

Globalisation, Technology and Identity: a feminist study of work cultures in the localisation industry

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Irene Malcolm
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Abstract

Globalisation, Technology and Identity: a feminist study of work cultures in the localisation industry

This work is a feminist study that aims to address a gap in knowledge about the working lives and learning of those employed in electronic, globalising industries, such as localisation. While much is known generally about the under-representation of women in SET (Science, Engineering and Technology), there has been less detailed study that explores the gendering of working lives in electronic knowledge industries which are a crucial part of the technological globalising process. Taking the localisation industry as a case, the present work addresses this lack.

Localisation involves making an electronic product or website linguistically and culturally appropriate for people to use in another country/region and language. Workers in the industry adapt printed and electronic texts (and products) for distribution in overseas markets.

The study is based on interviews with 10 workers and company owners from the UK, continental Europe, Ireland and South America. A critical feminist approach supports the analysis of interview data using CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), and participant observation at a conference to reveal power relations which are seemingly hidden in the virtual sphere. Remote forms of working, mediated through the use of ICTs (Information and Communications Technologies) predominate in the industry.

The findings are presented in three areas of analysis. Firstly, in relation to workers' identities the study revealed that technology was a discursive resource used symbolically. While technology represented quality, domestication was used antithetically to indicate its lack. In the analysis this constituted a technologisation of identities. Secondly, workers' learning trajectories revealed tensions in between knowledge work and accreditation. In relation to technology per se, image creation was central to localisation and the separation of the image from work practices concealed workers' contributions. In this way the emotional labour invested in the production of the localised image was hidden. Thirdly, the study revealed ways in which global structures interacted with industry boundaries and intersected gendered cultures with implications for professional learning.

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Chapter 1 - Globalisation, Technology, Identity: a feminist study of work cultures in the localisation industry

1.1 Defining the problem

Much writing about globalisation addresses broad economic or cultural movements. The significance of the present work and its contribution to knowledge lie in its investigation of how globalisation affects everyday working lives. Adopting a feminist perspective and a critical view of globalisation as a discourse about capitalism, I study work in the software localisation industry. In the software industry, generally, globalisation is a business strategy that encompasses issues associated with selling a product in the global market. These include, for example, world-wide marketing, sales and customer support as well as product localisation. Localisation research, to date, has concentrated primarily on technologies and business development¹ and there has been no social science research that looks critically at the socio-cultural and gender implications of work in this industry. The present work shows that a more detailed understanding of new economy work and learning can be produced through studying the cultures of embedded actors. While localisation has a low public profile, it has far-reaching implications for the way power is used in globalisation and I found that aspects of the professional practices were hidden. The study adds to educational understandings of work cultures through the investigation of three central concepts - **individual identity**, **technology** and **globalisation**.

¹ <http://www.localisation.ie/resources/Awards/Theses/Theses.htm> (accessed 5.12.08).

1.1.1 Summary of findings

The analysis of these three central concepts underpins the findings contained in Chapters 4 - 6. My feminist perspective developed at the stage of pilot analysis, as I saw that gender worked on an ideological level where certain institutions, actors and practices that were associated with masculinity appeared to be valorised over others associated with women (Marchand & Runyan, 2000). While the study highlights similarities as well as differences in the way women and men are positioned, it also points to the differential impact of globalisation on women and men and to differences in their work and learning in localisation. Globalisation is understood as social and cultural, as having implications for professional development and learning and not just as an inexorable and purely materialist process.

The main findings that emerged from the data analysis can be summarised as follows:

Summary of Findings
Chapter 4 – Identity
While technology was used as a discursive resource to represent quality by all research participants, domestication was used antithetically in male discourses. Homeworkers in the sample used their agency and women drew on emotion work to resist the technologisation of their identities.
Chapter 5 – Technology
Production in the industry relied on image creation and the separation of the image from work practices. This concealed the work done to produce the image. The role of technology was emphasised, while the identities of some workers were technologised. In this way the emotional labour invested by language professionals in the production of the image was hidden.
Chapter 6 – Globalisation
Global structures interacted with industry boundaries and these intersected gendered cultures in ways that sometimes positioned women in lower value roles. Meanwhile, forms of professional identity diverged, as work cultures were dominated by technical quality. This had implications for the professional learning of knowledge workers.

Table 1.1: Summary of findings

1.2 The study

The study is based on interviews with 10 workers and company owners from the UK, continental Europe, Ireland and South America. The methodology draws on feminist writing to support a theorisation of power in the lives of those portrayed. Feminists have “reconstructed our understanding of the role of the self in the research process” (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle, 2000:16) and in Chapter 3, I will discuss in detail issues of researcher voice, subjectivity, validity and reflexivity. My feminist researcher stance circumscribes the nature of the claims that I make and developing a feminist voice has been a significant aspect of the learning process attached to this work: in the modulation of this voice I have kept sight of the fact that the research is about the working lives of

localisers. Although my voice is integral to the findings, I have quoted extensively from the interviewees as part of a feminist reflexivity that has regard for my debt to those who took part in the study. As I will explain (see 3.1.1 below) the feminist approach was not part of the original design, but emerged as the data analysis developed.

In the remainder of this chapter I will, firstly, discuss how I use education terms. Secondly, I will define localisation and describe the detailed aims of the study. Lastly, I will present an illustration of localisation to highlight its implications for power and ideology.

1.2.1 Localisers, learning and education

The educational implications of the present study relate to the nature of the cultures within which localisers were positioned and which interacted with their identities and learning. Education often refers to formal and organised learning that has a stated aim, shared by educators and participants. Education focuses on an interplay among the external influences that seek to bring about learning: learning, on the other hand, emphasises what is happening around the learner, in their work and interactions. A study of the education of localisers would be one which investigated, for example, the formal qualifications available to them and the content of educational curricula. While the education of localisers is

discussed in Chapter 6, it is learning rather than education that is the focus of the present work.

The centrality of one concept (learning) over the other (education) arises from the conditions of late capitalism where learning is seen to be dispersed in globalisation across a range of informal and formal contexts of work: identity formation and change are closely allied to learning. A tendency to shape workers' identities and, by implication, their learning is seen as a chief characteristic of workplaces in the new economy (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). In studying new workplaces the use of the term learning indicates a broader, more diffuse concept than education, encompassing situations beyond formal learning. However, education is the term used to refer to the discipline and those who work within it are educationalists. Although, the present study draws on a multidisciplinary approach to research literature (see discussion in Chapter 2), it is located within the discipline of education and it is to this discipline which it seeks to add. Thus, although my aim is to investigate the learning (rather than education) of localisers through their identities, this has implications for education which I will discuss in Chapter 7.2.

I shall now clarify how the education concepts used in the present study relate to dominant discourses in education literature. Throughout the text that follows, I refer to the learning of research participants. The concept of learning used in the present study has synergies with Billett's and Somerville's view that, "the

process of thinking, acting, and learning at work are one and the same and coincident” (2004: 310). The term “workplace learning” is used in much of the literature that is referred to in Chapter 2, and “learning for” or “in” work are also used. These may refer to formal learning, but also to tacit learning as part of the activity of work (Eraut, Alderton, Cole and Senker, 2002). The terms “work-related” and “work-based” learning also occur in discourses about learning in globalisation (Edwards and Usher, 2008). In business education, “professional learning” and “professional development” have currency. All of these descriptions are linked to the notion of lifelong learning which features in discourses about education policies that are needed to address globalisation and the conditions of fast capitalism (see Brine, 2006). Initial qualifications are seen to be insufficient and on-going learning is required to meet the fast-changing demands on workers. In such circumstances knowledge itself appears to be unstable and contestable, unable to be pinned down and formalised in education.

Although workplace learning features most in the literature in this genre, it is not used here because a number of the workers do not have a workplace. Instead I use the term “professional learning”. The use of the word “professional” reflects the ways that those involved in the research talked about themselves. Professional learning fits with my use of “professional homemaker” which indicates the paradox of workers with high levels of skills and knowledge contributing to the low cost aspect of the knowledge economy.

The findings of the study have implications for education, and educationalists who are interested in the types of learning that are taking place or could take place in the new economy.

1.2.2 Localisation defined

Within the industry, localisation is defined as taking an ICT product and “making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region) and language where it will be used and sold” (Esselink, 2000: 3). In practice, this may mean, for example, adapting a DVD or a website, electronic game or software product that is produced in US English for sale in China or France. The electronic content (e-content) present in such digital products consists in the language texts and software architecture that are a knowledge resource in the new economy. Through a process of localisation, this resource can be adapted to be marketed in different parts of the world. The distribution of e-content to new markets as part of globalisation allows the creator of the original product to obtain money back for the development (leverage) and to increase the financial return through the adaptation of the original product for other locales.

Software localisation is a multimillion dollar industry² that deals with products familiar to many households in western countries, yet whose detailed processes

² <http://www.lisa.org/> (last accessed 5.12.08)

seem to be hidden from view. Localisation developed in the 1980s in desktop publishing, with the production of software packages and educational products for example, that were required to operate in a range of languages and cultures as they began to be marketed globally. Localisation is inextricably linked to developments in globalisation over the last thirty years. However, since 90% of content is localised from US English into other languages (Schäler and Hall, 2005) the process may be less obvious to Anglophones than to speakers of other languages. Most citizens in rich countries are aware of globalisation, yet very few know about the integral role played by software localisation. The paradox of localisation is that the better its execution, the more invisible its processes are.

There are two principal and distinct aspects of the localisation work process: carrying out linguistic and cultural adaptations to the texts in electronic products for overseas markets and re-engineering the products to function in those markets. Localisation entails:

- language translation
- (sometimes) cultural adaptation
- varying amounts of software engineering.

Human language translation is a process of rendering a text in another language. Translation, as an activity that is part of information exchange and

cultural transmission, has been traced to beginnings in the 6th century BC between India and Mediterranean countries³.

Cultural adaptation as part of localisation can be at a basic level that is relatively well understood across the industry and by some outwith it. For example, adaptations may be needed to the use of colour, symbols, sounds, historical references, product names and acronyms. Red as the colour of prosperity is used on the Indian website of one of the country's largest banks⁴, but in other cultures red may have different connotations, such as anger or passion. At another level, there are more complex and less well understood aspects of cultural adaptation that can only be carried out by specialists with considerable experience of the culture of the target market. Such aspects of localisation relate mainly to value systems.

The form localisation takes and the nature of the software engineering required will depend on the product, its target market and the globalisation policy of an organisation. We can conceive of web localisation in levels that relate to the depth of a website. For example, at a shallow level, the front page may be localised, but other pages may not be. This may mean that some services offered through such a website will only be available in English. In the next chapter I will discuss globalisation more broadly but, as I indicated above, the

³ See the British Council's summary of translation history:
<http://www.literarytranslation.com/art/history/> (last accessed: 5. 12.08).

⁴ <http://www.icicibank.co.uk/> (last accessed 5.12.08)

definition used within the software industry is specific in relating to business strategies for selling an electronic product in a global market.

1.2.3 The localisation supply chain

An overview of the supply chain is integral to the definition of localisation used in this study. In the data that follow, localisers and translators frequently referred to the supply chain in the industry and, as I will describe in Chapter 6, the supply chain was also crucial in the movement of power within the industry and among groups of workers.

Figure 1.1 (below) illustrates how the localisation supply chain works. The customer (usually, but not exclusively, a large organisation) requests the adaptation of a product for other markets in other languages, possibly culturally adapted and in other formats. The localiser negotiates the details of the project with the customer, agrees terms of reference and a price and then manages the project by outsourcing the translation and sometimes the software adaptation (depending on capacity and the size of the project) to a third party.

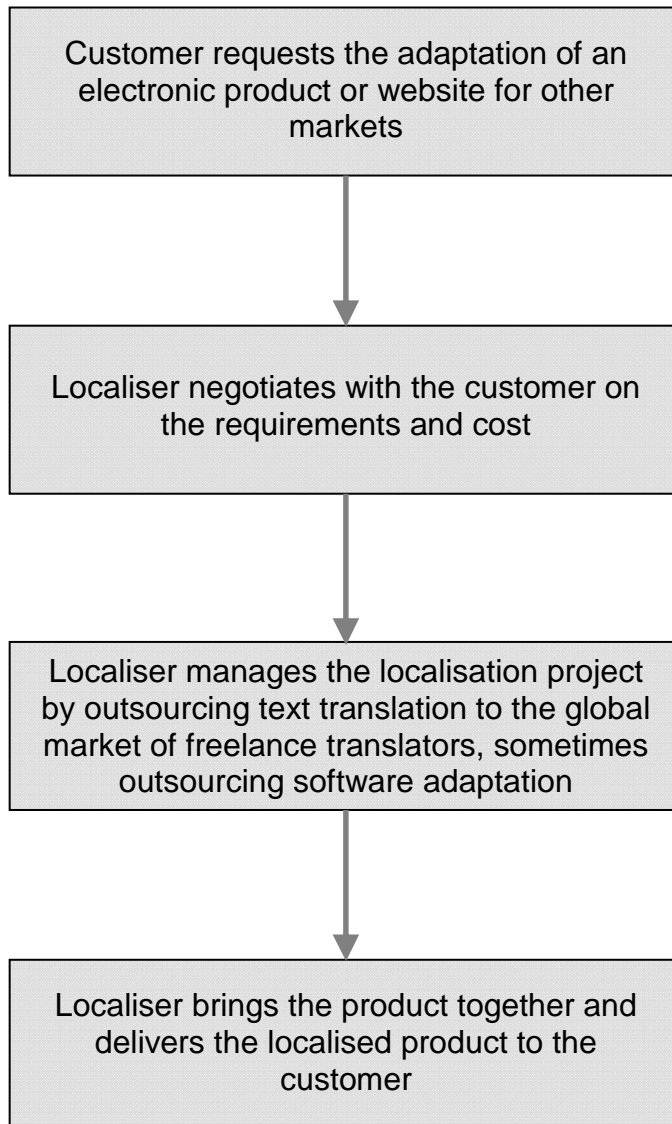


Figure 1.1 : Localisation supply chain

1.3 The development of a feminist perspective and aims of the study

My interest in localisation developed in the two years leading up to 2003 when I began the doctoral study. As a linguist with a vocational background in international business, my starting-point was the role of languages and culture in new work contexts. Studying the cultures of localisation workers has meant finding out not just what they did in an empirical sense, but understanding what

value they attached to aspects of their practice and what explanations they offered for this. There were three objectives and five research questions in the original research proposal which have driven the study throughout:

Research Objectives & Research Questions	
Research objective 1	To analyse how localisers portrayed themselves as global workers How did localisers' discourses situate them as global workers, reflecting membership and boundary drawing? (RQ1) How did localisers' discourses reflect attempts to make sense of their role in globalisation? (RQ2)
Research objective 2	To analyse what localisers said about how they worked What did localisers say about the medium and content of their work?(RQ3) How did localisers position themselves in relation to particular forms of expression, such as narrative, keywords and technology? (RQ4)
Research objective 3	To analyse what localisers said about the wider world and how it affected their work How did localisers make sense of the environmental influences that impinged on their work? (RQ5)

Table 1.2: Research objectives and research questions

These questions are interwoven in the discussions of the findings in the chapters that follow. However, two aspects of the study require particular mention – the feminist perspective and the data that informed the third research objective. As I will explain in Chapter 3, the feminist dimension developed during the process of the data analysis and was not explicit in the original objectives. The feminist perspective added a particular framing to the research questions. For example, in the analysis I sought to identify, not just how workers portrayed themselves, but how the gendering of work interacted with these portrayals. I also wished to find out how the implications of gendered working

practices interacted with power in the industry. I will describe in detail in 3.1.1 how feminism informed the methodology and became the perspective through which the research questions were viewed.

Research objective three was explored in a conference study as well as in qualitative interviews. Some of the issues raised by the conference study, for example, gender and digital inclusion in the intersection of globalisation and world development were too broad to be encompassed in the present text. However, Chapters 4 to 6 contain frequent references to insights gained from the conference data. These sometimes reinforced the findings from analyses of the interviews, and on other occasions troubled them. In this way the conference study contextualised and deepened the analyses. Appendix 9⁵ contains a range of material from this part of the data gathering.

1.3.1 Interviewees

I studied work in two distinct and related occupational groups whose tasks were complementary and sometimes overlapping: localisers in agencies and home offices and outsourced translator homeworkers (see 2.3.1 for a discussion of the differences between these work formats). Both groups of workers contributed to localisation and the process could not be completed without both. In the work of the two groups, translators translated human language texts,

⁵ The appendices are ordered chronologically to reflect the way the study developed. Thus, the content moves from sketches of the interviewees in Appendix 1, through the pilot analysis in Appendix 6, to the conference study data in Appendix 9 and an image of globalisation in Appendix 10.

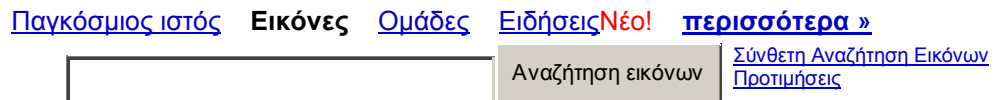
while localisers mostly dealt with the text once language translation had been completed. Although translators have not been accorded the status of a doctor or a lawyer, as I will discuss in Chapter 6, the professional development of the translator has many hallmarks associated with such longstanding professions. While there is a clear distinction between localisation and translation - the former relatively new and technological, the latter ancient and involving a processing of human language - the distinction is often blurred because of the proximity of the two activities and the complexity around their boundaries. This interconnectedness may explain why, in the localisation and software industries, “localisation” is used to encompass both text translation and software engineering. The present text reflects my engagement with the industry from a broad perspective and I sometimes use “localiser” in a generic way to include all those who deal with the work process. One of the translators, Suzanne, had business cards that referred to her as a “localiser”. The work of the two groups is complementary and interdependent in the process of producing global electronic texts and products. To add depth to the study of their work I sometimes distinguish between the workers when discussing their positioning in the industry, in analysing the differences among their specific practices, their uses of power and in discussing their learning and professionalism.

1.4 Illustration of localisation: power and gender

I will now illustrate the link between localisation and power and its significance as a cultural process. As part of a globalisation policy, localisation contributes to the ideological context within which identities are formed. The following

illustrations are intended to assist the reader in gaining an insight into what localisation entails.

Figure 1.2 is the Greek version of the familiar Google front page. This site is translated into the Greek language and the software has been localised with Greek lettering. No cultural changes have been undertaken, so the site has a similar appearance to the UK version of Google.



Η πιο ολοκληρωμένη αναζήτηση εικόνων στον παγκόσμιο ιστό.

[Προγράμματα Διαφήμισης – Σχετικά με τη Google](#)

©2007 Google

Figure 1.2: Greek version of Google search engine webpage, with a similar appearance to the UK version

The images that follow in Figures 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 (below) were all taken on the same day from websites of one company, Microsoft, which promotes its products to people across the world. All of the screen shots show the use of localisation reflected in linguistic and cultural variations between the websites. Figures 1.3 and 1.4 show the two Microsoft websites for Hong Kong – in Chinese and in English – with the content and layout of the sites remaining the same. The translation points to the importance of appealing to customers in their language of preference. The commercial rationale for Chinese (Cantonese) localisation links directly to the geopolitics of the region and to the increased significance of Chinese languages and cultures since the end of British colonial rule. At the same time, the continued existence of an English-language version of the site for Hong Kong indicates the influence of the colonial past and the domination of Anglophone cultures in globalisation.



France 08
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帶來不斷進步的業務表現

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<http://www.microsoft.com/hk/chinese/> (accessed 2.12.07)

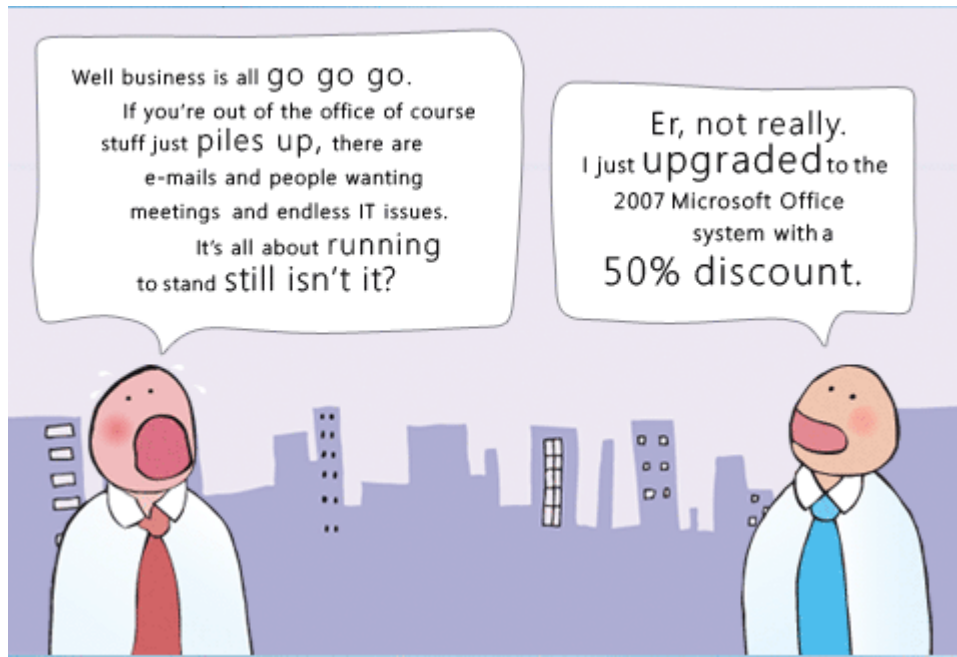
Figure 1.3: Chinese version of Microsoft website, localised in Cantonese for the Hong Kong market



<http://www.microsoft.com/hk/> (accessed 2.12.07)

Figure 1.4: Chinese version of Microsoft website, localised in English for the Hong Kong market

The screen shot in Figure 1.5 was taken from the version of the Microsoft site constructed for the UK market and, when read together with Figures 1.3 and 1.4, the differences illustrate localisation in operation – the business, linguistic and cultural content are completely different .



<http://www.microsoft.com/en/gb/default.aspx> (accessed 2.12.07)

Figure 1.5: English version of the Microsoft website, localised in English for the UK market

A comparative analysis of the contents of these sites illustrates how localisation works through the process of linguistic, cultural and software (re)-engineering. Such analysis also highlights localisation's role in spreading not only cultural messages but, arguably, cultural hegemonies. I will now explore the cultural messages conveyed through these localised sites, looking first at the Chinese sites and then the UK.

The way commercial messages are conveyed relates to marketing evaluations and perceptions of the cultures of each country as part of a globalisation strategy. The content of the Hong Kong sites in Figures 1.3 and 1.4 reflects the need for citizens to compete by encouraging young entrepreneurs to enter a technology competition organised by Microsoft. The finalists “will advance to the Microsoft Imagine Cup Worldwide Finals in Paris, France!” This appears to be a campaign that not only promotes the use of Microsoft products, but will also further the company’s technological innovation by drawing on talent from Hong Kong. The lettering used for the word “France” is very similar to that used in the staging of the football World Cup in France (1998) and also the cycling competition (Tour de France – see Figure 6 below). The metaphor used on the Chinese site is that of western-dominated sporting events, which present the Chinese user with a goal where he can compete in a western, “global” context. This seems designed to appeal to young males who are exclusively the competitors in these sporting events.



Figure 1.6: Advert for the Tour de France, illustrating the use of similar lettering for sporting events held in France (Google.fr/images, accessed 2.12. 07)

Moving now to Figure 1.5, the Microsoft UK site, and comparing it with Figures 1.3 and 1.4 reveals how this site has been localised for the UK market. In the UK, individual business people often have budgetary control as part of their management remit and the UK is also the country where managers tend to work the longest hours in Europe. The characters featured on the UK localised version of the site are marked as male customers to whom the site is appealing. The messages conveyed in all three sites reflect male domination of the IT industry. While only men compete in the football World Cup⁶, the tie-wearing figures on the UK site stress the domination of men in decision-making roles in business and IT (Faulkner, 2004). Localisation plays a powerful, yet seemingly unnoticed, role in the dissemination of cultural values and the replication of forms of hegemony and male domination.

I will discuss the hidden character of localisation in some detail in Chapter 5 but it is useful to highlight here that the powerful role played by localisation in forms of cultural dissemination is not confined to websites: it encompasses electronic products and DVDs that are altered for different languages and cultures. The word processing product that I am using to write this text exists in many other localised versions. Using the UK localised package, it is possible to write “en français” or “ähnlich auch auf deutsch”: I’ve expressed this using two other languages, accessing the appropriate lettering. However, a completely localised version of Word, together with a French or German keyboard would arguably make extended writing in either of those languages much easier. To produce a

⁶ There is a women’s football World Cup and indeed the English team reached the world finals in 2007. However, this failed to attract much media attention.

whole text, for example, in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew or Russian, I would need to have an Arabic, Greek, Hebrew or Russian version of Word. Since Arabic and Hebrew are written from right to left, the engineering needed to localise Word and other electronic products from US English into these languages is considerable. There are ideological implications of the production of e-content and tools in one version by a powerful region and cultural group (US) for other (less powerful) locales. There are cultural, linguistic, commercial and ethical implications of the spread of such electronic products and of market capture in poorer regions. These issues emerged strongly in the conference study and the consideration of hegemonic power informs my analysis in the chapters that follow.

1.5 Conclusion

This description of localisation indicates the nature of my understanding of the phenomenon. In the next chapter, I will present a review of literature along the axes of the following concepts.

- identity
- technology
- structures of globalisation, including professional learning.

In Chapter 3 I will describe the methodological underpinning of my approach to the research; I will also describe the method used to analyse the data. In Chapters 4 – 6 I will present analyses and findings. Chapter 4 presents the findings in relation to work in private spaces; Chapter 5 discusses the interface

between localisers' work and technology, and Chapter 6 deals with the impact of globalisation and outsourcing on shared learning identities and professionalism. I locate the analysis in the findings chapters at sites of workers' activity – Chapter 4 is in the home; Chapter 5 is with technology, and Chapter 6 is in globalisation. In Chapter 7 I will elaborate the conclusions to which the study has led.

Chapter 2 - Globalisation, technology and identity: a feminist reading of literature across fault lines

2.1 Introduction and rationale for design of literature review

In the present chapter, I will review literature in relation to the organising concepts that underpin the findings in Chapters 4-6. The organising concepts in the present chapter are drawn from the aim of the study (see Table 1. 2). Table 2.1 indicates the relation between research objectives and concepts :

Research Objectives	Concepts derived from analysis	Organising concepts in chapters
To analyse how localisers portrayed themselves as global (home) workers	Individual identity	Identity - Chapter 4
To analyse what localisers said about how they worked	Technological identity	Technology - Chapter 5
To analyse what localisers said about the wider world and how it affected their work.	Shared professional identity, linked to industry structures	Globalisation and professional learning Chapter 6

Table 2.1: Study aims, analytical concepts and concepts in subsequent chapters

In the next chapter I will describe the process that led from the aims in the first column on the left of this table through pilot analysis to the analytical motifs (see Table 3.7) and then to the research findings. In that chapter, I will also discuss literature on research methods to illuminate the research approach that underpins the study.

As the research evolved, **Globalisation**, **Technology** and **Identity**, became pivotal to my findings. Since it would be impossible to review comprehensively all of the literature that these concepts imply, the discussion of the literature is selective, based on pivotal works whose titles are emboldened in the text of this chapter.

I will now outline the rationale for the selection in the literature review. Addressing the research questions required me to develop an understanding of:

- workers' identities
- working practices in relation to technology
- new work forms and learning.

While the thesis is a study of learning through work, I found that to understand the identities and learning of localisers it was necessary to draw on literature from a range of areas in a multidisciplinary approach. In completing the literature review in 2008, I drew on previous chapter drafts and notes that I had taken. I reviewed everything I had read and identified gaps to be filled. Through sorting and reviewing, it was possible to identify the works that had most influenced my thinking and which bore most immediate relevance to the analysis. Specifically, I asked how much light a work shed on the key concepts and how useful it was for developing a feminist perspective on these concepts. These were the central criteria in the selection of pivotal texts for review. Some

literature with which I engaged is not referenced in the present chapter. However, this reading could not be said to be discarded, rather it contributed to a learning process as I formulated my analysis of the field I was studying and developed my academic identity.

2.1.1 Rationale and discussion of literature on workplace learning

The rationale for the inclusion of some works and the exclusion of others can be illustrated through a discussion of literature on workplace learning. I engaged with a range of authors as part of an orientation among theories in this area. My reading of this literature was part of a developing intellectual biography that involved work as a Research Fellow on an ESRC project with a particular focus on workplace learning. I sought an orientation in this literature that was relevant to localisers as part of my own studies. From Lave and Wenger (1991) I drew an important insight that underpins the present work, namely, that “learning is an integral and inseparable aspect of social practice” (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 31). Despite finding the theories of these authors useful, I was critical of the way the individual appeared to be subsumed within the social, while dimensions of learning and work that were related to power and control seemed neglected. Jocey Quinn’s insight (2005) that there are people who have never been members of communities of practice could apply to homeworkers such as those that are the subject of the present study and who have a low profile in the literature on work and learning. Furthermore, Lave’s and Wenger’s emphasis on participation did not seem to sit easily with the learning of remote workers in a virtual environment

Hager's (2005) account and critique of current theories of work and learning was influential, as was Hodkinson's work that draws on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, capital and field as a way to balance concerns with structure and agency (Hodkinson et al, 2004). However, none of these theoreticians, specifically foregrounds gender. While I found the writing of Billett (2006, 2005, 2004) useful in orientating the interactions between the individual and the social in workplace learning, an article published with Margarita Pavlova (2005) epitomised the problems that arise for feminist projects engaging with workplace learning theory. Billett and Pavlova examine individual motivations to learning through working lives and trace transitions and continuities in the lives of five individuals. The authors accept the entwining of the individual and social, while focussing primarily on the research subjects' sense of self. They argue in favour of a relational basis to support a conceptualisation of learning throughout working life and the role of the self in this process. This relational emphasis and the complexifying of individual agency and social influences as contributing to learning and identity has some synergy with the focus of the present work (see the discussion of agency in 2.5.3 below). However, of the five research participants only one was a woman and the authors do not mention the gendering of work in their analysis. By configuring the only woman interviewee as "attempting" to establish her working identity, they imply that caring is not work and adopt a conceptualisation of work that excludes the productive labour that women often perform. While acknowledging the significance of agency (see also Billett et al, 2006: 6) the structures within individual identity, such as gender, are not given sufficient attention in this analysis.

A further theorisation of work and learning that I explored was ANT (Actor Network Theory). In some ways, this approach to understanding workplaces and configuring the way that learning happens appears to have a good deal to offer a study of localisers' work cultures. For example, in moving from psychological and individualised understandings of learning to social and sociotechnical perspectives, it describes how networks are constituted by workplace actors themselves in changing and fluid contexts across time and space which are compressed and disjunctive. Its focus on technology takes account of non-human and human "actants", positing symmetry between them. The globalised world is configured as "intersecting and networked flows" where there is "cultural change about who is a learner and what is learning" (Edwards and Usher, 2008: 89). Networks are unstable and can be remoulded, taking account of the dynamic nature of work practices (Edwards and Nicoll, 2004). ANT influenced my thinking, for example, in understanding the importance of analyses at a micro-level for an appreciation of the operation of power. I have built on the idea that power can be understood through the study of actors by examining workers' cultures through their discourses. However, there were problems in drawing on a theory that appeared to be primarily descriptive in what was intended to be a critical feminist study. It is at the macro level of the analysis of power operation that the differences in the approach I have favoured can be most clearly distinguished from ANT. I examined the macro level operation of localisation through the conference study which built on my attendance at other events that preceded this. I have tried to make the connection between lived experience and the grand narrative of globalisation, to bring the latter to a human scale. In the process, I have found that there is a

concentration of particular forms of power at certain sites (Bray, 2007). In this way globalisation is no longer “spectral” (Edwards and Usher, 2008: 79) but something that can be subject to critique. Like theories of communities of practice, ANT implies a concentration on actions and activities, but work and learning in globalisation are also about imagining and envisioning (see Quinn 2005; Massey, 2005). Although my engagement with ideas of ANT has influenced my thinking I have not drawn on this literature in the review.

A range of literature on workplace learning which is not specifically included as part of the present study has been part of my general intellectual framework that enabled me to pinpoint the more immediate relevance of other literature such as that of Fenwick and Faulkner (see below). What makes Fenwick’s work pivotal to the present study is her adoption of a critical and feminist perspective on workplace learning. This is evidenced in her discussion of five themes in research on learning and work (2001). Here she highlights literature that positions itself critically in relation to colour (Kincheloe) and gender (von Kotze), underlining the fact that “learning theory often denies basic power inequalities in workers’ division of labor” (13).

The discussion in the literature review moves from globalisation in section 2.2 of this chapter to an examination of literature on women’s work as “knowledge professionals” in section 2.3. In section 2.4, I explore technological influences on identity and in the final section, 2.5, I draw on literature to examine individual

identity and agency. This ordering of the review reflects the discussion of findings in Chapters 4 to 6, but in reverse order. The literature review deals with the relevance of the field of study in a broad context: the data findings, on the other hand, focus firstly on the lives of the interviewees. This flow of the narrative is represented below in Figure 2.1:

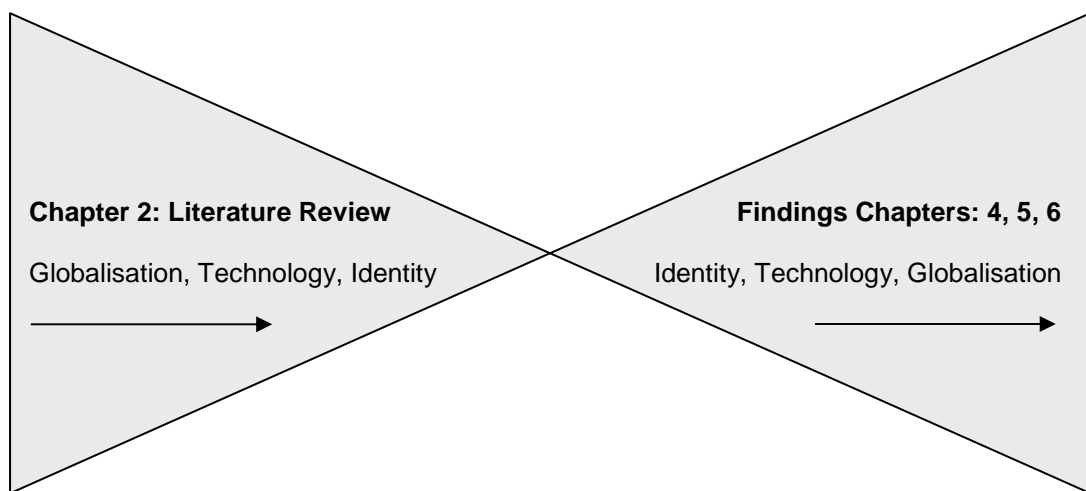


Figure 2.1: Structure of the thesis

In relating my work to the writing of others, I identify gaps in the existing literature and indicate synergies across the fault lines of different disciplines of anthropology, IPE (International Politics and Economics), geography and sociology. More specifically I position learning and identity as central to considerations of work and globalisation. The gendering of global outsourcing and forms of professional homeworking in highly technological areas appears to be neglected in the current literature on work and the new economy and this is a gap that the present study seeks to address.

From a feminist perspective “place is central to many of the circuits through which economic globalisation is constituted” (Sassen, 2002: 161; see also Nagar et al, 2002), yet a seeming neutralisation of place arises through the use of technology and global communications. In the localiser data, neutralisation was part of a concealment of women’s work. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, place is part of an ideological field where the effect of localisation in global marketing is far from value neutral. In the discussions of place that follow I mostly use the term globalisation, but in section 2.2.1 the term “global restructuring” is mentioned as it is preferred by some feminists who wish to indicate a critical view of the phenomenon (Marchand and Runyan, 2000).

2.2 Globalisation as a context of localisation work and learning

The context of localisers’ work is one of accelerated global restructuring that has affected societies particularly in the past three decades. In this section I review selected, feminist literature relevant to globalisation to support a critical analysis of localisers’ work cultures. I critique some views of globalisation and highlight the contributions of feminist analysts that are relevant to the arguments I pursue.

It is an ambitious task to write about globalisation as the context for the working lives of the localisers I studied. The problem of defining globalisation in the working lives of those in this industry is rendered all the more daunting because literature that seeks to describe what globalisation means (Giddens, 2000) deals with large-scale factors such as movements of capital and questions that

appear distant from the discourses of the interviewees. Education literature has tended to deal less with conceptualisations of globalisation, but with its effects on learning in particular policy contexts (Brine, 2006; Edwards and Usher, 2008; Jarvis, 2006). While I have already oriented the present study in relation to literature on workplace learning in the rationale for the selection of pivotal texts, I will draw in further depth on the work of Fenwick in section 2.3, to highlight the relevance of the present work for understanding identities and learning. In the following section, I will draw on literature that conceptualises globalisation in ways that are relevant for women's work. In doing so, it was sometimes necessary to search through and beyond the dominant discourses to find literature that was relevant to a feminist study. Straying beyond education may be perceived as an epistemic weakness. However, it was necessary to work across disciplinary boundaries to set the localisers' work in a feminist context and, by crossing borders, I hope to introduce new perspectives to education, work and identity.

In most writing on globalisation, woman is the subaltern. Her experience is that of the other whose work is excluded, concealed from the dominant discourses. At the same time, there is ample evidence that her work in the localisation industry and in other global industries (Moshenberg, 2002) has been a crucial part of globalisation. Structures of globalisation are embedded in working lives and reflected in forms of professional identity and learning. I seek to de-colonise globalisation by focussing on corporeal agency and investigating the macro-

structural aspects as well as the “micro-subjective impact” (Chang and Ling, 2000: 33).

2.2.1 Globalisation and global restructuring

A review of feminist literature on globalisation reveals its strong international character, and the significance of development studies (see Sen, 1992; Nussbaum and Glover, 1995; Unterhalter and Dutt, 2001) and IPE (Peterson, 1992, cited in Marchand and Runyan, 2000). Such studies research women’s roles, and the challenges women face, by exploring theories of human capability and ethical questions related to social development and human rights. However, they have less to say about theorisations of globalisation and women’s work in the new economy. To address this problem, I will explore two texts that analyse and conceptualise globalisation through ordinary lives. Underpinning these, I will also discuss the contribution made by the work of Doreen Massey to understandings of locality, power and gender.

The first of the key texts which structure this review of literature is **Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, sites and resistances** (Marchand and Runyan, 2000), a seminal work in the area of gender and globalisation that explores women’s roles against economic and political factors. This edited collection was the first work to critique conventional writing on globalisation from a feminist standpoint and to examine globalisation processes in relation to the ordinary lives of women in a range of different countries and work contexts.

