until it matches the self-meanings of the IS (Burke 1980). However, if individuals are unable to verify an identity systematically, it could undermine the enactment of that identity and they might even discard it.

As mentioned in 1.1.5, this very same process of identity verification can be applied to the IS: if there is verification, both behaviour *and* the construct that supports it are verified. Similarly, processes that are related to the information processing in the IS can be applied to behaviour. In particular, in the case of identity non-verification, the IS is modified either by assimilating or accommodating new information into a construct so that generated behaviour meets the demand of the situation and the IS. In other words, individuals' perceptions of their situatedness in ipseity impact on their behaviour and IS.

Going back to Amanda, she is used to obtaining good grades at school, which fosters her identity verification process, which concludes with the academic self-meanings being confirmed. However, if she receives a lower grade than usual, she is likely to perceive that such performance does not match her self-meanings of what a student should be like, i.e. there would be a mismatch between ipseity and her sense of self-continuity. Consequently, she might probably resolve to study harder for the next time or ask her friends in higher years to help her in her studies. It is this verification of behaviour and its construct in the IS that allows the model to address the RQ1 of this study, i.e. what elements that constitute the translator IS can be found in the students' narratives as they advance through their undergraduate programme.

However, behaviour is not the only possible outcome of verification. As mentioned in subsection 1.1.2, translator identity responds to a comparative exercise between the students' understanding of the occupation and their performance, which generates a self-perceived sense of confidence when facing the task or, in the context of this study, translator self-efficacy beliefs (Bolaños-Medina 2014).

B) Self-efficacy beliefs

Apart from behaviour, Cast and Burke (2002) suggest that a by-product of identity verification is self-esteem, i.e. as 'a global stable sense of one's worth' (Heppner and Kernis 2012, 330). Based on James's (1890) work, Cast and Burke (2002) propose that self-esteem results from the relationship between the goals people have and their actual achievement. This research focuses primarily on trainees' student and translator identity in the context of translator education. According to Haro-Soler (2019b), the difference between self-esteem and self-efficacy beliefs lies in that the first comprises the whole individual, while the second refers

specifically to self-perceptions regarding a particular task, in this case as either a student or a translator.

Therefore, in the model, when the resulting behaviour matches that in the IS, the identity is verified, which fosters trainees' self-efficacy beliefs. Furthermore, by enacting adequate behaviour, individuals could indeed be achieving a goal, such as passing an exam. On the contrary, when there is identity non-verification, behaviour is modified so that it meets the IS. However, if the mismatch continues to happen systematically, not only could the exercised identity be undermined, but individuals' self-efficacy beliefs could also be hindered. In Amanda's case, whenever she receives a good grade, she feels happy because that is how she regards what a student should be like and, thus, her performance matches her standard. It follows that her self-efficacy increases and her identity are reinforced. On the other hand, if she receives a low grade, she might feel distressed and puzzled at the result. This challenges her IS, which implies modifying her behaviour to match her student IS meanings.

In the example above, the experiences account for an internal source of self-efficacy, i.e. those that depend on individuals' behaviour. Bandura (1977, 80) terms these *mastery experiences*, which suggest that successful attempts to perform a task tend to foster self-perceptions about one's ability to carry out that particular task. In addition, he identifies two other alterity-bound sources that could affect individuals' self-efficacy beliefs: vicarious learning (Bandura 1997; 1987) and verbal persuasion (Bandura 1997). *Vicarious learning* refers to situations in which individuals identify with somebody else's performance carrying out a specific task. In other words, they appropriate other's behaviour and project that they would perform in the same manner. *Verbal persuasion* involves others' feedback and comments on one's performance (Prieto Navarro 2007). Positive comments and praise from peers or lecturers could increase students' self-efficacy beliefs. Lastly, Bandura (1997) identifies a fourth source of self-efficacy beliefs which involves both alterity and the individual: *emotional states*. People's emotions while performing a task, such as nervousness, anxiety or fear, could have a negative effect on self-efficacy while carrying out tasks.

The studies carried out by Haro-Soler (2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b) have emphasised the critical role self-efficacy beliefs have in translator education and provided the first longitudinal systematic studies on the matter. The findings in her

research have empirically shown how positive feedback, the use of rubrics and teamwork have a positive impact on translator trainees' self-efficacy beliefs during their education. The identity verification process proposed in this research can add to these findings by identifying key psychological processes and factors that foster or undermine translation students' self-efficacy beliefs and, thus, shed light on RQ2 of this study.

C) Identity statuses

According to Bosma and Kunnen (2001), identity development, as a continuous exercise, requires a constant adjustment of behaviour and commitments to the IS. As mentioned in subsection 1.1.4, *commitment* consists of individuals' personal- or socially-driven resoluteness to enact their identities. According to Erikson (1968), exploration involves instances where young individuals try out different identities. In the context of one identity, *exploration* refers to episodes following a crisis in which students reflect on their situation, evaluate and plan potential courses of action to continue enacting that identity or not. This means that exploration instances offer the possibility to increase or undermine individuals' commitment to their identities. It is the combination of the different degrees of commitment and exploration that constitute the *identity statuses*.

Marcia (1966) proposes four statuses depending on the extent of exploration and commitment individuals show for a particular identity. The four identity statuses, namely identity achievement, foreclosure, moratorium and identity diffusion, are a significant contribution from his work on identity development in adolescence, particularly when individuals choose an occupation, i.e. when they enter tertiary education. Since the publication of his research, these statuses have had a major impact in modern psychology and have been widely used and adopted in a series of models and approaches, especially in occupational identity (Goossens 2001; Meeus, Dekovic, and Iedema 1997; Skorikov and Vondracek 1998). Commonly, these and other studies use identity statuses as nouns. For example, Kroger and Marcia (2011, 41) wrote that studies have shown that there is 'no significant difference [in self-esteem] between *identity achievements* and *foreclosures*.' The author of this thesis attempted to adopt this convention in some of his publications (Singer 2021), but the feedback received from peer reviewers and editors indicated that such a use confounded most readers in translation studies. Concretely, the use of 'achievements' distracted readers as it could be interpreted as the identity

status, an individual or a series of successful attempts performing a task. The words foreclosure and moratorium were also deemed as potentially problematic as they are not frequently used, which resulted in the regular consultation of their definitions.

To address these issues, some researchers have developed their own equivalences in their studies to clarify their interpretation and use of Marcia’s concepts (e.g. Josselson 1996; Côté and Levine 2002; Crocetti et al. 2008; Luyckx et al. 2008). This study adheres to the terminology proposed by Helson and Srivastava (2001), who conducted research involving personality development in midlife women. Although the focus of their research differs from the specific phenomena concerning this study, their typology is suitable because of two reasons: first, the definitions for the statuses match Marcia’s (1966) original descriptions used in this study. Second, their labels for the identity statuses grammatically work as nouns and are self-contained, i.e. the labels remind the reader of their main features without the need to recheck the definitions. Thus, Table 1.1 presents the changes according to Helson and Srivastava's (2001) terminology: identity achievements become *achievers*, foreclosures are *conservers*, moratoriums become *seekers*, and identity diffusions are *the depleted*.

		EXPLORATION	
		High	Low
COMMITMENT	High	Achievers	Conserver
	Low	Seekers	Depleted

Table 1.1 Helson and Srivastava's (2001) terminology for Marcia’s (1966) identity statuses.

According to Marcia (1996), both the achiever and conserver identity statuses display a high level of commitment towards their identities. However, there are significant differences between them. Individuals holding an *achiever identity status* present a clear focus in their lives. Moreover, their resolutions are not easily changed by external elements and when facing obstacles to accomplish a particular goal, they are likely to keep persisting until they succeed. This is likely because they have developed a strong sense of self-continuity across time which allows

them to accept other points of view without the need to defend their own. On the other hand, people who hold a *conservator identity status* may seem to be as focused as achievers, but this is only a façade. They have difficulties in defining their focus, which is why they tend to maintain their positions rather defensively. To do this, they tend to embrace socially accepted constructs. Thus, this stance is usually presented in speech by the use of 'us' and 'them'. Kroger and Marcia (2011) suggest that the longer individuals hold this status, the more likely they feel guilt or shame when detaching themselves from those positions.

Marcia (1966) describes the other two identity statuses, i.e. seekers and the depleted, as statuses with a low level of commitment. Individuals with a *seeker identity status* are in the process of defining themselves. They are morally sensitive ruminators who seem to be constantly engaged in their existential dilemmas. In the best-case scenario, their commitments and decisions may lead them to become conservers or achievers. However, they may also experience extreme vacillation in their choices, leading to anxiety or depression. The *depleted identity status* is characterised by the absence of exploration and the individuals' inability to define their commitments towards their identity. Thus, they externally search for what could potentially define them. At their worst, they present feelings of emptiness generated from the perception of being lost or isolated.

These identity statuses are critical to answer the third RQ of this study, namely how translator identity develops during students' final years in their programme. By understanding possible relationships between each of these statuses and ipseity, alterity and behaviour, it is possible to identify the current state of students' translator identity as it evolves during the two years of the study. It is important to note that, although Marcia (1966) considers identity statuses as reflections of overall self-identity, this study regards them as intermediate stages during the process of the translator identity development. These identity statuses can be used to track the extent to which translation students are committed to their translator identity, which is the core of RQ3.

D) Emotions

Burke and Stets (2009) claim that the construction of meanings, or identities, in this case, is not only a cognitive process but also one that involves feelings and emotions. They succinctly suggest that successful identity verification produces positive emotions, while failure to do so leads to negative ones. Furthermore, Stets

and Burke (2014a) suggest that identity verification, besides resulting in positive emotions, would promote emotional stability, understood as 'an individual's capacity to adequately cope with negative emotions, such as stress, anxiety, discontent, irritability, and anger' (Alessandri et al. 2018, 825–26). Stets and Trettevik (2014) explain that individuals continuously try to avoid experiencing negative emotions. The verification of their identity, thus, would reduce emotional disruptions and strengthen their self-efficacy beliefs, which would then shield people from negative emotions (Brandl and Bullinger 2017). In addition, individuals are further encouraged to continue enacting a particular behaviour due to the positive emotional response that accompanies identity verification. Thus, emotions not only constitute a possible outcome of the identity verification process but a relevant underlying factor that informs the subsequent sustained enactment of a particular behaviour.

In addition, Stets and Trettevik (2014, 36) further suggest that 'emotions are not only internally experienced by individuals but they also are outwardly related to the social structure.' This presupposes two poles in which people's emotions are anchored. According to Arciero and Bondolfi (2011), individuals' emotional situatedness is displayed in emotional inclinations that result from their engagement with the world and how this, concurrently, engages with their own self. Concretely, individuals can either have an *inward inclination*, i.e. their emotional stability is anchored to their own selves, or an *outward inclination*, that is, they make alterity responsible for their emotional states.

The notions of inward and outward emotional inclinations are strongly related to Marcia's (1966) identity statuses. For example, achievers and seekers may present an inward inclination, as their emotional stability is anchored to the commitments they have made to their identities: achievers have successfully developed their identity due to their careful thinking and reasoning, while seekers are exploring options and make commitments for which they take responsibility. On the other hand, conservers and the depleted are closely bound to alterity, as both define themselves in terms of that otherness.

Thus, it is hypothesised in this study that an outward emotional inclination makes individuals more susceptible to alterity, e.g. people, objects or situations, affecting their current and subsequent emotions and compromising the commitment to their identities. On the contrary, an inward emotional inclination shifts the focus on the

individual and their agency for their emotional stability, which could help them increase their commitment to their identities. Thus, as students experience their programmes, they move from one emotional inclination to another based on the diverse situations they face in their ipseity. These shifts in their emotional inclination underlie their commitment and, therefore, play a significant role in the development of their translator identity.

1.2.5 Developing translator identity: a possible model

The integration of the components mentioned in the previous subsections into Burke and Stets’s (2009) model allows the generation of a framework that assists in the interpretation of how translation students develop their translator identity, as illustrated in Figure 1.4.

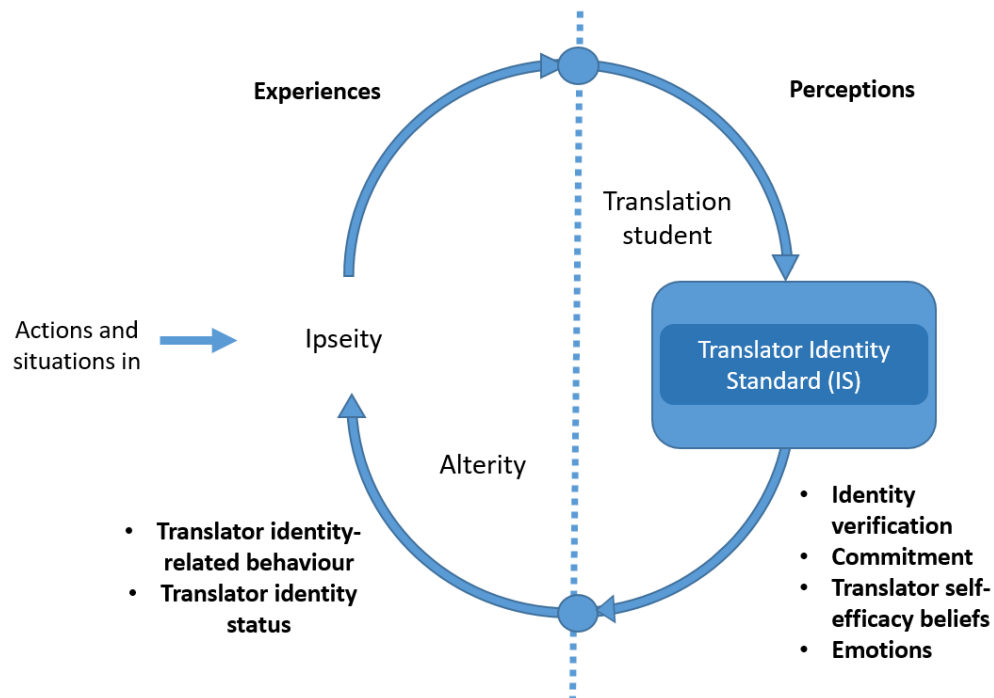


Figure 1.4 Proposed model for translator identity development.

In the model, actions and situations in students’ ipseity constitute critical translator-related experiences. These experiences are perceived by students and given meaning in terms of their self-continuity. These perceptions are then contrasted to the translator IS, which is a flexible, evolving set of values and beliefs regarding the translation occupation. This contrast results in either identity verification or non-verification. In the case of the former, both the enacted behaviour and associated constructs are strengthened, leading to positive

emotions, higher commitments and stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs. These outcomes are evidenced in alterity in 1) trainees maintaining their translator-related behaviour, and 2) their display of characteristics associated with the translator identity statuses. In case of identity non-verification, adjustments in behaviour are carried out so that the translator IS constructs are verified. Systematic failure to achieve identity verification may result in the assimilation or accommodation of the constructs. These could also generate a loss of commitment, weaker translator self-efficacy beliefs and negative emotions. Continuous incapacity to verify the translator IS can lead to the discardment of constructs and a considerable decrease in their self-efficacy beliefs, which triggers inconsistent translator-related behaviour and seeker or depleted identity statuses.

This holistic model proposed provides the theoretical rationale with which the process of translator identity development can be examined. Concretely, it provides a means by which three RQs of this study can be addressed. First, it could be used to explain how IS constructs are verified and consolidated. This would permit the exploration of the elements that constitute the translator IS and their evolution during students' final two years in their translation programme. Second, the model also integrates self-efficacy beliefs as an additional result of the translator identity verification process. This would also permit their tracking as students develop their translator identity. Third, the model incorporates identity statuses as a relevant outcome of the verification process, which means that these could be periodically documented as students experience their undergraduate programme.

It is important to mention that the model above is based on a continuous, uninterrupted cycle. However, the system may be interrupted by a series of possible situations, which may alter the outcomes of the system. The following section analyses these processes and their possible effect on the model's components and, critically, its outcomes in the context of translator identity.

1.3 Interruptions in the model

This section discusses additional processes that can be regarded as complementary factors to the normal functioning of the system mentioned in the previous section. In particular, it examines the notions of *flux interruptions* (Burke 1991, 1996) and their impact on the outcomes of the model. It is important to highlight that these interruptions assume the existence and co-enactment of other identities and,

therefore, the different types of interruptions described below can occur concurrently.

Flux interruptions refer to the ways in which the system discussed above can stop working. According to Burke (1991, 1996), there are four types of interruptions, which Burke labels with Roman numerals. For the purposes of this study, these are given descriptive labels to facilitate the analysis in later chapters: life event disruption, role conflict disruption, error response disruption and episodic identity disruption. *Life event disruptions (Type I)* refer to life events that trigger the deactivation of one identity, for instance, the passing of a loved one or losing one's job. In these cases, identities can no longer be verified, which demands to substantially accommodate the IS. This type of interruption also implies changes in a variety of levels within the same identity context. For instance, apart from challenging individuals' worker IS, losing one's job also compromises the relationships with co-workers or physical spaces. Furthermore, this kind of interruption could also extend to other identity dimensions, for instance, if being unemployed impacts negatively on individuals' capacity to provide for their families, their spouse or parent identities may also be affected in their enactment and identity standards.

The second type of interruption, *role conflict disruption (Type II)*, involves the interferences from other identities. Going back to Amanda's example, if she had a district football match the evening before an important exam, her student and her football team member identities would conflict. This is why Burke and Stets (2009) refer to this kind of interruption as a 'role-conflict' situation. In other words, due to the fact that individuals have multiple identities, one of these identities can interrupt or undermine the verification of another. This particular type of interruption is also relevant later in the multiple-identity model discussed in subsection 1.4.2.

The third type of interference, *error response disruption (Type III)*, is connected to the degree to which identities are able to cope with the error signal. Burke and Stets (2009) suggest that in a normal system for an identity, a large difference between perceptions and IS can be tolerated before resources are allocated to reduce the mismatch. On the contrary, tightly controlled systems do not tolerate a significant amount of difference, which means that resources are allocated to monitor and minimise discrepancies between perceptions and IS. This type of *over-*

controlled identities may fail to be exercised if there is a lack of resources to successfully monitor potential mismatches, which could also affect other identities as these could be neglected when resources are focused mostly on a single identity. For example, when Amanda started translating, she paid close attention to every single detail and wanted to translate every single word. She did this because she wanted to do well and paying close attention to the translation task would probably minimise her chances of making mistakes. However, this strict control on their behaviour may cause stress or anxiety in the long term as well as unwanted behaviour, such as overtranslating.

The last type of interruption, *episodic identity disruption (Type IV)*, is based on the premise that all identities are episodic in nature since they tend to be interrupted at regular intervals as individuals alternate between them (Burke 1991). Some identities are episodic in the sense that they are hardly ever activated, which does not give the system enough time to develop, for example, acting in a school play (Burke and Stets 2009). Conversely, other types of properly developed identities are activated in an unpredictable on-and-off fashion, for example, ER medical staff. This constant on-and-off duality may produce distress in the enacted identity.

What is common to all four types of interruptions is that individuals are challenged with a choice, i.e. individuals are prompted to exercise their agency and take action. This might involve accommodating new constructs into the IS (life event disruptions), choosing one identity over another (role conflict disruptions), or determining the resources allocated to the enactment of a particular identity (error response disruptions and episodic identity disruptions.). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is suggested that commitment and its identity-related agency determine how loose or tight a system is and, consequently, the number of resources allocated to reduce potential differences between individuals' perceptions and IS. This, in turn, determines whether the information in the IS is assimilated or accommodated, leading to changes in the outcomes of the identity-verification process and identity statuses.

Another significant aspect to which interruptions pose a threat is that of individuals' emotional stability. Burke and Stets (2009) identify two possible factors in which interruptions can negatively affect emotional stability, namely frequency and source of interruptions. *Frequency* suggests that individuals experience distress when normal identity activity is disrupted (Mandler 1982). Thus, the more frequent

the interruption is, the less likely it is that individuals are capable of enacting an identity, which results in distress. Similarly, the *source* is equally important, as interruptions caused by significant people can cause more negative emotional responses due to the mutually verified expectations (Burke 1991). Thus, the source of interruptions fosters an outward emotional inclination, placing the focus on alterity, which could also affect the development of identity statuses. In regard to the latter, these interruptions would presuppose crises that foster a regression to an exploratory stage, which may account for the cases in which individuals with an achiever identity status return to a seeker identity status (as in life event disruption).

Burke and Stets (2009) suggest that the systematic occurrence of these flux interruptions could potentially lead to the abandonment of an identity. In the context of translator education, these types of interruptions could explain why some students become increasingly less committed to their translator identity and opt for other vocational choices, such as interpreting or language teaching. This implies the resignation of their occupational identity to another identity. However, the commitment and self-efficacy beliefs resulting from the development of their translator identity could play an important role in how these students later engage with their former vocation.

In conclusion, the four types of interruptions present challenges to individuals' IS that can be resolved by either abandoning the enactment of their identities or making commitments to their identities. In the case of the latter, these commitments might facilitate a shift towards an inward emotional inclination and, consequently, promote the development and verification of identities. It is important to mention that, although these interruptions are conceived in terms of the impact they would have on one identity, they also play a significant role in the conceptualisation of a multiple-identity model for this study, which is discussed in the following section.

1.4 Exploring translator and student identities

The main objective of this research is to describe how students, like Amanda, develop translator identity during their studies at undergraduate level. As mentioned in subsection 1.1.3, it is hypothesised that trainees' student identity plays a significant role in the development of their translator identity. The purpose of this section is to provide an account of how multiple identities, including student

and translator identities, operate within a person. To do this, Burke and Stets's (2009) multiple-identity model is described and problematised in terms of identity organisation and hierarchy. The result is a multiple-identity model that attempts to describe the potential interaction between the student and translator identity within the identity verification process. This could then be used to support the interpretation of students' perceptions of their experiences in their translation programmes and, vitally, understand the student and translator identity dynamics.

1.4.1 Multiple-identity verification model

As previously pointed out in subsection 1.1.1, individuals have multiple identities (Burke and Stets 2009; James 1890; Rattansi and Phoenix 2005; Serpe and Stryker 2011). Based on this assumption, Burke and Stets (2009) propose a second model in which they present multiple enacted identities at a particular time. This model is useful to explain the impact of one identity on others and how their interaction accounts for their development. To exemplify this, their model merges three individual identities into a single system, as shown in Figure 1.5. It is important to point out that this multi-level system could also include many other additional identities.

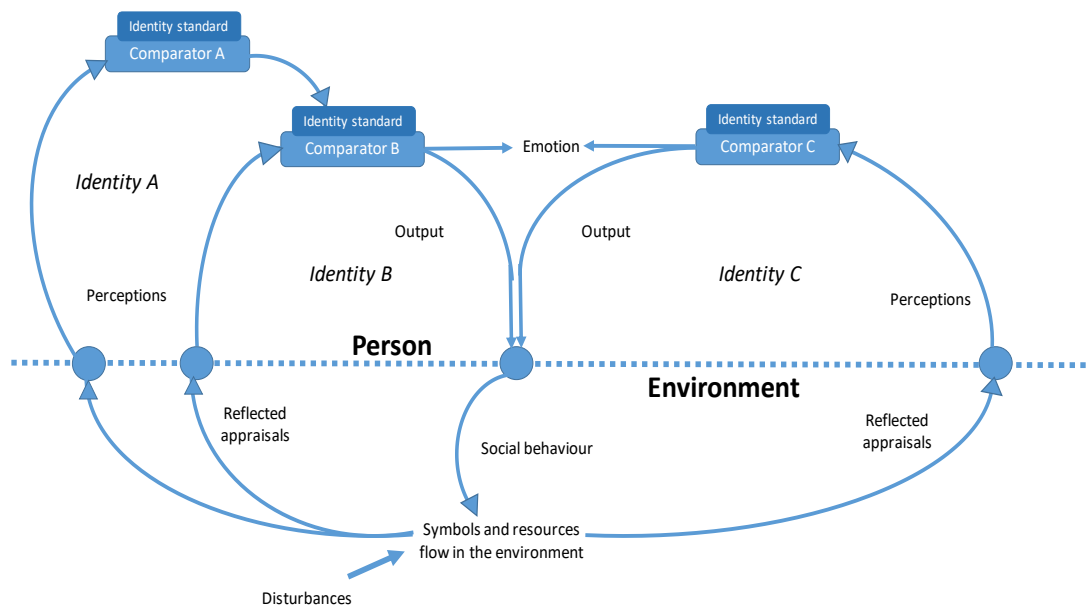


Figure 1.5 Model for three concurrent identities (Burke and Stets 2009).

The model above presents identities A, B and C, which are hierarchically organised. Identity A is governing identity B, which is shown as its outcome. This means

identity A has a direct impact on identity B's IS. Identities B and C are at the same level, but carry out different identity verification processes. Tsushima and Burke (1999) claim that identity A is a high-level identity, which tends to involve more general, non-specific identities, such as gender, age, race, etc. Identities B and C are low-level identities, i.e. they operate in a more specific context: student, member of a club, parent, etc.

According to Burke and Stets (2009), this system of relationships results in a single final behaviour, since there is one individual to perform the action. However, this assumption presupposes that when two identities present two opposing identity standards, one of them must be modified so that both can be verified. This echoes the role conflict disruption (Type II) in that identity co-occurrence implies choosing one over another. In other words, one identity has to be sacrificed for the verification of the other. However, this research proposes that individuals *negotiate* meanings across their enacted identity standards to generate the best outcome that allows the verification of as many identities as the situation permits. This high-level reflective process involves compromise on the part of some identities, which means that negotiation also aims at minimising a potential decrease in self-efficacy beliefs due to identity non-verification.

As ipseity is experienced in a moment-by-moment fashion, behaviour resulting from this negotiation may at times be more strongly linked to one of the enacted identities, depending on the relevance it has for individuals exercising it. As discussed in section 1.3, in error response disruptions (Type III) individuals allocate more resources to tightly controlled systems, which are identities that are significant for people. This means that negotiation might not always occur, particularly when one identity is significantly more relevant for an individual. Whenever two or more identities are enacted, one of them may acquire particular relevance either because of the context or personal preference, which leads to that identity taking over the entire system and its outcome. This means that the high- and low-level identity hierarchy proposed in Burke and Stets (2009) might not always work, as sex, age or nationality, for instance, might not be prioritised in a context-bound negotiation process.

A potential answer to individuals' identity choices can be found in two additional possibilities for the organisation of multiple identities. According to McCall and Simmons (1978), identities are organised based on their prominence and salience.

Stryker (2002) explains that *prominence* suggests that individuals prefer to enact a particular identity because they feel comfortable with it, which might lead to their activation across various situations and contexts. *Salience* refers to identities that are enacted due to contextual demands (Stryker 2002). ICT research (Brandl and Bullinger 2017; Serpe, Stryker, and Powell 2020) has described the ongoing dynamism of the identity verification cycle in which identity salience plays a relevant role in the identity negotiation process (or the lack of it). Both stances are strongly connected to the commitments individuals have to their identities, either personally or socially driven. For example, Amanda might enact her student identity over others because she thinks it is the most suitable one for a given context. She could also decide to enact it because of the personal relationships that are available to her by enacting that identity, such as her classmates or the school football team members. Alternatively, she might privilege this identity because it is the one she feels more comfortable with, as it has been verified and holds an achiever identity status. These possibilities show that the organisation of identities within the negotiation responds not only to the nature of the identity, i.e. being high- or low-level but also to personal preferences and contextual circumstances. It can be inferred, then, that identity commitments and their respective statuses do play a critical role in the negotiation in the sense that they determine which identities are more likely to be favoured in comparison to others.

The negotiation process may also involve individuals' emotions, which, as described in 1.2.4, underpin the identity verification process. In comparison to Burke and Stets's (2009) single-identity model where emotions are the result of identity verification, their multiple-identity model positions emotions between the IS of identities B and C, suggesting that positive emotions emerge when there is multiple identity verification of these identity standards. This echoes the idea that the resulting behavioural response of the loop system promotes identity verification across all activated identities. However, as discussed above, since identity verification depends on the prominence or salience of all the enacted identities, it might not be achievable for all of them. Thus, individuals' emotional stability presents another relevant factor in the negotiation of outcomes: if one identity results in a considerable amount of distress because of its non-verification, then individuals might change an expected or logical course of action. For example, if one of Amanda's classmates asked for help during an exam, she would have to choose between her friend and student identity. In terms of prominence and

salience, it is very likely that she would favour the student identity and not help her friend. However, the idea of her friend failing the test or being blamed for not helping her could make her rethink her final decision and ultimately choose to help her peer to cheat.

Consequently, it can be concluded that the negotiation process in the multiple-identity model proposed in this study aims for an equilibrium between identity hierarchy and emotional stability. This principle underlies the outcome of the system and accounts for individuals' decision-making when more identities are concurrently activated.

1.4.2 Exploring student and translator identities interactions

This subsection articulates a multiple-identity model that can be used to shed light on the interaction between trainees' student and translator identities as they experience the programme. This is done by considering the observations previously made regarding identity hierarchy and emotional stability within the negotiation process to complement Burke and Stets's (2009) model, as illustrated in Figure 1.6 below:

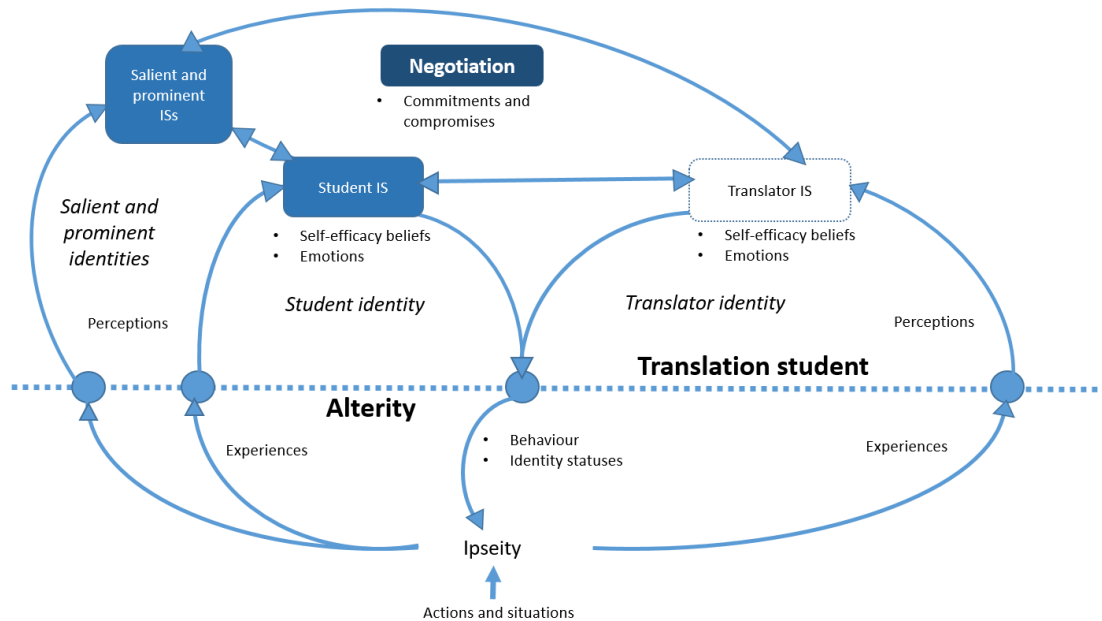


Figure 1.6 Model for translation students' multiple-identity verification process. As in Burke and Stets's (2009) model for multiple identities, three identities are represented in this adaptation. However, since it is impossible to determine exactly what specific identities each individual holds as governing high-level identities, this

model suggests that individuals' salient and prominent identities are located at this level. These identities, which vary from person to person, account for the uniqueness and particularities of individuals' personal cases and are likely to influence trainees' student and translator identity; for example, family relationships, financial circumstances, age, sexual orientation, hobbies, etc. On the other hand, the student identity is located at a lower level along with the developing translator identity.

A critical feature of this model is that it presents the negotiation stage at the higher-level thinking of the system. As proposed in subsection 1.4.1, this is a high-level reflective process carried out among identity standards. In the case of translator identity, this process occurs as trainees face the ipseity of their programmes. This study assumes that their student identity acquires an enabling role within the system due to its salient position in trainees' lives. This identity coordinates the negotiation process which aims to produce behaviour that responds to the contextual demands. It is important to mention that as options are analysed, emotional engagement is likely to be activated. For example, if Amanda has to choose between attending an important lecture or going out with her friends, whatever she chooses will trigger an emotion. She could either feel proud because she privileged what was important for her or experience self-remorse because of her actions. Hence, this negotiation leads to commitments and compromises which ultimately accounts for students' behaviour. This would explain the extent to which student and translator identities can be co-verified since both converge into a single output, which allows identity verification and an increase in student and translator self-efficacy beliefs.

Trainees' student and translator identities are conceptualised as separate entities because their student identity is likely to have been exercised for a considerable amount of time in their lives. This does not imply, however, that its identity status corresponds to that of an achiever, but it acknowledges that it has been a significant part of trainees' life stories. Conversely, trainees' development of their translator identity is likely to have only started formally when they enrolled in their programmes. The model indicates this initial developing stage with the dotted line surrounding the translator IS in Figure 1.4. As proposed in subsection 1.2.3, translator IS is configured by means of assimilation and accommodation. Both processes presuppose the acquisition of new knowledge, which can be either theoretical, e.g. the sub-competences that constitute the notion of translation

competence, or practical, that is, the opportunity to have hands-on practical experience (Tan, Van der Molen, and Schmidt 2017). Thus, accommodation would consist in adapting previous information that individuals bring to the programme, e.g. previous experiences, biases, stereotypes, prejudices, etc., in the light of the newly acquired knowledge and developing performance as translators. These two processes shape the configuration of the translator IS to which enacted behaviour is compared.

However, the resulting behaviour is not solely interpreted by means of the translator IS. Both the student and translator identity standards engage in the process of generating behaviour, which ideally should verify both identities. Nevertheless, it may occur that the academic performance matches the student identity, but it could well be that such performance does not match the IS of the translator identity. For example, if Amanda takes a regular translation practical exam and is not sure how to approach the text, she might start looking at websites for specific terminology or spend too much time rewriting a paragraph. She knows that she is not usually like this when translating, but the complexity of the text has made her unsure of her abilities to successfully complete the task. When the lecturer gives out the results, it turns out she did well, which means that her student identity remains verified, but she might feel that her translator skills did not improve. In fact, she could potentially think that, despite her poor performance, she somehow managed to obtain a good mark. Contrarily, she might have done terribly in the exam but might feel that the way she approaches the text allowed her to improve her translator skills. Thus, her self-efficacy beliefs might increase for one identity and diminish for the other. This seems to suggest that the relationship between the student and translator identities could generate potential role conflict disruption (Type II), which could have a significant impact on how the translator IS is shaped and the resulting identity statuses.

In summary, the student and translator identity model proposed in this section suggests that students perceive their experiences in the programme for each of their enacted identities. Those that are more salient or prominent are likely to exercise control over the student and, perhaps more critically, the translator IS. A reflective process of negotiation between the IS is carried out in which commitments and compromises are made to achieve the best possible behaviour. This process involves emotional engagement in each of the identity standards as commitments are congruent or not with their constructs, which also impacts their

self-efficacy beliefs. Negotiation ideally results in consensual behaviour, which is then carried out in the context of their undergraduate programme. The results of their behaviour performance should lead to the verification of the enacted identities, which is also reflected in their identity statuses. However, as discussed in this subsection, the enacted behaviour may trigger identity verification on one identity and not necessarily the other. Critically, this multi-level model aims to shed light on RQ4 of this study, namely how student and translator identities interact with each other during the process of translator identity development.

1.5 Making connections: exploring translator identity development

This chapter has elaborated theoretical models that provide a framework to address RQs that are at the centre of this study. The first RQ refers to the components that constitute students' translator IS at different times during the last two years of their programme. Section 1.2 presented Berzonsky's (1990) understanding of the IS as a continuously evolving self-theory. This is particularly relevant in the case of the emerging translator identity in trainees who, by means of assimilation and accommodation, restructure and acquire new theoretical and practical knowledge that would enable them to perform effectively as translators. The models proposed in this section could be used to shed light on a potential explanation as to how this process occurs: new knowledge is verified by comparing the identity standards of multiple identities, which could either confirm the notions of the IS or modify them as needed. It is also important to acknowledge that the translator IS provides individuals with a sense of temporality and self-continuity, i.e. it holds students' previous beliefs and commitments towards their identity. Thus, the ways in which the IS deals with new and previous information plays a crucial role in the processing of experiences and subsequent verification and ultimately determines specific identity-related behaviour, which is then negotiated with other enacted identities to produce adaptive behaviour. It is important to point out that this study does not intend to explain and analyse the particularities of this behaviour per se, as the focus of this research is the development of translator identity.

The second RQ is related to the fluctuations of translator self-efficacy beliefs as students live the concluding years of their training. Self-efficacy beliefs are self-perceptions that result from a comparative metacognitive exercise executed in the identity verification process. The students judge their enacted behaviour and

determine whether it matches their expectations of goals or translator-related constructs in the IS. It is suggested that it increases when the translator identities are verified and decreases when they are not. Consequently, translator self-efficacy beliefs could strengthen or weaken as students develop their translator identity. In addition, changes in the identity statuses can also have a direct impact on students' self-efficacy beliefs since, for example, students with a more developed translator identity, i.e. achiever status, are less likely to suffer major changes in their translator self-efficacy beliefs, while others with a seeker status are prone to fluctuations in their confidence as translators.

The third RQ focuses on the translator identity statuses and how these evolve. The verification of the IS in the models results in commitments to the constructs held in the IS, which fosters their consolidation. This makes it possible to determine Marcia's (1966) identity statuses as translation students experience their undergraduate programme. The developing nature of students' translator identity would presuppose a seeker status by default, yet this can only be determined by analysing their narratives and commitments made to this identity. As students face the challenges in their ipseity in their translation programmes, they are likely to experience interruptions in the verification process that might undermine the commitments and constructs they hold for their translator identity. These interruptions are key processes that could also have a direct impact on the resulting identity status for the translator identity. Due to the translator IS being in a developing stage, statuses need to be periodically monitored to evaluate the evolution of the IS in the final two years of students' undergraduate programme.

The fourth RQ is connected to the potential relationship between the student and translator identity. As mentioned in subsection 1.4.2, student identity is likely to have been enacted for most of trainees' lives up to their enrolment in the programme. Since trainees become translators by experiencing their programmes, it is hypothesised that the student identity, particularly its IS, plays a critical role within the multiple-identity verification model. Moreover, the notions of negotiation, salience and prominence are important to understand the hierarchies and dynamics of the potential relationship between the student and translator identity. It is important to acknowledge that the model presents an initial tentative proposal as to how these identities operate within the multiple-identity model. However, as trainees' narratives are explored and analysed, the model might need to be

adapted later on to convey the dynamism of the translator identity developmental process.

In addition, the models discussed in this chapter describe a series of processes that are experienced from the students' first-person perspectives. This requires the researcher to see these different events and situations that students live through their own eyes and voice. A phenomenological study of trainees' experiences and perceptions could outline the psychological processes that underlie the development of their translator identity. These experiences can then be analysed by means of the two models described in this section to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the development of translator identity.

Chapter 2 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

This is a qualitative longitudinal study conducted from an interpretative phenomenological paradigm. In particular, this research consists of a panel study, i.e. a group of participants who are studied systematically at several points in time (Howitt and Cramer 2017). The participants are interviewed at regular intervals to engage with their narratives, which are understood as significant reported fragments of their life experiences (Ewick and Silbey 2003). These narratives are then analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009). This method aims to examine the students' experiences as they develop their translator identity to determine the essential constructs underlying those experiences, i.e. its significant reiterative and generalisable features. This is done by annotating interview transcripts, which are then analysed to describe the psychological processes that individuals seem to be experiencing.

The aim of this chapter is to present the methodology employed in this thesis. Section 2.1 defines the IPA research method and identifies the three underlying philosophical areas that support its design, i.e. phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. Section 2.2 describes the translation programmes and the participants engaging in this research. Section 2.3 discusses the use of interviews as means to generate data for the IPA analysis. It then presents the design of the semi-structured interviews for this research. Section 2.4 describes the contextual crises that occurred during the execution of this study and their impact on the interview timetables. Section 2.5 provides a summary of the interview rounds and the generated data, while section 2.6 reflects on the researcher's role in this study. Finally, section 2.7 details how the interviews are transcribed, prepared and analysed following the IPA stages. It concludes by outlining how data are presented in the next chapters of the thesis.

2.1 The IPA method and its underlying philosophies

The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a psychology-based method for qualitative enquiry originally designed by Smith (1996) and aims to study 'how people make sense of their major life experiences' (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009, 1). In other words, it intends to describe individuals' experiences by interpreting the psychological processes underlying them (Howitt and Cramer 2017). These experiences can be understood as either 1) a unit in a time continuum

that has meaning, or 2) a sequence of parts in one's life that have a common meaning (Dilthey 1976). This duality of experiences allows researchers to explore different phenomena either as an episodic situation or as an overall continuum in time.

In the last 20 years, IPA has become increasingly used in different fields to understand how people experience specific phenomena. During that time, Smith, Flowers and Larkin's (2009) work has been considered as the main methodological reference for a variety of studies in health (see Shaw et al. 2014) which explore how patients and their families experience diseases, disorders or conditions as well as their accounts during therapy or treatments (see Cassidy et al. 2011; English 2014; Omari and Wynaden 2014). IPA has also been used in interpreting studies to understand the experiences of interpreters for mental health professionals in the context of humanitarian crises (Williams 2004; Molle 2012; Splevins et al. 2010; Shakespeare 2012; C. Gallagher 2015). In the field of education, Noon (2018, 82) affirms that, although IPA has not been widely adopted in qualitative research, it offers 'a [potentially] powerful tool in helping researchers to understand the lived experiences of those within the education system.'

Consequently, this study would constitute the first PhD thesis to use IPA in the context of translator education as a means to understand how their experience their training and develop their translator identity. Since Emery and Anderman (2020) warn that IPA requires researchers to familiarise themselves with its philosophical principles to avoid potential misrepresentations of individuals' experiences in education, the following subsections examine the principles upon which IPA is constructed, namely phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009).

2.1.1 Phenomenology: focusing on the experience

Phenomenology is a vital aspect of IPA: it explores how the world appears to individuals, concretely the interrelations and correlations between themselves and objects in the form of experiences (S. Gallagher and Zahavi 2012; Zahavi 2019). Zahavi (2019, 27) suggests that the way in which individuals direct their consciousness to the world plays a critical role in how that world is conceptualised. He further adds that this intentionality of consciousness offers 'insights into not only the structure of subjectivity but also into the nature of objectivity'. This means that people's reality is configured by their subjective conscious experiences of the

world. Phenomenology examines how individuals experience the world and the extent to which their experiences could apply to larger groups of people (Howitt and Cramer 2017).

Edmund Husserl (1970, 2001), the father of phenomenology, proposes that, to analyse such experiences, it is necessary to take a phenomenological *attitude*, i.e. a reflective stance towards what has been experienced. This attitude aims to identify the *essential constructs* underlying an experience, i.e. its irreducible, invariable and generalisable features. Husserl's (1970) phenomenological method invites individuals to bracket or suspend preconceived ideas, thoughts or constructs about the world around them and instead focus on how they perceive a particular situation. It is then necessary to correlate what is being perceived to the self, i.e. give meaning to the experience. This is followed by a reflection about what makes a particular object *that* object in one's experience with it. Finally, individuals determine the degree to which the structures constituting the phenomenon are generalisable to others.

For example, winter in Chile is usually regarded as a season of cold, rainy weather. The phenomenological method implies that, first, this definition of the phenomenon in isolation needs to be set aside and, instead, one should focus on the winter as it appears to individuals. Winter is only cold or rainy as long as one perceives it as such. One could then reflect on what elements define winter as *the* winter one conceives as such: shorter days, prolonged periods of rain, dark clouds, wearing warm clothes, etc. However, these elements could not only relate to climatological-related features but also emotions. If one removes the rain, the clouds or the snow, is the object still perceived as winter? One person could reply to this question by stating that winter for her is characterised by feelings of longing and loneliness. The question now would be the extent to which other individuals conceive winter as the experience of these emotions. If individual accounts provide the same narrative, it would be reasonable to believe that a particular group of people experience winter as a season of cold, rainy weather accompanied by feelings of loneliness and longing.

Husserl's (1970, 2001) phenomenological method constitutes the foundation on which other authors have developed further ideas. For instance, Heidegger (1962) considers that individuals are 'in-the-world', i.e. they are *situated*. This provides individuals with temporality, intentionality and intersubjectivity, the latter being

'the shared, overlapping and relational nature of our engagement with the world' (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009, 17). This means that individuals can experience more than one element at a particular time or with a particular object. Merleau-Ponty (2012) builds on Heidegger's (1962) situatedness and emphasises the idea that people's bodies represent physical and perceptual affordances in their interaction with the world. Therefore, individuals' bodies and how these are situated in the world have a major impact on how they perceive an experience. In addition, Sartre (1956) further remarks that there is a social aspect to experiences: they are better understood in the presence or absence of relationships with others.

In translation studies, Husserl's (1970, 2001) phenomenology allows researchers to understand how language, meanings, cultural elements, etc., are presented to consciousness. According to Cercel, Stolze, and Stanley (2015), it is paramount to comprehend how this occurs before attempting to establish causal explanations. They also suggest that phenomenology could potentially be of considerable relevance in cognitive research, such as the one intended to be carried out in this study. Some studies have used phenomenology to approach the translation of philosophical works (Charlston 2012; Baumgarten 2017) or reflect on translation practice (Hansen 2003; Venuti 2013).

2.1.2 Hermeneutics: interpreting the experience

The second significant area for IPA is the theory of interpretation or *hermeneutics* (Heidegger 1962; Porter and Robinson 2011; Ricoeur 1984). It examines how people interpret their experiences and the conditions required for those experiences to be understood. According to Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009), the combination of hermeneutics and phenomenology allows researchers to get as close as possible to individuals' experiences. In their view, 'without the phenomenology, there would be nothing to interpret; without the hermeneutics, the phenomenon would not be seen' (2009, 37). Translational hermeneutics has discussed the nature and approaches to meaning for almost two centuries since, as Cercel, Stolze, and Stanley (2015) indicate, there is a vital interdependence between understanding and translation. Since Schleiermacher's (1813; 1977) hermeneutical theory of translation, which emphasises the situatedness of the language, translator and translation, researchers and theorists have used this philosophical principle to reflect on the theory and practice of translation (see

Kearney 2007; Melaney 2015; Robinson 2015; Stolze, Stanley, and Cercel 2015; Besnard-Scott 2019).

Ricoeur (1970) suggests that there are two strategies for understanding meaning: recollection and critical engagement. The first involves how individuals perceive to have lived an experience, while the second involves a more critical reflection about it. IPA draws on these two elements to obtain first-person accounts of participants' experiences while also prompting them to reflect about them in ways otherwise they would not have done by themselves (Eatough and Smith 2006). Thus, IPA involves a double hermeneutic process: the first one occurs when individuals try to make sense of their experiences and the second one takes place when the researcher interprets the individuals' reflections on that experience (Smith 2004). In other words, both parties engage in a co-constructive process of interpreting a phenomenon.

When researchers perform their hermeneutic move, Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) suggest they should set aside their preconceptions as they approach the participants' narratives of their experiences, which echoes Husserl's (1970) phenomenological attitude. In their view, researchers' preconceptions about the phenomenon can potentially change as they focus on participants' experiences, which could then affect their subsequent interpretations of the phenomena. By taking a phenomenological attitude while making a hermeneutic move, researchers can get as close as they possibly can to participants' experiences while attempting to discover what those experiences mean to them (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009).