Marchand and Runyan use the term global restructuring rather than globalisation to reflect their aim of analysing “multidimensional, multispeed, and disjuncted processes” of globalisation and “how the market, state, and civil society are embedded in and (re)constructed through these processes” (ibid: 7). They emphasise the need for critical approaches that can address the lack of a gender analysis and they take as a central problem the mechanisms through which women are marginalized and their productive and reproductive labour exploited. Globalisation produces new gender biases at the same time as it reifies existing ones; women’s work is hidden in gendered and technologised practices. The authors see the conventional representation of globalisation as narrowly economic. Their work adds depth to the concept of globalisation in a way that is relevant to the present study, asking specifically which men and which women are affected by globalisation and in what places this happens.

Marchand and Runyan critique writings on globalisation that concentrate on TNCs (Trans National Corporations) and financial institutions, positing these as significant actors in the process. Cultural literature on globalisation (Featherstone, 1990; Waters, 1995) presents it as non-specific to particular sites of human activity and also as gender-blind. In contrast, Marchand and Runyan identify hierarchical dualisms in globalisation, allowing certain, masculine attributes to be valorised over other, female ones.

2.2.2 Neglected sites of globalisation

The second pivotal work on globalisation that influenced my writing is by geographers and feminists, Nagar et al (2002) **Locating Globalization: Feminist (Re)readings of the Subjects and Spaces of Globalization**. These authors identify Marchand and Runyan as the only explicitly “feminist treatment of gender and globalization” that moves beyond narrowly economic analyses and takes gender as a focal point for the study of power relations (Nagar et al, *ibid*: 298).

Nagar et al’s comprehensive critique integrates economic globalisation and feminist understandings of global processes, arguing that globalisation is not inevitable, but that it is a “contingent and constructed discourse about capitalism” (263). The relevance of Nagar et al’s work to the present study consists in the emphasis placed on actors who are concealed in globalisation at informal sites where they contribute to the global economy. Nagar and her colleagues criticise the neglect of particular spheres of globalisation, reflected in “households and communities; in daily practices of caring, consumption, and religion...”(260). The authors shed light on a context of work in informal spheres such as homeworking that “underwrite and actively constitute the public spheres of globalization” (260). The authors point to the fact that informal “economies of production” subsidize global capitalism through “cheapening production in homework” (261). Nagar et al argue for a need to analyse the interdependence between “formal and informal circuits of globalization” in order to reveal how

globalisation depends on “gendered processes of marginalization” (262) but also on the resistances to these. Despite the centrality of gender to homeworking in the operation of globalisation, feminist analyses have been neglected and the link between global restructuring and “culturally specific productions of gender difference” (261) have been ignored.

Nagar et al’s argument that research should engage with neglected sites in globalisation resonates with other feminist studies of women’s lives (Nussbaum and Glover, 1995; Unterhalter and Dutt, 2001). Discourses that configure globalisation only at an institutional level exclude certain actors and produce a one-dimensional account that can conceal the “multiple oppressions that differentiate subjects in relation to production, politics, and daily life” (Nagar et al, 2002: 269). The sites of globalisation are inhabited by “embodied and socially embedded actors” (ibid: 267) who are agentic and able to engage in strategies of resistance and reformulation.

Thus far, I have reviewed literature that emphasises the relevance of feminism to globalisation. To conclude this section I shall now turn to the work of Doreen Massey whose insights in the area of gender and space underpin, in a more general way, the work I have selected as pivotal to the review.

While her work influenced my thinking on the intersection of economic space, social relations and power, her treatment is less specific in its focus on women’s

work and globalising processes. As a geographer Massey sees the discipline as being about, "...power relations, of dominance and subordination, of enablement and influence, and of symbols and signification." (1995: 3) Her emphasis on the relational nature of the use of space in the economy is relevant to the interests of the present study, as her work also links the global and the local, and the general and the particular. Her work, "Spatial Divisions of Labour" was first published in 1984, with a later edition appearing in 1995. It examines industrial geography and social and economic disparity in the UK, and looks at major transformations in industrial geography in UK regions as a case for understanding such changes in first world countries. While the first edition was written along economic, Marxist lines, the movement between this and the second edition is interesting since the latter embraces unevenness and difference in the development of spaces and work, while it acknowledges the contingency and variation in work and economic development. In the later edition, Massey points out that the divisions of labour and how these relate to gender are not "natural" (342), but socially constructed and she points out that positions adopted in the divisions of labour are not inherent in the nature of labour or of production process per se. While the construction of gendered divisions of work are seen to rely on their prevalence in society at large, Massey acknowledges in the later edition that paid work and the interpretation put on it "participate in the formation of particular gender categories/characteristics", noting that capital and patriarchy "mutually inflect each other" (1995:345). This interaction of relations is conceptualised through the notion of "articulation" which takes place among class, gender, social relations, economics and space. It is also through articulation that the local and global are linked.

In a later work, "Space, Place and Gender" (1994) Massey develops the notion of space as constituted in social relations, and while social class continues to be a focus, gender is highly significant in the construction of "imaginative geographies" and "uneven development" (2). Since social relations are imbued with power, meaning and symbolism, the spatial is seen as "an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification" (3). While spatiality is directly linked to power, it is constructed from a range of social relations across scales, from global finance to national politics, work and household. Massey resists any tendency to fix meanings to particular places or to conceptualise boundaries as fixed. She is careful to avoid portrayals of individual identities as uni-dimensional and static; in particular the link between local and global is disrupted. While suggestions of a connection between woman and the local are seen as socially and culturally specific, Massey suggests also that such symbolisms persist, configuring women in relation to local/place/locality as part of "dualisms, in which a key term is the dualism between masculine and feminine, and in which, on these readings, the local/place/feminine side of the dichotomy is deprioritized and denigrated" (10). Massey goes on to critique the concept of home as a space bound up with particular notions of woman, comfort, nostalgia, emotional solace and sexism. She points to the difficulty in distinctions between local and global on the basis that such distinctions become complex as one becomes part of the other.

Significantly for the present study Massey gives an account of research of high-technology work in the Cambridge area and the social relations connected to

such new economy developments which are referred to here as “the Cambridge phenomenon” (1994:190). This research revealed complexities for the interplay of patriarchy and economic development, with new and diverse forms of masculinity and femininity emerging. Like the localisation workers in the present study, Massey’s research participants worked long hours and the boundaries between work and other areas of life became porous. The identities of these participants were drawn from the paid work that they did and Massey points out that, “...those long hours, and the flexibility of their organization, is someone else’s constraint.” (1994:190). In her initial study only one employee (a women) mentioned using the flexibility of work hours for domestic purposes. Massey’s view was that the configuration of such work requires that “employees do not do the work of reproduction and of caring for other people” (ibid). Ninety-five percent of the scientists who were research participants in the study were male and they were linked to globalisation through their contributions to the new economy. The work spaces in this research are imagined as open and flexible “advertised as being at the vanguard of breaking down old rigidities” (2005: 177). The idea of these scientists’ workplaces as global and boundaryless, while their homes were closed feminine spaces, was disrupted as the bounded nature of the global workplace emerged. Their closure was shown to be constructed materially as well as imaginatively – removed from embodiment. It was in fact the home space that emerged in Massey’s study as more porous and invaded by work, while the workspace had to be kept free of a taint of domesticity. Massey finds in this research new forms of gender relations that are distinguishable from those in older industries that were the subject of her earlier work, and she shows that new versions of masculinities are as

problematic as older identities. In her discussion of this research Massey shows how capitalist relations and their transformation to new and different forms of production presented complexities and challenges for forms of patriarchy (1994).

In "For Space", Massey (2005) moves from a consideration of space in relation to regional and national development in her earlier work to a broader consideration of space and globalisation. Here she challenges ideas of space as surface and argues in favour of a reorientation of the imagination of space. This book deals with philosophical discourses, examining how space is articulated in social theory, political engagements and debates about modernity and capitalist globalisation. Critique of a notion of globalisation as an indeterminate force, emerging from an unknown place is accompanied by an insistence on specificity and the importance of political implications through a focus on interrelations. Massey argues that the idea of other countries, in her example Moçambique and Nicaragua, being on the same trajectories as richer countries, but not having got there yet, "reduces simultaneous coexistence to place in a historical queue" (2005: 5).

With the present study, I seek to link the symbolic sphere to the labour of embodied actors who work in the globalising process (see Youngs, 2000). In descriptions of post modernity that allude to the proliferation of cultural symbols,

such allusions are not supported by consideration of how, by whom and under what conditions these symbols are produced.

2.3 Cultural contexts of women's work: professional homeworking, learning and the knowledge economy

As I indicated in the introduction to this chapter, space is one organising theme in the thesis and public and private spaces play a significant role in the data findings in Chapters 4 – 6. By linking home and shop floor with corporations, banks and markets, feminist epistemology has contributed to the politicisation of ideas of women's work and learning (Devos, 2002), building on evidence that international competition stimulates the organisation of forms of homeworking (see Lawson, 1995, cited in Nagar et al, 2002: 272). The role of women in delivering the efficiency of globalisation is identified in the "flexibilization" and "casualization" of women's labour to keep labour costs down (17).

Public/private dynamics are central to an understanding and critique of structure and agency in globalisation (Youngs, 2000). As part of the interaction between households and the economy at large, homeworkers bear the cost of their own overheads, and through flexibilized labour contribute to globalisation. Such work formats suggest a link between patriarchy and the operation of capitalism. In developing my understanding of the interplay between these two concepts, I drew on the work of Sylvia Walby (1986). Walby makes clear the link between

the two as part of her theoisation of women and work; she also clarifies the complexity of the relations between these. The contradictions and tensions that she identifies are particularly salient in the light of the forgoing discussion of globalisation. Walby argues that, “[t]he relations between patriarchy and capital should be seen as historically and spatially variable and riddled with conflict” (Walby, 1986: 89).

The literature reviewed points to a depoliticisation of specifically feminised work activity set in the home, hidden from analytical view and seemingly outwith struggles for power. In the next chapter section, I will firstly discuss literature that relates to work formats. Secondly, I will draw on Fraser and Gold (2001, 2002) to discuss translators’ work and learning and then on the writings of Tara Fenwick (2004, 2006, 2008) to set out an analytical approach to women’s work and learning.

2.3.1 Women working in the new economy

A key debate about work formats that has implications for professional learning surrounds what is meant by homeworking in rich western countries and the extent to which it is liberating or oppressive (Felstead, 1996; Handy, 1994; Huws, 1996). A reading of this literature indicates that the relation between homeworking and globalisation, although linked, is not explored in depth. While the connection appears to be accepted, the precise interactions between these

and their implications for women's work and learning are not analysed. Significant aspects of women's interests are not promoted in homeworking that facilitates the combining of paid employment with domestic duties. Recent research has confirmed that while women still do more domestic work than men, this detracts from women's income-generating capacity (Bryan and Sanz, 2008).

In a landmark study of homeworking in Britain, Felstead (1996) sought to create clear boundaries around the concept of homeworking in order to make a case to UK policy-makers for improved conditions for low-paid workers, adversely affected by outsourced work. Thus the term "homeworker" is often used to refer to low-skill and low-paid work that is different from the professional activity in the present sample.

The term "portfolio working" (Handy, 1991) describes the new work formats of those who are not in employment and who do not employ others. These workers tend to be highly skilled and well paid: they are seen to be in a different category from homeworkers. Handy uses portfolio work to refer to a particular form of work relationship, where a professional works for more than one organisation. He emphasises the positive features of self-employment, configured as an agentic response to organisational restructuring, where workers take control. The problem with this analysis is that in highlighting the opportunities presented by portfolio work, it tends to be uncritical of some

manifest disadvantages. The challenges that such work formats present for workers' learning are identified and analysed by Fenwick (2008).

While the terms described above are useful, there are difficulties in fixing on terminology, given the fluidity of work formats in globalisation and the new economy. Mirchandani's (2000) critique of current terminology reflects my view that home-based workers are a very heterogeneous group and that, in many cases, discussions of their work are not based on common definitions. Moreover, work formats can change and a boundaryless career may equally become bounded and then revert, pointing to the need to view the learning and educational implications of such work formats from a broader, contextual perspective.

To reflect a broader perspective, I use the term "professional homemaker" throughout the present study. This contingent term reflects the paradox of highly qualified workers who contribute to the low cost aspect of the new economy. I will now relate my use of this term to precedents in the literature reviewed by Felstead (1996). Both the TUC (Trades Union Congress in the UK) and the Council of Europe give broad definitions of homeworking – for the TUC this is "work done in the home for another person or for sale to another person" (TUC, cited in Felstead, *ibid*: 226) and for the Council of Europe, it is work done by someone "outside a business environment ... usually at home, on account of

one or several business establishments, and who has no direct relationship with consumers” (Council of Europe, 1989: 12, cited in Felstead, *ibid*: 228).

2.3.2 Homework and learning in the new economy

Fraser’s and Gold’s study of translators as portfolio workers (2001, 2002) is the only research that has been undertaken into the work circumstances of this occupational group, specifically focussed on the UK and written by translation educators: as such their work deserves mention here. However, the contextual and relational view that I seek to establish represents a very different starting-point, and, given the extent to which the authors’ approach differs from mine, the treatment of their work in the present text is brief. I will refer to points that are germane to the interests of the present study and also draw attention to limitations of the authors’ perspective in order to clarify my own approach.

In their article, **“Portfolio Workers”: Autonomy and Control amongst Freelance Translators** (2001), Fraser and Gold present the results of a quantitative survey of 1,200 UK based translators who, like some interviewees in the present study, were members of the ITI (Institute of Translation and Interpreting). The authors find that little information has previously been published on the working conditions of freelance translators. Through their study of this under-researched profession, they aim to disaggregate the group of self-employed to obtain a better understanding of its heterogeneity as it

varies across sectors. The authors' aim is to establish whether or not freelance working is oppressive. They draw attention to the distinctions between the subjects in their study and those who are the focus of Felstead's work (1996).

Of interest for my study is Fraser's and Gold's emphasis on the use of technology by translators which has significant implications for their professional learning. They also trace "sweeping changes in employment patterns" (682) towards freelance working over the past ten to fifteen years. Although gender implications are not a central concern in the study, the authors find that family considerations are significant to women's decisions to become freelance workers and that, in identifying this motivation, women in the sample outnumber men by seven to one. The authors conceptualise translation as relating only to "documentation" and localisation (mentioned only once in these two publications) is regarded as jargon rather than a work process within which translation is situated: "...globalisation means greater demand for multilingual documentation and straight translation is now giving way, in business jargon, to "localisation"... as the process by which a text is adapted to its target culture and readership." (689)

While Fraser's and Gold's argument appears to reinforce Handy's descriptions of professional workers who, given their skills and abilities, choose to work as freelancers, the complexities of free choice as part of neo-liberal ideologies

remain unacknowledged (see Fenwick, 2008: 6 for a critical discussion of “choice” and also Reay and Lucey, 2003).

In a follow-up article, **Managing Self-management: Successful Transitions to Portfolio Careers** (2002) Gold and Fraser investigate how freelance translators conceive of success and which organizing principles give coherence to their working lives. Two points emerge from this qualitative aspect of the research that are of relevance to the present study. The first is the time and difficulty involved in establishing oneself as a freelance translator. This affirms the view that the ability to opt for less work (which emerges in the localiser/translator data) and to choose when and how to work is a privileged luxury, available only to those who have the resources to make such choices. Although not interpreted as such by Gold and Fraser, this is an example of the complex link between capitalism and patriarchy (Walby, 1986). In Gold’s and Fraser’s sample some male interviewees had access to considerable financial resources that enabled them to take time to build their freelance portfolio.

A significant problem in relation to translators’ learning is revealed in the conceptualisation of translation as pertaining only to documentation and not to electronic products. While Fraser and Gold acknowledge the impact of technology on translators’ work and learning, they see the technological reconfiguration of translation activity as jargon. A potential problem for

translator education lies in an over-narrow conceptualisation of the future development needs of this occupational group.

For a critical analysis of women's roles and learning in the new economy, I now turn to the work of Tara Fenwick who has written extensively on conditions in Canada. Fenwick's writing on women workers in the new economy (2001, 2004, 2006, 2008) addresses questions of gender, identity, and learning that are central to the interests of this study. While I have drawn on a number of her works in my thinking and in the development of my analysis, I will focus on a pivotal text which is particularly significant for the present study - **Women's Learning in Contract Work** (2008). This article is based on research conducted with self-employed contract workers and studies the practices that women contractors learn in order to manage "boundaryless work conditions". Fenwick's review of the main influences of the knowledge economy on the work patterns and learning of interviewees resonates with the present study. She devotes more attention to the wider context of interviewees' work than we find in the writing of Gold and Fraser, as she describes the economic recession in Canada that prompted her interviewees to seek contract work. While Gold and Fraser acknowledge the challenges of establishing portfolio work, Fenwick's treatment deals with it as altogether more problematic. Taking as her theme contradictions and paradoxes in the way portfolio workers view their employment, Fenwick also emphasises that, for women, there are particular gendered demands. Like Mirchandani (2000) Fenwick draws attention to the heterogeneity of work formats in boundaryless employment. However, she

notes that while her research participants' contract work is set in unique spaces, analysis of the women interviewees' management of their work revealed "under-recognized dynamics in contract work and ... problems with its conditions" (12). Fenwick discusses such dynamics in relation to practices that influence learning in five areas of work, concluding with a consideration of educational implications.

Several key themes emerge from Fenwick's discussion that have resonance for the findings described below. Firstly, Fenwick is concerned with gendered positioning in the new economy. Her critique of neo-liberal discourses of self-employment as a site of equality for women echoes aspects of other feminist critiques in the writings on globalisation discussed above. While self-employment has boosted women's entrepreneurship in some parts of the world, it has left intact gendered influences on the processes of business creation and Fenwick finds, for example, that self-employed Canadian women earn one third less than men.

Secondly, in considering learning implications, Fenwick identifies the instability of knowledge, linked to a concealment of practices. While Gold and Fraser (2002) refer only briefly to translation as a "hidden" profession, the notion is given a detailed treatment by Fenwick who links the hidden nature of contract work to women's gendered positioning and finds that, "gendered hierarchies ... undervalue women's knowledge". A central task in client interaction is to

educate and inform clients about specific, relevant aspects of the area of work. The challenges of this requirement are compounded by the fact that customers often do not know enough about what their needs are and it becomes necessary to prove one's knowledge while concealing the complexity of what that knowledge entails. Fenwick emphasises the impossibility of this task which is compounded by the "impressionistic ways" that judgements about knowledge are made.

Thirdly, Fenwick's interviewees have to learn to attain controlled visibility. Fenwick's interviewees achieved a higher profile through networking. However, managing work profiles was always challenging, because the profile had to keep up with market changes. Furthermore, the product that the profile reflected had to be readily recognisable as able to solve a business problem. Such demands have far-reaching implications for the learning required of workers in the new economy.

Lastly, in Fenwick's data, women contract workers, like the homeworkers in the localiser data, did identity work to appear in control of their working lives at all times. Fenwick describes the need to deal with tensions between home and work as an "invisible but exhausting dynamic of work ... in many service occupations". In Fenwick's work this emerges as a form of emotional labour, whereby freelance workers have to absorb stress alone. Fenwick's concluding recommendations address women's marginalisation in the new economy:

“Systemic gendered work conditions and gendered knowledge dynamics, so often invisible to working women, need to be acknowledged, and their effects made visible in everyday transactions of women contractors.” (Fenwick, 2008: 24-25)

In conclusion, Fenwick’s article presents an area of tension that is relevant to the present study and can further illuminate the concerns that underpin some of the analysis in the following chapters. Fenwick argues that the work of women contractors is marked by contradictions that derive from their gendered positions and their failure to take account of emotional labour and organisational tasks as part of work, presenting challenges for the women’s learning. However, while Fenwick ascribes this to the women’s boundaryless situation, some knowledge work can be boundaryless and bounded at the same time, placing emotional demands on workers who attempt to set their own boundaries and preserve their own specialist knowledge. This raises the question as to whether the problem of control is exacerbated by the role of technology and the ability of work-givers to reuse and remould knowledge work in a form of knowledge capture. Two themes that emerge from Fenwick’s writing and which will be developed in the sections that follow in this chapter are the demand for emotion work and the link between this and the influence of technology on hidden practices.

I have examined women's work and learning at neglected sites of globalisation to argue that professional homeworkers' contributions are complex and require critical analysis. In the next section, I will examine how the hidden position of such workers is compounded by the role of technology in knowledge work.

2.4 Technology, work and gendered identities

Fenwick's arguments (2001, 2004, 2006, and 2008) point to the relevance of the gendered nature of work and the differential value ascribed to feminised work. This differential value of skills and affordances has far-reaching implications for learning and is informed by the determining influence of neo-liberal ideologies that promote individualism. The problem of values, neo-liberalism and exclusion is taken up in the UK by Sue Webb and colleagues in an analysis of the impact of recent education and training reforms (Webb et al, 2006). There is a concern that non-technical, interpersonal, clerical and organisational skills that are marked as feminine and contribute to shared working are undervalued and erased in neo-liberal ideologies (Boler, 1999).

2.4.1 Feminists and technology

There is a considerable body of literature on women and technology written in the area of FTS (Feminist Technology Studies). For example, Cynthia Cockburn has linked gendered identities to the role of technology in the home (Cockburn

and Furst-Dilic, 1994) and in the workplace (Cockburn,1991). For third wave feminists like Donna Haraway (2004) technology is inescapable. Her cyborg “defines a technological polis based partly on a revolution of social relations in the oikos, the household” (9). Her technological and socialist analyses are “political scientific” (19) dys/utopia where technology dispels dualisms and the separation of the “technical and organic” (35).

To explore the significance of technology in the present data, I will firstly discuss and review **Gender and Technology** (Bray, 2007) as it brings together a number of the themes that emerge in my study. Bray’s work is a review of gender and technology studies and a discussion of the way scholarship in this area relates to cultural anthropology. The author also explores the contrasts between social and cultural approaches to technology and the implications of this for gender analysis.

Bray highlights the way that gender is expressed through technology and underlines the need for engagement with everyday lives that are influenced by technology as a force that shapes configurations of power and identity. Reviewing the work of FTS, she emphasises that it avoids taken-for-granted views of technology, focussing instead on its role as a point of political leverage. FTS has had an intellectual and political focus that has challenged gender stereotypes, translating scholarship into feminist praxis.

Bray draws out Marxist views of technology that are relevant for the interests in the present study. For example, she highlights the Marxist concern for the politics that are embodied in the design of technology. She goes on to critique constructivist interpretations of technology that, with an upstream focus on the conceptualisation stage, exclude women and neglect “gender scripts” (40) that are contained in technology’s use. Bray traces the work of FTS scholars in taking analyses downstream and investigating the physical as well as symbolic domains of technology’s use and application. Bray discusses FTS’ concern with gendered performances, a notion that underpins the present study as identity work draws on practices that are technological, and technology itself assumes symbolic meaning. In acting out these identities, we see from the work of Faulkner (2000, cited in Bray, *ibid*: 41) that there is a distance between practices that are performed and how they are presented by the actors who perform them. Some accounts that link emerging ICT and culture, unlike the present study, tend to focus on specific technologies, rather than dealing with technology *per se*.

Generally, throughout the literature that Bray reviews, new forms of governmentality and new identities, through interactions with technology and the concentration of power in technology (46) are significant themes that resonate with the aim of the present study. While these themes are relevant to feminist interests, Bray points out, however, that in much of anthropology, gender and technology relations is not a sustained theme. She stops short of

saying specifically what a feminist perspective would add, but advocates a cross-fertilisation between FTS and anthropology.

In conclusion, Bray's analysis of the potential links between FTS and anthropology offers a number of insights that are relevant to the considerations in the present study. Other work by the same author focuses on the material practices of sociotechnical systems (see Bray, 2000), and while this does not lend itself to understanding work in the virtual sphere, there are interesting insights which point to the fact that the linkages between embodied (gendered) work, identity, moral being and social structures are relevant to analyses of human work in many contexts, outwith and pre-dating the new economy. My engagement with Bray's work reinforced some of my analyses, and placed them in a broader focus, joining a feminist perspective on technological working, with globalisation's political and power implications. The emergence of technologised work cultures among members of an on-line occupational group, such as localisers, has implications for gender, technology and how globalisation happens in practice. Bray's work strengthened my view that power and ideology are reinforced through technologies in the localisation industry. Her arguments also support the analysis of concentrations of power at certain sites. At the same time, the culture-technology dialectic that she describes runs throughout the present data in the divide between technological functionality versus cultural and linguistic appropriacy. While the present study pays attention to the materiality of everyday work, the critical feminist approach

adopted makes a “micromacro” (47) connection between this and the socio-economic and political relevance of software localisation.

Leading on from Bray’s analysis of gender and technology in the broad anthropological field, Wendy Faulkner’s writing in FTS focuses on forms of gendering at work which have implications for professional learning. Her analyses of identity and gender have been pivotal for the present study. I will now review and discuss one piece of Faulkner’s writing that has been particularly influential.

In **“Nuts and Bolts and People.” Gender-Troubled Engineering Identities** (2007), Faulkner presents the findings of ethnographic field work conducted in two UK offices of a building design engineering company, where she job-shadowed five engineers (three men and two women) over the course of five weeks. The participants in Faulkner’s ethnography, as the interviewees studied by Fenwick and those in the present study, have to manage flows of knowledge and the complexity of role identities. In her conceptual framework, Faulkner analyses gender as “multi-faceted” and plural, encompassing “symbols, cultures, practices, identities and structures” (333) which interact in contradictory ways. Her argument that bounded work identities result from gendered dynamics within the engineering profession has synergies with the critique found in Fenwick’s work (see, for example, 2004). Faulkner develops these themes through an account of Karen and Fraser who are engineers and

company employees. Faulkner's analytical framework focuses on gender dynamics that operate alongside the professional and organisational dynamics of engineers' work. Faulkner argues that the research participants' experiences are evidence that gender symbols combine with other factors that "co-produce" (345) the identities of engineers.

Of particular interest for the present data is the way boundaries are drawn between technical and social identities and practices. At the centre of her discussion, and fundamental to Faulkner's analysis, is the duality in the profession, reflected in "technicist" versus "heterogeneous" or "sociotechnical" understandings of practice. Faulkner's use of these forms of identity to talk about engineering does not rely on simple polarity. The term technicist is taken from the sociology of technology, and commenting on its use, Faulkner points out that it represents a narrowly technical understanding of engineering that excludes any social aspect as constituting real work.

In order to draw out important questions raised by Faulkner that are relevant for the present study, I will review her analysis along the axes of four themes that are relevant to the discussion above - visibility, boundaries, indeterminacy and contested identities. In Faulkner's work these themes also have a symbolic aspect.

Firstly, on the theme of visibility, Faulkner links gender and identity to issues of (in)authenticity as some ways of being an engineer are found to be more authentic than others. In Faulkner's research, women engineers are visible as women, but have constantly to re-establish their visibility as engineers. The dualism of "technicist" and "heterogeneous or sociotechnical" identities underlines the privileging of the technicist identity as more visible than the sociotechnical. The dualism is reinforced in the research participants' descriptions of the (invisible) "soft" aspect of presentation versus the "real" technical work.

Secondly, in Faulkner's work boundary-drawing supports visibility, as particular values emerge around work functions and identities. Boundaries are used to distinguish the work of engineers and architects as part of the dualism, that also plays on forms of masculinity, as architects are seen to have a concern with presentation (soft) and not technology (hard). Despite this construction of boundaries, however, there is a strong interface between these two occupations and work across the boundaries of engineering/architecture.

The insecurity of such boundaries leads those who maintain them to do so with vigour, to assert professional identities. In her analysis of discussions among company directors and engineers, Faulkner demonstrates that although the boundaries are fluid and intersecting, the value of the technical is always higher. As a consequence, the technical identity of women engineers who are good

communicators is weakened and their standing among their engineering peers is adversely affected. As Karen moves out of “real” engineering into a management position, Faulkner points to the gendering of identities, supported by symbolic boundary-work and how this affects feelings of belonging and women’s career progression. Boundary-drawing derives from the need for certainty in the engineers’ working, as part of a response to the demands of neo-liberal influences in new economy work cultures (Fenwick, 2004).

Thirdly, the problem of indeterminacy and the need for certainty emerge in Faulkner’s data in the way that the people aspect of work is seen to challenge engineers’ control. Faulkner finds an emphasis on materiality among the engineers which is reflected in the importance of “designing things that work” (347). The tendency to search for certainty is exemplified in Faulkner’s case study of Fraser and his valuing of “facticity” (344). The symbolic function of materiality for Faulkner’s engineers affirms their technician identities and signals an important self-concept.

Lastly, identity emerges in Faulkner’s article as linked to “nuts and bolts” as part of a muscular masculinity, deriving from concepts of physical mastery. This manly identity reinforces men’s relationship with tools and creates new exclusions as it reifies this link in the new economy. Faulkner’s engineers experience control as a result of their practical and scientific knowledge that appears to be rooted in certainty.

I have discussed women's roles in technological working and the new economy and the significance of technology as a symbol of value which interacts with boundary-drawing and identity. I will now examine the importance of women's individual identities and human agency.

2.5 Women's identities and agency

So far I have set a context for the consideration of individual identity and agency that draws on literature about globalisation, learning and identity in the new economy and technology. Wider social structures and the cultures related to them affect and interact with individual identity formation in ways that are dynamic and changing (Warren and Webb, 2007). In the remainder of the literature review I will, firstly, discuss the problems of theorising identity for a feminist study of work and learning; secondly, I will review pivotal texts on identity, agency and emotion that are relevant to my thinking and analysis.

2.5.1 Feminism and identity

The individual in the globalised economy is said to have an identity that is fractured and subject to the ever-changing dynamic of fast-capitalism (Giddens, 2000). The erosion of traditional ways of being are said to have diverse effects on the subject, at once placing more emphasis on the need for individual

agency and the project of the self (du Gay, 1991), while at the same time rendering a sustained identity more complex and difficult to achieve. The centrality of identity as a discursive tool is seen in its use by policy-makers who configure neo-liberal subjects as “gloriously free to determine their own trajectory” within a policy agenda that emphasises personal choice (Leathwood and Francis, 2006: 176).

Academic literature on the nature of identity and work reflects diverse responses to the influence of postmodernity on the subject (see Sennett, 1999; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Wajcman and Martin, 2002). The broad concept of identity that underpins the present work includes private and public domains and has a symbolic aspect, significant for an understanding of workplace learning in the knowledge economy. Views as to what postmodernity means for our working lives and learning or how educators should respond to it diverge, with some identifying present attitudes to identity as a break with older ways of being (Miształ, 2000) and others emphasising continuity as well as change (Field and Malcolm, 2007) or the enduring nature of some forms of modernity, such as class and shared, rather than fractured experience (Merrill, 2007). The feminist account of identity presented here embraces a concept of agency as critical in feminist theorising and understands the self as influenced by the structures and networks within which we work (Warren and Webb, 2007) but, at the same time, as capable of resistance to these.

Although identity is much discussed, such discussions often proceed without a definition of identity. The concept that underpins my analysis of the localisers' work derives from social interaction and social constructivism (Woolgar, 1988; Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981) rather than from a notion of identity that is biologically or socially fixed. In refining a concept that could underpin my analysis of localisers' work cultures I looked to psycho-social approaches and ideas of identity as part of participation and interaction, that drew on the tradition of symbolic interactionism (Bulmer, 1984; Goffman, 1959). A search of the literature on women's identity revealed over 400 research papers. In much of this academic writing discussions of identity are related to women in particular roles (Sartore and Cunningham, 2007) or contexts (James and Zarrett, 2006). In the section that follows, the discussion foregrounds women's agency and addresses the problem of essentialising women in the ways they are positioned.

2.5.2 Theorisation of identity and agency

I will now examine a pivotal text, **What Happened to Agency? Some Observations Concerning the Postmodern Perspective on Identity** (Levine, 2005) which theorises Erickson's concept of identity and the relevance of agency to this concept. Although, as I will describe, there are drawbacks in the Ericksonian perspective for feminist theorising, Levine's critique affirmed my developing view that a focus on identity alone could not take account of feminist ethics or the aim of politicising women's work in globalisation.

The central problem that Levine addresses is the postmodern influence on identity and the perception of fractured identities in postmodern times. Levine's critique emphasises the social shaping of identity, linked to agency which has given me some basis for understanding the concept in my data. He argues for a need to conceptualise different types of identity and lays claim to a theory that makes it possible to understand how agency, culture and society are linked. A central aspect of his argument is the notion that a socially constructed identity must imply the agency of the subject, a point that is neglected in the implied powerlessness of the subject in some writing.

Levine's conceptualisation of agency derives from the ego that is at the core of identity. According to Ericksonian theory, the ego is a second order reflection on personal and social identity domains and enables the individual to see the self as continuous in time and space, giving a sense of self-control. It is the functioning of the ego that allows individuals to analyse their own thinking as part of decision-making. There are thus three domains of identity – the personal, the social and the ego, of which the ego is the agentic core. Significantly, for a feminist perspective, a strong sense of ego is not guaranteed and depends on reinforcement during stages of psycho-social development, and “on-going social support for a person's social and personal identities” (180) which are not created outwith social relations. Our identities are decentred because they are also relational and the meanings of our identities cannot be completely separated from the identities of others.

Two aspects of Levine's theorisation have particular resonance for a feminist analysis. Firstly, the idea that personal and social identity depend on on-going support within social relations resonates with the connection between identity formation and the social world in feminist theorising (Butler, 1999) and in the postmodern conception of the fractured self as incomplete. The analysis in subsequent chapters (see Chapter 6) draws on a notion of social support for identity that is gendered and variable. Secondly, Levine's theorising of a relational identity has particular relevance for a feminist analysis.

While these aspects of Levine's theorisation could support a feminist perspective, there are also uncertainties in Levine's approach. These relate to his notion of the core identity that resides in the ego as the seat of agency. Although Levine's description of the ego envisages it as socially influenced and subject to change, the conceptualisation does not completely capture the uses of agency in the localiser data. It does not, for example, account for women's embedded and embodied identities and their need to respond to complex circumstances that arise in the combination of domestic duties and other work. A theorisation of women's agency would have to place the social shaping of identity at the centre of a notion of the subject as an embedded and embodied social actor. In a feminist theorisation, the agentic core of the identity appears as a second order reflection, not just on personal and social identity concepts, but also on the "self in the world". Levine's conceptualisation does not take sufficient account of women's uses of agentic action to meet multiple ends and

the fact that her identity and also her agentic action are derived from her embeddedness.

2.5.3 Feminism and agency

Women's embeddedness is relevant to analyses of their roles in the new economy. As I indicated above in the discussion of work, contract working requires agility and learning, which also assumes agency. Such identity work requires women to use a range of forms of agency.

In **Beyond postmodernism: feminist agency in educational research**, (2001) Becky Francis aims to respond to poststructuralist ideas of identity in a way that has parallels with Levine's concern to emphasise agency. Francis addresses the tension between feminism's political and emancipatory aims and poststructural influences on ideas of identity. She describes the benefits that feminism has gained by drawing on poststructuralism to counter essentialist, humanistic arguments. On the one hand feminism distances itself from Enlightenment views of rationality and objectivity, yet it espouses humanistic notions such as empathy, that also have their source in the Enlightenment. Arguing against Enlightenment views of rationality, feminists have used poststructuralist ideas to deconstruct truth narratives in science and to counter "oversimplistic binaries of identity politics" (67). Poststructuralist theory has also supported a feminist perception of the complex and contradictory nature of the

self in the world, offering tools for the analysis of identity and power. While poststructuralism has been useful for feminism's aim of moving away from oppressive binaries and masculinist truth claims, it nonetheless presents considerable problems for feminism. The extreme fracturing of identity and the notion that identity is purely a discursive construction renders political or emancipatory action impossible, deconstructing feminism's aims and "the very notions of value and agency on which feminism is built." (70)

The solution that Francis proposes in the face of poststructuralism's epistemic relativism is to steer a course between the oversimplistic view of the unitary self and the suggestion that there is no coherence in identity, arguing that there is sufficient coherence that allows agency and strategy (74). In essence, Francis does not present us with a theory, but rather a route through postmodernism in the direction of a feminist idea of agency. As a way forward, she emphasises the place of mutual tolerance and the potential for joint action across racial and class divisions.

As Francis argues, agency is at the heart of feminism, not only because it is essential to resistance, but also because of the ethical imperative that underlies feminism's emancipatory aims to recognise the agency of others. Without this, a feminist ethical stance would become impossible and feminism's emancipatory aims would be undermined.

The question of exactly how feminists should theorise agency remains unresolved in Francis' discussion. Although the article by the London Feminist Salon Collective reviewed below begins to address some problems in theorisation, we are still lacking a critical feminist theory of agency that balances the challenges of postmodernism. I will now critique an article by Gert Biesta and Mike Tedder whose approach highlights significant differences with the present study that will enable me to clarify some aspects of my understanding of agency.

In **Agency and learning in the lifecourse: Towards an ecological perspective** (2007), Biesta and Tedder describe agency as autonomous action in the social world or the ability to operate in a way that is independent of "determining constraints of social structure" (ibid: 135). In a theory that is framed as "an ecological understanding", this work sees agency as achieved rather than possessed through a form of engagement with a "context-for-action" (132). Agency draws on engagements that are framed as "particular configurations of routine, purpose and judgement" (ibid) as a chordal triad. The authors base their notion of agency on the dynamic interplay of "iterative, projective and practical-evaluative dimensions" that correspond to the configurations of routine, purpose and judgement respectively. It is the interplay of these that shapes our ability to respond to contexts-for-action. While routine, purpose and judgement are at the root of agency, it is argued that these are dynamic and will vary depending on the structural contexts-for-action. Biesta and Tedder describe this theory of agency as composite (136) as it builds on

past achievements and understandings as part of its iterative dimension, but also has a motivational aspect that derives from the “projective element” (136). The theory encompasses the scope and possibility for change through “critical judgement” and “imaginative recomposition” (139) that may lead to insight. The authors emphasise the ability of actors to shape their own responses to difficult situations in ways that are critical and they relate this to an ability to exercise control in one's life.

Although, as I will explain below, there are significant differences between this idea of agency and a theorisation that is appropriate for feminism, a number of aspects of this work are useful for the research undertaking in the present study. For example, the dynamic aspect of the theory which allows for reconfigurations of routine, purpose and judgement is useful in countering normative and static ideas of agency. The dynamics of action and the notion that interviewees can have critical understanding of their own agency is potentially useful for critical feminism.

The differences between Biesta's and Tedder's theorisation and my own understanding of agency revolve around the notion of ecology and the absence of an explicit account of power. The influences that affect the life of Maria, an interviewee, in her “context-for-action” relate to changes in health policy in the wider society and in her economic position. In the article, this context-for-action is not differentiated, but is identified as part of a wider ecology that embraces

structure. Through her agency, Maria is said to have the ability to exercise control over her life and the suggestion is made that learning about her agency could help her to do this better. The first problem in this theorisation for a critical and feminist understanding of agency arises from the way in which ecology can mask structures that impinge on individuals and affect their lives, challenging their control, as appears to be the case with Maria. A second, related, problem is the emphasis on the actors' responses as control without a further differentiation that encompassed criticality, linked to power. As I understand the authors' theorisation, its focus on learning to manage the self risks an alignment with notions of self-management as a neo-liberal subject.

This distinction between my view of the significance of agency as a reflection on the self-in-the-world (that includes impinging structures, ideologies and technologies) and that expressed by Biesta and Tedder could be developed in more detail than is possible in the present review. In summary, the differences in our approaches relate to the way structural contexts-for-action are undifferentiated, power is not accounted for and the projective aspect of agency lacks an element of resistance. Finally, I would raise the question as to whether we ever act in a way that is totally free of "determining constraints of social structure" (Biesta and Tedder, *ibid*: 135).

2.5.4 Agency and emotional labour

I will now review a work that illuminates issues of feminism and agentic action. I will then relate women's uses of agency to emotion work and emotional labour.

While I have argued that feminist theorisations of identity often conceptualise it in relation to women's situatedness (Sartore and Cunningham, 2007), agency frequently emerges as an aspect of the social details of women's lives. This is seen for example in Skeggs' (1997) study of working class women, in Quinn's study of women asserting themselves as learners in the academy (2003), or in Colley's study of young women becoming nursery nurses (2006). All of this writing deals with women's agency to become something as a result of their own identity work and learning.

Issues raised by the London Feminist Salon Collective in **The problematization of agency in postmodern theory: as feminist educational researchers, where do we go from here?** (2004) have particular relevance for the way that I have conceptualised agency in the present study. The paper reports on a discussion of feminist agency and on papers presented by invited speakers. Its relevance is apparent in the connection made at the Salon between emotional and psychic aspects of resistance and agency, and in the emphasis given to the interplay between agency and structure. While the Collective are concerned with theorising, they also emphasise the role of agency in women's everyday

lives and the importance of agency to feminism's aims of challenging inequalities. Valerie Hey, one of the Salon's presenters, points out that "strong" postmodernism "provides a powerful rationalization for doing nothing/protecting the status quo" (26). In contrast to Biesta and Tedder (2007), the Salon discussion links agency to structures and underlines the need for individual and collective notions of agency to support women's resistance in situations of structural disadvantage. Membership of wider communities made it possible to practise forms of resistance, while minimising individual harm.

Turning now to the link between agency and emotions, there has been little detailed theorisation of women's agency that has connected it to existing theories of emotional labour. I will now discuss women's agency in relation to emotion work and emotional labour by drawing on two pivotal works. Firstly, I will discuss "**Emotion work" as a participant resource: a feminist analysis of young women's talk-in-interaction**" by Frith and Kitzinger (1998) to support my analysis of women interviewees' use of *emotion work*. Secondly, I will draw on **The managed heart: commercialization of human feeling** (1983) by A.R. Hochschild for a theorisation of *emotional labour* to underpin the concept in my analysis of localisers' work.

Frith and Kitzinger based their notion of emotion work on research conducted into the way young women talked about their sexual experiences. The authors discuss the fact that young, heterosexual women are generally seen to adjust

passively to the needs of male sexual partners who take a dominant role. Frith and Kitzinger show this view to be superficial and in a detailed analysis of the women's discourses, which has parallels with the use of discourse analysis in the present study, the authors reveal the women's use of emotion work as part of their agency in relationships. The authors conclude that when conceived as "emotion work", in everyday interactions, the use of emotion supports women's agentic action. Conceptualising translators' emotion work as an aspect of agency, I shall describe how they used their emotions as a resource in working across boundaries in domestic and professional spheres and in resisting what they saw as excessive work demands.

In Hochschild's theory of the system of feelings, emotional labour is undertaken when workers' emotional performances are controlled and managed by an employer in capitalist relations of production. Even when authors disagree with aspects of Hochschild's theorisation, most writing on emotional labour acknowledges her theorisation as the first to critique the exploitation of workers' emotions in service occupations (Payne, 2006). Hochschild's theory was developed in empirical studies of students, flight attendants and debt collectors. Drawing on a Marxist perspective, she emphasises the importance of the framing of emotion in work cultures. "Feeling rules", based on relations of kinship are exploited in paid employment as employees learn how they are expected to feel and which emotions they are required to display. Hochschild describes this as a "transmutation" of a private emotion system to its exploitation in the workplace. Emotional labour does not exist in isolation from

the conditions under which it is carried out: rather, its circumstances influence the content and form of emotional labour (James, 1989: 26). Emotional labour is thus a social process, influenced by social conditions and sometimes by the “contextual exigencies” (Sachs and Blackmore, 1998: 265) in which women work.

A major criticism of Hochschild, that her theory does not take sufficient account of the individual agency of employees, comes mainly from male theorists of work (Hughes, 2003; Payne, 2006). The response of feminists has been to point out that Hochschild has offered a significant critique of means of production that does not inhibit further theorisation (Colley, 2006; Gunaratnum and Lewis, 2001).

2.6 Conclusion

One of my aims in this study has been to mediate between structures and individual lives (Nagar et al, 2002; Boler, 1999.) The discussion above moves from a review of the wider issues of women and globalisation to an analysis of individual identity and agency which are theorised in relation to position and structure.

I have reviewed literature along three axes that are drawn from the three research objectives, namely:

- globalisation, professional learning and work identities
- technology
- individual identities and agency

I reviewed feminist literature that problematises women's roles in globalising work across the fault lines of literature of anthropology, IPE (International Politics and Economics), geography and sociology. I have brought some insights to the implications of globalisation for the marginalising of women and the way that economic aspects of globalisation are linked with and sustain pre-existing social hierarchies. Moving from globalisation to women's work and learning I drew on literature to examine the roles that women perform in the new economy. In discussing women's identities, I have drawn on a particular theorisation that places agency at the centre of considerations, related to emotion work and emotional labour as part of the learning that is required of women in the new economy.

In the next chapter, I will set out the methodological approach that underpins the present work. Based on this, I will also describe the method that I used to obtain the data that inform my analysis and findings.

Chapter 3 - Methodology, language and power

3.1 Introduction: socio-cultural orientation and reframing as a feminist study

In the first part of this chapter I will discuss the theoretical underpinning and the methodology that positions the study. I will also trace the narrative of my changing perspective which provided a specifically feminist framing for the research questions. The second part of the chapter is taken up with a description of the methods adopted and the process of analysis that derived from the research questions and my engagement with the data.

3.1.1 Development of a feminist perspective and discourse analytical approach

My critical feminist perspective evolved in the course of my doctoral studies as I discovered the resources to begin feminist thinking. The pilot data analysis (see Appendix 6) marked a watershed, and as the position of the women emerged in the data analysis I began to engage with feminist perspectives. Coming to terms with the data required me to reflect on my own identity and my critical feminist analysis developed as part of this process. The methodology was not fixed definitively in the initial research proposal, but evolved as I connected gender in women's work with cultural and social roles and relations that underpin globalisation. As I signalled in Chapter 1, the development of a feminist perspective meant that the research questions were viewed through a particular lens as part of my perception that gender was a significant analytical

concept in the data. Figure 3.1 below identifies the crucial points for the emergence of my feminist stance as part of the development of the key research stages. During the pilot analysis in the autumn of 2004, there was a description in each interview that drew my attention to the significance of gender in the data. In Carmen's discourse I was struck by the gendered language in her use of "all the girls" (3) when referring to the translation managers and translators in her company. In Louise's transcript my attention was drawn to her description of the company hierarchy in which men occupied leading positions:

There are ..We've got an executive board of directors and there are three gentlemen on that. (Louise, 5)

Turning now to the rationale for the use of discourse analysis, localisers' work on language and representation is linked to culture, and through the symbolic function of language it is also political. I indicated in the last chapter that feminism looked to post structuralism to overcome the limitations of Enlightenment thinking. As part of this positioning, some feminists have used discourse analysis "to reveal the gendered assumptions and motivations underlying people's talk, and the impact of such discourses of people's power positions." (Francis, 2001 :67) I looked to discourse analysis as an effective approach to support the investigation of power in the working lives of women in the localisation industry. In using this method as part of a feminist, socio-cultural approach I also acknowledge that there are other sources of power at work in globalisation. In developing a discourse analytical approach I was influenced by

the suggestion that the future direction of anthropology and education “would be the theory and practice of language ideologies” (Gonzales, 1999, cited in Sfard and Prusak, 2005). This development is envisioned by Gonzales and taken up by Sfard and Prusak because they see the discursive turn leading to interest in the dynamics of discourses and adding to research possibilities because, to quote Gonzales, “people’s ideas about language are readily accessible to researchers and practitioners” (Gonzales, *ibid*: 434 in Sfard and Prusak, *ibid*: 21). In a similar vein, I saw discourse analysis as a manageable way to gain insights into learning identities. Attending the localiser conference in 2005 as a participant observer allowed me to contextualise and triangulate the discourse analytic work.

3.1.2 Key research stages August 2003 - December 2008

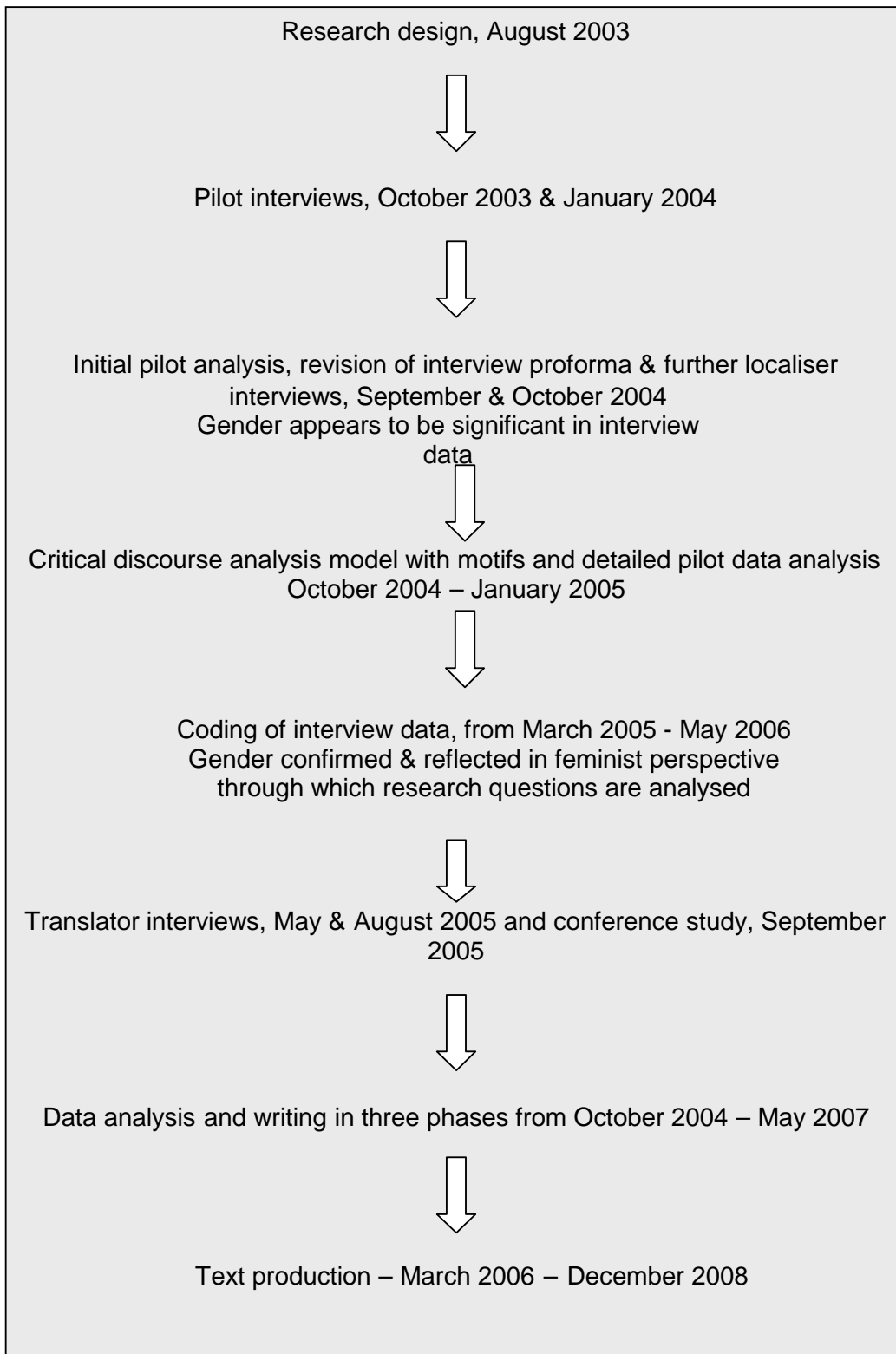


Figure 3.1: Key research stages August 2003 - December 2008

3.2 Feminist research, knowledge and power

Methodology can be described as, “the general theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the research” (Pole & Morrison, 2003:6). In this part of the chapter I will explore the following theoretical issues that relate to my epistemological stance:

- the implications for research validity of the feminist insight that qualitative methodologies (or any methodology) cannot reveal an objective, underlying truth (3.2.1)
- subjectivity and reflexivity in feminist research (3.2.2)
- research ethics and power in the study (3.2.3 & 3.2.4)

3.2.1 Women working in research

There has been debate about what feminism has to contribute to educational research, particularly given the continued pre-eminence of the malestream as feminist writers have described dominant voices in the field (Coffey, 1999:12-13; Quinn, 2003: 10). Elsewhere in social sciences, the presence of a researcher voice, reflecting experience, is seen as a distinguishing feature of feminist research (Letherby, 2003) and its absence in malestream writing is taken to imply an assumption that what is written is objective and simply stands for the truth. Feminism cannot claim to speak the truth but it has to make clear its own “points of view, specific aims, desires and political position within power relations” (Usher, 1996:129). While feminism places on researchers the responsibility to analyse how their own experience affects their research, such

experience cannot be taken for granted, given the way that women's experience has been consistently discounted in the past (Boler, 1999).

Despite such tensions, feminist research has reconstructed the way we see the self in the research process (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle, 2000) and this acknowledgement has far-reaching implications for research epistemology more broadly. Epistemological engagement is central to feminist research generally. My understanding of the nature of knowledge that can be produced has affected the positioning of this study and from the outset I did not believe that knowledge could only be produced through a commitment to truth and objectivity. In emphasising the importance of subjectivity in the way that data are produced, feminists acknowledge that there is no such thing as "innocent knowing" (Stacey, 1988 quoted in Lather, 1996:2). The approach taken here and the choice to use discourse analysis in studying data reflect a concern with the details of how subjective views are reflected. The use of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) takes account of the wider social and political aspects that pertain to the materiality of power. Combined with a contextualisation through the conference study, this enabled me to analyse findings in relation to the wider field of work in globalisation (see Chapter 6).

3.2.2 Researcher reflexivity

Feminist research insights have demonstrated that the researcher is implicated in the research encounter, in “shaping the encounter with the other” (West et al, 2007: 15), but also in the “analytical frame” (ibid), in giving voice to those who are less often heard. Researcher reflexivity is used in diverse accounts of feminist writing. However, the complex and political aspect of finding and managing the research voice can be overlooked in feminism’s avowal of reciprocity in research relationships. The concern with researcher voice becomes problematic, for example, when such reflexivity encourages researchers to work on themselves as “the site of “participation” in research – reducing and limiting ... their interventions so as not only to include their subjectivity but even to confine themselves to this” (Burman, 2006: 316). An ethic of care or empathy towards the interviewee without self reflection can become self-righteousness (Koehn, 1998), and confessional rather than critical reflexivity may not produce new research insights, but take power from the participant on whose behalf the researcher presumes to speak.

The researcher voice and the representation and stylistics of the text reflect the socially constructed nature of research. I will now discuss the implications of this for the present text and its production. Firstly, in relation to the stylistics, the thumbnail sketches that describe the interviewees (Appendix 1) contain subjective details. Carmen is “tall and dark” and Suzanne is “confident”. Such phrases indicate a subjective response to the interviewee – a response that is based on my history and social world, indicating the way that subjectivity

affected data gathering and analysis. In an earlier draft of the thumbnail sketches I described the encounters in the present tense. I interpret my automatic use of this tense as indicating a reliving of the experience of an embodied encounter and affective engagement that must have influenced the data gathering and analysis (Malcolm, 2009). As part of a process of analysis, as I distanced myself from the data, I changed the use of the present to the past tense in subsequent drafts. While the research encounter is affective and embodied, the language used is intimately linked to and reflects the complexity of the intersubjective engagement.

Turning now to representational issues: if we cannot claim absolutely that our research is objective, then this may lead to the recognition that it cannot escape partisanship (Conteh et al, 2005). Partisanship is related to ideology in the sense of an orientation to a particular set of values. Where such an orientation is denied and where claims are made to be orientated to the only valid truth (Eagleton, 1991) the scope for problematising sense-making through intellectual activity is constrained. If we accept the partisan nature of our work, then we must also accept the obligation to make known our own position - to present the facts of the origins of the research alongside its development in order to allow the reader to make a judgement on the whole research undertaking. The nature of cultural knowledge is based not just on empirical insight, but on “a battery of desires, repressions, investments and projections...” (Said, 1993: 47) and it is impossible to divorce the writer from “a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society” (ibid: 48). In the

remainder of this section I will give a description of the aspects of my own history in order to explicate the origins of the present research.

I grew up in a city that had been built at the time of great expansion in trading. It is possible that my interest in globalisation put down roots as I was growing up surrounded by architectural and other vestiges of Empire (see Appendix 10). As a child I was aware of being at the end point of a powerful system which forced me to “look out”. Looking out in this work, I found a gendered positioning of women and hierarchies of technical control in the data. I also attribute the methodological struggles that I had with discourse analysis in part to my history. I was not supposed to become a linguist and it was often an uncomfortable identity. Despite this I decided to use discourse analysis because I am a linguist⁷. The significance of this identity took precedence over other considerations and my doubts, outlined below, about the criticality of the findings that the method could produce. I did not want to study language for its own sake, but as a vehicle for understanding localisers’ work. Methodologically, my struggle with discourse analysis related to a concern that it would lock me in a value-free zone where considerations of power were abandoned like umbrellas by the door. I was able to address these considerations through the use of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and a broader view of discourse in its political and social context. This in combination with the conference study made it possible to obtain a broader and critical perspective on global working.

⁷ See Gee 1996 and Scollon & Scollon 2001 for a discussion of the effect of language learning and use on identity.

3.2.3 Epistemology and ethics in practice

To understand and then describe the findings produced through analysing the data, I sought a radical critique, that could address the problem of gendered positioning within economic, sociological or cultural movements reflected in the details of everyday lives. Gender analysis is not just about inserting women into the equation; it is a particular perspective that requires us to address ideological issues of women's representation. The adoption of a critical feminist epistemology has implications for researcher ethics in the attempt to decentre power. I will deal first with the practicality of how I addressed the ethics of the research; I will then describe my methodological understanding of research ethics related to subjectivity and emotion in research.

I approached interviewees, either in person at a previous localisation conference that I attended, by email or telephone. In seeking consent to an interview I described the research in detail, explaining that it formed part of my doctoral studies. I produced a consent form for interviewees' consideration and approval (see Appendix 2) and sought their permission to make a recording of the interviews. I emphasised to the interviewees that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time. When I had transcribed the interviews⁸, interviewees were sent copies of their transcription and invited to make any adjustments that they felt necessary. None made any changes, but in a couple of instances I emailed or rang an interviewee to clarify my understanding of

⁸ I transcribed some of the interviews myself and others were typed up from sound files by someone else. In all cases, I listened to the interviews and corrected the transcripts.

things that they had said. In Chapters 4 to 6, for the discussion of the analysis, I have changed names, including those of places, companies and products in order to protect interviewees' and conference delegates' confidentiality. I attempt to reflect the voices of the research participants and to make explicit how my analyses have been derived from what was said. In the findings chapters I quote frequently from the data and the numbers in brackets after quotations refer to the page in the transcript or the conference notes. The ethics of my role as a participant observer at the conference were more complex and these are explored in more depth in 3.5.1 below in a discussion of the conference study data.

My interaction with the interviewees and conference delegates had further complexities beyond those described in the ethics procedure, and each interaction had a quality of its own that must have affected the resultant data. For example, Louise confided her intention to leave her present company and move abroad, Lucy talked about a planned project in great detail, testing her ideas as she spoke, and David and Paul attempted to obtain information about what I knew of the activities of their competitors whom they thought I may have interviewed. This was a reversal of what is described in some educational research literature (see, for example, Goodson & Sikes, 2001) as the expected power relationship between researcher and researched.

3.2.4 Power and knowledge

Power in the writing of research is sometimes asserted through a form of patriarchal positioning. In this positioning concepts of knowledge are sometimes drawn from gendered and hierarchical notions that privilege male rationality over supposed female emotionality. The fact that all rationality is emotionally informed (Nussbaum, 2001) has been buried: creative and emotional dimensions have had to be denied to afford authority to scientific findings, as though problem-solving had no emotional dimension (Mazhinder, 2003). The dichotomy between emotion and reason and the marginalising of emotion has been needed to enable “reason and masculine intellectual mastery to appear as the winner in the contest for truth.” (Boler, 1999: xvi)

For the present study, an acknowledgement of power relations needs to encompass not just relations between researcher, participants and findings, but the influence of power in discourse analysis. Power is integral in the findings, but also in the research process; the analysis does not describe what interviewees and conference delegates said, but interprets and transforms it. Language does not merely reflect reality, and meanings are not fixed, but shifting. A feminist approach is associated with a focus on contextual, empirical work and feminist engagement informs a theoretical position that searches for the possibilities for a transformation of inequalities.

Taking a critical view of the localisers' work led to a politicisation in my analysis. How localisation affects texts and images and what these signify is highly ideological. The ideological function of language is related to deeper and sometimes "hidden" cultural meanings in the connotational codes to which language belongs (Hall, 1993). Language signifies social life and the segmentations of culture, power and ideology. Despite this, the ideological nature of localisation described in Chapter 1 was not mentioned at the localisation events that I attended from 2001 onwards until the launch of GILC⁹ (Global Initiative for Local Computing) at the localisation conference of 2005.

A shortcoming of some discourse analysis is the "attention only to language at the expense of an attention to the materiality of power" (Burman & Parker, 1993: 158), when the significance of language lies not just in its "inherent" features as used by localisers but in "who is saying what to whom for what purpose" (Eagleton, 1991:9) and in the relation of "an utterance to its social context" (ibid). My view that localisers' work environment was marked by strong ideological tensions influenced the development of the research schemas that supported my analysis of identities and practices. The tensions and the struggles that marked localisation became increasingly apparent as the research progressed, affirming the validity of CDA as a research approach that could give an account of power.

⁹ <http://www.localisation.ie/resources/conferences/2005/programme.htm> (last accessed 3.10.08)

As demonstrated in the discussion of globalisation in the last chapter, power is not only exercised discursively, but it is also contained in structures, cultures and technologies within which we work. One aim of the conference study was to capture these. Without the acknowledgement that power is unevenly distributed and that localisation work is ideologically informed, it would be impossible to analyse areas of resistance where localisers, for example, struggle with agencies that commission work (Suzanne), construct imagined capital in the “way we want to be” (Carmen) or resist the technologisation of a work process (Jennifer). Critical Discourse Analysis offered a way of understanding these struggles, and drawing on the conference study supported an examination of the wider conditions within which these were set.

In this chapter section, I have described a feminist approach to research and problematised feminism’s emphasis on researcher reflexivity. I have explored representational issues and made explicit my own history that has influenced research decisions. I have indicated that the aim of CDA, contextualised by a conference study was to capture macro-level as well as micro-level insights. I will now discuss the use of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and issues of validity and reliability, before giving an account of the research method.

3.3 Methodology to method: critical discourse analysis, contextualised through a conference study

My choice of CDA was drawn from my methodology and theoretical view, as well as my background as a linguist. I looked to critical language analysis for a detailed study of power: it was through studying interviewees' discourses that important analytical concepts such as "domestication" and "technologisation" emerged (see Chapter 4.3). Other methods that did not examine, for example, image and metaphor in the text would not have produced these insights. In offering this view, I do not mean to imply that CDA is the only method that can produce analytical insight into people's learning and work (see Malcolm, 2009).

CDA is the study of language as a vehicle for understanding movements of political and ideological power (Locke, 2004; van Dijk, 1985), and I first encountered it in the work of Lillie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough (1999). CDA seemed to offer a way of addressing the questions that began to emerge as I started to study the data. Chouliaraki and Fairclough set out a new agenda for CDA, based on the conditions of late modernity and they discuss globalisation as characterised by cultural transformations, linked to developments in information technology, mediated communication and the increased importance of signs. They emphasise that social forms, such as globalisation, brought about by people can also be changed. As I went on to read more of Fairclough's work I found that the critical approach had a resonance with my developing analysis of the data. I found the link between

language and social life problematic and took the view that “[t]extual descriptions and analysis should not be seen as prior to and independent of social analysis and critique...” (Fairclough, 2003: 16, see also Burman, 2003).

Following my reading of the work of Fairclough, I went on to read James Paul Gee’s approach to the use of language analysis. Gee calls his approach “Discourse Analysis,” (DA) rather than CDA (1999), distinguishing between “Discourses” which are dominant ideological discourses in society and “discourses” used by ordinary people. Like Fairclough, Gee highlights the strong ideological aspect of language (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:1; Gee 1996:IX). Gee’s work helped me to develop the tools of an analytical method that supported my evolving methodological stance (1999: 86). The framework of analysis in the tables below draws on methods illustrated by Gee (1996 and 1999), with further insights and influences from Fairclough (1992, 1999, 2001 and 2003). In describing my analytical approach using CDA I am aware that, while theories and analyses are needed to illuminate localisers’ work in the context of postmodernity, there are alternative routes to such analyses (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 4). The complexity of the analytical task in the present study arises in part from the need to align critique of the social world with language analysis (see Research Objective 3 in Table 1.2). Gee acknowledges such complexities when he indicates that he does not believe there is “one uniquely right way to describe and explicate the workings of language in society” (Gee, 1996: X). Gee proposes his framework and theorisation as a stimulus to others to develop their own approaches, relevant to

their data and research context, rather than as prescriptions for how DA should be done in all circumstances.

There are similarities and differences in Fairclough's and Gee's work. Both base their recommended approaches on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1985, cited in Fairclough, 1992: 27; 1994, in Gee 1999:9) and, crucially, both look to language as a way to explicate the workings of power in society. Fairclough uses CDA to address "common sense assumptions of discourse" (2001:117) and sees discourse embedded in "frames, scripts and schemata" (ibid, 132, see also, 1992:73) that represent the influence of the social world on individuals and their language (ibid; 1992:72). Fairclough emphasises dialectic and struggle, drawing on the critical linguistics of Hodge and Kress (1988 in Fairclough, 1992:29). In elaborating his "social theory of discourse" (1992, Chapter 3) Fairclough also draws on Pêcheux, Foucault, Bakhtin, Gramsci and Althusser to develop a form of analysis that has a rich theoretical base for the critique of power and ideology. Gee, on the other hand, emphasises concepts of identity and understands meaning through action, communities of practice and social cognition (Gee, 1999). Drawing on a theoretical base that includes, for example, Bourdieu, Foucault, Lave and Wenger, Geertz and Engeström, Gee (1999: 38) links the development of individual identity to discourse and language use and emphasises how social practices reveal meanings (1996: 74). Gee describes "cultural models" (1996: 6) as unconscious theories that underpin discourses, as part of individual identity within communities of practice. While Fairclough also takes account of social

practices, his critical approach emphasises struggle in meaning-making and the “dialectical relationship” between language and social practice (1999: 1). However, Fairclough’s use of structure is also nuanced (1999), with an emphasis on the need to transcend interpretivist and structuralist social science through attention to “members’ resources” (2001: 135) – the language user’s background knowledge and culture as an analytical tool. The make-up of members’ resources in Fairclough’s later work reflects an interest that has parallels in Gee’s emphasis on social practices.

The type of data chosen and the exemplary analyses that both writers undertake are different: while Fairclough often illustrates his analysis with media and political texts, Gee often works on interview data. How each of the writers envisages change reveals something of their underlying theories of language and society: for Fairclough, change will come about as a result of struggle (1999), while for Gee it arises through learning and changes in social cognition (1996:89). In summary, while both express clear emancipatory aims, Fairclough’s approach emphasises his strongly developed theoretical base, that encompasses Foucauldian and post Marxist insights. Gee’s, on the other hand, draws on socio-cultural influences (1996: vii) and socio-linguistics to tie theory and ideology to human experience and move beyond the false dichotomy between theory and experience (1996:6).

Since Gee emphasises that his method is a model that others can adapt to their research circumstances, and since Fairclough points out that other approaches than the one he outlines are possible, I have adapted the work of both to produce a framework for analysis (Tables: 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 below). I developed this approach over time and distanced myself from certain aspects of Fairclough's and Gee's work. There is resonance in my methodology and analysis with Fairclough's identification of struggle in discourse, but as a feminist I cannot emulate his search for a "rational understanding" of theories of society (2001: 139). Although I have used Gee's emphasis on practice in designing the framework below, I place less importance on the influence of communities of practice for understanding localisers' work (see discussion of Lave and Wenger in Chapter 2.1). While networks played a role in the professional work of those in the sample as described in Chapter 6, the networks were shifting and unstable since those employed in them worked in the virtual sphere. In the workers' identity formation, space was opened up between discourse and practice, and it was in such transitional spaces that localisers' work emerged. To understand what is going on I needed not just to analyse the discourse but to contextualise it, using the conference study to enhance the focus of CDA, linking identity formation with macro-level power.

One question in the use of CDA relates to the tension between structure and agency. This is a problem that emerges in other research methodologies as part of the challenge in seeking to understand how, "personal, individual experiences and perceptions ...have their origins in social forces" (Goodson &

Sikes, 2001: 101). The issue is raised by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:16) when they problematise how the analyst has to be able to move from one particular moment in the data to wider sociological theorisations. However, this is left unresolved and a possible criticism of Fairclough's analysis is that his illustrations using the data seem far removed from the subsequent conclusions (2001:15). While Gee's theoretical foundations are less extensively described than Fairclough's, Gee ties his textual analysis closely to the data in his illustrations (1996: 6-11). In one analysis, he moves through a detailed exegesis of language and meaning which he traces historically and culturally in the development of BVE (Black Vernacular English) (Gee, 1996:8).

In conclusion, what follows in the method (below) and in the analysis of the findings in Chapters 4 – 6 is an exploratory attempt to bridge the gap between the analytical moment grounded in the interview data and the wider analytical conclusions that I formulate through contextualising the use of CDA in data gathered at a localiser conference. In the last part of this discussion of methodology, I will now explore the myth of objectivity in qualitative research. I will then explain the research methods that I derived from the considerations discussed above.

3.3.1 Validity, warrant, reliability and myths of objectivity

The interviews were coded over a number of months in a bottom up analysis using NVivo (see Appendix 5 for samples of the transcripts). From this volume of data it would be impossible to extrapolate to wider populations and I do not claim automatic wider applicability. The feminist epistemology on which my work is based and which is described above casts a sceptical light on truth claims as part of the validity of research, since knowledge is socially situated and produces, at best, only partial accounts of reality. The research findings described below do not represent the uncovering of key truths that can be objectively proven to be valid. The idea that research results are the unproblematic and ineluctable outcome of a tidy, neutral process is doubtful. Those who suggest that their own researcher neutrality has contributed to the validity of their findings take research in the natural sciences as their model, reproducing a “myth of objectivity” (Walford, 1991:1). All research, including that in the natural sciences, has a personal and social aspect and scientific facts are not discovered in a neutral environment, but are socially constructed (ibid: 2). Validity cannot be reflected in an attempt to capture objectively an external truth.

“Warrant” means to guarantee something as true or to make oneself answerable for something (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1973). It is impossible to guarantee that the findings are true: truth can take different forms and alternative readings of data are always possible. However, in describing the

genesis of the analysis that led to the findings in this study, I take responsibility for them. I claim a contingent truth, set against the circumstances described above and the critical arguments developed in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The warrant for findings described in Chapters 4-6 is also drawn from the way that the research method described in the next part of this chapter is embedded in an epistemology which I have made explicit. The consistency with which the method has been applied is also relevant to making explicit the research warrant (Chamberlayne et al, 2002).

In problematising the issues of validity, warrant and reliability, I looked, amongst others, to the discourse analysts on whose methods I have drawn. Neither Gee nor Fairclough expresses particular concerns about the validity of findings produced by (C) DA. In Fairclough's work it seems to be taken for granted that such a rigorous theorisation of the analysis of language will produce reliable results. Gee seems rather equivocal. While arguing on the one hand that validity is not constituted in an analysis that reflects reality, he bases validity on notions of "convergence" and "linguistic detail" (1999: 95), claiming that it is something that all analyses can have to a greater or lesser extent. Here I take a different view from both Fairclough and Gee and draw on a feminist epistemology. I do not believe that validity and reliability can be constituted as Gee describes in a discourse analytic method, since, even if we use the same analytical questions, the same data and much linguistic detail, it is likely that different readers will produce different interpretations of the same discourse.

Reliability may be taken to mean that an approach applied by one researcher, with one set of data and the appropriate method will produce the same results when applied again by another researcher using the same method. This concept cannot be applied to the type of qualitative research described here. From a feminist perspective, reliability, in the sense of findings being replicable, is replaced by the social construction of knowledge and researcher reflexivity which seeks to render transparent the means of research production (Burman, 2006).

The selection of the research sample is a factor that also has implications for validity, warrant and reliability. Those in the present sample are not representative of all employees in the industry. For example, they work in three countries only, when the spread of the industry is across a whole range of regions and continents. Since the interviewees are professionals who are relatively well-off, the sample presents a considerable limitation by class and ethnicity. Despite the fact that as homeworkers and multitaskers, the women in the sample perform the kind of domestic duties that are not generally required of men, they are nonetheless comparatively privileged. While they share this status with many of those employed in the knowledge economy, it marks them as the least representative of the world's women.

Accepting what may be perceived as limitations of the present work in the areas of validity, warrant and reliability, it is also important to emphasise what I hope the research has achieved, namely to demonstrate that the effects of globalisation and outsourcing are manifest and interact with the lives of ordinary (women) workers in globalising industries. In presenting my research method and describing my engagement in the field, I am aware that feminist empirical research is fraught with tensions that derive from the separation of analytical thought and emotion since the Enlightenment, the configuration of women as emotional and not rational (Hochschild, 1983) and the consequent marginalisation of women's insights.

3.4 The research method

3.4.1 Conduct of the study

I conducted pilot interviews with Carmen and Louise in October 2003 and in January 2004. After an interim analysis, I revised the question proforma for the subsequent interviews (see Appendix 3) that I conducted in September and October 2004. While gender had emerged as significant in the pilot analysis, it was not incorporated into the revised proforma and it was not until all the data had been collected that this was confirmed as a perspective through which they were analysed from March 2005 onwards (see Figure 3.1). The localisers frequently mentioned the work of translators which seemed vital to the whole localisation supply chain and I therefore decided to interview translators (see Appendix 4 for the interview proforma), to obtain a comparison of the two perspectives and to add depth to the study. I carried out the interviews with

translators in May and August 2005. The conference study which contains specific questions on gender was conducted in September 2005.

Time-scale	Data-gathering activity
October 2003 & January 2004	Pilot interviews with two localisers
September 2004	Interim analysis and revision of interview proforma
September & October 2004	Further five localiser interviews
May & August 2005	Interviews with translators
September 2005	Conference study

Table 3.1: Schedule of data gathering

To develop the research proposal for this study, I attended conferences (2001, 2002, 2003), a summer school (2001) and meetings organised by the LRC (Localisation Research Centre) at the University of Limerick. I was a member of an advisory group for a European funded localisation project,¹⁰ I attended the editorial board of a localisation journal¹¹ and meetings of the localisers' professional organisation¹². The preparation phase for the study involved learning about technologies, practices, internal politics and power balances (see Malcolm et al, 2003).

¹⁰ ELECT <http://www.electonline.org/> last accessed 3.10.08

¹¹ <http://www.localisation.ie/resources/locfocus/index.htm> last accessed 3.10.08

¹² <http://www.tilponline.org/> last accessed 3.10.08

3.4.2 The sample: information about the sampling, the interviewees and their companies

I interviewed ten respondents¹³:

Localisers		Translators
Carmen	Mandy	Jennifer
David	Paul	Martin
Louise	Pierre	Suzanne
Lucy		
Localisers made adaptations to software and web products; they worked in agency offices or in home-offices		Translators were concerned with the human language translation of text; those in the sample were homeworkers

Table 3.2 : List of interviewees' names (pseudonyms)

Each interview was conducted face-to-face and took between one and two-and-a-half hours. In selecting the sample I aimed to include localisers who worked in different countries, so I took the opportunity to approach those I had previously met at conferences. I approached 16 localisers in total, and agreed interviews with seven of them. I met both Carmen and Louise at a conference and was able to approach them in person; the other localisers I found through the web and made contact initially by email. I obtained the translators' details through the ITI¹⁴ (Institute of Translation and Interpreting) and then approached them directly by email and telephone. From my work as the director of a knowledge transfer project at Hampshire County Council, and as a manager in a company that offered international training and language products to large corporations, I have extensive experience of working with translators and commissioning translation work. This gave me confidence in approaching the group and agreeing the interviews.

¹³ For "thumbnail" sketches of the interviewees, see Appendix 1.

¹⁴ <http://www.iti.org.uk/indexMain.html> (last accessed 3.10.08) This is one of two main professional organisations for translators in the UK. The other is the Institute of Linguists.

Apart from the stipulation of including localisers who worked in different countries, the sampling is opportunistic. By approaching some of the interviewees through conferences and through a professional organisation I was able to recruit participants who had engaged with broader professional issues such as those discussed at professional fora: David had been in the profession for a long time; Louise facilitated sector professional meetings at an international level; Carmen's company had an international reputation; Pierre's company was a significant market-player and Paul had received business awards. All of the translators were freelance, as is typical now for their occupational group, but they were from different countries and were active members of the ITI, with one of the interviewees now training other translators. While more detailed information on the research encounter with interviewees is contained in Appendix 1, some key information is summarised in Table 3.3 below:

Name of interviewee	Type of company	Characteristics
Localisers		
Carmen	Joint-owner of a medium-sized company based in South America.	The company was only a few years old, but had an international reputation. It employed a range of freelance translators.
David	Small company that had been running for more than 10 years in the UK.	It had recently been re-launched with a new marketing partner – Mandy. David was a qualified engineer and the company started as a technical writing firm.
Louise	Medium-sized company in Ireland.	Main offices were in Ireland with offices in the US. Well established and well-known.
Lucy	Small company of which she was the owner-manager, based in the UK.	Well-known in its region where it had been running for a few years.
Mandy	Small company that had been running for more than 10 years in the UK.	See David above
Paul	Joint-owner of a medium-sized company in the UK.	Paul had won business awards and the company had a growing reputation.
Pierre	Manager in large, international company	The company had other business products, but translation was a significant aspect of its work.
Translators		
Qualifications		
Specialisms		
Jennifer	Degree and postgraduate Masters in translation. From overseas, but trained in the UK.	Specialised in cooking and sewing translation, book translation and some social science translation. Had three children for whom she was the main carer.
Martin	Degree and postgraduate Masters in translation. Moved back to the UK recently. Was a UK national.	Specialised in computer translation. Martin has moved to the UK relatively recently. He trained other translators at a UK university. Ran a specialist on-line forum for translators.
Suzanne	Degree and postgraduate Masters in translation. Based in the UK, but from overseas and also trained overseas.	Specialised in marketing translation, bio-chemical and alternative therapies. Had two children for whom she was the main carer.