2.1.3 Idiography: the value of the particular

The third philosophical underpinning of IPA is *idiography*, which emphasises the importance of particularity which cannot be acknowledged in nomothetic research. These concepts were first proposed by Windelband (1998) and then discussed in English by Allport (1937, 1962), who described ideographic knowledge as that which focuses on particular objects, events or situations, while the nomothetic knowledge relates to knowledge of general laws (Lundh 2015).

IPA relies on idiography to carefully describe the psychological processes underlying people's experiences and the meanings they give to these in the context of their own lives. According to Shinebourne (2011), this commitment to

idiography allows researchers to hermeneutically reflect on participants' experiences and analyse them through a theoretical lens and relate them to relevant literature in psychology, which ultimately leads to the psychological explanation of the phenomenon.

The emphasis on the individual implies that the notion of case study is re-examined, as each individual, time-lapse or situation could constitute a case per se. Smith (2004) suggests that the details emerging from single cases might be able to shed light on commonly shared features across human experiences. To do this Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009, 29) suggest using 'purposely-selected and carefully-situated samples' to foster a common ground in which the essential structures underlying an experienced phenomenon can be outlined. As a result, most studies involving IPA have a small number of participants (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009; Smith 2011), which means that their findings are usually bound to the groups studied. Despite this apparent limitation in terms of generalisation, IPA allows researchers to retrieve distinct particular features of individuals from generalisation. In other words, IPA studies may provide more limited generalisations but they compensate for this by highlighting the participants' contributions in the articulation of their results.

In summary, the nature of IPA stems from the three areas of philosophy mentioned in this section: phenomenology focuses on how experiences are lived by embodied individuals in the world, hermeneutics grants the possibility to make sense of that experience from individuals' and others' perspectives, and idiography emphasises the features of the particular, i.e. a re-evaluation of the case and its complexities. By committing to IPA's philosophical principles, researchers can access the participants' first-person accounts and minimise the chances of drawing 'weak representations of [their] meaning-making experiences' (Emery and Anderman 2020, 228).

2.2 Settings and study participants

This section defines the research context and the participants. It is divided into two subsections: the first one presents the setting in which this study is conducted. A three-step selection process is used to identify common features to determine the programmes, years and course units from which data are collected. The second subsection presents the translation undergraduate students who are the participants in this study. It is important to acknowledge that, despite their

potential similarities, the two programmes examined in this section have their unique curricula. Thus, the generalisations that emerge from the participants' narratives in this study may only apply to the communities of these specific programmes.

2.2.1 Exploring translator education in Chile: LLAT and TIE

Translation has been officially taught in Chile since the early 1970s (Diéguez 2008). Translation programmes have proliferated throughout the country since then. According to Basaure and Ahumada (2021), there are currently 12 undergraduate translator training programmes offered in Chile, four one-year diploma courses in specialised translation and one MA in Translation Studies. This research focuses on the undergraduate programmes, as these represent the contexts where most translators are currently trained in Chile.

The 12 programmes share common features in their '*perfil profesional*' (professional profile), i.e. a brief statement in which programmes state the competencies and skills that students develop throughout their training. Although all the translation undergraduate programmes state that their graduates will be able to translate accurately and efficiently, the curricular disparities among them may produce differences as to how students achieve this common objective. Since all programmes differ from one another, it is necessary to identify their common features in order to provide a homogeneous shared ground to the experiences that lead to the translator identity development, as suggested by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009). Therefore, the 12 programmes can be grouped into two possible approaches to translator education: 1) programmes that offer translation or interpreting pathways in English as B language (6), or 2) translation programmes with one or more B/C languages as pathways (6). B languages are understood as the main second languages into and from which students translate, while C languages are those from which students usually translate into their first –or A– language (Hurtado Albir 1999).

The sample of settings for this study consists of two programmes that exemplify each of these two major trends in translation training curricula in Chile. The first one is the undergraduate translator programme at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (PUCV), which offers a translator or an interpreting pathway with English as a B language. The second is the translation programme at Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH), which offers two pathways: one in English and

Portuguese and a second one in English and Japanese. Originally, this study had considered a third potential programme to account for programmes with both translator and interpreting pathways with multiple B languages. However, access to students in that setting was not possible and, thus, the research was limited to only two settings.

Licenciatura en Lingüística Aplicada a la Traducción con Mención en Inglés-Japonés o Inglés-Portugués (LLAT) (BA in Linguistics Applied to Translation in English-Japanese or English-Portuguese) is the 10-semester translation training programme at USACH. It started in 1995 and was the first to offer a Spanish-English-Japanese language combination in Chile. The programme emerged as a response to the then newly signed international cooperation agreement with the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 1994. Later, the programme incorporated Portuguese as a B language in 2000 as Chile signed an agreement with the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR). A third version of the programme, which included a reduction of interpreting course units and two additional Spanish-English translation course units, has been offered since 2013. The programme currently offers Portuguese as a B language and Japanese as a C language. Students are expected to choose either of these pathways at the conclusion of their first year of study.

Similarly, the 9-semester *Traducción Inglés-Español* (TIE) (English-Spanish Translation) programme at PUCV was opened in 1995. Initially, it offered a two-year common programme for both translation and interpreting pathways. After a curricular update in 2016, students now decide their pathway at the end of their first year. Since this study deals with translator education, it does not consider the course units on the interpreting pathway and focuses exclusively on the translation pathway. In addition to their translator education, students at PUCV are expected to complete additional compulsory course units related to Christian faith, morals and ethics aligned with the principles and values promoted by the university.

In spite of the differences between the two programmes, it is possible to identify areas in which both share some features. To establish this common ground, the programme components need to be analysed in terms of their impact on the development of students' translator identity. As mentioned in subsection 1.1.2, Tan, Van der Molen and Schmidt's (2017) framework proposes three programme-related factors that are critical in the development of translator identity, namely

knowledge of the occupation, having the professional as a role model, and experience with the occupation. By applying these factors to LLAT and TIE curricula, the majority of course units that encapsulate the three factors are found in the fourth and fifth years of both programmes. During those two years, trainees take course units related to specialised translation and Spanish-English translation, which allows them to develop specific skills and knowledge. Similarly, professional ethics course units provide trainees with guidelines that can be used as references in their future professional life. Furthermore, during their fourth year, students need to conduct their research and write their undergraduate thesis, while in their fifth year they have their professional internship: in the ninth semester at TIE and in the tenth semester at LLAT. This two-year period also matches the allocated time frame for this PhD study.

Consequently, the study focuses on the fourth and fifth year of LLAT and TIE at USACH and PUCV respectively. Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 show the parts of the programmes that are relevant for this study. In Tables 2.1 and 2.2, the blue course units are those that are common to both pathways, while the ones in dark blue are the pathway-specific course units for either Japanese or Portuguese. It is important to highlight that a detailed comparison between the first three years of LLAT and TIE, in terms of structure and entry requirements, is carried out in Chapter 3.

Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	Semester 10
English Language VII	Writing in English I	Writing in English II	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
General English-Spanish Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	English-Spanish Legal Translation	English-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
Introduction to Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation II	Creativity and Innovation
Terminology	Elective I	Professional Ethics I	Professional Ethics II
Research Methods in Translation	Thesis	Elective II	Professional Internship
Japanese Language VII	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese I	Elective III	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese III
Reading Skills in Japanese II	General Japanese-Spanish Translation	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese II	Japanese-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
Introduction to Japanese-Spanish Translation		Japanese-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	Spanish-Japanese Translation

Table 2.1 LLAT English-Japanese pathway.

Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	Semester 10
English Language VII	Writing in English I	Writing in English II	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
General English-Spanish Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	English-Spanish Legal Translation	English-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
Introduction to Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation II	Creativity and Innovation
Terminology	Elective I	Professional Ethics I	Professional Ethics II
Research Methods in Translation	Thesis	Elective II	Professional Internship
Portuguese Language VII	Spanish-Portuguese Translation I	Elective III	Portuguese-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
General Portuguese-Spanish Translation	Portuguese-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	Portuguese-Spanish Legal Translation	Portuguese-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
Introduction to Spanish-Portuguese Translation		Spanish-Portuguese Translation II	

Table 2.2 LLAT English-Portuguese pathway.

Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	Semester 10
General Spanish-English Translation	Specialised Spanish-English Translation		
Terminology 2	Professional Ethics and Management	Graduation Workshop	
English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology 2	English-Spanish Legal and Economic Translation	Professional Internship	
Translation Revision and Editing	Editing in English		
Research Methods in Translation and Interpreting	Thesis		
ESP for Translation and Interpreting	Elective 4		

Table 2.3 TIE's fourth and fifth year.

A final comparison between the programmes allows the organisation of common course units in four groups: 1) English-Spanish and Spanish-English translation, 2) professional ethics, 3) the thesis, and 4) the professional internship. Both institutions have different approaches, regulations and teaching methods when it comes to ethics, the thesis and the professional internship. However, translation course units are delivered in a similar fashion, which sets a main common ground for this study. This research intends to focus mostly on students' experiences in 14 English-Spanish and Spanish-English translation-related course units: eight course units from LLAT and six from TIE, which are shown in Table 2.4.

	Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	Semester 10
LLAT (USACH)	General English-Spanish Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	English-Spanish Legal Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
	Introduction to Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation II	
	Terminology			
TIE (PUCV)	General Spanish-English Translation	Specialised Spanish-English Translation	Graduation Workshop	
	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology 2	English-Spanish Legal and Economic Translation		
	Translation Revision and Editing			

Table 2.4 Spanish-English and English-Spanish translation course units selected for the study in LLAT and TIE.

In addition, this study also considers the other major academic milestones students have to deal with during their last two semesters in their programmes, namely the writing up of their undergraduate thesis and their professional internship. According to Tan, Van der Molen and Schmidt (2017), these experiences would constitute critical factors in the students' holistic development of their translator identity.

It is important to acknowledge that the participants may bring other programme-specific experiences to the study, for example, their Japanese learning process or sitting Christian-related course units. These elements are considered as they also constitute part of their situated experiences in the development of their translator identity. In other words, although the research intends to focus primarily on the

common ground both programmes display, the particularities of each programme are also discussed provided that these are relevant enough for the participants to include in their narratives.

2.2.2 Study participants

This study aims to understand how translation students develop their translator identity during their programme, particularly in the last two years of their studies. To do this, this research adopts IPA's double hermeneutic process: it relies on students' first-person perceptions about what they experience during their semesters in their programmes. These narratives are then interpreted by the researcher, who attempts to describe the experiential processes from a phenomenological stance.

The *student participants* constitute the core of this research, i.e. how these students develop their translator identity as they live their undergraduate programmes. Their recruitment was carried out in two stages. First, directors of LLAT and TIE were contacted to obtain permission to carry out the study in these settings. Upon their authorisation, potential participants were firstly contacted by the heads of the programmes, who provided participants with a general outline of this study. Second, fourth-year students in both programmes were approached via email in which the purpose of the research was explained and to which the participant information sheet and consent form were attached. The participants voluntarily formalised their enrolment by replying to the email and attaching their consent forms. Students also authorised the researcher to 1) request their academic records from their respective programme directors and universities, and 2) discuss their academic grades with their lecturers.

The LLAT and TIE students participating in this study were all Chilean. They were starting their fourth year and had, up to the beginning of this study, made enough academic progress to be able to enrol in their seventh semester. The research involved six participants from each setting: LLAT (4 f; 2 m) and TIE (6 f; 0 m). This produced a final sample of 12 participants (10 f; 2 m). Pseudonyms were used throughout this thesis to guarantee their anonymity during this research: Aurora, Daniela, Fran, Ignacio, José and Luna were the LLAT participants, while Ana, Cora, Lorena, Matilda, Nicole and Vai were the TIE participants.

This research also considered the lecturers' perceptions of these students' performance in order to have a much more holistic understanding of the translation classroom. Concretely, it was thought that the lecturers' accounts could potentially provide further information concerning students' academic performance, translator skills, confidence in the classroom and other relevant aspects. This information was deemed to be relevant to determine whether the essential structures underlying their translator identity development could be generalised to the whole group of participants.

Thus, the *lecturer participants'* comments and perceptions would provide a further understanding of the development of students' translator identity in English-Spanish and Spanish-English translation course units. The number of lecturers who engaged in this study was dependent on the programme and the number of course units in translation student participants would sit each semester. These lecturers were individually contacted by the researcher to request their collaboration. Table 2.5 shows the number of lecturers per semester per programme engaging in this study.

	LLAT		TIE		Total
	f	m	f	m	
Semester 7	4	1	2	0	7
Semester 8	1	0	0	2	3
Semester 9	2	0	0	0	2
Semester 10	0	1	-	-	1

Table 2.5 Number of lecturers participating in the study.

However, the initial purpose of including lecturers in this research had to be adjusted because the local and global crises, i.e. the social unrest and the COVID-19 respectively, changed classroom dynamics substantially, as discussed later in Chapters 4 and 5. These episodes made it hard for the lecturers to keep track of each of the student participants' behaviour and attitude in the classroom beyond their academic performance. After the social unrest in October 2019, the lecturers' narratives presented incomplete, ambiguous or inaccurate information about the student participants, which could potentially obscure the researcher's hermeneutic move at the time of analysing the student participants' narratives. Therefore, the information generated from lecturers' interviews was only used to gather further information and details about the contextual dynamics and particularities of the classroom. For example, their narratives could clarify how specific translation

assignments were designed and how students responded to them in general terms. They could also explain how online teaching during the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic impacted their lectures and course units.

As a disclaimer, any potential additional information that the lecturers shared regarding the student participants' personal lives or situations during the interviews is not mentioned in the analysis unless it was explicitly mentioned by the student participants in their own interviews throughout the study. This is because, although the student participants were aware of the possible interchange of data between the lecturers and the researcher, the focus was on their own accounts of their experience and if the situation is relevant enough, they were likely to comment on that during the recorded interviews. Similarly, personal circumstances revealed in email exchanges with the participants were not to be included unless they provided additional written consent to do so.

In summary, this research draws primarily on student participants' narratives regarding their experiences as they develop their translator identity in their translator programmes. The lecturers' narratives provided additional contextual information to support the researcher's final hermeneutic move in order to outline the potential essential structures underlying the phenomenon. The next section below explains the principles that underlie the instruments by which the student and lecturer participants' narratives are collected.

2.3 The phenomenological interview

This section details the data collection instruments for this research. It is divided into four subsections. The first one presents semi-structured interviews as means of collecting data in phenomenological research and the principles that underlie their design and application. The second subsection details dimensions used in the interview sets for student participants. The third subsection presents the instruments used to gather data from lecturer participants. The final subsection explains how these interview sets are conducted in the context of this research in accordance with ethical regulations.

2.3.1 Interviews for phenomenological research: principles and design

The purpose of this longitudinal study is to examine the development of translator identity in translation students as they experience their education. From possible

qualitative data collection methods, interviews stand out as the most frequently used method for IPA (Brocki 2006; King, Horrocks, and Brooks 2019). According to Smith and Osborn (2015), semi-structured interviews present three main affordances over other methods: 1) they foster rapport and/or empathy, 2) they provide flexibility of coverage, which allows the participants to steer the discussion towards their interests, and 3) they produce richer data. Since this research focuses on translation students' personal experiences during their training, it was more appropriate to conduct one-to-one interviews instead of focus groups. This would allow the researcher to establish a closer, meaningful rapport with each participant, which could lead to much more detailed accounts of their experiences and, therefore, significant data.

In addition, the participants' answers to the interview questions in a semi-structured modality constitute a type of *narrative*, i.e. an episodic hermeneutic move on individuals' past experiences in the present (Riessman 2008). However, as suggested by Salmon and Riessman (2013), it is important to acknowledge that the presence of the interviewer has an impact on what the participants say and, critically, how they say it. Thus, Mattingly (1998) suggests that narratives are co-created exercises in which interviewers invite the participants to focus and reflect on particular situations. This conceptualisation of narratives fits the aims of the IPA research design, as this co-constructive hermeneutic move allows the participants to reflect on their experiences in ways they are unlikely to have done on their own (Eatough and Smith 2006). In other words, it is a temporal, reflective exercise that provides an insight into who people have been and are, and who they are not. This is why Yuval-Davis (2006, 201) suggests that 'narratives are identities'. Consequently, for the purposes of this research, narratives encapsulate the participants' perceptions of their experiences based on their personal stories and past experiences. These narratives are co-constructed in the framed context provided by semi-structured interview questions and researchers' probes.

In phenomenological research, semi-structured interviews involve two factors that are critical for their successful implementation: the type of questions and the interviewing techniques. For the first one, Smith and Osborn (2015) suggest that interview questions should be *neutral* (e.g. not value-driven), *jargon-free* and *open*. It is recommended that interviewers memorise the questions so that the interview is conducted smoothly (Howitt and Cramer 2017). In addition, King, Horrocks and Brooks (2019) propose that questions could include imaginative variation, which is

part of Husserl's (1970, 2001) phenomenological method. Imaginative variation is 'the process of imaginatively altering aspects of a phenomenon to clarify which are essential to the experience of it' (King, Horrocks, and Brooks 2019, 239). In the context of phenomenological interviews, this can be used as a type of prompt in which participants are asked to compare their current experience with similar ones, either real or imagined, in order to identify the components that make the present one different from others. By making this reflective move, key distinctive elements that constitute the experience are brought forward, which enriches the data.

The second factor is connected to the way in which the interviewer conducts the session. In this regard, Smith and Osborn (2015, 35) recommend four key principles to guide the interview appropriately: 1) avoid going directly and too quickly to the main area of interest, as it may be a personal or sensitive issue, 2) avoid overusing probes too frequently, 3) only ask one question at a time and allow sufficient time to respond, and 4) be aware of the impact the interview has on the interviewee. These principles foster the co-construction of the participants' narratives in the sense that they provide the participants with a suitable environment in which they can verbalise their perceptions. In addition, King, Horrocks, and Brooks (2019, 265) suggest that 'IPA allows scope for reflective consideration of the role of the researcher in the interpretative process.' This means that researchers not only engage as agents during the interviews but could also be impacted by the data that emerges from the conversations with the participants.

2.3.2 Instrument design: student participants

This study employs three sets of questions to collect data from students. The first one is used for the *anchor interview*, which aims to set the starting point from which variations in perceptions and translator identity-related constructs can be determined. The second set is used in the *assessment interviews*, which are designed to obtain information for each of the RQs of this study at regular intervals. In other words, it is the set which generates the narratives that address the questions regarding translator IS, translator self-efficacy beliefs, translator identity statuses and student-translator identity interactions. The final set is used in the *exit interview*, which marks the end of the round of interviews. This one has a metacognitive purpose, i.e. it prompts the participants to reflect on their overall

translator identity development process. All interviews are designed to be conducted in the participants' first language, namely Spanish.

For the construction of these sets, three considerations have been taken into account. First, as suggested by Smith and Osborn (2015), all interview guides begin by discussing general aspects of the participants' experiences before exploring the more personal sensitive topics. In addition, the questions have been grouped into *dimensions* that align with the specific aims of the interview round and the RQs of this study. The combination of these two recommendations results in questions about self-efficacy beliefs being located near the end of the interview rounds.

Second, the imaginative variation prompting is adapted to examine the translator identity developmental process. Concretely, this implies initially asking students about the way they conceive the professional translator and the extent to which they are committed to those constructs. In each of these three interview sets, the participants are prompted to reflect on their previous perceptions and determine whether these have been strengthened, modified or discarded during the semester they experienced. These narratives would allow the researcher to have access to the evolution of the essential constructs that underlie the students' translator identity development.

Third, the questions in the interviews are neutral and jargon-free, as recommended by Smith and Osborn (2015). Most questions are open, with some exceptions that aim to challenge the participants' position and force them to take a stand. For instance, in assessment interviews, the participants are asked whether they are confident to start working at intermediate stages of their education. Questions like this one are designed to trigger a self-assessment process and, most importantly, reflect on the level of confidence they have in their skills as part of their translator identity. This sudden confrontation with ipseity leaves little time for the participants to assess all aspects of their competence, which is why immediate, significant aspects of their translator self-efficacy and identity status are likely to be verbalised.

The dimensions underlying the questions in the three sets are presented in the sections below. All interview sets with their English translations can be found in Appendix 1.

A) Anchor interview

The anchor interview (INT0) was conducted at the beginning of the data collection process. In this set, the participants were officially introduced to the researcher and rapport for future interviews was fostered. This set of questions included dimensions addressing self-perceptions and student identity, translator IS and identity status, experiences in translation and expectations of the programme. These dimensions were adapted from a similar study carried out by Singer, López, and Basaure (2020). In their work, questions under these criteria provided a detailed initial point from which translator identity development could be tracked. Since the questions in this research were based on those applied in Singer, López, and Basaure's (2020) study, they were not piloted. This interview set lasted between 45 to 60 minutes. Table 2.6 describes the dimensions used in this study.

Anchor interview		
Dimension	N. of questions	Description
Self-description	1	This question aims to determine the participants' current overall sense of identity and explores their personalities, attributes and aptitudes.
Student identity	4	These questions discuss the participants' motivations to apply to their translation programmes and, by doing so, they establish a connection between their past experiences, personal stories and their current ipseity. They also discuss their sense of belonging to the programme and possible current student identity status. This information is vital for the understanding of their student identity status at the beginning of the results chapter.
Translator identity	5	These questions outline the ideal translator that students would like to become and, based on that construct, other questions enquire about their level of commitment to that ideal. They also offer the chance to explore the concepts of interruptions suggested by Burke and Stets (2009). In addition, they explore past experiences in the programme and how these set the ground for expectations in the following semesters.

Table 2.6 Anchor interview dimensions.

Students' conceptualisations of the ideal professional translator and the translator they wish to become were recurrent perceptions that constitute the core of the translator IS. Consequently, these concepts are subsequently included in each of the assessment interviews in which the participants engage.

B) Assessment interviews

The purpose of these interviews was to regularly monitor students' experiences in their programme and record the overall effect that specific course units have had on the development of their translator identity. This set of questions was repeated in two to three interview rounds, depending on the programme: TIE participants sat INT1 and INT2, while LLAT participants engaged in INT1, INT2 and INT3. This difference in the number of interviews is because LLAT is one semester longer than TIE. The dimensions used to articulate the questions for this set respond directly to the four RQs of this study. This set of questions was piloted with two fifth-year students from LLAT, who did not take part in this study. The answers obtained in the pilot showed that the questions were able to prompt participants to verbalise their experiences, particularly those concerning their self-efficacy beliefs. In addition, the pilot informed minor adjustments in the first dimension and probes were written for some questions to foster richer narratives. These interviews were intended to last between 30 to 50 minutes. The dimensions for this set of questions are shown in Table 2.7 below.

Assessment interview		
Dimension	N. of questions	Description
Translator identity standard	3	These questions aim to find out the impact the semester had on the participants' translator IS. Students are first asked to reconceptualise the professional translator and are then reminded of their previous answers to previous interviews to find out whether the perceptions they hold have been strengthened, modified or discarded.
Translator identity status	4-6	The questions in this dimension explore the degree of commitment students have to their translator identity. In addition, they elicit students' difficulties and situations of exploration that could have undermined their commitment. The questions also involve their perceptions towards their group support

		and skills that the participants have developed during the semester. In the third interview, this dimension also includes questions about the participants' experiences involving their theses.
Translator self-efficacy beliefs	2	In this dimension, questions focus on students' translator self-efficacy beliefs in terms of their translator identity and its behaviour. The participants are also asked the degree to which they believe their training has helped them to improve.
Student and translator identity dynamics	3	These questions problematise students' academic performance and their associated perceptions. The participants are asked to define themselves as a student based on the results obtained during the semester and whether they feel confident enough to work as professional translators in the market.

Table 2.7 Assessment interview dimensions and related questions.

The narratives generated during these interviews constitute the data that directly address the RQs of the study. In addition, since these questions prompt students to reflect on the perceptions verbalised in previous interview rounds, the researcher is able to track the super-ordinate themes until the end of this study.

C) Exit interview

Similar to the anchor interview, the exit interview aimed to create a reflective instance for the participants at the conclusion of the study. The students should ideally have finished their training by the time of this interview round but it was possible that due to different circumstances not all managed to do so. Thus, the questions of this interview asked students to evaluate the whole training process regardless of the point they found themselves in their training. For TIE participants, the exit interview was carried out in INT3, whereas for LLAT participants it took place in their INT4 interview round.

The interview set was also piloted with two students in their fifth year at TIE who did not take part in this study. The pilot showed that second and third dimensions were particularly critical for the purposes of this research. It also revealed that additional time and prompts were needed to allow the participants to expand on their perceptions as much as possible. Thus, this interview was readjusted to last

between 35 and 50 minutes. Table 2.8 presents the dimensions that underlie the questions in this set.

Exit interview		
Dimension	N. of questions	Description
Translator identity standard	2	The two questions prompt students to describe their perceptions about what means to be a professional translator, based on their experiences in the last two years of their programmes. Additionally, they are confronted with this conceptualisation and asked to state whether they regard themselves as that professional or not.
Translator identity status	4	The questions in this dimension require students to verbalise the degree to which they feel committed to their translator identity at the conclusion of their education. They are also asked to reflect on the major difficulties that they have had during this process and future potential challenges. In addition, it includes questions focusing on the participants' experiences regarding their professional internships.
Translator self-efficacy beliefs	3	In this dimension, students are required to state whether they have obtained the required set of skills to perform professionally. Critically, they also need to say how confident they are in their abilities. Finally, they are asked to identify possible areas of improvement.
Student and translator identity dynamics	3	Students are presented with their final average in their translation course units and are questioned about the significance that grade has and whether it represents their capacities as translators.

Table 2.8 Dimensions in the exit interview.

It is possible that the questions in one or more dimensions need to be slightly adjusted depending on each participant's circumstances at the time they conclude the study, i.e. change past tense to a perfective aspect. This stands out as a valuable asset in data, as the experiences of those participants who struggle with their studies are hardly ever captured in the literature.

This interview marks the end of the data collection rounds with student participants. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the analysis of these first-person narratives is also informed by the third-person perspectives generated in semi-structured interviews with the lecturer participants.

2.3.3 Instrument design: lecturer participants

The interview set was designed to generate data that can contribute to the analysis of all the RQs of this study. In particular, three aspects of students' translator identity were explored: students' behaviour in terms of their academic performance and relationship with peers, skills and attitudes to improve, and their translator self-efficacy beliefs and overall confidence in the classroom.

The number of times lecturers engaged in this interview depended on the number of times they were assigned to teach a translation course unit. This means that some lecturer participants could sit the interview only once, while others did so multiple times. Lecturers' interviews lasted from 25 to 70 minutes, depending on the number of student participants enrolled in the course unit they delivered. Questions in this set were also all neutral, jargon-free and open. Table 2.9 describes the design of the interviews for the lecturer participants.

Lecturers' interviews		
Dimension	N. of questions	Description
Contextualisation	4	The purpose of these questions is to know how the lecturer delivers the course unit, how learning outcomes are assessed and how the class dynamics flow. In addition, the questions involve course planning and particular features that are critical in the delivery of the course unit.
Perceptions about the student participants	7	This dimension is divided into two parts. The first one inquires about general perceptions of the groups they taught that semester in terms of their training and academic performance. The second part scrutinises each participant of the study according to their behaviour and translator self-efficacy beliefs. In the following interviews, these perceptions are summarised and presented again

		to the lecturer to discuss whether these have changed in the new course unit or not.
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Table 2.9 Lecturer participants' interview set.

As mentioned in 2.2.2, the lecturers' narratives were originally intended to complement the students' first-person accounts of their experiences. However, after the INT1 assessment interview, the narratives from lecturers contained inaccurate information about the participants as some did not recall who the participants were, while others were only able to provide general accounts of their classes due to the limited interaction generated by the social unrest and then the pandemic. Thus, the lecturers' interviews were only used as an additional means to understand the students' context in the classroom, which provided additional input that contributed to the interpretation of students' experiences. For example, lecturers commented on how they implemented their lessons in online platforms and described student interaction within this new setting. In cases like this, the lecturers provided an insight into the pedagogical context which students experienced. Thus, this input contributed to the researcher's understanding of the classroom, which allowed him to better situate the students' narratives in such a context during the data analysis stage.

The execution of the interview rounds implied a series of challenges for both the participants and the researcher, as a series of crises led to changes in the original design of the study. These contextual difficulties are discussed in the next section.

2.4 Implications of local and global crises for this study

From 2019 onwards, the participants experienced two crises that went beyond their translation programmes, namely the Chilean social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic. This section explains the implications these crises had in the conducting of the data interview rounds. It first describes the organisation of an average academic year in Chile and the original research schedule. It then presents the contextual particularities of each semester due to the crises and the final timetable of the interview rounds.

In Chile, a normal academic year for undergraduate students starts in March and finishes in December. The first semester usually runs from March until mid-July.

Students then have a winter break of approximately four to five weeks. Classes for the second semester begin in August and finish in early December.

Based on this academic calendar, the anchor interview was scheduled to be conducted in May 2019 following the completion of the ethical approval process. The assessment interviews were scheduled to be carried out at the end of each semester in July and December. It is important to note that the TIE programme is one semester shorter than the LLAT programme. This means that there would be a difference in the total number of interview rounds that TIE and LLAT participants have to complete. TIE participants would complete four interviews: the anchor (INT0), two assessments (INT1 in July 2019, INT2 in December 2019) and the exit interview (INT3) in July 2020. The LLAT participants would have one extra assessment interview: they would also engage in their first and second assessment interviews in July and December 2019, respectively, but they would sit a third assessment interview (INT3) in July 2020 and their exit interview (INT4) in December 2020. Table 2.10 illustrates the original schedule for the interviews with TIE and LLAT participants.

	Anchor (INT0)	Assessment 1 (INT1)	Assessment 2 (INT2)	Exit/ Assessment 3 (INT3)	Exit (INT4)
TIE	May 2019	July 2019	December 2019	July 2020	-
LLAT	May 2019	July 2019	December 2019	July 2020	December 2020

Table 2.10 Original timetable for the interview rounds.

The INT0 interview took place as planned without any complications. However, there was a minor change in the dates for the INT1 interview: it was conducted in July 2019 with the LLAT participants and in September 2019 with TIE participants. This change was due to the fact that students at TIE had been on a strike between June and July, which meant classes were rescheduled and the first semester concluded in September. Students at LLAT did not go on strike mostly because they had already had one during the second semester of 2018, which made them conclude their academic year in January 2019.

In October 2019, a series of demonstrations in which citizens demanded a better quality of life became more intense and, from 18th October, social unrest took place until early January 2020. This phenomenon involved rioting and episodes of

extreme violence (Ansaldi and Pardo-Vergara 2020), which made transportation and movement within large cities increasingly dangerous. In this complex scenario, universities suspended all onsite lectures to guarantee students and staff safety. As demonstrations concentrated on certain areas of cities and on particular dates, classes were resumed in early December. In the case of LLAT and TIE, it was agreed that most of the remaining teaching and final course assignments would be carried out online. This also meant extending the semester and concluding it in late January 2020, when the second round of interviews was conducted. The participants were also expected to write and submit their theses during their semester, but due to the social unrest, both programmes postponed the final submission of the participants' work to guarantee they could carry out the process satisfactorily.

LLAT and TIE's INT3 interview rounds were originally scheduled to be conducted in July 2020, but due to the outbreak of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, the start of the semester was postponed to early April. At both LLAT and TIE, lecturers were to deliver the semester using online platforms, such as Zoom (Zoom Video Communications 2021), along with any other online support that they regard as appropriate to meet the ends of their classes. The absence of protocols and guidelines to deliver a whole semester online generated a series of challenges and difficulties for students, who resolved to online strike action to demand better conditions to carry out online teaching and learning. TIE participants were not affected by it because they were in their final semester and were allowed to continue without adhering to the strike action. This allowed the researcher to conduct the exit interview in August 2020. However, LLAT participants did engage in the strike, which meant that their semester was extended until March 2021. Therefore, LLAT's INT3 interview was conducted in September 2020 and their INT4 interview had to be postponed until March 2021. Table 2.11 shows the actual moments when interviews were carried out due to these unforeseeable challenges.

	Anchor (INT0)	Assessment 1 (INT1)	Assessment 2 (INT2)	Exit/ Assessment 3 (INT3)	Exit (INT4)
TIE	May 2019	July 2019	January 2020	August 2020	-
LLAT	May 2019	July 2019	January 2020	September 2020	March 2021

Table 2.11 Actual timetable for the interview rounds.

2.5 Generating data, co-creating narratives

Phenomenological research carried out using alternative means to face-to-face interviews, such as the use of telephone (Sweet 2002) or video calls (Bourne 2017), suggests that the rapport did not differ across the methods used. In their view, the rapport with participants transcends the means used in the studies. Based on such findings, and since the participants were geographically in Chile while the researcher was based in the UK, the interviews were carried out conducted in Spanish via Google Hangouts+.

At the conclusion of the each of the five data collection rounds, a set was produced. The principles proposed by Smith and Osborn (2015) were employed while conducting the interviews, particularly the first and fourth principles: avoid rushing to the main point of interest and consider the effect the interview is having on the participant. These two aspects were critical, as participants were confronted with issues they did not normally reflect on or did not intend to talk about altogether. Therefore, special care was considered throughout the interview process with student participants. In addition, rapport building was also established so that student participants were able to share their perceptions and information with the researcher (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009).

The interviews were audio-recorded using two digital recorders. Audio files were then encrypted and transcribed. The transcriptions were carried out by a professional transcriber at Universidad de Santiago de Chile who was familiar with the translator education context in Chile. The decision to outsource the transcription of the interviews was made due to the fact that the limited timeline of the study required interviews to be conducted and transcribed almost simultaneously to guarantee sufficient time for the data analysis and subsequent writing. The transcriber signed a confidentiality agreement, which stated that all data would be encrypted and subsequently destroyed following the transcription process. In addition, all data transfer between the transcriber and the researcher was carried out using Zendto, which was the platform for file collection offered at The University of Manchester.

The transcription process followed mainly a naturalised approach (Bucholtz 2000), which means that the transcripts conform to written discourse conventions. This means that non-essential discursive elements, such as the exact length of pauses or every time the participants giggle, were not included. The transcriptions also

retained the informality of the language used by the participants, mainly abbreviations or colloquial expressions. In cases where non-verbal cues, mainly voice intonation, conveyed specific meanings about an experience, these are annotated in the transcript in brackets. As literature warns about the potential loss of data throughout the transcription process (Howitt and Cramer 2017; King, Horrocks, and Brooks 2019), and considering the outsourcing of transcriptions, all the transcriptions were read and compared to the interview recordings by the researcher to ensure their accuracy and that no significant elements were missing before proceeding with the analysis for each interview round. It is believed that this procedure, along with the conducting of interviews and subsequent systematic reading of the transcripts, provided the reviewer with a sufficient level of in-depth familiarity with the data. As mentioned in subsection 2.2.2, the participants were pseudonymised to protect their identities and name equivalences were only known to the researcher.

The student interviews generated a total of 37 hours and 41 minutes of audio-recorded material. Table 2.12 summarises the total time per participant.

		Anchor (INT0)	Assessment 1 (INT1)	Assessment 2 (INT2)	Exit/ Assessment 3 (INT3)	Exit (INT4)
TIE	Ana	0:43:47	0:32:23	0:37:45	0:40:10	-
	Cora	0:39:08	0:39:50	0:36:24	0:38:53	-
	Lorena	0:55:19	0:44:55	0:46:06	0:40:12	-
	Matilda	0:49:50	0:36:32	0:35:02	0:35:57	-
	Nicole	0:39:32	0:25:51	0:27:23	0:30:49	-
	Vai	0:34:12	0:34:10	0:28:06	0:39:53	-
LLAT	Aurora	0:46:00	0:49:19	0:53:01	0:34:53	0:55:57
	Daniela	0:43:48	0:44:34	1:00:02	1:07:39	1:06:55
	Fran	0:48:28	0:44:28	0:37:52	0:40:14	0:45:10
	Ignacio	1:03:52	0:35:35	0:32:38	0:40:02	0:55:57
	José	0:42:45	0:33:28	0:23:41	0:26:10	0:40:37
	Luna	0:50:20	0:32:38	0:41:38	0:49:31	0:42:09
	Average	0:46:25	0:37:49	0:38:18	0:43:05	0:51:01
	Total	9:17:01	7:33:43	7:39:38	8:04:23	5:06:08

Table 2.12 Average and total time for each interview round during the study.

The original audio files and transcripts are securely stored on the Research Data Store (RDS) of The University of Manchester. This guarantees that only the

researcher and his supervisor have access to the encrypted audio files and transcripts.

The interviews with lecturer participants were not transcribed but were listened to again after carrying out all of the participants' analyses for each interview round. This was done to incorporate any contextual information that could further elucidate the process of translator identity development.

The dimensions of the questions in the interview guides generated a pre-thematic framework, i.e. a set of preliminary themes resulting from the interview design in which the narratives, as a whole, could be grouped prior to the analysis. This pre-thematic framework encompasses five critical dimensions: 1) the impact of their 'personality traits' on their translator identity development, 2) their commitment to becoming a translator, 3) their conceptualisation of translation practice, 4) the role of their peers in their training, and 5) the impact of their grades and performance. These five aspects are then analysed and discussed according to the relevance they hold for the RQs of this study.

It is important to highlight two aspects regarding these dimensions. First, the notion of 'personality traits' is loosely used in the same fashion that the participants referred to them in their narratives. In other words, this concept needs to be understood as a label used by the participants instead of the theoretical concept in psychology. Second, these five aspects do not constitute super-ordinate themes nor essential constructs of the participants' experiences per se, but rather work as thematic axes from which data can be organised, analysed and then articulated to the main focus of this study, i.e. the phenomenon of translator identity development. The final essential constructs are analysed and explained in detail in Chapter 6.

2.6 Ethical considerations regarding the researcher

The literature on IPA highlights the relevance of creating a positive environment in which participants feel at ease to discuss issues that might be delicate and personal (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009; Smith and Osborn 2015; Howitt and Cramer 2017). In this sense, the role that researchers play in conducting interviews is paramount in the co-construction of the participants' narratives. However, as noted in Brocki's (2006) review of 52 IPA studies, few studies discuss the ethical implications of this role. Furthermore, she suggests that most researchers affirm

that their involvement in the interview process does not produce major effects on the data, while a very limited group reflect on their positioning in the data generation process. Brocki (2006) states that an acknowledgement of researchers' perspectives, research interests, theoretical underground could contribute to clarifying this aspect of IPA research.

In the context of this research, there was a major issue concerning the researcher's position in the interview rounds. It is important to acknowledge that the researcher worked as an associate professor at USACH and had previously taught at LLAT. Moreover, he had taught Aurora, Fran and José once during their studies. Although he had never taught or established any contact with the other LLAT or TIE participants, his position as a lecturer could have impacted on the power dynamics during the interview. Furthermore, it could have also led the student participants avoid disclosing certain information, such as their critical opinions on lecturers or class dynamics. In addition, the participants could have also felt inclined to provide certain answers that would please the researcher regarding his own performance and role as an educator.

To address this critical problem, two measures were considered. First, it was explained to students in their informed consent and at the beginning of the study that any information they disclosed about lecturers, their teaching or classes would not be shared with them in any way. By guaranteeing this, interviews could provide a safe space in which they could open up and speak freely about their experiences. Second, the researcher took an empathetic stance towards the students' experiences, which was enacted through tactful prompts depending on the nature of what was being discussed. This resulted in a positive rapport in which students felt confident enough to open up about sensitive topics. For instance, some participants commented negatively on some lecturers' feedback during their emergency remote teaching experiences in INT2 and INT3. Other students complained about their thesis supervisors in INT4. The emergence of this type of narratives suggest that the participants felt comfortable enough to disclose personal views and opinions with the researcher. These two measures fostered a positive relationship with participants, who shared their experiences, thoughts and reflections with the researcher, resulting in rich and deep data.

2.7 Data analysis in IPA

This section describes the six steps proposed in IPA for analysing the data that emerged from the semi-structured interviews. It details how these steps are applied to this study to determine the essential structures underlying the translator identity development. There are three stages to data analysis in IPA: data preparation, data analysis, and reporting of findings. This section details the first two, while the reporting of the findings is dealt with in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Data preparation involves having the interview transcriptions ready for their analysis. The standardisation of transcriptions facilitates file handling in software for data coding. In this study, the interviewer and the participants' contributions were individually placed in the middle column of a three-column table. The column on the left numbers the participants' narratives and the one on the right is empty to provide space to perform the required annotating processes of IPA. A sample of the data preparation table is illustrated in Table 2.13 below.

	Transcription	Comments
	Interviewer: How was your semester in general terms?	
1	Participant: It's been one of the most challenging semesters in my life...	

Table 2.13 Sample of transcript preparation for analysis.

These tables were generated for each participant in each interview round, which resulted in a total of 54 formatted transcripts. Once all the participants' transcripts were prepared for a given interview round, it was possible to carry out the data analysis process.

Data analysis in IPA is a six-step process that aims to examine how each participant perceives experiences as they develop their translator identity. The data analysis process involves interpreting the participants' narratives and then gradually comparing the essential constructs underlying their experiences to establish those that can be generalisable to the whole group of participants in a given interview round. The six steps for IPA analysis with their descriptions are presented in Table 2.14 below.

Step	Description
1. Reading and re-reading	This step involves familiarising oneself with the transcript through an active engagement with it. It also requires recording one's initial impressions in a separate notebook, which can be consulted during the analysis. This provides additional input to interpret and understand a case and whole phenomenon. It also allows the researcher to assess the rapport generated for the conduction of further interviews.
2. Initial annotating	According to Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009), this is the most time-consuming step. It involves providing <i>descriptive comments</i> (the content of what has been said), <i>linguistic comments</i> (how the language is used) and <i>conceptual comments</i> (conceptual, interpretative thoughts expressed as questions). Deconstruction of narratives, i.e. reading paragraphs in isolation from their end to their beginning, sentence by sentence, can also be carried out when necessary to obtain a much more detailed understanding of the narrative as a whole. It concludes with an overview of the notes produced.
3. Developing emerging themes	This analytical process means establishing relationships between what has been found in the notes of the previous step. In this stage, researchers' notes become the main focus rather than the transcript itself, which results in only fragments of narratives being used in subsequent analysis. <i>Concept coding</i> (Saldaña 2016), i.e. assigning a meso or macro level of meaning to the analysed fragments, is used in this step.
4. Searching connections across themes	In this phase, previously identified themes are listed chronologically and then scrutinised for possible connections between them by creating overarching <i>super-ordinate themes</i> . Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) suggest a list of possible strategies that can be used to that end, such as <i>abstraction</i> (create a super-ordinate theme from emerging themes), <i>subsumption</i> (promote a theme to the super-ordinate level), <i>polarisation</i> (identify possible super-ordinate themes by organising emerging themes into opposite poles), <i>contextualisation</i> (super-ordinate themes stemming from temporal, cultural or narrative themes), <i>numeration</i> (super-ordinate themes based on theme frequency) and <i>function</i> (super-ordinate themes that perform a particular function within the script).
5. Moving to the next case	This is a more reflective stance. The researcher needs to bracket the findings and perceptions found in the previous case and treat the next one independently as much as possible. Hence, it is recommended that

	steps 1-4 are executed systematically for each case to ensure the researchers' familiarity with the particularities of every participant.
6. Looking for patterns across cases	This last step involves finding connections between the super-ordinate themes across all cases. There might be instances where one emerging theme can potentially explain a situation for another case. This is important to have all available super-ordinate themes and their relevant themes organised into a table displaying the sections of the transcripts that encapsulate that theme. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) recommend at least three levels of interpretation should be applied when analysing the relevant fragments from the transcripts, i.e. they should be looked at three times to actually see how the participants live the experience, the language they used and how they perceive themselves in their narrated situations.

Table 2.14 IPA steps for data analysis.

In this study, the IPA stages are consistently applied for each interview in NVIVO12, as this piece of software can question a collection of documents concurrently. This aspect of NVIVO is particularly useful to locate narratives and cross-reference themes and notes across the different interview rounds. Once the super-ordinate themes for one student are identified, they are listed on a separate document along with the narratives that support the theme in brackets. This list keeps growing until all of the participants' super-ordinate themes have been recorded. The researcher then applies the procedures in step 4 to find relationships between the themes in the list and propose the super-ordinate themes of the interview round. These super-ordinate themes are discussed in detail at the end of each of the following chapters in this thesis. The fragments of the participants' narratives that best encapsulate these themes are selected among the potential excerpts and are then translated into English by the researcher.

As noted by Nikander (2008), qualitative methods literature seems to overlook the translation of data not generated in English. Temple and Young (2004, 168) suggest that translating data 'offers the researcher significant opportunities for close attention to cross cultural [sic] meanings and interpretations and potentially brings the researcher up close to the problems of meaning equivalence within the research process'. In other words, the translation process would place the researcher in the students' position, as he would need to fully understand their experiences in order to translate them into English. Thus, the translation process further contributes to the researcher's familiarisation with the data.

The translation process of these fragments involves trying to keep the essence of the message as close as possible to the participants' voices while making them acceptable in English. Birbili's (2000) approach to the translation of transcripts involves three considerations: 1) achieving conceptual equivalence, which implies adapting the concepts to the target culture; 2) applying the grammar of the target language, i.e. write the transcripts following the conventions of English; and 3) make the participants' words accessible by either translating literally (word-by-word) or freely (focusing on isolated fragments or themes). In other words, her stance towards translation presupposes making the fragments as natural as possible to the target audience, which can be done by following translation techniques and strategies summarised by Hurtado Albir (2011). For the translation of the transcript of this study, sentences were reordered using transposition, i.e. change of order or word class, to improve sentence flow and avoid ambiguity in English. These changes include, for example, moving adverbials at the end of sentences or minimising word repetition, unless these convey emphasis or a particular attitude. Equivalence of sociocultural features, such as idiomatic expressions, currencies, grades was achieved employing other resources such as modulation (adjustments for discourse conventions), correspondence (idioms and expressions) and cultural adaptation (similar cultural function) (Hurtado Albir 2011; Pym 2014).

In terms of presentation, since super-ordinate themes can emerge from a series of narratives that are not necessarily in a linear order, the different fragments are presented separated by ellipsis. The translations also attempted to encapsulate the participants' emotions and own voice and, thus, informal language is also translated and shown in the use of contractions and colloquial expressions. The fragments conclude with the participants' pseudonyms followed by the interview round and the group to which they belong, e.g. (Aurora, INT1, LLAT).

The super-ordinate themes from the interview rounds are discussed in terms of their value in understanding the development of the translator identity in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 6 carries out a final holistic hermeneutic move of the whole process and proposes the essential constructs that underlie the ways in which these translation students become translators during the last two years in their programmes.