Table 3.3: Key information about interviewees and the contexts of their work

It would have been very useful to see interviewees and talk to them in their workplaces. This only happened on one occasion when I interviewed Pierre. For a range of reasons, including commercial confidentiality, accessibility and homeworking, it was not possible for me to do this. I met the interviewees by mutual agreement, in cafés or restaurants, in a room at a conference, and in two cases at the interviewees' request in the University. Given this problem I decided to undertake the conference study in 2005 since this event was a workplace for members of the occupational group.

The fact that the interviews were conducted some three years ago means that some of the technology will have changed in the intervening period. The employees themselves have moved on and the industry has changed. The findings that are described below relate to particular data, set in a particular time. The review in Chapter 2 indicated a resonance in the work of others (conducted with different data and at a different time and place) with the findings that I have produced. It seems likely that while the technology itself has developed, some aspects such as the gendering of technological roles have not altered significantly. In addition, the present work deals with technology per se, rather than with a specific technology.

3.4.3 Overview of the method

As already indicated, I wanted to study localisers as an occupational group, because I thought that such a study might shed light on how globalisation affected the lives, identities and learning of workers. My original research proposal (with minor textual adaptations) was as follows:

Aim - To write a study of the work cultures of a group of localisers		
Research Objective 1 Identity	Research Objective 2 Practice & technology	Research Objective 3 Globalisation
To analyse how localisers portrayed themselves as global workers	To analyse what localisers said about how they worked	To analyse what localisers said about the wider world and how it affected their work
Research Questions	Research Questions	Research Question
How did localisers' discourses situate them as global workers, reflecting membership and boundary drawing?	What did localisers say about the medium and content of their work?	How did localisers make sense of the environmental influences that impinged on their work?
How did localisers' discourses reflect attempts to make sense of their role in globalisation?	How did localisers position themselves in relation to particular forms of expression, such as narrative, keywords, technology?	

Table 3.4 : Research proposal August 2003 which was developed through a feminist lens

When I met the interviewees I explained that I wanted to find out about their work and how they saw the wider localisation industry. The interviewing was semi-structured (Munn & Drever, 2004) and rather than putting the interview questions directly to interviewees, I started the conversation by talking about the participants' company and encouraged interviewees to tell me about themselves and their work. In the course of the interviews I used the interview proforma as a prompt to ensure that all of the relevant questions had been

covered. The interview data contain perspectives from localisers and from translators on the work cultures of localisation from ten interviewees in two related and sometimes overlapping occupational groups.

3.4.4 The interviews: analytical method

I had hoped that CDA would allow me to pin down meanings which I now understand as contingent and shifting, with truths that are elusive. However, as I will discuss in 3.4.7 there is not a simple one-to-one relation between broad language features “and particular semantic relations or grammatical categories” (Fairclough, 2003: 67). The use of discourse analysis was not an easy choice. Initially, I went down the route of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1973) and used “Wordsmith”¹⁵ to analyse the occurrence of linguistic exponents in the data. This involved a quantitative aspect, counting how often a particular expression was used. While this was interesting to a linguist, the approach was not satisfactory: it did not add anything to the qualitative insights and it did not produce the kind of information that would answer my research questions in the necessary depth (see pilot analysis in Appendix 6).

James Paul Gee’s method of doing DA seemed to have a strong resonance with the way that I had conceived of the research design and developed the objectives in August 2003 (see Table 3.5). Gee describes building tasks that

¹⁵ http://www.oup.com/elt/catalogue/guidance_articles/ws_form?cc=global This is the website for the product. (last accessed 20.7.08)

are “cognitive achievements, interactional achievements and inter-textual achievements” (1999: 85) which I related directly to identity (RO1) practice and technology (RO2) and globalisation (RO3), reflecting my research objectives. Gee says that the building tasks are the way “we use language to construct and/or construe” things (1999, 85). I made extensive use of this notion. In a close reading of the interview transcripts I was able to draw on Gee’s model and elaborate from the research objectives three overarching analytical motifs that ran throughout the interviews: these are shown in the right-hand column of Table 3.5 below. Subsequently, I added further to the design and developed an overarching framework of analysis, using Gee’s sub-questions to penetrate the data. Under each building task, Gee offers questions (1999, 93) that he recommends will facilitate a consistent approach to discourse analysis. For example, for motif one which concerns the socio-culturally situated identity of the interviewee, I considered the relevance of, “relationships and identities (role, positions), with their concomitant personal, social, and cultural knowledge and beliefs (cognition), feelings (affect), and values” (ibid 93); for motif three I considered, which “situated meanings and values seem to be attached to places, times, bodies, objects, artefacts, and institutions relevant in this situation” (ibid). These questions later contributed to the analytical framework for data coding using NVivo and the motifs were developed as “tree nodes” (see Table 3.7 and Appendix 7).

Critical discourse analysis model : motifs with questions	
Gee's six building tasks in data analysis (1999: 85)	Analytical motifs developed for the interpretation of localisers' interviews with sample questions used for the penetration of the data (from Gee 1999)
	RO*: 1,2,3: linguistic analysis
Semiotic building	Linguistic repertoires – linguistic exponents (These were analysed throughout the data, in RO1, 2)
Connection building	“What systems of knowledge and ways of knowing are relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?” (ibid, 93)
	Motif three: RO 3 - wider world
World building	How the wider environment, for example, ideology & technology impinges on localisers (RO 3)
Political building	Power - how it is used is a major aspect in the conference study, but also features in interview data “What situated meanings and values seem to be attached to places, times, bodies, objects, artefacts, and institutions relevant in this situation?” “What social goods (e.g. status, power, aspects of gender, race, and class, or more narrowly defined social networks and identities) are relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?” (ibid, 94)
	Motif two: RO2 – practice
Activity building	Construction of localisation practice (RO 2) “What is the larger or main activity (or set of activities) going on in the situation?”(ibid, 93)
	Motif one: RO1 – identity
Socio-culturally situated identity and relationship building	Self portrayal of localisers (RO 1) “What relationships and identities (role, positions), with their concomitant personal, social, and cultural knowledge and beliefs (cognition), feelings (affect), and values, seem to be relevant to the situation?”(ibid, 93)

Table 3.5: Critical discourse analysis model, adapted from Gee (1999) October, 2004

* RO1 is research objective 1, RO 2 is research objective 2 etc – see Table 3.4 above which is the original research design.

Before committing myself to this way of interrogating the data, having tried and discounted quantitative approaches using “Wordsmith”, I undertook a pilot analysis, using the transcripts of Louise’s and Carmen’s interviews (see Appendix 6). The results of this analysis convinced me that an approach through Gee’s motifs would be appropriate to begin answering my research questions.

In the subsequent analysis I endeavoured to balance the demands for depth of analysis with the requirement to cover all of the data and to answer the range of questions in the three different areas of the research objectives (Table 3.4).

3.4.5 Development of data analysis from the bottom up

Having drawn analytical motifs and analytical questions from my original research questions, I began over a number of months to develop the coding from a close reading of the data. I read the interview transcripts repeatedly to develop the codes that appear in Table 3.6 below. I worked with the codes, testing them on the data and making adaptations before I was convinced that they were robust and formed a useable framework. When I had developed the framework I set up branch nodes in NVivo within the existing tree nodes that were based on the motifs. I then coded the interview data against this framework. Only minor changes were made to the codes at this stage and I was able to apply the coding framework to all of the interview data. In the

process of developing the coding framework, I wrote interim analyses (see Appendix 6 for pilot analyses) which I returned to later in an iterative process. After completing the coding scheme in 2005 I then printed off the coded data in sections and spent a further year checking the coding and writing draft analyses for the findings chapters (See Appendix 8 for a sample of earlier drafts of the findings). During this period I also looked in detail at the linguistic repertoires of the interviewees. Read together with the tables below, Appendices 6 to 8 trace the development of the coding.

Coding scheme & analytical framework without linguistic analysis
Motif 1. Socio culturally situated (individual) identity (localisers' self portrayal)
Key concept: identity (underpins analysis in Chapter 4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 Identity construction 1.2 Professional identity 1.3 Work biographies 1.4 Emotion 1.5 Gender 1.6 Technologising identities 1.7 Linguistic exponents
Motif 2. Activity building - (localisers' construction of their practice)
Key concept: work practice with technology (underpins analysis in Chapter 5)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1 Practice, tools, technology 2.2 Control of knowledge 2.3 Ethics & practice 2.4 Supply chain 2.5 Discourse of quality 2.6 Practice identity 2.6 Linguistic exponents
Motif 3. World-building & political building – (how localisers see the wider environment within which they work)
Key concept: globalisation (underpins analysis in Chapter 6)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1 Ideology & ethics 3.2. Industry identity 3.3 Customer-facing identity 3.3 Use of symbols 3.4 Linguistic exponents The conference notebook

Table 3.6: Coding scheme and analytic framework without linguistic analysis, March 2005

3.4.6 Linguistic analysis – problems with top-down searches

As indicated in the table above, the coding included codes for linguistic exponents in each motif. For each motif and set of codes I looked for linguistic features that seemed to occur most frequently in the coded text relating to that particular motif. I then coded linguistic exponents under each tree node.

However, at this initial stage of coding, the amount of data that could be allocated to the linguistic node was sparse and revealed no particular pattern. Developing the linguistic or semiotic aspect of the analysis required further specific and detailed searching. I did a top-down search using my own notion of relevant linguistic markers (influenced by my reading) to see if they could reveal more than the existing coding about what interviewees were saying about self identity.

Since there are 10 voices in the interview data, the range of linguistic repertoires varied widely. These top-down linguistic searches were of limited use and I found that they only confirmed what I had established from a close reading of the data. Teun van Dijk (1993) points out that while it is tempting to associate a particular language feature, such as the imperative (command form) with particular interpretations, such as the use of power, power is used in diverse ways that will not be revealed by such one-to-one approaches to linguistic features and meanings. The results of this approach did not reveal information that could help answer the research questions and it was not possible to find obvious and clearly delineated linguistic exponents for top-down analysis. It was not possible to correlate particular, searchable linguistic features with particular interpretive meanings in all language by every speaker. For example, the use of a conditional verb form does not express uncertainty but had a range of discursive functions including the expression of possibility. Individual speakers use language differently and language construction is socially and context dependent. I abandoned the idea of constructing a

language structure based on my reading of Gee and Fairclough and imposing this on the data in a top-down analysis. Instead, I returned to a close reading of the data. I made notes of my analysis, interrogating the data for language use in context. In the process of this further analytical reading I noticed broader linguistic features that carried meaning. These were, for example, the use of imagery, metaphor, contrastive language and linguistic cohesion in passages of speech that proved to be of interest across all of the interview data. From this bottom-up approach I developed a framework for linguistic, semantic analysis which is incorporated with the other coding in Table 3.7 below.

Since the features that I have analysed vary in form related to context they could only be identified by close reading and not by quantitative language searches using electronic tools. For example, the images that are used to express a particular idea, David's "head cook and bottle washer" to indicate the need for multitasking, and how this related to other domestic imagery, could not have been determined using such a search tool. In writing the findings chapters, I found that I stripped out more and more of the linguistic terminology to highlight the personal or political significance of what was being said. Table 3.7 (below) brings together the content of Tables 3.5 and 3.6 with the linguistic features that I studied. This demonstrates how I extended the analytical framework for the coding of interview data to include linguistic markers that added depth to the analysis.

3.4.7 The complete coding with linguistic analysis

Codes used in interview data	Significant linguistic markers analysed in linguistic analysis
Motif 1. Socio culturally situated (individual) identity	
1.1 Professional identity 1.2 Work biographies 1.3 Emotion 1.4 Gender 1.5 Technologising identities	Fairclough (2003:41) style, being, relations to oneself, voice Identificational meaning (Fairclough, ibid: 160) noun categories Intertextuality – other voices (Fairclough, ibid) Imagery & metaphors Linguistic juxtaposition & contrast Contrastive language (Gee, 1996) Choice of lexis Downtoners, intensifying adverbs (Fairclough 2003: 162), “mitigating devices” and “hedges” (Gee, 1996:99) Modality – what is necessary & evaluation thereof (Fairclough, 2003:164) what people commit themselves to: use of 1st person pronouns, subject and object I, we. Repetition
Motif 2. Activity building	
2.1 Practice, tools, technology 2.2 Control of knowledge 2.3 Ethics & practice 2.4 Supply chain 2.5 Discourse of quality 2.6 Practice identity	Actional meaning (Fairclough, ibid) Aspirational expressions , “will” “want to” etc. Verbs, concretising language & claiming agency Use of metaphor Choice of lexis – technologising language Linguistic cohesion – the order of events (Gee) and “linguistic shift of position”, the use of conjunctions, linguistic juxtaposition.
Motif 3. World-building	
3.1 Ideology & ethics 3.2. Industry identity 3.3 Customer-facing identity 3.4 Use of symbols	Use of metaphor Linguistic juxtaposition The use of comparison Representational meaning (Fairclough, 2003)

Table 3.7: The complete coding scheme, March 2006

3.5 Contextualisation through conference study

I formulated a research proposal for the Carnegie Trust and obtained funding to attend the 10th Annual Internationalisation and Localisation Conference, *The Global Initiative for Local Computing*, 13 – 14 September 2005, University of Limerick, Ireland. My aim was to attend the conference as a participant observer with the specific purpose of gathering contextual data for the study. The conference was a large international gathering and as a workplace for conference delegates, business discussions took place on the fringes of the conference, collaboration was discussed and information was obtained about new developments in localisation. The attendance at the 2005 conference built on the research that I had previously undertaken in the localisation industry (Malcolm et al, 2003) - the three other international conferences, a summer school and numerous formal and informal meetings with the staff of the Localisation Research Centre and others in the industry. As I developed the research proposal I was also undertaking research for Scottish Enterprise (see 3.4.1 above).

The conference study was vital for gaining insights into the relationships between localisers, their work and the wider environment. I was able to draw on the conference proceedings which contained PowerPoint handouts and some complete conference papers. I produced 37 pages of field notes from presentations, question sessions, conference workshops and from conversations at lunch, in tea breaks and at the conference dinner. These data were analysed in a close reading alongside the interview data. The main

benefit of attending the conference at that stage of the research was that it allowed me to check some of my interim findings from my interpretation of the interview data, such as the relevance of gender, offering a form of triangulation. I asked questions based on the on-going analysis of the interview transcripts, such as:

- Would my notion about the ideological and political import of localisation be confirmed or dispelled by what I heard at the conference?
- Were women being positioned in a particular way in the industry or did information gathered at the event qualify this view?

Aim of the conference study		
To study the work environment of interviewees, as exemplified at the conference, and contextualise my understanding of the qualitative interview data already obtained.		
Objectives		
1. To establish what are the dominant discourses pursued at the conference.	2. To establish how the discourses of the conference relate to the objectives identified in the overall research design.	3. To engage with the content of the conference programme and with individual delegates to elicit data that will allow me to contextualise existing interview data and emerging analysis.
Questions		
1.1 How do delegates position themselves in relation to the dominant discourses of the conference programme?	2.1 How do the conference programme and individual discourses relate to identity, practice and policy & technology?	3.1 What symbols emerge at the conference and how are these configured in discourse?
1.2 What cultural and political variations/disjunctures are apparent in the conference discourses at an individual and programme level?	2.2 How do discourses position delegates in relation to gender?	3.2 What discourses and power structures are supported by rituals played out at the conference? (Since the conference is an annual event it is in some senses a ritual in itself.)
1.3 How do delegates position themselves in relation to these variations?	2.3 How are power structures expressed and acted out? (Role of large multinationals and that of small Linux users in India who will both be represented at this event?)	

Table 3.8: Design of the conference study, July 2005

The data were analysed in relation to these questions, but also in relation to the main research objectives that I described in Table 3.4. This analysis complicated the insights that were emerging from the interviews. However, I

should reiterate that not all of the findings that I gained from the study at the conference could be written up in the thesis. To cover this fully would have meant introducing new material and dealing with far-reaching new topics beyond the scope of the research questions. Thus, the conference insights deepened the interpretation of the interview data, and I have explicitly drawn on them in the findings chapters to reflect this, with broader insights from these data appearing throughout the following chapters.

3.5.1 Conference study data and ethics

The ethics of the conference study were discussed and agreed with the conference organisers. While at the event, I was open about my identity and my reasons for being a conference delegate. However, in quoting private conversations I have anonymised some aspects and changed names of individuals and organisations to protect the identities of delegates who supplied information in this way.

In describing the findings, I specifically refer to conversations with individuals whose identities are changed: Anja a manager in a localisation firm, Alan a computing academic and Lawrence, manager in a global software company. Where I refer to information presented in the public domain of the conference floor or workshop, identities have not been changed. Here I refer to keynote speeches by Patrick Gannon, President and CEO of OASIS (Organisation for

the Advancement of Structured Information Standards), Professor Pat Hall of the Open University, Reinhard Schaefer who is the Director of the Localisation Research Centre at the University of Limerick and to a workshop session led by Phillipe Caignon of Université Concordia, Canada. The data referred to are: a conference notebook; notes from the pre-conference; notes from the main conference and notes from the conference workshops. The numbers in brackets refer to the page numbers in the typed data, based on contemporaneous notes taken at the time of the conference.

3.6 Conclusion

The analytical themes that I derived from the research questions were refined and elaborated as the analysis took shape. These were viewed from a feminist perspective that had emerged as part of the research process. The principal approach to data analysis was through CDA that was contextualised using a conference study. The discussion of the findings in the following chapters begins with work in private spaces, Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 - Working at home

4.1 Introduction

In the present chapter, I will discuss the findings that relate to individual identity, with a focus on the home as a site of work activity. I will describe two particular work forms that emerged as relevant to considerations of power and gender. Firstly, however, I will look at the gender profile and roles within the present sample of localisers and translators.

A gender breakdown of those employed in the localisation industry is not available. However, at the conference men dominated important positions¹⁶. In the conference data ten of the conference speakers were men, two were women and the majority of delegates were men. Among the interviewees Paul's company, and that of Carmen, Lucy and David, were owner-managed organisations run by young entrepreneurs. The companies in the sample were owned by men and where women were in joint ownership (Carmen and Lucy), their principal roles involved managing the translation process, while the men undertook strategic work. As company employees, too, the women tended to manage the translation and to deal with translation suppliers. For example, in Pierre's company two women managed the translations and in Paul's company Karen checked translation work. It was evident that Karen's role was outwith strategic decision-making which was the preserve of the two male company owners. While men's roles appeared devoted to company strategy, the women

¹⁶ Of the seven members of the board of the Localisation Industry Standards Association, two are women <http://www.lisa.org/LISA-Board-Members.71.0.html> (last accessed 7.9.08).

did the “day to day” type of work, “My job’s sort of like just bringing it all together...”(Lucy, 2) and also “carry[ing] out practically” (Louise, 3) the administrative work connected with the localisation process.

Translation is regarded as a feminised profession and the majority of outsourced translators who work from home in the UK are women (68.7% female: 31.3% male, as confirmed in private email correspondence with Parveen Mann of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting dated 23.2.07 see discussion in 6.3.2). However, a possible gender dichotomy suggested by such a statistical breakdown was not always matched by interviewees’ forms of working. For example, Lucy worked from a home-office and Martin was a homeworker. Within this complexity, the two work forms discussed here had implications for how workers were positioned more broadly.

In this chapter I will, firstly, describe forms of working at home and the complex ways in which work and its formats interacted with gender and power. The work formats among interviewees were:

- homeworking as an outsourced freelance (all of the translators in the sample) and
- work as a company employee from a home-office (some of the localisers in the sample).

By analysing work in private spaces, and looking at individuals’ working lives I will illustrate how global outsourcing and homeworking drew private spaces into the work economy, emphasising the political complexion of the work. I will

describe how the proximity of paid and domestic work among homeworkers created a particular context for interviewees' identities.

Secondly, I will examine the localisers' discourses of quality as they described their activity in contrast to poor quality, characterised through domestic imagery. Lastly, I will examine the significance of homeworking as a framing for emotion work and for the forms of agency and resistance that were used, particularly by women in the sample.

4.2 Multitasking as a homemaker or employed in a home-office

A comparison between translators as homeworkers and localisers employed in home-offices offered insights into the gendering of work, as the homeworking of translators was linked by some interviewees to gendered choices. While the localisers' homes were private spaces that could substitute for the office, the women translators referred to their homes as shared family space from where they did homeworking. Having a company home-office indicated a different relation to space from homeworking, with the latter marked more strongly as domestic space (see 2.3.1). I will now describe the work of translators at home and the link between this work format, patriarchy and capitalism.

4.2.1 Freelance translators as homeworkers

The homeworkers in the sample were Jennifer, Suzanne and Martin (see thumbnail sketches in Appendix 1 and Table 3.3). Jennifer had always worked as a freelance, although she would have preferred an agency position. She was the main carer of three children and had worked reduced hours while the children were growing up. For the previous 10 years she had been trying to work full time. She had always known that she would want to have children, so accepted the role of freelance worker as fitting in with her caring responsibilities. Suzanne also talked about caring responsibilities as a married woman with two young children. As the main carer in the family and due to the ages of her children, Suzanne did not work full time. She had never considered an agency post and emphasised the desire she had had as a young person to travel. Martin was in his early to mid thirties, married with one small child and a baby. He had given up an agency position as part of a joint decision made with his wife to move back to the UK and subsequently to establish himself as a freelance, specialising in computer translation. Martin's wife was giving up her agency post with the arrival of her second baby and Martin said that she would be coming to work with him, supporting the freelance work that he had built up.

While Martin explained his personal circumstances he did not mention a domestic role, or domestic duties: the women, however, talked at some length about their domestic roles and how these interacted with their ways of working. At the beginning of Suzanne's interview we had a discussion about her

availability because she had to be sure to leave at a certain time to collect her children:

IM: I've checked there about your arrangements for picking up your children and everything at the end of this interview so we should be okay with that. (Suzanne, 1)

When speaking about working at week-ends, Suzanne said:

I don't mind it because it means good money over the weekend and also being able to then say maybe the next week for two or three days I'm not taking anything on and I'm catching up with housework, kids, with husband, with dog ...(Suzanne, 15)

Speaking about sustaining her work as a translator and becoming a mother, Jennifer explained that she reduced her working hours:

I worked part-time when I had my kids and some years were very, very part-time indeed.... (Jennifer, 1)

Martin had become a homemaker relatively recently, within the last five years, compared with Jennifer's, "I've been doing it for twenty-two years" (1), or Suzanne who had been a homemaker for around 10 years. Martin did not link his decision to become a homemaker to his caring duties and he pointed out that he "sort of fell into" freelancing. While Martin gave the impression that he was fully employed the women referred to the fact that their translation work did not constitute full-time activity.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the term homemaker is open to various definitions and the title "portfolio worker" is also used to refer to professionals who work in this way as translators. A given definition of homemaker (Felstead, 1996) is used here to mean someone who is not employed by an organisation, to whom

work is outsourced on a self-employed basis and who has no direct contact with the end-client. The translators, unlike other portfolio workers, work from home all of the time and rarely, if ever, attend meetings with a client or deliver knowledge goods at other sites identified by the client, as would be the case with portfolio workers such as accountants, tax advisors or business trainers. It emerged from the interviews that outsourcing to translators from organisations was a mixture of regular and casual work, with a core of regular customers giving repeat business and others making single requests. While most customers gave the translators regular business, there tended to be movement and change over time, with some customers moving away and others emerging to offer new work. A challenging aspect of the established translators' emotion work related to such work transitions. These arose due to the need for translators to increase their fees, or as a result of agencies or work providers changing conditions of employment by, for example, passing on savings to the translator and reducing their rates of pay. It took translators a few years to establish a regular customer base and notwithstanding such transitions that were necessary thereafter, translators were then able to exercise some control over which work they accepted (Gold & Fraser, 2002).

In the lives of homeworker interviewees, income-generating work was bound closely together with other facets of life. It appears that all three translators did some caring work, but it appeared that for the women homeworking was more clearly connected to a gendered choice they had made to be the main carer. Fulfilling their domestic role, while also working in the knowledge economy as a

translator meant that these women worked across professional and domestic boundaries. While this made for boundaryless work in terms of the demands placed on the interviewees, as I will describe in Chapter 6, boundaries within the industry were linked to technology and affected gendered choices and constraints for both women and men.

Homeworking as a main carer demanded an ability to deal with a range of different jobs at the same time, “and we multitask” (Suzanne, 11¹⁷). The main activity of home was family life. Unpaid domestic work was ever present and combined with paid work to constitute activity that was not just private, but informed the women’s broader social positioning and the way that they used power (Dubar, 1998; Walby, 1986). Working across boundaries and multitasking had implications for identity and learning. Not surprisingly, the women had to deal with contradictions and tensions in fulfilling these diverse roles. For example, while the combination of roles required multitasking, translation work also involved concentrating efforts:

...and you know for the next two months you’ll be glued to your computer and you’ll have one sole purpose and that is to get whatever you’re doing, get it over. (Suzanne, 21)

Multitasking as part of the women’s work was combined with the need to focus on specific and demanding translation projects. A question suggested by this was whether the complexity and the workers’ ability to multitask and focus was

¹⁷ The numbers after interviewees’ names refer to the page numbers of the interview transcripts. See Appendix 5 for extracts from interview transcripts.

recognised and regarded as a valuable facility by those who outsourced work to them. The evidence indicated that it was not, since it involved two work domains, the domestic and the professional, that were treated as totally separate in the localisers' discourse.

Turning to the data from the conference study, the discussions with conference delegates revealed tensions for both men and women in managing the domestic sphere and fulfilling work commitments:

Met Lawrence from Miresap (a large global software company) at lunch on the day of the pre-conference. He joined the company 15 years ago and used to work crazy hours. Everyone in the office was young and all of them could do it. Now it has changed and they have families, so they need to get a work-life balance, so they now work 9-10 hours a day. He referred to dropping the children off in the morning. He says that employees in Miresap are about 60% male and 40% female, but if you look at the areas where they work, the women are in HR, marketing and not engineering. (Conference notebook, 3.)

It does seem surprising that a 9 – 10 hour day can constitute a work-life balance, but this perhaps indicates the pressures on workers in global computing companies. Lawrence's experience complicates the relation between work forms, gender and domestic demands; it has some similarities and differences with that of Anja, a conference delegate and manager in a localisation company:

Many of the interlocutors seem to have a particular angle on things and the discourses are very diverse. There are a lot of social exchanges and a lot of the localisers know each other. When Anja met another woman from Brown's she brought her up-to-date with where she had been working and that she had just had two children aged 1 and 3.

Anja made the point of telling me that she had done the cooking and other household things for the days when she would be away at the conference.
(Conference notebook, 6)

Anja talked about the quality of life in Dublin being good. She hadn't far to commute. She was full time, but she's now part time. "Women do the domestic stuff."
(Conference notebook, 7)

While Lawrence struggled with the question of work life balance, for Anja, Jennifer and Suzanne this was firmly weighted towards their domestic duties.

4.2.2 Valuing work – capitalism and patriarchy

The women's talk about the link between their two work domains – domestic and translation - and their preparedness to operate across these boundaries contrasted with an aim expressed by their male work-givers in localisation companies. While some of the work-givers were women - Lucy and Carmen - the interviewees' discourses around approaches to working varied and men emphasised the importance of using their time strategically to be able to concentrate on running the company. This meant that they strove to improve work practices in particular ways:

I do some, yeah, some things that are pretty much dogsbody ...which I really don't want to do for much longer, but we need to get some systems in place to make it more manageable... yeah, strategic direction is one thing. (Paul, 17)

Male work-givers configured multitasking as less professional than concentrating on one task at a time:

I think translation needs you to take a step back and have a look at things and have a think and that's not something you can do if you're always thinking "Oh, I've got ten other things to do, four or five calls" sort of thing. (Paul, 18)

The translators' work was marked by a domestic aspect that, as I shall describe in 4.3, was taken up in the imagery used in localisers' discourses. The women's positioning influenced the continuity of their work, making career breaks or reduced hours necessary to enable them to fulfil their commitments as main carers:

I did a big bit then but then I really started in earnest at twenty-six, and I'm now forty-eight, so I've been doing it for twenty-two years full-time, or aiming to be full-time, probably since about 1997.. (Jennifer, 1)

Since the interview was conducted in 2005, this means that in only eight of the last twenty-two years has Jennifer been able to attempt full-time work. In an occupational role where quality was perceived to depend on continuous practice, such career patterns seem to have affected the women's standing in the eyes of work-providers:

Why am I not a good translator, I think, yeah I mean well part of it you need to be sort of used to it and using your languages every day, which I'm not.... (Paul, 18)

This shed further light on the nature of the women translators' professional experience and the potentially detrimental impact of their discontinuous careers, and multitasking on perceptions of their professionalism and on the career trajectories that they were able to pursue.

Among the translator interviewees the social positioning and status of homeworkers was drawn partly from their membership of a professional group (see Chapter 6), but it derived also from their being married and from the status of their marriage partner. Jennifer emphasised that she was not the breadwinner and that hers was a second income:

I'm also conscious of the fact that I'm not the main provider in my family...(Jennifer, 6).

Whilst this could be interpreted as giving her more freedom in the professional domain, the domestic role that she fulfilled involved unpaid work and a commitment to particular duties. As a main carer she had to meet obligations in a family unit where her main duty lay:

I mean I couldn't possibly devote all my time to translation because I'd be neglecting my family...(Jennifer, 18)

Her choice to work as a freelance translator was contingent on her domestic role. As I indicated at the start of this chapter, freelance working was not her original ambition, but a choice that arose in the context of economic changes and global outsourcing (see 6.2). In the lives of some interviewees, there was a

consonance between capitalist outsourcing to homeworkers and structures of patriarchy. Suzanne drew attention to the challenges contained in women's dual roles:

I would say I'm working to, I don't know, 60, 70 percent of capacity of what my colleagues without children, without dogs, without husband work... (Suzanne, 4)

Interaction between forms of global capitalism and forms of patriarchy was reflected in the way Jennifer's work was supported by her husband as main provider:

... there's two salaries coming in ... you either finance not having to work full time or you finance the more interesting projects, the more interesting, poorer paid projects with the ones that you do that are better paid, so there is enough work if, I suppose if you, you know ...not having to be financially independent completely. (Jennifer, 6)

Being a freelance translator may be seen to confer certain benefits for women like Suzanne and Jennifer. Freedoms that were available to them included the ability to choose which work one undertakes and, as the second earner, to avoid subjecting oneself to workplace cultures of neo-liberalism and performativity. However, this status was closely linked to the women's social class and heavily dependent on other circumstances related to class, such as the wealth and disposable income of a partner. The choices available remained gendered and involved, overall, more work, more family obligations and less

pay than men. Talking of her multitasking, Suzanne made the point that she had little time for her own interests:

...of which my life the portion of my life is very, very small I should say (laugh). (Suzanne, 15)

The conference data indicated some of the complexity and tensions that exist between capitalism and patriarchy. While Lawrence still worked long hours Alan (a computing academic) said he could have given up work to be with his baby:

Alan said Farland was getting more capitalist – you don't know your neighbours etc. He and his wife have a little baby and his mother-in-law looks after the child while they are both at work. His wife works and he feels they have too much work. ... Alan said he could well give up work and look after the children. (Conference notebook, 7)

Alan averred his preparedness to look after children in response to Anja's comment about women doing domestic work. Women in the data had gendered roles and their duties as main carers appeared to take precedence over their work as translators. However, any suggestion of a clear gender dualism was disrupted by Alan's comments. His indication that such a role could also be assumed by a man pointed to the complexity of the gendered roles that emerged in the data, suggesting that some men may be less at ease with attributed roles.

I will now turn to an analysis of the work situation of localiser interviewees.

4.2.3 Localisers in home-offices

Louise and Pierre were employed by large companies – the former based in the US and Ireland and the latter based in the UK. As the co-owner of a firm in South America, Carmen talked about the need for flexible working and mentioned the fact that she herself sometimes worked from home. However, she did not describe a tele-working mode among her employees. On the other hand, David, Lucy and Paul used tele-working in their companies. Although they worked from a home-office, these localiser tele-workers were in every sense part of an organisation. In this working model, communication was mediated through ICT and workers were networked with company colleagues who were in similar positions, working for the same company. Technology pulled the company together through the use of the company intranet for common tasks to which colleagues contributed. When workers contacted suppliers and customers, they did so from the network of home-offices among colleagues with whom they shared a company culture.

The work experience of the tele-workers was very different from that of the homeworkers. In these data, among the experiences of homeworkers was a sense of isolation to which all interviewees referred:

...most of us, well I've probably been very garrulous today, if you don't get out and talk a lot you probably end up talking a lot when you do get out. (Jennifer, 17)

It beat the translating blues which can happen and has happened because it's very lonely work a lot of the time and with most of your communication done via Emails there are days when you don't talk to anybody and I'm not a solitary person... (Suzanne, 20)

This was not a problem expressed by the localisers. Although they were disciplined and controlled by the company through the use of technology, they were also able to access the support of fellow workers whom they knew personally and with whom they were in daily contact. As I will describe in Chapter 5, tele-workers contributed to company cultures through their own identity work and emotional labour. In virtual space, they were pulled together without "office distractions" (Paul, 1) and technology made it possible for company owners to manage the way that employees worked through, for example, regular conference calls at appointed times between worker teams and company managers.

4.3 Gender complexity - counter-concepts of quality and domestication

Symbolism used in the interviewees' discourses took the form of technical quality versus domestication, suggesting a duality of culture and technology. Despite such dualisms being disturbed by the fact that some homeworkers were men and some co-owners of companies were women, the symbolism was prominent in the discourses. Lucy described a concentration on achieving technical functioning, while the cultural appropriacy of the content made available by the technology appeared as secondary:

...the main issue when you're localising someone's website isn't the cultural thing it's the actual making the characters work in different programmes So I think as a future market for website localisation it's probably going to be actually the technical side that's going to be more useful and lucrative ...
(Lucy,2)

The predominance of technology in the achievement of business aims was evident at the conference, reflected in the programme itself and in the new European-funded research project "IGNITE" - an international initiative aimed at developing further the automation of the localisation process.

Among the discourses of interviewees, David distinguished the technical aspect of localisation from the "softer end" (7). The use of technology gave David control of work processes and had the important symbolic function of representing quality in all its aspects. Localisers' identities were constructed through discourses that linked work and technology to quality as a thread that ran throughout the interviews:

...a top quality service, top quality, reliable service, but offering it at a cost advantage while, at the same time, not competing in the bargain bucket end because there's a lot of that in the translation business now and we're really not interested in going there because it's not where we want to be really...
(David, 4)

David associated the lack of professionalism, "bargain bucket", with the "translation business" and not with localisation. This discourse of technological quality and the symbolic dualism of good technical quality versus potentially

poor, domesticated lack of quality was personified in the data through the discursive construction of a foil¹⁸ for quality (in the sense that all heroes need foils): “the poor translator”. Through the use of a range of domestic imagery, work that was poor appeared as feminised, had the home as its place of operation and was configured as unprofessional. In this way, images of quality could be offered alongside their opposites to lend emphasis to the positive attributes of the localisers’ practice. For David, a lack of professionalism was epitomized by “Mr and Mrs. Geddehoff or something times ten thousand” (3). In this depiction, the domestic character of these translators was highlighted in making them a married couple. Doing this work from a family home suggested that it could not be properly professional. The couple were from a bygone era, not part of the professionalised team of technologised and disembodied translators that the localisers sought to recruit and then manage remotely within their particular model of outsourcing (see the quote from David, 7, below). For Martin, poor quality work was undertaken by “the wife of the MD who’s maybe had a French mother or something like that and she’s doing the translation on the kitchen table...”(4) and for Pierre, the translators were configured as, “sitting at home”(11). Paul described unprofessional practices with a similar image of “mom and pop suppliers, as you know people call it” (23). In fact the metaphor was not familiar to me, but Paul drew me into the industry consensus that distinguished technological quality from domesticated images of poor practice. The use of such imagery peppered the discourses of the male interviewees, forming a domestic counter-concept that lent emphasis to technical quality as

¹⁸ The use of a foil is part of a characterisation in a narrative that has a particular discursive purpose. For example, in Henry James’s novel, “The Europeans”, two “European” characters, Felix and Münster, are introduced as foils that lend a depth of perspective to the characterisation of other figures in the novel, the Wentworths.

part of techno-muscular capitalism (Chang and Ling, 2000) and masculinised business cultures (Faulkner, 2007). While a gender dualism seems to emerge here it is rendered complex by the fact that some translator homeworkers are also men. Despite the presence of “Mr Geddehof” and “pop supplier”, the profession emerged as domestic through a feminisation suggested in “wife”, “mother”, “kitchen table” and “home”. This metaphorical portrayal of translators who do poor work did not correspond to the reality of the contribution made by them to the localisation industry.

While the dualism used in the male interviewees’ discourses about quality and domesticity was disjunctive and did not match other findings, the symbolic role of technology associated with quality was much clearer. Technology was a potent symbol used by male and female localisers to suggest quality. To fulfil its symbolic function it only had to be mentioned rather than discussed or described and, as we shall see in Chapter 5, the details of its operation and contribution to practices remained indeterminate. The construction of quality in the linguistic and cultural areas of localisation required quality translators to be lifted out of the domestic sphere of homeworking and to be construed as opposites of Mr and Mrs Geddehoff:

...we have an enormous pool of people who have expertise in the cultural, in those softer ends. I mean they’re natives for a start, but within that there are a good number of them that have specifically focussed on localisation issues as well. (David, 7)

Outsourced suppliers could be either amateurs in their own homes, or experienced professionals who had solid expertise and a particular focus on localisation (as opposed to translation). David's avowal to work with highly professional localisation-focussed translators was an essential part of his construction of his own and his company's identity.