Chapter 3 Participants' self-positioning and academic self-continuity

The development of the occupational identity –or translator identity in this study– presupposes a series of life experiences and choices which result in an initial diffuse set of beliefs in the IS. These past experiences and their resulting constructs are brought into translation programmes that require the enactment of the student identity in order to develop the translator identity. Thus, this process also involves the trainees' student identity IS, which has been constructed over at least twelve years. During that time, the participants have developed a sense of self-continuity as students, which could act as an initial identity framework for the construction of their translator identity. Consequently, it is vital to have an insight into the participants' academic self-continuity and understand their academic and vocational choices in their past to holistically comprehend their experiences in the present.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse students' self-positioning at the beginning of this study, particularly in terms of their student and translator identities. It explores the students' results in critical academic milestones prior to their participation in this study, namely the conclusion of their secondary education, university entry and first three years in their translation programmes. These data are then complemented with the emerging themes from the anchor interview (INT0), which focuses on the participants' overall self-perceptions, student IS-related behaviour and developing translator IS. The combination of these data provides an anchor of the participants' self-positioning that serves as the starting point from which the changes in their student and translator identities, mainly their conceptualisation, commitment and related self-efficacy beliefs, can be followed.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 3.1 describes the participants' pre-university academic performance in the form of their secondary school averages and university application weighted scores. Section 3.2 examines the structure of TIE and LLAT programmes to establish their curricular dimensions. The students' average grades for the first three years in these dimensions are discussed to shed light on their student IS up to the beginning of this study. Section 3.3 analyses the INT0 interview in terms of the participants' self-perceptions, student identity and translator identity. Finally, Section 3.4 summarises the super-ordinate themes underlying the participants' self-positioning and their sense of self-continuity at the beginning of this study.

3.1 Pre-university experiences: academic performance at school and university entry exams

This section examines two milestones that the participants experienced in their academic lives: their final averages when they concluded their secondary studies and their final scores with which they applied to their translator training programmes. First, a brief overview of the Chilean university entry system is provided, followed by a discussion of the participants' results in these two major milestones.

In the Chilean educational system, students attend school for 12 years. The final four years of their secondary education are known as *enseñanza media*, which encompasses 1st to 4th Grade (roughly equivalent to Grades 9 to 12 in the UK system). Upon the completion of 4th Grade, all school subjects from the 1st to 4th Grades are averaged and this final result constitutes students' '*notas de enseñanza media*' (secondary education grades or NEM), which is the first of three factors that constitute their application to Chilean universities.

The second one is the applicants' ranking score, normally referred to as *ranking*. Graduating students' NEMs are compared to the school NEM average, which is calculated by incorporating all its graduates' scores in the last three years. For instance, if one student graduates in 2020, her ranking score is determined by how her NEM compares to that of those who graduated in 2019, 2018 and 2017. If her NEM is lower than the school average, her ranking score is the same as that of her NEM. However, if her NEM is above the average, her ranking score is higher, which boosts her overall score. This is done to promote equality and reward those students who have done well in their educational contexts, regardless of their socio-economic background and personal circumstances.

The third, and perhaps most determining factor, is students' performance in the *Prueba de Selección Universitaria* (University Selection Test or PSU), i.e. a series of written exams to assess students' knowledge on several subjects. There are two compulsory tests (Spanish and mathematics) and two optional (history and social sciences, and sciences). Students sit these exams depending on the entry requirements of their undergraduate programmes to which they wish to apply. Scores in the tests range from 150 to 850 points. NEM and ranking averages are also converted into the 150-850 scale.

Students' weighted scores depend on the programme to which they apply. Each university determines its own weightings based on the knowledge and skills the programme requires. Table 3.1 shows the entry requirements for TIE and LLAT at the time of the participants' applications, i.e. 2015 and 2016.

Programme	School Performance		PSU		
	NEM	Ranking	Spanish	Mathematics	History and Social Sc.
TIE	10%	15%	35%	30%	10%
LLAT	10%	40%	30%	10%	10%

Table 3.1 Entry weightings for TIE and LLAT.

There are two reasons for the emphasis on ranking in LLAT's weightings. First, according to internal research carried out by USACH, students with higher rankings perform better at university than those who only obtained high PSU scores (Kri et al. 2013). Thus, from 2014 onwards, USACH has decreed that 50% of students' applications should depend on PSU scores and the other 50% on their school merits. This is closely related to the second reason: USACH's social mission. The ranking score in socially at-risk contexts and low-income settings is particularly high, which boosts those students' chances of being accepted into universities. Therefore, by setting a higher ranking weighting, USACH's purpose is to favour the best students' applications, regardless of their setting and income. PUCV applications rely mostly on the PSU scores, which means that, regardless of their school performance, students with high scores in their entry exams can be accepted into this university, provided they achieve a minimum weighted score.

These factors constitute the university admission process at the time of the participants' application and enrolment at their programmes. It is important to note the university admission system underwent some modifications in 2020 and, thus, the percentages and weightings presented here have changed (DEMRE 2021).

3.1.1 Participants' NEMs and PSU weighted scores

This subsection presents the participants' academic results in the two milestones discussed above: their NEMs and their final application scores to TIE and LLAT. As mentioned in Chapter 2, pseudonyms are used throughout this study. The participants' NEMs are displayed in the Chilean grading scale, which is from 1.0 to 7.0, with 4.0 being the passing grade. Students' academic performance during their secondary education in terms of their NEMs is shown in Table 3.2.

TIE		LLAT	
Participant	NEM	Participant	NEM
Ana	6.9	Luna	6.5
Nicole	6.4	Daniela	6.4
Vai	6.2	José	6.4
Lorena	6.1	Fran	6.3
Cora	5.8	Ignacio	6.2
Matilda	5.8	Aurora	6.1
Average	6.2		6.3

Table 3.2 TIE and LLAT participants' NEMs arranged by average.

The participants' NEMs show a very good performance in their four years at school. In both groups, most results vary only slightly. Cora and Matilda's averages are the only ones under 6.0, while Ana's is the highest NEM of either group. All participants successfully completed their secondary education and most with highly competitive averages. This important achievement is likely to have contributed to the verification of their student identity at that time. Once the participants obtained all their scores, i.e. NEM, ranking and PSU, they applied to their programme. Their scores were weighted into a final score with which they applied to TIE and LLAT, as shown in Table 3.3.

TIE			LLAT		
Participant	Weighted score	Entry year	Participant	Weighted score	Entry year
Nicole	698.25	2016	José	712.90	2016
Vai	694.55	2016	Ignacio	709.70	2016
Ana	692.60	2016	Aurora	698.60	2015
Lorena	690.00	2016	Luna	697.10	2016
Matilda	619.65	2015	Daniela	696.80	2016
Cora	604.25	2015	Fran	686.40	2016

Table 3.3 Participants' PSU weighted application scores to TIE and LLAT sorted by weighted score.

Nicole is not only the highest score of the TIE participants in this study but also of the whole TIE 2016 cohort. With scores in a similar range, Vai, Ana and Lorena are also ranked among the highest of their cohort. Cora's and Matilda's scores are lower but consistent with their NEMs. In LLAT's case, Fran's score is the lowest among the participants, but considering that the lowest score in the cohort admitted in 2016 was 625.10 according to the university database, Fran's weighted

score positions her among the most highly scoring students. Thus, both groups comprise individuals who have achieved high scores at school and in their university entry exams, which is likely to have further verified their student identity by fulfilling a socially-expected and established goal, namely being accepted in higher education.

The results discussed above suggest that both groups are homogeneous in two ways. First, the similarity of their NEMs could potentially mean that the participants share successful previous academic experiences during the last four years of their secondary education and, possibly, similarities in core constructs associated with their students IS. Second, their weighted application scores have allowed the participants to enter their translation programmes, which is hypothesised to have contributed to the development and verification of their student identity at that point in their lives before experiencing the first three years of their programme, which is the focus of the following section.

3.2 Students' academic performance at university

This section examines the participants' performance during the first three years of their translator training programmes. First, a general analysis of the initial six semesters of the programmes is carried out to classify the course units that the students experienced before the INTO interview. Second, it discusses the participants' academic performance in the categorised course units to hypothesise about their student identity behaviour.

The curricular structures of the two programmes respond to different visions regarding translator education. On the one hand, TIE has a more practice-oriented curriculum, i.e. trainees are immersed in translation practice from the third semester in their programme. This approach is favoured by some researchers in translator education and didactics (e.g. Robinson 2003; Kiraly 2000; Hurtado Albir 1999) who propose that trainees should focus on learning *by* translating rather than learning *about* translation. On the other hand, LLAT privileges a language-oriented curriculum to fully develop a certain level of proficiency in English before starting with translation practice. Part of this preparation involves a series of course units aimed at raising students' awareness about the grammatical and pragmatic differences between the languages with which they will be working. This curricular approach appears to be aligned with that proposed by Alves, Magalhães, and Pagano (2002), Gonçalves (2003), or Schäffner and Adab (2000), who suggest

that students benefit from the understanding of critical translation-related concepts and processes before engaging in translation practice. These two visions as to how translation should be taught result in TIE and LLAT offering different experiences for their students during the first six semesters, which could have had a critical effect on the development of their student and translator identities.

A general comparison of both programmes shows that TIE students seem to have experienced a greater number of translation course units, ranging from general topics to specialised translation, such as audiovisual translation or localisation. The inclusion of these course units means that others, particularly those related to Spanish and linguistics, have had to be kept to a minimum so that each semester does not exceed the maximum amount of credits per semester. Conversely, LLAT students have experienced a wide variety of language-related course units, including grammar, culture, syntax and phonetics. This process of language learning culminates with an initial 60-hour internship in which students are requested to use their language skills in a professional setting where they are not expected to translate professionally, for example, working as a bilingual secretary or a tourist guide.

A critical difference between both programmes is workload: LLAT students have between 20% and 25% more course units during their first six semesters. While TIE offers certain electives and fundamental course units per semester, students have the freedom to take them whenever they want during their programme. This allows them either to opt for a lighter or heavier semester depending on their circumstances.

In spite of the curricular differences mentioned above, both programmes share a critical aspect in terms of English language learning. As in most Chilean translation programmes, students develop their B/C language proficiency concurrently with their translation competence (Singer, Poblete, and Velozo 2021). This curricular decision is based on the fact that students do not have the necessary B/C language proficiency when they start their programme. Although the Ministry of Education decrees that learners should achieve a B1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2020) in English by the time they finish their 4th Grade (Ministerio de Educación 2019), this does not occur, according to the reports from Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE), which is the Chilean institution that carries out systematic

tests to assess students' knowledge and skills in several subjects. The results of the 2017 English SIMCE reveal that 68% displayed a level of English at level A1 or lower at the conclusion of their secondary education (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación 2018). Therefore, most English language course units in translation programmes at university start from level A2. Both TIE and LLAT carry out an English diagnostic exam at the beginning of semester one. Students who do not perform sufficiently well are placed in a remedial elementary language course that runs concurrently to their course units to support them in their language learning process. At LLAT, Japanese and Portuguese languages are taught from A1 or beginner level, as students are not expected to have prior knowledge of these two languages.

The aforementioned curricular similarities and differences in the programmes are likely to have impacted on the way in which the participants have experienced their education and their academic-related behaviour, particularly their grades. To calculate their grade averages during their first three years in the programmes, the course units have been grouped into the following categories: languages (including linguistics, language, phonetics, culture and grammar), translation (including theory-based translation course units in B or C languages, translation into B languages only, CAT tools and internships), and additional complementary units (e.g. electives or other course units necessary to comply with the academic requirements). The complete translated version of both programmes can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 3.4 below shows the number of course units in each of these areas in TIE and LLAT during the first six semesters. The participants' final grades have been averaged according to these dimensions in Table 3.5. In the latter, LLAT participants have split cells in some of the dimensions. These illustrate their results in English at the top and their pathway language, Portuguese or Japanese, at the bottom. For example, Aurora has an average of 5.9 in English language and 6.0 in Portuguese. As mentioned in subsection 3.1.1, the scale is from 1.0 to 7.0 with 4.0 being the passing grade.

		TIE	LLAT		
			Japanese Pathway	Portuguese Pathway	
LANGUAGE	Linguistics	3	7	7	
	A Language (Spanish)	4	6	6	
	B Language (English or Portuguese)	8	10	10 (En)	
				11 (Pt)	
C Language (Japanese)	-	9	-		
TRANSLATION	Translation	Theory	4	2 (En)	2 (En)
			1 (Ja)	1 (Pt)	
		A → B	5	1 (En)	1 (En)
				1 (Pt)	
	Internships	-	1	1	
CAT tools	1	2	2		
ADDITIONAL	Electives	3	-	-	
	Others	5	2	2	
N. of course units up to the sixth semester		33	41	44	

Table 3.4 Number of TIE/LLAT course units in the three overarching dimensions (En: English; Ja: Japanese; Pt: Portuguese).

			Dimensions											Average
			Language				Translation				Additional			
			Linguistics	A Language (Spanish)	B Language (English or Portuguese)	C Language (Japanese)	Translation		Initial internship	CAT tools	Electives	Optional	Other	
							Theory	A → B						
TIE Participants	English (En)	Ana	6.0	5.6	4.9	-	6.0	5.3	-	6.3	6.4	6.5	-	5.9
		Cora	5.6	5.7	4.3	-	6.1	5.0	-	6.5	5.6	6.7	-	5.7
		Lorena	6.4	5.7	5.5	-	6.1	5.6	-	6.4	6.8	5.8	-	6.0
		Matilda	5.8	5.2	4.6	-	6.2	5.5	-	6.1	6.3	5.7	-	5.7
		Nicole	6.4	5.7	5.0	-	5.9	5.8	-	6.3	6.5	6.6	-	6.0
		Vai	6.4	5.8	4.7	-	6.0	5.6	-	6.3	6.1	6.4	-	5.9
LLAT Participants	Portuguese (Pt En)	Aurora	5.9	5.6	5.9	-	6.1	4.9	6.7	6.7	-	-	5.1	5.9
			6.0		6.4	6.0								
	Japanese (Ja En)	Daniela	6.1	5.8	6.2	6.1	6.6	6.4	7.0	6.8	-	-	6.1	6.4
							7.0							
		Fran	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.1	5.9	5.8	7.0	6.0	-	-	5.2	5.8
							6.4							
		Ignacio	5.7	5.7	5.6	5.8	6.3	6.3	7.0	6.3	-	-	5.9	6.1
							6.4							
	José	6.1	5.4	5.8	6.0	5.9	5.8	7.0	6.1	-	-	6.0	6.1	
						6.6								
Luna	5.1	5.3	5.8	5.1	6.0	5.6	7.0	6.1	-	-	5.7	5.9		
					6.3									

Table 3.5 TIE and LLAT participants' academic performance from semester one to six.

Three relevant considerations emerge from the tables above. First, the averages suggest a relatively lower B language proficiency in English in TIE students, considering that 1) the English language course unit outlines suggest similar teaching methodologies and assessment practices, and 2) both programmes share the same learning outcomes in terms of the CEFR levels across the English language course units. In fact, averages are consistently lower compared to those of LLAT participants. This factor, however, does not seem to affect TIE students' performance in translation course units. Both groups share similar results in the translation dimension, although it is worth noting that the averages obtained by TIE students consider five course units, while LLAT averages include the grades obtained in one only. Aurora seems to be the weakest of both groups in English-Spanish translation, notwithstanding her strong performance in her Portuguese-Spanish translation course unit.

Second, LLAT students have achieved very high scores in their first internship, which might have shaped their student identity verification. Similarly, TIE students have done very well in the optional course units, which counterbalances their low averages in English language. Both groups did similarly well in the CAT tool course units.

Third, TIE participants' grades average 5.9 and LLAT's 6.0, which suggests that there are no substantial differences between them. However, individuals do display certain particularities. For instance, Cora and Matilda obtained the lowest scores of their group, which is consistent with their NEM and weighted application scores. This is also the case for Fran, whose PSU score and general average remain consistently lower than the rest of the group. In other words, in terms of academic performance, these participants' student identity has produced similar results across time.

In summary, based on the participants' pre-university performance and their grade averages in their first six months, it is possible to hypothesise that the group is *temporally homogeneous*. This means that the students' performance across time has been similar with minor changes. This consistency in academic results is not necessarily related to outstanding performance, as seen in the cases of Cora and Matilda. Hence, the participants' student identity, at least in terms of academic results, seems to have produced the same outcomes since their secondary education. However, it is not clear from the averages whether this consistency implies that the participants have necessarily experienced a sense of self-continuity throughout the process of entering and adapting to university life. Thus, the next section examines the experiences that they have had during this time and the extent to which these have impacted on their apparent consistency in behaviour and, critically, their academic self-continuity.

3.3 The anchor interview (INT0)

This section explores students' narratives concerning their experiences up to the moment they started to participate in this study. The analysis is divided into three subsections: the participants' overall self-perception, student identity and translator identity. The first subsection explores students' self-positioning as individuals along with their relevant personality traits and salient identities. The second subsection deals with their student IS, particularly its accommodation processes and its further verification. The third subsection focuses on the initial

configuration of the translator identity IS: its core elements, means of verification and its connection to the student IS. As explained in Chapter 2, the extracts in this section are quoted using the participants' pseudonyms followed by the label of the interview round (e.g. INT0) and the respective programme (LLAT or TIE).

It is important to note that, as mentioned in section 2.5, the concept of personality traits is used as narrated by the participants. Similarly, other notions, such as insecurity, shyness and perfectionism are also employed in the analysis in the same fashion, so as to use the participants' own conceptualisations and perceptions in the analysis of their experiences.

3.3.1 Self-positioning

In terms of their self-positioning, the participants at TIE found it harder to define themselves as individuals than those at LLAT. Moreover, TIE students tended to define their overall self in terms of their student identity, whereas LLAT participants made clear distinctions between the two. In spite of this difference, students' narratives reveal that they are self-demanding, perfectionist, passionate and responsible individuals who strive for the best:

I regard myself as a sincere, loyal and passionate person with lots of expectations and motivations about the future. As a student, concretely, I consider myself a responsible person who is eager to learn. I regard responsibility as [displaying] the usual, like punctuality, commitment, too. I'd say that'd be the most important. (Daniela, INT0, LLAT)

In general, I regard myself as a very responsible and perfectionist person, in every way. Not only when I have to submit something to university, but whenever I do something, like meeting a friend or whatever. I'm very organised and try to deliver as I should... I always try to deliver the best of me and my best work. (Matilda, INT0, TIE)

In addition, most participants also regard themselves as shy, insecure young adults who have difficulty socialising with others, particularly with large groups of people. Their overall low self-esteem seems to come from their experiences in childhood and early adolescence. It would appear that this insecurity is an issue that they continuously attempt to overcome, which could have an impact on the multiple-identity negotiation process:

I regard myself as... shy at times, maybe with some difficulties to socialise, especially in situations where the public overwhelms me, so to speak. In one-to-one interactions, it's always a little bit simpler, but when I have to

deal with situations where I've got to face a wider audience, I find it hard to perform as I'd like to. (Lorena, INT0, TIE)

...I'd say that during my primary and secondary school [years] I always had low self-esteem, and from there [comes] my being shy, not being able to express my opinion, to accept what I was told. But little by little I think I've been able to take small steps. (Ignacio, INT0, LLAT)

Similarly, other salient identities, such as religious or family identities, influence the behaviour and IS of other identities, as Ana's narrative suggests:

I'm Christian. I'm a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which emphasises being a good person and always doing the right and being sincere and honest in all our doings... living my religion modifies the way I live my life. It's not just going to Church on Sunday and being religious on that day. Rather, I apply the values and strive to be a better person every day in my life and in all aspects. (Ana, INT0, TIE)

The participants' shyness and other salient identities could trigger potential role conflict disruptions (Type II), i.e. conflict of identity verification between the enacted identities. First, shyness and insecurity are regarded by the participants as 'personality traits' that could interfere in the negotiation between the IS of other identities and could potentially affect the resulting identity-related behaviour. Second, the enactment of a salient identity may also conflict with the participants' student and translator identities.

In addition to the two elements above, the participants' narratives highlight critical experiences that could have had a profound impact on their many identities. These vary from some that are associated with starting university life, such as moving to another city, to more extreme ones, like life-threatening health issues or suicide attempts:

...What happened to me is very personal: I attempted to commit suicide. So I had to be in hospital and all. It was there that it was like, 'I've got to take the bull by the horns,' and everything became clear to me. I was unable to make my own decisions... I've been to therapy and receiving professional support... I go to a psychiatrist and a psychologist and that made me organise myself... I have like this inferiority complex. [I think] that everyone's better than me. (Luna, INT0, LLAT)

Being at university is not an easy experience for anyone because of how demanding it is and all that's required to be a university student. But, sure, there are a lot of factors that add up just because you're far away, not seeing your family frequently. In my case, I see [my family] only twice a

year. And all that means to be alone for real, living alone, being responsible for yourself... (Lorena, INT0, TIE)

These two episodes are life event disruptions (Type I), i.e. cases in which a reference for the verification of one identity is lost. In Luna's and Lorena's cases, they are unable to verify some of their identities because a referent is missing. Luna's inability to verify her identities may have led to an abandonment of her self as a whole, while Lorena is unable to verify her family-related identities in her ipseity. However, these situations have led to exploration stages and, ultimately, to recommitment to their identities. After their crises, Luna has developed the strategies she needs to cope with her mental health issues, while Lorena has resolved to focus on the opportunity that she has been granted in order to overcome the challenges of her new independent life. This renewed commitment reshapes the participants' sense of self-continuity with which they face their daily lives in the programme.

3.3.2 Student identity: performance and perfectionism

For most participants, their student identity constitutes the starting point by which most are able to define themselves. In other words, it is a salient identity that facilitates the participants' self-positioning towards the world. Their narratives suggest that most participants are diligent, responsible, self-demanding overachievers who are committed to their studies and the verification of their student identity by means of specific behaviour. This is consistent with their grade averages at school and university discussed earlier in this chapter.

A critical factor to consider in the participants' conceptualisation of student performance is their self-labelling as *perfectionists*. In their view, this involves paying close attention to detail, but in some cases, this desire to achieve high-quality work can lead to overcorrection:

...I think [being perfectionist] has two sides because, though it helps me focus on things and pay close attention to what I have to do, there are times it backfires because I try to improve some translations a lot, for example. I waste a lot of time trying to improve things, in assignments, in everything that I've got to do. So I think being perfectionist has its pros and cons. (Vai, INT0, TIE)

The participants' narratives reflect that by focusing on generating a 'perfect' translation, they seem to disregard other aspects involved in the process, such as time or other identity-related goals. This could be considered as an error response

disruption (Type III), which occurs when an identity is allocated a substantial amount of cognitive resources to minimise possible mismatches with the IS and, by doing so, other identities are neglected. In this case, students want to fulfil their translator-related expectations and, in their attempt to do so, they undermine the potential verification of student identity. Thus, the participants' perfectionism could have either a positive or negative effect on their performance depending on the cognitive resources allocated to the task and identity.

Moreover, the participants conceptualise their academic performance in different ways. Some explicitly verbalise their desire to obtain high grades as a means to verifying their student identity:

...I consider myself responsible and dedicated to my studies. I take them very seriously and I feel that, on top of that, it's important for me to have good academic grades and learn properly. (Ana, INT0, TIE)

Conversely, other participants emphasise the learning process, as this equips them with the skills to produce quality translations. They suggest that this process might not necessarily be linked to outstanding grades:

... Maybe [I didn't get] the best grades, but I do feel I learned a lot and that's what matters, like, 'OK, I didn't have high grades in English or anything, but I learned a lot.' When reviewing my tests, I paid a lot of attention [to them], so in terms of quantitative performance, as in grades, no, [my performance wasn't good], but everything that I learned, yes, a lot. (Aurora, INT0, LLAT)

For most participants, however, failure to verify either of their IS-related constructs usually leads to frustration, guilt and anxiety. This distress emerges from 1) their concern as to how others judge their work, or 2) frustration towards themselves. The latter is captured in Fran's narrative below:

... I know I've done well, but I remember that at the end of, I don't remember if it was Introduction to English-Spanish Translation or the second course unit we had last year, but we had a test and I got, it was not a fail grade, but it was way lower than I expected. And I felt so sad, so so sad. I had passed and had no issues with the course unit, but to see I had so many mistakes in the translation did get to me. (Fran, INT0, LLAT)

Fran's narrative reveals that her distress comes from two sources. The first one is the mismatch between her expected grade and the one she obtained. The second one is related to her realisation that her translation has been deficient. In spite of her overall pass, she is dismayed by the large number of mistakes in her work.

Although both sources emphasise the undermining of the experience in terms of her student and translator self-efficacy beliefs. This suggests an initial strong connection between grades and translator self-efficacy beliefs.

3.3.3 Exploring the student IS: motivation, accommodation and commitment

The interests that prompted the participants to choose translation as their undergraduate programme are similar. The most significant one seems to be their multimodal consumption in B/C languages, i.e. their engagement with music, movies, series, comics, etc. in those languages (Singer, Rubio, and Rubio 2018), in their early adolescence or childhood. Such consumption allowed the participants to become fairly acquainted with the language and led them to study a language-based undergraduate programme:

...It was mostly because English started to make sense [to me] because I listened to a lot of music in English, many English-speaking artists, movies, series. I used to watch them with subtitles, so I started to familiarise myself with the language and to understand it better...So one day, while I was thinking about what to study at university the next year, I was listening to music and understood all the lyrics of what I was singing and it was like, 'hey, I like this English thing and telling people what it means and help them [understand] the meaning. Maybe my thing has to do with English.' (Matilda, INTO, TIE)

Like Matilda, all participants identify a critical language-related experience that sparked their vocational interest in translation as a possible occupation. Some of these experiences occurred as a result of 1) travelling to other countries, 2) the influence of significant people in their lives, or 3) a personal reflection after an episode of crisis. For instance, Cora explains how she became interested in her programme below:

...I'd been in the United States for a year. My English had improved, and, well, in the States I had the opportunity to travel to the East Coast and visited the UN in New York and I liked that, the idea they had of being an intermediary between languages for those who don't know them. I liked that idea and when I discovered the programme I said, 'OK, this could be my vocation or what I'd like to be in the future.' (Cora, INTO, TIE)

Like Cora, most participants are attracted to their translation programmes based on their 'ideas' of what translators do, the languages they work with, where they work and the professional opportunities related to the occupation. These initially

perceived constructs seem to be the cornerstones on which the translator IS and the first long-term professional goals are built.

However, these initial constructs are then challenged by the ipseity of the translation programmes. In Cora's and Aurora's cases, this generates a scenario where both their student and translator identity standards are not verified, questioning their first commitments to their vocational choices:

... In the first two years, maybe once a year, I had one of those 'Oh, I'm not good for this,' or 'No, I don't wanna do this' moments. And in the first two years, which were common to both pathways, I hadn't [even] had translation course units yet. I mean, we still hadn't reached the most important part of the programme! For me, [English] language [learning] – and I finished *six* language course units– was a very difficult process, especially when I failed English Language 3. It was almost as if the sky had fallen on me. (Cora, INT0, TIE)

... Japanese was really hard for me, in fact, after I failed, I mean, I didn't fail the first semester, I passed, but during the second semester... I couldn't deal with Japanese, like, I couldn't find anybody to support me, to ask for help. It was really difficult. So I ended up going to a psychologist because I was desperate and she said I was intolerant of frustration and that was mainly because during all my life as a student and in secondary school, I had had no issues with my subjects, and since this was so hard for me, I didn't know how to look for help or find the strategies to overcome this, so I collapsed. (Aurora, INT0, LLAT)

Aurora's narrative reflects that her academic self-continuity has been challenged by her experiences in the programme. In other words, her student IS, which had been previously and successfully verified during their secondary education, is no longer verified in the university setting. For most participants, this major mismatch involves the reconceptualisation of what studying implies and the necessary skills they now need to verify their student IS again. This is done with lecturers' support, therapy and orientation on possible learning strategies:

...The change from school to university is drastic. The demands are also different, the contents you study and how they are assessed is very different. So, what happened during the first semester was that I started to have low grades because I didn't know how to study. At school, I always had good grades, but I didn't study because it was enough to pay attention in class, do the exercises, complete the handout and done. Here at uni that's not enough, you have to study every day, you need to revise every day and you can't revise for an exam the night before... Getting a fail grade was very difficult because that had never happened to me at school. (Matilda, INT0, TIE)

Matilda's narrative is revealing in that it sheds light on how her student IS changed. First, she responded to the new experiences in her programme by behaving as she did back at school. This did not produce behaviour that matched her verified student IS and her self-continuity was challenged, generating distress. Because of her commitment to her student IS, and possibly her translator IS, she needed to accommodate the constructs as to how she needed to study to obtain the performance that would enable her to verify her IS.

In summary, the participants' student IS has been configured by the experiences before and after their programme enrolment. In the case of the episodes of crises within the programme, these seem to be followed by an exploration phase that leads to the re-evaluation of their initial vocational choices. This results in their recommitment to their translation programmes which seems to be accompanied by the accommodation of the student IS-constructs that were generated during their secondary education.

3.3.4 Translator identity: defining the professional translator

The participants outline the translators they want to become in terms of four critical components. First, the participants highlight translators' *declarative and procedural knowledge about translation*. The declarative knowledge appears to be understood as a 1) a thorough knowledge of the A and B language cultures, and 2) the translators' general knowledge in a variety of fields:

I've given it some thought before and I feel that to become a good translator, I'd need to know a lot about culture, both in the source and target [languages]... (José, INTO, LLAT)

First, [translators] should know the basics in diverse areas; for example, economics, engineering, mathematics, medicine, mechanics. They should have at least some basic knowledge in diverse fields... (Ignacio, INTO, LLAT)

With regard to what Ignacio labels as 'basic knowledge', four participants consider that it is necessary for translators to specialise in one particular field, as Lorena explains:

...I know that due to job opportunities and to remain competitive in the field you need to move across different areas and it's necessary to be versatile. But I'd like to specialise in something and gather as much knowledge and experience in that particular field [as I could]... (Lorena, INTO, TIE)

The practical knowledge is mainly conceptualised in the translators' ability to deliver accurate translations within a certain allocated time:

[As a translator], I'd be responsible and cautious when accepting a commission, especially because of the time [limitations]... (Ana, INTO, TIE)

I feel I'd like to be an effective translator, who can translate well in the time given but always keep an eye on details. I shouldn't miss anything... (Aurora, INTO, LLAT)

The students further suggest that the translators' declarative and practical knowledge, combined with proficiency in A and B languages, would allow them to faithfully translate 'the essence' of texts:

...As to the faithfulness of the message, I know that's really hard and that's a debate that deals strictly with translation, but I'd like to have the ability to transmit the message like, how to explain it, with *the essence* of the person who wrote it. I know that's very important, clearly maybe too utopic because in the end the text is manipulated by the translator, so in the end, it has your own essence: how you write, because we all write differently, but I'd like to keep the message as faithful as possible. (Daniela, INTO, LLAT)

Second, the participants outline *translators' attitude*, by which they mean the translators' high motivation and commitment to continuous learning and improvement. This proactive attitude seems to underlie their drive to specialise in one field, as Nicole narrates:

[As a translator], I'd be proactive, too. I wouldn't wait for offers to show up just because and [I'd] go beyond the [job] applications. I'd also like to keep learning and not just hold a university degree, but keep learning a bit more... (Lorena, INTO, TIE)

...I'd like to start thinking about which field I'd like to specialise. For example, I'd like to work in scientific translation or technical translation. In summary, I'd like to be a translator that keeps on learning, but with a very clear focus. (Nicole, INTO, TIE)

The third component they identify is translators' *professional skills and attributes*, namely punctuality, responsibility, self-confidence, open-mindedness, curiosity, tolerance, proactivity and organisational skills:

Well, translators need to be organised...I don't want to do anything at the very last moment. [I want to be] a translator that uses reliable sources [of information], that knows where to look, that has good contacts and that

spends time editing, that can edit well, which is what I've learned now.
(Luna, INTO, LLAT)

Fourth, translators' *teamwork skills* are related to their ability to work with others and construct professional networks. This last component challenges the participants' shyness and insecurity, which could cause potential interruptions in the verification of their translator IS:

...Above all, [I'd like to] be a translator who's nice to work with. I wouldn't like to go about life accepting jobs that I can do on my own only. I'd like to be a person other translators feel comfortable working with and all that involves: being responsible, having good interpersonal skills, doing what's needed and delivering good quality translations. (Lorena, INTO, TIE)

These four areas encompass the participants' initial translation constructs. In other words, the outlining of critical translator IS constructs are conceptualised in the notion of the *professional translator*. In addition, the translator IS appears to engage with the participants' personality traits, principally the perfectionism with which they defined themselves in subsection 3.3.2:

...Personally, there's something I don't like in some translators and that's they use a lot of [English] loanwords when there's an equivalent in Spanish... I feel sometimes it's silly to use, say, 'after party' when there's an equivalent in Spanish. It's ridiculous. It upsets me. So I think that, to me, a good translator is that who is able to use equivalents well and doesn't use loanwords just because, because it's easier. (Matilda, INTO, TIE)

...I'd be a translator that would know [how] to explain to others that translation isn't a thing that can be done from one day to the next. People don't understand that. So you need to instil this into people so that they know translation isn't easy... If a person asked [me] to do some work in a certain amount of time and [I] asked for more time and the client granted it, I'd tell [the client], 'here's your translation and you can see it's correct and if I'd had less time the product wouldn't be as good or even I wouldn't have been able to finish it'... (Ana, INTO, TIE)

Matilda's and Ana's narrative suggest that, in an attempt to assimilate the constructs into the emerging translator IS, they reconceive translation principles and principles from their own perspectives and then make prescriptive generalisations that apply to the whole occupation, i.e. translators should act in the way they see as correct. These narratives not only suggest an inward emotional inclination in that the focus is on the participants themselves rather than alterity, but also an ethical self-projection in these constructs: the professional translator needs to perform according to an ethos coherent with their own. This differentiation

made by the participants between themselves and 'others' matches the duality found in narratives in similar studies on identity development (see Svahn 2016; Singer, López, and Basaure 2020).

In addition, the participants' narratives suggest that these translator constructs are mainly verified by means of their academic performance, i.e. their grades:

...I got very good results in English-Spanish Translation 1 and 2. As a matter of fact, I was exempted from the final exam in those two course units. In English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology 1 I had to sit the exam, but I passed it with a very high grade... It reinforces the idea that I'm good at this and I like doing this – I like translating. (Ana, INTO, TIE)

Ana's account further reinforces the hypothesis that translator-related constructs depend on student-related behaviour and their associated constructs being verified at this stage. This strong dependency may also involve accommodating new constructs into the translator IS, as analysed in the subsection below.

3.3.5 Accommodation of constructs into the translator IS

A repetitive theme across students' narratives is related to the experiences involved in adjusting their student IS, as previously described in subsection 3.3.3. This process also significantly affects the constructs associated with the translation process, i.e. the translator IS. This is particularly evidenced when the participants experienced their first translation course units. According to their narratives, these are the first practical instances in which the translation constructs that they held before enrolling in the programme are challenged. Initially, their academic performance is below their expectations, which generates a significant amount of distress for them. As time progresses, students are able to accommodate this information and reconfigure their student IS based on their active engagement with translation practice and, thus, their previous translation-related constructs are also accommodated:

...I've improved with time. In my first year, in the first translation course unit, I realised many things and that translation was much more than I thought. It wasn't merely knowing English and that was that: you were ready to translate. In that course, I realised that there are many aspects to consider and that you need to have these translator competencies to carry out adequate work... In the first test, I consider I did very, very poorly because I got like a 4.0. I thought I was going to have a much better grade on that test, because, sure, I achieved all objectives, I was able to translate the text, sent it on time, read it and said, 'yeah, it's fine. You get the gist

of it, there, translation done. I'll send it.' And when I got the grade, I was like, 'a 4.0?!' Then I checked the test throughout, all my mistakes and they were all basic: orthography, punctuation, syntax. As I read it, I was like 'of course, this idea is not clear. What made me think that this was understandable if I'm not saying it right? It would've been better and more natural in some other way.' Well, that first translation course unit helped me a lot to make all the mistakes I needed to make and learn from. (Matilda, INTO, TIE)

Narratives like Matilda's continue to support a strong connection between the participants' translator IS and student IS. It would seem that the translator IS encapsulates the professional goal-related structures to be developed, while the student IS provides the concrete means by which these objectives can be achieved. For instance, the participants believe that translators need to produce accurate translations, but, as students, these translations are assessed, either formatively or summatively. The outcome behaviour impacts both identity standards: student IS is verified by the grade and the translator IS is verified by the development of skills that draws them nearer to the professional ideal they pursue. Consequently, there is a mutual interdependence between the two identity standards. First, translator identity establishes the overarching constructs that give meaning to the student IS. Second, the student identity provides the opportunities whereby their professional skills can be practised, but most critically, assessed. In this context, translation practice stands out as a relevant factor in the reconfiguration of the translator IS, as it allows the participants to have a more flexible attitude towards their performance and to identify ways for further improvement:

I feel that practice, regardless of the field I want to specialise in, is my main way to be better. It's not like you are a good translator from one day to the next. (Daniela, INTO, LLAT)

... At first, in the first translations, it was like, 'oh no, this is gonna be all wrong,' but then it's simply practice, practice, practice and there you like relax a little bit more and it's like, 'OK, yes, I did what I could, cool, I gave the best I could at that particular moment.' (Aurora, INTO, LLAT)

The process of practice is characterised by a fluctuation in translator self-efficacy beliefs. As the participants engage with translation tasks, their performance might cause incongruences with their translator IS and student IS, leading to frustration. However, the participants affirm that these are intense but brief moments that are followed by a reconnection with the task and identity-related goals. This recommitment, generated by practical experiences, seems to increase their

translator self-efficacy beliefs. This, in turn, reduces anxiety in the decision-making process while translating. It is translation practice that allows participants to develop confidence from text to text and, though mistakes may hinder confidence levels, it permits the recovery of lost confidence. As both identities seem to be tightly connected, this process also affects the identity verification of the student IS and student self-efficacy beliefs.

In summary, the narratives suggest that the translator IS is constituted by a set of idealised conceptualisations about the professional translator. These constructs are verified primarily in terms of their translator performance. High grades, along with positive and constructive relationships, foster the development of strong translator self-efficacy beliefs, which protects the participants' overall identity self-esteem as they concurrently enact their translator and student identities. Thus, the translator identity holds the knowledge, skills and attributes that the participants hope to develop by means of their student identity, which indicates a strong interdependence between the two identity standards.

3.4 Conclusions from the INTO interview

The academic results analysed at the beginning of the chapter show that the participants have had a consistent academic performance during their secondary education and good averages throughout the first three years in their programmes. This suggests that the participants hold a sense of academic self-continuity that has allowed them to maintain the same performance as part of their student identities over time.

The INTO interview aimed to examine the participants' experiences concerning this apparent sense of academic self-continuity and delved into their self-positioning as individuals. This shed light on their self-perceptions, student identity and, critically, their translator identity. The super-ordinate themes that emerged from the participants' narrative at this stage constitute the anchor of this study, which can be grouped to address the four RQs of this research.

3.4.1 Translator IS: outlining initial constructs

The participants verbalise their beliefs about the translation occupation in terms of what the professional translator means to them. The constructs associated with this notion can be grouped into four main aspects, as discussed in subsection 3.3.4:

the translators' declarative and procedural knowledge, professional attitude, professional attributes and teamwork skills. These themes tend to be rather idealised and are accompanied by prescriptive generalised notions about the occupation, possibly stemming from classroom discussions.

The participants' conceptualisations of the translator declarative and procedural knowledge seem to encapsulate some of the fundamental elements that constitute the PACTE Group's (2003, 2017) model for translation competence. According to this model, translation competence has five sub-competences: bilingual (proficiency in two languages), extralinguistic (cultural, pragmatic and topic-specific knowledge), knowledge of translation (declarative knowledge about translation), instrumental (use of different sources of information and CAT tools) and strategic (integrative procedural knowledge of translation). These five sub-competences are encompassed by the translators' psycho-physiological components, which include their cognitive, emotional, attitudinal aspects and abilities.

The students' accounts in INTO touch on all these five sub-competences and the psycho-physiological components. However, three distinct emerging themes are emphasised throughout the narratives. The first of them explicitly relates to the extralinguistic sub-competence, i.e. cultural knowledge and the need for specialisation. The participants acknowledge that the market demands a variety of topics and versatility on part of the translator, but intend to face it by selecting one particular area in which they can specialise. The preliminary understanding of the market and the profession underlying this type of narrative echoes the knowledge of translation sub-competence, i.e. the explicit and implicit knowledge regarding the occupation. Many participants do not elaborate on translation theories explicitly, but some narratives, like Daniela's, suggest that these could be present when they translate. For example, she mentioned the idea of being 'faithful' to the text, which is a concept discussed in translation theory (Pym 2014). Therefore, it is possible to hypothesise that the students' *declarative knowledge of translation* plays a relevant role in the translator IS.

The second theme involves the translators' ability to deliver their work within deadlines. This ability has two similar aspects: one refers to the translators' capacity to work under pressure, while the other implies the importance of submitting a translation punctually. It is the first connotation of these two that is

connected to the strategic sub-competence, i.e. the practical executive dimension of the translation competence. In INTO narratives, the participants reflect on their practical experiences in the programme so far and how these have contributed to improving their performance and, critically, the translations that they produce. Thus, the students' *procedural knowledge of translation* appears to play a critical part in the development of the translator IS and the overall translator identity. This is explored in detail in the following chapters of this thesis.

The third theme involves the series of attributes with which the participants describe the professional translator. These encompass a proactive attitude, good interpersonal skills, excellent teamwork and other positive professional features. All these characteristics appear to match those suggested in the psychophysiological components. For the purposes of tracking these in subsequent interview rounds, these elements will be grouped into one concept: *translator professional skills and attributes*.

The declarative and procedural knowledge of translation and the translator professional skills and attributes are verified by means of their student identity-related behaviour in the classroom and, particularly, the grades they obtain. This is due to the close interrelationship between the participants' student and translator identities, as suggested in subsection 3.3.5. This means that their experiences and performance in their programmes have been the main means by which they have been able to develop these translator IS-related constructs and, therefore, their translator identity at the time of the INTO interview.

3.4.2 Student and translator self-efficacy beliefs

The INTO narratives suggest that students' personality traits seem to play a significant role in the development of their translator self-efficacy beliefs. It is important to remember that the term 'personality trait' emerged from the students' own narratives and, thus, it is used to encapsulate their personal attributes and characteristics mentioned in 3.3.1: self-demanding, passionate, responsible, shy, reserved, insecure and perfectionist. Some of these emerge more frequently when referring to their engagement in self-efficacy beliefs.

As discussed earlier, the participants regard themselves as insecure individuals who have difficulty socialising. They seem to continuously try to overcome the influence that their shyness and insecurity has on their overall self-esteem. These

traits could also play a relevant role in the identity negotiation process and translator identity development at IS level.

In addition, perfectionism is present in the participants' narratives as a characteristic that allows them to focus on their task, but it can also lead to overcorrection of their work and, possibly, lower grades. This potential effect of perfectionism on grades is relevant because the students' translator self-efficacy beliefs are strongly related to the grades they obtain at this point: a low grade or failing a course unit constitute episodes of crisis that hinder translator self-efficacy beliefs. These narratives are consistent with other empirical studies in education that have examined low academic performance and its subsequent impact on self-efficacy beliefs (Zusho, Pintrich, and Coppola 2003; Miller and Geraci 2011; Komarraju and Nadler 2013; Ouweneel, Schaufeli, and Le Blanc 2013).

The participants also defined themselves as self-demanding, by which they mean that they wish to perform well in their studies. This is usually evidenced in high grades. However, this characteristic could have special relevance for self-efficacy beliefs, since it tensions their academic performance and the constructs associated with the student and translator identity standards. Thus, although it could be seen as a positive trait, it could well trigger episodes of crisis for the participants in the development of their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

Considering all these aspects, Figure 3.1 illustrates how self-esteem, personality traits, identity standards, and self-efficacy beliefs engage with one another. The narratives in INTO suggest that self-esteem constitutes an overarching trait, while the personality traits described by the students are lower-order traits that influence the negotiation and verification processes in the translator and student identity standards and, ultimately, engage in the development of identity-specific self-efficacy beliefs.

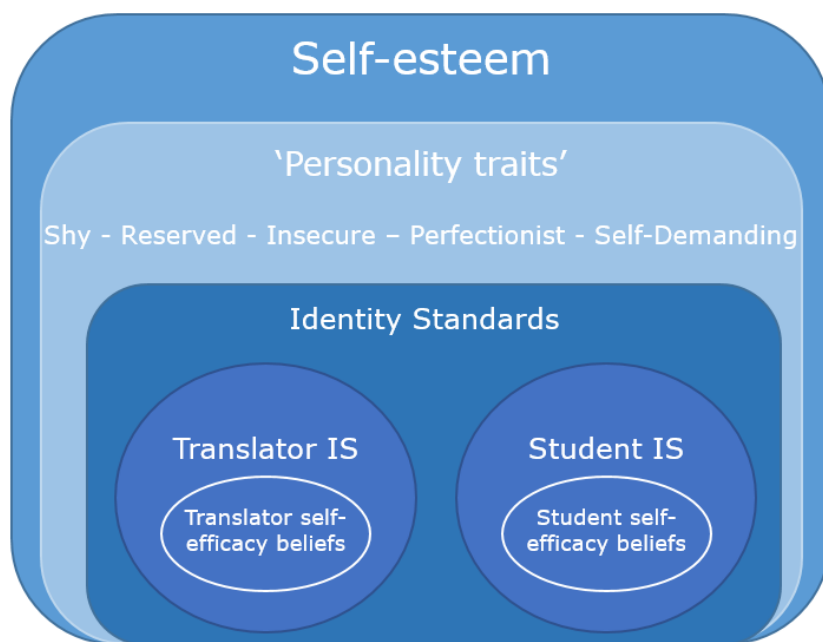


Figure 3.1. Hierarchy of personality traits from INTO narratives.

3.4.3 Translator identity statuses: past and present commitment

The students' narratives indicate that their apparent academic self-continuity has been accompanied by a series of changes to their student IS due to the challenges in their ipseity in their programmes. To overcome these difficulties, they identify translation practice as the critical means for the accommodation of key constructs into their student IS, which leads to the development of their student identity. The reliance on translation practice to reshape the student IS reaffirms that the student and translator identities seem to be tightly interconnected, as discussed in subsection 3.4.4.

In terms of translator identity statuses, the participants' narratives suggest that those who are achievers have a very clear sense of purpose in the programme and are strongly committed to their studies, which is evidenced in the actions they have taken to maximise their learning opportunities. Conservers display a similar level of commitment to their programmes, but alterity-driven interruptions challenge their beliefs and lead to episodes of crises. For example, Luna's and Aurora's translator self-efficacy beliefs are considerably undermined by low grades, but they have been able to overcome these challenges with professional support and remain committed to their studies. Seekers also face a series of difficulties to conceive of themselves as translators, mostly emerging from conflicts with their past

experiences and personality traits. For instance, Cora’s previous academic failure makes her feel constant fear of failing again. This anxiety makes her feel ambivalent towards the programme and her performance. Similarly, Vai’s shyness and insecurity do not allow her to validate external praise and she is unable to see herself as a good translator. Based on these interpretations of the participants’ narratives, it is possible to outline their translator identity statuses at this stage are shown in Table 3.6.

	Participants	Interview round
		INT0 (May 2019)
TIE	Ana	Achiever
	Cora	Seeker
	Lorena	Achiever
	Matilda	Achiever
	Nicole	Achiever
	Vai	Seeker
LLAT	Aurora	Conserver
	Daniela	Achiever
	Fran	Conserver
	Ignacio	Conserver
	José	Seeker
	Luna	Conserver

Table 3.6 Participants’ translator identity statuses in the INT0 interview.

3.4.4 Student and translator identity: interdependence

The INT0 suggest that there is a strong interdependence between the participants’ translator and student identities at this point. The translator identity appears to hold the concepts that provide a sense of purpose to the student identity, e.g. what being a translator means, the skills they need, the value associated with the occupation and long-term goals. These constructs are verified by means of the resulting behaviour associated with their student identity, critically their academic performance in terms of grades. The verification of these constructs appears to foster the development of both identities. Figure 3.2 illustrates the interdependence of these dynamics.

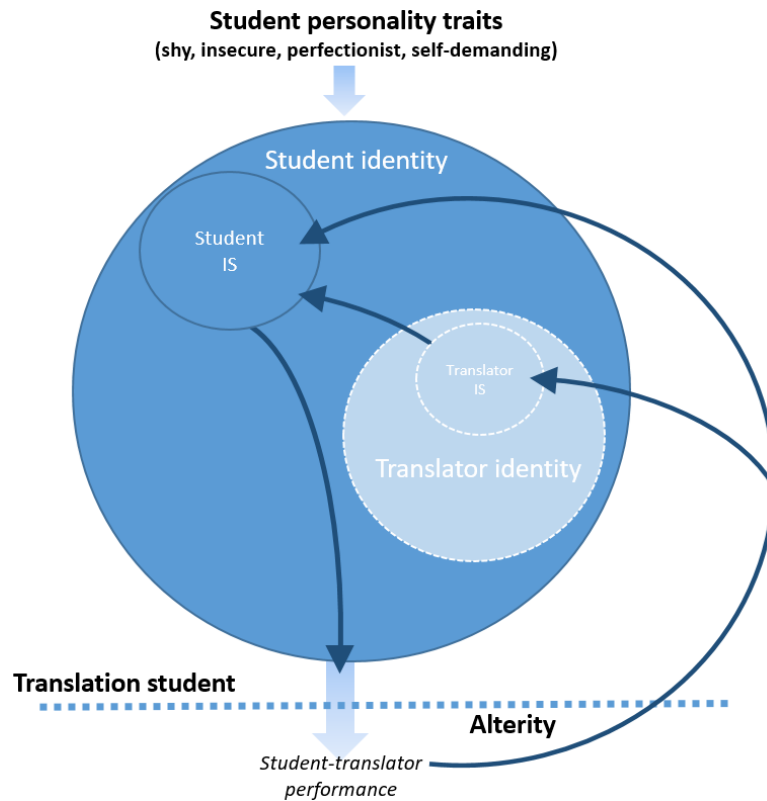


Figure 3.2 Student and translator identity interdependence in INT0.

The strong interdependence between the two identities is also suggested by the participants' conceptualisation of the translation classroom as the primary means by which they can improve their performance as translators and, critically, obtain better academic results. This joint identity-verification process is also influenced by the prominence and salience of their personality traits which, as mentioned in subsection 3.4.2, appear to influence the students' academic performance and the development of the translator identity. This initial cohesive relationship suggests that the translator identity is *nested* in their student identity, as it requires the enactment of student-related constructs and behaviour to construct its developing translator IS.

Chapter 4 The phenomenological journey of translator identity

This chapter explores the super-ordinate themes in the participants' narratives during the fourth year of their programmes. In particular, it examines the development of their translator IS by analysing the processes by which its key constructs evolve during this period of time. It also discusses how the students develop their translator self-efficacy beliefs. In addition, it analyses the potential ways in which commitment to their translator identity is generated, as well as the relationships between the participants' translator and student identities.

Two assessment interviews are analysed in this chapter, namely the INT1 and INT2 interviews rounds. These correspond to the participants' experiences before and during the social unrest lived in Chile in late October 2019. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this crisis involved a series of extremely violent demonstrations throughout the country, which only decreased in their intensity at the beginning of the summer break in January 2020. This episode, which challenged many of the participants' identities altogether, constitutes the socio-political setting for INT2. In terms of classroom teaching and learning, lecturers and students were asked to complete the semester mostly by means of online collaborative group assignments instead of individual tests.

As to the structure of this chapter, section 4.1 revisits the main constructs that constituted the core of the translator IS in the INTO interview, i.e. the declarative and procedural knowledge of translation and translator professional skills and attributes. Section 4.2 examines the processes and factors involved in the development of the translator IS during this period of time, particularly the participants' reconceptualisation of their perfectionism. Section 4.3 discusses the sources of translator self-efficacy beliefs and the role that personality traits play in their development. Section 4.4 analyses the ways in which the participants generate commitment to their translator identity. Section 4.5 explores the factors that appear to engage in the interaction between the student and translator identities. Lastly, section 4.6 reviews the RQs of this study in light of the super-ordinate themes discussed in the chapter.

4.1 Translator IS: evolution of translator-related constructs

This section examines the changes that the participants have experienced regarding their translator-related constructs and the processes by which these are

developed. In Chapter 3, the participants conceptualised the translator IS in terms of the translators' declarative and procedural knowledge of translation and professional skills and attributes. These elements configured their ideas about the professional translator, understood as the ideal translator self they wish to become. The participants' narratives in INT1 display changes with regard to the processes involved in translation:

I think I now pay much more attention to editing. I suddenly realised [about its importance]. And the research [process] is also important: it has to be with reliable sources [and] not something that [, for example,] my nan once told me. (INT1, Luna, LLAT)

Luna's change in her conceptualisation of the research process captures the evolution of a practical aspect of the occupation narrated in terms of declarative knowledge. It would seem that the practical experiences in the classroom inform the translator procedural knowledge of the translator IS, which in turn shapes the constructs associated with declarative knowledge. Most participants' narratives depict this as reflective metacognitive learning:

One of the most important things [I've done this semester] has been continuing to develop my revising and editing skills because I think that it's like something you could do in literary translation...So I feel that having practised revising and editing in detail has helped me identify translation problems better, for example, or things that need correction. (Nicole, INT1, TIE)

...In Principles and Fundamentals of Translation, we discussed the differences between a professional translator and a bilingual individual. At first, I honestly didn't find many differences between them, but now that I've put all that theory into practice in the first translation course units, I consider that it's necessary to develop certain skills to carry out an effective, efficient and correct job. (Ignacio, INT1, LLAT)

Successful or failed attempts during these practical instances trigger the accommodation process in their translator IS. This echoes the premise of the translator identity model in Chapter 1 which suggests that the exercise of translator identity-related behaviour, resulting in either verification or non-verification, also engages in the evolution of translator IS constructs.

The practical experiences in the programme have also led to a de-generalisation of the constructs that some participants previously held in Chapter 3. For instance, Ana has changed her perceptions about teaching clients about translation:

Maybe I'll remove that characteristic, because, even though I still think that it's important that especially here in Chile people know what translators really do and that not any bilingual person can do their job, I believe that you shouldn't push it and preach it every time to everyone. (Ana, INT1, TIE)

These changes suggest a change in their self-positioning within the translation process, as they appear to gradually shift to an alterity-centred perspective. This move is further discussed in subsection 4.2.1. In addition, this move also indicates a more mature understanding of the translation occupation and market dynamics.

As to the professional skills and attributes, these seem to respond to the participants' embodied experiences during their semesters. For instance, the INT1 narratives in the LLAT group show two new emerging attributes, namely carrying out a thorough research process and being quick to translate:

...[Translators need] to develop certain skills... first, translation practice, [that is] the speed with which you translate. Lecturers have insisted many times on how competitive the market is and that we need to develop speed when translating, otherwise we're out...Another important aspect is research: being able to have a look at the text, find words that might generate issues, being able to do research efficiently by looking up reliable sources in as little time as possible... (Ignacio, INT1, LLAT)

The participants directly relate the attributes with their experiences facing the particularities of translation throughout their semesters. This is particularly salient during the social unrest in 2019. This crisis challenged their self-continuity and required them to adapt to a new social and academic ipseity. These situated experiences seem to be reflected in the professional attributes during the INT2 interview round, among which the participants highlight the translators' ability to adapt to any contextual circumstance to deliver their work:

...I was affected by what happened and maybe that's reflected in my grades and tests, but I believe that when I am a translator, I won't have any excuses to make mistakes or deliver imperfect or run-of-the-mill work. It's complicated, but I feel that at some point I'll have to learn to separate myself as a person and as a translator so that personal matters don't affect my work. (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

[The social unrest] helped me visualise that professional translators, regardless of working freelance or in a company, well, particularly the ones working seated in an office, have to manage to work wherever they are, even if there are these kinds of social issues that impede them to get to work. (Ana, INT2, TIE)

Furthermore, Matilda's and Ana's narratives suggest that the translator professional skills and attributes correspond to a hermeneutic move in which the participants visualise the current socio-political context through the lens of their translator identity. Thus, the translator attributes seem to reflect the necessary changes that would allow their idealised version of the translator to perform professionally and effectively in the circumstances they experienced themselves.

In summary, the narratives of both interview rounds suggest that the translator IS presents changes in the declarative and procedural knowledge of translation. The evolution of constructs appears to be related to the participants' theoretical understanding of the occupation, which stems from a shift towards alterity, i.e. the translation market demands and conventions. In addition, the translator professional skills and attributes encapsulate the participants' own attitude in their embodied experiences, which are transferred to the translator IS.

4.2 Development of the translator IS: redefining perfectionism

This subsection analyses the accommodation processes undergone by the translator IS as captured in the participants' narratives of INT1 and INT2. The students' accounts suggest that the changes to the IS are related to the notion of perfectionism at different levels. In the INT0 interview, the participants claim to be perfectionists. This trait is conceived of as a drive to perform their very best in a given situation, which at times leads to a self-demanding attitude that could actually have the opposite effect, as narrated by Matilda:

I think it's because of this characteristic I've got of being so self-demanding and perfectionist... [However,] I sometimes waste too much time checking things that I shouldn't think about that much. I don't know, when I'm translating and I go in detail, I [reread] a lot a lot and I waste a lot of time when I could [just] give a correct answer, but I want the 'perfect' one. (Matilda, INT0, TIE)

Matilda's narratives exemplify the strong bond between the notions of perfectionism and the self-demanding attitude that students display to achieve such perfection. However, the INT1 and INT2 interview narratives indicate that perfectionism becomes more flexible due to the translation practice that the participants have experienced in the programme. Throughout these instances, the students have developed an understanding of the complexities of the translation process and the strategies needed to perform well. However, as they get

accustomed to the process, they wonder about the extent to which Matilda's 'perfect' text is actually achievable, as found in Daniela's narrative:

...This semester we went head on with translation, which before was only an introductory course and now I had four course units where I had to translate. It's quite true that people don't take translation practice seriously, because it's hard and requires a lot of effort...This puzzles me because, in the end, no translation is ever perfect really, so where's the point when you can consider a translation 'good'? Or a bad one because of the number of mistakes? I don't know. It's something that I'm wondering now. (Daniela, INT1, LLAT)

This suggests that the notion of perfectionism is re-evaluated in terms of its scope, plausibility and need after practical translation experiences in the classroom. This is evidenced at three distinct levels. First, it reconceptualises perfectionism in terms of the translator identity. Second, perfectionism is renegotiated between the translator and student identities. Third, the notion of perfectionism, as a personality trait, is reshaped at an individual level in the light of the social unrest. These three levels are discussed in the following subsections.

4.2.1 Accommodation of perfectionism into the translator IS

The participants' narratives that emerged during the INT1 interview suggest that, in terms of their translator identity, they have reconceptualised their idea of a 'perfect' translated text. They have learnt that 1) they should adhere to the instructions of their translation assignments, i.e. not providing additional services other than those requested, and 2) refrain from editing the source text:

I learned some things that'll help me. For instance, I'm a perfectionist, so when we had to edit translations, I focused too much on details. I paid attention to everything and the lecturer told us that [I should do it] at a more general level because there are moments when you can't check or edit as you'd like...So, if you're asked to scan a text quickly, you've got to do it that way, not focusing on this and this and that to be perfect because it's not efficient... I learned I can't do everything I want regardless of how much I want to. (Matilda, INT1, TIE)

...What has helped me the most was to learn the limits translators have when they translate, especially in English-Spanish Translation I. Sometimes, you can't take many liberties because the text won't allow it or the client who commissioned the translation wants it to be just as it is, so even if you don't like the [source] text, you need to do the job you were asked to... (Fran, INT1, LLAT)

Matilda's and Fran's narratives suggest that they have framed their perfectionism to do what they are expected to do rather than what they believe is optimum. In other words, the perfect translated text is not what they envisage, but the one being commissioned. This is consistent with the shift towards alterity previously mentioned in section 4.1. For example, in her INT2 interview, Daniela identifies the principles that she believes underlie the decision-making when adding or removing elements in a translation:

I've realised that there's, like, a tendency when you add or remove something. Basically, the important thing is to keep the author's *essence*, because it's not like in the end you translated the text and it looks like you wrote it, you know. You're like the intermediary of the message, but not the author, so that's the thing: one cannot touch that, for example, trying to embellish the text using more complex words or changing the register because you think it sounds better. Those points cannot be touched, you must keep them... (Daniela, INT2, LLAT)

In this narrative, Daniela highlights the notion of authors' 'essence', by which she refers to the language and style they use to convey a particular meaning in the source text. It appears that, by shifting their attention to this essence, the participants' perfectionism also seems to move from a self-centred to an alterity-centred positioning when approaching a translation. In other words, they learn that part of being flexible involves moving from their own beliefs, particularly those involving how the original text should be, and instead focusing on how to make their translation faithful to the original while trying to maximise comprehension on part of the readers in the target language. This move suggests an accommodation process in the participants' translator IS as a result of their translation experiences in the classroom: perfectionism is reconceptualised as keeping the 'essence' of the source text and not sticking to their own personal beliefs about the text and how it should look or be like.

4.2.2 Co-accommodation of translator and student identity standards

The accommodation of perfectionism in translator identity is also connected to the accommodation process of student identity-related constructs. For example, the participants' INT1 narratives suggest that their academic perfectionism in terms of grades has been made more flexible to cope with the contextual demands of ipseity, as found in Lorena's account below. In her view, students in TIE, like herself, are usually overachievers who have had a consistently high academic performance

both before and during university. However, the difficulties faced when translating several fields and topics may lead to lower performance and, thus, student-identity associated constructs, such as academic excellence, are adjusted to allow verification in both translator and student identities:

...It is totally understandable that you won't have a flair for everything, so in that sense, I'm less self-demanding [with myself], but that doesn't mean I'll submit low-quality work or the like, but it does imply being aware. From the moment I'm about to translate, [I tell myself,] 'it's fine, this isn't your field, it's what you find the most difficult, so it's quite understandable that you don't comprehend the text when you read it at first. It's understandable that it takes you four days instead of the two you had originally planned.' Mostly that: recognising your good skills and also admit that there'll be difficulties and that not everything will be easy. (Lorena, INT1, TIE)

The accommodation process in participants' student and translator identity standards seems to foster a reflective self-evaluation in which they understand the mental and psychological processes they experience and subsequent potential courses of action. This process critically draws on participants' sense of self-continuity. For instance, Aurora's narrative illustrates how she feels when she finishes a test and the attitude she now has:

I always feel that after tests it's like...I go out of the room and it's usual to talk about it with my classmates, 'hey, how did you translate that part?' and I start, 'oh no, I messed it up.' Like, I wrote something totally different...so I start to blame myself, 'why didn't I check this?'... [especially] when mistakes are silly, like, no one would make those mistakes and I did. That makes me feel guilty, like, 'damn, I'll lose points 'cuz I'm dumb,' but [now] I let it go, like 'OK, I made a mistake, I didn't know or didn't notice.' (Aurora, INT1, LLAT)

Aurora's excerpt suggests that she has lowered her self-demanding standards in her student IS as part of the accommodation process in her translator IS. This is achieved by means of the strategies that she learned during her therapy which she still uses to overcome the guilt she still feels after performing under pressure. Moreover, it is possible to witness that Aurora has continued to develop this reflectiveness in her INT2 interview:

...I don't know, there were times in course units in previous semesters when I didn't dare to have a [translation] proposal for this or that. It was like, no, I didn't risk choosing one [option], but this semester, it's like I get [to class] and I say it to the lecturer and if it's wrong, well, I correct it. Next time, I'll take a closer look and bring a better one. I don't know what skills that'd be,

but it's about trusting [yourself] more and taking risks... (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

This narrative shows a consolidation of the previous accommodation process, which has resulted in a boost in translator and student self-efficacy beliefs. Aurora now feels empowered to make decisions and incorporates feedback without guilt. It would appear that she has used the strategies she was given in therapy to make her student IS more flexible and less self-demanding to accommodate her translator IS. Daniela's narrative below encapsulates a critical element of the reflective process underlying this co-accommodation process in the translator and student identities:

...I'm very self-demanding [and] I still have a lot to learn. It's like... learning to play an instrument or a sport. Everything takes time and I think a translation is like that. It's something that takes time... and, [because of that], it's important to be able to congratulate yourself, so to speak, like, 'Oh, you've done it well.' I think that's crucial for our own mental health because it's good to be self-demanding, but you also need to highlight the advances: it's OK not to judge yourself, but you've got to see both sides, not only what you lack, but also what you've won... (Daniela, INT2, LLAT)

It would seem that a key factor in the accommodation of participants' perfectionism and self-demanding nature into their student IS is acknowledging their strengths and weaknesses as translators and students. This meta-evaluation appears to play a critical role in the multiple-identity negotiation process and, ultimately, in the co-accommodation of constructs into both the translator and student identity standards.

4.2.3 Accommodation in supra-contextual crises

The participants' narratives in INT1 emerge from a relatively stable socio-political framework, particularly the one provided by their translation programmes. However, the INT2 interview captures their situated experiences during the social unrest in Chile in the second semester of 2019. The violent demonstrations affected peoples' lives in all major cities in the country. This led to the suspension of classes and a shift to online teaching in order to protect students and staff from potential skirmishes. Although these measures protected the participants' physical integrity, Lorena's narrative below outlines the psychological challenges that she faced during this time:

...I feel it was a battle that was more at a mental level, so the best way to fight it was also at a mental level [by] trying to remove some of those pressures that are self-imposed sometimes or imposed by the university and, not necessarily intentionally, but the fact that there are deadlines...puts pressure on you. So you end up in self-generated pressure and it's in my hands more than anyone else's to try to calm down myself... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

Lorena's fragment suggests that, although the issues posed by the crisis were out of her agency, she decided to lower her self-demanding nature to face the challenges as best as she could. This implies an inward emotional inclination, i.e. a turn towards herself and her own agency to manage her emotional stability, which seems to drive the accommodation in the translator and student identity standards. Moreover, this accommodation process reflects the same flexible attitude that she displayed when she approached specialised texts in the narratives from INT1. Thus, accommodation appears to be used as a strategy to minimise potential interruptions in her translator identity verification cycle and produce standard-verified behaviour in spite of the social circumstances. This emerging theme is also echoed in Ana's narrative:

...There's a connection [between translators' responsibility and flexibility] because you might think that because they can't go to the office to work, then that day is lost. [But], even if they don't go to work, they can at least do something, progress somehow, [and] make the most out of the situation. (Ana, INT2, TIE)

Ana positions professional translators in the context of the social unrest and how they would be expected to deliver in adverse situations by being proactive in adversity. This suggests that participants quickly modify their constructs associated with perfectionism in situations where the contextual stability has changed in order to foster the verification of critical identities which, in Ana's case, are the translator and student identities. Therefore, the participants' narratives in their INT2 interview suggest that the decrease in their self-demanding attitude towards their student identity stems from an inward emotional inclination that appears to enable their agency. This maximises the chances of both student and translator identity verification in adverse contextual scenarios.

In summary, perfectionism is accommodated at three levels to foster identity verification. First, when it comes to producing a perfect translation, participants have moved from an inward-centred perspective to a more outward-centred perspective. Second, perfectionism, in terms of academic performance, is also

accommodated as participants carry out a reflective meta-evaluation of their self-continuity in their student and translator identities, resulting in a more flexible attitude towards their own performance. Third, constructs associated with perfectionism are accommodated to adapt to any critical changes in alterity and ipseity to continue verifying their identities and minimising the effects of potential life event disruption (Type I). It is important to consider that the latter two levels appear to be underlain by an inward emotional inclination.

4.3 Insecurity and translator self-efficacy beliefs

The participants' insecurity acquires special salience when combined with other elements from ipseity, such as academic overload or grades. In some cases, this insecurity affects their translator identity-related commitment and self-efficacy:

I'm very insecure and that's affected me along with the stress I had during the first semester. They made it hard for me to visualise myself and continue. I couldn't see myself like beyond [that point]. I felt so stressed at that time that I didn't see myself going on [studying]... Insecurity and all distracted me from the fact that I liked being a translator like it overshadowed it... I think I'm a good translator, but I still cannot say it with confidence because of my insecurity, but I think [that when] I check and compare my translations with those of my first year, I mean, second year, I've improved a lot. (Vai, INT1, TIE)

Vai's case is revealing in that she is aware of her abilities as a translator, but her insecurity does not allow her to fully verify her translator identity. In other words, there is a role conflict disruption (Type II) in which her personality trait becomes salient enough to impede the complete verification of her translator IS. This occurs when positive comments and feedback from peers or lecturers do not seem to alter the non-verification cycle. In other words, her insecurity does not allow verbal persuasion to foster her translator self-efficacy beliefs. In INT2, Vai suggests that this inability to incorporate other people's perceptions about herself stems from a mixture of perfectionism and an inferiority complex, which is also shared by Luna in her INT1 interview:

I definitely feel more [confident] than before, but I still don't feel that confidence to say, 'I'm a good translator.' It's like there are comments that classmates or teachers make [about me] and I say like, 'yes, I do it well, but not that well'... It's just I always think that it can be better and I always think, 'No, the rest does it better than me.' I always have that thought. (Vai, INT2, TIE)

...I'm a bit scared to show my translations at times because I feel they're always wrong, always wrong. And, I don't know, I feel that everyone's translations are better than mine, but I think that's a self-esteem issue more than anything else [because]...from the last interview, I've achieved some goals and found some new ones. I've learnt a lot, a lot this semester in comparison to others, maybe. (Luna, INT1, LLAT)

Both Vai and Luna display a conservator identity status in that, in spite of their high level of commitment to their translator identity, their confidence is affected by other salient factors. It would seem that both Vai's and Luna's narratives present an outward emotional inclination, in which their insecurity comes from their positioning towards the alterity: a fear to present their work to their classmates as they regard it as being worse than theirs. Their position differs from Cora's, in that her commitment to her identity helps her overcome the salience of her personality trait and successfully verify her identity:

I'm a person who's not very confident in herself, in general, not just professionally. So, whenever I have to submit a translation, insecurity starts to kick in, like, 'this can be wrong' or 'this segment, no, it's wrong,' and you end up submitting your work and it was not as bad as you thought it'd be. [But in class] I cannot remain in doubt. I need to ask...I really cannot remain quiet in class. I speak, even though I don't want to do it, I end up asking, giving my opinion. I find that what I say in class cheers me up compared to the results I get in tests. (Cora, INT1, TIE)

Cora is able to overcome her insecure personality by focusing on her commitment to her identity-related goals, which presupposes an inward emotional inclination. Therefore, it would seem that the degree of commitment that participants show towards their identity, i.e. their identity status, seems to play a significant role in the multiple-identity negotiation process. On the one hand, Vai's and Luna's strong outward emotional inclination is a prime example of conservators' positioning of the world. On the other hand, Cora displays the same insecurity, but she is able to focus on her curiosity that stems from her translator identity-related goals, which helps her overcome her own personality traits and, thus, displays some features that are closer to an achiever identity status.

Other participants' narratives suggest three sources of translator self-efficacy beliefs: 1) successful translation attempts, 2) having the lecturers as role models, and 3) praise and feedback from peers and lecturers. These sources echo those suggested by Bandura (1997) and play a significant role in strengthening the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs:

Lately, I've felt a bit more confident at least this semester. Like, I feel that the more practice, the more confident and [I] consider all the corrections made by the lecturers. I feel that I remember [their remarks], like, 'I did this like this and my professor told me that it was not like that,' so the memories remain. (Aurora, INT1, LLAT)

I think translation lecturers are very good...Professor Morales, Professor Contreras, Professor Basaure, too. They're so good because they speak from their own experience. I think that helps us a lot because they share their own problems, the same fear when you submit a translation [or wishing] never having opened it. I think there's a realness to it. So, you do learn from them. (Luna, INT0, LLAT)

...Professor Ahumada congratulated us a lot on the text we translated and I think it wouldn't have been as good if we'd done it separately. I think teamwork makes [our] texts great, at least with the classmates I regularly work with...You feel a huge satisfaction when you're told, 'hey, this is awesome,' and we did it as a group and we did it well. (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

The participants' narratives suggest that their mastery experiences with translation have the most impact on their translator self-efficacy beliefs, which is consistent with the developments in the translator IS described in section 4.1. Verbal persuasion and vicarious learning tend to be associated with lecturers, who seem to provide a sense of security that contributes to their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

In conclusion, insecurity is a personality trait that engages with both inward and outward emotional inclinations. When the participants display an outward emotional inclination their insecurity appears to increase. Conversely, when participants show an inward emotional inclination, they seem to commit to identity goals and overcome their insecurity. In terms of translator self-efficacy beliefs, the outward emotional inclination increases the salience of the participants' insecurities and impedes full translator identity verification. In addition, the narratives outline three sources of translator self-efficacy beliefs: successful translation attempts, having the lecturers as role models, and praise and feedback from peers and lecturers. It would appear that insecure participants struggle to incorporate the latter two sources and rely mostly on their academic results to increase their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

4.4 Developing commitment: crises, reflection and reconnection

The participants' narratives from the INTO interview suggest that they have experienced the adjustment of some of their initial student IS-related constructs, resulting in commitment to their student identity. Similarly, the first assessment interview provides a more detailed explanation of this process in the development of their translator identity. The students' narratives outline a three-stage linear exploration by which their commitment to their student and translation identities is fostered, namely *crisis*, *reflection* and *reconnection*. Most of the students have experienced personal episodes of crisis in which their translator IS has been challenged due to the ipseity in their programme. In some cases, these crises have led to the non-verification of the translator identity and a subsequent decrease in translator self-efficacy beliefs. For most participants, crises are usually related to their performance in translation course units in terms of grades and affinity for the translation occupation. Hence, students struggle when their performance has been lower than that expected:

Grades always generate something [in you]: you question whether you're doing it right if there's any progress, that kind of stuff. When you see the grade physically, [or] a penalisation, it makes you feel things...When it's [a] negative [feeling], it's very negative and I think you question yourself when you get, I don't know, a 3.0 and you tell yourself, 'damn, I did get a 3.0.'
(Fran, INT1, LLAT)

[In the previous semester], I had the typical vocational crisis when I thought: this is not what I wanted, that this will not pay off, I'm going to starve to death, I can't imagine myself doing this the rest of my life. That added up to other things that I was experiencing at a personal level. So, at that time I was like, 'do I really want to do this?' (Matilda, INT1, TIE)

These episodes are followed by a period of reflection. The students ponder various courses of action depending on the degree and frequency of the interruption in the identity verification cycle. This reflective process not only involves the comparison between the enacted behaviour and the IS, but also the participants' sense of self-continuity across their studies and lives. In most cases, this reflection leads to an adjustment of the translator IS followed by possible strategies to modify behaviour so that it verifies the newly developed construct:

...I had my first fail grade in a translation test, and it was a very low fail... So, I obviously questioned my capacities a lot, of course, I mean, you being able to do what you're doing, whether I'm good at this or not. I never let it get to me in a depressive way, but rather considered it like one of those

moments that shake you, so to speak. When you're drowsy and then you realise, 'no, you do like this. Go on. Maybe what you're going is not enough.' So I said, 'OK, I need to do something,'...I searched for texts from web pages like the WHO, which have official translations, so I took the English translations and translated them into Spanish and then compared them to the originals and identified my mistakes and all that. (Daniela, INT1, LLAT)

At first, I was worried because I sincerely didn't expect the grades I obtained: the first grades were around 3.8 and then during the semester they improved, reaching 4.0s, not 5.0s, but it was really hard for me... It was hard, even shocking because I started to reconsider [what I'd done]: I started to think about what I was failing at, why I was failing and what I could do to improve. Of course, lecturers recommended grammar books, style books to improve these weaknesses, which is still something I need to do, I must say. I still haven't done it yet, but I hope to do it over the summer break. (Ignacio, INT1, LLAT)

In the cases above, both Daniela and Ignacio seem to have reconnected with their identity after a reflective move. This implies a recommitment in which participants are able to come to terms with their crisis and reflectively understand the value it has had for the development of their identity and, thus, their commitment. However, reflectiveness does not necessarily lead to immediate changes in behaviour: while Daniela has actively looked for strategies to improve her performance, Ignacio has been given some suggestions on how to improve but he has not exercised his agency during the semester and has rather postponed it. This suggests that the renewed commitment could be examined in terms of its *immediacy*; some participants take action to verify their identities in the short-term, while others, like José, make decisions that imply a long-term commitment to their identities:

When we started to translate more, I started to do badly and the confidence I had started to disappear, but I don't find it something bad really. Lecturers really helped us a lot and showed us what our mistakes were and I don't feel that it wasn't something negative that my confidence has been shattered since it helped me realise what I'm doing wrong and that I need to study again... [I'm putting my studies on hold because] first...I plan to attend therapy² for a while to reencounter my self from the past, the one

² The Chilean National Health Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Salud) (Departamento de Epidemiología 2019) conducted in 2016 and 2017 revealed that 15,6% of the population experienced depression. This is also common in teenagers and young adults. Universities also provide mental health services, but waiting lists are considerable. Thus, most seek professional therapy in the public or private healthcare systems.

that was motivated and I also think that I need some time to reconnect with Japanese, especially. Also restart [studying] English, because I'm always focused on Japanese and I don't study much English and that's why I didn't do well, too. (José, INT1, LLAT)

In his narrative, José is able to give meaning to the process he has experienced during the semester and the sequence of actions on his part to be able to reconnect with his translator identity. The multiple long-term sub-goals and emphasis on finding his motivation suggest a seeker identity status, in which he seems to have outlined his goals, but he is unable to exercise actions to achieve them at that time. Hence, his translator identity cannot be verified and the degree of accommodation needed might be more considerable and complex than only specific identity-related actions or behaviour.

In summary, narratives emerging from the INT1 and INT2 interview rounds suggest that the participants' commitment to their translator identity seems to be determined by a three-phase exploration process involving crisis, reflection and reconnection. Crises are triggered by situations in students' ipseity, primarily underperformance when enacting their translator skills in academic tests, leading to a decrease in overall self-esteem and weaker translator self-efficacy beliefs. The participants respond to this situation with a hermeneutic reflective stance, in which they can choose to exercise their agency in an attempt to change the situation. Then, the reconnection phase involves using practice instances as a means to improve by planning a series of goals and, particularly, actions. The immediacy to take these actions seems to be associated with the participants' translator identity status; the more immediate the course of action, the more committed they seem to be, as suggested by the comparison between Daniela's short-term decisions and Ignacio's and José's delayed actions. The next subsection examines how this exploration process occurs particularly during the social unrest in late 2019.

4.4.1 Commitment during the social crisis

The INT2 narratives suggest that the social unrest in Chile generated a series of supra-contextual difficulties that have augmented insecurity in participants. At an overall individual level, participants felt uncertain due to the violent situations experienced throughout the country, leading to self-isolation in some cases like Aurora's:

...The [main challenge was] the situation in the country, because I was on track and motivated, and when everything exploded it was a bit complex and it might have been too much for me mentally. So there was a moment when I was very anxious. I was down [and] didn't know what to do. There were days when I wanted to disconnect from everything, I didn't want to talk to anybody, and it was like I don't want anything, I don't want to know anything, because I guess what was happening was very shocking... The situation was very complex outside. I couldn't think about university, but about whether my friends got home safe from demonstrating. I have a cousin who got shot, so these things were too much... All that was too complex and my only priorities were that the people I love were fine and that I could move in a safe environment because there was also a time I didn't want to get out of my house because I was scared... (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

The situation seems to trigger a reorganisation of the participants' identities. In Aurora's narrative, her concern for relatives and friends suggest the multiple-identity negotiation process is influenced by the contextual salience, resulting in her prioritising her family or friend-related identities over her student or translator identity, i.e. a role conflict disruption (Type II). Furthermore, most TIE participants seem to have struggled to reconnect with these two identities and their academic lives:

...In October, you know what happened [the social unrest], and [during] those weeks, we weren't doing anything and the uncertainty as to whether we were going back to class or not made everything even more complicated, because there was a time when no one –I speak obviously from my experience– could focus on university stuff. So, going back after that rather long pause was very difficult for me, to start reconnecting [with] the discipline [with] eight course units, and one of those being my thesis... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

Lorena's narrative suggests that the social unrest has triggered an episodic identity disruption (Type IV) in her translator identity verification process, i.e. the ambivalence surrounding the restart of the semester has challenged the continuous re-enactment of her translator identity. However, participants return to class after a month into the crisis, which produces a mismatch between the salience given to some of their identities and those the context imposes as prominent in the negotiation process. In addition, when the translator and student identities are prioritised in the multiple-identity negotiation, insecurity and anxiety come from the practical academic implications that the crisis could have on their studies, as suggested by Ana:

Well, the social unrest in my country made me feel very nervous because there was a time when the university only announced the weeks [when there would be no classes], 'there are no classes this week, there are no classes this week,' but [had] no plan when we'd return, 'when things calm down, we'll finish this.' It took the university a long time to issue a plan to finish the semester and that made me feel very nervous. 'Will we be able to finish the semester or will they simply discard it and we'll have to repeat it next year?' That made me feel a little anxious. (Ana, INT2, TIE)

It would seem that those participants who give prominence to their student or translator identities associate their insecurity with the possible inability to continue verifying those identities. Moreover, the initial effect of the social unrest involves a shift of focus from insecurity related to academic performance to an overall state of uncertainty. In other words, this type of crisis presupposes a disruption in participants' ipseity beyond their translation programmes.

The adverse contextual difficulties in the social unrest have challenged the participants' commitment to their translator identity, which is reflected in their translator identity statuses. The complications that the students have faced during this time have led to a possible loss of commitment in those students displaying conserver or seeker translator identity statuses. This leads to the accommodation or partial abandonment of their occupational long-term related goals, as explained by Matilda:

...[As a translator], it's hard to get a job even though when things are OK, now it's gonna be a thousand times harder... I've been thinking, 'what if translation is not my thing?' Maybe I could also focus on other areas and, maybe, if I don't find a job in anything that I like and I'm forced to work in institutions I don't like, that I don't compromise with, I thought of doing an MA in education and also teach [English]...My dad's always told me [to study English language teaching], even before I started the programme, but I've always ignored him... So I said, 'OK, I could give this a try to study this later on'... I still believe [I'm not patient enough to teach], but my dad tells me that [I am], though I might not admit it, I've got, I don't know, a 'spirit' for teaching...So, that'd be my plan B: if translation is not my thing, I might opt to work in another field...I like [translating], I like it, that's why I studied this, [but] I think there are things that don't depend on me and what I want to be. I still have that determination to become a translator, but if the context, the situation, whatever is going on doesn't make it possible, I've got to look for other options. (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

Matilda's narrative displays resourcefulness and resilience in the face of the challenges generated by the social unrest. Her concerns regarding possible job

prospects are consistent with her previous INT1 narratives, in which she claims to be rather uncertain about her work opportunities. Therefore, Matilda's work security has been a relevant construct in her translator IS and now has been seriously undermined by the socio-political context. This process produces anxiety and fear in participants, which prompts an instance of exploration in which vocation is re-evaluated. In this scenario, they are also more willing to accept verbal persuasion from alterity. For instance, Matilda decides to listen to her father's advice about studying English language teaching in the future, while Fran also ponders this professional alternative because her close peers are also inclined to do so:

...My thoughts have changed a bit about [my] future work, although, as I've always said, I want to work in translation, translating anything. Hopefully, if I get the chance to work in a specific field, I want to do it, but I think the idea of teaching has been a little bit closer these times, especially because two of my classmates that I wrote my thesis with, they want to continue [studying] if they can and get a teaching degree after they finish the programme, so it's more present to me. I don't know if I want to be an educator in something related to translation, but I'm thinking about that option a bit more than I did in my first year. (Fran, INT2, LLAT)

Fran's narrative suggests a dichotomy in her occupational IS-related goals. Although she remains mostly committed to her translator identity, she has generated a new, longer-term potential professional goal that could either complement or replace translation as her main future occupation. Similarly, José, who temporarily withdrew from his programme, also regards this crisis as an opportunity for exploration in which becoming a translator is a means to achieve a new professional goal:

I feel I'd like to try [being a translator], but the truth is I'm starting to see myself more like a Japanese language teacher than a translator...My plan is to continue in the programme and then apply for postgraduate scholarships... I really like the Japanese language, but I don't see myself living in Japan as a translator. I'd rather live in another country and teach Japanese there...New Zealand was looking for Japanese and Spanish language teachers, so that could be a place I could work at. (José, INT2, LLAT)

Conversely, the participants who remain highly committed to becoming translators are able to reconnect with their long-term translator identity goals quicker. According to Daniela, it is her desire to be a translator that allows her to overcome the contextual challenges:

What I think makes the difference in several aspects of your life, in general, is how much you want something. In my case, I quite like linguistics and love translation, so I think that makes a difference. I don't like to, well, it has to do with my personality anyway because I don't like to be just there and settle with the results or what I'm doing in my life in general. I like to move forward and learn something new... (Daniela, INT2, LLAT)

Daniela's drive refers to the commitment she has for achieving the verification of a particular identity. Her proactivity is a personality trait that helps her move from the crisis to a reflective stance and then recommitment. Similarly, Aurora has looked for support in alterity to find the necessary strategies to realign her goals and recommit herself to her identity:

...I went to see my psychologist and had to talk about the things that were affecting me and, well, she's wonderful, she always helps me. So, like, she helped me in many ways. I felt very overwhelmed and she told me, 'look, start little by little. Pick up those things that you like or things you were working on.' From there, I've slowly worked on some things until now that I've returned and all of this again. It's like there was a complex moment due to external things more than anything else. These things affected me a lot emotionally and it was like, 'I don't want anything to do with anything, absolutely anything,' but then obviously after dealing with it, everything that's important comes back: I do like [my studies] and it's something I want to continue doing. (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

In Aurora's case, her psychologist has played a significant role throughout her programme and life. Aurora trusts her and turns to her whenever she feels overwhelmed, which suggests she uses alterity as a means to reshape her constructs, reconnect with what matters to her and, thus, exercise her agency to achieve it. This suggests a strong outward emotional inclination, which slowly begins to shift towards an inward emotional inclination. Other participants, such as Lorena, experience this process without external professional support:

...This time I struggled to organise myself well and there were many things to do, so I wasn't able to do things in advance, even if I'd wanted to... I think [these challenges are] something translators have to face a lot and we had to live in this [crisis] as students and thesis writers. We experienced it differently from our classmates in the same programme, because, for the sole reason of being writing up the thesis, there were many things at stake... If I hadn't submitted my thesis, no one else but me would've been affected by it and no one else would've cared... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

Lorena positions herself as the main agent in her narrative. In spite of having a substantial academic workload and experiencing the uncertainty stemming from

the social crisis, she is able to adapt to the circumstances thanks to the versatility she has developed in previous semesters. This adaptability allows her to compromise her student identity-related constructs in favour of the completion of her assignments, particularly her thesis, which ultimately fosters the verification of her translator identity.

In summary, during the INT2 interview, the participants continue to display the three-stage exploration outlined in INT1, i.e. crisis, reflection and reconnection. However, some of the students have started an exploration phase in which they outline other potential professional pathways, namely teaching, besides being a translator in the future. Conversely, others increase their commitment to their translator identities and are able to overcome the challenges posed by the social unrest. It would seem that the first group displays an outward emotional inclination, which makes them susceptible to changes in their ipseity, while the second group, in spite of experiencing the same social phenomenon, shifts towards an inward emotional inclination, which helps them reconnect with their identity goals. In addition, participants who explore other vocational options do so by setting long-term goals that go beyond graduation, while other participants take action to deal with the challenges alterity poses to their translator and student identities. This would support the idea that commitment to their identities for these participants can be understood in the immediacy of their course of action, as suggested in the INT1 interview narratives. Therefore, participants exploring other professional options display traits of seekers, while those who have overcome challenges and difficulties in favour of their translator IS verification are more likely to hold an achiever identity status.

4.5 Student and translator identity super-ordinate themes

Chapter 2 proposed five pre-thematic axes along which themes can be organised for analysis in this thesis. The first sections in this chapter have examined the impact of the participants' personality traits on their translator self-efficacy beliefs as well as their commitment to their translator identity. This section discusses the super-ordinate themes that stem from the remaining three thematic nodes, namely translation practice, role of groups and academic performance. The super-ordinate themes concerning these topics can inform how the student and translator identities continue to engage with one another during the participants' fourth year

in their programme. Lastly, it examines the writing process of the students' thesis and its impact on the development of their translator identity.

4.5.1 Translation practice: skills and translator self-efficacy beliefs

The participants identify translation practice as a vital means by which they can improve as translators. Similar to the INT0 interview, the INT1 narratives point out that practical experiences in the classroom allow participants to develop their translator skills and verify their identity-related constructs. At times, this generates conflict between what they have learnt in theoretical courses and the actual decision making when they have to translate:

...The line of faithfulness [to the text] is taught theoretically, but when you start practising, you realise that it's a fine and complex line that you learn by practising. Regardless you're told, 'no, you've got to be faithful,' and that you can be very aware of it, it's complex when you translate. Now I've tried to keep myself within those lines. At first, I wrote more than I needed to. I overtranslated, though I was aware that I didn't have to nor want to, but it's part of the process... In truth, it's realising that translation is not just knowing theoretically, but a lot of practice and not something that you develop from one day to the next, it could well take years. (Daniela, INT1, LLAT)

Like Daniela, the participants highlight that translation practice has allowed them to develop translator skills, especially research, speed, editing and correction. The students from both institutions have enrolled in Spanish-English translation course units, which have helped them to improve their research strategies, time management and awareness of translator limits:

I learned certain reading techniques to find exactly what to revise or edit. Also, the fact that you need to pay attention if it was a translator who translated the text or someone else, or if I'm going to be the last person to edit the text or whether there's going to be a second revision by someone else. So, bearing all that in mind is something that would've never occurred to me. (Ana, INT1, TIE)

I think one of the most relevant skills I learned this semester and last year was organisation. I think it's something really important for professional translators, especially if they want to be freelance, which is what I intend to do. (Lorena, INT1, TIE)

In addition, the participants' narratives suggest that they anticipate that specialisation comes as a natural stage in their development after they enter the

world of work, i.e. they initially need to be willing to work on a variety of topics when they graduate:

...So, obviously, what you deal with [in classes] is tremendously eclectic: from patents, manuals and scientific articles on medicine or drugs to issues with titles in series and movies and essays and fields that aren't attractive to most people, but as a translator, you need to familiarise yourself with [them] because you don't know what you'll deal with later, regardless of what you want to specialise in. If you want to make a name for yourself in the market, first you need to be willing to work not only in the areas you feel comfortable with. (Lorena, INT1, TIE)

Nonetheless, the participants already outline potential areas for specialisation based on their experience in their translation course units. The students believe that working in these fields is likely to keep them motivated in the long term. The two areas that seem to be the most predominant are audiovisual and literary translation:

Well, throughout this semester, I've been thinking about [specialisation] and I've got a clearer idea of what I'd like to specialise in. I've been thinking about literary translation. That's what interests me the most... I think one of the most important things [I've learnt] has been editing and correction because I think correction can be an area [of work] in literary translation... Spanish-English translation has also been a good course unit because I feel it's been a good help, considering it's [been] about literature in Spanish, [which is useful considering] the boom of Latin American literature in the US. In fact, we worked a bit with literary translation, so it has helped a bit as to what I want to do in the future. (Nicole, INT1, TIE)

Nicole's capacity to link the course units she has completed to her long-term goal of specialising in literary translation is a feature of the achiever identity status: being able to assess the value of her training in terms of her own ambitions and professional goals. This is a feature Nicole shares with other participants, namely Ana, Aurora, Daniela and Lorena.

In addition, as the participants' perceive improvement in their practice, their translator identity acquires prominence in their self-description as professionals *and* individuals, as encapsulated in Lorena's and Fran's narratives:

...I've seen myself in situations where I've had to learn about many things that I never thought I'd read. I've seen myself looking for information about things that are very, or I thought they were, very disconnected from the [translation] discipline, particularly technical and scientific topics. I had to live that versatility and I still live it today because being close to graduating

obviously you have to be exposed to all disciplines or most disciplines you can find in the world of work...[which] I see now as something more palpable [as] I'm closer to being a professional translator rather than a student studying to become a professional translator. (Lorena, INT1, TIE)

...I feel I've grown as a translator in the sense that I've been given many of the tools and [knowledge] that made me feel like a real translator, things I feel make the difference between a professional translator and a bilingual person. I feel that now I applied them, not only do I know about them theoretically but also practically. So, it was a different experience that helps my personal growth. (Fran, INT1, LLAT)

These narratives suggest that the translator identity is performing a critical integrative role in the construction of the participants' overall identity. In other words, it coherently contributes to the participants' self-continuity, providing them with a sense of direction and meaning, as proposed in the occupational identity literature (Kroger 2007; Skorikov and Vondracek 2007). Furthermore, practical experiences appear to be the enabling element that activates the integrative nature of the translator identity within the overall self, which also presupposes a prominent role in the multiple-identity negotiation process.

Besides classroom practice, the participants have had opportunities to engage in real translation practice in other contexts. For instance, Ana has translated some pamphlets, for which she has been paid. Fran, on the other hand, has engaged in a K-POP online community where she applies her knowledge as an unpaid volunteer. It would seem that their strong translator self-efficacy beliefs stem from their successful mastery experiences in these instances in which they are able to verify their translator identity without resorting to academic performance. In addition, their narratives suggest that the more realistic the practice is and the closer it is to the world of work, the higher its impact on translator self-efficacy beliefs:

I feel that I'm much more confident than before, especially now after doing my first officially paid translation on my own, I feel much more confident... It makes me feel that I've got a solid tool or a developed skill to fulfil my job and contribute to society. (Ana, INT1, TIE)

I collaborate with the staff [of a community]. I'm not part of the staff, I'm just in the editing and translation area because if I can put what I'm studying into practice, I still think it's a good opportunity even if [it's] unpaid... I remember [when the K-POP music group] was giving a concert in Japan and, for the first time in my life, I could understand it directly without any other translation, which I didn't see [available] anywhere, I

said, 'OK, since no one is doing it, I'm gonna do it [so that the] knowledge of what's going on [can be] shared among those who don't know the language.' (Fran, INT1, LLAT)

Furthermore, the INT2 narratives suggest that participants begin to make a distinction between classroom practice and professional translation commissions, as Lorena and Nicole suggest:

...I want to continue learning, I want to continue acquiring knowledge and skills, but by being there in the real context, not in the fake one so to speak. [Not in] a safe context where the worse that could happen if you make a mistake is that you won't do well in a test. I want a bit more of that more real context where your translation is real and will help somebody do something and it's not going to be like the fake [translation] brief for the class. (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

...I'm just starting to translate for clients. We haven't had many opportunities to translate outside the classroom, where we always have our classmates' and lecturers' feedback. So [my lack of a high level of confidence] comes from the lack of experience, the fact that I'm used to having someone next to me telling me, 'this is what you can improve in the translation.' (Nicole, INT2, TIE)

In other words, Lorena and Nicole indicate that their instances of practice should move outside the classroom into the 'real world,' just like Ana and Fran did, to foster their translator self-efficacy beliefs. In her INT2 account, Fran comments that she has managed to work on another project where she had to translate some clothes specifications and she highlights its meaningfulness for her development as a translator:

I'm translating about these parkas that they produce there in the factory and I think at times when I'm translating, 'this will be used by someone, this is real, I mean, this will later be in a catalogue,' which my friend showed to me before I started translating and they are there, in a giant catalogue. So, I imagined, '[I think] this will be in something everyone will be able to see and their features need to be well specified,' because these are things they use in places where it's very noisy, where it's very hot, where it's very cold, so I've got to deliver what is being asked. (Fran, INT2, LLAT)

Fran's narrative echoes that of Lorena in that meaningful practice seems to occur outside the classroom and it increases her confidence as a translator. Fran also emphasises the relevance of the purpose of the translation, i.e. the utility it will have for others, which suggests an outward emotional inclination. Conversely, Ana displays an inward emotional inclination regarding instances of real translation

practice, which could ultimately compensate for the weakening of translator self-efficacy beliefs during the semester:

I feel a bit less confident because I feel I lost most of a more or less important semester in my training, but I feel that as I practise and do my internship this [coming] semester, I'm going to be truly confident. (Ana, INT2, TIE)

Expectations about professional internships like the one presented by Ana start to emerge in most of the participants' narratives. Cora is the only TIE member who has been able to do part of her professional internship during the semester. In her narrative, she highlights the importance of the administrative dimension as part of her first professional experience:

...We were asked if we wanted to make a head start on the professional internship and I'd always wanted to do that because I felt that I needed it. I needed like being in the field and at the end of the semester we were asked again if we'd like it or not, I mean, who wanted to have it, because they already had a place where they needed an intern and I was the only who raised her hand... I saw a part that not many get to see, that of customer service. So clients would come to the office asking for quotes, collect documents, or phone calls, for instance. It's a part of translation that isn't seen...All that administrative part that is not taught. I had the chance to get closer to that and it was really interesting... (Cora, INT2, TIE)

Cora points out that these administrative skills are not taught in the programme, implying that she has only been able to develop them by doing this internship. This is consistent with other studies in translation studies which trainees also highlight this aspect of their internships (Valero Garcés 2012; Liu 2017), that is, the opportunity to develop skills that they were not able to learn or practice in the translation classroom.