While all male interviewees used domestic imagery to convey poor quality, this imagery was absent from the women's discourses. In addition to their use of technology as a discursive resource, the women linked quality to control and discipline, as exemplified in my interview with Louise:

Louise: ...they get into a rut of producing content that isn't necessarily as good as it needs to be, but we accept it and say nothing, and I know there are a lot of companies do the same. So we're establishing a feedback report which will be much more stringent and which will be rewarded and penalised according to how the freelance [translator] behaves.

IM: With your suppliers?

Louise: And I think you're going to see a lot more of that. It has to happen. We can't keep incurring the cost on behalf of the freelances, and the freelances can't keep giving translations that are perhaps a little bit below par sometimes. I mean that the whole industry and the whole chain still continue to be successful and be esteemed as a decent profession.
(Louise, 13)

So far in this chapter, I have described contrasting work formats and a complex and disrupted dualism of technical quality versus a domestic lack of quality. In

the remainder of this chapter, I will look at the emotion work that underpinned localisation and specifically at women interviewees' use of resistance.

4.4 Emotion work, resources and resistance in discourses

A question that I posed in analysing the data was how workers who were configured as domestic or as highly technologised used agency and what discourses they constructed around their positions and their power. In the remainder of this chapter I will look in detail at some implications of this question. In the analysis of interviewees' working, particularly of women's multitasking, emotion work emerged as a significant strength that sustained them and, in particular, shed light on the resources that they drew upon as homeworkers. As described in the review of literature in Chapter 2, this use of emotion work as part of agentic acting has to be distinguished from the emotional labour of the employee (see Chapter 5).

4.4.1 Doing emotion work

The women translators who talked about their domestic roles performed emotion work in the family home which constituted the dominant social framing of their work and lives. Suzanne referred to an adult language class that she taught and the need for adult social contact, away from her position as homeworker and main carer:

I mean you'll have been there as well when they're wee it's all very nice but sometimes like "Get me out of here, no more crayons, no more Lego, no more whatever Star Wars for the day please" and teaching adults has really done that for me. (Suzanne, 20)

The effect of working simultaneously across the boundaries of private and public emotion, to negotiate with her child about what she was allowed to eat after school and at the same time to take a call from an agency involved emotion management. Drawing on Hochschild's theory we could say that, for translators, the transmutation of the private emotion system to the workplace was disrupted, since translators were subject to controls in the domestic space that derived from the interplay of patriarchy and capitalism. Although they did not have to perform emotional labour to influence the feeling states of customers (to buy a product¹⁹) or suppliers (to offer a cheaper and better service), they did have to negotiate on the pricing of their work and simultaneously use their emotions to fulfil their role in family life. In carrying out their professional duties as translators the women used the same emotional resource that they used in domestic work: their multitasking and the physical proximity connected the two spheres of their lives. As they carried out emotion work across the domestic and professional domains, they drew on resources to work in two emotional registers simultaneously. The use of emotion expressed by Suzanne above also emerged in relation to professional performance when she talked about work that she had done:

¹⁹ The translators in the sample did very little marketing and their work came mainly as a result of their listings on the ITI database or on other similar registers.

I get awfully emotional with any translation that I send away that I'm not 100% satisfied or whatever or I want feedback
(Suzanne, 22)

I will now describe how the women's emotion work emerged as part of their use of agency in struggles that were set within the power structures of masculinised business cultures .

There is evidence that the need to look both ways – to domestic work and to professional translation - placed particular demands on women. Suzanne negotiated with (male) work providers and the discourse analysis revealed a use of contrastive language that indicated emotion work: she “makes a stand” (sic) and sometimes also “falls down” (21). Suzanne's choice of lexis when she talked about her relationship with agencies indicated a power struggle within the supply chain and the need to assert power with work providers. Tension was reflected in Suzanne's discourse when she referred to her customers talking, for example, about “...whether they're going to ditch me” (7) and “what I call my dirty half-dozen” (8). The use of verbs like “ditch” to indicate that the localiser may give her no more work and use of adjectives in calling her customers “dirty” were discursive devices that put space between Suzanne and the translation agency of whom she said “I don't go chasing after them” (14). Emotional space and independence were created through Suzanne's emotion work as part of her resistance.

In theorising this use of emotion I have conceptualised it as part of resistance and as a sub-concept of agency. A form of emotion work emerged specifically in

the women's uses of agency, linked to their roles as professionals and main carers. However, there was evidence of agentic responses to particular, recurring work scenarios by all three translators in a way that disturbed notions of a simple gender dichotomy. I will now describe how the translators used emotion work in agentic action that involved resistance in specific interactions with work providers. Interactions with translation agencies or localisers emerged as a significant area of resistance for all of the translators in two particular areas- firstly, in negotiations on price and secondly, in responding to requested deadlines.

Martin and the two women translators described the experience of being put under pressure by work-givers to reduce rates, or to keep them down by not introducing inflation rises. This meant that sustaining work as a freelance and sustaining an income that kept pace with inflation could be challenging. It required agency, assertiveness and professional confidence. This challenge was mentioned by all three translators whose experiences were similar:

No, I mean I think it's the same with anybody trying to raise their rates is always going to have a problem ... nobody wants to pay more money, as I say the ones who weren't actually prepared to accept the higher rates have gone to use cheaper translators and as far as I'm concerned fine. (Martin, 20)

Jennifer elaborated further on the type of pricing pressure experienced by translators. In a follow-up contract for the same client, she and her translation

partner were asked to do further similar translations, and due to the similarity were asked to charge less:

...well we were translating a web-site a sort of air conditioning set I think and they said "OK we're very happy with these, the initial text you did for us and here are some that are very similar to the others so can you maybe charge us half for it" so it does get squeezed...(Jennifer, 7)

Jennifer and her colleague resisted this and instead of the usual fee calculation, agreed that they should be paid an hourly rate. This solution was accepted and in the end the payment received was the same as it would have been if they had charged their normal rate with no repetition, as they had originally proposed. The point that Jennifer was able to assert with the client was that even where there was repetition in the text, it still had to be reorganised and checked and this took time.

In relation to deadlines, the translators described being presented with short deadlines and being asked to deliver work over a week-end at no extra cost. Suzanne described her resistance to such a request and how she was prepared to respond to pressure by defending her interests:

No, if I have to sacrifice a Saturday and a Sunday and probably the Sunday night into the bargain, you're going to pay me, so just a flat 100%." And he went "Uhhh!" and I said "Fine either negotiate the deadline or find some other whatever Mr. Gullible who does it" and when they didn't come back to me I thought "Fine, great" but then they did and went "yeah" and it just sort of happens occasionally. (Suzanne, 15)

4.4.2 Discursive constructions of agency for others

I found that while the distribution of power in the localisation industry was uneven, women as well as men used it to sustain their work and improve their position. In the analysis that follows I describe one particular use of agency by women interviewees, agency for others. Data searches for a similar use of agency in the discourses of male interviewees produced a negative correlation and there was no evidence of men in the sample using agency in this way. In highlighting this particular use of agency, I do not wish to imply that agency is restricted to this one form that is gender-specific, but rather that this is one manifestation of a complex phenomenon. I suggest that attention to different forms of agency may have further relevance in feminist theorising. For women in the sample, their domestic positioning in caring roles influenced their use of agency which they often expressed in relation to the needs of other people in their lives. The use of discourse analysis revealed numerous examples, among translators as well as localisers of this self-positioning.

This use of agency was exemplified in the way Jennifer placed her work in a contingent relationship to other things in her life, linking discursively her work goals and having children. Unlike Martin who had been an in-house translator for a number of years, Jennifer had not achieved this aim, but was able to re-focus, saying, "...my eventual aim was to be freelance because I knew I wanted to have children..." (Jennifer, 1). In Suzanne's interview personal and family needs and career choices were also discursively linked and informed her

agentic action. Suzanne underlined mobility in her discussion of how she started her career, “I thought if I am a translator I can go anywhere ... I can go anywhere and I work anywhere and I’m not tied down...” (2). However, it was when she met her husband that Suzanne stayed in one place:

And my husband, well my now husband, had said “Right get your degree and marry me.” And well I gave in and moved to ... in '93. (Suzanne, 3)

Becoming a wife and working freelance were proximate in the discourse, reflecting a connection between the two decisions - an interplay between personal wants, family needs and Suzanne’s decisions about work. The fact that Suzanne “gave in” might imply that this was not just a question of individual choice, but also related to a gendered disposition (Fenwick, 2004).

Another aspect of self-positioning, which was expressed in agency for others on the part of women interviewees was a tendency to see oneself from the point of view of another. In talking about her reluctance to use translation memory tools, Jennifer said, “Without wanting to be a dinosaur about these things ...”(5). Jennifer’s use of imagery in her discourse communicated how she thought she appeared to others rather than how she herself felt. Similarly, the perspective in Suzanne’s discourse is of how she appears to others. She said of a translation commission:

Right I'll take it, I'll do it, but I was buckling down for about six weeks becoming really, really narky.²⁰ (Suzanne, 8)

Among the localisers, Carmen's discursive approach is to use contrastive imagery to locate herself in relation to another and how they would react to her statement:

I think we are ... fair in that ... in that way, but it's not fair that I am telling that we are fair.. you should... ask them. (Carmen, 8)

Drawing on a discourse analytic approach to Louise's interview highlights how the voice of the self in the data appeared as a form of self-monitoring, picking up the voice of another – her boss, Mark. For Louise, her self-perceived role as a “skivvy” (6) when she entered the company was sustained in the voice of her boss who delegated work to her without prior consultation, “Mark said, “We'll do it.” And what he meant was Louise'll do it, so we organised it” (12). Her acceptance of this role was indicated in her repetition of the pronoun “we”, acknowledging the self-designation and locating her identity in her interaction with Mark. Her use of agency facilitated the performance of organisational work, while Mark, like Paul in his company, had a strategic role. The use of agency in relation to others had implications for the way women worked and the way they saw themselves as workers. The women interviewees did not have just one set of issues to consider (themselves and their own work choices), but rather a range of issues (their desire for children or to live in a particular way

²⁰ This is a UK regional expression, used in Scotland and the north of England, that means “bad tempered”. It is an external rather than an internal description of emotion. It described not how Suzanne was feeling, but the quality of her interactions with others.

with others). This indicated a relational use of agency, as part of a relational identity. This issue was also reflected in the conference data when Anja talked about relocating from the US:

We ended up talking about political things and personal things. Anja had lived for 8 years in California and had US citizenship. I asked why she left. ... Anja was very critical of US values – cost of health care and the fact that you cannot get treatment if you do not have the money to pay. She said they were “capitalists first and Christians second.” She talked about identity and what she values in life. She would not want to have brought her children up there. (Conference notebook, 7)

Although Anja discussed location as an aspect of work choices, she also related this to her caring role.

In the interview data there were instances where other voices that may have been expected were missing. For example, when Jennifer talked about important domestic and work decisions the voice of her marital partner, whose presence one might have expected, was absent and the only other voices beside her own were those of the family group, “all of us”, and of her children. This placed a focus on the self and on Jennifer’s agency in managing the domestic sphere:

Yes I did, as I said it was very part-time but I did like to keep my hand in and the only time when I really almost stopped completely was when I had my third child. I found that really it was a bit much and it worked out better for all of us if I kind of really just only dabbled a bit then, but I’d been able to do that and then expand again once they were all older. (Jennifer, 1)

The first person singular dominates the first sentence which is complex and linked with a series of conjunctions (as, but, and, when, when, that,): the short clauses use the pronoun “I” and it is not until the end of the sentence that the real object “my third child” (discounting “my hand” as a set phrase or expression of a different semantic order) is mentioned. There is a change of tone in the second sentence which explains the work decision taken in the first sentence. Again the first person singular introduces the first clause. It is the second clause of this sentence that provides the central object of the two sentences: “all of us” appears as a complementary object of “my third child” as Jennifer’s central consideration. This is the object of her considerations and linguistically the object of the sentence. There is no other voice or agent present, no other subject pronoun until “they are older”. This serves to emphasise Jennifer’s primary role in such decisions – she is the only agent, the only voice ...until they are older.

Butler (1997) highlights the agentic force of speech, but also how language links agency and structure by reinvoking structures in particular utterances. Structures of capitalism and patriarchy are reinvoked in this passage from Jennifer’s interview: in a gendered division of roles, the male partner was the bread-winner and Jennifer acted agentially in the context of others to carry out her caring responsibilities while also working as an outsourced translator.

The women’s use of agency signalled a different self-concept from that of the men in the interview sample. Evidence in the discourses indicated a range of types of male identity work. One symbol that emerged frequently was male

“effortlessness” which is explored in the next chapter in relation to technology. A discourse of effortlessness was expressed in Martin’s self-portrayal as “lazy” (5) and his description of how he, “sort of fell into freelancing” (1). Like Martin, Paul also used this notion in his identity work, describing his marketing duties by saying, “it’s effortless” (11). In contrast to the theme of male effortlessness, the women’s discourses tended to emphasise their hard work. For example, Carmen worked long hours, “more than forty” (7), Louise had to implement a marketing strategy as well as come up with ideas for tactics, Lucy emailed suppliers at night when it was their day-time and Mandy said that when preparing a text she, “constantly went back to the customer ...” (11). The projection of an agentic self through tasks being “effortless” or “hard work” was part of interviewees’ individual identity construction that was linked in complex ways to a gendered positioning.

4.4.3 Agency, power and resistance

While women as well as men in the sample used agency and power - Carmen and Lucy had set up their own companies with male partners - there was evidence of that some women were reluctant to display this. Attempts to defuse their own power were seen, for example, in Suzanne’s suggestion of “giving in” to marriage and in Louise’s self-configuration as a “skivvy”. The tendency to express agency for others also had the effect of defusing power. The inclination to avoid explicit suggestions of their power was further evidenced in the women’s forms of self-designation. For example, they described themselves as

“girl” rather than “woman”. Girl represented an immature identity that could not be a threat, but may be an enticement or a playmate, as when Carmen says:

We don't know if the client wants to have a picture of all the girls that are going to work for them. (Carmen, 3)

The use of woman instead of girl would have represented an explicit claim to power, a sexually mature and possibly threatening status. To identify oneself as a woman was revealing of the self in a way that girl was not, with connotations of power/sex/maturity that meant it had to be avoided²¹. The use of girl/ woman presented difficulties for Suzanne when she spoke about the need for translators to assert themselves with their work providers. Suzanne talked in forthright terms about her work and in such a discourse, the term woman rather than girl may seem more appropriate. However, for Suzanne girl was automatic and difficult to correct:

The people that I would deal directly with for work are usually girls, women. (Suzanne, 11)

Despite the seeming denial of agentic acting at some points, the women interviewees used power and agency. Agency was required in freelance homeworking to support translators' work, socialization and sense of self when, for example, they needed to set rates of pay in negotiation with men in large organisations. This required translators to assert power and the data indicated

²¹ There is of course “girl power”, but the age of these interviewees made it unlikely that “girl” would have had power connotations for them. Moreover, there are questions as to how powerful “girl power” actually is. There is little evidence of the emancipatory effect of this identity and it also seems to switch easily to its opposite “kitten” with which it shares certain characteristics, such as stardom and celebrity. Top cats and fat cats remain male designations.

that women placed emphasis on their need to be agentic in such areas of their professional working. Although she said that it was not easy, Suzanne emphasised the need for agency:

...it takes a lot of gut (sic) and overcoming your own fears to actually go there and say, "I'm worth that" and like that stupid advert "because I'm worth it", but it took me years...
(Suzanne, 8)

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described work in home-offices and homeworking as significant aspects of localisers' and translators' work cultures and individual identities. I have discussed some personal implications of outsourced homeworking, the symbolism of technological quality and the use of domestic imagery to convey poor quality work. I have described identity as a site of political struggles, with psychic and emotional investment reflected in the women's use of emotion as a resource to assert power. In addition to the use of discourse analysis, I have drawn on conference data which sometimes reinforced and at other times troubled the analysis of interviewees' discourses in revealing both Alan's and Lawrence's struggles with the work life balance.

In the next chapter, I will look in detail at the hidden character of localisation, the role of technology in the work of localisers and translators and the technologised discourses that described working practices. I will also discuss the significant role of the image, linked to concealed complexity in the industry.

Chapter 5 - Working with technology

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed the gendering of work in private spaces as outsourced homeworkers or in company home-offices. Although tele-working discussed in the last chapter is a relatively recent occupational form, not everything in this part of the new economy was new and there were continuities as well as discontinuities with traditional occupational roles (Brine, 2006). In studying contemporary work, some commentators have found it useful to make a distinction between the gift economy, dominated by the service sector, that draws on emotional labour and appears to be individualised (see Hochschild, 1983), and the political economy of manufacturing that is unionised (Field, 2007). However, neither description can be applied completely to the present study. As I argued in Chapter 2, my analysis of localisers' work cultures seeks to move beyond the individual nature of the new economy to include its political aspect and the implications of technology and gender for learning identities.

In this chapter I will explore the reliance on images in the industry, the dominant role of technology in localisers' work and the demand for emotional labour with which technology interacted. I will also explore resistances to certain aspects of technology in work practices. I will argue that, as technology is part of dominant discourses, emotional labour was concealed and took place underground.

I shall firstly discuss the notion that localisation was hidden work which, with the use of technology, concealed its own complexity. Secondly, I will describe

concealment through technology and complexity. I will explain how technological processes in localisation made the identification of specific practices difficult, placing reliance on images. Thirdly, I will describe how the work conditions of the outsourced contractor and the use of emotional labour in the industry were concealed as identities were technologised.

5.2 Hidden work and concealed complexity

Most customers cannot check the accuracy of the text in the localised version of a product to ensure that it communicates the intended message. To the customer who commissions localisation the end-product is unknowable. This created a lack of transparency at the heart of translation/localisation activity which was compounded by the fact that the production of the localised text was outsourced (mainly) to homeworkers, many of whom balanced globalising/localising with caring roles. Translation/localisation was discussed as an activity unknown to the public and to potential customers. Louise described the unknowable character of localisation and the effect this had on producer and customer relationships:

...[Localisation] is a very tricky thing, because you get in the way of egos and you get in the way of confidence and you have to persuade people to trust you, but you can never prove to them that what you're giving them back is what they'd hoped for to start with. (Louise, 10)

Similarly, Lucy described the reaction of friends and acquaintances when she told them what she did for a living:

I mean I still speak to people that I know and they're like, "Well what do you translate?" They can't even really think what would need to be translated... (Lucy, 14)

Drawing on the conference study, a similar point was made during a plenary discussion at the pre-conference on 13.9.05 which launched the "Global Initiative for Local Computing". During the discussion of the paper presented by Professor Pat Hall of the Open University and Reinhard Schaefer of the Localisation Research Centre, two of the conference delegates referred to the low profile of localisation:

A representative from a localisation company said, "It (localisation) is about human beings. Helping to make processes easier. Whether you make money or not depends on the needs of the region. What is the need in the region?"

(Spanish woman) "In my company we talk to people who don't understand why localise."

(company representative) "Sometimes the people we are talking to are ignorant and don't understand."
(Pre-conference notes II, 10)

In the interview data Mandy conceptualised this problem by describing localisation as "not tangible really" (13). As this aspect of localisation appeared prominent in the data, I used the word "hidden" in my interview with Paul. My use of the term led to a co-construction of meaning:

Paul: Berlitz is known for language really and I don't think Lionbridge and Bowne Global²² are known beyond ... you know, it's a very, it's quite a low profile industry I think. I don't know.

I.M: Yeah, yeah, it's funny really it's sort of hidden.

Paul: Yeah, it is hidden.

(Paul, 22)

While localisation was hidden from public view, there was also indeterminacy and uncertainty in the industry which resulted in part from its complexity. Localisation projects varied greatly in size and in character and there were many different technologies that could be applied. Indeterminacy can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that, despite the availability of manuals of good practice, these could not be applied in all circumstances (Esselink, 2000) and practices quickly became out-of-date due to the rapid rate of technological change in the sector. There was no single, correct approach to localisation, but a myriad of possibilities and technologies that could be used in different contexts, depending on the software architecture, the nature of the product to be localised and the scale of the project. This presented challenges for the future of work pedagogies for knowledge workers, a point to which I shall return in Chapter 7.

²² As I explained in Chapter 1, localisation and translation are frequently overlapping with translation being part of the process of localising electronic products. Lionbridge and Bowne are localisation companies who undertake software localisation and human language translation for which they use outsourced translators.

Uncertainty emerged in interviewees' diverse definitions of localisation:

Well my definition is that, you know, and I don't see this defined elsewhere... that you've sort of like say something in someone else's country in their language in the same way as they would, or you use the colours that they would and you use the phraseology or whatever that they would. (David, 5)

Martin also defined how he saw localisation, from a translator's perspective:

Primarily I see localisation as actually being the research before the translation occurs so if I'm producing a product for another country for example localising, I would localise the product first before giving the text to the translator so in other words I would make sure that the product, if it's a piece of software for example, conforms to the local requirements before it's translated (Martin, 2)

Louise conceptualised the complexity in the industry as "an industry identity crisis" (2).

The fact that work was achieved in the virtual sphere served to deepen the sense of indeterminacy in localisation. While working on electronic products, localisers managed visibility and controlled images that communicated meanings to customers and to their own employees about company products and cultures. Such work with images in itself contained uncertainty due to the impossibility of controlling any image and of knowing how it would be interpreted once it had been produced. Since localised products such as websites and DVDs used images to communicate, localisation constituted work on visibility to produce a localised cultural artefact. Freeing the image from

traces of the work that had been undertaken to create it was an attempt to separate it from uncertainty. Localised images (see Chapter 1) thus stood for certainty, while belying the complex conditions of their production. In the next section I will describe the work practices undertaken to manage images.

5.2.1 Managing visibility and the discursive separation of image and practice

Localisers managed images to express particular company cultures. I will first describe the significance of company cultures and then discuss the interviewees' relationships with images in their practices.

The lack of personal contact in localisation practice, “a new client would not know us in person” (Carmen, 3), led to a reliance on mediated communication between localisers and customers and between localisers and outsourced workers. This practice placed emphasis on the company image which localisers worked to create as part of their company culture:

... the image[s] you give off on the phone ...that you're giving are that much more important. (Paul, 12)

For the companies that used the internet for marketing and communicating with customers, the creation and management of a web identity was extremely

important. Controlled visibility in the virtual sphere was vital to communication with customers and also with translation suppliers:

...at the moment I think the major competitive advantage we have is visibility really on the internet ... (Paul, 9)

Where the identity of the localisation industry itself was uncertain (see Louise's "identity crisis" and definitions of localisation above), space was created for interviewees to portray localisation in ways that were consonant with their constructions of their own company cultures.

When describing the practices in his company, Paul talked about the virtue of simplicity which was part of an image that aimed to conceal complexity. Paul's discourse established distance between the image and the work that created it, leaving the image free of traces of underlying effort. Simplicity in localisation production was achieved through the use of complex technologies, and in the (male interviewees') discourses, as part of effortless masculinity described in the previous chapter (see 4.4.2):

I mean our service is... it's quite basic, it's quite simple, and in some ways it's been designed to be that way so that, because things like that work on the internet a bit better. If you complicate things you can lose sales... (Paul, 5)

To control and manage visibility, the operational sphere was not apparent in the uncomplicated image. This meant that the work entailed in producing the image and the practices of those involved, including (mainly women) homeworkers, took place underground.

Understanding the practices that lay behind the company cultures of those in the sample or the connection between practices and the images produced for customer consumption was not a straightforward matter. Interviewees' linguistic repertoires emphasised the importance of technology while simultaneously leaving the actual levels of technological enablement unexplained. For example, when I asked David about the web-enablement of a process that he had referred to earlier in the interview, analysis of his discourse revealed a linguistic technique of hedging:

Yeah that's where we were hoping to go to and it's one of the things that we have done, we have managed to do, and that's a continual development thing as well, yeah, yeah...
(David, 4)

His use of hedging as a discursive resource is reflected in talk about where he is "hoping to go" which was also "one of the things we have done". The technological enablement could not be both an aim ("hoping") and a completed action ("have done"), so it was left indeterminate: whether or not a particular process was used appeared as less relevant than the fact that it was something David could link to his wider discourse of technological quality, to imply

continuous progress as part of his identity work. The description of localisation practice was a discursive conjecture, a mixture of what was actually happening and what he would have liked to happen. Linguistic space was opened up where language was not tied to actuality, allowing practice to take place underground and reifying, in the discourse, technological aims that floated as David's ideal.

At the conference the hidden nature of localisation emerged as significant and it complicated the notion in the interview data, while setting it in a wider, cultural context. In a conference workshop entitled, "The promotion of oligocultures on the web", Phillipe Caignon of the Université Concordia in Canada argued that supranational web identities are leading to the suppression of other identities:

The speaker showed us a range of websites and commented on how they were localised. His main point was to highlight that they were localised for the benefit of the most powerful economic group in a particular region and that less powerful groups were not reflected in the localised web site... Virtual world is related more to culture and human experience than to geography...On the L'Oreal site for Argentina – a particular Buenos Aires dialect is used.
(Conference workshop notes, 2)

5.2.2 Discourses of concretising practices

The everyday practices of localisation were carried out behind technological imagery and the seeming effortless work. The women interviewees in the sample administered the translation process in localisation companies or worked across domestic and professional domains to render the text of the end product. In her description of learning in contract working, Fenwick (2008) analyses the need of portfolio workers to do identity work and to “anchor the innovations” (237) as part of their product development. From the data in her study, Fenwick describes how “the commodity oriented world upon which ... [an interviewee’s] income depended demanded a “package”, clear boundaries and identifiable objects of innovation, even when these were in fact fluid, changing processes of knowledge and identity.” (238) A similar phenomenon to that described by Fenwick emerged in the present data. I conceptualised this in the localiser data as women concretising their work. The process of concretising localisation related to technology as a concretising agent. The women’s use of this imagery drew on the notion of hard work described in the last chapter (4.4.2). The discourses of the women interviewees offered a counterpoint to male effortless work through an emphasis on their embodied activities and metaphors that drew localisation into the physical sphere. Suzanne conceived of her translator’s craft as part of her own embodiment, “my main tool is my brain” (2) and Louise talked about writing a sales proposal in physical terms, “...rebuilding ... so we’ve all the components separately” (5) like a machine that was assembled. Similarly, Carmen used concretising language as she talked

about translating a text as a production process, using active verbs and repetition of the continuous verb form:

...organising the file to be delivered...processing the files...
cleaning them or analysing them or quoting the client, eh...
selecting vendors from the database ... That is what I mean in
production. (Carmen, 2)

To elucidate the process of concretising work in more detail, I will now examine its emergence in Louise's discourse. Louise used concretising vocabulary and action verbs to describe the development of her own company's localised web marketing. Her description of this work deepened a paradox between the hidden work involved in producing a new website and the resultant visibility on the internet. Her discourse separated the end-product and its effect: a text had to be written in different languages, the language had to be tagged and the site had to be optimised for search engines. Louise revealed a gap between what her company said it offered and its main practices:

So we are going to reposition ourselves to give us a stronger
software focus and then we're going to get the back-end in to
actually do that. (Louise, 1)

Here Louise indicated that the company image (and its website) would be redesigned to emphasise the company's capacity to do the software development aspect of localisation. The "back-end", which is the capacity to deliver this service, was secondary, something that would be addressed after the image. The order of this sentence indicated the primacy of the image within

the company's strategy and its precedence over the practical applications needed to deliver the work suggested by the image.

The conference study confirmed the complex role played by technology and how its operation can be hidden from view. Patrick Gannon, President and CEO of OASIS (Organisation for the Advancement of Structured Information Standards) gave a keynote address on the importance of structured standards. Their application, however, reflects concerns for competitive advantage and sometimes conceals the nature of certain technological developments:

Keynote 2 "Open standard and localisation – symbiotic partners in international growth" Patrick J Gannon, President and CEO of OASIS (Organisation for the Advancement of Structured Information Standards)

I have met Patrick at previous LRC conferences and spoken to him a good deal about standards. They are regarded as important to ensure consistency of usage across the sector. OASIS is dominated by the large corporate companies. Large companies race to complete a technological product/tool/process and then "stack" these before applying for a standard. I understand this to mean that they can achieve maximum "leverage" before the standard is submitted, approved and available for use by others.

(Main conference notes, 5)

Male interviewees used technology as a discursive resource which was part of their seeming effortless. The actual work practice that lay behind the technology was hidden, facilitating an uncomplicated virtual presence. The contribution of homeworking to localisation production remained

unacknowledged as part of a technologised work culture. Many of the purchasers of localisation are large companies, and since the customers were mainly male, the product image had to be technological and at the same time appealing to masculinised corporate culture (see Chapter 1).

It is paradoxical that while technology provided some certainty, and supported interviewees' needs to concretise their practices, considerable uncertainty was contained in the work of translation itself. According to Martin:

... translation is an inexact science, you know, you're never going to get it right first time, a lot of the time you're never going to get it right third time. (Martin, 19)

Martin's comments reveal the fragility of tying quality of work in translation to technological certainty. His words also highlight the depth of the paradox that arises from the use of techno-muscular imagery to describe a process that involves language (and is thus always marked by affect) but which still depends on the skill of a human translator²³.

So far I have described practices that depend on images and technology to create quality and certainty in the localisation industry. In the next section of the chapter I will examine in further depth the significance of technology in discourses linked to the gendering of identity.

²³ Given the present state of technology the only way to avoid the reliance on a human translator is to produce controlled language.

5.3 Technologicalisation as a discursive resource

While localisation work concealed the complexity of its own conditions of production, “technologicalisation” removed embodied practices into a symbolic and technical realm. In work roles that were dominated by technology, the identities of workers were themselves technologicalised and the requirement to perform emotional labour was concealed. While technology emerged in all interviewees’ discourses as central in managing and controlling visibility, it played a pivotal role in controlling and improving localisation practice. In masculinised discourses types of work that were feminised or non-technical were ascribed a lower value.

5.3.1 Predominance of technology, linked to forms of masculinity

The significance of technology and its role in replacing human contact was highlighted by Paul at the start of his interview:

A variety of things, yeah, what I did, the central thing is a back-end database which we’re investing a lot of money developing and to become the ultimate tool that people can interact with, if you like. (Paul, 1)

While men as well as women talked about the importance of technology in developing and offering quality services, male workers predominated in technological areas of localisation. This was seen, for example, as they undertook and supervised technological development work in companies, revealed in the interview data and in their roles at the conference. Throughout

the data, those who developed the technology and software were men (see also Chapter 6):

... Kevin, he's more involved in operational improvement through technology, he's got a lot of knowledge about different translation memory and localisation tools...
(Paul, 14)

There were indications in the data of the link between technology, male identities and performances of masculinity. For Martin, this emerged in his strong allegiance to the tools that he used, where the technology appeared as part of his sense of self. Talking about a contentious professional debate about the benefits of particular translation tools, nicknamed a "Holy War", Martin said:

So it's a Holy War between users of different CAT (computer-assisted translation) tools, primarily "Tradlate" and "Tradlot". Oh there's very much a loyalty yeah... I am a "Tradlate" user; I always have been. (Martin, 11)

David and Paul emphasised technology's role in operational improvement to eradicate mundane, repetitive tasks:

...but when you were trying to do too many things, when you were head cook and bottle washer... (David, 10)

I want it to be about using technology to cut out administrative stuff...(Paul, 10)

In the imagery used by David and Paul, the tasks appeared on the one hand as domesticated and on the other hand as administrative, indicating occupations that are regarded as feminised. The aim of achieving operational improvement through the use of technology to reduce mundane administration is one that women, who often do such work, would be likely to support. However, this extends the symbolism mentioned in the previous chapter where feminised or domestic imagery was used with negative connotations to indicate poor quality. In the last chapter, I pointed to the fact that women's modes of working may cause their contributions to be under-valued. The negative references to stereotypically feminised areas of work, the concealment of embodied practices and the emphasis on masculinised technological localisation were gendered aspects of the discourses. These pointed to an underestimation of the value of the contributions made by women in what appear to be feminised roles. As I will describe later in this chapter, women's organisational contributions and their use of emotional labour were important to the running of companies, particularly in the areas of supplier and customer relations.

5.3.2 Technologised identities: workers and tools

While technology was associated with male identity work, I will now describe how the discursive imagery that revealed the dominance of masculinised technology also embraced underground homeworkers and configured them as tools. Identities were technologised through the control of work interactions and practices - it was with the technology that one would interact, not one another. In his interview, Paul addressed this directly:

I'm talking about some relationships being automated.
(Paul, 15)

This statement would appear paradoxical, since relationships should ultimately depend more on the content of what is communicated through the technology, than on the technology itself. Such an assumption, however, is thrown into relief by developments in the automation of localisation processes discussed at the conference, involving the establishment of a localisation “factory” as part of the IGNITE project:

Returning to the IGNITE project they aim to have a set of speech data and descriptions in machine readable form, “for building, improving or evaluating natural language and speech algorithms or systems. They aim to go, “beyond translation memory systems”. The three aspects to the “factory” are: linguistic tools, standards and controlled language data. The factory will provide an environment where SMEs can test out and develop processes. (Main conference notes, 7)

In the interview data translators were described as tools in the global supply chain whose labour, on the basis of controlled costs, was essential to a sustainable localisation business, with adequate margins. David positioned the translators and their output as commodities which he, the localiser, used to make an end product. Pierre mentioned that, in the course of a company take-over, the database with translators’ names was transferred as part of the acquisition:

Well because we acquired offices from another company, we acquired their database of translators which is a huge help... (Pierre, 3)

The translators were transferred as part of the acquisition of work space, putting the outsourced workers on a par with the company's offices.

Analysis of David's discursive repertoire revealed his use of technological symbolism to explain how technology allowed him to do things "better than before" (5). His vocabulary technologised the translators as work implements, as part of machinery, rather than human contributors:

...what we are perhaps doing is through technology and a closer association with a wider pool of translation resource than we're able to drill into the expertise that's there better than we were before... (David, 5)

...other companies that could, either had translation resource themselves or could tap into that...(David, 6)

The women translators' distance to technology and their resistance can be understood as a response to a gendered positioning in the supply chain and a technologising of identity - to being positioned as the "resource" and "ingredient", a technical aspect of the workflow (see 5.4.4).

So far, I have described the implications of the image and the gendering of identities in work practices that were concealed in technology. I have described

how technology was associated with male identities as the contributions of homeworkers (both women and men) were technologised and subsumed. In a further analysis of some detailed practices, I will now describe how technology was bound up in a paradoxical relationship with emotional labour.

5.4 Emotion and technology

The technologisation of the identities of outsourced workers and the way that they were talked about as tools appeared in the data as central to company cultures. David's discursive evocation of his company's image drew on stereotypical attributes of male rationality. The dualism in the last chapter of focussed professionalism versus emotion, domestic/female lack of professionalism was troubled in the conference data as male delegates talked about the tensions of long hours culture and their caring roles. In the interview data, however, David drew on the dichotomy when he characterised those who worked for him:

... so they're not doing it for that, an enthusiastic amateur point of view, they're doing it from an informed professional point of view... (David, 7)

The informed professional was an image of male technical rationality that excluded emotions such as enthusiasm. Once again the symbolism of a stereotypical gender dualism is cut across since both men and women worked in localisation and both were required to draw on their emotional labour. In the

discussion that follows I distinguish emotional labour when workers' affect was placed at the disposal of the employer, from emotion work as an emotional resource used across a range of work and non-work domains. While both forms of emotion management involved agency, a different form of agentic action was needed when placing one's affect at the service of the employer (c.f. 4.4.1).

5.4.1 Emotional labour

The gendering of roles in the present study contributed to complexity in how and by whom emotional labour was performed and it took two forms that were inextricably linked:

- generalised identity work that sustained company cultures; and
- managing emotions in interactions with customers and suppliers.

Some writers on the new economy have described the way in which a company identity and image are carried through the individual worker who has to generate and sustain a company culture through identity work which involves emotional labour (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002: 623, du Gay, 1991). Such companies needed to recruit employees who are able to embody a particular company culture. The ability to reinforce the company image involved the use of the workers' emotions on the company's behalf and, as Hochschild points out (see Chapter 2), the emotional labour of the worker becomes part of the company's service. Men as well as women perform emotional labour in the new

economy (Payne, 2006; Hughes, 2003), yet it is mostly linked to women's work. Women still do more emotional labour than men and it is often written about in connection with women's positioning in workplace hierarchies (Malcolm, 2009). A central paradox in the data was that while all workers in these data used emotional labour to sustain company cultures, localisers engendered a technology dominated culture, which also concealed the significance of the use of emotional labour in the creation of culture itself.

I will now describe two specific forms of emotional labour, one with customers and the other with suppliers.

5.4.2 Emotional labour and technology in client marketing

Emotional labour required a particular personal disposition, manifested in the ability to make contact, or connect immediately with customers - it was important to be "good on the phone" (Paul, 12). While workers' performance of emotional labour was part of their identities, the extent of emotional labour varied depending on the nature of employer control. In a large company, Pierre, as sales manager, and two female translation managers performed emotional labour in contact with customers. Pierre's description of his marketing and selling activity was indicative. Linguistically, the use of repetition in his language is read in my analysis as expressing emotional effort:

A lot of sales calls and, you know, a lot of cold calling, finding out the best contacts in each company to send information to, sending out the information, following up. A lot of research on the internet, trying to find out good companies to target...
(Pierre, 5)

While the marketing of products and services through traditional media has always entailed emotional labour, in the interaction with customers some localisation companies in the sample combined this emotionally intensive approach with internet marketing. In Paul's company, selling through internet marketing involved the use of technology to manage the company website to communicate with customers. Paul saw technology as a route to helping him compete in the main area of price. He looked to technology to neutralise the kind of emotional labour that Pierre described. As the company owner, Paul made decisions on web marketing and was able to say there was no "hard sell" needed since he had optimised and tagged the company site to enable it to operate as an effective sales tool on various search engines. This indicated a connection between web marketing, the exploitation of web technologies and forms of emotional labour required in the workplace:

...big names, find us via the internet ...that is such an effective way of marketing, because it's effortless and the timing is huge... There's no, it's a very, that's an easy business to run, an easy business you know. There's no hard sell. (Paul, 11)

Paul's juxtaposition of the adverbs "effective" and "effortless" was significant in portraying internet marketing as part of effortless masculinity and as free of emotional labour. The boundary-drawing around emotional labour was achieved

through masculinity, constituted in a relaxed approach to work, distanced with the help of technology from emotional effort.

The principal effect of web marketing and interactive databases was to reduce emotional labour with regular, medium-sized clients. However, despite such significant technological developments, there was still a need for emotional labour in dealing with large clients who had high value accounts. Paul's discourse placed marketing and his own emotional labour in the context of his masculine identity, as his emotional labour and his relationship with the client are discursively linked to his knowledge of technology:

...I mean I deal with the key clients who I really have developed a relationship with where I think that, that relationship is you know a good reason why they buy from us. I need to make sure that their needs are met and where you need a technological understanding for the relationship... (Paul, 18)

While Paul developed the strategic use of web technology in marketing as part of the company's technological image, he was still required to do some emotional labour. However, Paul's emotional labour was of a high value and invested only in key clients. Most general, and seemingly lower value, emotional labour in his company was undertaken by women in work as translation managers and team-builders. In Paul's company Karen's role involved not only administrative tasks and translation management, but she was also responsible for hosting team-building and sustaining relationships within the workforce and with suppliers. It was obvious that such work that depended on human

interaction could not be completely replaced by technology. This raised the concern that such invisible work that was non-technical and constituted the everyday aspect of emotional labour, yet which was crucial to effective performance, was undervalued.

In Louise's description of a more traditional (i.e. not web-based) marketing campaign, counter-concepts of technologisation and emotional labour emerged. The marketing approach she described brought irony to the dominance of communications technology in the industry and drew on emotional labour to secure new business. Louise's campaign involved sending potential customers a letter which offered a service and informed them that they would be contacted in a personal phone call on a certain date. A key was enclosed with the letter as a marketing gimmick and also as a symbol that concretised, commodified and made tangible the knowledge product (localisation) that Louise was offering. The letter, key and the personal phone call had a novelty effect for business people who were used to electronic communication:

So we got a silver key, just like a house key, and we got a luggage label and on the luggage label we had printed ... emm (a marketing name)... And we sent it and we phoned all these people on 25th September and they were completely stunned... (Louise, 9)

The telephone call that followed up the printed correspondence was part of emotional labour with potential customers for whom such personal communication was unusual.

5.4.3 Emotional labour and technology in dealing with suppliers

A further area of practice that involved localisers' emotional labour was that of managing suppliers. This was discussed in relation to new technological developments which took the form of supplier databases, using a range of technologies from web enablement to conventional database software. Such technologies automated the commissioning of work, stored suppliers' details centrally and, where web enablement was used, sent out an automated email to establish availability. The various levels of automation saved time and effort; however, while technology was significant, it did not completely overcome the need for personal contact. Although interviewees placed emphasis on the technological aspects of this process, emotional labour was required in telephone discussions conducted for clarification by translation managers in the localisation companies.

An example of the link between technology and emotional labour was seen in Lucy's discourse where her description of her emotional labour in dealings with a difficult supplier was linked to a description of the technology that would eradicate the need for such interactions and for emotional labour. Firstly, Lucy described technological developments in the company, looking to technology to reduce emotional labour in working with translator suppliers:

...an email that's sent out to everybody that matches the language and then you've already got them in agreement ... then just click to accept it and it gets sent out to them ... it just kind of allows a bit more freedom... (Lucy,5)

The freedom in this case related to doing less emotional labour and having greater time flexibility. Later, Lucy described her emotional labour, linked to a tense encounter:

I think I'm quite diplomatic so I think I probably just said, "Yes, I understand" or something and then cussed when I got off the phone.... (Lucy, 11)

Paradoxically, while Lucy placed emphasis on the automation of the commissioning of work, she nonetheless described phone calls with translators as important in building relationships:

...it's important to speak to them (translators) on the phone...you still want to build up a relationship with them, even though, you know, they might be in a completely different time zone... (Lucy, 11)

Despite Lucy's use of technology to reduce emotional labour, some was still needed to sustain personal relationships and develop loyalty in the supply chain.

In this section of the chapter I have discussed the different types of emotional labour among company employees in marketing roles and with suppliers; I have also explored the connection between the emotional labour performed by

interviewees and their uses of technology. I will now explore the theme of technology and emotion in more depth, in a discussion of the emotion work of homeworkers linked to technology.

5.4.4 Technology, emotion work and resistance

In the last chapter (4.4.1) I described the use of emotion work in translators' activity across the domains of domestic and paid work. Developing my theorisation from Frith and Kitzinger (1998), I have emphasised the agentic potential of emotion work that emerged in human interaction in a range of contexts. While I have discussed emotion work in relation to particular forms of agency, in this chapter I focus on emotion and technology. In common with other contract workers, translators used emotions to draw boundaries around their work. I will now describe how aspects of translators' outsourced working combined with technology to create conditions that required them to set boundaries for themselves to resist dominant technologising discourses.

The application of software tools in translation was significant throughout the data. For example at the conference it occupied one of the three thematic strands for the workshops. Also, tools vendors²⁴ who constitute a sizeable global industry were well represented at the event. They produced software to support localisation processes, sold software to translators, trained them to use

²⁴ <http://www.author-it.com/index.php?page=localevendor> – a localisation tools vendor (last accessed 27.8.08)

it and sought to influence fee levels for translation services (see Martin's discussion in 6.4.2).

Among the software available to translators, translation memory (TM) was discussed both at the conference and in the interviews. It was a key tool that retained terminology in searchable databases, allowed documents to be searched for matches and then automatically translated. Thereafter, the whole document and the matches had to be checked, corrected and edited. Jennifer described how translators had been able to benefit from the use of translation memory:

...on a good day the translator not using translation memory can maybe...translate 2,000 words of source language text. With translation memory, you can get up to 8,000 or 10,000 words...(Jennifer, 6)

Technology brought benefits to translators' working lives and had transformed some of the translators' traditional ways of working. Technology was also used in professional building to mediate communication in a way that underlined the global dimensions of translators' work. For example, work queries could be sent to on-line fora such as "KudoZ"²⁵, where answers were obtained from colleagues anywhere in the world.

²⁵ Kudoz: <http://www.proz.com/kudoz/> last accessed 1.12.08.

Although technology offered many benefits, a more recent challenge to translators' power arose from the development of particular translation technologies. The fee-charging regime in translation is what might be called a type of professional piece-work, with a set amount charged per 1,000 words translated. This approach combined with new technologies to make it possible to quantify translators' fees more exactly than would be possible for portfolio workers, such as accountants or tax consultants.

Although, as an IT translator, Martin's descriptions of the use of technology were positive, he indicated that technology was double-edged, since the same technology that could speed up translators' work could be used by agencies who wanted translators to reduce their rates:

I mean agencies have always tried to get out of paying repetition even when it was the old days of cut and paste not with a computer but, you know, literally cut and paste with, no not even with Word, with prit-stick, you know, facts that they would try and get away with only charging once or paying once for repetition then but because Tradlot and possibly Tradlate provides statistics and they're able to analyse it...
(Martin, 21)

Because translation memories held by localisers could retain translated work in language databases, this allowed agencies to capture the knowledge produced by translators. Suzanne explained why the concordance data resulting from translation and retained in translation memories was of interest to the agencies:

... I can deliver an unclean file where they can extract the source and target players²⁶ and chuck them into their database and that is one of the most interesting parts for them because that means they're building up a vast knowledge bank. So you have an agency that deals in ten languages with two or three translators per language, say they have a volume of, I don't know, a million words translated a year, that's a million words times ten languages and that's all at the click of a button so any agency is really, really interested in accumulating that kind of knowledge... (Suzanne, 18)

This represented a threat to translators' power and Suzanne highlighted the need to defend her intellectual property and resist such pressures from work-givers:

...you get agencies "Oh yes just send us the data," "No you get exactly what I worked on".... They don't really pay for that because they can't pay for it because it's future use and future usefulness which you can't put a price on unless you say, "Right I'll just charge double because you're getting my intellectual property," so to speak. It's a thorny field... (Suzanne, 18)

Suzanne countered such attempts at knowledge capture by developing her own databases:

I have my mother of databank, data bases basically and then I have a couple of special ones (17)

²⁶ "Source and target players" refers to "source" words that occur in the original document that have to be translated and their translated equivalent in the "target" language.

This use of translation memory databases emerged as a significant site of struggle in the interview data and was handled with care at the conference:

“MT – the translator’s tool at Symantec” Johann Roturier, Heidi Duechting, Sylke Kraemer, Symantec Ireland.

(This title was changed in the slides to “Machine Translation – The translator’s choice”)

The presentation starts with the “Commercial imperatives” – to make translation more efficient and deal with “time-critical documents in volume” and to give more control moving from “loose writing guidelines vs controlled language rules...improved machine translatability”...

The text can then be put through machine translation (MT). The presenters emphasised that, “MT is to be used **by** translators not **instead of** translators.” (Conference workshop notes, 1)

While the technology could make the lives of translators easier, its use was marked by the contradictory purposes to which it could be put. When the same technology was used as a memory bank and held by a localisation company, it captured and controlled the translators’ knowledge, requiring resistance to defend their interests.

Pierre’s company benefited from maintaining such a database of terminology (7). This technology could make the translator replaceable when their previous texts on a topic had been entered into a managed translation database. Pierre described how, if a translator was not available, his company’s translation memory could be used by another translator with the same specialism:

...if one particular translator isn't available, then they've got a lot of previously translated material there that they can use to keep it consistent. (Pierre, 7)

Suzanne says about technology in the context of her own work on MT (Machine Translation):

I was interested in it and to this day I'm a firm believer that machines will never rule thank God... (2)

This assumption seems, however, to be contradicted in practices such as those in Pierre's company where individual translators were replaced by technology and by new developments in automation such as IGNITE announced at the conference .

Jennifer was the only one of the three translators who did not use translation memory tools. Jennifer's reluctance did not seem to be due to an unwillingness to use technology per se. She did in fact use Google desktop to search her own files and the internet (5) and she talked in detail and authoritatively about the various uses of translation tools and technology. Jennifer explained her resistance to the use of translation memory by saying that she feared it would allow agencies to squeeze translators:

...I was always worried ... that if translators didn't play their cards right clients would begin squeezing them and say, "Well you've got a 50% match here, so I only want to pay you 50% for this particular section of text", you know.
(Jennifer, 6)

Jennifer treated translation technology with caution and talked about her job as having more to do with her own creativity which she offered as a counter-point to technology:

I always sort of told myself that I'm doing translations that are, involve a certain amount of creativity, like translating somebody's website or translating a magazine or a book.
(Jennifer, 5)

Against the backdrop of the technologisation of identities, translation emerged as an embodied practice, with the emphasis on people-based subject matter:

I do prefer people-base things, so I would prefer translating a medical text or a sociological text, a psychologist text to translating engineering text or electronic text.
(Jennifer, 4)

This has parallels in Suzanne's emphasis on the human and not the technical aspects of translation work. Suzanne asserted herself as a person and not "just" outsourced homeworker in her interactions with agencies and localisers:

I'm a human being here. (Suzanne, 22)

The use of tools ensured greater consistency, but Jennifer pointed out that while the tool was being set up, time had to be spent entering data for which payment had to be recouped. Through her networking, Jennifer knew that some translators had been able to ensure that they were fairly paid: others were less satisfied with payment rates. If translators did not earn more, then it would appear that the principal gain from the use of translation memory was the increased control obtained by the work-provider over the translators' work.

While Jennifer's resistance was expressed through her views of her creativity and her refusal to be squeezed, Susanne used technology to subvert the dominant power relationships in the supply chain. Susanne's resistance consisted in concealing her use of translation memory from a customer:

Suzanne: ...it doesn't matter how many matches I get I still work through the text and I want that honoured or I'm not going to do it and I also have to say there's a couple of clients who don't know that I'm using Tradlate.

I.M: Right you just keep that quiet.

Suzanne: They don't ask; I don't lie. But obviously if I get similar jobs or update and upgrade then I have a wonderful day but there's not that many of them. (Suzanne, 16)

Translation tools are complex and the training that is required to use them is offered by vendors themselves at extremely expensive rates. Evidence of resistance to the power held by tools vendors in the supply chain emerged in

Suzanne's way of dealing with this training need. Through her network, she organised her own course on an informal basis, together with two other women:

... [I] found it very expensive so in the end what I did, I organised one of my colleagues ... to come out to my house and she gave myself and another colleague who wanted to learn a full-on really intensive one day introduction course for a fraction of the money... (Suzanne, 10)

The role of technology in the lives of translators was thus paradoxical. On the one hand, it offered tools that supported their work while, on the other hand, it was a significant area of resistance. It required them to draw on their emotion work to set boundaries on technology's application in order to defend their own positions as knowledge workers.

Although the role of emotional labour in sustaining work identities has been acknowledged there has been little if any discussion of how emotional labour interacts with technology in work or the implications of such interdependencies for gendered identities. I will describe in the next chapter how Martin looked to technology and made much use of e-groups, while the women underlined their preference for face-to-face, human contact, "the ... network is real people..." (Suzanne, 5). For Suzanne and Jennifer, technology was a site of appropriation by them in their extensive uses of it, but also of resistance and distancing. Suzanne emphasised that translation technology still required human intervention:

...you still have a lot to do and that these sort of 90% matches can be very, very dangerous because a tiny bit of information that's different can have a huge impact and especially in pharmaceuticals... (Suzanne, 16)

It seems likely that Jennifer's resistance to a particular technology was not the adoption of a gendered stereotype, of "women not having a clue about technology", but at least in part, a response to the technologisation of identity and struggle with what she perceived as other interests in the supply chain.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described technological discourses that concealed the performance of emotional labour. Outsourced homeworkers were distanced and technologised and resistances could be understood in interaction with these discourses. This finding echoed Faulkner's (2007) interviewees' response to the technician identity that had a strong symbolic force in the professional groups that she studied.

I have looked at work practices and the significance of the image, the way that the industry and its practices were concealed behind the image and in uncertainty that surrounded localisation. While this pushed (women's) work underground, technologisation further distanced practice from embodied work. Emotion was also concealed, but re-emerged in the discourses of translators as a form of response to the technologisation of identities.

In the next chapter I will discuss the positioning of workers in the industry and the influence of structures of globalisation on forms of shared professional identities and forms of professional learning.

Chapter 6 - Work, learning and globalisation

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4 I discussed the implications for individual identity of modes of homeworking in the localisation industry; I also analysed discursive images of domestication. In Chapter 5 I described the significance of the image and the hidden character of localisation that concealed gendered work roles and emotional labour underground. The focus of the present chapter is the interplay between globalisation structures and workers' everyday lives and professional learning. Such structures are linked to forms of power that position workers, collectively as well as individually, in particular ways. I will examine how everyday experiences were affected by globalisation and I will consider shared concepts of identity, and professional learning identities. In looking at globalisation as reflected in individual and shared work experience, I am seeking to understand its educational implications.

Feminist analysis is said to demonstrate an ability to connect larger structural issues and contextual realities in ways that bring out the complexity of political, economic and socio-cultural processes (Nagar et al, 2002). The attention to structure in this chapter lends emphasis to a feature that is neglected in some descriptions of new economy companies. These are gender-blind and focus mainly on networking, emphasising worker teams and the flexibility of work roles. In my analysis the significance of networks is balanced with an examination of the wider contexts of global work.

Firstly, I will consider the way that characteristics of globalisation were reflected in everyday lives. Secondly, I will discuss the implications of industry structures for the way that boundaries were drawn and workers were positioned. Thirdly, I will discuss the implications of bounded practices for shared identities, learning and concepts of professional working that emerged in the data.

6.2 Outsourcing and everyday lives

While the boundaries that constrained (women) workers in particular roles in the industry derived from wider cultural influences on women's identities, they were also related specifically to the industry supply chain (see Figure 1.1). Localisation work was outsourced by large e-content producers such as MSN and Vivendi to localisation companies who in turn outsourced work to translators. The supply chain was driven by economic factors to improve margins and to get a quality product at a lower cost. I will now describe how the career trajectories of Pierre and Carmen and the work choices available to Jennifer reflected the impact of wider movements in globalisation on working lives.

Pierre was a Russian graduate who had started work in localisation some eight years ago, during which time he had progressed to sales management. Talking about his career trajectory, he described how he changed his employment and

moved country when his company was bought over by another global organisation:

I used to work in the Stadtborough office, well I started off in Stadtborough and then I moved up to Landborough and they bought the Stadtborough office, so from "Intrad"²⁷ to being working here, it's nearly four years, but in total if you count the "Antitrad" days it's eight years I think... (Pierre, 8)

Carmen was a translator and then a translation manager in the company Berlitz in South America. She described the impact on her life when the owners of this organisation took the decision to sell off companies in South America, creating a commercial opportunity for Carmen and her colleagues to set up their own firm:

In March 2000 we were informed that the office would close. We were all sent to go to different places. Five of us decided to stay here and start a new company. (Carmen, 1)

Such details about ordinary working lives revealed how global structural movements in capital were reflected in work biographies, influencing the formation of individual identities. These insights moved the conception of globalisation away from "disembodied" discourses that emphasise large movements of cultural or economic forces, to focus on globalisation's interaction with lived experience. Such trends that emerged in the interview data created some tensions with views of the localisation industry that emerged at the

²⁷ This is not the name of the real company; pseudonyms are used throughout in order to protect the identities of the interviewees.

conference. One discourse spoke of the industry as consolidated in US ownership:

“Ireland’s place in the localisation world”, paper given by John Stern, author of “Adventures in Code, The story of the Irish Software industry”

John traced the historical development of the localisation industry in Ireland... Localisation projects started in Ireland in 1985 and localisation was the first big success in attracting software companies to Ireland. A cluster of smaller companies developed. Native software companies fell apart. The 1990s saw the concentration in international/US hands. (Conference notes, 6)

Against this view of consolidation in the industry, there was evidence of counter influences. These were found outside rich western countries and exemplified in Carmen establishing her own company in South America and in the emphasis on Brazilian and Indian localisation at the conference. This indicated the complexity of globalisation and the limited reach of grand narratives that configure it only from a western perspective (see Massey, 2005), assuming that all of the world’s nations are following one identical path.

Outsourcing as a model of working within a globalisation policy was widespread throughout the localisation industry. Pierre described how this dominant mode of working affected employment patterns and working lives in his company. Although localisation was a sizeable part of the value of the business, the company engaged only 15 or so full time employees in translation and relied on contract workers:

... there are about two hundred people working throughout the UK or throughout the company. The translation division it's about between ten and fifteen ...I mean most of it's outsource you know: we employ a large database of translators who are based round the world. (Pierre, 3)

At the beginning of my discussion of findings in Chapter 4, I drew attention to the significance of homeworking in translators' experiences of work. Evidence in the data illustrated the way that this work format was part of a wider structural pattern of globalisation. This was reflected, for example, in Jennifer's working life. The trend to outsourcing was already evident in the 1980s when Jennifer qualified. She described its impact on her employment choices and how it made homeworking inevitable, militating against her obtaining the status of employee which had been her preferred option:

I very much wanted to get an in-house job but it was interesting. We spent a couple of days making the rounds of some of the companies like Shell, BP, the Central Electricity Generating Board, places that had or had had fairly large translating sections. They were all cutting back. They were already, you could see that that was the way things were going ...
(Jennifer, 1)

In the following section I will examine how industry structures and work cultures operated in individual companies before considering their operation across the industry more broadly.

6.3 Industry structures and work cultures

While changes in industry structures were traceable in everyday working lives, there was evidence of an uneven and gendered distribution of power. Men outnumbered women at the conference and the work roles that the women interviewees described were administrative and organisational: those that the men talked about were in the more powerful area of technological development and strategic management.

6.3.1 Work organisation and gendered positioning

Drawing on interviewees' descriptions of the way work was organised in the sample companies, I will now describe instances of gendered positioning that affected both women and men.

As outsourced homeworkers who combined work from home with domestic and caring responsibilities, the women translators described industry hierarchies:

Suzanne: The people I would deal with for money usually guys.

IM: Why is that then, so what are the women's roles? Are they the translation managers?

Suzanne: They'll manage projects but the accountancy side, the quality control side, no not in the QC that's usually girls as well, but the levels above there's a lot more men.
(Suzanne, 11)

Suzanne continued later:

...but the one thing that I also have noticed over the years is that you have the translators in place, freelancers and staff translators in house, mostly women, but the echelons above, the managing, a lot more guys. (Suzanne, 11)

Louise described patriarchal influences in the way she was positioned within her company:

There are ...we've got an Executive Board of directors and there are three gentlemen on that. Then we have a ... management team where there is the Operations Director, the MD and the Financial Controller and then just below that there are four of us who are the in-house ... management team. I do marketing... (Louise, 5)

In a follow-up phone call to Louise, I discovered that she had later left the company. She explained that she had been replaced as Sales Manager by a man who had been assigned to the "management team", in the second tier of management - a function that Louise fulfilled in the third tier of in-house management.

Since Lucy was joint owner of a company, one may have expected more gender equity in the fulfilment of work roles between her and her male business

partner. However, Lucy described how her male partner did the more important work of meeting potential customers and planning the strategic direction:

I'm kind of more hands on ... and he's more sort of ... service development as well and in business development ...
(Lucy, 4)

This gendering of work roles was underlined as Lucy's business partner met customers and networked with new clients, because:

I don't know, certain situations men like to speak to men...
(Lucy, 20)

The gendered positioning of women in the companies and the male positioning as strategist or technologist (see 5.3.1) suggested more powerful positions for men. Paradoxically, this gendering of work roles was inverted in the male company owners' identity work, rehearsed in discursive constructions of flat hierarchies and modern management practices:

...people are not uptight and they respect one another. There's no, there's no need for, there's no unnecessary formality and there are no closed hierarchies or anything like that and there's also no, I just don't think there's any bullshit. (Paul, 19)

The claim to openness and equity was an important part of Paul's company culture that he developed as company owner. However, this was one in a series of paradoxes in the data, where company cultures that implied gender equality masked gendered roles and structuring. New economy companies that

projected images of modern, flat hierarchies devoid of unnecessary formality were, nonetheless, susceptible to gendered practices. The impression of an inclusive and participatory culture was at odds with the positioning of women in the roles described above. I will now look outwith individual companies at positioning and value regimes in the industry more broadly to examine the constraining effect of these on women's and men's choices.

6.3.2 Boundary-drawing and value hierarchy

An important aspect of gendered positioning was the way boundaries were drawn. I will now describe how industry boundaries were influenced by the supply chain and affected how workers were positioned. The level of control and influence that workers had and their ability to shape their work varied in different parts of the supply chain. Sometimes boundaries reflected a seeming duality of male technical quality versus non-technical work that was domesticated. At the conference balances of power and gender were reflected in the positions of the two women speakers who took the platform at the pre-conference and not at the main event (see conference programme, Appendix 9).

Translation is generally regarded as a feminised profession:

A typical ... (translators' network) meeting and I think quite representative of the gender mix is probably about 20 women and three guys ... And if I flick through any directories I'll find 80% women 20% men definitely, if not higher. (Suzanne, 11)

Across the localisation industry as a whole, there was a clear division of labour, with power and higher income levels associated with particular roles in male-dominated technical areas of localisation supply. This was reflected, for example, in the different financial rewards of web developers and translators. The average salary for a UK web developer in 2008 was in the region of £31,000 to £42,000²⁸. The salaries for freelance translators²⁹ are very varied. Some figures indicate average translator salaries of around £30,000, but the women homeworkers interviewed said that they earned significantly less. In the ITI's salary survey of 2001 (the last one available at the time of writing), 40% of those surveyed were earning £14,999 or less and 54.5% of respondents said that translation was not the main source of income for their household. The difference between the web developer and the translator was also reflected in power and positioning in the wider industry.

While most translators in the UK are women, the technical roles in software localisation are male-dominated (Faulkner, 2004). As I indicated in Chapter 5, software engineers and tools developers referred to in the data, were male:

...it was offered by the *guys* who wrote software ...
(Martin, 11)

...they already have a developer...*he*...(Lucy, 2)

²⁸ <http://www.itjobswatch.co.uk/jobs/uk/web%20developer.do> last accessed 1.12..08

²⁹ <http://www.iti.org.uk/uploadedFiles/surveys/ITI2001R&S.pdf> last accessed 1.12.08

A comparison of the activities of web development and language translation within the localisation industry revealed a prioritisation of certain masculinised (software and technological) activities. The tasks that web and software specialists did in developing and adapting e-content were generic in the sense that similar work was carried out with a range of software across different contexts. Despite the technological uncertainty described in Chapter 5, this meant that the role of the web and software developer was more readily recognisable, more readily understood and more visible than that of the translator. While most of the UK public would appreciate the role of a web developer in producing websites or the software developer in producing electronic products, they are unlikely to have the same familiarity with the concept that the text contained in these products can be translated into different languages. The work of text translation was highly specific and specialised in particular subject matter, allied to sectors of industry or commerce. In addition, the text content was not part of the actual functioning of an electronic product, and as Louise described (5.2), it was unknowable to the customer who had commissioned it.

Web developers were able to work across industry sectors developing their customers' visibility to assure global communication. Their work was knowable since technical functioning could be experienced by the customer in a way that the text it contained could not. The feminised, textual role of the translator was hidden and her text seemed to appear automatically within the design of the web (or software) developer: embraced by the electronic architecture, it became

one with the artefact produced and the translator's labour in recreating the entire text in another language was concealed within the end product.

David highlighted a clear value dimension in this division of labour. Software development was regarded as a key function to company competitiveness that had to be retained in-house, while translation skills could be easily accessed on the global market:

In terms of translation, the necessary resources were always there, and in fact they're now probably easier to be in communication with than they were before. The part of the resources in the localisation end (software development) were always things that we had to have in-house because that expertise was not as thick on the ground...
(David, 3)

I will now discuss an example from the interview data of the impact of such differential values and gendered positioning in Lucy's and David's contrasting experiences of business development. The experience that Lucy described indicated how boundary-drawing in the industry constrained her access to certain high value work. When talking about developing her company's market share, Lucy described how she had to squeeze on to the stage between the web developer and the translator to take some of the action in an attempt to improve her company's margins through product differentiation in a competitive market. Undertaking high value software design in the localisation process would have assisted Lucy in building her business and developing a more complex relationship with her customers. When talking about the service and how she had originally envisaged this, she said she had wanted to:

...do higher value sort of website work... we can actually work editing the files directly, we have done that ... (Lucy, 3)

However, Lucy had failed to obtain enough contracts to sustain this strand of the business and abandoned her attempt to work across the language/technology boundary. In fact, (male) web developers appeared to have control over the choices customers made about translation suppliers. When giving feedback on a failed bid, a customer indicated that the decision had been based on the view of the male web developer with whom Lucy's company would have collaborated, had it been successful:

“...your price is better but my developer, well he refuses to post in³⁰ on something.”... and that was very frustrating ... (Lucy, 2)

Lucy found her business development impeded by boundaries within the supply chain and by the powerful role of the (male) web developer.

While Lucy was constrained by the industry boundaries, David, the only interviewee who did not identify himself as a linguist, was not. As a qualified engineer, David was regarded as an insider by the male computer engineers who controlled the technological products that were being localised:

³⁰ Here the customer tells Lucy that his web developer is not willing to work with her. “to post in” is a metaphor taken from on-line discussions where you “post” your comments to take part in the discussion.

What we noticed as a technical writing company is that we were working very closely with the development, the engineering and the quality assurance people within our client companies, and our clients were largely companies in the I.T. sector...

(David, 1)

It was easier for a man to assume an insider role in the gendered culture of I.T. working. David was able to offer the kind of service that Lucy had tried unsuccessfully to develop and to position himself as a trusted colleague to his customer.

The dominance of technological value was also reflected in translation work. Among those interviewed there was evidence of hierarchies relating to subject specialisms and fee levels. Technological subject matter commanded a higher fee than areas of translation that might be regarded as feminised. Whilst the profession was dominated by women, there were proportionately more men in IT translation than in other areas. The fact that some translation specialisms had a lower market value than others affected translators' salaries, with Jennifer who specialised in cookery earning less than Martin, the IT translator:

I might find that I'm translating a cookery book and they've only given me like £45 or £50, £50 per thousand say would be typical...(Jennifer, 10)

It's OK when a new company now approaches me ... [they] will accept £70 per thousand words.
(Martin, 6)

Of course women could choose high value areas of specialism, but the choice of subject matter was bound up with individual identity, sense of self and gendered positioning.

6.4 Shared identity, professionalisms and learning

I have discussed how the power structures within the localisation industry influenced value hierarchies in masculinised work cultures which positioned interviewees. In the remainder of this chapter I shall focus on shared and contrasting identities drawn from the workers' learning and professional memberships. The forms of professionalism discussed by localisers and translators revealed interactions between globalisation, learning and shared professional identities.

The trend towards outsourcing as part of globalisation has been accompanied by an increased emphasis on entrepreneurialism, the freedom to set one's own charges and a growing significance of knowledge (Fenwick, 2006). In the conference study the importance of entrepreneurialism in the translation business was reflected in the titles of the workshop strands. Two divergent forms of professionalism emerged in the interview data and shed light on the interaction between entrepreneurialism and learning trajectories. I will firstly examine some tensions in the professional practices of translators; secondly, I will examine professional practices reflected in the discourses of the localisers.

Lastly, I will compare the experiences and learning trajectories of the two groups and consider their relevance to professional identities and resistances.

6.4.1 Translators' learning trajectories

Forms of professional learning were closely connected to interviewees' identity work. Localisers did identity work as entrepreneurs, embedded in company cultures that reflected technical masculinity: translators' identities, on the other hand, were closely tied to their status as members of a professional group. While the occupation of a freelance is generally seen to reflect new forms of professionalism, marked by flexibility and boundaryless work, it appeared that the trajectory of the translators had much in common with older, less flexible forms of professionalism (Lawn, 1996). Translation shared some features associated with received ideas of new economy working, but many of its characteristics were at variance with this. I will now describe translators' professional learning and the impact on their professional experience of the global market in their services.

In the UK translators require degree level qualifications in a foreign language and, usually, a postgraduate master's degree in translation. Thereafter, a form of apprenticeship has to be served and evidence of a prescribed quantity of work deemed to be of an appropriate standard has to be submitted to peer scrutiny. These conditions for entry to the profession are similar in other

countries and many national translation associations are members of FIT (Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs) an international umbrella organisation for associations throughout the world. The translators' professional structures of apprenticeship, peer scrutiny and a code of ethics (see below) introduced a paradox to their status as new economy workers. Their forms of professionalism and bureaucratised controls are not usually associated with flexible new economy approaches to professional work and learning (Billett et al, 2006).

The professional status of translators could be determined to an extent by the translators' own professional building through the mechanisms described above. Paul acknowledged their status as highly qualified workers:

...the translators are very often the most qualified people that you could meet; I mean very often they've got two degrees
(Paul, 17)

However, the standing of the professional group was also dependent on wider macro-economic factors. This was exemplified in Martin's description of the differential status accorded to translators in different countries which he associated with global patterns of business activity:

...the way that translation is viewed by purchasers of translations, the sort of stock of translators isn't as high in Britain as it is in Germany. Something to do I suppose with the fact that most of business in the UK is conducted with America or in English-speaking situations....
(Martin, 1)

The data gathered in the present study revealed tensions between translators as a longstanding professional group and new contexts of professional practice, influenced by globalisation and outsourcing. The work context created by globalisation facilitated access to translation skills on a global scale through offers of work on websites and through e-auctions of translation commissions. In this way, globalisation put pressure on traditional professional practices.

6.4.2 Professional power, knowledge and validation

Challenges to translators' power and shared identities derived from the global context of translation work in two areas that are crucial to professional status: firstly in their control over fees and secondly in their control of knowledge and experiences of knowledge validation. These are regarded as cornerstones in maintaining professionalism (Lawn, 1996) and both represent significant areas of tension in work in the new economy.

While the freedom to set fee levels is regarded as a fundamental aspect of professionalism, global outsourcing and the development of new technology affected translators' ability to control the price that was put on their professional services (see 5.4.4). Martin described how the actions of one translation tools company challenged the authority of the professional group:

...Tradlate published... this scale of prices... "A typical
...Tradlate scale would be pay 100% of the rate for no matches"
OK and then there was a scale down and I think the way they

phrased it was “This is the industry standard” and it was complete and utter bollocks for want of a better word, because it was the first most of us had ever heard of this and all these agencies were then, well not so much agencies, but corporate clients ... tried to get out of paying repetition ... (Martin, 21).

The attempts by this tools-maker to set industry rates without consulting practitioners unleashed a strong debate and divided opinion in the profession:

It's (the use of translation memory) affected rates in that obviously the average rate per word has gone down in those projects. It's meant, however, that you can do more of those projects in the same time, so you do actually end up getting paid more for your time, obviously there are a lot of freelancers sort of opposed to this practice and now the new Cat Holy War on “Transtalk” (discussion forum) isn't ... Tradlate against ... Tradlot it's those of us who accept these rate bands against those of us who don't ... (Martin, 21)

Paradoxically, while Martin criticised the vendor's proposed fee scale he had in fact accepted it. Martin's response to the practices surrounding the use of translation tools contrasted with Jennifer's refusal to use TM discussed in the last chapter, to avoid “being squeezed”.

The tools vendor's action challenged translators' power. As a globally dispersed occupational group, it was difficult for translators to exert concerted joint action to counter the attempts of global players to influence their forms of professional working. As I will describe in the last section of this chapter, the networks, both face-to-face and virtual, to which the translators belonged were significant to their potential for resistance. I will now turn to knowledge as an area that was in tension with globalisation and professional freedoms.

Jennifer talked about the fact that translators lacked access to contextual knowledge, due to their supply chain position and their lack of direct contact with the customer and end-user. She described her frustration at the difficulties of accessing the knowledge needed:

So people who commission translations really need to be aware of that I think and provide all the resources that they can and the training that they can; people are often loathe to train you. They kind of want you to come knowing all the vocabulary and all the ins and outs of the company and it's difficult.
(Jennifer, 19)

The challenges that translators faced were part of a wider picture of complexity in their positions as knowledge workers as illustrated by Suzanne's and Paul's contrasting experiences of knowledge validation.

Both Suzanne and Paul worked in the translation and localisation of advertising material: Suzanne translated marketing copy and Paul's company researched potential brand names and slogans, advising clients on their appropriacy in different languages. As outsourced homeworkers, and for reasons of commercial confidentiality, translators normally had no direct contact with the end-client - such contact was usually forbidden within the terms of their contracts.

Suzanne described an occasion when she gave linguistic and cultural advice as to the inappropriate nature of a term a client planned to use in marketing copy that she had been asked to translate. She described how her advice was rejected:

I had to translate, it was a line of beauty products, shampoos, conditioners whatever and it went from English into German and they did a word play with “thicker” and it’s like somebody with a bit of a lisp so it was “thicker hair” and the German “thicker”.... (It would translate as “fatter”.) So I thought ... I don’t think this’ll go down well. There’s not a woman in Germany who’s going to put that on her hair and they just didn’t want to budge.
(Suzanne, 11-12)

Suzanne’s knowledge was not validated, she indicated that she felt her professional reputation was at risk and she withdrew from the contract.

Suzanne’s supply chain position as a homemaker who was distant from the end-user was relevant to the customer’s rejection of her advice. This became evident when Suzanne’s experience was compared to Paul’s. Paul’s company undertook consultancy on the kind of issues that Suzanne had raised in translating. As the owner of a specialist outsource company in direct contact with the customer and end-user, Paul’s knowledge of terminology was validated and advising on appropriate terms to use in overseas marketing campaigns formed a significant part of his business. As a native speaker and qualified ITI member, Suzanne was better qualified to advise on marketing terminology than was Paul who had no specialist qualifications. Knowledge, qualifications and experience were not relevant as Suzanne was positioned as an outsourced

homeworker whose advice, when it was contrary to expectations, was rejected as invalid. It was the positioning of workers, rather than their knowledge that counted. The situation is highly paradoxical, because the service that Paul provided to the customer would have been facilitated through the use of outsourced experts like Suzanne.

In the next section of this chapter I will look in more detail at concepts of professionalism drawn from forms of professional learning that interacted with shared identities and status.

6.5 Diverse professionalisms and professional learning

All of those interviewed had to sell themselves or their companies' services in the global market-place. Localisers' concepts of professionalism were very different from those of translators. Most commentators date localisation to the 1980s and the start of desktop publishing, while the role of the translator goes back much further. At a TILP³¹ (The Institute of Localisation Professionals) meeting that I attended before the conference, the diversity of the localisation profession and its global reach were apparent. This presented challenges for the professional group in developing their aims. The main aim that emerged at

³¹ There have been moves to professionalise localisation. TILP (The Institute of Localisation Professionals) has been established as a professional body and has introduced a professional qualification in localisation (see footnote six in Chapter One). The profession's website is : <http://www.tilponline.org/> (last accessed 30.10.08)

the meeting was the development of a CLP (Certificate in Localisation Practice) in China. However, members concluded that little progress had been made with implementation at that stage:

Reinhard said that the work on this had been “frustrating”. “you start with enthusiasm and it wanes – reality happens”. He also said that there were limits to what you could expect on a voluntary basis. CLP could have a commercial value. The question was raised of the need from employers. 40 – 50 companies are interested, but it is hanging in the air. Price Waterhouse did a report and concluded that it would be viable. Novelle, for example, wanted one. (Conference notebook, 3)

Despite this, there was evidence that some localisers would value accreditation and controls on the access to the profession. The TILP committee had sent out an on-line survey to 150-200 members and had received 41 replies. Of these respondents 80% rated the development of a CLP as important or very important. The lack of accreditation for entry to the profession influenced the nature of the learning identities that localisers were able to form and the level of professional control that TILP was able to exercise.

Translators’ shared concepts of what it meant to be a professional were shaped by their learning trajectories and experiences of gaining fully qualified professional status:

[I]f you’re doing a ... diploma in translation you have to, I think it’s very difficult. I know somebody recently who did a very good degree and worked terrifically hard for the exam and who failed all the papers on it, and she’s gutted and it’s one of these catch

22 things where without the diploma she won't be offered the work, but without the work she can't apply to the ITI and say, "I have done my 250,000 words can I now sit the exam or submit a paper for assessment?" - it's very difficult - you really need these qualifications now.
(Jennifer, 13)

The experience that Jennifer recounted contrasted with the professional identity formation of localisers who required no formal qualifications and were subject to no professional controls. The localisers like Paul, David and Lucy presented themselves as young entrepreneurs for whom the ability to use ICT was more important to business success than professional learning or membership of a professional organisation. In a discussion of the importance of IT skills in his job, Paul indicated that training and qualifications were not significant:

I've never trained but it was... I think for my generation it's just a natural thing that you do sort of thing, yeah...
(Paul, 11)

Unlike localisers, translators', professional standards were part of a shared identity, built on superior knowledge developed over time. The translators' code of practice implied duties as well as access to certain privileges.³² Translators reified their profession and saw themselves as having a duty to protect it:

...when you start out, you think you have to bend to whatever you're offered and you basically are undermining the profession... (Suzanne, 7)

³² The "Code of Professional Conduct" :
<http://www.iti.org.uk/pdfs/newpdf/20FHCodeOfConductIndividual.pdf> (last accessed 26.8.08)

Localisation training courses have been available at a number of universities for some time (mainly in the US), and since my attendance at the conference TILP has made progress in developing the CLP with ten modules and four days of intensive on-site training. However, neither training nor professional membership is a requirement for entry to localisation work. Paul described the positive and negative effects of this freedom from accreditation requirements:

... the barriers, you know, the barriers to entry are so low anyone can set up a translation company and just say, well like I did in fact, and just say you know "We are going to provide a good service" but they won't actually necessarily do it...
(Paul, 22)

Paradoxically, the freedom also suggested the problem of quality (see Chapter 4) which appeared as a symbol throughout the localisers' discourses.