Luna has had the experience of translating industrial security technical fact sheets and, although she claims that this job opportunity has allowed her to improve her speed, organisation and editing skills, she warns that this is cannot replace the classroom practice they have received:

...Truth is I think this language [used in the fact sheets] is like, well, I don't know if basic, but quite direct. I think that maybe texts they make us translate at university are like at another level, [as they show the] other topics we'll face. I think [the lecturers] make us put in all possible situations in the world of work and this [commission] is only one situation, you see? It's always the same, I mean not always, but most of the time. (Luna, INT2, LLAT)

Luna means that her job opportunity has shown her only one possible scenario of practice, so the skills that she has learnt there, although valid for her development, might not be the same she could need for some other types of texts which she seems to believe are more challenging than those she faced while doing her job. Hence, the value of classroom practice lies in fostering students' versatility to adapt to a wide variety of texts and genres in preparation for their internships and, ultimately, the professional world.

In conclusion, in the INT2 interviews, students continue to regard practice as the prime means by which they boost their confidence as translators. Most participants claim that the practice that they need lies outside the classroom, in non-academic settings where they apply their skills. This is likely to help them develop their declarative and procedural knowledge of translation, as well as learning new perspectives on the occupation. Nonetheless, their narratives also acknowledge that the practice they have received in the classroom is useful to familiarise themselves with the different professional contexts and texts they might face in the future.

4.5.2 Group dynamics: affordances and challenges

In general terms, the participants think highly of their classmates. They usually regard them as a positive network that fosters their development as translators and individuals, especially due to the comradeship as they experience similar situations. All these affordances allow students to overcome their intrinsic shyness and insecurity:

...Comradeship is really cool. There's no rivalry between us and I've made good friends, so it's helped me a lot as I'm from Santiago. I live alone, well, with a flatmate. I realised that many of my classmates were experiencing the same, so many were in the same situation of not being at home, being alone, studying [away] and we were supportive among ourselves... I feel the role of my classmates has been very good and special in this journey. (Matilda, INT1, TIE)

...It helped me a lot because I'm not good at socialising with people and [the group] helped me develop confidence. And my classmates are always willing to help, 'you know, I've got this piece of information,' 'I've got a file about this.' So I feel I'll always be able to find support in them in case I need it. (Vai, INT1, TIE)

Group dynamics in translation classes seem to promote the presentation and defence of participants' work, which leads to a boost in their translator self-efficacy beliefs and, potentially, their overall self-esteem as individuals. Subsequent discussion allows them to collectively negotiate translation options and learn from one another:

...There's something I like a lot and it's when you discuss your translation or somebody else's with the group because you're able to notice different perspectives and even better translations. Obviously, you have to be confident in your translation, but you also need to recognise that someone could've translated it better than you... So, in that sense, I do believe that we have all helped [each other] out in this translator debate to make you aware of the mistakes... (Daniela, INT1, LLAT)

...The role the group played is important, as it taught me to accept other's comments and criticism as something constructive and positive more than a personal attack or direct criticism of your work. [It's] more like 'look, I had the same issue but solved it this way, different from you and I think mine is better, so you can take it or leave it.' In that sense, the group has helped a lot to develop that strength of not collapsing when somebody finds a problem [in your work] and at the same time being able to stand up for your options... (Lorena, INT1, TIE)

Daniela's and Lorena's narratives suggest that the group is regarded as a potential source of translator self-efficacy beliefs, ranging from first-hand successful translations to verbal persuasion and vicarious learning, mainly during class discussions. Thus, class engagement appears as an opportunity to develop and verify their translator identity. However, there are some cases, like Luna's, in which group interaction is seen more as a threat to her translator identity:

...I feel that [the group] is at times too critical and, I mean, they criticise the text a lot, for example. And they don't contribute much, like, 'oh, I'm not sure [about that]'... I don't know if [I'm afraid] of them being critical as in 'oh, they'll say this,' but, I don't know. I think that we don't know each other that much, you know. If my friend tells me such and such thing, I know she tells me that to improve, but maybe this other person who I barely speak with will think, 'she's so dumb, how can she be so silly.' (Luna, INT1, LLAT)

This perception of Luna's is typically associated with a conservator identity status, particularly her outward emotional inclination and the distinctions she makes between comments coming from her friends and those coming from other peers. Moreover, she seems more concerned about what others will think of her than the criticism about her work itself. This shows that her translator self-efficacy beliefs

and self-esteem can easily be undermined by her self-perceptions about how she is perceived by her group.

Apart from Luna's case, the participants mention very few negative experiences while working with their peers. These have resulted in a reflective process in which they 1) outline the necessary skills and attitude that they need to develop to face such challenges, and 2) envisage potential work-related situations in the world of work, which promotes the accommodation of teamwork constructs into their translator IS:

...In the professional world, you can work with any type of person, so working with classmates that do their job well, and those who don't do it that well, helped me realise that not everyone will do their job as supposed to, either because they don't want to or because they're not good at it or whatever. And you need to find ways to deal with that, work with them and make the work experience as best as possible. (Cora, INT1, TIE)

As Fran continues her training, she values these negative experiences as they have taught her how to interact with other members of her group as well as how to manage collective assignments, which has proven to be extremely useful in the online setting at the conclusion of the second semester in 2019:

I think I could work more efficiently this semester thanks to a [previous problem]. I tried to communicate more with others. I even worked with the same [classmates I had an issue with] again and, though we had that experience, this time at least I'd say that thanks to it I tried to make sure it didn't happen again. I tried to communicate more with [them] so that there were absolutely no pending things [to do]. (Fran, INT2, LLAT)

In addition, it would seem that groups have been a primary source of emotional support during the social unrest. The INT2 narratives suggest the participants turned to their group to find a safe haven to share their feelings and support to overcome the contextual challenges and the inherent uncertainty:

... I think this semester, unlike others, there was much more emotional support in the group, like giving support to each other because the situation called for it...'there, there, you've still got time, you're making progress, there isn't much left [to do], it's only two [more] weeks of sacrifice,' and that sort of things. Honestly, I think it was what we needed this semester... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

I've felt like more understood [in my group] because when we talked, we were all equally stressed, so we shared the same experiences. With those

closest to me, we helped and talked to each other, so it was like emotional support. (Vai, INT2, TIE)

Lorena's and Vai's narratives suggest that the members of the participants' groups perceive challenges in ipseity in a similar way, which allows them to develop empathy for each other. Thus, the support they receive from each other is meaningful because of this common background. In other words, the group develops a collective identity that shares a sense of self-continuity, which enables participants to overcome the emotional difficulties experienced during the semester. This generates strong emotional connections between participants and their groups, with which they expect to continue engaging after graduation:

I feel, like, the group I have is fundamental. I don't see myself finishing the programme without the group I already have, nor do I see distancing myself from those I hang out with after our graduation. I feel that, I don't know, it helps me a lot when we work together. I feel really well. I like sharing with them... (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

Moreover, as the participants develop a sense of collective identity, they also generate goals or actions to face difficulties. For instance, during the social unrest, there have been some collective attempts to contribute to the social discussion by translating news articles and posting them on social media so that the rest of the world sees what is happening in Chile, as Nicole explains:

...Well, we've discussed it a lot with my friends, even with my university classmates we've been talking about the situation in the country [and] what we can do. We've even tried to discuss how to approach it from the point of view of what we as translators can do to help this situation be known abroad...It was an idea that we tried to implement, [but] it didn't happen. It didn't happen as a programme because it was difficult to carry out [student] assemblies. However, each one of us personally tried to contribute... (Nicole, INT2, TIE)

Although the initiative proposed by TIE members did not materialise, it does reflect their commitment to the social goals they outline and create. These are shared across the members of the group, which is why they independently still try to carry out these actions. Thus, the group seems to acquire salience during this crisis as it provides emotional support and the means to convey ideas about the social situation in the country.

In summary, initially, group engagement is mostly perceived by the students as an opportunity to improve their translation and teamwork skills. The friendly

environment allows them to develop confidence in their work and learn from others' suggestions. For most of them, engagement with the groups allows them to overcome their anxiety stemming from their personality traits, particularly shyness and insecurity. In situations of crisis, the group offers emotional support that strengthens their sense of collectiveness and shields them from the negative experiences in their ipseity.

4.5.3 Performance and grades

In the INT1 interviews, the participants' conceptualisation of performance involves two dimensions. The first component is their dedication during the semester as they prepare and translate texts from class to class, while the second one is their grades in tests and assignments:

I consider that...the dedication I put into texts I think it was good. I always wanted to search as much as I could to contribute as much as possible in class, so I think in that regard I had a good [performance], but in terms of grades, [it was] bad, awful... I barely passed. I was saved by my written assignments and not my translations and that still bothers me: that I should've passed the translation course unit thanks to my translations. (Fran, INT1, LLAT)

Perceptions regarding grades differ depending on participants' translator identity statuses. Those who display achiever features, such as Ana or Nicole, believe that their high grades match their skills. Conversely, participants displaying characteristics associated with conservers or seekers think that tests do not reflect their skills because of the pressure involved. They claim that if pressure were removed, they would be able to perform much better, as they do in their translation assignments:

[When] we did assignments in groups, we did very well and I think that the products I made were good that way, like working without pressure... I think my confidence regarding my performance would improve [if pressure was removed]. (Vai, INT1, TIE)

[Grades reflect my skills] in assignments more than in tests, as I say, at times in tests I can't make it, but it's because of time management. It's not that I start playing around, but rather I struggle all the time, like, 'Oh, it's not [right,]' and it's like no [I can't]... If I'm at home and dedicate time to it, [I] say 'wow, [I've been] translating for a long time!' but then in the test, there are only five minutes left and I don't feel an hour has [already] passed, you know? (Luna, INT1, LLAT)

It would seem that the participants consider that tests provide only an isolated representation of individuals' capacity at that particular time and place, as suggested by Matilda:

I'm always left with the impression that [grades] reflect [your skills], but I still [think] it could be a bit better, that I could still do better because, at times when I get feedback, I realise that I made very basic mistakes that aren't related to the translation, but they're another type of mistakes related to the [circumstances]: that sometimes you're not OK that day and you just happen to have to take a test and are unfocused and cannot give it your all. So, you know that grade won't reflect what you really are. (Matilda, INT1, TIE)

In other words, grades fail to provide an accurate account of their academic performance, especially their dedication displayed during class dynamics. Despite their awareness of this matter, grades can have a serious impact on the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs, leading to changes in commitment and subsequent changes in their translator identity statuses:

I must say that I haven't had good results [and] that has undermined my confidence... So I don't feel confident or qualified as a professional translator at this moment...In comparison to the first interview, I remember saying that I was a student who participated, spoke in class, raised his hand. I feel that I have engaged less this semester because I lost that confidence... (Ignacio, INT1, LLAT)

Ignacio's narrative exemplifies that grades constitute a significant factor that affects translator self-efficacy beliefs and overall self-esteem and, therefore, its impact on the identity development cycle is significant. In addition, this fluctuation of translator self-efficacy beliefs resulting from academic performance could also challenge students' commitment to their translator identity, as explained in section 4.3.

These initial perceptions of grades have been challenged during the social unrest. First, the students experienced a shift from their face-to-face setting to the online completion of their semester. This change in teaching delivery challenged participants' student identity self-continuity, i.e. the way they have learnt during most of their lives and, consequently, how they believe learning should occur. This change also involved changes in the assessment method: most individual tests were replaced with collaborative group assignments. Narratives in the INT2 interviews indicate that TIE participants are more critical of the online conclusion of the semester than their peers at LLAT, particularly Matilda:

...I think going back to class in December was the worst decision and I didn't like the system of doing everything online at all... The first part [of the semester] was very good, the lectures, the modality, everything good. I felt that I was making progress as I was supposed to, but... [the social unrest] happened and [then we had to] make up the classes in December [with the] lecturers uploading the materials to the virtual classroom and you studying alone. Then lecturers gave tests and didn't check them as they should have, or when practising before tests, lecturers' feedback was very poor, very little, it wasn't like the one in class. For instance, in legal translation, when we examined a text, the lecturer was always very attentive and if you had a word and it wasn't suitable, he'd said, 'well, that word isn't correct, you can use this one, this one or this one,' or at times he'd said, 'yes, it's correct, but this one is more frequently used.' So, I understood well and I felt that was the way to learn and when we had the online class, the lecturer didn't correct like that: if it was wrong, he would mark it as wrong and wouldn't justify it, so I feel that in the end, I didn't learn anything after we went back to class. I was merely a machine that wrote and submitted everything via virtual classroom, but deep down there wasn't much progress. (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

Matilda's narrative encapsulates most of her TIE peers' perceptions towards the online modality, particularly the lack of relevant feedback, which plays a critical part in the development of commitment and subsequent translator self-efficacy beliefs. Feedback and the onsite engagement with the lecturer seem to be irreplaceable in the online dynamics implemented at the end of the semester. This reflection is also shared by the LLAT participants, who completed their semester by submitting a series of online group assignments. In their view, the online modality provides them with time to carefully edit and revise their work as it removes the pressure of onsite tests:

The grade averages, well, we finish the course units with basically two grades or three maximum, so the averages were excellent, but I feel good because the assignments we submitted, the translations we submitted have had very good feedback, which means that I've made a lot of progress and it's like I know what to focus on... (Aurora, INT2, LLAT)

...I think I passed everything, but I still feel the semester was a little bit weird, with little substance, so I cannot say, 'oh, I've been an excellent translator academically,' because I'd be lying because we didn't do much [onsite], but I do feel we practised a lot in the translation course units...We might have had few classes, but of those we had, we managed to make a lot of them. (Luna, INT2, LLAT)

Luna's narrative is revealing in that, despite having passed her course units, she does not feel those experiences contributed much to her translator self-efficacy

beliefs as the grades she obtained do not reflect the reality of a normal semester. Moreover, she emphasises onsite translation practice as the key element in the development of her confidence. In contrast, Vai's narrative reveals that pressure is still very present for her classmates and herself. Her excerpt encapsulates another type of pressure beyond the translation task that most participants experience during this semester, namely the very little time to complete their semester. This involves the submission of a substantial number of assignments and the thesis in a short period of time:

I feel that [the online methodology] was positive because I could be doing the translations more calmly. I was able to focus more, so to speak, but there was this uncertainty, because we were working with the thesis and all the semester was shortened and, honestly, I didn't know if I was going to be able to finish the thesis well...We only had December and January to finish everything, so it felt like a lot of pressure. (Vai, INT2, TIE)

This pressure seems to have affected her performance, as the time that could be allocated to each course unit has been rather limited. Therefore, the participants have a less critical attitude towards their grades and results:

...It's just that everything was so complicated this semester that I didn't care about the grades used to complete [the minimum required in each] course unit [and] I wasn't focused on performing well. So, there are grades that are good, but they could be much better...I mean, we needed to finish the semester fast, so the contents weren't discussed, I mean, they were, everything was delivered via virtual classroom, but that's not education... (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

...The only thing I honestly wanted was to finish the semester. I didn't care much, like, 'oh, I've got a 5.0 instead of a 6.0,' but rather, 'ah, OK, well, I'm about to finish the semester' and that's what I gave priority to... Of course, the [current] situation had an effect [on my performance,] but I can't put all the blame on the context, as I know I could have done it much better if the situation had been different. So, grades do represent me to some extent, because I know that I don't work very well under pressure. There was pressure and I didn't work that well... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

Matilda's and Lorena's narratives reflect their attitude towards the results they have obtained. Both share a disconnection between their student IS constructs, and their grades and overall performance in the light of the social context. The salience of other identities during the crisis along with the decrease in commitment to their student and translator identities have led to performance that meets the satisfactory level. They acknowledge their responsibility in the process, but also

partially blame the situations in their ipseity for their inability to obtain higher grades. In other words, they believe they have given their best possible performance considering the context in which they were. Furthermore, most participants distance themselves from grades as a means of identity verification and instead turn to real translation practice.

This shift from academic performance as a means of translator identity verification indicates a separation of the initial overlap and interdependence between participants' student and translator identity. This means that, although high grades may allow them to verify their student IS, their awareness of the translation profession has crossed a threshold in which other occupation-related experiences to verify their translator identity are required. This is why most participants value professional practice.

4.5.4 The undergraduate thesis: perceived challenges and affordances

The two groups experience the writing up of their thesis in slightly different ways due to the particularities of each programme and university. First, TIE participants do their theses individually, while at LLAT they are done in groups of three or four members. Second, TIE had been on strike for two months during the first semester in 2019, which meant their semester was extended into January 2020. However, the social unrest forced most academic activities to stop for nearly two months, which left thesis writers with little time to complete their work. Thus, TIE members were allowed to submit only the theoretical and methodological component of their thesis at the end of the semester, leaving the practical application of the research for their final semester in 2020. LLAT participants were allowed to postpone their submission until March 2020, which gave them more time to work on their projects over the summer break.

In addition to the contextual challenges that the TIE participants have had to face, the writing of their thesis is conceived of as a daunting challenge that generated negative emotions, such as anxiety or stress, as suggested in Cora's and Ana's narratives:

...I think the thesis was the worst [experience] this semester because it was what consumed most of my time and, I mean, it was horrible. It wasn't a process I enjoyed, so to speak. I'm not satisfied with what I did... To me the most challenging part was to connect what authors said with what I said so that it didn't seem forced that there's a quote there, things like that... it

brought me many problems when I edited the text with my supervisor's corrections and many [other course unit] assignments...it was very frustrating. I felt I couldn't do it, for example, I think I might've written five different versions of the introduction and I couldn't, I couldn't, I couldn't, I couldn't get it right until the very last week... In this process, I learned that I don't how to write introductions... (Cora, INT2, TIE)

...I hardly ever had felt as stressed as when I was writing the thesis, compared to other assignments at university. [The stress came] from looking at sources about the topics I had, what my research was about and also the fact that, at times, I lost the objective of my research, so at times I felt like I was writing on clouds and nothing fixed. (Ana, INT2, TIE)

Cora's and Ana's problems with their thesis seem to stem from their lack of academic writing skills. The frustration and stress experienced are triggered at multiple corrections or attempts to produce suitable pieces of writing or also when points are not clearly defined in their research. According to Çetinkaya and Yılmaz (2017), undergraduate students often experience difficulty with section structuring and research design in the writing of their theses.

Nonetheless, the participants are able to reconnect with their thesis after a reflective process which promotes their commitment to submit their work in the allocated time:

...I'm in this duality because of the semester because, at first, I was really excited about the topic I chose. I really liked it, I was really motivated and then [the social unrest] happened and when we returned, I didn't like the topic, I didn't want to continue, I couldn't focus. Those were the first weeks, but then somehow I managed to focus and keep researching and making progress. I kinda reconciled with my topic and say, 'well, yes, I like this, this is what I'm going to do,' and now I'm doing that, like, 'fine, this is my topic, yes, I've got to continue it the next semester, how are we going to do it?' (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

This reconnection to the topic and possible recommitment to the translator identity not only seems to lead to its verification, but it could also contribute to participants' overall development as individuals, as suggested by Daniela:

...During the writing up of the thesis, not only did I learn to be able to respond to a question or discuss a certain aspect of translation, but I also think [of it] as personal maturity...which has to do with being able to solve your own state [of mind] when, for example, when you can't take it anymore, you try to disconnect from it, then return, OK, no, yes, now I can, how do I solve this? This way... (Daniela, INT2, LLAT)

Personal growth allows the participants to carry out a reflective hermeneutic move on their experience in the thesis and its contribution to their training during the INT2 interview round. The participants regard the thesis experience as an integrative opportunity where they verify their declarative knowledge of translation and develop a series of skills that are useful for their occupation:

...I think it's a reinforcement for your intellectual self-esteem because you realise that there are other professional translators and people with a lot of expertise that thought the same [as I], obviously better explained and argued than my thoughts, but in the end, they matched my way of thinking regarding some theories. Researching I realised that other theorists or translators had said it and that kind of makes me feel well, like, 'I'm not that lost in my thinking regarding translation,' and in the practical sense, the topic of my research, I discovered many resources and many websites and many books and many many journals where papers were published about the topic I was researching, so I learned a lot in that sense... (Lorena, INT2, TIE)

Lorena's narrative suggests an increase in student and translator self-efficacy beliefs. In addition, other translator-related transferable skills are highlighted, which indicates a metacognitive valuation of the experience. This reflective exercise appears to be associated with students that hold an achiever identity status.

In conclusion, the pressure generated by the contextual demands in alterity poses an important challenge to the participants, particularly those in TIE. In spite of negative emotions experienced by participants like Cora, most are able to reconnect with their topics and critically assess the value it has in their training and for their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

4.6 Conclusions from the INT1 and INT2 interview rounds

The super-ordinate themes that stemmed from the participants' INT1 and INT2 narratives shed light on the processes that underlie the development of their translator identity. This section first discusses the evolution of translator IS-related constructs and their primary verification processes. Second, it analyses the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs during the participants' fourth year. Third, it describes the processes by which the students appear to increase or decrease their commitment to their translator identity and, critically, their translator identity statuses throughout the year. Finally, the translator and student

identity engagement is discussed by integrating the critical super-ordinate themes that emerged in these two interview rounds.

4.6.1 Translator IS: constructs and development

During the INT1 interview, the participants continued to develop the main dimensions that they had previously identified as key elements of the professional translator and the translator IS in the INT0 interview, namely translators' knowledge of translation and professional skills and attributes. Their narratives describing their learning experiences from translation practice suggest that these have fostered the accommodation of both dimensions of knowledge of translation, i.e. declarative and procedural. In their narratives, the students do not make explicit comments about their knowledge about translation theory per se, but rather provide a reflective account of their learning process which works as a proxy for the changes undergone by the translator IS. This indicates that the accommodation of declarative knowledge is achieved by means of their practical learning experiences in the classroom. This move echoes the dynamics of the translator identity verification model in Chapter 1: constructs can be assimilated or accommodated by executing identity-related behaviour.

In addition, the participants identify the skills and attributes required to deal with the type of translation practice they have experienced during the semester. For example, the students emphasise the importance of a thorough research process, speed and accuracy when producing translations. The participants suggest that these skills were developed during the course units or are envisaged as necessary to do academically and professionally well in the next semesters and their future occupation. During the INT2 interview round, these professional skills and attributes focus on the translators' ability to deliver their work in spite of contextual circumstances and their flexibility to cope with external challenges, such as those experienced during the social unrest.

This versatility and flexibility are also noted at three different levels concerning the accommodation processes in the translator IS. First, in terms of the translator identity, the notion of a 'perfect' text changes as they experience more translation practice. They realise that the source text cannot be changed and they should try to retain as much of its 'essence' in their translations. This hermeneutic move also shows a shift from a self-centred to an alterity-centred perspective when reconceiving translation. Second, the flexibility that students have developed has

allowed them to lower their self-demanding attitude towards their work and grades, which allows the verification of their translator IS in spite of potential mismatches with the student identity. Third, the flexibility towards their grades also seems to have been extrapolated to a much larger extent in order to face the personal and academic challenges triggered by the social unrest. Concretely, the contextual circumstances seem to have prompted the adjustment of the participants' student and translator identity standards so that their identities could be verified. It is important to acknowledge that the latter process involves a shift towards an inward emotional inclination, which appears to foster the participants' agency, particularly in achievers.

4.6.2 Translator self-efficacy beliefs and insecurity

The participants' experiences in the translation classroom echo the three main sources of translator self-efficacy beliefs suggested by Bandura (1977). The first and most significant one results from successful first-person practical translations, i.e. mastery experiences. The second one, vicarious learning, corresponds to the participants' appropriation of their peers' and lecturers' translation experiences. The final source is verbal persuasion, understood as the praise and positive feedback that participants receive from trainers and classmates.

Successful translation experiences appear to have a critical impact on the students' translator self-efficacy beliefs and overall self-esteem, particularly when these are combined with assessment and grades. Conversely, low academic performance has a tremendous impact on the participants who had their first fail in translation or whose results differ from their student self-continuity. These situations triggered an episode of exploration that challenged their student and translator identities.

Some participants, such as Luna and Vai seem to be unable to integrate positive feedback from peers and personal successful translation attempts due to their insecurity. It appears that the degree to which insecurity affects the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs depends on whether these are outwardly or inwardly emotionally anchored. Luna and Vai display an outward emotional inclination, which is a feature of a conserver identity status, whereas Cora's narrative conveys an inward emotional inclination that allows her to incorporate verbal persuasion from the group as a means to verify her translator identity and foster her translator self-efficacy beliefs.

In addition, translator self-efficacy beliefs and identity statuses seem to be closely connected. Those displaying an achiever identity status seem to have strong self-efficacy beliefs that do not seem to suffer greatly from interruptions from alterity, such as grades or low performance. On the contrary, conservers and seekers struggle when they face challenges. In some cases, these lead to fluctuations in their translator self-efficacy, while in others, like José's, these episodes decrease self-efficacy beliefs and affect their overall self-esteem.

4.6.3 Developing commitment to translator identity

The participants' changes in their commitment to their translator identity can be explained by its close interaction between translation practice, self-efficacy beliefs and performance. The crisis-reflection-reconnection exploratory process seems to be the starting point in the sense that interruptions from alterity or other identities trigger a situation of crisis that initially weakens the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs. This is followed by a reflective move in which students make adjustments to behaviour or IS constructs. The participants' narratives indicate that the students engage in one of two potential cycles in their commitment to their translator identity. Each of these cycles appears to be determined by the immediacy of actions that the students take. This immediacy works as a proxy for the level of agency they are willing to exercise after the reflective period. Some of the participants show a delay in their taking action, because of 1) personal circumstances, 2) unwillingness to do more knowing that they could do so, or 3) unawareness that the situation calls for actions on their part. This delay in taking action seems to be more prevalent with conservers and seekers and leads to a non-verification cycle in which their translator self-efficacy beliefs do not improve. This leads to two possible outcomes: maintaining their academic performance and commitment at best, or obtaining lower grades and suffering a sustained loss of commitment to their translator identity. It is this degree of commitment that later informs the students' level of agency in future crises. The dynamics of this detrimental cycle are depicted in Figure 4.1 below.

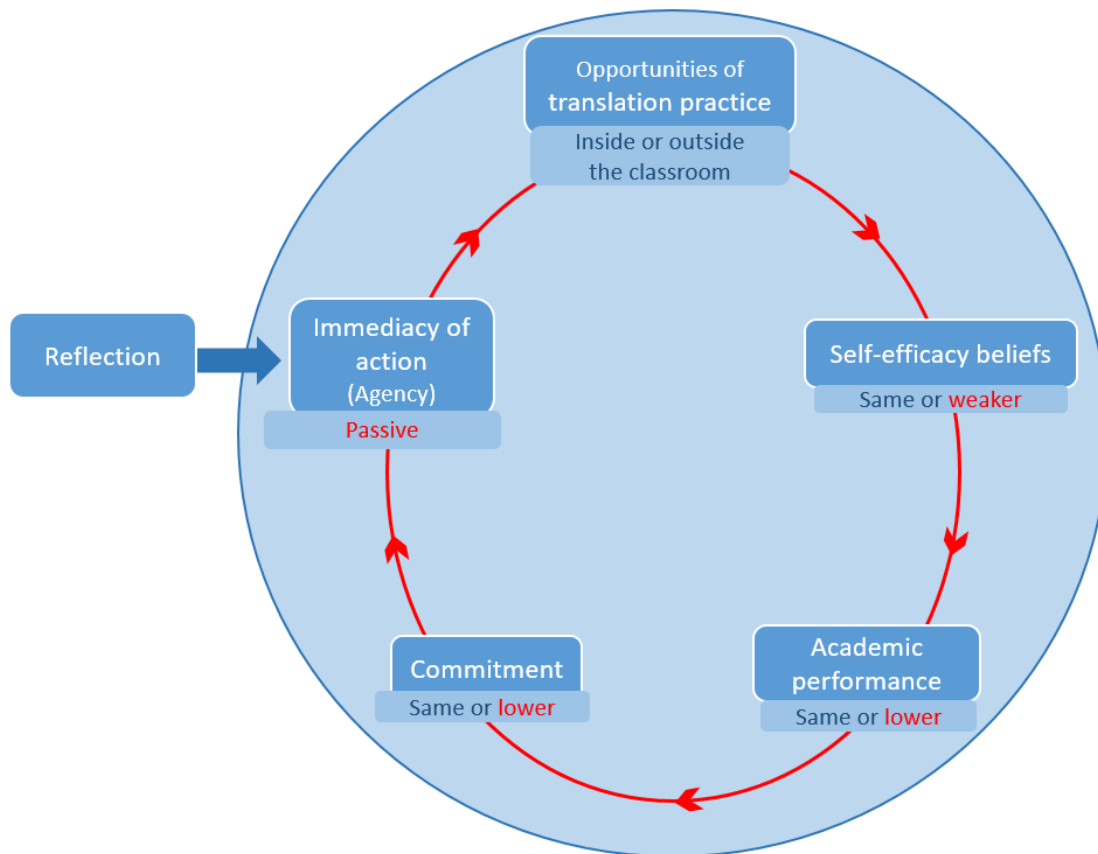


Figure 4.1 Cycle leading to stagnation or decrease in commitment.

Conversely, those participants who seem to recommit to their translator identity take short-term actions and recognise practice as the main means by which they can improve. The more they practise, the better they become. This impacts positively on their translator self-efficacy beliefs, as they are able to overcome issues associated with their insecurity and shyness³. This, in turn, has a positive effect on their academic performance which fosters their commitment to their identity. Higher commitment could then help the participants maintain their proactive attitude following crises and, thus, develop an achiever identity status. Figure 4.2 illustrates this virtuous cycle in the development of the participants' commitment to their translator identity.

³ It is important to emphasise that these cycles do not intend to label or stigmatise any of the participants' personality traits, but only illustrate the relationship between the different factors describe in the INT1 and INT2 interview rounds.

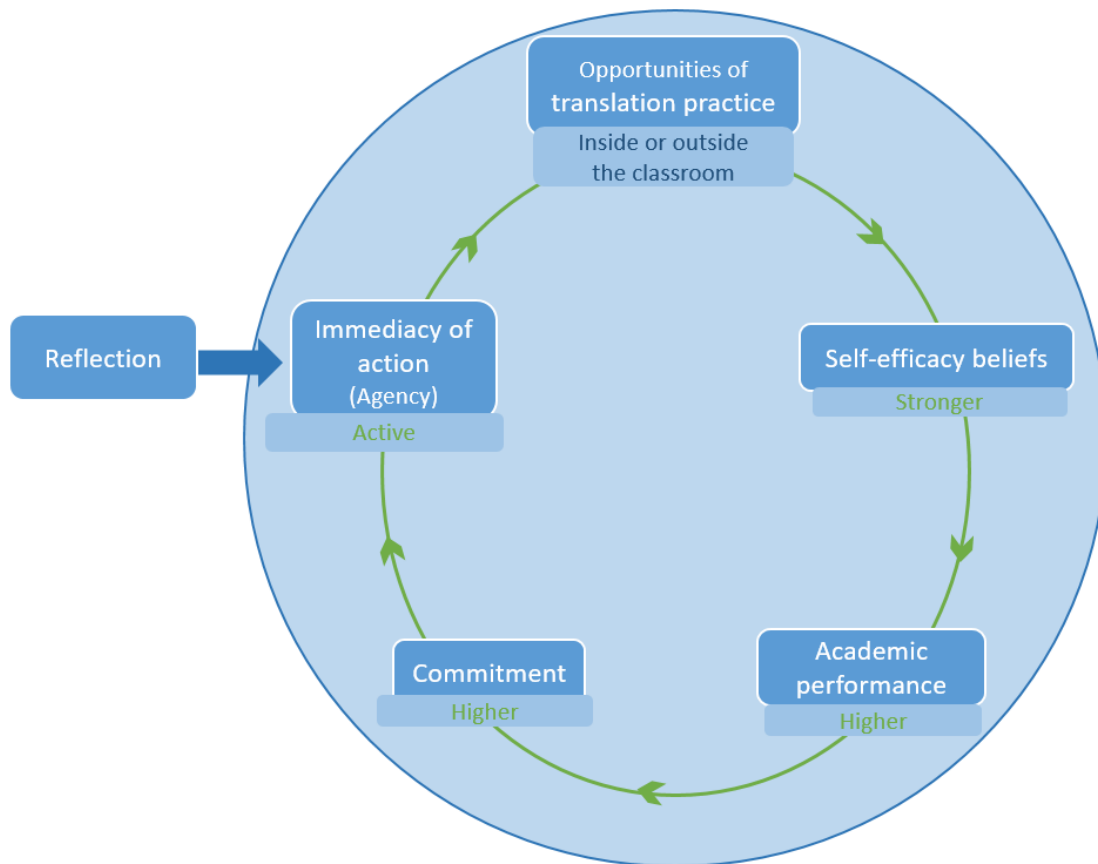


Figure 4.2 Cycle leading to increase in commitment to translator identity.

The narratives suggest that participants develop their commitment primarily by means of practical instances. In INT1, the participants indicate that this occurs mainly in the translation classroom. It is here where the students believe that they are able to improve their translator-related skills and also their translator self-efficacy beliefs. As suggested in subsection 4.6.2, the participants verify the latter by means of mastery experiences, i.e. performing good translations, and vicarious learning and verbal persuasion, both of which stem from their interaction with their peers and lecturers in the classroom. The increase in translator self-efficacy beliefs leads to a higher commitment to their translator identity, which allows participants to move towards an achiever identity status. Participants categorised in the achiever identity status share their high level of commitment to their translator identity status and their inward emotional inclination. This means they actively seek solutions to overcome the challenges in ipseity, either developing new learning strategies or looking for support from others. Conservers' narratives display a high level of commitment but show an outward emotional inclination bound in alterity. For instance, Luna's insecurity lies in how she believes others

judge her performance, while lack of potential job prospects makes Matilda’s and Ignacio’s commitment decrease. Seekers show a lower level of commitment, which is evident in the recognition of potential courses of action to improve, but due to personal issues or disruptions in alterity, they are unable or do not wish to exercise their agency to address them. The participants’ narratives in their INT1 interview round indicate that most of them display achiever and conserver identity statuses, as shown in Table 4.1.

	Participants	Interview rounds	
		INT1 (July 2019)	INT2 (January 2020)
TIE	Ana	Achiever	Achiever
	Cora	Conserver	Conserver
	Lorena	Achiever	Achiever
	Matilda	Achiever	Seeker
	Nicole	Achiever	Achiever
	Vai	Seeker	Conserver
LLAT	Aurora	Achiever	Achiever
	Daniela	Achiever	Achiever
	Fran	Conserver	Seeker
	Ignacio	Seeker	Seeker
	José	Seeker	Depleted
	Luna	Conserver	Conserver

Table 4.1 Participants’ translator identity statuses in INT1 and INT2.

Their INT2 narratives suggest that the episode of crisis that they experienced as a result of the social unrest triggered a major disruption in the development of their identities. At first, they claim to have been mentally unable to cope with the challenges posed by the crisis. This presupposes a series of role conflict disruptions (Type II) and episodic identity disruptions (Type IV) between their multiple identities, particularly those involving their student and translator identities. However, participants are then required to recommit to their translator and student identities to conclude the semester. Although many, particularly at TIE, state that they are not psychologically able to do so, the commitment to their identities makes them negotiate their behaviour in line with the flexibility and accommodation of translator and student-related constructs.

In terms of commitment, five of the participants express their intention to continue further studies in teaching should they fail to get a job in translation. The other participants recommit to their translator-identity goals and take action, with or without support from alterity, to verify their translator and student identities. This strengthens the hypothesis that immediacy of action is related to a higher level of commitment. Thus, those looking for potential career changes who set long-term goals are likely to have a conserver or seeker identity status, while participants who modify their behaviour in favour of their identities at the time of the interview are achievers.

In spite of the serious challenges that participants have experienced from alterity during the second semester of 2019, almost all participants who were achievers in the previous interview have maintained their status due to their high commitment. Combined with the emotional support from their groups, these participants have been able to remain focused on their translator identity-related goals. However, the crisis has affected some who have previously shown a high level of commitment to their translator identity: Matilda, who displayed an achiever identity status in INT1, and Fran, who was a conserver. Both have considered other professional alternatives to translation and, although they say they remain committed, their concern about their future professional prospect could make them lower their commitment to their translator identity in favour of another occupational activity that provides more financial security and stability. This reflects a change of status to seekers.

On the contrary, Vai has been able to overcome some of her shyness thanks to the successful experiences with translation practice she had during the year, which has made her further commit to her translator identity. However, her translator self-efficacy beliefs seem to be easily undermined by her own insecurity, which prevents her from fully committing to her occupation. It is this feature of insecurity that is associated with a conserver identity status.

Other previous seekers have either maintained or changed their identity statuses: Ignacio is only able to identify potential actions to be taken and his delay to commit to concrete actions reflect a continuation of this seeker identity status, while José explores other possible professional alternatives and his return to the programme would be a means of achieving his new long-term goals. His narratives indicate that translation is no longer part of his professional projections, while other

potential vocational choices are accompanied by hesitation, anxiety and uncertainty, thus, reflecting a depleted translator identity status.

4.6.4 Student-translator identity relationship

The INT1 and INT2 narratives suggest translation practice is regarded as a vital instance where they can hone their translator skills. During the INT1 interview, the participants seem to be comfortable with the idea of being exposed to different genres and texts to be better prepared for the future. In their view, the more opportunities they have to practise, the better equipped they feel, which increases their translator self-efficacy beliefs. Within the programme, student and translator academic performances are initially regarded as one. This is due to the fact that the participants' translations are formative and summatively assessed. Thus, the grades obtained verify both identity standards.

However, the narratives from INT2 suggest that the participants realise that grades constitute only a partial interpretation of their performance. Since all face-to-face instruction shifted to online platforms, individual tests were replaced by online collaborative assignments. However, in the participants' view, these seem to be unable to emulate real-world situations and pressure. Thus, the participants seem to be looking for other meaningful, translator-related instances of practice to verify their identity, i.e. internships or independent translation commissions. Those participants who have had the opportunity to do so reflect on how these opportunities have allowed them to develop their translator self-efficacy beliefs and a new set of skills that will be useful once they graduate.

This change marks what appears to be a critical point in the process of translator identity development. In subsection 3.4.4, the INTO participants' narratives suggest an interdependence between their student and translator identities. On the one hand, the translator IS uses the academic performance that results from the student identity as the main means by which it verifies its constructs. On the other hand, the student identity also requires the translator IS to have meaning on its own. This close relationship between the two would seem to suggest that the translator identity is *nested* within the student identity.

Narratives of the INT1 interview continue to suggest that there is a strong connection between the two identities, particularly in terms of the grades participants obtain. However, some indicate that in spite of not obtaining

satisfactory grades, they do believe they have learnt and, more importantly, do feel they are able to translate outside the classroom. This implies that practice is valued in terms of its positive impact on their translator self-efficacy beliefs, regardless of the final grade. Practical experience translating in the classroom, learning from teachers and peers, and being praised by others seem to contribute to stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs. At this point, both identities *overlap*, but as participants reconceive their notion of translation performance and practice, their translator identity appears to require new means to verify itself in the exercise of practice.

In the INT2 narratives, the participants have highlighted that although they appreciate the role that translation practice has had in the controlled classroom environment, they feel they require 'real' practice outside their programmes to continue learning. Some participants even suggest that they have mastered the basics and the rest can only be learnt by being in the professional world. This need for additional means of verification suggests that the translator identity can no longer be fully verified solely by academic behaviour and, therefore, they start to *separate* from one another. However, some participants still require validation by grades and, since they are still enrolled in the programme, these cannot be neglected even though other meaningful experiences for identity verification are now necessary to continue developing students' translator identity. Figure 4.3 illustrates these three steps of development.

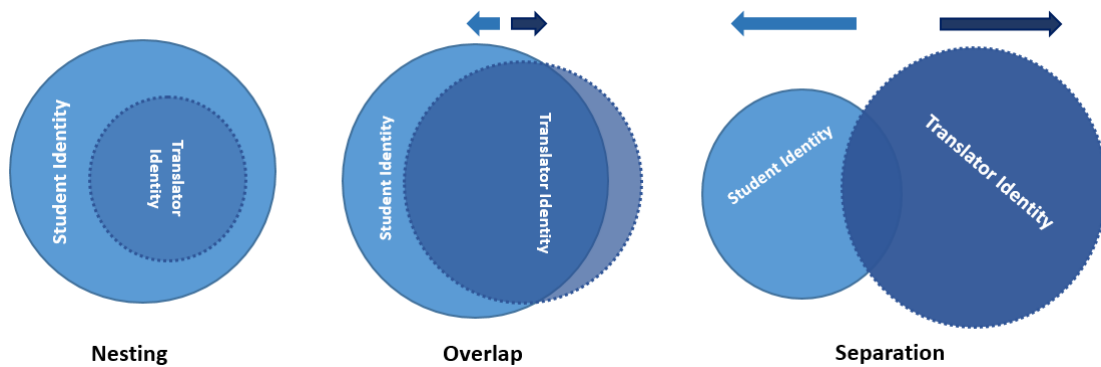


Figure 4.3 Student and translator identity interdependence in INT1 and INT2.

Chapter 5 Becoming a translator amid the COVID-19 pandemic

This chapter examines the development of the participants' translator identity in the context of the COVID-19 health crisis by analysing the narratives coming from the final two interview rounds, i.e. INT3 and INT4. As explained in Chapter 2, TIE participants concluded their studies in their ninth semester, while LLAT participants finished in their tenth. This means that the former only completed INT3, whereas the latter engaged in INT3 and INT4. All TIE participants had completed their programme by the time of the INT3 interview round. LLAT participants' situations at the time of the INT4 interview vary: Ignacio and Daniela had managed to complete the programme, while Luna and José recently submitted their theses. After their INT3 interview, Fran and Aurora temporarily withdrew from the programme and were expecting to re-enrol in April 2021.

Unlike the second semester of 2019 in which only the final part of the assessment was changed to online submissions, the entire 2020 academic year involved emergency remote teaching, which implied that lecturers moved to online platforms and online environments to deliver their lectures. Although both TIE and LLAT participants had some previous experience with online assessment, they had never engaged in a fully online learning environment. As explained in Chapter 2, this move implied a series of challenges at the conclusion of their studies and the development of their translator identity.

The chapter builds on the super-ordinate themes generated from the interpretation of the participants' narratives in Chapters 3 and 4. Section 5.1 provides a general overview of the semester, focusing on the impact of COVID-19 on the students' final semesters in their programmes. Section 5.2 discusses the changes to the translator IS and the processes related to its development, particularly the notion of flexibility in the professional context. Section 5.3 analyses the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs that result from insecurity and the completion of academic milestones. Section 5.4 examines the fluctuations in the students' commitment to their translator identity. Section 5.5 analyses the role of translation practice and the professional internship. It also revisits the conceptualisation of 'real' practice and its role in translator identity development. Section 5.6 discusses the changes in group dynamics in the online teaching and learning environment. Section 5.7 examines the re-evaluation of grades at this stage of translator identity

development. Lastly, section 5.8 reflects on how the super-ordinate constructs discussed in this chapter address the RQs of this research.

5.1 Contextualising the COVID-19 crisis

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Chilean government enforced strict health-related restrictions and periods of quarantine during the first semester of 2020, which was LLAT participants' penultimate semester and TIE participants' final semester. The participants had anticipated that the semester would be abnormal. This is because the social unrest that started in October 2019 had declined during January 2020, but several demonstrations were already being organised for March 2020 onwards:

It was an interesting [semester] because it was expected that this would be a peculiar semester, as social demonstrations were expected to continue like during the [last] half of our previous semester. But we had the pandemic instead [and it] continues until now. (Ana, INT3, TIE)

As COVID-19 became a national and international health crisis, USACH and PUCV delayed the beginning of the term and subsequently declared that all teaching would have to be online until further notice. Students' experiences of online teaching and learning differ considerably between TIE and LLAT participants. On the one hand, TIE participants, such as Cora and Matilda, feel that both lecturers and students knew how to approach the semester thanks to their experiences during the social unrest in their previous semester:

Last semester [in 2019] was more, like, focused on what was happening in the country. I think that this semester was more relaxed as we knew what we were facing, I reckon. So, the university and lecturers already knew what to do, how to carry on online because this [approach] had already more or less started last year, so having lectures like that wasn't really a shock. (Cora, INT3, TIE)

...[The semester] was good. In spite of everything that happened and that [classes] were delivered online, I consider it was a good one. I only had to finish the internship and thesis, so it wasn't that complicated. Lecturers were always attentive to us [and] used email or videos, and also video conferencing. So, I feel that they were able to manage... (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

In other words, TIE participants' previous experiences with online learning and their reduced academic workload provided stability in a continuously changing context. In addition, their imminent completion of the programme could have impacted positively on their student and translator identity-related goals. These

factors could partly explain TIE students' overall positive perception of the semester.

On the other hand, LLAT participants' INT3 narratives suggest that they perceived their first semester as complex and difficult. Many experienced a significant degree of anxiety for two reasons. The first one was the fear of themselves or their family members contracting the COVID-19 virus. Although they did not go outside their homes, they expressed concern for their families and friends who had to:

...It [is] stressful because I haven't gone out anywhere since March. My brother's working at a hospital where there are COVID cases. So it's been very stressful. (José, INT3, LLAT)

...We had a COVID case in my family...My stepfather had [it], so it was a huge thing. Imagine that while I was still in class!... He survived but still needs to keep doing some check-ups. He's alright, but he's being tested to examine the effects the virus had on his lungs... (Fran, INT3, LLAT)

The second reason was that the shift to online teaching initially involved lectures of the same length and intensity as the ones delivered face-to-face. Although both TIE and LLAT students completed their previous semester online due to the social unrest, LLAT participants have a strong negative perception of online teaching due to poor interaction dynamics, family-work compatibility, and software and hardware problems. These issues are discussed in detail in section 5.4.1.

It was very complicated...because we quickly had to change to a system of online classes, which at first was disorganised precisely because of the [level of] improvisation...It was also complicated to get used to distributing and organising times at home...I had to adapt and understand home was a workplace where I had to focus...Online classes were the same as the onsite ones but via the internet. It was like this at the beginning...but in the context we were, it was obvious that we couldn't have the same number [of hours], the same academic load and same pressure... (Ignacio, INT3, LLAT)

Due to the many difficulties experienced in the online setting, most Chilean university students resolved to take strike action in the form of an 'online strike,' in which they demanded fairer conditions for teaching and learning during the COVID-19 crisis. PUCV and USACH were among the universities whose students went on strike. TIE participants were not majorly affected because they negotiated for terms that allowed them to continue with their internship and thesis, on the grounds that they were in their final semester.

However, LLAT participants still had to complete one more entire semester to finish their programme. This means that they had to complete a substantial number of course units and any delay could potentially extend their semester and challenge the timely completion of their programmes. Therefore, LLAT participants' positions differ from each other in their degree of support for the strike action:

...I supported the strike because it was important to discuss and have all the demands [met], which eventually were, and try to ensure that all students had the same conditions and try to make sure that they actually were... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

...[As to] the strike, well, it didn't make things better. I mean, yes, the demands were important. They were relevant, [but] maybe not for our programme, [as] lecturers were brilliant and provided recorded [lectures] and all. But the issue was that this didn't happen in other programmes, so it was necessary [to go on strike]. Obviously, that doesn't mean that the outcome was the best. After all, we all had the semester extended, so it couldn't be helped. (Fran, INT3, LLAT)

The extension of the semester mentioned in Fran's narrative would not suffice to make up for the number of weeks that students missed due to the strike action. In practical terms, lecturers are required to condense the content of their course units. This compression of the content generated concern among LLAT participants because it meant potentially less preparation for them in comparison to previous cohorts of the same programme. For example, Aurora reflects on her experience in comparison with that of her previous class:

...After the strike, it was like, 'we've got to finish the semester very quickly.' We had had online classes before, but at least we had time allocated to discuss certain contents in the course units, [but after the strike] there were some in which [lecturers said], 'OK, we're not going to discuss this,' 'we're going to do this quickly,' 'we're going to prioritise this,' or 'this is what is actually being demanded by the market,' so it's obviously not the same course unit my classmates had last year... (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

The combination of online teaching, COVID-19 quarantine restrictions and subsequent online strike triggered episodes of depression in some participants. For instance, Luna and Aurora had to look for professional help and support to cope with the crisis:

...There was a moment when I was super depressed, shut at home and all day in pyjamas...I continued with psychological support and the clinic launched an online platform called Balanced Space. These are workshops in

which girls in my same circumstances talk and that has helped me a lot... (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

Well, [when] classes started and I started feeling mentally bad... I had to reach out to my therapist... It was horrible because I had so many expectations for my final year and like all fell apart... and it was like, 'some super final year.' (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

The differences in the way the first semester is experienced by translation students can be explained in terms of their self-positioning towards their training. TIE participants seem to be less critical of the online teaching or the online strike because they felt that they were close to completing their programme:

...We were obviously concerned about what was still at stake, but it was like [the completion of our programme] was bound to happen. It felt like, 'it's very likely we'll do well'...We were all with our minds so focused on being about to graduate, being about to finish, that [the semester] went by a bit unnoticed. (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

On the other hand, the narratives in the INT3 interview round suggest that LLAT participants perceive themselves as agents within an ongoing learning process of their programme and are, thus, more critical of the events related to it, especially because they were enrolled in regular course units during the semester. In addition, their views display a less optimistic tone with regard to their future translation prospects compared to their TIE counterparts in INT4. It is important to acknowledge these perceptual differences in the following sections of this chapter.

5.2 Translator IS: theorisation and self-reflection

The INT3 and INT4 interview rounds provide further details about the critical IS constructs outlined in Chapter 4. In section 4.1, the participants' narratives suggested that practical experiences allowed them to accommodate translator-related constructs related to translation declarative knowledge. In INT3, the participants continue to reshape their constructs associated with translation based on the different translator-related formative experiences they live during the semester. For example, Fran reflects on another critical aspect of the professional translator, i.e. the ability to edit texts, based on her experiences in a translation lecture:

...I've added another characteristic to [the translator apart from] those I've said before, like finding sources, being responsible, able to teamwork. Editing... this semester, thanks to one of the lecturers' teaching philosophy,

you could own the text and edit it to make it more understandable, not its meaning, but more approachable for the reader... This year I made more changes in my texts, which were positive... (Fran, INT3, LLAT)

The embodied practical experience seems to have a direct connection in the articulation of the translator IS during these interview rounds. Similarly, Daniela continues her reflections about the translation of the author's essence and what it takes to be able to produce a faithful translation. Her INT3 and INT4 interview narratives shed light on the progressive modifications she has made to her ideas while she experienced her final year:

...I think that sometimes it's necessary to add something...if you think it's necessary so that the reader, who is reading the target text, finds it much easier to understand...[But] I think there's a very thin line between what you'll add to make the message more understandable and to make it sound better, because you say, 'I don't know, it sounds better this way,' but is it really necessary to make the change? How much are you adding to the text?... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

...After [attending some] talks, and webinars more than anything else, I've reached the conclusion that faithfulness, so to speak, depends on the type of text. I feel that there are different factors related to fidelity that depend on the field or the text that you translate...For instance, the way in which I want to express a message in a literary text is very different from a medical text...it's not just the message, but many stylistic issues that are part of the fidelity of the message... (Daniela, INT4, LLAT)

Daniela's narrative shows a continuous development of her understanding of the translation practice. She first questioned what makes a good or a bad translation and thought it could be related to the mistakes made. In INT2, she added the need to translate the essence of the author and avoid making additions to the text. In these interview rounds, she realised that additions are possible and, in some cases, desirable. She concluded by stating that these changes are possible provided they align with the conventions of the type of text. The ongoing accommodation of these constructs suggests the theorisation of translation practical experiences by which the declarative knowledge of the translator IS is configured.

This theorisation process implies an integrative holistic reflection that underlies the evolution of constructs in the translator IS. This could be interpreted as the increasing prominence that the translator identity has acquired in the negotiation process. For example, Aurora explains how her translator identity permeates her leisure time activities:

...A few weeks ago, I started to watch many documentaries about medicine, which is the field I want to do my internship in. It's not simply watching them just because. I'm always paying attention to something, different issues. I can't help looking at them from the point of view of translation. It's like, 'OK, she said that word,' and I try to learn it. Or, when I'm watching something with subtitles, it's like, 'OK, so they translated it this way, so the strategy is this.'... (Aurora, INT4, LLAT)

This prominence is strongly present in all of TIE and most of LLAT participants' narratives from the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds, which presupposes a high commitment to their translator identity and reflects on their translator identity statuses. However, such commitment can suffer significant losses from the fear that emerges from the practicalities of working as a translator, as is discussed in section 5.3 and subsection 5.4.2.

The professional skills and attributes associated with the professional translator continue to reflect an extrapolation of the participants' experiences as students to the professional world. In other words, the supra-contextual adaptation that they experienced in their programmes is projected as their future professional performance as translators. A prime example of this is the conceptualisation of the translators' adaptability to the socio-political context:

I think that even in these circumstances, I don't see [the pandemic] as that of an obstacle for a translator. I mean, you can work anyway. Our programme works fairly OK remotely and I feel that, in the end, we're not about using our hands that much, but our minds...We might not be able to go to our workplace, but we can still work, even during a pandemic like this... (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

The narratives from the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds indicate that the participants also project their self-reflection into the translator professional skills and attributes. In other words, they tend to project how they currently see themselves with their related strengths and weaknesses:

[A translator] is punctual, responsible and organised. I think that being organised is a critical thing where I am now. It's fundamental to submit translations on time and all other aspects of everyday life...I completely identify myself with the things I've said... (Cora, INT3, TIE)

I think the professional translator needs to know many things. It's horrible. I mean, not horrible, but I can't see myself as a professional translator because we need to know at least a bit about many topics. We also need to acknowledge the culture... [I cannot visualise the cultural part because] I

find it really hard for my texts to sound naturally in English. I just can't seem to do it. (José, INT4, LLAT)

It would seem that the professional skills and attributes are continuously evolving constructs that reflect the participants' self-perception, either in terms of their current or future professional selves. In addition, they appear to be contextually driven in the sense that participants value those that best encapsulate the skills needed to face the different situations they experienced in their programmes.

In summary, the narratives from these interview rounds continue to suggest an experiential-driven process by which the translator declarative knowledge is accommodated into the translator IS, i.e. the theorisation of the translation experiential practice. In addition, the translator professional skills and attributes seem to encapsulate their perceptions about their current and future professional selves.

5.2.1 Translator IS development: self-forgiveness and flexibility

The notion of flexibility has emerged systematically throughout the first interview rounds of this study. In the INT3 and INT4 interviews, this concept reappears as 1) a flexible attitude towards themselves, and 2) a crucial professional skill. First, in Chapter 4, flexibility was identified as the underlying factor in the co-accommodation process in the student and translator identity standards, especially when the participants' results were lower than expected but still contributed to the development of their translator skills. In their narratives, the participants suggested that, as part of that flexibility, they needed to take a less 'self-demanding' attitude with their academic behaviour and results, particularly considering the challenges posed by the social unrest in late 2019. This attitudinal change would seem to involve accommodating their student and translator identity standards according to the contextual situation to foster the verification of both identities. In the INT3 interview, this conceptualisation of flexibility continues to be shared across LLAT participants in their ninth semester:

I learned not to be so critical of myself. I'm very perfectionist and try to see, like, 'in this course unit, I've got these weaknesses. I've got to improve them.' And if I don't do as well as I'd hoped, I don't go, 'oh no, why?' but I [instead] analyse and analyse [the results]. Now I've told myself, 'Daniela, you're in the middle of a world pandemic. It's a completely unexpected situation, so if you don't do well, don't worry, you'll do better next time.' I tried to be more self-forgiving, so to speak... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

Daniela's narrative provides an additional dimension to the attitude outlined in previous interviews: *self-forgiveness*. In her view, it allows her to attenuate her reaction to negative events by being kind and understanding with herself. It would seem that this concept is equivalent to what is commonly known in psychology as *self-compassion*, which refers to 'experiencing feelings of caring and kindness toward oneself, taking an understanding, nonjudgmental attitude toward one's inadequacies and failures, and recognizing that one's own experience is part of the common human experience' (Neff 2003, 224). This definition aligns with the narratives that emerged in INT3, which suggests that self-forgiveness is a personal metacognitive stance that allows the participants not to co-accommodate, but to *assimilate* apparently incongruent academic behaviour without modifying the translator IS. According to the multiple-identity model described in Chapter 1, these mismatches should lead to the non-verification of both student and translator identities. Nevertheless, narratives, like Aurora's below, show that in spite of having lower grades or even failing course units, the participants' translator IS remains verified due to their self-forgiveness:

I felt I did well in some course units, but in others, like, I barely made it, so as a student I'm obviously not satisfied, I guess. But considering all that happened, and even that at some point I thought I wouldn't be able to pass everything and my head couldn't cope with things anymore, I realised that I know a couple of things and that's fine... This Aurora now did the best she could. (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

In previous interviews, the participants seem to have attempted to be less self-demanding by co-accommodating their student and translator identity constructs to foster their verification. However, INT3 narratives suggest a different process: the assimilation of contextual challenges and a forgiving attitude promotes the verification of the translator identity over that of the student identity. This change in the multiple-identity negotiation process also suggests that the translator identity seems to have acquired more salience and independence from the student identity, which now appears to play a less relevant role in its verification process. Consequently, the emergence of the participants' self-forgiveness suggests a shift of positioning towards their translator identity during the remaining time as translation students.

The increasing salience of the translator identity could also stem from the students' experiences during their professional internships. Flexibility also emerges in the INT3 and INT4 narratives of the participants who completed their professional

internships. In these cases, it is conceptualised as a vital professional skill that has replaced the importance of perfectionism in translation, both as a process and product. Concretely, the participants realise the importance of adaptability in the professional market, which might imply moving across different text types and disciplines, many of which they could find less appealing or more demanding. This move implies detaching from what they want and focusing instead on what the market requires from them, which is a significant change from the previous interview rounds analysed in Chapter 4. Moreover, this flexibility entails much more complexity, as Lorena explains:

Well, I think one of the things that have been reaffirmed is the capacity of adaptation and flexibility that we must have as professionals. I had already outlined [this before], but it became palpable this semester and year...A lot of information is being generated [in the field of medicine and health]: new technologies and new paradigms that need to be understood. All this is a reminder of how important how versatile you, your mind and your capacity to absorb knowledge have to be... [The professional translator] needs to be a very versatile professional who cannot get too comfortable with any topic or way of work, because the market may be demanding changes you have to adhere to if you want to remain competitive and be relevant in the market. (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

The participants conceive flexibility as a comprehensive capacity that is relevant and necessary for all aspects of the profession. This means that it not only involves adapting themselves to potential clients but also to work environments and the market itself in order to remain competitive. Thus, flexibility, conceptualised as a characteristic of the translator identity, reflects the adaptive nature of the translator IS itself, as constructs are assimilated or accommodated according to the contextual needs of the occupation in real-world enactment. The TIE and LLAT participants who completed their internship see the value of this flexibility at three levels: translator knowledge, professional management and contextual adaptability. The first one refers to their ability to deal with different types of texts and genres:

...When I started my professional internship, more than half of all texts were Spanish-English translation and they were long and [about a new topic]... At university, we hadn't worked with contemporary art, so I had to learn all about that topic, understand it and research it in English and Spanish. I had to work and find a way to translate with the competence I had... (Vai, INT3, TIE)

The second level involves their adaptability to solve the logistics related to the occupation, such as dealing with employers, clients and other translators:

...My employer had many things to do and there was a lack of communication. But still, we tried to reach out to her and deal with that difficulty and go on. So I think the capacity of adaptation and problem solving are very important. (Vai, INT3, TIE)

...There's also the issue of teamwork when [your peers] don't respond in the way you expect. I didn't know what to do...So, I was like, 'What do I do? How do I deal with this? How do I approach this person?... It helped me to see that not everything will always be ideal...there'll always be problems... (Daniela, INT4, LLAT)

Third, flexibility is also reflected in the translators' capacity to work regardless of the contextual circumstances beyond the translator-client relationship:

You're able to work under any circumstances and even in the current circumstances with a pandemic. These are no excuses for translators to stop doing what they need to do because today everything is, or most things are, available in digital spaces. The pandemic doesn't have any effect on that, so they just have to carry on⁴. (Ana, INT3, TIE)

To sum up, the notion of flexibility appears in the participants' narratives in two distinct ways in the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds. First, it is conceptualised as a self-forgiving attitude that shields the translator IS from non-verification in cases of mismatches with the student IS due to contextual difficulties. This also signals the increasing salience of the participants' translator identity in comparison to their student identity. This relevance of the students' translator identity can be explained in terms of the experiences in their professional internships, in which their perceived professional flexibility is a proxy for the adaptive nature of the translator IS. It also presupposes a proactive attitude towards the translation profession concerning not only the translation process itself but all the logistics associated with being able to provide a service in contexts such as the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁴ It is important to note that Ana's narrative conveys her strong conviction that translators should be able to deliver in spite of the challenging situations they faced. Her voice does not convey powerlessness or hopelessness.

5.3 Insecurity and translator self-efficacy beliefs

In Chapter 4, insecurity is identified as an obstacle to the validation of the translator IS and an impediment in the development of strong translator self-efficacy beliefs. In INT3 and INT4 interview rounds, there appear to be two distinct dimensions regarding insecurity: one that applies to those who systematically verbalise their insecurity and one that involves the general insecurity of the groups when facing challenges, particularly the professional internship and the translation market.

First, insecure participants seem to be able to overcome it by having obtained high grades in the internship and thesis. Such is the case with Vai, whose results in these academic milestones seem to have strengthened her translator self-efficacy beliefs:

Now I do [see myself as a translator], but it has a lot to do with how I did in the thesis and the professional internship because I managed to do them and they were hard. I did it, and I did very well, fortunately, and I wasn't expecting it. So, the fact that I did well gives me more confidence in myself... In the internship, I got a 6.4 or 6.5 from the employer and I did very well in the thesis: I got a 7.0... I think I've been able to overcome [my insecurity]... (Vai, INT3, TIE)

In INT2 and INT3, Vai's insecurity had displayed systematic salience in the process of her translator identity development and had impeded her from fully accommodating the verbal persuasion from lecturers and peers into her translator IS, especially when they judged her to be a good translator. In INT3, her high results in the two milestones of which she was afraid substantially strengthened her self-efficacy beliefs, which fostered her commitment to her identity. Consequently, Vai was able to conclude her studies displaying an achiever identity status:

I feel more confident than before. Yes, I think about it and, yes, I want to find a job and want to translate. Now I don't think, 'Oh, I'm gonna do it wrong, I'm gonna do it wrong.' I feel more positive and feel more confident. (Vai, INT3, TIE)

Second, both groups seem to have faced and dealt with insecurity in different ways. TIE participants' narratives suggest that most of them experience insecurity in the context of their professional internship. There appear to be two sources for this insecurity. The first one is related to the absence of immediate feedback from the

lecturers. The second one comes from the translation process and decision making, particularly identifying the extent to which their research skills can compensate for their lack of knowledge in a particular field:

...Insecurity appears at the time of delivering [the translation], 'mmm, have I done a good job?' [This is] mostly because there was no one to supervise me because I no longer have lecturers beside me and it's only me, so that's the final delivery to the client...I have no one to tell me, 'this is wrong,' or 'you've got to change this,' or 'improve that'. (Cora, INT3, TIE)

...I need precisely what I can learn now [in the professional market]: being confident in my decisions and the confidence to say, 'I can do this task,' whether or not it's my area of expertise... I feel that I'm lacking that level of judgement of truly understanding the extent to which I can compensate for my lack of knowledge with my research skills. (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

The participants face their insecurity by making decisions and committing to them. In other words, they are willing to take professional responsibility for their work, as Cora explains:

...There comes a moment when I say, 'OK, never mind, I'll print out [the translation],' because if I continue looking at it, I'll change it and ruin it. So, there is a moment when I say, 'OK, if it's wrong, it's wrong, there, they'll let me know,' [or] 'there, done.' (Cora, INT3, TIE)

In the case of LLAT participants, their main source of insecurity stems from limited job prospects in translation. This fear seems to hinder their commitment to their translator identity and prompts them to be open to other more financially stable work opportunities:

...I feel absolutely confident in English and I think I've developed the necessary competencies to be a professional translator... [However,] I see it as an additional source of income at this time, but hardly the main one. I think freelance instability is a factor that impedes me from fully working as a translator... (Ignacio, INT4, LLAT)

Ignacio's narrative challenges the assumption that strong self-efficacy beliefs relate to high commitment. He favours a steady workflow and income over working professionally as a translator, even when he feels very confident to exercise his occupation. It would seem that participants' professional prospects impact their overall sense of security and, thus, their level of commitment to their translator identity. These issues are analysed in detail in subsection 5.4.2.

5.4 Commitment development

This section is divided into two subsections. The first one examines the commitment development cycle outlined in Chapter 4 in the context of online emergency remote teaching from March 2020 and the COVID-19 crisis. According to Hodges et al. (2020), online learning differs from remote emergency teaching in that the former implies a well-planned learning experience, whereas the latter is executed in contexts of crises, such as the ones previously outlined. The second subsection addresses how LLAT and TIE participants deal with the prospects of an unstable translation market and the impact this has on their translator identity statuses.

5.4.1 Commitment development amid the pandemic

In Chapter 4, commitment is explained by means of a crisis-reflection-reconnection process. In these interview rounds, COVID-19 constituted a crisis that challenged the participants' mental health, as suggested by Matilda and Daniela:

I think [the pandemic] affected me at a personal level because I'm a very sensitive person and very receptive to what happens around me. So, if something affects me, it'll impact other aspects of my life. So, if I'm sad, exhausted, I don't know, tired of what's been happening outside, that will be reflected on my professional performance because I won't be 100% focused... My grades might have been good anyway, but I felt [the crisis] like that personally. (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

In my case, I don't think [the pandemic] affected me academically, but it was something more related to mental [health]...I mean, my main challenge was demotivation...at some point, I thought of temporarily withdrawing from the programme, like in April, because that was the moment I felt most overwhelmed by online classes [and] didn't want to conclude my final year like that... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

It would seem that the crisis led to demotivation at the beginning of the semester, especially when the emergency remote teaching began in March 2020. The anxiety and confusion that the participants perceived stemmed from the postponement of classes caused by the pandemic, as narrated by Nicole and Matilda:

...The semester was planned to be onsite, but clearly during March and April [pandemic-related] issues appeared and we were still wondering if [a regular semester] was possible. Lecturers were discussing whether it was possible to go back to classes or not, how the online system would work. In that sense, there wasn't much organisation... (Nicole, INT3, TIE)

Well, at first, I felt disturbed by what was happening and I didn't know whether I was going to make it. I mean, I was super stressed, super worried and I thought it'd be chaotic... (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

However, after acknowledging the episode of crisis and the challenges it posed to their training, the participants began the second phase of the commitment development process, i.e. reflection. This reflective stance led to their recommitment to their translator identity and they strived to overcome the potential issues that the COVID-19 crisis generated in their contexts:

...I thought [I had two options:] 'I'd better withdraw and continue next year,' or, 'no, I'll stay here and try to make an effort because at the end of the day it depends largely on me if I decide to learn or not and look for options'...I might have let it get to me and felt frustrated, but I was like 'no, you can do this, come on, you can do this,' so I told myself, 'OK, I'm not quitting'... In the end, I came to the conclusion that this is reality and I need to give my best in this situation... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

...You find yourself in a very difficult situation, a situation when you just want to say 'you know what? I'll just put this on hold until next year and I'll take these actions to do it,' but when you finally decide to deal with the situation, [being it] severe or not, complicated or not. There's a huge sense of satisfaction if you first thought you couldn't do it or that you'd fail or that you'd be limited by a million things, and then you [are able to] make it through... (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

In other words, the outbreak of COVID-19 in Chile initially affected the participants' commitment and translator self-efficacy beliefs, but they later rose to the challenges they identified. When they overcame these difficulties, they experienced a sense of satisfaction that strengthened the beliefs that help them deal with a similar crisis in the future:

...Now I have no excuse if a challenge of similar characteristics happens again because if now I thought that I couldn't do it and then I did it, in the future, that'll mean that if I think I can't, it won't mean that I necessarily can't do it, because it'd already happened to me and, without a doubt, these trying times tested that. (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

It would seem that the previous successful experiences dealing with crises establish professional constructs in which the participants recognise themselves as empowered professionals able to cope with supra-contextual demands. In other words, the experiences in crises seem to develop constructs that set standards for the participants' future professional behaviour.

Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic is regarded as an unexpected situation that has presented challenges to the participants' mental health. However, it has also provided them with opportunities to develop professionally, and particularly to develop stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs as they overcome the pandemic crisis. This experience promotes a sense of empowerment that seems to set standards for their translator-related behaviour to overcome future professional challenges, which are discussed in the subsection below.

5.4.2 Perceived job opportunities and their impact on commitment

Both TIE and LLAT groups conceptualise their future insertion into the translation market as a significant challenge to overcome in the future. This constitutes LLAT participants' primary source of anxiety and distress. In their view, the two subsequent crises, i.e. the social unrest and COVID-19 pandemic, have led to very few job opportunities offered by companies, which are struggling to survive:

...I think [finding] translation [work prospects] is difficult. Companies are going through economic problems due to the decrease of their revenue to keep their staff. Many people have lost their jobs, so that's why I don't think they'd be requiring translators to increase the expenses they already have...It[d be] an investment for them...[and] of course, it's useful for them, but when you have to let employees go to keep operating, I don't think [investing in translation] would be their main concern or main way to stay afloat in the market... (Ignacio, INT4, LLAT)

As a result, most LLAT participants are open to work in a variety of occupations, provided they secure a steady source of income, regardless of their level of commitment or confidence performing those jobs. Most participants seem to share this attitude, which adds a further dimension to the conceptualisation of the translator identity statuses. Students who privilege translation over every other possible option and would consider alternatives only to complement their income as a translator show an attitude that aligns with achievers. Other participants favour financial stability over working in their professional field and could even commit to a new occupational identity provided it would grant them financial security, which appears to echo the descriptions of conservers and seekers. Lastly, some students intend to complete their translation programme only as a means to pursue other professional goals in which translation has no foreseeable place, which is consistent with behaviour associated with the depleted. The narratives

below encapsulate these differences: Daniela displays features of an achiever, Fran those of a conserver, and José shows traces of a depleted identity status:

...I really like linguistics and translation and I definitely want to do that. I really like translating. I'd like to edit texts and I did a course on that, too. I'm also into language tutoring, for instance...[but] I'm very committed to [translation]. I want to take a little time off, not a year or anything like that, just to see what opportunities life brings and look [for some]... (Daniela, INT4, LLAT)

I'm not keen on teaching because I feel it's a huge responsibility...I feel teaching is like an art, a trade that's very demanding and I've always looked up to my high school teachers...I don't want to be a teacher 'just because I happen to know another language.'... [I'd do it], if it led to an opportunity where I could work as a teacher...have a stable job in an institution or school, or the like... (Fran, INT4, LLAT)

[Teaching languages] is an option that I still consider, much more than before, actually. I'd given up on the scholarship [to train as a Japanese language teacher] in Japan, but with the thesis was like, 'I could still use this.' So I think that if I get the scholarship, I could work as a Japanese language teacher in an English-speaking country or, all the way around, do some work and holiday in New Zealand, Australia or Ireland and then become an English language teacher in Japan. (José, INT4, LLAT)

Conversely, TIE participants claim not to be demotivated by the challenges associated with entering the translation market. Moreover, they are committed to finding a job and working professionally as translators, as Vai affirms:

I'm happy because I hadn't felt like this before...I'm still nervous [about working], but I'm excited to start working and translating. I want to do it and I'm going with a very positive attitude, which makes me happy because I didn't think I'd make it this far. (Vai, INT3, TIE)

The positive stance and high commitment to their translator identities generate a proactive attitude that is reflected in a series of actions that the participants take in order to be better prepared when they enter the market. Some of these strategies involve taking courses and developing their language skills before looking for jobs, while others consider pursuing further studies in translation to specialise:

...I'm at the stage [where] I'm still collecting things that will be valuable when I seriously decide to start looking for job opportunities, [like] taking courses and reading all I can. [I'm] trying not to lose touch with the English language and [I'm also trying to] be always consuming stuff in both

languages, especially being in contact with trends regarding the news and what is being produced in literature... (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

Moreover, the successful experiences in the internship have made some participants, such as Matilda, who was considering pursuing an MA in English language teaching instead of working as a professional translator, recommit to her translator identity:

I really like [translating]. I'd like to specialise in the future. I'm still not sure in what. Maybe audio-visual translation, maybe even, I don't know, technical translation, [or do] a postgraduate degree. I still haven't decided anything, though it'd be ideal to do an MA, I haven't decided anything yet. (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

Matilda's excerpt suggests that she has reconsidered working as a translator and commitment to future development and, consequently, her long term goals have also realigned with the translation occupation. This increase of commitment and positioning of translation as the centre of her occupational identity suggests a shift to an achiever identity status.

In summary, it would appear that TIE participants concluded their studies with a higher commitment to their translator identity and stronger self-efficacy beliefs, which results in taking a proactive attitude. By doing this, they ponder and take courses of action to be better prepared to enter the professional market, which suggests features of an achiever identity status. Conversely, most LLAT participants' narratives convey anxiety, insecurity and fear associated with future translation work prospects. The contextual crises have augmented these perceptions and have led to a loss of participants' commitment to their translator identities, which could explain the considerable fluctuations in their translator identity statuses.

5.5 Practice: between the online classroom and 'the real world'

This subsection discusses the participants' narratives regarding their perception of translation practice during the first semester of 2020. It explores how students, mostly LLAT participants, have experienced online teaching and learning in the context of their training. It then deals with students' real translation commissions and their impact on their translator self-efficacy beliefs. Finally, it analyses the critical impact of professional internships on the development of the participants' translator identity.

In March 2020, Chilean universities cancelled face-to-face teaching and moved all instruction to online platforms. Although lecturers and students have had some experiences with online teaching and learning during the second semester of 2019, for many of them, this was the first time that all instruction and assessment for an entire semester would need to be carried out fully online. Therefore, the classes students experienced during their semester are regarded as emergency remote teaching (Hodges et al. 2020; Hubscher-Davidson and Devaux 2021), as mentioned at the beginning of this section. In subsection 4.5.3, some participants, like Matilda, had already stated that the emergency remote teaching did not live up to their expectations:

...I feel that in the end, I didn't learn anything after we went back to [online] class. I was merely a machine that wrote and submitted everything via virtual classroom, but there wasn't much progress deep down. (Matilda, INT2, TIE)

Matilda's perceptions are echoed by most LLAT participants in their INT3 interviews. They share an overall negative narrative regarding emergency remote teaching:

I feel that you don't learn, at all. It can't be compared to onsite learning. It's clear that it also depends on you, I don't know, giving [yourself] more time to understand something or making something more dynamic and trying to motivate yourself. But even in spite of all those efforts and attempts, it doesn't compare to face-to-face teaching: talking, the environment, your friends, the relationship with your lecturer, that trust that exists in class. Those things aren't there [online]. They can't be generated through a screen, so I feel you just don't learn... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

...Online learning demands a lot [besides] being on a computer. It was stressful and took everything good from [attending] university: seeing classmates after classes, going for a coffee with friends, like all social aspects. It was a bit depressing going to class and, and, and only see squares. (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

Concretely, they emphasise three major problems that underlie their negativity concerning this means of instruction. First, they affirm that this methodology affects lecturer-student dynamics and inhibits class interaction, as detailed in Daniela's and Fran's narratives:

[There's] demotivation because of the context we're in. The fact that you sit behind a computer screen all day generates a lot of stress...I feel that it's mentally tiring, [and this demotivation] doesn't make you want to share your opinion and participate in class... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

When you're in Zoom, if you talk, everyone listens to you, so that's already different because when you're in [a face-to-face] lecture, sometimes you just talk to the classmate [sitting next to you] or people around you. Here you don't get that type of interaction unless you're interacting with the whole class...You hesitate to participate, [so] there are fewer questions and the environment becomes kinda deserted because no one talks, only the lecturer... (Fran, INT3, LLAT)

These narratives suggest that the removal of the physical classroom constitutes a life event disruption (Type I) that results in several student-related constructs being non-verified. In particular, exposure to the whole class when participating in virtual lectures triggers additional insecurity in comparison to face-to-face interactions. It can be inferred that the participants' incapacity to contribute to their classes and benefit from the discussion could undermine their student and, potentially, translator self-efficacy beliefs.

Second, the participants' narratives suggest substantial complications when merging family life and attending online sessions. These difficulties are connected to 1) several family members concurrently working from home, or 2) relatives' inability to understand what online learning implies, as Ignacio and Luna respectively explain:

The challenge [was] mainly time management: having to juggle family time, like having lunch, cleaning the house and all those kinds of common activities, and attending [online] classes... At the moment, my brother and my parents are here and each one needs to do their activities..., so we need to make family life and work compatible somehow. (Ignacio, INT3, LLAT)

I live with my grandmother, an uncle and my mom, who usually works from home. My grandma didn't understand I was attending university in spite of being at home, so she'd tell me I had to do some cleaning and the like, but I was in class and she'd interrupt me and I was like, 'I can't,' and she wouldn't understand it... (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

Thus, this change of setting implies the reconceptualisation of home as a work environment. This is likely to have triggered some or all of the four types of interruptions in many of the participants' multiple identity standards, particularly those involving their families and their student identities. The need to accommodate and adapt to a changing educational setting within a short period of time could have impacted negatively on the participants' perceptions of the online experience.

Third, the participants complain about the software and hardware problems that were involved in the shift to an online methodology, particularly the access to internet connection or critical hardware to engage properly in the lectures:

...Many of us have had internet issues. At times, Zoom freezes, so you don't even use the mic because it freezes when you speak, so it generates anxiety...This semester I couldn't participate as much I would've liked because I didn't have a mic, but I did try to write in the chat window...Now that I've got [one] I won't be like a ghost there lurking in the shadows. (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

...There have been more challenges...like telling lecturers about doubts or asking questions via Zoom. Asking a lecturer something is more difficult because sometimes there's no internet. Sometimes we're not all in the same circumstances to sit a test... (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

These are some of the fundamental issues that students raised in their online strike demands, which resulted in the university providing support and guidelines for online teaching:

...As time went by, protocols were put in place, [also] psychological support and [financial] support from the university for those students without internet access or who didn't have computers to attend the online sessions. It was a long process and it required adaptation from us and the university as well. (Ignacio, INT3, LLAT)

Ignacio's narrative suggests that the implementation of the online methodology involved a series of challenges to individuals as well as institutions. It would seem that this co-adaptation performed by both students and their context weakened the social framework for identity negotiation. This sets the ground for further life event disruption (Type I) that add to the participants' mental health problems.

The negative experiences which accompanied the last semesters in their programmes fostered the participants' initial positive conceptualisation of 'real' translation practice. Previously in Chapter 4, the participants highlighted the importance of translation practice beyond the classroom. Those who were able to do translation commissions or tasks perceived a significant improvement in their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

Similarly, LLAT participants' narratives from the INT3 and INT4 interviews suggest that they continue to believe that real practice instances are necessary before graduation to fully verify their translator identity. For instance, Ignacio has taken a job revising a translated book and Aurora provided consultancy for a classmate:

...I'm currently revising the translation of a book on kinesiology. My father's a kinesiology lecturer and a colleague of his translated a book from Portuguese, but he wasn't very sure [about the translation]. I don't translate from Portuguese... [but] I'm confident that I can professionally translate [the] text...[It]'s a technical book with very technical words that physiotherapists use in treatments and I've done it well and I've applied the research processes that we've been taught in the programme and I've seen that they work...I've realised that even though I might not have the technical knowledge, that I'm not a specialist in the field of kinesiology, I can do it and sort out [the challenges] one way or another. (Ignacio, INT3, LLAT)

...I feel about 80% confident, though I'd add an extra 5% because I was helping a classmate who wants to do an MA in South Korea. She is basically a client, I just happened to know her from before. I had to communicate with her [and] send her things. The day she went to submit her papers to the [South Korean] embassy, she sent me an audio [where she was] really happy. She was really thankful and said, 'I'd recommend you 100%,' which is something no one had ever said to me before...I felt satisfied with my work and felt like, 'OK, I'm capable [of doing this]'... (Aurora, INT4, LLAT)

Ignacio's and Aurora's engagement with real translation and editing commissions seems to have constituted mastery experiences that have impacted positively on their translator self-efficacy beliefs. This might be due to the fact that they had the chance to integrate translation and research strategies in a meaningful context without resorting to the enactment of their student translator identity.

In her search for this type of meaningful experience, Fran has decided to temporarily withdraw from the programme for a year before completing the programme:

I'm going to temporarily withdraw from the programme and my plan is... to find translation job opportunities. I want to use my time well to start building up a decent CV...What I really want to do is to use this time to put my skills into practice... Although I love translating [in class] and assignments,... [they're] just for a class, or a Zoom class. It's like a bubble. I'm not facing reality and I feel I need to burst this bubble to see what it's like dealing with clients and how to approach texts about topics that I am totally unfamiliar with... (Fran, INT3, LLAT)

Fran's case is interesting as her translator identity has acquired more prominence than her student identity. In other words, she willingly chooses to enact the translator identity over her student identity and follow courses of action that could lead to its verification. Moreover, it is her commitment to her translator identity that drives her to withdraw from the programme, which suggests that the non-

verification of her student identity does not seem to undermine the verification of her translator identity. In practical terms, her translation programme no longer constitutes a significant means by which she can continue verifying her translator identity and she moves on to the real world looking for professional experience.

In her INT4 interview, Fran reveals that, despite temporarily withdrawing from the programme, she engaged with a group that was doing the professional internship and actively collaborated on their project:

...I had the chance to work with a group of classmates who were doing their professional internship... [who], coincidentally, [were] my thesis group. They did the internship together, so I collaborated with them. I didn't translate but did some editing...It gave me a [confidence] boost... I not only liked the collaboration we had, but also the instances when I was useful to them... It helped my self-esteem as a translator a lot because, even though I wasn't translating, I was helping and I really like that feeling of teamwork. (Fran, INT4, LLAT)

Fran's narrative suggests that this successful experience constitutes a relevant source of translator self-efficacy beliefs for her. This will help her not only to face the final part of her programme when she re-enrols but also after she finishes her studies.

5.5.1 Internships: the experience of professional practice

This subsection explores the effects the professional internship had for those who formally did it and approved it. During their last semester, TIE participants had to complete their professional internship, which involves working in a professional environment for 100 to 120 hours or translating 30,000 to 40,000 words from one or more source texts. At LLAT, Daniela and Ignacio were the only two participants who completed their internship by the time of the INT4 interview round. They completed a 210-hour internship translating a manual for an NGO which promoted student exchange. The document had approximately 200 pages and meetings with the client were held regularly to report their progress and answer questions. All of the interns periodically reported to a supervisor, i.e. a lecturer who provided feedback on their work and professional advice if necessary. The assessment of the professional internship is carried out in the same fashion in both TIE and LLAT programmes: one part is carried out by the supervisor and the other part is provided by the employer at the company or agency where trainees do their

internship. Due to the COVID-19 restrictions, all professional internships were carried out online.

A common theme across these participants' narratives is that they all regard the professional internship as an instance of development that leads to stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs:

...[The internship] impacted positively. Obviously, it was a bit hard to deal with [this] challenge, but, at the same time, as you manage to deliver what was requested, you end up with a feeling of satisfaction and confidence that you made it. In that sense, the internship made me experience that constantly, 'Oh, this is huge, it looks pretty hard,' and then after I did it, I thought, 'OK, it was hard, it was long and I managed to do it, so I should be able to do the next text as well.' (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

I'd say that the most important part or role the internship played was helping me have a bit more confidence in my own skills, because before the internship, during the first weeks, I still had doubts about what would happen with my work outside a controlled environment, but as I got feedback from the company and as I worked a bit more, I realised that I was able to apply what I had learned well... (Nicole, INT3, TIE)

As Nicole points out, the internship experience presented the participants with the opportunity to explore the particularities of real translator professional practices. A critical point that has emerged from the participants' experiential comparison between the classroom and real-world translation is their reconceptualisation of the *translation brief*:

...In class, lecturers would always give us a translation brief whenever we practised translation. They'd say, 'OK, we're going to translate this text. I need it to be like this and that, due on this date.' I don't know, 'do a glossary.' There were always always translation [guidelines] that lecturers gave for every text and I thought they were vital in translation...In the internship, I realised that, at least in the one I did, clients are not so detail-oriented and, with some luck, they'll tell you that they need a translation by such day and that'll be it... (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

...It's very different when they give you a [translation] brief in the programme...at university, they always give you a brief that fulfils certain norms or it's well-written, that kind of things. So, in a certain way, the university gives you an ideal translation brief, and that almost never happens in real life... (Daniela, INT4, LLAT)

Thus, the internship not only allowed the participants to move beyond their classroom constructs and experience real professional settings, but it also provided

an opportunity to challenge translation-related constructs developed during their education. This process resulted in the assimilation and accommodation of new information into their translation constructs, as Cora and Matilda further suggest:

...[The internship] was like a direct approximation to what my profession will be. I mean, OK, if I make a mistake, I know it's clearly my fault. I feel it's a change of mentality [when you] compare being sat in class with your errors being pointed out to being outside, in the real world, delivering translations to people who paid for the service. (Cora, INT3, TIE)

...[The internship] made me realise that at university we lived in a bubble where the translation was perfect. The client was perfect and gave out all the details because they were lecturers. But when I entered the professional world, the internship made me realise that clients aren't detail-oriented. (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

These narratives are consistent with those of participants in INT1 and INT2, in which they indicated that real-world practice was needed to be more confident and feel more empowered as a translator, which echoes similar findings in the literature on professional internships in translation studies (see Valero Garcés 2012; Svahn 2016; Liu 2017; Zhu 2018; Xu 2019). The INT3 and INT4 narratives suggest that university is understood as a place to learn, while the professional internship has fully enabled the participants to feel like translators:

...I think the internship fulfilled its precise purpose: give you that experience that university and classes cannot give you, so I finished very satisfied with the internship experience because I feel it was brief but precise: it gave me what it was supposed to give me. (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

...I could appreciate the value of my work, which I couldn't when I did the [translation] briefs at university where you do them to practice for the sake of practising, learning about new topics or translation techniques. Here, it was because the client needed [the translation] and they were going to do important things with the work I had to submit. (Ignacio, INT4, LLAT)

In summary, the professional internship provided the participants with the chance to exercise their translation skills in real-world practice. This experience impacted positively on their translator self-efficacy beliefs, leading to further commitment to their translator identity:

I feel more relaxed now because I know I can, for instance, find a job and not have that doubt that I might be able to find a job because of my skills. Now, I'm more at ease because I know that if I have difficulties finding a job it's not because I lack the skills, but because of external factors. (Nicole, INT3, TIE)

5.6 Group dynamics in online teaching

In Chapter 4, the participants highlighted the importance of classmates in terms of 1) the role they played in their learning process in the classroom, and 2) the emotional support they provided during the social unrest. However, as explained in section 5.5, the participants perceived a decrease in their peers' contributions to translation lectures, which repositioned the group as a means of emotional support during the semester:

It's hard to [talk of groups] because of the online modality... It's been less of a 'direct cooperation'...the dynamics are not the same as in face-to-face settings, because if we could give five translation options and discuss them in onsite classes... now it's only two, because of time limitations classes are shorter and lecturers didn't want to overwhelm us with practice or theory, with so many versions of deep translation analysis... What I mean by 'indirect support' is that, for example, if [a classmate] has to give a presentation or a talk on a certain topic, you remain quiet and then give them praise and support like, 'you did well. I liked what you said about this.' That kind of support. (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

Similar to the support described by Daniela, the participants organised themselves to compensate for the lack of social interaction by creating instances where they could share and provide emotional support to each other throughout the crisis:

I really miss my friends. I still try, we try to keep in touch. [Before] we used to have lunch together before class, [and now] we'd call each other before class, so we were all together having lunch anyway because we can't see each other because of the coronavirus. (Luna, INT3, LLAT)

Luna's narrative describes how they attempted to replicate face-to-face practices in a virtual environment. This not only provided emotional support but also generated stability to continue verifying other significant identities, such as her friend identity.

In addition to emotional support, the participants created a series of strategies to provide logistical support during the semester. For example, they established assistance networks to maximise their time and efforts to meet the demands of the online methodology:

...[This semester] we've been looking after each other more, like noticing if the other person isn't in the online classroom. Sometimes it was like, 'oh, I forgot to tell [them] I had no internet' or that I overslept...Sometimes we had many things to submit, so [for example] I'd say, 'OK, I'm not joining that class because I need to finish [this] and make headway with this,'...

and [a classmate] would say, 'OK, I've already finished that, so I'll join and tell you afterwards'... (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

Therefore, it would seem that, in comparison to Chapter 4, the participants' perceptions about their groups have further moved towards a more emotionally supportive role that, in Daniela's words, 'indirectly' fosters their learning. This means that although interaction has decreased in the classroom and fewer translation suggestions are discussed, the participants develop a series of strategies to still manage to socialise outside Zoom sessions and to support each other to comply with their academic demands.

5.7 Performance and grades: consolidation of translation identity

This section is divided into three subsections. The first one examines the value of grades and academic performance for the development of translator identity at this point. The second subsection discusses the participants' perceptions about the conclusion of the thesis process. The final subsection explores the reflections that the participants make regarding their academic experience, particularly the challenges they faced and how these have impacted on their translator identity development.

5.7.1 Reconceptualising student-related behaviour and grades

In the first semester of 2020, most LLAT participants experienced a shift in their conceptualisation of grades. Academic performance is seen as an opportunity to develop new translation strategies which could potentially lead to negative grades:

...I think I'm more confident [because] I take decisions and risks. I mean, they're risks in that I can make a decision in a test and that could result in a bad grade... [For example], this semester in Spanish-English Translation II, in the first test, I was like, 'OK, I'm going to take a risk,' because at the end it's trial and error, so to speak...It turns out I made unnecessary changes. Now I can see that in the test after a while... In the second test, I said, 'OK, now what I'll do is be as structured as possible, making minimum changes [to the source text]'... I tried to do that and I did better... (Daniela, INT3, LLAT)

This type of account differs from the participants' previous narratives in which grades were regarded as a goal on their own. Moreover, this change in their understanding of the test and subsequent grades strengthens the idea that they start detaching themselves from the student identity to verify their translator

identity. In some cases, like Aurora's, mismatches in her student-related behaviour do not seem to alter her commitment to her translator identity:

...I was and still am in a depressive episode, [so] I started missing lectures and there were assignments I didn't submit, so [my] results are not the reflection of what I did, but that of my missing classes and assignment [deadlines]... I think the grades [I got for] what I did actually submit do reflect my capacity as a translator... (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

This narrative suggests that she acknowledges that her behaviour does not match the one she holds in her student IS, but she still highlights that her performance as a translator matches her translator IS. In other words, the apparent role conflict disruption (Type II), in which one identity is verified over others, does not seem to hinder her translator self-efficacy beliefs and, at the same time, it does not seem to affect her student identity IS constructs due to her self-forgiving attitude.