There was evidence from the interviews and from the conference data that localisers' occupational identity was a dispersed and less unified concept than for translators. In the absence of particular memberships, prescribed professional learning, codes of ethics or ways of working that were subject to scrutiny, identity was a cultural construction that localisers worked to create discursively, linked to quality (and technology) as symbols used to communicate a company's identity:

...you're telling them that it's being done in a professional way, that it's not just, "Hey here's your bit of paper back. (Mandy,14)

In the localisers' discourses it was the localisation industry, rather than a professional membership that was significant to identity work and it was the localisation industry that was reified:

I don't think it's eh... worth for the industry. I don't think the industry will benefit from that, and we are very respectful of the industry. (Carmen, 6)

For localisers, company cultures were drawn from professional self-concepts and their discourses of quality appeared as a response to the lack of recognised infrastructures, or bureaucratised controls that could review quality. As such, the professional concept of the localisers was susceptible to influence, as companies' practices were exposed to the competition of global capitalism.

6.5.1 Learning and resistance in professional networks

In the next section of this chapter I will describe how translators dealt with professional choices that were sometimes gendered. Although translators' power was challenged in global working, the professional networks to which they belonged offered significant support for shared identity. I will describe these networks and the identity possibilities that were drawn from the specialised learning that translators undertook in developing niche areas of translation such as information technology or cookery. I will then discuss and compare the identity possibilities that were represented in the learning contexts of localisation company cultures.

Translators' specialisms may be chosen at postgraduate level and then developed in the initial years of a translator's professional practice. Specialisation involved working in areas of interest and making choices through self-monitoring, learning, identity work and self-evaluation. Suzanne described this process:

...after a couple of years and a lot of head scratching later you actually think, "Yes I know quite a bit about this subject now."
(Suzanne, 6)

While translators' identities were linked to their learning within professional specialisms, it was difficult to determine how far they felt themselves to be constrained by their choices of specialist areas. Although there was evidence of gendered choices and of being paid less for the subject matter that they translated, the two women translators talked in positive terms about the subject of their work.

Despite a positive outlook on her profession, however, Jennifer expressed concerns about its standing. According to Jennifer, the translation profession had a low status. This was seen as a systemic problem that derived from its seeming feminisation:

There's more women in the profession than men and some people say that this has also affected the status of the profession, any profession [in] which women tend to predominate. I don't know in whose mind the prestige dwindles but that's what they say...
(Jennifer, 17)

The women translators in the present sample looked to the use of networks to obtain benefits that could mitigate some of the problems of their work situations, such as isolation and distance from knowledge. Suzanne and Jennifer attended networking events that brought benefits to professional learning through invitations to guest speakers and the organisation of short courses. While this contributed to the on-going CPD that translators were required to undertake, both women also attended these events for social reasons:

I really, really enjoy the Transland network more than the ITI. We've got about 85 members at the moment and I think I know about half of them in person by now ... (Suzanne, 5)

And Jennifer was equally positive, saying that the network:

... really helps to counteract the isolation that you'd normally experience as a translator working at your desk. (Jennifer, 12)

Women supported one another in the use of power through their professional networks and Suzanne talked about how she discussed rates and charging with her friend to encourage her to charge more:

...a friend of mine ... who's starting out now and she's selling herself cheap and I keep having a go at her (Suzanne, 7)

While the network supported professional learning individual translators shared knowledge and passed on work to each other:

I have quite a good personal relationship with her, she's a friend as well and she's passed on ... (Jennifer, 3)

"Could I do a heating pump manual?" I go, "No thank you but I know somebody who can." (Suzanne, 6)

However, the translators' preferences for virtual or face-to-face networking seemed to reflect gendered positions. Although both women used on-line networking, they said that they obtained most benefit from physical attendance at events. In a predominately female profession, attendance at network meetings seemed to offer less support for Martin's identity work. Instead Martin networked predominately in the virtual sphere, using internet communication in a range of ways, as he worked with e-groups in the ITI and on other sites, such as "Proz.com"³³. In these places, virtual communication built the occupational group. While the women preferred human contact, Martin looked to technology:

Yeah it's the virtual water cooler isn't it, it's where you gather for your coffee or whatever and have a chat ... (Martin, 9)

³³ <http://www.proz.com/> (last accessed 30.10.08)

6.5.2 Identity, learning and localisers' company cultures

It may seem that localisers' identity possibilities were greater than those of translators. For example, localisers were free of the translators' requirement to identify specified subject fields in their work; nor did they have to endorse a code of conduct. However, their freedom to adopt particular roles or positions was circumscribed by the types of identity work that informed the development of company cultures. Masculine characteristics of effortless and being at ease with technology marked the professional identities in the company cultures where both women and men worked.

In localisers' discourses, the idea of professionalism itself emerged as a significant self-concept. However, unlike the translators this was not built on a professional learning trajectory, but on an ascribed identity, that sometimes played on non-learning, as implied in IT skills being automatic (see 6.4.3 above):

...so entirely self taught, so as a free-lance technical writer putting myself round to companies I was actually able to offer them a service from one man that they would have had from perhaps about three different companies before, so I was inundated with work and that's when we sort of like started to take on some free lancers and then our own staff. (David, 8)

Serious professionals had control over money (see Figure 5 in Chapter 1) and a strategic view. It was mainly male interviewees who were positioned in this way, with control over technology and finance. While Lucy's description also indicates the absence of professional learning specific to her present work, her professional learning trajectory has been "haphazard" rather than strategically planned:

I worked in the telephone interpreting company down in London, but that was pretty haphazard. I started temping there and that job became available while I was there so that wasn't exactly planned either (laugh) ... and kind of thought "Well I've got all these contacts and I had sort of thought to myself "I want to be in business but I didn't do a business degree" and also I didn't really know exactly what you know I wanted to do, so I just sort of put the two together...(Lucy, 17)

Power was invested in the notion of professionalism, linked to ascribed status.

David described the professional status to which localisers should aspire:

...it would be great if we can get to a position with customers where it's like a visit to your lawyer or your doctor...
(David, 13)

Being professional was seen to generate trust, which was configured as a generally male attribute:

We know these guys, we can trust them, they're going to do a good job for us ...(David, 14)

Despite a perceived feminisation of new economy workplaces the notion of a business professional in the interview and the conference data was linked to particular forms of masculinity. In the localisers' interviews, professionals were, on the one hand, the late 20th century male as described by David, or, on the other hand, the 21st century younger "guy" who wanted to shape a company culture in a way that was serious and effortless (see Paul, 13 below). The word "guy"³⁴ was frequently used by interviewees³⁵, applying equally to women and men. It seemed unlikely that its use heralded gender freedom (Butler, 1999), but rather that it represented an example of women being absorbed into company cultures in new economy companies influenced by male identity work.

The positioning of women within male company cultures combined with the boundary-drawing described above to influence working identities and learning, circumscribing women's access to particular roles. The following passage illustrated the link between company culture and male, owner-manager identity work:

On all the recruitment description well the job descriptions it always says, "Must have a good sense of humour", but it doesn't, we don't, because there are, this is another thing there are companies who sort of play on the young cool and funky company thing quite a lot and that can get a little bit much as well, so we tend to, there's no effort to establish a sort of, yeah this hip-hop happening image ... (Paul, 13).

³⁴ The relevant definition given by the OED is "man" or "fellow" from US slang, 1896.

³⁵ <http://www.thetechguys.com/> This company may be typical of new economy firms in the computing sector. When accessed on 12.7.07, I was surprised to see three women and three men on the "Who are we?" page of the site. On closer scrutiny, however, it emerged that only one of the women is employed in a technical role, as an engineer. The others, like the women in these data, have a communication function, while all three men on the site have a technical or engineering role.

This was an important positioning statement for Paul's company and simultaneously an identity statement for Paul. It illustrated how male identity contributed to the development of company culture that positioned women in particular roles. The negation and hedging in the third line draws attention to the important point that Paul wished to make about his company. The next line introduces the foil³⁶ for his company: other companies who "play on the young cool..." are used to help Paul position his company as having the advantages of being young and cool, but not needing to play on this. The personal effortlessnes that is part of his own identity is transferred to the company. The company's image does not appear as a deliberately adopted stance, that could be branded by observers with a specific label, such as "hip-hop happening". The negative image of the "young cool and funky company" is used to reveal Paul's company as free from affectation, allowing it to emerge as "natural" in its dealings with customers. The naturalness and effortlessnes of the company culture was presented as gender neutral. For the localisers, the emotional labour and learning needed to sustain and develop the company image and culture was "hidden" from view and what was "effort-full" appeared as requiring "no effort". Paul's employees were actors in the play of company culture, drawn into Paul's identity work of effortless masculinity.

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of "foils", see Chapter 4. Foils are a feature of intertextuality used in interviewees' identity work, as other voices drawn in to make the speaker's identity explicit.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the structuring of a global industry and its interaction with company cultures, professional learning trajectories and group professional identities. Gendered positioning affected the identity possibilities of individuals. As boundaries were drawn around knowledge, worker networks offered a counter-influence. I have related identity work and the performance of masculinities and company cultures to the structuring of work and gendered positioning. I have offered an insight into how professional learning trajectories and professional networks interacted with forms of globalised working. Gendered positioning was reflected through the roles occupied by women and men as well as through the medium of individual company cultures which affected all company workers.

Chapter 7 - Work in progress: beginnings and ending

7.1 Introduction: a feminist study and one woman's life

There are a number of specific areas that should be addressed in a conclusion to such a piece of academic work. For example, it ought to summarise the foregoing arguments in which the author responds to the research questions that prompted the study. In drawing together the work of the previous six chapters I have considered the possibility of a different kind of text, addressing a different question, drawn exclusively from the feminist voice and circumventing aspects of academic discipline. This text prioritises the relational view in the thesis that places women's work alongside globalisation and alongside multitasking in domestic roles. In the text that follows, I will address some questions suggested by the feminist voice before returning to academic convention.

I argue that a thesis, whether feminist or not, is a more personal piece of work than a research article that is written for public consumption. Furthermore, it is in keeping with a feminist study that it should include a reflection on issues that relate to the identity of the researcher and that this identity be made explicit as part of the production of the research.

While I have written about the identity work that the interviewees performed in their discourses as they described their work and their companies, the thesis has also been a form of identity work for me and, as I will describe in 7.7, my contingent working has parallels with the experiences of some of the interviewees. But the multitasking requires a multi-person. To those around me I am the same person, yet to me I am someone different. This is not to say that my identity is fractured: women need to have continuous identities to those for whom they do the main caring. My identity has been significant in shaping the present work and writing the thesis has enabled me to develop an academic identity as the repository of other self-constructs and feelings that were, at some stages in my life, a source of conflict and frustration. As I indicated in Chapter 3, I was not supposed to become a linguist and this was just one part of my life that conflicted with the expectations that existed for people of my class and gender. I will go back to these issues in the final section of this chapter. For now I will return to academic convention to summarise and evaluate how the initial research questions have been answered, the limitations that result from the approach adopted and what the study has achieved in addressing the original aim of adding to educational understandings of work cultures.

7.2 Summary of findings

The research objectives and questions contained in the research proposal were as follows:

Research Objectives & Research Questions... developed through a feminist lens	
Research objective 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To analyse how localisers portrayed themselves as global workers <p><i>How did localisers' discourses situate them as global workers, reflecting membership and boundary drawing? (RQ1)</i></p> <p><i>How did localisers' discourses reflect attempts to make sense of their role in globalisation? (RQ2)</i></p>
Research objective 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To analyse what localisers said about how they worked <p><i>What did localisers say about the medium and content of their work?(RQ3)</i></p> <p><i>How did localisers position themselves in relation to particular forms of expression, such as narrative, keywords and technology? (RQ4)</i></p>
Research objective 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To analyse what localisers said about the wider world and how it affected their work. <p><i>How did localisers make sense of the environmental influences that impinged on their work? (RQ5)</i></p>

Table 7.1 : Research objectives and research questions developed through a feminist lens (c.f. Tables 1.2 & 3.4)

7.2.1 Expectations

These questions were framed in 2003 at the end of a two-year period of involvement in the localisation industry, during which time I undertook a research project in localisation for Scottish Enterprise (Malcolm et al, 2003). Gender as an element of analysis did not feature in the original proposal and I did not plan a feminist study but was motivated in this by my developing consciousness, linked to the findings that began to emerge from the data. The

conclusions that are outlined below derive from to the questions which were framed in a feminist perspective at the point of pilot analysis, with gender and learning as key organising ideas that run through the work. Broadly, these were the right research questions and were I to undertake the study again I would choose similar issues to investigate. Now I would plan a feminist study from the outset. This would mean, for example, that where I have asked, “How did localisers’ discourses situate them as global workers, reflecting membership and boundary drawing?”, I would now pose a different question to elicit the gender implications of discourses that situate localisers as global workers, to investigate in more depth how these affected women and men differently.

The research questions drove the work in a particular direction of investigating, firstly, *individual identity*, secondly, *work practices* and, thirdly, *identities and learning in globalising work*. The findings are a response to the challenges set in the research questions. However, the answers to the questions are different from what I had expected. I had expected the answers to my research questions to be simpler and more straightforward. I expected the answers to the questions to be more factual and less political and ideological: I had expected that the thesis would contain information. The findings are more complex due to the depth of implications behind the identities, forms of learning and practices that the interviewees described and which emerged in the conference study.

To summarise how the initial research questions have been answered, I will now take each research objective in turn and give a brief account of how I have responded to the questions associated with it.

7.2.2 Responding to research questions

Research objective 1 - to analyse how localisers portrayed themselves as global workers

I found complexity in interviewees' discourses of identity that interacted with gendered positioning. Male identity was discursively connected to technology as a symbol of quality, while the women's identities were drawn from complex roles as workers, care-givers and company directors who carried out the practical aspects of day-to-day work. This dichotomy was disrupted by the fact that one man was a homemaker and two men at the conference raised their concerns about work/life balance in the context of their caring responsibilities.

Sense-making was integral in interviewees' discourses as they constructed roles and identities through a process of boundary-drawing. Quality as a discursive symbol, supported the interviewees' identity work and helped them to project an image of how they wanted to be seen, while distinguishing themselves from other identity possibilities. Male localisers presented themselves as people who worked in a business environment to produce quality outputs. Technology was drawn on by all interviewees to symbolise quality and

had to be distinguished from its opposite that was associated with the domestic sphere. Quality was important for the localiser owner/managers for whom it was a key to their self-concept as entrepreneur.

The identity work of (male) interviewees was an important part of the development of broader company cultures which company owners and strategists were responsible for engendering. The women held organisational roles and there was a danger that, through a failure to recognise the complexity of the women's identities, their contributions within organisations were undervalued.

The emotion work that translators performed was an underestimated aspect of their work and learning which they themselves did not value, making it appear outwith allocated time and effort. There was a self-deprecating aspect in the irony with which all of the women interviewees described their roles and this belied the use of agency that was deployed as part of their identity work. While they were reluctant to display agency that served their individual interests, they frequently showed a form of agency for others.

As global workers, membership of professional organisations and professional learning trajectories created shared identities and possibilities for the

translators, while the localisers drew identities from work in new economy cultures.

Research objective 2 - to analyse what localisers said about how they work

I discovered a great deal about how localisers worked and the techniques and tools involved. However, I found that some of the discourse about practices was symbolic, aimed at communicating how good the company was and, despite probing, the detailed descriptions remained imprecise. The localisers' work output was in the virtual sphere and it relied on the production of an image. Complexity invested in the image was compounded by the nature of the localisation process itself which varied depending on the tools used and the type of project. The uncertainty around localisation practices reinforced the impression of a hidden industry.

It was difficult at times to identify current practices, as the interviewees and conference delegates took up symbolic positioning in relation to key words such as "technology" and "quality". The discourses depended on symbolism built around a dualism of technical quality versus domestic lack of quality. The localisers made sense of their working lives through relating their work objectives to the practices in their companies and how their firms compared with others in, for example, their forms of technical enablement. In interviews and at

the conference technological advances were related to business objectives, such as increasing the size of the company and enhancing its turnover through the automation of processes. As processes were described, the identities, knowledge and learning of workers who contributed to these processes were subsumed and technologised.

Women in the sample, Jennifer, Suzanne and Carmen (who talked about caring roles), put their practices in different contexts and drew on their agency to defend their interests as outsourced workers (Suzanne and Jennifer), or to get on with the job of managing the day-to-day work of the company (Louise, Lucy, Carmen). The women's practices were described as concretising what they did, to make it specific and to embody work which was realised in the symbolic and virtual sphere. At the same time, the women put their work in the wider context of other parts of their lives. The need to work across boundaries as main carers and the multitasking that women referred to meant that they had to work harder and do more work than men in similar work positions.

Research objective 3 - to analyse what localisers said about the wider world and how it affected their work

In reviewing the questions and the data as I wrote the present chapter, I was struck by the paradox of the interviewees' positions as workers in a globalising

industry. While it is accurate to describe the localisation industry as a globalising industry,³⁷ the interviewees scarcely used the term. Those interviewed spoke about their work “throughout the world” (Pierre, 3), but only Paul, “globalised market-place” (8), Martin, “global nature of business” (7) and Suzanne, “global player” (7), actually used the word “globalisation” or a derivative. This may indicate the way that, within a complex industry, the overall context within which an individual’s work is situated can be overlooked, or at least slip from the front of our minds.

I found that industry structures were influenced by globalisation through the global supply chain for localisation which all of the workers, including those who worked at home, were part. In the translator group this was seen, for example, in Suzanne’s liaison with a colleague in another continent, and in Jennifer’s and Martin’s close cooperation with other translators in continental Europe. The localisers worked with translators across the world and had customers in other European countries, Japan and further afield. While the interviewees were part of this supply chain, movements at a global level were reflected in their lives, learning and work trajectories, for example, in changes in employment (Pierre and Carmen) and in the work formats that were available to them (Jennifer). While the companies and individual workers were situated in this way, the organisation of work within the companies reflected structures and positioning that were gendered, with particular roles available to women that were different from those occupied by men. Power was unevenly distributed and was found to

³⁷ The LISA website now refers to “globalisation” more frequently than it used to in previous versions of the site and the “Localization Industry Primer” is now called the “Globalization Industry Primer”. <http://www.lisa.org/> (last accessed 6.10.08)

be concentrated in technical roles. A concentration of power in the technical/entrepreneurial area was also reflected in decisions about which knowledge was validated. This had implications for the positioning of outsourced homeworkers and the value attached to their knowledge. All of the interviewees worked across organisational, structural and cultural boundaries.

The interviewees' roles in globalisation were connected to shared professional identities and learning. The forms of professional learning and the role it played in the formation of professional identities varied in the two groups. In the working lives of translators, their professional learning and networks emerged as significant to their professional building. Networks supported translators' attempts to guard their knowledge and resist the efforts of others to control them through technology.

Unlike translators, localisers required no professional learning and the barriers to entry to the profession were extremely low. While localisers appeared to have greater identity freedom, their shared identities and views of their learning were affected by the need to compete in the market. The extent of identity freedom interacted with company cultures that derived from techno-muscular capitalism. Some of the uncertainty in the localisation profession related to the absence of an external measure of quality work – which TILP members who attended the conference aspired to bring about.

7.3 Achievement and implications for education

In Chapter 1 I identified learning as a central interest in the present study. I argued that learning was a dispersed concept, captured in the way that dispositions, values and subjectivities were formed in localisation work. I indicated that this had implications for education. In this chapter section I will discuss the achievements of the study and its implications for professional learning and education.

7.3.1 What the study has achieved

The study presents a profile of the identities of some members of an occupational group, adding to the broader picture that educationalists have of the experiences and learning of new economy workers. It is original in its main achievement which is to shine a light on identity and professional learning in an industry with a very low public profile. The localisation industry is a significant part of the knowledge economy and it is of concern that so little is known by educationalists about an occupation that has an important role in the transfer and portrayal of cultural messages.

7.3.2 Implications for education and professional learning

In Chapter 2 I wrote of my engagement with literature on workplace learning, referring to the writing of Lave and Wenger, amongst others. Many of the discourses of learning and work focus on lifelong learning and new forms of

flexibility that are said to be required to meet demands in post-Fordist workplaces (Billett et al, 2006). Learning is seen as distributed beyond traditional training locations across flexible lifelong learning sites (Edwards and Usher, 2008). The present study locates professional learning among wider debates in the social sciences where work is seen as a site at which values and subjectivities are formed (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). In doing so, its findings disturb some existing notions of learning and work. In localisation, binaries on which workplace development and training were previously based, such as home and office/factory, are destabilised. In addition, newer views of learning as situated in worker networks and self-directed teams are also troubled with the development of automation. This emerges in the form of “factories” that bring mass production to knowledge processes through initiatives like IGNITE. The future roles, contributions and educational requirements of workers are rendered uncertain by the prospect of a further level of capture and re-use of their knowledge as part of automated processes.

Additional educational implications of the present work can be viewed at two levels: the theoretical and the practical which are both closely connected and interwoven. On a theoretical level, present approaches to professional learning discussed in Chapter 2 contribute in various ways to understanding the work of localisers. However, I have not been able to draw on any one single theory since their grounding in practice communities, actor networks or learning psychologies (see Fenwick, 2001) mean that considerable conceptual work remains to be done to adapt these to work that is in the virtual sphere. It is

important that the hidden nature of localisation and other work connected with it be brought to view in order to critique the operation of power at a macro and not just at a micro-level. As the conference study demonstrated, globalisation is not only a grand narrative: global communication involves practical work to develop and control information standards that affect access by different countries and individuals to IT resources. Present theories of learning and work do not support the link between the micro and the macro scales of analysis and the wider contexts of professional learning in the virtual sphere. Complexity seems to discourage attempts to obtain a broader view which suggests ethical questions about how individual work relates to the wider purposes to which it is put (this was highlighted in the world financial crisis in 2008). The conceptual contribution that the present study can make is to highlight the need for new theories of workplace learning. These would have to encompass work in the virtual sphere; they would have to take account of material practices as well as imaginative envisioning; they would have to link the experience of everyday work and learning to the wider power contexts in which workers operate.

At a practical level, there are a number of implications for education that relate to the theoretical problem outlined above. While translators may be situated in networks that, although shifting, have some continuity and have a definable professional learning trajectory, the educational implications for localisers are more difficult to grasp. Only some are connected in localiser networks and these appear to be extremely fluid. A CLP (Certificate in Localisation Practice) has been established and it remains to be seen whether an agreed curriculum

will develop further consensus and gather wider industry support. At present translator education is separate from localiser and a question suggested in current developments is the possibility of some convergence of these. While Fraser and Gold dismiss localisation as jargon, one of the major tool vendors at the conference was involved in translator education at a UK university. The constantly changing technology with which professionals work poses a further challenge for the construction of professional learning syllabuses for both groups.

In the education of translators and localisers there are power implications to be addressed. These emerge in the increasing use of controlled language and the capture of translation text in translation memory tools. The control and capture that underpin the development of automation based in the knowledge factory may be described as a dehumanising process, captured to some extent by ANT's use of "actants". Such trends, should they be affirmed, would have far-reaching consequences for professional learning and for the ethics of work more broadly.

While some of the workers in the present study have developed codified knowledge through highly professionalised accreditation paths, others have not. This is paradoxical considering that knowledge is central for all of those in the industry. It suggests some disjuncture among understandings of knowledge and learning and how these relate to education. Where knowledge cannot be

pinned down it is a continuous stream as part of a disposition and identity. The present data add complexity to the view of knowledge workers as enterprising selves who adopt “an active engagement with their working lives, in which workers are more prepared to work upon themselves, including through learning” (Edwards and Nicoll, 2004: 168). While the selves that emerge in the discourses are enterprising, learning appears on occasion as something that is automatic and instantaneous, owned and performatively present. A question raised by this relates to the boundaries around learning and how learning interacts with non-learning. This becomes important when a rush to keep up as part of global competition appears to militate against learning and evaluation as part of the development of good work. As I will now explain these circumstances are related to workers’ use of affect and the learning required to underpin work performances.

I will now explore briefly some of the learning and educational implications of the use of affect by localisers. The significance of emotion in the work of research participants was developed in relation to both homeworkers (Chapter 4) and employees (Chapter 5). Taking homeworkers first, the breaking down of boundaries between home and workplace appears not necessarily as the workplace invading the home. The intersection of the two domains and how this relates to learning identities is complex. Among this complexity, the use of affect on the part of homeworkers is a core part of their work performance. While it represents a further demand on workers it is also part of their agency,

and educational interventions for such workers could usefully address affective performance as a significant part of learning to be a translator.

The use of affect for work and learning is significant for those who sustain workplace cultures through their individual emotional labour in a competitive company environment. Emotional labour appears at the forefront of work where the pace and the emptying out of concealed practices place pressures on workers. This is exacerbated by the context of fast capitalism which seems to minimise opportunities for evaluation. In this situation work is less about the practices that are undertaken than the image that is cultivated (see Chapter 5). Stresses are placed on workers when their emotional labour and identities are major contributors in supporting the image. The demands of such emotional labour can be exacerbated when practice and infrastructure lag behind what is promoted. How learning can support workers in these conditions and what forms of education are needed to underpin useful and critical learning for such workers are significant questions for educational understandings of new economy work.

7.3.3 Implications from a feminist perspective of work and learning

The connection between the macro spheres of globalisation and the micro level of working lives is significant to feminist understandings of work and learning in the new economy. While the links between patriarchy and capitalism in forms

of working were disturbed in the data from Martin, Alan and Lawrence, forms of gendering in work persisted, affecting choices for both women and men. Through an examination of working lives in a specific and under-researched area, the study adds to feminist knowledge of neglected sites of globalisation (Nussbaum and Glover, 1995; Unterhalter and Dutt, 2001; Nagar et al, 2002; Marchand and Runyan, 2000). It suggests the need for workplace learning theories to encompass gender as a significant factor in analyses, rather than assuming that in the new economy it has been “dealt with” (Fenwick, 2004).

The investigation of localisers’ work cultures exposes complex and gendered interactions between households and the wider global economy at sites in rich western countries. This disrupts received notions that only third world workers and not those in wealthy countries contribute to low cost aspects of globalisation. The problem with the forms of homeworking in the virtual sphere described in the study is that they and the industry are hidden, with the result that the work is depoliticised and separated from global means of production. This point is vital to a gender analysis which, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, suggests the need to address ideological issues of women’s representation.

How women are represented, the positioning that affects their roles and identities is central to their learning. Within the global/local context described above, emotion and technology emerged as key aspects of women’s work and learning in the data. The emotion work undertaken by homeworkers was concealed and they did not appear to identify this as a resource, although

Suzanne did refer to learning to use her emotional resources to assert herself with work-givers over issues such as payment. While the women did not recognise this as emotion work which has had to be developed as part of their professional performance, they drew on their embodied knowledge to concretise and anchor their performances in electronic working. Their ability to develop and apply such learning is potentially relevant to theorisations of women's work in the virtual sphere. Their ability to work across affective spheres simultaneously also emerged as a significant affordance in new economy working and multitasking.

This has implications for how workplace learning is conceptualised more generally, pointing beyond techno-muscular conceptions, to acknowledgment of affective and embodied work in the virtual sphere that interacts with applications of technology. Moving beyond existing assumptions to recognise, for example, the significance of gendered scripts contained in technology (Bray, 2008) opens possibilities for conceptualising workplace learning in a way that accounts for power and ideology in work in the virtual sphere.

7.4 Theoretical development in progress

7.4.1 Overarching concepts

Two overarching concepts that emerged from the study were technology and boundary-drawing. The process that led to establishing these concepts is described in Chapter 3. While boundary-drawing, linked to power, emerged as a

result of the analytical process, I had previously identified technology as significant, since the use of ICT was vital in all areas of localisation work.

The role played by technology in the working lives of those interviewed was crucial to the analysis across all three chapters. While technology influenced how work was done, it also rendered it more complex, since it presented different options for completing the same work tasks and was subject to rapid change. The force of technology was contradictory and socially shaped, as it was subject to social factors contained in human cultures. What I learnt from the analysis was that technology was not just about tools used in practices, but that it was also an organising idea, a complex symbol that was the repository of the interviewees' hopes and ambitions. It was intimately connected with the shaping of gendered roles and the validation of professional learning. While technology's conceptualisation was male-dominated, its products conveyed patriarchal images and the power invested in particular forms of masculinity (see Figure 1.5). Technology was used as a symbol in the discourses to indicate quality and certainty, while concealing the indeterminacy that was at the heart of localisation (see Martin's discussion in section 5.2.2).

Boundary-drawing interacted with industry structures and set limits around work roles and work functions in the industry. Boundaries sometimes derived from the supply chain and they were a manifestation of the exercise of power. Boundaries were drawn around the work roles in two aspects of the work

process, referred to by interviewees as the “softer end” and the “technical”, with differential values ascribed to technical and non-technical processes. While boundary-drawing was linked to the structure of the supply chain, at the same time, the cultures of individual companies were informed by the way companies and their employees were positioned.

I will now describe the specific concepts that underpinned each of the findings chapters 4 – 6.

7.4.2 Concepts in specific chapters

Chapter 4: domestication and emotion work

In the analysis contained in Chapter 4, I used the concept **domestication** to refer to the discursive practice that linked the domestic sphere with poor quality. In their discourses, localisers used images such as work at a kitchen table to signal poor quality in translation. The consistent use of such imagery by the male interviewees with the same meaning led me to this.

The second analytical concept in this chapter was **emotion work**, performed by translators in working across boundaries in the domestic and professional spheres. Conceptualising translators’ work in this way allowed me to describe the resources the women used to resist certain work demands and shed light on an aspect of their learning. In my analysis agency took particular forms. For example, the women took account of the context of agentic action, which I have

described as agency for others (4.4.2). However, there was evidence that, the women preferred not to appear strongly agentic.

Chapter 5: technologisation and emotional labour

The domestication of identity, as part of the discourse of poor quality, also played on the counter-concept, derived from the use of new and effective technology to symbolise high quality work. I used the concept ***technologisation*** in Chapter 5 to describe a discursive practice that associated workers with the technical equipment that companies employed. This lifted outsourced homeworkers out of the domestic sphere as the technologisation of their identities concealed the significance of their knowledge and learning, as well as gendered and embodied aspects of localisation. The discursive practices of ***domestication*** and ***technologisation*** positioned the same workers in different ways.

Localisation was presented as a purely technical process from which the linguistic and cultural aspects were excluded. The work that had been undertaken to create localised products was concealed from the users of such images. The rendering of such products in other languages and cultures appeared to happen automatically and the embodied practices, knowledge and learning of workers were concealed and absorbed into the technology.

Technologisation drew in the identities of the outsourced women workers. The second key analytical idea in Chapter 5 relates to the use of emotional labour in underground working, underpinning company cultures which are strongly inscribed by technology.

While I drew on the concept *emotion work* to analyse the activity of outsourced translators in Chapter 4, I used Hochschild's concept of *emotional labour* in Chapter 5 to analyse localisers' work. Emotional labour was linked to technologies that were used to monitor workers as they performed emotional labour. Paradoxically, technology and technologisation also deflected attention from the significance of emotional labour which was concealed. As part of the discourse of quality, the women homeworkers emerged as part of a technological organisation rather than as emotional labourers.

Chapter 6: industry structures and learning identities

In Chapter 6, the analytical concepts that emerged were: **industry structures** in globalisation and **learning identities** that related to human language translation on the one hand and technological localising on the other. The outsourcing of translation to homeworkers as part of the structuring of globalisation work had implications for power and for the way workers were positioned. Industry structures interacted with the formation of shared identities from which work cultures and learning identities were drawn.

Power was evident in the data where its forms were differentiated and connected to the industry supply chain. It was also reflected in differing concepts of professional identity and learning, the freedom to set fee levels and knowledge validation. The translators and localisers had diverse experiences of professional development which reflected the application of different types of knowledge that derived from the requirements for e-content within globalisation. The career trajectories of the localisers and their need to respond to fast-changing technological and economic circumstances raised the question as to appropriate notions of professionalism in new economy work roles.

7.5 Limitations and alternative approaches

While my detailed study of the localisers' work cultures offers some insights in new economy work and learning, I do not seek to extrapolate my findings beyond this specific sample. The study has produced some findings that may be tested further in a wider investigation. It would not be possible from the evidence described above to elaborate on applications in other areas of the new economy. The sample size is small, consisting of ten interviewees. On the other hand, the localisation industry is world-wide, with a value that runs to many millions of dollars. From such a small sample it would be impossible to make definitive claims about the nature of the whole industry. Furthermore, the reliance on individual discourses and data drawn from participant observation at one conference links the analysis to narratives, which, by their very nature, are partial and conditional, as are the interpretations that are drawn from them.

With regard to the sample, I would reiterate at this point that those interviewed worked in professional roles in the industry and were privileged in terms of their class and race: their privileged status needs to be taken into account when considering how far the information given by this group would apply to other workers. The predominantly western perspective that the thesis reflects should also qualify the applicability of its findings. For example, I conceptualise the work as set in different spaces, from the home, to technological space, to work in globalisation. This conceptualisation reveals the influence of western ways of thinking, which require reflexive evaluation to avoid the risk of normative assumptions. In conceptualising private space some western feminist understandings fail to take account of the meanings of extended community.

I indicated above that the study was driven by the research questions: it was also driven by the nature of the data and the approaches that I took to analysing them. I am sure that some things have been missed in the direction I have taken and the assumptions that I have made.

The method that was used had certain disadvantages which I have discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the analysis of language. I have explained how I attempted to mitigate perceived drawbacks of language analysis through the use of CDA and a conference study to draw on a wider social context for a critical analysis. The time-consuming nature of discourse analysis (Conteh et al, 2005) was possibly a disadvantage. However, the use of NVivo and the time

taken in the construction of a critical analytical framework were significant in preventing the bigger messages contained in the data from being buried in the detail of the particular language used. While I outlined in Chapter 3 the advantages of combining CDA with participant observation at the conference, these two different types of data do not necessarily constitute a seamless narrative, but rather one that has unevenness and changes of gear as the discussion of findings moves from one data source to the other. I have learnt through my experience of using CDA and analysing the conference data that meanings are shifting and incomplete. Interpretations are elusive and in analysing language I have learnt that it does not reflect reality but transforms it.

A further possible limitation referred to in Chapter 3, consists in the fact that the interviews were conducted some three years ago. Some of the technology will have changed in the the intervening period and the employees themselves will have moved on, as the industry has also changed. However, as I have argued, the findings that are described above relate to particular data, set in a particular time. It seems likely that while the technology itself has developed, some of the critical questions posed are still applicable.

The present work and its findings would have been enhanced if an ethnography had been conducted along with the interviews that I carried out. If it were possible to gain access to the companies as an ethnographer, this would undoubtedly add depth and breadth to the perspective obtained. The data

would have been richer if I had known the research participants better. This is apparent, for example, in Faulkner's study (2007) where the two cases chosen (Karen and Fraser) emerge as rounded and fully-formed characters, more alive in the writing due to the length of time during which they and the researcher had worked together. The richness that is obtained through such ethnographic work would have added to the texture and depth of the present study.

An alternative approach would be to reframe the questions to focus on the effect of localisation in economies outside the west. Taking a different methodological approach, one could introduce a quantitative aspect to the study, to widen its reach through questionnaires and telephone interviews to elicit information from localisers in a range of different countries and companies, particularly Brazil and India. On the basis of my own recent research experience in the area of life history my instinct would be to pursue the ethnographic route in the qualitative paradigm with which I feel most comfortable. However, a combination of these two, in other words a mixed-method approach, would prove valuable.

7.6 Lessons learnt

In the course of the doctoral work a number of lessons have been learnt. They can be summarised in three areas:

- research-informed insights that result from learning about localisation as an aspect of globalisation and its relevance for education
- research-informed insights that result from producing an extended piece of academic work
- personal lessons that result in learning about the self, one's researcher identity and finding a feminist voice

The learning about globalisation has been considerable. Despite my involvement in politics and general awareness of contemporary issues, I have learnt a great deal more from the engagement with academic literature, from attendances at localiser events leading up to the development of the research proposal and from the gathering and analysis of the empirical data. I have also enhanced my understanding of education as a discipline and its relevance in global working.

In the process of conducting the study, technical lessons were learned in relation to the use of DA and how it sits alongside other research methods: how it can be used, its shortcomings, the challenges it presents and the possibilities that it offers. I improved my ability to conduct qualitative interviews and increased my confidence in operating in the space between the research questions, the interview questions and the interaction with the research

participant. The latter involved generating trust in the interviewee and conference delegate, through encouraging a flow of conversation while, at the same time, obtaining the required research insights. I have learned to produce a literature review and undertake sustained writing to conduct an argument over several chapters, while managing a large document. An important technical lesson is the value of a research diary, written without lapses. I regret that despite starting one in 2003, I did not manage to continue it to the end of the research period: it would have been extremely valuable in enabling me to analyse retrospectively and with greater accuracy the development of the thesis through its various stages.

The personal lessons that I learnt are connected with the epistemology and methodology. I learnt about myself as a researcher and I increased my awareness of how I see gender and workplace learning; I also developed confidence in my ability to articulate this. As I have improved my facility for academic writing I have also developed my ideas and analytical thinking. I have developed an ability to engage with intellectual questions that relate to women's lives in the new economy. While writing the thesis I have produced other academic articles and a book chapter (Field & Malcolm, 2007; Malcolm, 2009), but the thesis has been at the centre of my work activity.

7.7 Beginnings and ending

Through the study of localisers I have attempted to politicise work set in the home and at other sites. In the findings described above, I show how the work cultures of the women interviewees interacted with other aspects of their daily lives. This has also applied to me as the researcher and writer of the work cultures of others: as I have pursued the study of the localisers and the localisation industry, other things in my life have run in parallel with this, intersecting with the work of the thesis. The women interviewees' need to multitask which I describe in Chapter 4 has been reflected in my own life in a way that has led me to view it as a multi-track life.

Since 2003 when I began the study, I have moved house twice and had four different jobs. My children, who were all at school, were aged 8, 14 and 16: now two have left school; one is in work, the other in university and they are aged 13, 19 and 22. My husband has moved job and we have moved to a different part of the country. I am about to move job again. With a series of fixed-term contracts my own contingent working has reflected the circumstances of some of the women in the sample. All of this has affected the study, making progress slower than it might have been if I did not have caring responsibilities and full time, paid work. However, the text would have been a poorer product, and the perspective narrower, if I had not had the benefit of these interactions and demands outwith academic life.

I have asked myself what forms of affective engagement and empathy might the contingent field researcher in discontinuous employment have access to that the permanent academic may have left behind. This is connected to the nature of struggle, the effect of struggle in the lifecourse and its impact on academic writing. It points to the fact that research and academic writing are embodied and affective. The way we analyse our data and write our texts draws on an academic imagination, on the one hand, but also a personal history of lived experience. I have sought to make this explicit in the present work. The work of the thesis has been the result of struggles in multi-tasking and contingent working which have happened in parallel with interpreting the data and writing. Analysing learning and identity, I can trace a line through the disjunctures from the child who looked out at the architectural results of globalisation (see Chapter 3.2.2 and Appendix 10) to the author of this work.