A common theme in ten of the participants is that the grades obtained in their final year matched their performance. This differs from previous interviews in which some participants did not see their performance reflected on their grades, like Matilda in INT1:

...You know, grades won't reflect who you really are. Something [could have] happened, you had your mind elsewhere and you had to work and do your best, but you could've done better. So there are times I get that feeling, but I'm at ease because I know that I'm much more than that grade... (Matilda, INT1, TIE)

However, in INT3, she affirms that the continuous improvement in her grades has made her feel more confident in her translation skills. In other words, gradual grade improvement seems to lead to stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs:

...At first, my grades were really bad and... I thought that I wasn't gonna make it, that this wasn't for me, that I had made the wrong choice. But I continued and things started to go very well and my grades were much better and now that I finished, the grades that I had do reflect what I am. (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

Furthermore, Vai suggests that good grades in milestones, particularly the internship and the thesis, have allowed her to overcome her insecurity. In other words, the successful completion of these milestones constitutes mastery experiences that inform strong translator self-efficacy beliefs, which other sources, such as the positive verbal persuasion from peers and lecturers described subsection 4.3, could not foster before:

...If I put [passing the thesis and internship] in perspective, they were like, I don't know if the most complicated part, but they were something huge that I accomplished. I mean, I used to believe that it was impossible to finish the thesis, that the internship was incredibly difficult. I think that obtaining such good results had an impact [because] I must be good. I mean, they wouldn't have given me a high mark just because, so I say [to myself], 'no, I'm good [at translating].' (Vai, INT3, TIE)

In addition, Vai's strong translator self-efficacy beliefs have also led to a higher commitment to her translator identity. Although she claims that she still experiences insecurity in new unexpected situations, her higher commitment to her translator identity empowers her to overcome these challenges and eventually succeed in doing so. It can be concluded from Vai's narratives that these successful experiences have allowed her to develop an achiever identity status:

Yes, yes. I feel I've been able to overcome [my insecurity] because even though I still get very anxious, I just do it, I do it and I deal with it... Now I've graduated, and I did well and I feel that I [translate] better and in general terms, I'll be more positive... I'll say, 'no, I'll go on, I'm ready for this...' (Vai, INT3, TIE)

Luna's perception of grades has changed in comparison to her views as discussed in Chapter 4. In subsection 4.5.3, Luna explains that her results did not match their real potential because they only showed her performance under pressure. However, in her INT4 interview, she suggests that grades are unreliable due to the absence of such pressure:

...You know, I feel that there are several variables that aren't being considered this semester, like time [limits] and the like. Before we had them, a lot. I mean, I'm at home and they give us eight hours to translate or twelve hours [so] I'm very relaxed. So, if I'm told, 'OK, you've got to translate 400 words in an hour and a half,' I don't know how my performance will be like. (Luna, INT4, LLAT)

Based on Luna's narrative, it is possible to hypothesise that she has understood that the pressure she originally faced before the change to online classes served a useful purpose in the development of her translator skills. Moreover, she makes the distinction between the results she has now and those in which pressure would be involved. This supports the premise of a further detachment between the translator identity and student identity standards: the verification of the latter does not lead to the verification of the former and, consequently, does not seem to contribute to Luna's translator self-efficacy beliefs.

5.7.2 The thesis project: completion of the process

During the second semester of 2019, the participants were supposed to complete their BA graduation project, which involved carrying out research, writing up a thesis and being examined in a viva. Due to the social unrest in Chile in October, LLAT participants were allowed to submit their thesis in March 2020. However, most LLAT participants in this study submitted their thesis and had their viva in December 2019. Aurora was the only participant whose group had the viva delayed until June 2020 because of the pandemic. Her experience, therefore, differs significantly from that of her peers in its length and the anxiety levels it triggered:

...The thesis was still there. We could never finish it. We could never submit it. Deadlines were postponed and then these were uncertain...there was a moment when we said, 'OK, we need to submit the thesis by this date.' We were given a date for the viva [and] one week before the viva we went on strike...and it was more stress because it was like, 'we're about to have the viva,'...We talked as a group and told lecturers we'd do it anyway, even if we were on strike. It was something very exceptional that couldn't be postponed any longer...Thankfully, everything went well. We were nervous until the very last day...I did [the viva] at my cousin's because I've got internet connection problems at home. That was another problem: what if I was in the middle of the viva and lost the connection?... Fortunately, I passed with a good grade and the online viva went well with no issues. (Aurora, INT3, LLAT)

Two LLAT participants, José and Luna, submitted their group thesis in early March 2021 as they had fallen behind one year because of having temporarily withdrawn from the programme or failing a course unit, respectively. Both narratives display a series of challenges experienced in the thesis process compared to the cohort in which they were originally enrolled:

...I'd hoped it'd be better, because I had many problems with the group and, in the end, it was much more stressful than it should've been to be honest...There wasn't much participation in the group. I wrote up more than half of the thesis on my own...We were four in the group but had to kick out one member because she didn't do anything... [I had to take a leading role], but it's not something that I wanted to do. I had to do it because there was no progress otherwise. (José, INT4, LLAT)

...[The thesis] has been the worst experience in my life. We're so fed up with it, so fed up. [The most complicated thing] has been our supervisor. We feel that now when she should be supporting us, she doesn't... What I don't like is that at times she reprimands us, like she says, 'this is right, this is wrong,' and after reprimanding us, she goes, 'hey, why the long face?'

We've got meetings on Fridays and I honestly finish them annoyed...Every Friday she goes like, 'this is super super super super wrong. You're so behind. This is wrong' I feel she's like a bearer of bad news...She corrects things, but only because she wants us to write [them] her way...She wants us to present information in such and such way. (Luna, INT4, LLAT)

In both cases, the issues mentioned involved the participants' interpersonal dimension and their student identities. Concretely, the non-verification constructs appear to be student rather than translator-related, which suggests that the thesis is experienced from an academic perspective rather than a translator enabling opportunity. This process also appears to be outwardly emotionally inclined, relying heavily on alterity. However, a study conducted by Alas and Liiv (2018) involving students' experiences with supervisors in undergraduate theses suggests that unlike Luna, most students tend to find their supervisors supportive, proactive and encouraging.

TIE participants had their thesis project divided into two parts: half of the project, which encompassed the conceptual and methodological framework and a mid-viva, was to be completed in January 2020. The remaining part of the process, namely data collection, analysis and a final viva, was carried out during the participants' final semester. Due to this division, most TIE participants did not have to make any major changes to their projects and carried them out as originally planned in the first half of the process. Lorena suggests that the fact that the process dragged for two semesters changed the way it was perceived by the participants:

I feel that the fact that the [thesis process] was delayed removed a bit of its mysticism because even though there was nervousness and everything, [passing it] was taken for granted because of the pandemic and the fact that everything was [done] online and that the submission had been divided into two parts. The desire to finish [the programme] was so much and [it all gave] the certainty that everything was going to go well because of the situation... (Lorena, INT3, TIE)

It seems that the perceived continuity of the thesis process involved two processes. First, it fostered the verification of research-related constructs developed during the previous semester. Second, it generated a mismatch between long-established student IS constructs that produced certain expectations about the process that were not met by their experiences in the context of the pandemic. For example, Matilda comments on her experience doing her viva online:

...[The viva] was via Zoom. It wasn't that didn't like it because something went wrong, but because it didn't meet my expectations: on a computer, alone. Five years for that? No, it was a disappointment. But, all in all, everything went well. (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

In TIE and LLAT vivas, students not only present and defend their thesis orally in front of a panel, but also in front of their families and friends. Guests are also present at the time the panel provides feedback and the final grades. Thus, the disappointment that Matilda is highlighting in her narrative stems from the contrast between the expectations she had for her viva and what she actually experienced. Consequently, TIE narratives also seem to show that the thesis experience engages mostly with the participants' student identity rather than their translator identity.

In summary, the thesis project is considered a significant academic milestone in the participants' education and, thus, appears to be connected with their student identity. However, due to the changes made in the context of the social unrest and then the pandemic, their previous constructs were challenged and the mismatch generated a sense of both continuity and, importantly, disappointment regarding their expectations surrounding their viva experiences. LLAT participants' narratives emphasise the challenges and difficulties associated with the process. These mostly imply a negative connotation until the participants complete their viva. It is only after the completion of the process that more holistic and constructive hermeneutic moves on the experience can be conducted.

5.7.3 Value of programmes: breakage of academic self-continuity and recommitment

When reflecting on the most significant experiences in their programme, the participants highlight the critical challenges they lived through. A relevant common theme is the break of continuity in their student identity when they started the programme, particularly in terms of learning strategies and academic results. For instance, in her INT4 interview, Aurora comments on the effects that the breakage of her academic self-continuity involved:

...If there's something that I learned this semester is about validation when you grow up. For instance, I felt validated by my parents only because of my good grades...that was basically the value I had for them, like, I had no other characteristic for which they could say, 'OK, I'm proud of her because of that.' So, that made me feel so anxious and afraid. Afraid to make mistakes... [My frustration] with Japanese affected my life [because] it was

academically too much...So I started thinking about my parents, but also my friends, 'my friends will be disappointed, all my family will be disappointed'...and I was like drowning, drowning, drowning. So, the academic validation has been [there] since I was a kid and I've dragged it around until now, since I was a kid I've had this insecurity'... (Aurora, INT4, LLAT)

Aurora's narrative involves a series of complex processes involving the verification of her student identity since her childhood and how she constructed her self-esteem by means of that identity. Her student identity had a significant amount of prominence in her multiple-identity negotiation process as she had faced most of her life experiences from that identity. This could potentially explain the series of mental health issues associated with her low performance throughout her translator education, but, critically, it also sheds light on the origins of her insecurity as a personality trait. Her experience in the Japanese language course units at the beginning of the programme generated a severe life event disruption (Type I), which triggered considerable mismatches in her student IS and this, combined with the insecurity and fear, could have contributed to her first mental breakdown during her first year.

Like Aurora, many participants experienced mismatches between their previous successful academic experiences at school and their initial academic performance at university. These made them question their skills and knowledge, which generated a loss of both student and translator self-efficacy beliefs and commitment. Although these issues made the start of the process hard, they eventually led to the development of learning strategies and organisation skills:

...English language course units were the worst course units I could've had at university...we had six course units of English language in three years. You start in English Language 1, where you think you know enough to get by, so you think you'd do well, but it ends up being the opposite. So you get down and think, 'I thought I knew, but I don't.' So every time it gets harder... In English Language 5 and 6, I thought I'd had enough with these course units. I didn't want to deal with them anymore [and] going to class was a constant suffering... (Cora, INT3, TIE)

In spite of the initial mismatch and detrimental effect on her translator self-efficacy beliefs, Cora was able to come to terms with these course units and understands their value in the light of the Spanish-English translation course units:

...In Spanish-English translation course units, everything that you learned unconsciously in English Language made [sense]. [In English Language],

you sit tests and all, but you, or at least I do, discard information that is not useful. And when Spanish-English translation came, I realised that things I learned in English language were useful and unconsciously I started applying them to English-Spanish translation. (Cora, INT3, TIE)

In addition, the participants also emphasise that the development of their translation skills and new translator-related knowledge were also considered to be important challenges during their training:

...One of the biggest challenges was to start thinking like a translator in the sense that when you receive the text, you read it and you get used to identifying things [like the] linguistic characteristics of a text, [and then] learning different translation techniques and getting used to identifying styles, for example, in every language, identifying when naturalness plays a more important role [or] when terminology plays a more important role. (Nicole, INT3, TIE)

However, the participants conclude that, in spite of the challenges experienced at the beginning and during their programme, it is their commitment to their translator identity and its long-term goals that motivated them to overcome difficulties:

...You suffer a lot in the process in this programme and the only thing that keeps you afloat, so to speak, is the motivation [that comes] from what you like. This is what you like; this is what you want to do and that's what keeps you going... (Matilda, INT3, TIE)

5.8 Conclusions from the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds

This section explores the conclusions drawn from the final interview rounds, namely INT3 and INT4, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Subsection 5.8.1 summarises the concepts associated with the development of the translator IS and its related changes. Subsection 5.8.2 revisits the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs and the students' insecurities as they approach the professional market. Subsection 5.8.3 analyses the development of commitment in the light of the pandemic health crisis and how it impacts on their perceived future professional prospects. Lastly, subsection 5.8.4 discusses the critical super-ordinate themes that have emerged from the participants' narratives, i.e. translation practice, the role of their group and academic performance, in the context of their final semesters.

5.8.1 Translator IS: developments at the conclusion of the study

The participants' narratives indicate changes in the conceptualisation of the translator IS. First, many highlight the importance of translators' adaptability to work regardless of the contextual circumstances. Second, the translator declarative knowledge seems to be accommodated by means of the theorisation of experiential translation practices, which allows them to adapt their translation-related constructs in light of their procedural knowledge. In other words, the knowledge about translation sub-competence informs and is informed by the enactment of the students' strategic sub-competence and, as suggested by PACTE (2003, 2017). Thirdly, the participants also extrapolate the translators' professional skills and attributes from their own experiences in and outside the programme, i.e. these encompass their perceptions about their present and future professional selves. Concretely, the students connect their experiences dealing with the pandemic, either carrying out their internships or attending online classes remotely, with the professional world. This holistic and reflective attitude configures a higher professional self-awareness, which, as pointed out by Svahn (2016), allows the students to relativise previous rigid constructs as needed.

The notion of flexibility also seems to continue developing based on the narratives from the last interview rounds. Flexibility, which was previously conceived as a less self-demanding attitude to foster the co-verification of the student and translator identity, has been conceptualised in INT3 and INT4 narratives as 'self-forgiveness': a reflective metacognitive stance that allows the verification of the translator identity in case of incongruences between the student IS and enacted behaviour. Moreover, the participants who completed their professional internship conceptualise flexibility as a vital professional skill that would allow them to adapt to the requirements at textual, interpersonal and contextual levels.

A relevant feature in the INT3 and INT4 narratives is that the participants' translator identity has acquired significant prominence in their lives, i.e. they appear to willingly enact their translator identity while facing other aspects of their personal lives. This could mean that the translator IS has a stronger role in the identity negotiation process, especially in relation to other significant identities. The implications of the translator identity achieving a higher level are further discussed in subsection 5.8.4.

5.8.2 Translator self-efficacy beliefs: concerns, fears and reassurances

The participants have experienced fluctuations in their translator self-efficacy beliefs throughout this study and certainly during the last two interview rounds. In INT3, LLAT participants have displayed higher levels of commitment and translator self-efficacy beliefs. This can be seen in their use of assignments and tests to try out translation strategies at the risk of obtaining lower grades, as discussed by Daniela in subsection 5.7.1. Some participants, like Fran and Ignacio, strongly believe they are ready to face the challenges of the market with the training they have already received. In this sense, most of the programme-related experiences have tested their translator self-efficacy beliefs, which have remained strong.

In the case of TIE participants, their narratives in INT3 also show a significant increase in their translator self-efficacy beliefs, which stems mostly from their experiences in the professional internship. This finding is consistent with the literature on placements and internships in translation studies (e.g. Valero Garcés 2012; Svahn 2016; Liu 2017; Xu 2019). In Vai's case, her reconceptualisation of herself as a good translator is based on the high grades she obtained in the major milestones of the programme, i.e. the internship and thesis. These grades seem to have had a major influence on overall self-efficacy beliefs than those obtained from experiences in translation course units.

LLAT participants' INT4 accounts suggest a mixture of translator self-efficacy beliefs. Daniela, Ignacio and Fran, who worked together on the same translation project, conclude this study with strong self-efficacy beliefs to face the professional world. Conversely, Luna, Aurora and José display different levels of self-efficacy mostly due to their insecurity. The positive mastery experiences might have helped them develop their confidence, but only to some extent. This makes their self-efficacy beliefs susceptible to external challenges or unsuccessful attempts, which appear to have a significant impact on their confidence as translators and individuals.

The consolidation of translator identity has generated an overall sense of accomplishment in nine out of the twelve participants, making them feel empowered and prepared to deal with the challenges in their professional work.

5.8.3 Commitment: fears, anxieties and expectations

The COVID-19 crisis posed a series of challenges and difficulties during their last semester. However, most participants claim that these were not significant and they were able to overcome them and remain committed to their translation identity, mostly due to the successful experiences in the professional internship and the subsequent high grades.

TIE participants' successful experiences during their internships and the thesis submission resulted in higher levels of commitment to their translator identity. This renewed commitment allowed those participants who had not yet developed an achiever identity status to reach it. Matilda's case is notable; in spite of still considering English language teaching as an option, she has decided to reposition translation as her main occupation. She wishes to work as a translator and continue developing professionally in the future.

A fluctuation of commitment in LLAT participants is seen between the two interview rounds. In INT3, most LLAT participants experienced important changes in their translator identity statuses, with the exception of Daniela and Luna, who held an achiever and conserver status, respectively. Ignacio and Fran recommitted to their translator identity by means of real practice opportunities and repositioned the translation occupation as their main future activity. They have also displayed a strong commitment to their translator identity in spite of the contextual challenges of the pandemic. These circumstances have affected Aurora and her performance, but not her commitment to become a translator. She has resolved to withdraw temporarily to take care of herself first and then resume her studies.

The narratives stemming from the INT4 interview round suggest that LLAT participants display weaker translator-self efficacy beliefs as a result of the challenges that they associate with the frequency of professional translation commissions and income stability. These concerns echo those found in the literature about income and sources of stress for translators (see Dam and Zethsen 2011; Henter 2016; Courtney and Phelan 2019). In addition, these narratives would suggest that achievers intend to work as translators but would carry out additional alternatives to increment their income, whereas conservers and seekers would privilege income stability over the commitment to their translation careers. The depleted struggle to see value in translation and would rather complete the programme to pursue other vocational endeavours. Based on these descriptions,

only Daniela completed the programme displaying an achiever identity status, while most of her peers are conservers or seekers. This is mostly because of the challenges related to working as a translator and the outward emotional inclination they present. Table 5.1 displays the changes in LLAT students' translator identity statuses.

	Participants	Interview rounds	
		INT3 (August/September 2020)	INT4 (March 2021)
TIE	Ana	Achiever	-
	Cora	Achiever	-
	Lorena	Achiever	-
	Matilda	Achiever	-
	Nicole	Achiever	-
	Vai	Achiever	-
LLAT	Aurora	Conserver	Conserver
	Daniela	Achiever	Achiever
	Fran	Achiever	Conserver
	Ignacio	Achiever	Conserver
	José	Seeker	Depleted
	Luna	Conserver	Conserver

Table 5.1 Participants' translator identity statuses in INT3 and INT4.

A critical change found in the narratives of this chapter is the reconceptualisation of grades and their importance. As mentioned previously in 5.8.2, the participants seem to regard professional translation practice as the vital input for the development of their translator identity (Valero Garcés 2012; Svahn 2016; Liu 2017; Xu 2019) and grades appear as a minor contributor to this end. Moreover, in cases where participants obtain lower grades, these do not seem to alter their commitment to their translator identity. The exception to this, however, are insecure students, such as Vai and Luna, who continue to consider grades as an important element of commitment and motivation.

5.8.4 Student and translator identities: detachment

The pre-thematic axes proposed in Chapter 2 and explored in Chapters 3 and 4, i.e. translation practice, group value and academic performance, encompass a series of super-ordinate themes that emerged from the INT3 and INT4 interview

rounds. In this subsection, these are discussed in light of the experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic. These supra-ordinate themes support the assumption that further detachment between the student and translator identity occurs at the conclusion of the participants' programmes.

Translation practice in LLAT was limited to that of remote emergency teaching. Although the LLAT participants have had some previous experiences after the social unrest in the second semester of 2019, this time the whole semester was to be delivered online. Students identify three significant problems with the online modality, namely 1) class interaction, 2) family-work compatibility, and 3) software and hardware issues. These three problems underlie LLAT's participants' critical stance towards the online modality and led some participants to look for other alternatives to verify their translator identity, particularly real translation commissions. According to Kiraly (2016) and Prieto-Velasco and Fuentes-Luque (2016), instances of meaningful practical experience allow students to hone their translator and professional skills. A prime example of this type of opportunity was the professional internship, which presented them with a unique insight into the professional world and fostered the departure from the controlled environment of their translation course units. This experience had a major impact on the development of strong translator self-efficacy beliefs, which contributed to the consolidation of more marked translator identity statuses. Consequently, translator identity verification does no longer rely on the verification of the student identity to continue its development. On the contrary, it uses other more professional-related situations and experiences to continue its developmental process, which suggests a further separation between the two.

LLAT participants reconceptualise grades at this stage of their education as instances where new strategies can be applied and measured to hone their translation skills. This means that they are willing to risk obtaining lower grades to find out whether their strategies work. In other words, they favour the development of their translator IS over the grades that could lead to a potential student identity non-verification, which is soothed by the participants' self-forgiveness. Moreover, even if grades are high, this does not necessarily lead to translator IS verification nor to stronger translator self-efficacy beliefs, as suggested by Luna.

Moreover, the completion of the thesis is experienced with mixed feelings by the participants, who seem to experience the process mostly through the lens of their student identity. Although the process concluded without major complications, episodes prior to the submission were marked by stress, anxiety and distress. The overall process appeared to trigger a sense of disappointment when previously generated constructs were not verified by their perceived experience of the process, for example, in their vivas. The value of this academic milestone is given from a practical perspective, i.e. they make an integrative move in which they visualise how the skills and research could potentially help them in their future occupation. The academic results from this instance contribute significantly to the development of strong translator self-efficacy beliefs, particularly in insecure students. However, for the majority of participants, the thesis is experienced as a problematic situation that only acquired value after its submission and grades.

These critical super-ordinate themes from the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds suggest a further distance between the participants' student and translator identities. In Chapter 4, three stages were outlined: nesting, overlap and separation. Further to those three stages, the super-ordinate themes in INT3 and INT4 suggest an additional and final stage: *detachment*. As illustrated in Figure 5.1, the participants conceptualise their translator identity as an independent identity that no longer requires the student identity to verify its IS. For those participants who completed their programme, their student identity is conceptualised separately when discussing potential future professional development.

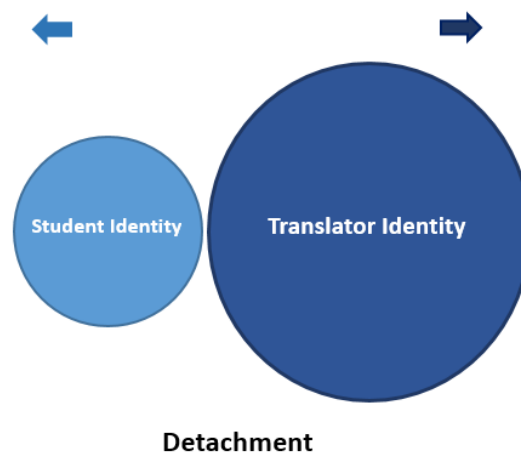


Figure 5.1 Detachment of the participants' student and translator identities.

Chapter 6 Becoming a translator: the end of a journey?

This final chapter examines the essential constructs that result from the superordinate themes analysed in previous chapters to address the RQs of this research. Concretely, it draws on the preliminary conclusions of the interview rounds and makes a final integrative hermeneutic move to elucidate the primary concerns of this study, namely 1) the constructs that constitute the translator IS, 2) how translator self-efficacy beliefs develop, 3) how commitment to the translator identity is generated, and 4) how the student and translator identities engage with one another. Section 6.1 analyses the constructs that configure the translator IS and the processes whereby it develops. Section 6.2 explores the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs. Section 6.3 summarises the processes that lead to commitment development and translator identity statuses, which are redefined in the context of translator education. Section 6.4 discusses the evolution of the interdependence between the student and translator identities during the study. Section 6.5 frames the findings of this study in relation to translation studies, while section 6.6 presents the limitations of this research. Lastly, section 6.7 reflects on the value of this study and outlines potential areas for possible further research.

6.1 Translator identity standard

The first RQ of this study aims to describe the constructs that constitute the translator IS, i.e. the set of translation-related beliefs, goals and self-perceptions that govern students' translator identity. In addition, it aims to examine the ways in which these develop during the two-year period. In Chapter 2, translator identity is understood as a twofold concept which involves 1) the students' constructs associated with the translation occupation and 2) the extent to which they believe they have developed their translator competence compared to that conceptualisation (Singer 2021). The following two subsections focus on the development of translation-related constructs in the translator IS to address RQ1.

6.1.1 Translator IS-related constructs

In each of the interview rounds, the participants were prompted to reflect on their conceptualisations of the professional translator and the translator they wanted to become. The participants' narratives in response to these questions present an interchangeable use of both concepts, which presupposes that they wish to become the professional translator that they envisage. Therefore, their visualisation of the

professional translator provides an insight into the three essential constructs that constitute the participants' translator IS, namely translators' 1) declarative knowledge of translation, 2) procedural knowledge of translation, and 3) professional skills and attributes.

As explained in subsection 3.3.4, the students' *declarative knowledge of translation* was not frequently explicitly mentioned in their narratives. The first of these instances occurs in INTO when they suggest that this type of knowledge appears to be related to their desire to specialise in a particular field and the necessary language and cultural knowledge. A further explicit case is found in the narratives of the INT1 interview round in Chapter 4, in which some participants succinctly mention that they are aware of differences between bilinguals and translators. The most noticeable example of explicit declarative knowledge is the evolution of the term 'faithful' throughout Daniela's interview rounds in which she uses it to narrate her self-reflections on the translators' role, attitude and limitations.

Conversely, the *procedural knowledge of translation* is regularly verbalised in the students' narratives. Their initial beliefs at the beginning of this study evolve in subsequent interviews as participants reflect on their practical experiences in and outside the translation classroom. These promote an alterity-centred orientation, which helps them reshape their translation constructs according to the translation market dynamics, practices and conventions. For example, the students have reconceptualised what elements they can add to their translations, the extent to which they can manipulate the source text, their limits as translators, how to fix 'mistakes', etc. These epistemological changes concerning the translation occupation are also described in Svahn's (2016) work, which proposes that translation students move from towards a more pluralistic and dynamic understanding of the occupation as they experience it. According to the TIE and LLAT participants, they developed this knowledge thanks to the practical experiences in their programmes, mainly practising translation strategies, translating from Spanish into English, editing, applying research techniques, using CAT tools, approaching different text genres, and increasing their translation speed.

The translators' *professional skills and attributes*, i.e. being organised, confident, proactive, able to teamwork, time-efficient, flexible, are frequently reinforced throughout the different interview rounds. These are reprioritised depending on the participants' experiences during a semester. For instance, in her INTO and INT1

interviews, Matilda highlights the importance of being organised for a translator and that translator should ideally work within their area of comfort or expertise. In the INT2 interview, she reflects on her inability to separate the problems she was facing as a person from her academic responsibilities as a translation student while she experienced the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic. Being self-taught and proactive are attributes that reflect her learning experiences during her professional internship. In both cases, she projects the attributes she lacked or developed to her conceptualisation of a professional translator. In INT4, the professional skills and attributes seem to outline the participants' professional self-projection, i.e. their current self-descriptions as translators, in which they acknowledge the skills and attributes they have, lack or need to develop in their professional future. This dynamic seems to emerge as a response to their being about to graduate and enter the professional market. Thus, it would appear that translator professional skills and attributes are context-sensitive elements that articulate around key translator related constructs.

These areas correspond to three of the elements in PACTE's (2003, 2017) translation competence: knowledge of translation sub-competence, strategic sub-competence and the physio-psychological components, respectively. The participants' narratives in this study indicate that both the extralinguistic sub-competence, i.e. the cultural, pragmatic, encyclopaedic and technical knowledge, and the instrumental sub-competence, which involves the use of CAT tools and other resources, are developed mostly through procedural experience. In addition, the narratives in INT3 suggests that the language learning experiences early in the programme only made sense after their critical engagement in the translation classroom and practice. Consequently, the articulating role that procedural knowledge has in the context of this research provides empirical phenomenological evidence that supports the central role that the strategic sub-competence has in the development of translator competence in PACTE's (2003, 2017) model. The following section further analyses how translation practice facilitates the development of translator identity and competence.

6.1.2 Translator IS essential constructs: evolution and consolidation

The changes in the translator IS-related constructs emerge principally from the participants' practical experiences. Narratives from INT1 and INT2 interview rounds indicate that the opportunities for translation practice in the classroom

played a major role in the development of their translator IS. In this context, their lecturers and peers are described as critical agents in improving their translator knowledge and professional skills and attributes, which is consistent with the findings of studies carried out by Haro-Soler (2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; 2019b). In INT3 and INT4, the participants' narratives suggest a re-evaluation of translation practice in the classroom. This process starts with the questioning of the classroom practices, particularly the simulated translation briefs used in translation course units. After the participants have engaged in translation professional practice outside the translation classroom, they perform a reflective process in which they do value their learning in such a controlled environment, but highlight that translation practice in real professional contexts is necessary to continue honing their translator skills and verifying their translator IS. This last claim is also shared in other studies that have focused on translators' professional internships (see Valero Garcés 2012; Xu 2019; Liu 2017).

Thus, translation practice, regardless of whether it occurs initially in the classroom or later in the professional world, seems to be the most significant factor in the development of the translator IS. The practical experiences appear to play a paramount role in the evolution of the participants' implicit declarative translation knowledge. A prime example of this is the changes regarding what makes a translation a 'good' translation. In INT1, Daniela initially understood that translators were supposed to transfer 'the essence of the author' by 'being faithful' to the source text and that the number of errors could provide an indication of a 'good' or 'bad' translation. In INT2, she added that errors were not an indicator of quality per se, but the extent to which these corresponded to unnecessary additions or omissions in the target text. She also commented that finding that balance was very complicated. Her narratives in INT3 indicate that she found that adding elements to translation is desirable provided that it facilitates its understanding in the target audience, but continue to struggle to find a point of equilibrium. Her reflections in INT4 suggest that she was able to come with a tentative answer: it is possible to add elements and modify the text provided it matches the conventions of the genre. This, in her view, would allow the author's 'essence' to be respected and the voice of the translator minimised. Critically, she concluded that 'there is no such thing as a perfect translation.' This evolution in Daniela's narrative reflects the ongoing flexibility of the translator IS to assimilate or accommodate concepts derived from the students' learning experiences in the

programme, particularly from the translation classroom. The verbalisation of specific translator-related theoretical concepts, e.g. 'faithfulness to the text, translation brief, translation strategies,' in the students' narratives suggests that the participants use constructs learned from the translation programme curricula to further elaborate on their reconceptualisations about translation as they advance in their studies.

The development of the translator IS also implies a significant change in how the participants position themselves as translators in the world. In the INT0 and INT1 interviews, the students displayed a strong self-centred perspective with which they conceived their translator related constructs. For example, in her INT0, Ana explained that it was necessary for her to educate her potential clients about deadlines and the consequences of requesting an urgent translation. These beliefs could potentially have been drawn from her ethical attitude towards the occupation. However, during INT1, her narrative changed as she realised that she could not interfere with the clients' requests. Similarly, other participants highlighted the importance of working in a field with which they felt comfortable. Later interviews revealed how they displayed a more alterity-centred perspective and gradually changed their perceptions: the market would eventually require them to translate texts and genres which may not be appealing to them, but they would have the chance to accept or decline the commission. Moreover, they highlight the need for specialisation, ideally in a field of their interest, to provide a better service and be competitive in the market. In other words, this change of perspective focused on the client and market suggests an awareness of the translator occupation.

Studies conducted earlier in the Chilean context (Samaniego 2017; Singer, Rubio, and Rubio 2018; 2019; Singer, López, and Basaure 2020) have managed to capture fragments of translator identity development at different stages, but they all leave the question as to how students move from one point to another in such a process. The epistemological development of the translator IS that emerges from this study addresses those issues by recording the different stages of development due to its longitudinal design. In addition, these findings concerning the translator IS echo those of Svanh (2016) which also indicate that translator trainees move from a self-centred to an alterity-centred perspective.

6.2 Translator self-efficacy beliefs: sources and processes

The second RQ explores how the students develop their translator self-efficacy beliefs, i.e. the degree of confidence in their skills and knowledge to translate effectively. In the previous section, significant translator-related constructs are said to configure the notion of the professional translator, which encapsulates the ideal the students wish to become. The participants compare these constructs to their self-perceived performance to determine the extent to which it matches their ideal translator. The participants' narratives suggest three critical factors that engage in the development of their translator self-efficacy beliefs: translation practice, classroom dynamics and academic performance.

First, the participants regard translation practice as the main way in which they can improve and feel more confident translating: the more opportunities they have to engage in translating different types of texts, the greater the confidence they should feel working with particular genres. The INT1 and INT2 narratives illustrate this, as the participants emphasise the value of the strategies they learned during the semesters, such as carrying out a thorough research process or developing strategies to translate into English from Spanish. The narratives that emerged during the INT3 and INT4 interview rounds further suggest that opportunities for real translation commissions or the completion of their professional internship generates stronger self-efficacy beliefs than those coming from the classroom and, particularly, grades.

Second, the dynamics of the translation classroom also seem to promote the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs, as discussed in section 4.3 and subsection 4.5.1. The positive feedback provided by lecturers and peers during the translation sessions and assignments is regarded as a critical aspect in their training that helped them to learn and improve in their performance. In other words, peers' and lecturers' praise and constructive comments constitute a type of verbal persuasion that increases the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs. Moreover, lecturers are conceived as role models who inspire the participants by means of their narrated experiences, as discussed in Chapter 4. These constitute potential vicarious learning opportunities that learners claim to be valuable for their future professional performance. These findings align with Haro-Soler's (2017b; 2019a; 2019b), which highlight the importance of positive feedback in the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs. In addition, the students' narratives

about their lecturers' as role models confirm previous results of previous studies which indicate that teachers can act as a significant source in the development of translator self-efficacy beliefs (Haro-Soler 2018b; 2018a; 2019b).

Vai and Luna consistently pointed out during the interviews that these instances of positive feedback from their peers and lecturers did not seem to influence their self-perceptions. From her INT0 to INT2 interviews, Vai had been unable to assimilate the praise and positive comments from her lecturers and peers due to her insecurity. Similarly, Luna's inferiority complex seems to have undermined successful experiences that otherwise would have led to higher self-efficacy beliefs, as suggested by Hussain, Mkpojiogu, and Ezekwudo (2021). It is only after completing major academic milestones, namely the thesis and the professional internship, that Vai acknowledges her translator skills and displays stronger self-efficacy beliefs. Conversely, Luna's failure to carry out her research and thesis initially had a considerable detrimental effect on her student and translator self-efficacy beliefs.

Third, students regard their academic performance, particularly that resulting from assignments and tests, as a significant source of translator self-efficacy beliefs: when these are outstanding, they have a positive effect on the participants' self-efficacy beliefs, particularly when these correspond to approving important academic milestones such a perceived difficult course unit, the thesis or the professional internship. However, the participants associate grades mostly with negative thoughts. A prime example of this can be found in the narratives of the INT0 and INT1 interviews when students reveal the impact their first fail grades had on their translator and student self-efficacy beliefs and how these also affected their overall self-esteem. This negative connotation also appears in connection to the participants' perfectionist nature: Ignacio, Daniela and Matilda consistently verbalise that their performance was not bad, but it could have been better, regardless of how high the actual grade was.

Since academic grades constitute the main means by which the participants verify both their student and translator identity standards, the impact on their self-efficacy beliefs tends to be more significant than those coming from unassessed practice and peer support. The participants systematically interpret the results they obtain in translation tests to evaluate their translator competence and make the necessary adjustments to improve it in their practice either by assimilating or

accommodating translator-related IS constructs or modifying their translation strategies.

Initially, some of the participants, such as Matilda, Vai and Luna, claimed that their grades partially reflect their knowledge, skills and their self-perceptions as translators because grades are episodic assessment instances that involve environmental pressures for which they cannot be accountable. This interpretation of grades is echoed by many participants during the INT2 interview after the social crises. Some participants, like Lorena and Aurora, indicate that the grades reflect their efforts in adverse circumstances. In either of these scenarios, the flexibility developed by the participants' translator IS plays a critical role in allowing the verification of the translator IS. After successfully completing her thesis and professional internship, Matilda believes that her results do reflect her abilities as a translator. Matilda's change of perspective during the last interview is shared across all participants, even Aurora who did not do well academically in her ninth semester. This apparent alignment between the participants' self-perceptions and their grades in the exit interviews suggests that the translator trainees can no longer verify the translator IS in terms of academic performance and, thus, require real professional practice to continue increasing their translator self-efficacy beliefs. In other words, as students' self-perceptions of their grades match their translator self-efficacy beliefs, the significance of grades in the development of the translator IS decreases. Moreover, in the case of insecure participants like Vai, the results of major academic milestones seem to have a substantial influence in the alignment of the participants' grades and translator self-efficacy beliefs and, ultimately, in professional means to verify the translator IS.

The findings of this study provide further qualitative empirical support to previous findings in the translation studies literature concerning the sources of self-efficacy beliefs (Haro-Soler 2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; 2019b; 2020), primarily from practical experiences, positive feedback from peers and teachers and having the lecturers as role models. Furthermore, the findings in this study add a qualitative dimension to experimental quantitative studies that have demonstrated strong correlations between self-efficacy beliefs and other factors such as problem solving, motivation and competence (Bolaños-Medina and Núñez 2018; Núñez and Bolaños-Medina 2018). This thesis captures the experiences that underlie these correlations and outlines new ones for further research, for instance, experimental studies about translator self-efficacy beliefs and commitment.

6.3 Commitment to translator identity

The third RQ of this study is related to Marcia's (1966) identity statuses and how these are influenced by the experiences that students undergo during their programme. In Chapter 1, identity statuses are said to be the result of exploration and commitment (Kroger and Marcia 2011). This section examines the exploration phase that precedes the development of commitment in the participants. It arranges the super-ordinate themes from the interviews in a cycle that accounts for the participants' commitment development. Based on this modelling, the definitions of identity statuses are redefined in the context of translator education, which are then used to monitor the participants' commitment to their translator identity throughout this study.

The narratives from INT1 and INT2 suggests the students are able to recommit to their translator identity by means of an exploration phase that consists of a crisis-reflection-reconnection process. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the participants are expected to experience contextual disturbances that challenge one or more concurrently enacted identities. In some cases, these could be situations in which participants prioritise the verification of one identity over another, as in role conflict disruptions (Type II). In other circumstances, the disturbances could well extend beyond the scope of the translator education context and generate multiple-level crises, such as the ones triggered by the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic. Initially, the participants react with strong emotional responses depending on the number of identities involved and the degree to which these are non-verified. After this stage, they begin a reflective process in which they analyse possible courses of action. A critical issue at this point is that the potential reconnection to their translator identity largely depends on the level of commitment – or translator identity status – that the students already hold.

In INT1, the participants' level of commitment seems to underlie the immediacy of the potential course of action: the students who display an achiever identity status planned and executed actions in order to quickly reconnect with their translator identity, while participants who tended to plan for the future and some postponed taking action in favour of more urgent personal issues displayed behaviour consistent with conservers and seekers. In INT2 and subsequent interviews, this immediacy of action is associated with the participants' willingness to exercise their agency by taking a proactive attitude towards their translator identity.

The participants' agency becomes the starting point of two potential cycles which, as discussed in Chapter 4, suggest a close connection between their student and translator identities. The first is a virtuous cycle in which swift action is taken with regard to their translation practice. This increases the chances of developing stronger self-efficacy beliefs. These in turn make the students feel more confident during tests and fosters potential higher grades, which verify both the student and translator identity standards. Conversely, those students who delay taking action in their translator practice do not seem to develop higher self-efficacy beliefs. Performance in tests also remains the same or is lower than in the previous episodes of crisis. Consequently, the students display either the same or lower commitment to their translator or student identities.

The INT1 interview narratives initially suggest that the participants engaged in either one cycle or another. However, as they experience their semesters, these two tightly closed cycles start to engage with one another. The participants are able to change between the cycles after a reflective stage following a crisis. It is this critical metacognitive reflection that allows students to assess the next course of action considering their long-term goals and commitments. For example, Ignacio's narrative during his INT1 interview reveals that low grades in translation course units had a detrimental effect on his translator self-efficacy beliefs. He discussed his results with his lecturers and they pointed out possible ways in which he could improve. However, he decided to postpone working on these issues until the beginning of the new semester, which positioned him in the second type of cycle. In INT2, he narrated his distress after his first fail grade in a translation course unit which, as for many participants, constitutes an episode of crisis that challenged both their student and translator IS. After recommitting to his translator identity, he took a series of proactive measures to improve his translation practice mostly by looking for opportunities outside the classroom. Motivated by these professional prospects, he adopted a different attitude in his classes, which led him to develop stronger self-efficacy beliefs and obtain higher grades. This ultimately has furthered his commitment to his translator identity.

Ignacio's narratives also encapsulate a critical difference between the factors that lead to the commitment cycles. In INT1, the emphasis is on grades and academic behaviour as ultimate goals, i.e. there is a prominence of the student identity, whereas in INT2 the motivation and commitment stem from their developing translator identity. This seems to foster a more proactive agency that eventually

leads to a higher level of commitment. Further evidence of this is found in the INT3 and INT4 interviews when some of the students' narratives, such as Aurora's, describe episodes in which they have not done academically well and still remain highly committed to their translator identity. In these cases, their translator IS-related goals seem to buffer the potential mismatches emerging from the student identity verification process. This is also accompanied by the participants' self-forgiving attitude developed as a response to the supra-contextual crises: the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Based on the participants' narratives throughout the study, it is possible to integrate the two circuits into a single model that accounts for the development of the participants' commitment to their translator identity. The reflection process following a crisis leads to a course of action that the students could take depending on the extent to which the students are willing to exercise their agency. This has a direct impact on the opportunities to improve their translation practice, which could take place in or outside the classroom. The experiences in their translation practice could strengthen, weaken or maintain their translator self-efficacy beliefs, which buffers the participants' results in their academic performance. The students' grades could be higher, lower or match their expectations and, during the first stages of development, these appear to impact their commitment to their translator identity. When grades meet or surpass the participants' expectations, they seem to experience an increase in their commitment to their translator identity. Conversely, lower grades may lead to a loss of commitment.

At later stages of development, as the participants approach their graduation, their translator self-efficacy beliefs, particularly those emerging from the professional internship, ultimately determine the students' degree of commitment to their translator identity. However, it is important to note that in some cases, like Vai's, the impact of her outstanding results in her professional internship and thesis did finally allow her to perceive a congruence between those grades and her abilities as a translator. This suggests that insecure students rely on academic performance even in the later stages of their programme to verify their translator IS.

In addition, the INT3 and INT4 narratives emphasise the value that professional translation practice outside the classroom has for their future development. This is accompanied by a re-evaluation of the translation brief and the role this plays in their education. Thus, it is possible to theorise that, at the conclusion of their

studies, the participants consider practice outside their programmes as part of the developmental cycle whereas controlled simulated commissions are regarded as part of the commitment stagnation cycle. Figure 6.1 illustrates the cycle of commitment development in the participants at the end of this research. The academic results are presented as a semi-transparent element to indicate that their presence is dependent on the students' circumstances and experiences.

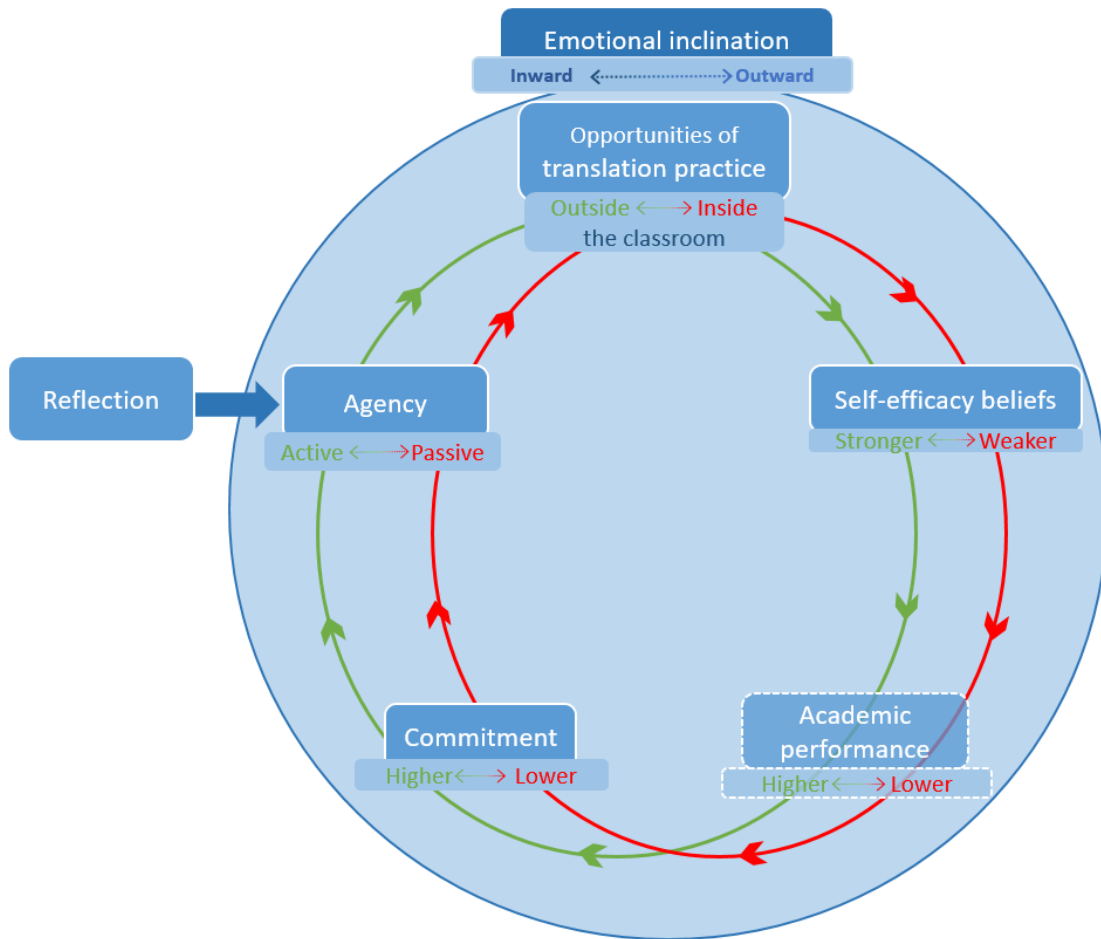


Figure 6.1 Commitment development cycles in translation students.

The processes in this cycle are circumscribed by the participants' emotional inclinations during the process. These play a key role in determining potential changes across the different factors. For instance, Luna has displayed an outward inclination throughout the whole research, i.e. she tended to make alterity-based factors responsible for her own insecurities, fears or inability to recommit to their translator identity. For example, she regularly mentioned that test conditions and pressure made it difficult for her to do sufficiently well or that her peers' potential comments affected her contributions in the classroom. However, when she failed

the translation course unit at the end of her eighth semester, she recognised her responsibility in the situation and acknowledged her mistakes during that course unit. Her narrative showed a shift to an inward emotional inclination, which seems to have helped in her next semester as she passed the course unit the following year and this made her feel happy.

The participants' emotional inclinations are also related to their translator identity statuses at the moment of exercising their agency. Narratives from the INT1 interview suggests that the students who held an achiever identity status were more likely to reconnect with their translator identity and showed an inward inclination, whereas conservers and seekers had an outward emotional inclination. However, this tendency changes significantly in the narratives emerging from the INT2 interview onwards, which explored the participants' level of commitment during the social unrest and the coronavirus pandemic.

In INT3, the participants respond to a supra-contextual crisis by taking an outward inclination, which prevails in participants throughout most of the semester with the exception of achievers. Those with an achiever identity status were eager to exercise their agency and, critically, be accountable for the academic results obtained during the semester. These students acknowledged that the contextual situation was complicated, but felt that they could not put the blame entirely on it and disregard their own role in the situation. TIE students recognised the challenges of the COVID-19 crisis but displayed a more inward emotional inclination. This is probably due to the fact that they were concluding their programme, whereas LLAT participants were in their ninth semester with eight course units and an additional tenth semester to complete. These contextual factors, together with the challenges of online learning, made students face the start of the semester with an outward inclination. However, this initial emotional stance shifted to an inward inclination depending on the participants' previous level of commitment to their translator identity: achievers were able to recover from the initial emotional effect of the crisis and then reposition themselves as main agents in the development of their translator identity, while others struggled with the effects of the emotional implications throughout the semester.

LLAT participants experience a substantial shift to an outward emotional inclination in the narratives of the INT4 interview. Although most feel very confident in their training and skills, they display anxiety towards finding a job in translation in the

current circumstances. Many claim that such a scenario makes them search for more steady job prospects and income. As analysed in Chapter 5, this change implies important fluctuations in their commitment to their translator identity.

6.3.1 Translator identity statuses: definitions and fluctuations

The combination of the developed commitment and the participants' reflections constitute the key elements that determine their translator identity statuses. Based on Marcia's (1966) descriptions for the four identity statuses, it is possible to contextualise them for translator education. The translator identity statuses reflect four key factors: emotional inclination, degree of agency, professional self-efficacy beliefs, and role of professional projections.

Achievers display the highest degree of commitment. This comes from a careful reflection in exploration stages. They also show an inward emotional inclination that enables them to cope with situations in and outside their programme. Their commitment makes them more likely to stick to their professional goals, which guides a quick recommitment process after an episode of crisis. They are confident in their translator skills and are willing to actively take action to achieve their final goal: becoming a translator. They also intend to work primarily in translation, but would consider other additional options as a complement to their main occupation.

Conservers visualise themselves as future professional translators, but their self-efficacy beliefs can suffer considerably due to their academic results and other alterity-bound supra-contextual crises. Their weaker translator self-efficacy beliefs are reflected in their self-perceived lack of preparedness to enter the professional market, although they are committed to taking action to be able to do so. After episodes of crises, they identify potential courses of action, but due to their outward emotional inclination or insecurity, they might delay exercising their agency to address the situation. Their student identity is more prominent and they usually regard completing the translation programme as a goal in itself. Although they show interest in working as translators, they would consider working primarily in another language-related professional field if a steady source of income could be secured.

Seekers have not committed to their translator identity and, thus, frequently question their decision to study and become translators. Although they usually present an inward emotional inclination, loss of commitment coming from crises

can quickly make them shift to an outward emotional inclination. This ambivalence makes them question the choices they made during their reflection in the exploration phase, which has a detrimental effect on their translator self-efficacy beliefs. At some point in their programmes, they consider other professional options in which being a translator is replaced by other potential occupations. They are willing to exercise their agency, but their lack of clear long-term goals hinders decision-making, leading to delay in carrying out concrete plans. Upon graduation, they would like to work in translation but give much more priority to their financial stability over their commitment to their translator identity, which means that they would be eager to accept a non-translation-related job.

The *depleted* status refers to those students who have lost their commitment to their translator identity due to personal or external issues. Their emotional inclination shifts from inward to outward and they display distress, depression or extreme anxiety. They are unable to reconnect themselves with their translator identity, which eventually leads to a potential permanent withdrawal from the programme. They verbalise little to no interest in completing the programme or becoming translators, which makes it difficult to determine if there are any self-efficacy beliefs associated with their translator identity. Working as translators is not part of their plans and actively ponder other vocational possibilities, language or non-language related.

A critical point that requires acknowledgement is the evolving nature of these definitions throughout this research. The different dimensions constituting the translator identity statuses have changed as the participants narrated their experiences in the different interview rounds. This dynamism is evidenced in Matilda's and Fran's translator identity status at the end of INT2, which in Chapter 4 was that of a seeker. This responded to their interest in pursuing other professional options rather than translation. However, the INT4 interview round provided a much clearer detail into the differences between being open to other job opportunities to complement income and working in another field because the participant does not intend to work in translation at all. This update in the definitions of the translator identity statuses implies a re-evaluation of Matilda's and Fran's translator identity statuses in INT2, resulting in both displaying a conserver identity status. This is because they intended to work primarily in translation in spite of being open to other professional opportunities. The updated

chart of the evolution of the participant’s translator identity statuses throughout this study is shown in Table 6.1 below.

Participants	Interview rounds					
	INT0 (May 2019)	INT1 (July 2019)	INT2 (January 2020)	INT3 (August /September 2020)	INT4 (March 2021)	
TIE	Ana	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	-
	Cora	Seeker	Conserver	Conserver	Achiever	-
	Lorena	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	-
	Matilda	Achiever	Achiever	Conserver	Achiever	-
	Nicole	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	-
	Vai	Seeker	Seeker	Conserver	Achiever	-
LLAT	Aurora	Conserver	Achiever	Achiever	Conserver	Conserver
	Daniela	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever	Achiever
	Fran	Conserver	Conserver	Conserver	Achiever	Conserver
	Ignacio	Conserver	Seeker	Seeker	Achiever	Conserver
	José	Seeker	Seeker	Depleted	Seeker	Depleted
	Luna	Conserver	Conserver	Conserver	Conserver	Conserver

Table 6.1 Participants’ translator identity statuses throughout the study.

The table above shows that five participants maintained their translator identity status throughout the study. Ana, Lorena, Nicole and Daniela displayed features of an achiever identity status, while Luna consistently showed traits of a conserver. This could be due to the impact that her personality traits, namely her insecurity, had on the development process of her translator identity. It is important to note that she had not concluded her programme at the time of the INT4 interview, as she fell behind one year when she failed a translation course unit in January 2020.

Cora and Vai display a sustained development of their commitment in their translator identity statuses, both beginning with a seeker identity status and

concluding their studies as achievers. Both repeatedly claimed to be shy and insecure, which impeded their development of her translator self-efficacy beliefs, as analysed in Chapters 4 and 5. They both managed to conclude their studies with an achiever identity status, but differ in the processes underlying its development. Cora emphasises the value and contribution of her experiences during the professional internship as key elements that contributed to the development of her translator self-efficacy beliefs, while Vai's narrative highlights the grades she obtained in the professional and the thesis. This means that while Cora values the professional experience, Vai's account reflects the importance she gives to grades and the verification of her student identity.

The other five participants show fluctuations in their identity statuses throughout the research. As explained in Chapter 4, Matilda, José and Fran experienced a loss of commitment during the semester they had to deal with the social unrest in Chile. Matilda and Fran both began to ponder other vocational options, mainly in English language teaching. Matilda's narrative reveals that potential jobs prospects had always been a concern and the crisis brought back the insecurities she originally had about her vocational choice. In Fran's case, this opening to other professional alternatives seems to stem from her close peers who all began to evaluate teaching as a vocational option.

José had temporarily withdrawn from the programme to deal with some personal issues and was expecting to address them, but with the social unrest, he had little chance to do so. In the INT2 interview, his narratives suggest that he could return to the programme, but no longer sees himself as a translator and explores other options including teaching Spanish and Japanese overseas. However, in the INT3 interview, he briefly managed to recommit to his translator identity after finding potential job prospects of which he was unaware. This made him look for additional resources and make plans again in which the translator identity regains prominence as he re-enrolled in the second academic semester of 2020.

Similarly, Ignacio also displays a considerable increase in commitment in his third assessment interview. His narratives suggest that the practice outside the classroom has motivated him to have a more proactive attitude to continue improving. Although he still considers teaching as a viable option, this could potentially complement his translation work, which he repositioned as his main professional goal. Conversely, Aurora suffered a loss of commitment following the

COVID-19 lockdown measures. The change to online modality, along with the continuous postponement of her thesis submission and viva, generated anxiety and distress which eventually made her lose her focus and fail a course unit. In spite of this disconnection and low academic performance, she is fully accountable for the situation and still wishes to become a translator, but believes she needs some time to overcome the challenges she has had to face.

The future professional prospects seem to have a critical impact on LLAT participants, as their commitment to their translator identity suffered important losses, which triggered changes in Fran's, Ignacio's and José's translator identity statuses. While Fran and Ignacio are still committed to working as translators, they welcome any other opportunity that would allow them to earn a steady income, whereas José once again commented on his plans to initially pursue language teaching-related plans, but these are unclear and undefined at the time of this INT4 interview.

The participants' fluctuation of their translator identity status seems to confirm the notion that, unless supra-contextual crises occur, those students that display achiever identity statuses are unlikely to suffer major commitment loss during their programme, while conservers or seekers could vary depending on the external situations and their emotional inclination.

6.4 Student and translator identities: co-dependence and interdependence

The final RQ of this research deals with the engagement between the student and the translator identities. In the multiple-identity model proposed in Chapter 1, the student identity had a controlling role over the developing translator identity, as it was believed to influence the verification of the translator IS. The narratives provided by the participants throughout the study outline four critical stages of interaction between these two identities: nesting, overlap, separation, and detachment. These are illustrated in Figure 6.2 below.

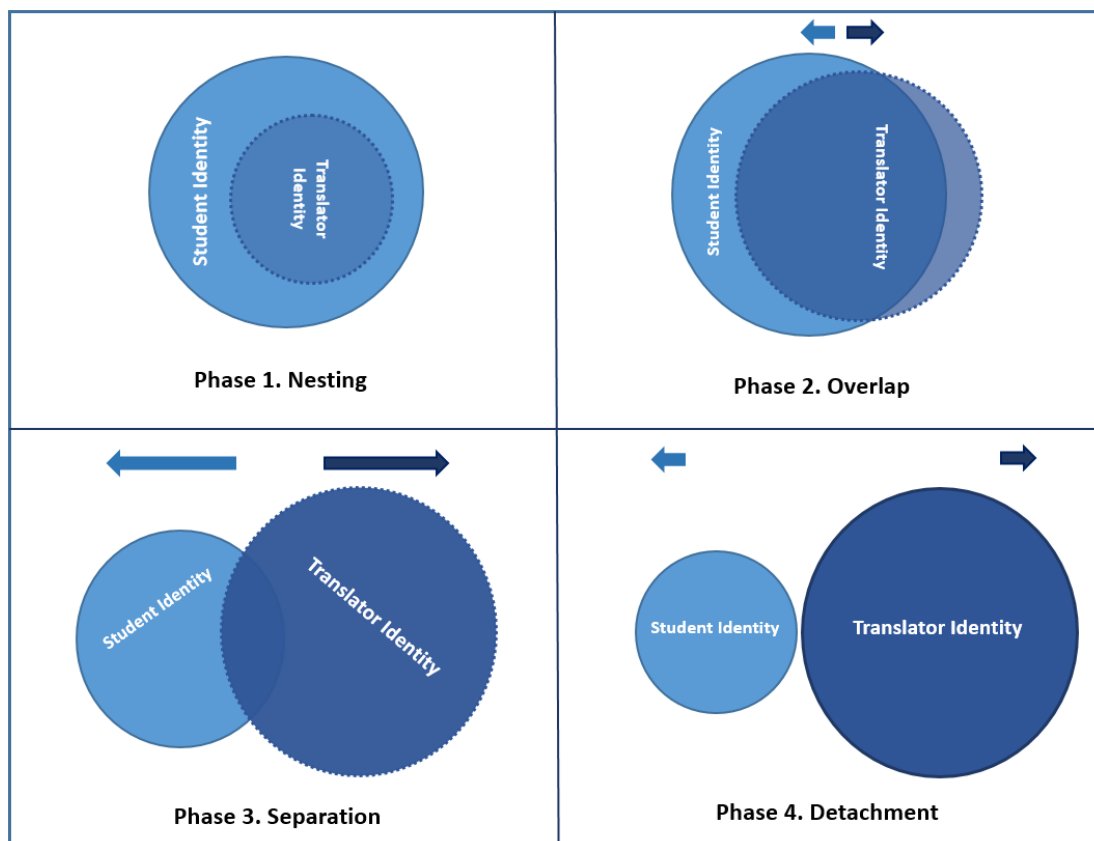


Figure 6.2 Stages of interdependence between the participants' student and translator identities.

First, the INTO interview suggests a *nesting* phase in which the translator IS is verified by means of the student-related behaviour, particularly the academic grades. The translator IS provides the long-term professional goals and aims that provide meaning to the student identity. The participants' narratives at this point suggest a co-dependence between the two identities and in most cases, they do not verbalise explicit differences between being a student or a translator; to them, they are both regarded as the same.

As the participants continue their studies, the two identities remain strongly connected with one another, particularly in terms of the impact grades have on the verification of the translator IS. However, the INT1 narratives indicate that the participants believe that they have learnt and become more skilful at translation regardless of whether the results they have obtained are lower than those set to verify their student IS. Moreover, they report that their translator self-efficacy beliefs also stem from translation practice in the classroom accompanied by their lecturers' and peers' constructive feedback and praise. This suggests an *overlap*

between the two identities: both are still verified mostly in terms of academic performance, yet the translator IS can also be verified by other sources of self-efficacy coming from the translation classroom.

The participants continue to develop their translator identities by means of practice until they reach a point in which they begin to state that the controlled environment provided by their programmes does not suffice to verify their translator IS. The participants' narratives from INT2 and INT3 suggest that participants, such as Fran, Luna or Ignacio, who have had the opportunity to engage in 'real' practice outside the classroom believe that only this kind of instance can help them to continue developing their translator identity. This means that the participants begin to experience tension between their student identity and their translator identity in the sense that they perceive their translator IS can no longer be verified by the academic behaviour generated in the context of their translation programme. In other words, it appears as if the translator identity and student identity began to *separate* from the bond that has kept them connected until this point: academic-related behaviour. This separation occurs throughout most of the participants' narratives in INT3.

The exit interview narratives suggest that the separation process concludes with the complete *detachment* of both the student and translator identity. This is signalled by the fact that the verification of the translator identity may cause mismatches in the verification of the student IS, as reported by Aurora. The successful experiences during their professional internship and other translation opportunities have allowed participants to verify their translator IS without the need to resort to grades, although some participants like Vai develop their translator self-efficacy beliefs because of the grades they obtained in these critical academic milestones. The student identity now seems to be at the service of the translator identity in light of the future professional development that the students envisage.

These four phases provide a more dynamic understanding of the multiple-identity model presented in Chapter 1 in that the student and translator identities alter their salience throughout the development of the latter. First, the student identity has a higher salience during the nesting phase. As the translator identity acquires more prominence, there is a point in which both identities start to experience role conflict disruptions (Type II) as the verification of one could potentially lead to the

non-verification of the other. Eventually, the translator identity gains more prominence in the negotiation process than the student identity. Finally, in the separation stage, the translator identity is more prominent and the student identity appears mainly in the context of potential further development.

Although the student-translator identity model proposed in this research is based on the participants' narratives, it could well shed light on how translation students develop their translator identity in other undergraduate programmes in Chile and other similar contexts. In addition, since this research equates translator identity and occupational identity, this model could also apply to other fields and professions and further add to the discussion in the literature, as pointed out by Tan, Van der Molen, and Schmidt (2017).

6.5 Framing translator identity within translator education studies

The findings of this research contribute to the emerging field of 'translation psychology' by shedding light on the psychological processes whereby translation students become translators. The literature shows a series of attempts to explain how this process occurs. Some of these explore the students' perceptions regarding their expectations about their undergraduate programmes (Hubscher-Davidson 2007; Samaniego 2017). Other studies have attempted to understand how students' perceptions about challenges and affordances in their translator education evolve over time between different student cohorts within the same translation programme (see Singer, Rubio, and Rubio 2018; 2019; Singer, López, and Basaure 2020). These qualitative studies have outlined motivation, self-efficacy beliefs and commitment as significant factors underlying translator identity, as well as describing the concerns they had about working as translators in terms of work stability and language proficiency. However, these studies are cross-sectional in their design and fail to capture the continuous dynamism that can be captured by means of longitudinal research.

According to Toury (1995), longitudinal studies would be suitable to explore translatorship. This call prompted Svahn (2016) to conduct one of the few longitudinal studies exploring the development of a group of students in a Swedish Translation MA over three semesters using focus groups. She used Perry's (1970) four-stage developmental scheme to detail how the students epistemologically moved from a binary understanding of translation to a more complex dynamic comprehension of the occupation in which they situated their identity. Using these

stages, her study tracked the students' development and showed how they moved from 'knowing almost nothing' about translation to 'feeling like' translators (Svahn 2016, 42).

Svahn's (2016) work is relevant in that she was able to map the development of translator declarative and procedural knowledge of translation during the MA. Her study showed that students initially displayed an epistemological dualism, i.e. they established a we-right-good/they-wrong-bad positioning, which then evolved to a more pluralistic view on the occupation as their awareness of the occupation and confidence in their abilities –or self-efficacy beliefs– increased. These findings align consistently with the participants' narratives in this study: in Chapter 3, students displayed a binary positioning towards the translators, the occupation and clients (see subsection 3.3.4), which later evolves as they engage in translation practice, as examined in Chapters 4 and 5. The development of the translator IS, as mentioned in 6.1.1, not only echoes that of Svahn's (2016) participants in her study, but it also brings additional factors, such as commitment, translator self-efficacy beliefs and multiple identities, to the translator identity development.

Furthermore, this study takes an interpretative phenomenological approach, which emphasises the translation students' interpretations of their life experiences to holistically understand the development of their translator identity. This means that in addition to following the participants during the final two years in their translation programmes, this study reviewed part of their personal past stories to further acknowledge the particularities underlying their experiences in their translator education. A critical aspect of this hermeneutic move lies in the recognition of the participants' self-continuity in time. The integration of Berzonsky's (1990, 2011) self-theory to the translator IS provides temporality to the students' personal stories, not only concerning the occupation but their overall selves. This repositions students as complex individuals who construct a new identity that is coherent with their self-continuity and overall self. This assumption humanises the focus on the development of translation competence at an affective-cognitive level within a determined span of time.

In addition to the integration of temporality into the translator IS, this study also contributes to the available literature in translation studies by proposing models to explain how several factors engage in the development of translator identity as a single identity or one embedded in a network of multiple enacted identities. Muñoz

(2014, 31) indicates that translators 'understand and handle situations and face difficulties in ways coherent with [their] current activated self-concept and avoid courses of action that are not consistent with it.' His view is consistent with the cyclical nature of the models proposed in Chapter 1. Both models are based on Burke and Stets's (2009) socio-constructive stance on identity development, which matches Toury's (1995) social emphasis of translatorship. Translator identity and the multiple-identity verification models have allowed the integration of the constructs that have emerged from the participants' experiences during their studies, for example, how commitment increases or the impact of grades on their translator self-efficacy beliefs.

A further contribution of this research to translator education involves how the participants' translator self-efficacy beliefs are explored. When this research commenced in late 2018, there were only few works addressing this topic. Haro-Soler (2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b) carried out a mixed-method study to holistically understand how students' translator self-efficacy beliefs were developed in the translation undergraduate programme at Universidad de Granada. Her findings showed how teaching practices, such as the use of rubrics and feedback, and teamwork impacted positively on students' self-efficacy beliefs. These aspects were echoed by the participants in this study, particularly when classes shifted to remote emergency teaching. In Chapter 4, the participants complained about the lack of feedback and how this affected their learning. They also affirmed that online environments did not foster collaboration as face-to-face teaching. Consequently, the findings in this study support Haro-Soler's (2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b) research from a qualitative phenomenological stance.

Other works have also explored self-efficacy beliefs and their impact on translation students. Some authors have taken an empirical-experimental approach to their study by incorporating scales to capture these self-perceptions. For instance, Bolaños-Medina and Núñez (2018) and Núñez and Bolaños-Medina (2018) used a scale to find correlations between self-efficacy beliefs and a series of factors, such as communicative and pragmatic competence, self-evaluating and learning, problem-solving, client-related issues, strategic competence and motivation. Their research showed there was a strong correlation between all these factors and translator self-efficacy beliefs. Similarly, the findings in this thesis also echo these correlations: for example, the participants highlighted the importance of the strategic sub-competence in successful translation practice throughout the study.

They also commented on their insecurities dealing with clients or professionally assessing their translations affected their confidence as translators. In his quantitative study, Konttinen (2021) elaborated a dual model of translation self-efficacy that further clarifies these differences. He suggests that translator self-efficacy beliefs can be separated into those about translation management and those related to translation production. His divisions of self-efficacy beliefs could provide a better understanding of the participants' narratives, for instance when they mentioned the 'administrative dimension' that their programmes did not show them, as the participants stated in her INT2 and INT3 interview rounds. Future research could explore this distinction between types of translator self-efficacy beliefs using IPA.

In addition, this thesis conceptualises translator self-efficacy beliefs as critical components within the translator IS. The acknowledgement of the students' temporal self-continuity sheds light on how their personal stories and multiple identities could potentially impact the development of their translator self-efficacy beliefs. Furthermore, the findings of this study describe how the participants' student and translator identities engage with one another at different times and how translator self-efficacy beliefs increased, maintained or decreased as they experienced their programmes. Similar qualitative studies, such as the research conducted by Haro-Soler (2018a; 2020) and Haro-Soler and Kiraly (2019), have highlighted the value of using a mixed-methods approach to combine the experimental and 'experiential' dimensions of translator self-efficacy beliefs. Thus, the scope of this research could potentially be further nurtured by exploring the affordances of scales or questionnaires to further elucidate the students' first-person accounts of their experiences in their translator education.

Lastly, a key contribution of this study to the field of translation studies lies in the development of translator identity in the context of supra-contextual crises. The situations that the participants lived while this study was conducted provides a unique insight into their psyche: how they psychologically felt and managed to reconnect with their ambitions and professional goals. Translation in contexts of crises is generally conceived as translators and interpreters performing in situations of disasters or world problems, such as war, terrorism, poverty, inequity, humanitarian emergencies, etc. (e.g. Federici and O'Brien 2019). However, this study explores the students' accounts of their experiences of the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic, which add a different dimension to translator education,

one in which obstacles go beyond the classroom, its didactics and assessment (Singer forthcoming).

6.6 Limitations of the study

There are two key limitations and three considerations to the research design of this study that need to be acknowledged. The first limitation is the extent of generalisation of the findings based on the sample size. The literature on phenomenological search (Smith and Osborn 2015; Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009; Howitt and Cramer 2017) suggests the use of small samples in IPA research projects, usually ranging from three to five participants only. This fosters a detailed personalised analysis of each participant from which micro comparisons can be made. Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009, 52) suggest that it is possible to be 'more adventurous' in the research designs and incorporate more participants or interview them more than once, as done in this research. In addition, previous longitudinal studies that have used IPA (e.g. Smith 1994; 1999) seem to have benefited from having slightly larger samples, as they provided a multi-perspectival exploration of the phenomenon.

However, questions can be made regarding the extent to which the findings obtained from these small samples can be generalised to a larger community. In this research, the academic milestones, course unit-related challenges and other programme-specific issues related only to the participants' classmates. It would be possible to generalise the findings to their cohorts, but not to all the students of their programmes nor to all translation students nationwide.

This study enrolled twelve participants, which is slightly more than the usual recommendation (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009), in an attempt to have a sample that is as representative as possible of the cohorts without running the risk of saturating the analysis. In addition, all the twelve voluntary participants in this research happened to have had a similar outstanding academic background, which further provides a common ground for IPA research. Thus, the combination of a longitudinal study and a small sample granted access to the complex universe that each of the twelve participants encompasses: their fears, ambitions, problems, worries and hopes. These first-person perspectives are critical for understanding the development of their translator identity as a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

The second limitation has to do with the contextual challenges that occurred during the study, namely the impact of the social unrest and the COVID-19 pandemic. Since the end of Augusto Pinochet's military regime in 1990, translator education in Chile had occurred without major social disruptions. This study intended to track the students' development of their translator identity in stable circumstances. However, the crises experienced in the middle of the study critically affected the way in which the participants experienced their programme and the challenges involved in their education. This means that the participants' narratives could have been substantially different in a normal context. The results from this research could then not apply to translation students who completed their programmes before these crises. Despite this apparent drawback, the findings emerging from the participants' narratives have reflected how supra-contextual crises impact the development of their translator identity and shed light on the processes that they used to reconnect with their programmes and professional goals.

As to the considerations concerning this research, the first one has to do with the initial design of the study and the changes resulting from the crises. Originally, the design considered both students' and lecturers' narratives to have a holistic interpretation of the classroom setting and compare the extent to which the translation students' self-efficacy beliefs matched their performance and attitude in class. However, the social unrest and the eventual shift to online teaching to complete the semester meant that lecturers did not have much opportunity to get to know the participants. Moreover, when the interviews were conducted, many did not recall students' faces, grades or performance. This meant that their perceptions became an unreliable source and the initial plan had to be discarded. Similar situations were experienced in subsequent interviews. Thus, as explained in Chapter 2, the lecturers' accounts were useful to understand the participants' context and the classroom practices surrounding the development of their translator identity.

The second consideration is related to the role of the researcher during the interviews and, critically, in the interpretation of the data. Chapter 2 states that narratives result from a co-constructive exercise in which the questions proposed in the interviews prompt the participants to reflect in ways they might have not done by themselves. The follow-up questions that dealt with personal and sensitive matters could have led some of the students to talk about other experiences that might have not been strictly related to this study. However, these experiences are

critical in understanding the participants' current state and it was important to discuss them with the students. In research involving IPA, researchers are recommended to avoid bringing their preconceived ideas to the data analysis and instead focus on the participants' experiences and how they lived them. In this study, this was done in two ways. First, the researcher attempted to detach himself from any potential judgements that could have emerged during the interview rounds to approach the data with an open attitude, especially with the LLAT participants he had taught before this research. Whichever opinion he had made of the students based on previous narratives or experiences, he consciously attempted to approach the interview without a biased opinion and followed the interview script and prompts in order to have a thorough understanding of *their* experience. Second, to maintain the situatedness of the interviews, after determining the emerging themes for a given interview round, the researcher reviewed the notes he had made while conducting the interviews before attempting to organise the super-ordinate themes. This was because these notes conveyed the researchers' interpretation of the data as the interview was being conducted. The combination of these two courses of action intended to keep a non-judgemental attitude and instead focus on the students' experiences.

This last point is strongly related to a third and final consideration: the researchers' own situatedness. The crises experienced by the participants were also experienced by the researcher. His family endured the effects of the social unrest as did his colleagues at his home university. The COVID-19 health crisis has been experienced throughout the world with serious ramifications ranging from economic to mental health problems. This means that the researcher himself could also empathise with the participants as they dealt with the supra-contextual challenges that escaped the boundaries of their translation classrooms. Thus, both the participants and the researcher shared a sense of a co-experiential account of the crises as Chileans which, inevitably, underlies the analysis of the data.

6.7 Conclusions and further research

This phenomenological study has shed light on several factors that engage in the process of developing translation students' translator identity during the last two years of their programmes. Critically, it provides the opportunity to expand the understanding of this field by providing a voice to those who experience the process

of becoming translators: translation students. Thus, the original contribution to knowledge of this research lies in four critical aspects.

First, this study has explored two approaches to identity theory and integrated them to explain a process within translator education. As discussed in Chapter 1, the notion of translator identity in this study echoes similar concepts that have been outlined in translation studies, namely self-concept (Kiraly 1995) and translatorship (Toury 1995). Thus, translator identity is conceptualised in this research as a threefold concept involving the collection of beliefs that students have concerning the translator occupation and their associated translator self-efficacy beliefs, and their future professional self-projections. This set of beliefs is configured by the practical experiences that enable students to accommodate their translator-related constructs, which are then projected in their conceptualisations of the professional translator. This vision of the translator constitutes the identity standard to which they compare their behaviour and performance, leading to stronger or weaker self-efficacy beliefs. To account for the personal and social dimensions of this process, this research brings together two complementary views on identity development: self-theory (Berzonsky 2011) and identity control theory (Burke and Stets 2009). The integration of these perspectives into two identity development models has provided a theoretical framework with which the process of translator identity development can be holistically interpreted.

Second, this study proposes the use of a novel research approach to translator education, i.e. a phenomenological hermeneutic method that relies considerably on the students' perceptions of their learning experiences. This study joins some of the longitudinal studies carried out in translator education (Svahn 2016; 2020a) and, to date, it is the first that explores Chilean translation students' narratives using IPA to examine key aspects in their education, such as commitment or translator self-efficacy beliefs. Emery and Anderman (2020) highlight the value that this sort of approach could have in psychological education to give a voice to those students who could be underrepresented or marginalised. In translator undergraduate education, the literature seems to emphasise students' acquisition and development of their translator competence (e.g. Malmkjær 2004), yet little attention has been given to how students psychologically engage in that process. Moreover, those students who end up withdrawing from their programmes or graduating to carry out other occupations are usually not accounted for in the literature. This study works with first-person accounts of their experiences: their

motivations, choices, fears, challenges and achievements, which could provide additional input for the pedagogical design of translation programmes. For example, one potential line of research could explore the extent to which translation programmes offering hands-on translation practice early in their curricular design could potentially lead to a more developed translator identity in their graduates.

Third, this study examines critical factors that seem to underlie the participants' development of their translator identity: agency, self-description, commitment, practice, self-efficacy beliefs and academic performance. Throughout the different interview rounds, these engage in a cyclical fashion that ultimately leads to the development of the commitment. It is this commitment that permits the redefinition of Marcia's identity statuses (1966) in the context of translator education to track students' attitudes towards their translator identity. Understanding students' level of commitment to their translator identity could be a useful additional resource in lecturers' and trainers' decision-making to plan their course units to foster commitment and promote an inward emotional inclination on the part of the students. A future research idea involves the development of a translator identity statuses questionnaire (TISQ), which would aim to determine the students' degree of commitment to their translator identity without the need to conduct individual semi-structured interviews. Additional research opportunities would include the potential impact of translator identity statuses under exam conditions, students' self-awareness of their translator identity statuses or the possible relationships between their personality traits, mental health and the translator identity statuses.

Fourth, the research analyses the co-dependence between the student and translator identities as the students developed the latter. This study theorises on the participants' narratives and suggests a four-phase developmental model for the translator identity. Initially, the student identity seems to have a much more prominent role in the early stages of development in which the translator IS provides sense of purpose to its enactment. As the students engage in more translation practice, they verbalise that academic performance is not the only means by which the translator IS is verified. This eventually leads to a point in which the verification of the student identity might not lead to the verification of the translator identity. Moreover, the participants believe that only meaningful practice outside the controlled classroom environment is necessary to continue developing their translator IS. The process concludes with the full independence of

the translator identity from the student identity, which now seems to operate under it. Further research could look into how these two identities engage in instances of professional development such as short workshops, diploma courses or MA programmes.

The time constraints of a PhD project limit the scope of a longitudinal study. However, future research involving longitudinal IPA research in translator education could involve following a group of students from the very first year of their studies until their graduation. More ambitious projects could engage in the psychological processes that lead students to show interest in translation during their secondary education. In addition, the episodes of crises did not allow the explicit inclusion of the lecturer participants' narratives in the findings of the study. Future studies could integrate their views into a similar research design to have access to a third hermeneutic move and, thus, propose a multi-perspectival account of the translation classroom and the students' development of their translator identity.

The findings emerging from the participants' narrated experiences provide a complementary perspective by which translator education can be explored. Through this lens, becoming a translator is the result of a series of embodied experiences that students interpret as they live their translation programmes. This repositions translation students at the core of their learning process in which they are the protagonists. Phenomenological research in translator education allows researchers to approach this field with special consideration for the complexities of human uniqueness and provides an insight into students' personal stories. This promotes an empathetic attitude towards their dreams, goals, stories, frustrations, fears and anxieties. By experiencing the translator developing process through their perspective, narrative and voice, trainers and lecturers have access to an emotional dimension of the training process that at times is not accounted for in the literature. This fresh first-person perspective of experiences transforms becoming a translator into a phenomenological journey of the self in which translation is the horizon with which students have chosen to interact with the world, giving meaning to their past choices, their present selves and, more importantly, their future.

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Appendix 1 Interview sets

The interviews are conducted in Spanish. In this section, the original Spanish interview scripts for all interviews are presented with their corresponding English translations.

1 Student participants

A) Anchor Interview (INT0)

Spanish (original)

Dimensiones	Preguntas
Identidad e identidad estudiantil	1. ¿Cómo se describiría como persona y como estudiante?
	2. ¿Cuáles fueron sus motivaciones para estudiar esta carrera?
	3. ¿Cuáles fueron sus motivaciones para elegir su mención?
	4. ¿Qué significa para usted ser estudiante de traducción de la USACH/PUCV?
	5. ¿Qué implica ser un estudiante de traducción en su vida cotidiana?
Identidad traductora	6. ¿Cómo describiría al traductor que a usted le gustaría llegar a ser? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Cómo definiría al traductor ideal?
	7. ¿Qué aspectos internos, tales como actitudes o atributos personales, podrían facilitar el que usted se convirtiera en ese traductor? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Y qué aspectos personales se presentan como una dificultad para convertirse en ese traductor?
	8. ¿Qué factores contextuales, tales como la metodología de enseñanza o estructura del programa, podrían impedir que se transformara en ese traductor que le gustaría ser? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Hay alguno que le facilite que se convierta en traductor?
	9. ¿Cómo se siente con la formación hasta la fecha en traducción inglés-español? ¿Cómo siente que ha sido desempeño en clases? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Por qué? ¿Y cómo le hace sentir eso?
	10. ¿Qué expectativas tiene en cuanto a las asignaturas de traducción inglés-español-inglés que está cursando este semestre y que cursará este año? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Tiene algo más que le gustaría agregar o profundizar?

English translation

Dimensions	Questions
Identity and student identity	1. How would you describe yourself as a person and as a student?
	2. What have been your motivations to study this programme?
	3. What have been your motivations to study your pathway?
	4. What does being a student of translation studies at USACH/PUCV mean to you?
	5. What does being a student of translator studies mean in your daily life?
Translator identity	6. How would you describe the translator you would like to become? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you describe the ideal translator?
	7. What internal aspects, such as personal attributes or attitudes, do you think could facilitate you becoming that translator? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And which personal aspects can be regarded as challenges in becoming that ideal translator?
	8. What contextual factors, such as teaching methodologies or the programme curriculum, could impede your becoming that translator? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And are there any that facilitate your becoming that ideal translator?
	9. How has your translator training been up to this point? How has your performance been so far? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why? How does that make you feel?
	10. What expectations do you have about the translation course units you are taking this semester and that you will take this year? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on?

B) Assessment interview (INT 1, INT2 and LLAT INT3)

Spanish (original)

Dimensiones	Preguntas
Pregunta general	1. ¿Cómo fue este semestre en términos generales? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y en términos personales/académicos?
Estándar de identidad	2. Basándose en sus experiencias académicas este semestre, ¿cómo visualiza al traductor profesional? 3. En nuestra entrevista previa, usted señaló que los traductores eran... ¿Ha cambiado alguna de esas percepciones? ¿Por qué? 4. Según lo que dijo en la última entrevista, a usted le gustaría ser un/a traductor/a que... ¿Le gustaría agregar, cambiar o eliminar alguna de esas cualidades?
Estado de la identidad	5. ¿Qué tan comprometido/a está con convertirse en el/la traductor/a que usted imagina? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿En qué elementos visualiza ese compromiso? 6. ¿Ha tenido alguna dificultad que ha socavado su determinación a convertirse en ese/a traductor/a? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y de índole personal/académica? • ¿Qué estrategias o acciones ha utilizado para enfrentar estos desafíos? 7. ¿Qué rol han jugado sus compañeros o curso en su formación como traductor/a? 8. ¿Qué habilidades cree que ha desarrollado que le servirán para convertirse en el/la traductor/a que quiere ser? <i>Pregunta específica</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Qué rol siente que jugó la redacción de su tesis durante este semestre? [Entrevista INT2/INT3]
Creencias de autoeficacia	9. ¿Cómo se ha sentido este semestre en cuanto a su desempeño traduciendo textos? 10. En términos generales, ¿qué tan confiado/a se siente como traductor/a? ¿Por qué? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Siente que la formación a la fecha ha contribuido a su confianza como traductor/a?
Relación entre la identidad de estudiante y traductora	11. Considerando las notas y promedios finales de sus cursos de traducción español-inglés de este semestre, ¿cómo se describiría como estudiante de traducción? 12. ¿Cree que estos resultados reflejan sus habilidades como traductor/a? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Me podría dar algún ejemplo concreto? 13. Si se graduara hoy, ¿se sentiría preparado para trabajar como traductor/a? ¿Por qué? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y cómo le hace sentir esta situación?
Información adicional	14. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría agregar o comentar?

English translation

Dimensions	Questions
General question	1. How was this semester in general terms? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And in personal/academic terms?
Identity standard	2. Based on your experiences this semester, how do you conceive a professional translator? 3. In our previous interview, you said translators were... Have any of those notions changed? Why? 4. According to what you said in our last interview, you would like to be a translator that... Would you like to add, change or discard any of these qualities?
Identity status	5. How committed are you to becoming the translator that you envisage? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what elements do you see that commitment? 6. Have you faced any challenges that have undermined your determination to become that translator? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any personal/academic issues? • What strategies or actions have you taken to help you face the difficulties you encountered this semester? 7. What has been the role of your class or peers in your translator training? 8. What skills or abilities do you think you have developed that will help you become the translator you want to be?
	<i>Specific question</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role did the writing up of your thesis play during this semester? [Assessment interview INT3]
Self-efficacy beliefs	9. How have you felt this semester in terms of your performance translating texts? 10. In general terms, how confident do you feel as a translator? Why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you feel your training has contributed to your self-esteem as a translator?
Student-translator identity relationship	11. According to your grades and final averages in your translation course units, how would you describe yourself as a translation student? 12. Do you feel these results reflect your abilities as a translator? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you provide a concrete example? 13. If you were to graduate today, would you feel prepared to work as a translator? Why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does this make you feel?
Additional info	14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

C) Exit interview (TIE INT3 and LLAT INT4)

Spanish (original)

Dimensiones	Preguntas
Pregunta general	1. ¿Cómo fue este semestre en términos generales? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y en términos personales o académicos?
Estándar de identidad	2. Basándose en sus experiencias en estos últimos dos años, ¿cómo visualiza al traductor profesional? 3. ¿Hasta qué punto se definiría a sí mismo como ese profesional? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Qué elementos aún le faltarían para convertirse en ese traductor?
Estado de la identidad	4. ¿Qué tan comprometido está con su profesión ahora que ya ha concluido sus estudios/a este punto de su formación? 5. A su juicio, ¿cuáles han sido los desafíos más grandes que ha enfrentado durante su formación? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Siente que ha podido/pudo superarlos? ¿Cómo? 6. ¿Cuáles son los posibles desafíos que ve en el futuro cercano? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Cómo pretende enfrentarlos? 7. ¿Pudo realizar la práctica profesional este semestre? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [En caso que no] ¿Qué expectativas tiene de esa instancia en relación a la confianza como traductor? • [En caso que sí] ¿Qué rol cree que su práctica profesional jugó en su formación como traductor? ¿Cómo afectó en el grado de confianza como traductor? ¿Qué fue lo principal que aprendió de dicha experiencia?
Creencias de autoeficacia	8. ¿Cómo fue la experiencia de trabajo de título y la conclusión de su tesis? [pregunta específica para algunos participantes] 9. En términos generales, ¿qué tan confiado se siente como traductor? ¿Por qué? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y cómo persona? 10. ¿Qué aspectos profesionales o habilidades, si las hubiere, identificaría como aquellas que necesita mejorar en el futuro?
Relación entre la identidad de estudiante y traductora	11. ¿Siente que sus notas y resultados académicos [finales] reflejan sus habilidades como traductor? 12. ¿Se siente preparado para trabajar como traductor? ¿Por qué? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¿Y cómo lo hace sentir esto? 13. Considerando todo lo vivido durante su formación, si pudiera darle un consejo a alguien que quiere estudiar traducción o está empezando a estudiar traducción, ¿cuál sería?
Información adicional	14. ¿Cómo siente que impactaron las crisis vividas durante su formación en su actual confianza como traductor? 15. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría comentar o agregar?

English (translation)

Dimensions	Questions
General question	1. How was this last semester in general terms? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And in personal/academic terms?
Identity standard	2. Based on your experiences in these last two years, how do you conceive the professional translator? 3. To what extent would you define yourself as that professional? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What elements would you still be requiring to become that translator?
Identity status	4. How committed are you to your occupation now that you have concluded your studies/at this stage of your training? 5. In your view, what were/have been the major challenges that you [have] faced during your training? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were you/Have you been able to overcome them? How? 6. What are the possible challenges that you foresee in the nearby future? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you intend to deal with them? 7. Were you able to do your professional internship this semester? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [If not] What expectations have you got about that instance, particularly in terms of translator confidence? • [If yes] What role do you think your professional internship played in your training as a translator? How did it affect your confidence as a translator? What was the most important thing that you learned from that experience?
Self-efficacy beliefs	8. How was the conclusion of your thesis submission and viva? [question exclusively targeted at specific participants] 9. In general terms, how confident do you feel as a translator? Why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And as an individual? 10. What professional aspects or skills, if any, would you identify as those you need to hone in the future?
Student-translator identity relationship	11. Do you feel that your grades and [final] academic results reflect your abilities as a translator? 12. Do you feel prepared to work as a translator? Why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does this make you feel? 13. Considering all you've experienced in your training, if you could give some advice to somebody who wants to study translation or is starting her translation programme, what would that advice be?
Additional info	14. How do you feel that the crises experienced during your training affected your confidence as a translator? 15. Is there anything else you would like to comment or add?

2 Lecturer participants

A) Interview set

Spanish (original)

Dimensiones	Preguntas
Contextualización	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. ¿Qué cursos de traducción inglés-español/español-inglés impartió este semestre?2. Coménteme en síntesis como realiza esta(s) asignatura(s) a lo largo del semestre.<ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Cómo son las evaluaciones?• ¿Cómo es la dinámica de la clase?3. ¿Qué elementos, ya sea contenidos o habilidades, considera relevante al momento de planificar esta(s) asignatura(s)?4. ¿Hay algún aspecto en la forma cómo enseñanza o planifica su asignatura que considera importante mencionar?
Percepciones de los participantes	<ol style="list-style-type: none">5. En términos generales, ¿cómo ve a sus estudiantes en este punto de su formación, vale decir, en su [semestre y año]?6. ¿Cómo definiría el desempeño general de su curso este semestre?7. En su opinión, ¿cómo fue el desempeño de X en su asignatura este semestre?8. ¿En qué aspectos cree que X podría mejorar?9. ¿Cómo se relaciona X con sus compañeros en su dinámica de clase?10. ¿Cuáles son sus impresiones sobre el grado de autoestima de X?<ul style="list-style-type: none">• ¿Y en relación al grado de confianza en su trabajo?11. ¿Hay algún otro aspecto sobre el desempeño de X, ya sea general o específico que desee mencionar?
Información adicional	<ol style="list-style-type: none">12. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría agregar o comentar de lo que hemos conversado?

English (translation)

Dimensions	Questions
Contextualisation	1. What English-Spanish/Spanish-English translation course units did you teach this term? 2. Could you briefly tell me how you deliver your course unit? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the course assessed? • What are the class dynamics? 3. What elements, either contents or skills, do you regard as relevant to be considered in your course planning? 4. Are there any aspects of your teaching or planning that you think are important to mention?
Perceptions about the student participants	5. In general terms, how do you see your students at this point of their training, i.e. in their [semester and year]? 6. How would you define the overall performance of your class this semester? 7. In your view, how was X's performance in your course unit this semester? 8. Which aspects do you think X may need to improve? 9. How does X engage with his/her classmates in your class dynamics? 10. What are your impressions about X's degree of self-esteem? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And how about his/her confidence in his/her work? 11. Are there any other aspects regarding X's performance, either general or specific, that you wish to point out?
Additional info	12. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 2 TIE and LLAT Programmes

TIE Programme

Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 3	Semester 4	Semester 5	Semester 6	Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	
English Language 1	English Language 2	English Language 3	English Language 4	English Language 5	English Language 6	General Spanish-English Translation	Specialised Spanish-English Translation		
Spanish Language 1	Spanish Language 2	Spanish Language 3	Spanish Language 4	Lexicology and Lexicography	Terminology 1	Terminology 2	Professional Ethics and Management	Graduation Workshop	
English Phonetics 1	English Phonetics 2	English-Spanish Translation 1	English-Spanish Translation 2	English-Spanish Translation for the Media	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology 1	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology 2	English-Spanish Legal and Economic Translation	Professional Internship	
Introduction to Translation and Interpreting Studies	Professional Aspects of Translation and Interpreting	Sources in Translation and Interpreting	Technologies in Translation and Interpreting	Interculturality and Linguistic Mediation	English-Spanish Multimedia Translation and Localisation	Translation Revision and Editing	Editing in English		
			Linguistics Applied to Translation	Elective 1	Elective 3	Research Methods in Translation and Interpreting	Thesis		
				Elective 2		ESP for Translation and Interpreting	Elective 4		
Christian Anthropology	Christian Morals	Fundamental Education 1		Fundamental Education 2	Fundamental Education 3				

LLAT Programme (Portuguese Pathway)

Basic cycle		Specialisation cycle				Bachelor's cycle		Professional cycle	
Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2
English Language I	English Language II	English Language III	English Language IV	English Language V	English Language VI	English Language VII	Writing Skills in English I	Writing Skills in English II	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
Portuguese Language I	Portuguese Language II	English Phonetics and Phonology I	English Phonetics and Phonology II	English-Spanish Contrastive Grammar	Introduction to English-Spanish Translation	General English-Spanish Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	English-Spanish Legal Translation	English-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
Japanese Language I	Japanese Language II	Culture in English Language	Descriptive Grammar of English	Discourse Analysis	Linguistics Applied to Translation	Introduction to Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation I	Spanish-English Translation II	Creativity and Innovation
Spanish Morphosyntax I	Spanish Morphosyntax II	Text Grammar	Semantics	Lexicology	Translation Principles and Fundaments	Terminology	Thesis	Elective II	Professional Ethics II
Linguistic Communication Theory	Linguistic Models	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish III	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish IV	Computer Basics	CAT Tools	Research Methods in Translation	Elective I	Elective III	Professional Internship
Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish I	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish II	Portuguese Language III	Portuguese Language IV	Portuguese Language V	Portuguese Language VI	Portuguese Language VII	Spanish-Portuguese Translation I	Professional Ethics I	Portuguese-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
		Portuguese Phonetics and Phonology	Oral Communication in Portuguese	Portuguese-Spanish Contrastive Grammar	Introduction to Portuguese-Spanish Translation	General Portuguese-Spanish Translation	Portuguese-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	Portuguese-Spanish Legal Translation	Portuguese-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
		Culture in Portuguese Language		Writing Skills in Portuguese I	Writing Skills in Portuguese II	Introduction to Spanish-Portuguese Translation		Spanish-Portuguese Translation II	
					Initial Internship				

LLAT Programme (Japanese Pathway)

Basic cycle		Specialisation cycle				Bachelor's cycle		Professional cycle	
Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4		Year 5	
Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2
English Language I	English Language II	English Language III	English Language IV	English Language V	English Language VI	English Language VII	Writing Skills in English I	Writing Skills in English II	English-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
Portuguese Language I	Portuguese Language II	English Phonetics and Phonology I	English Phonetics and Phonology II	English-Spanish Contrastive Grammar	Introduction to English-Spanish Translation	General English-Spanish Translation	English-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	English-Spanish Legal Translation	English-Spanish Interpreting Techniques
Japanese Language I	Japanese Language II	Culture in English Language	Descriptive Grammar of English	Discourse Analysis	Linguistics Applied to Translation	Introduction to Spanish-English Translation	Spanish-English Translation I	Spanish-English Translation II	Creativity and Innovation
Spanish Morphosyntax I	Spanish Morphosyntax II	Text Grammar	Semantics	Lexicology	Translation Principles and Fundamentals	Terminology	Thesis	Elective II	Professional Ethics II
Linguistic Communication Theory	Linguistic Models	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish III	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish IV	Computer Basics	CAT Tools	Research Methods in Translation	Elective I	Elective III	Professional Internship
Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish I	Oral and Writing Skills in Spanish II	Japanese Language III	Japanese Language IV	Japanese Language V	Japanese Language VI	Japanese Language VII	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese I	Professional Ethics I	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese III
		Japanese Culture	Descriptive Grammar of Japanese	Japanese-Spanish Contrastive Grammar	Reading Skills in Japanese I	Reading Skills in Japanese II	General Japanese-Spanish Translation	Oral and Writing Skills in Japanese II	Japanese-Spanish Translation in Science and Technology
					Initial Internship	Introduction to Japanese-Spanish Translation		Japanese-Spanish Translation in Social Sciences	Spanish-Japanese Translation