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List of Appendices in chronological order

The appendices are presented in a chronological order that reflects the development of the research

List	Content
<p>Appendix 1 Thumbnail sketches of interviewees</p>	<p>This gives details of the interviewees – where and when we met, information about their companies and some personal details.</p>
<p>Appendix 2 Ethical consent form</p>	<p>Having agreed to the interviews, I gave interviewees a consent form to read and discuss before we went ahead.</p>
<p>Appendix 3 Pilot interview proforma used with localisers and revised proforma with commentary</p>	<p>These 3 proforma were used in the interviews with localisers. The first was used with Carmen and then revised before I interviewed Louise. I then analysed the results of these two pilot interviews and revised the proforma again before I used it with the remainder of the cohort.</p>
<p>Appendix 4 Translators' interview proforma</p>	<p>This interview proforma was used with all three of the translators</p>
<p>Appendix 5 Sample extracts from two transcripts – Lucy and Jennifer</p>	<p>This contains extracts from two transcripts, of the interviews conducted with Lucy (localiser) and Jennifer (translator)</p>
<p>Appendix 6 Pilot data analyses with motifs and questions</p>	<p>This appendix shows the development of the data analysis through three phases using the motifs developed from JP Gee. It indicates how the bottom-up analysis produced the tree and branch nodes.</p>
<p>Appendix 7 Sample of NVivo coding</p>	<p>This is a sample of the coding that was done across all of the transcripts against the branch node “gender”.</p>
<p>Appendix 8 Sample of early stages of the present analysis, using linguistic analysis</p>	<p>Extracts from previous draft of the content of the data analysis chapters 4 – 6</p>
<p>Appendix 9 Conference study</p>	<p>9.1 Conference programme 9.2 An extract of notes taken at the conference. These were made at the first conference session.</p>
<p>Appendix 10</p>	<p>Picture of church designed by Alexander Thompson</p>

Appendix 1: thumbnail sketches of interviewees

The localisers' interviews

Different facets of interviewees' identities emerged in the discourses, relating to their past, present and future. For example, David was an engineer, technician, businessman. Suzanne was mother, teacher, student, wife, translator. Lucy was linguist, traveller, nascent businessperson, "diplomat". Martin was translator, a man who uses a particular translation tool, leader of an e-group, father and partner. Carmen was co-owner of a company and manager, a dedicated worker for her customer and the mother of a school-aged son. Jennifer was translator, teacher, mother, friend, cook and translator.

Details of each interviewee in the chronological order that they were interviewed

Carmen

Date: 19.10.03

Place

The 8th Annual Localisation and Internationalisation Conference in Limerick, Ireland.

Our conversation was conducted in one corner of a large conference room at the end of the conference.

Company description

Carmen was the joint-owner of a localisation company in South America. She took over the company from Berlitz and ran it with two male colleagues. The gendered nature of the localisation supply chain was reflected in the fact that Carmen dealt with the everyday management of the translation process, while her male colleagues dealt with technological developments. One of the purposes of her conference attendance was networking.

Personal

Carmen was a linguist as well as company owner. I approached her during the conference and she agreed to be interviewed at the end of the event. Carmen was tall and dark and in her late twenties; she was smartly dressed in a business suit. After the conference she said she would be visiting other European countries to promote her company. It seemed that at least part of the aim of her attendance was to increase the visibility of her organisation. She also talked about her role as the mother of a school-aged son working long hours. Her speech was quick and articulate, with a strong South American accent. She was passionate about her work and the need to offer clients a high quality service.

David & Mandy

Date: 24.9.04

Place

This took place on the terrace of a restaurant, on a sunny, late-autumn day. It was a three-way interview

Company description

David was a company owner who had worked in the localisation industry for over 10 years. He had started the company as a sole-trader and had grown the business through contracts with multinational firms. The company had a main office and home-offices.

Personal Mandy

Mandy was in her late thirties and came from a marketing, rather than localisation industry background. She was talkative and friendly, very smartly dressed. She talked about her engagement with customers and her work to offer them the best quality product.

Personal David

David was in his early forties, friendly and full of ideas. He had a lot of knowledge and experience in the industry and he was able to express these in an engaging way. David was not a linguist, but had technical expertise in software and layout.

It was a very convivial meeting, with lots of information about experiences in the industry. Both interviewees were enthusiastic about the topic for discussion, since they were re-launching David's existing company in a new partnership: with Mandy in charge of marketing and a male partner in charge of finance. Both interviewees wore business dress. They were keen to know about my other interviewees and my experience of the industry.

Louise

Date: 4.1.04

Place

A smart, town-centre café on a Sunday, surrounded by families and children

Company description

Louise worked for a large localisation company based in Ireland, with a subsidiary in the United States.

Personal

Louise was in her late twenties, tall and slim with dark hair. She was marketing manager in a well-known localisation company. Before taking up her present post she was a translator and had studied in the UK and France. Louise was talkative and passionate about issues in the industry, with an overview of strategic issues which she was eager to communicate. At the time of the interview, Louise was doing an M.Sc. in Marketing and Applied Linguistics.

I met Louise for the first time at the 8th Annual Localisation and Internationalisation Conference in Limerick in October, 2003. As part of the programme for this conference, Louise organised a discussion forum³⁸ which I attended as an observer. The participants at the forum were localisers and company owners from small or medium-sized companies around the world, with a preponderance of delegates from Europe. It was a sign of Louise's company's status in the industry that it was invited to facilitate this event.

Lucy

Date: 5.10.04

Place

We met over tea in a very nice hotel in centre of the city where Lucy lives and works

Company description

Lucy and her business partner ran a localisation company in the UK. It was a small privately-owned company and, although it had only been in existence for a few years when I met Lucy the company had a growing reputation, having done work for a few large multinationals. Lucy and her partner worked from home-offices.

Personal

Like Louise and Carmen Lucy was a linguist, in her mid twenties and like them she was smartly dressed. While Lucy dealt with the day-to-day running of the work, her male business partner and co-owner dealt with strategy. Lucy was thoughtful and quiet; she also seemed quite determined; she was very communicative and keen to talk about her company. She had studied in Russia and Portugal and worked in other parts of the UK before moving to her present location.

³⁸ <http://www.gala-global.org/> last accessed 12.2. 2007

Paul

Date: 24.9.04

Place: University of Stirling (at the interviewee's request)

Company description

Paul's company had offices at two locations in the UK as well as home-offices. It had been running for a few years and had a reputation for entrepreneurship. Paul was co-owner of the company and had a male business-partner. He was interested in using new management techniques to motivate workers and run his company.

Personal

Paul was a linguist in his early twenties. He was dressed informally, carrying a rucksack, and the secretary who met him in one of our departmental offices assumed he was a student. He was charming and talked easily and fluently about his business; his company had received business awards. At the end of the interview Paul tried to obtain information from me about other localisation companies. I told him that confidentiality was essential to preserve the trust of all interviewees I had met.

Pierre

Date: 12.10.04

Place

This meeting took place at the company offices in a large city centre location, in a company meeting-room.

Company description

The company was large, with offices throughout the UK and abroad. The office I visited was in a prime city centre location. The premises were not luxurious, but still very comfortable. Localisation was a smaller part of the company's general business which was in an area of management consultancy.

Personal

Pierre was in his late twenties or early thirties, a linguist with a number of years' experience as a localiser in different companies. He was reserved at first when we met and he was formally and smartly dressed. Pierre may have been cautious about my motives in seeking an interview, since some universities undertake translation work and he talked about being in competition with them for work. He seemed to feel more relaxed as the interview progressed, because after a gradual start, it culminated in introductions to colleagues and a tour of the office. After the interview I met two women translation managers who worked with Pierre. Pierre had studied Russian and spoke other languages.

The translators' interviews

All translators were freelance and worked from home. I made contact with them through the ITI (Institute of Translating and Interpreting) database and I also spoke to the chairperson of the ITI before making contact by email.

Suzanne

Date: 30.8.05

Place

This interview took place in a busy café in the city where Suzanne lived and worked

Work description

Suzanne specialised in pharmaceutical and marketing translation, as well as in alternative medicines.

Personal

Suzanne fitted the interview in between dropping off children and meeting them. She was in her early to mid thirties and informally dressed. She spoke slightly accented English; she grew up in a central European country in a small village. Married to a Scot, she had worked in the UK for around 10 years. She was confident and articulate, except when talking about some of the conditions for translators when she stumbled over words and got annoyed. She enjoyed her work a lot of the time, but she also found it lonely and at times she yearned for adult conversation during the day.

Jennifer

Date: 10.5.05

Place: University of Stirling

Work description

Jennifer had been a translator for over twenty years; for most of that time she had worked as a homemaker, mostly part-time. Her earnings were slightly less than the UK average and her marital partner was the main earner. She specialised in cookery, sewing and academic research articles as well as book translation.

Personal

Jennifer was quietly spoken, in her late forties. She was not from the UK and had come here in the latter stages of her schooling. She went to university in the UK. She mentioned her three children and she seemed to enjoy the discussion. She had other interests in life beyond her work and thought that she would not now want to work full-time. Jennifer said that she had enjoyed talking. She was normally a quiet person and talking a lot at the interview might be a sign that she "didn't get out much".

Jennifer was philosophical about the working conditions for translators, but reserved criticism for the issue of commercial confidentiality and other factors that mitigated against the flow of information in the supply chain to allow translators contextual access to information that would assist them in producing good translations.

Martin

Date: 17.5.05

Place:

This interview took place at a garden centre café, selected by Martin.

Work description

Martin was very communicative and spoke with an authoritative and friendly tone. Martin had been a translator for some 10 years and specialised in translating texts related to information technology. He had worked as an agency translator abroad and at the time of the interview had established himself as a freelance translator in this country. He ran an e-group for translators on the internet and made a lot of use of translators' internet discussion fora. He had been invited to do some teaching to postgraduate translation students at a UK university.

Personal

Martin was in his late twenties or early thirties and informally dressed. He spoke quickly and very fluently from an authoritative stance on translation and the issues with localisation. His wife was also a translator and they had a young child and a baby.

Appendix 2: ethical consent form

IRENE MALCOLM DOCTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT

University of Stirling

CONSENT FORM

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

 this project is concerned with finding out more about the work of localisers

 there is no compulsion for me to participate in this research project

 I have the right to read the transcripts of my interview

 I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of specific information about me or my company

 any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications

 the information which I give may be shared between the interviewer and her research supervisors in anonymised form

 all information I give will be treated as confidential

 the researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity and that of my company

.....
(Signature of interviewee)

.....
(Date)

.....
(Printed name of interviewee)

One copy of this form will be kept by interviewee; a second copy will be kept by interviewer

Contact phone number of interviewer: 01786 467949.

If you have any concerns about the project that you would like to discuss, please contact Dr. Daniel Robertson 01786 467936.

Data Protection Act: The University of Stirling is a data collector and is registered with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner as required to do under the Data Protection Act 1998. The information you provide will be used for research purposes and will be processed in accordance with the University's registration and current data protection legislation. The information is required in connection with doctoral studies which aims to deepen understanding of the work of localisers. Data will be confidential to the researcher and her supervisors and will not be disclosed to any unauthorised third parties without further agreement by the interviewee. Reports based on the data will be in anonymised form.

Appendix 3: localisers' questionnaire proforma

Pilot interviews with Carmen and Louise

Questions used in pilot interviews:

Carmen 19th October 2003

1. Could you tell me what it is you do for a living? (RO 1, 2, 3)³⁹
2. What does this entail? (Probe) Could you describe a typical day? (RO 2, 1, 3)
3. Are there good sides (highlights)? Challenges (down sides)? Could you say something about this? (RQ 2,1, 3)
4. Could you describe the end product of your work? (RO 2)
5. How do you see issues of identity for localisers? (RO 1, 2, 3)

Louise – 4th January 2004

1. Can you tell me a bit about the company you work in? (RO 3, 2, 1)
2. How do you see the identity of the company and localisation? (Probe) (RO1, 2, 3)
3. What do you do in the company? (RO 2, 1, 3)
4. How long have you been with the company? (RO 2, 1)
5. Can you tell me a bit about your own career and your learning? (RO 2, 3, 1)
6. Can you tell me about your work – are there highlights and are there challenges? (RO 2, 1, 3)
7. How do you see trends in localisation at present? (RO 3, 1, 2)

Commentary on the conduct of the pilot interviews

In neither interview were the questions asked in quite the way that they are listed above. My interviewing style was open and aimed at encouraging participants to speak. Given the time spent studying localisation prior to designing the research proposal, it is perhaps not surprising that interviewees raised issues that I had identified as relevant. I checked the question proforma at various stages while we were talking to ensure that all the matters that I had identified in advance were being covered in what the interviewees were saying. This semi-structured approach allowed interviewees to raise further questions

³⁹ "RO" relates to the Research Objectives in the research design. I cross-checked the interview questions with the ROs and have entered them in brackets in what I perceive to be the order of significance with which each question relates to each RO.

that they regarded as relevant. Probes were used throughout the interview in order to clarify points made by the participant or to encourage the participant to expand on a particular point that she had raised.

Changes between pilot interviews one and two

The first pilot interview was transcribed and I did an analysis to see how well the interview questions had worked. For four of the five questions I found that Carmen had talked about the issues contained. However, question four did not work. I realised that it was not easily answerable by the interviewee and that I could get at this question more effectively through data analysis. Other modifications made between interviews one and two related mainly to my attempts to “find a better way of eliciting”.⁴⁰ I found that the way I started off any interview was crucial to the ease or the difficulty with which I was able to progress the conversation with relevance to the research questions. The changes made at this stage involved talking about the company first and then about the person. While formulating the research questions I had been focussing on the individual workers: when I did the first interview I found that the interviewee identified strongly with the company and it was easier to start off talking about this instead of talking about oneself. The structure and nature of the company were relevant to understanding the work cultures of interviewees.

Revised interview questions: applied in subsequent localiser interviews

The pilot allowed me to refine the interview questions and to ensure full coverage of the issues I wished to raise:

Interview Questions October 2004 (revised after pilot)

Can you tell me a bit about the company you work in?

(The main aim of the interview technique is to get the participant talking about their work. I do not wish to disrupt their narrative. At the same time I have to prompt or probe to ensure that I have obtained the following information about the context of the company.)

Details of the work?

Structure of the organisation and the number of people

Products offered

Where are the customers?

⁴⁰ Throughout the research all interviewees were keen to talk and my task was to keep the discussion on track.

(probe) How do you see the identity of the company in relation to localisation?

What do you do in the company?

(At this point I want to get some insight into their work, including “a typical day” and what exactly are the areas of responsibility they have.

- How long have you been with the company?

Can you tell me a bit about your own career and your learning?

- Formal/informal learning
- The skills people use in the company
- How learning happens, generally, in the company

Can you tell me about your own work – for example, what are the highlights and the challenges?

How do you see future trends in localisation?

Appendix 4: interview proforma for translators

1. Can you tell me a bit about your own background?

How did you get into translating?

(Always been a translator? Future?)

2. Do you see yourself as a translator or a localiser?

What do you think about the term "localisation"?

Do you have to interpret what clients want?

(⁴¹If knowledgeable about localisation ask about their reaction to "transcreation")

3. How is work commissioned?

4. What's the relationship with the commissioners like? Has this changed over time?

5. What is the nature of the subject matter for translation?

What is the technical format?

6. What kinds of issues would you discuss with clients?

(Check if it's with the agency or direct contact with the end-user. Elicit rates of pay.)

7. Have expectations of clients/ commissioners changed in recent years?

8. Have you got contact with other translators?

What is the ratio of women to men in the profession?

9. How do you develop your knowledge? *(Use of software?)*

⁴¹ The italics represent follow-up probes to be used where appropriate.

Appendix 5: sample extracts from interview transcripts with Lucy (a localiser) and Jennifer (a translator)

Lucy (5th October 2004)

IM: Just explain a wee bit about, so the questions that I'm going to ask you are, you know, just very, very straightforward. I mean a bit about your company and a bit about you and that's really it, you know, what your work entails and what the company does. I mean obviously we've spoken quite a few times, so I know a bit about your company, but I think I maybe just start with that and just tell me a bit about" ...(name of company)".

Lucy: OK, well most of the stuff that we do that we've been trying to sell localisation for a couple of years, most of the stuff that we do is just document translation and it's in about fifty different languages so there's only, there was three of us in the company, one was employed about a year last year especially to do software like Web localisation, it's Website localisation that we were mainly in, so thinking that we were tapping a growing market and it is growing, but it's not so much on the design side and that's the sort of angle that we were approaching it from. So we work with him as a freelancer now because there wasn't enough work to sort of keep him employed so I suppose our main clients are sort of clients that come back to us are document translation and we do quite a few different sectors some of it's quite random actually because we haven't really specialised yet in any of them. We wanted to specialise in Website localisation and that would be, you know, just sort of say for exporting companies but still not in a specific sector, so we've done a few Websites and it seems to be mainly kind of, well it has been to date anyway 'though we've actually got to go back and do a quote for a ...which I'm quite excited about because that's the kind of thing that would, you know, be quite good for us.

IM: But isn't that a Website.

Lucy: Yeh it'scom I think ...We've done, the kinds of stuff that we've done is, I don't know if we gave you the details of ... you know like a sort of a Web portal and they take and it's all selling products, ... products on line, so it's like a mail order. They do ..., not actual fabric, but already made up into sort of, some of them are quite scary actually, sort of jodhpur trousers for the American market and things like that and then, but they also do food to certain countries where you can export, you know, without restrictions, and then they do sort of nice cashmere and all sorts of just, they've hand picked the products and they've got quite a good relationship with their supplier and everything, so they wanted to go for a German market in quite a big way, so we did their site in German and we re-designed it and because we built up quite a good relationship with the client, she sort of trusted us to do the re-design side and a lot of people when you kind of say we can do, we can do your content, we can do your graphics, we can do everything, we can do your promotional keywords and things like that, we can do the design but they don't want the design because there's always a conflict between their existing Web developer and ourselves and we sort of haven't been aggressive enough to actually poach the

work off them and become their developer and manage their translated sites and things like that, so there's lots, quite a few sort of tougher issues (laugh) and yeh it can get quite convoluted but it's interesting.

Jennifer (10th October, 2005)

IM : A wee bit about your background and have you always been a translator.

Jennifer : Well I did my degree at...., I'm ... I came over here aged sort of eighteen, nineteen, did O and A levels in England and went to University at ... to do a degree in German and Spanish and when I first left Uni I was teaching Spanish and a little bit of French in a little school and I did that for a year and a half but I really wanted to get into translation so I then did a Post Graduate one year course at what was then the Polytechnic of Central London and is now the University of Westminster. In translation technical and specialised translation and the timing of it was quite good even though I had delayed doing this after my graduation. It was the first year that I actually didn't need to do French as one of the components so it worked out really well, and then after that I went straight into freelance translating, it was very difficult to get an in-house post I just always work freelance.

IM: So you did the degree and then you did the translation diploma more or less straight after.

Jennifer: No not straight after, I taught for a year and a bit and then in fact it was probably two years after my degree that I actually got on the course, but as I said the timing was fortuitous because I was able to do Spanish and German and didn't need to offer, those were my degree languages and I didn't need to offer, it was the first year they actually didn't need to offer French as one of the main subjects which I completed that much later so I did delay a bit, I was twenty-six by the time I'd finished the course but I had done a bit of freelance translation since graduation, I was twenty-three when I finished my degree course. I did a big bit then but then I really started in earnest at twenty-six, and I'm now forty-eight, so I've been doing it for twenty-two years full-time or aiming to be full-time probably since about 1997 I worked part-time when I had my kids and some years were very, very part-time indeed.

IM: Uh huh but you sort of managed to keep it going throughout that time.

Jennifer: Yes I did, as I said it was very part-time but I did like to keep my hand in and the only time when I really almost stopped completely was when I had my third child I found that really it was a bit much and it worked out better for all of us if I kind of really just only dabbled a bit then, but I'd been able to do that and then expand again once they were all older.

IM: So after you got your diploma or when you went to do the diploma did you envisage working freelance or did you think that you might get into a bureau or into an agency.

Appendix 6: piloting data analysis and development of a coding scheme framework for NVivo

Three phases of analysis

After conducting the two pilot interviews I undertook a detailed pilot of the critical discourse analysis model, based on the motifs derived from Gee (1999) that are described in Chapter 3.

Phase One : Carmen pilot analysis of interview transcript based on the discourse analysis model derived from James Paul Gee (ibid)

The pilot analysis that follows is based on a perception that “language-in-use” is everywhere and always “political” (Gee, *ibid*:1) and on a world view that “language details lead to social activities, identities, and politics, far beyond “giving and getting information”” (*ibid*: 2). The methodological challenges are summarised by Gee:

“...it is also important to see that research, whether in physics, literary criticism, or in discourse analysis, is *not* an algorithmic procedure, a set of “rules” that can be followed step-by-linear-step to get guaranteed “results”. There is no “scientific method”, even in the “hard” sciences, if by this we mean such a set of rules to follow. Rather, research adopts and adapts specific tools of inquiry and strategies for implementing them. These tools and strategies ultimately reside in a “community of practice” formed by those engaged in such research.” (*ibid*: 6)

Gee goes on to make the point that whilst he introduces “tools of inquiry” for discourse analysis and strategies for their use, “tools of inquiry are not meant to be rigid definitions. Rather, they are meant to be “thinking devices” that guide inquiry in regard to specific sorts of data and specific sorts of issues and questions.” (*ibid*: 6) Gee (*ibid*) gives guide-lines for what he calls, “ideal” discourse analysis. In his case study example (*ibid*: 119), which I have drawn on here, the participants are school students; however, the issues that Gee is investigating are the same: identity formation and power expressed through language. He gives a series of six building tasks and 18 questions that should be asked when building up data analysis. Such analysis sought to identify key analytic themes that might lead to a theorisation of the role of globalisation and the gendered nature of the supply chain.

*Motif one*⁴²: *global working (Gee’s world building RQ* 3 & 1) reflected in “positioning” verbs - see semiotic building below*

⁴² There are five motifs in the interim analysis that follows. This was reduced to
* “RQ” is “research question”.

Knowledge & building a global perspective

A global perspective is present in Carmen's own work activity (a week's business trip in other parts of Europe after the conference where we meet) and the way that she obtains the knowledge that appears to sustain the company and feed its potential for growth. Knowledge is gathered from global sources, from a range of websites, as well as US and international journals. The significance of knowledge and the gathering process is emphasised at the beginning of the interview when Carmen is talking about her work:

"We need to get news from the industry every day..."(1)

"...we need to be communicating in some way or other and we found that the web and forums and newsletters and ...na...international magazines are the way ..." (1)

"We go to the website and do any research for market trends, for new products, new technology, engineering technology, emerging tools..." (1).

A form of global positioning is reflected in the journals in which the company advertises.

Carmen positions the company and herself as "global watchers" who, from their stance in the e-commerce supply chain, watch global activity at trade fairs to search out opportunities:

"...we know which are the trends and where they are going to a trade mission..." (2)

"...there you have a kind of prospecting information that could be useful" (2).

Positioning in relation to global membership (RQ 1.1)

Collective and individual perspectives

Although Carmen is prepared to disagree with the Europe- dominated discourse (see secondary data on Gala discussion) in the industry when it refers to "pencil thin margins" (4), she appears to position her country and her company in relation to the wider industry. "No...so I don't want(Carmen's country) to be the same negative connotation that India has. I don't think it's eh...worth (sic) for the industry. I don't think the industry will benefit from that, and we are very respectful of the industry." (6)

In this section of the interview there is a strong use of negation in relation to identity:

"We are not "downsizers"...and we don't want to be." (6)

"...we don't want to be India..." (6)

"I don't feel off-shore...has a positive connotation." (6)

This form of positioning may be related to the "knowledge benefits" that Carmen and her colleagues obtain from the industry, as mentioned at the start of the interview.

The company identity overlaps with that of Carmen and her colleagues to describe a professional life and a commercial development that was run for efficiency and with pressures on profit:

"...we were born with that kind of process" (5),

who never enjoyed the “fat years”.

Globalisation is configured as heterogeneous in the way that it affects company and workers, according to their place in the process. The position taken here is distinct from other parts of the industry. The discourse reflects a context in which worker, company and country identity are allocated at least partly on the basis of their role in the wider global economy. Carmen’s discourse positions knowledge as central to her company’s activities. The continuation of this discourse reveals how knowledge also forms part of an identity that is developed and maintained for customers.

Identity, geography and localisation practice

Carmen herself appears to see South America as distant, not at the centre of things,

“...international magazines are the way we can shorten...we can cut (emphatic tone) this distance.” (1)

The significance of this geography is perhaps indicated in the change of verb from a more neutral “shorten” to a more emphatic choice, “to cut”. While a seemingly obvious feature of the global character of some localisers’ work appears to be signalled by working with globally dispersed translators, Carmen’s suppliers are mainly based in her own country.

Motive two: identity as “serving” RQ 1.2. RQ 2.1 (Gee’s Activity building) – reflected in “affective” language /verbs

(interpretative repertoires, ethics of emotional labour, building identity... through concretising and non-concretising discourses...)

The identity of the company and Carmen’s personal identity appear to be constructed, in part, through a discourse of service to the client and to the perceived wider needs of the company. This forms part of the non-concretising ethical discourse of helping and doing good which is configured through a particular language repertoire (see below). The pursuit of this discourse excludes its counterpart of self-interest which, by its omission, is also present and which steps out of the discourse specifically at the end of the interview when Carmen says that treating workers well is in the company’s interest...(to add and refine...)

“I devote most of the day, because I think that it creates value for my company.” (2)

The personal quality of the involvement is implied through the use of the possessive pronoun, linking Carmen’s own identity with that of the organisation that she part owns. This position is worked out in the practice of localisation in the management of the communication with the customer which must not be too much or too little, but must achieve an appropriate balance of emotional labour. When discussing this, Carmen refers to a legal document to highlight a negative practice to be avoided:

“We are not going to write...I don’t know...a Will there” (3).

The positive example is described in the present practice of customer contact and checking satisfaction. This may suggest a type of “non-bureaucratic responsiveness”, enabled by technology to communicate with and to check customer satisfaction which develops a “service” identity in relation to the customer.

“Because they (clients) feel we are taking care of them” (4).

The company and Carmen’s ethos are invoked and the choice of verbs, “feel” and “taking care” indicating a discourse of emotional labour. In developing specific technical tools to meet clients’ needs, Carmen says of the company that:

“...we are not charging the clients for that. We just ...see that as part of our job” (5).

The emotional labour involved in maintaining personal and company identity is most strongly indicated in the discussion of the “off-shore” identity, of which Carmen says:

“I feel really bad” (5).

Boundary drawing is needed in relation to other growing global markets, such as India. Emotional labour and identity work are necessary. The metaphor used for boundary-drawing is interesting:

“We are not an off-shore location. We are just a good scenario now to develop business...” (5).

The use of “scenario” is neutral, suggesting a presence, but not an active pursuit, it is a background and a setting rather than an actor, something that can enhance, but does not normally participate in the main action. In this way the choice of language removes the actors from the scene and leaves the geographical location as an invitation that we can stand in front of if we choose. It is a marketing “prospect” (2).

*Motif three - practice and suppliers (Gee’s activity-building RQ 2.1 & RQ 3) – reflected in **action** verbs/language*

For translation, editing and proofing, Carmen’s company has a

“database of vendors” (2).

Carmen doesn’t answer my question about the vendors directly:

“What about your translators? ...Has it taken you a while to build them up and...?”(6).

Instead there is more important information that she wishes to discuss. The reality that she wants to convey is introduced with, “Well, actually...” which sets up an opposition to my question with the implication that the actual fact is not as I have asked. The important elements of the relationship with suppliers is the training which Carmen emphasises, reformulating my question and then answering it:

“Well actually, what we do with translators is that we train them” (6).

(This is an example of the surface of the language and the interpretive repertoires used, indicating emphasis in how the information is revealed... develop?)

Group identity and the supply chain (RQ 2.1.)

Carmen depicts this relationship as having a quality of mutual support. Interestingly, the translator is conceived as having an “outside” identity also, as a “musician” or “artist” (7). This supply relationship appears distinct from that which is indicated by some of the other interviewees and raises a the possibility of further exploration of “boundary-drawing” which may be worthy of a broader, quantitative exploration.

“We have an on-going training philosophy. It’s in our benefit, it’s in their benefit and it’s value we create for them, not only for us” (6). (altruism...)

Mutuality is further emphasised in the discourse that Carmen develops on this theme, when she talks about a “feedback process” that is “rich and ...challenging”(6).

Medium and content of the work (RQ 2.1)

The work is conceived of as “project” work the objects of which are “files” that have to be organised, processed, cleaned, analysed and fixed. Knowledge is a cornerstone of practice and how this is used will be further analysed. The role of technology is central to practice, for example, in forming the medium of communication with suppliers and clients and in facilitating “knowledge gathering”. In terms of the work process, the role of technology and its impact may be contested. For example, Carmen talks about “translation memory reducing margins” (5). In Carmen’s dialogue they are construed as playing the role of avoiding repetitive tasks:

“We have a very straight process. We use all available tools and we sometimes develop tools for a specific project and a specific client” (5).

In the context of the South American economy, Carmen’s company is presented as playing a wider economic role in helping its customers by offering flexible payment patterns (5).

*Motif four - identity building and portrayal (Gee’s socio-culturally situated identity element RQ1) – **positioning and affective language/verbs***

Localisers’ own identity and the policy and technology come together in an identity issue that is raised in an emphatic way by Carmen. When global may be related to “off-shore”: this appears to cause some sensitivity as evidenced by Carmen’s reaction:

“Because, I think eh...we are not an off-shore location. We are just a good scenario how to develop business...” (5)

“We are newcomers...but we try to do business without harming anyone else.” (6)

The identity of the company and the country are invoked and there appears to be a need to shape and affirm an identity that will work for Carmen and her business. Concepts of personal, company and country identity are linked and have to be worked (with implications for emotional

labour). While the significance of the company's geography becomes clear in the discussion of "off shore" location at the end of the interview, the sensitivity is hinted at earlier when discussing communication with clients and the fact that Carmen's company never meets its customers. When there is a "critical issue" Carmen and colleagues "find a solution on the telephone" (3).

Discourse of personal identity (Gee's socio-culturally situated identity R.Q 1.1)

How localisers talk about their own personal identity is of interest for the insights it may offer in helping to understand this occupational group and its role in the globalisation process. Carmen's personal identity has been affected by global changes which led to a major global player closing its offices in her country and an opportunity for her to take over her own business. This has involved a change of personal identity. Carmen indicates a conception of personal identity and group identity as "linguists" in the first paragraph of her interview which points to multifaceted, rather than essentialist concepts of identity. Whilst she describes herself as a "linguist" here and draws a boundary with one of her co-owners and colleagues who is an "engineer", she does not see herself any longer as a translator. Instead, she positions herself in this part of the discourse as "a manager" and an owner of the company (7). What is interesting here is her reasons for doing so which shed some light on perceptions of learning in relation to work identities (RQ 2.1.).

"No, I don't feel a translator (sic) any more...That part of the business is not a challenge any more for me." (7)

An aspect of Carmen's identity is drawn from her work; it also appears to have developed and changed in relation and a changed work-role, in part at least, attributable to globalisation changes. Thus, whereas translation used to be a challenge for her and may be said to have involved work to maintain and develop her translator identity (see interviews with translators), this is no longer the case and she has moved away from this identity to acquire a new identity as a manager,

"But what I found is a challenge is to make my company successful and to acquire all necessary abilities and capabilities and develop my own skills, because I think every body has management skills...you only have to develop them...it's up to you...to make that happen..." (7).

The question that I posed at this point in the interview was about how Carmen "sees" herself. She chooses to answer my question by talking about how she "feels". The choice of this verb gives a sense of the emotional labour involved in Carmen's identity work (Hochschild, 1984).

In the course of the interview, Carmen positions herself as a linguist and company owner and manager who used to be a translator, but who now manages the process. She draws boundaries between herself and this identity and that of the suppliers on whose knowledge her company depends.

Motif five: position taken in relation to gender (Gee's political building) – choice of language to describe women

An exploration of gender issues did not feature in the original research (RQ 3). The issue of gender and translation as a gendered profession arose in the data of Carmen's interview (3) and in the other interviews. This is an area that will need further exploration, since my perception is that the translators in the supply chain are mainly women. The gendered nature of the work is evidenced in, for example, a photograph that was sent to clients of

“all the girls that are going to work for them...” (3). The gender of the client is not mentioned, but there is an assumption of a “male” world of “production” and “critical tasks”.

The above interpretation and identification of motifs related to the research questions is built on a discourse analysis of language as social interaction.

Linguistic repertoires used (Gee’s “semiotic building”) as identified through collocation patterns

Gee defines what he calls “two grammars” (ibid:29). The first is what we conventionally understand as “grammar”, which is “the traditional set of units like nouns, verbs, inflections, phrases and clauses”. The second grammar is the “rules” by which grammar is used to “create patterns” (ibid, original italics) which show “whos-doing-whats-within-Discourses” (ibid). The point of relevance to be emphasised for the present work is:

“...we speakers and writers design our oral or written utterances to have patterns in them in virtue of which interpreters can attribute situated identities and specific activities to us and our utterances” (ibid).

Whilst Gee obviously makes use of grammar one in his discourse analysis, it is grammar two which he finds is “less studied, but more important” (ibid). Gee emphasises that these patterns are not “fancy devices of postmodern social science” but have been “named in linguistics for a long time...(as)...”collocational patterns”” (ibid:29). It is these patterns, particularly as expressed in the use of verbs and nouns that I have concentrated on in this pilot analysis. In analysing the verbs used I have identified seven categories as seen in the table below, these indicate the extent to which the speaker uses “positional” language which is mainly an aspect of identity formation, “action” language to describe the work undertaken and “affective” language to ascribe value and indicate the use of emotion.

Concretising and non-concretising language

The data analysis has been built up by looking in detail at the choice of nouns and verbs and the collocations and subject/object relations between them. In her interview, Louise raises the concern that localisation appears a mysterious process, because the person commissioning the service may not understand the text of the end-product that they have purchased. In the light of this characterisation of the end-product of localisation, an interesting feature of Carmen’s discourse is the way in which she uses nouns and verbs that concretise localisation as a more traditional industry or manufacturing activity. She refers to “the production line” (1) for translating and editing, she also talks about “the process”, “daily tasks” and “critical tasks” (2).

When Carmen describes account management, the verbs are active, indicative of a process that is made specific and concrete. The process is emphasised in the use of the gerund form (-ing); account management is described as effecting a tangible outcome:

“Organising the file” (2) “processing the files” (2) “selecting the vendors” (2). The indirect object becomes a proxy for the direct which is omitted in “quoting the client” (2).

A discursive juxtaposition is traceable in Carmen's interview that represents two ways of constituting the identity of the company and its workers. On the one hand Carmen and colleagues "gets things done", as exemplified above and in another she and the firm are committed to a set of (non-specified) ethics and external morals which is evidenced in her use of a non-concrete set of verbs. The use of a set of non-concretising, or "affective" verbs such as "born" (see the table below) evokes a world of moral choices and the possibility of ethics, moving the listener from the company being "born" to the mission to "create value" (5). The use of affective and non-concrete rather than "concrete" verbs prepares us for Carmen's discursive construction of the value of the company:

"...we are not just ...another localisation company" ...A localisation company that eh...has an ethical position and point of view. That will help your project if it is necessary..." (5)

The non-concrete and affective vocabulary is used to emphasise value and service, whereas concretising vocabulary emphasise the ability to "perform".

The problem of the off-shore location and of never actually meeting those with whom one does business is only fully clear at the end of the interview. The choice of language is made to "soften" this "problem". Commitment to the customer and the professionalism of the company are highlighted and the position of the company as committed to its (invisible) customers is achieved through the use of a subset of affective, non-concretising language.

(Possible development of theorization – how globalisation and identity are working in this occupational area and how the former affects the latter, how the latter has to be worked...

Language of emotional labour

For Carmen's interview a form of emotional labour seems to be indicated, "I feel really bad"(5).

The language is used to formulate, present and manage identity.

The challenges of interpretation are summarised by Gee:

"...meaning is not merely a matter of decoding grammar, it is also, and more importantly, a matter of knowing which of the many inferences that one can draw from an utterance are relevant. And relevance is a matter deeply tied to context, point of view, and culture "(ibid: 34).

I employed the tool "Wordsmith" to analyse verbs used by Carmen and this revealed a distinct use of positional language to construct identity, action language to describe the work-processes and affective language to express broader values. The following table summarises the findings:

"I" statements – verb categories	Number of times used in the dialogue	"We" statements – verb categories	Number of times used in the dialogue
Affective verbs like "born" "to be" "to devote" "to create"	6	Affective	8
Action always transitive verbs	17	Action	54
Positional "to mean"	30	Positional	21
Affective/positional	10	Affective/positional	9
Negative affective	5	Negative affective	5
Negative positional	3	Negative positional	1
Negative action	2	Negative action	1
Totals	71	Totals	100

Appendix 6: Table 1 results of Wordsmith search

Phase two : developing approaches to data analysis with NVivo

I did not find that the search using Wordsmith added very much to the analysis that I was able to produce from a close reading of the text. Having analysed Carmen's and Louise's interviews, I was encouraged that the interview method was likely to elicit information that was relevant to my research questions and that the analysis, based on Gee's motifs was helpful in building an analytic framework. I worked on the motifs to produce three that related to my three research objectives. There was a break in my doctoral work around this point. Whilst the pilot analysis was helpful, I felt that more in-depth textual analysis would be needed. I decided not to use Wordsmith in the data analysis.

In developing an approach to data analysis I identified the following criteria:

- It should not be over complex
- It should produce results that are as transparent as possible to the reader
- It should be consistent with my epistemological viewpoint and understanding of the context of localisation
- It should offer support to achieve consistency of analysis in relation to data that may be complex and contradictory.

I decided to explore the text in a grounded approach using NVivo and in-text (in vivo) coding.

Developing data analysis with NVivo – finding the right approach

I coded electronically, with the whole interview text as the constant point of reference coding with free nodes in a grounded approach (Glasser & Strauss....). However, I found that the proliferation of codes clouded rather than clarified the analysis: every word or sentence in the data could produce a node. Some of the nodes produced at this stage were:

Free Nodes
Culture
External validation
Finance and profitability
Intelligence and information
Language
Technology

Appendix 6: Table 2, work in progress towards a coding scheme and analytical framework - free nodes in NVivo from initial coding of data.

Appendix 7: sample of NVivo coding against the “branch” node “gender”

<Documents\Loc IM Carmen 19~11~03> - § 1 reference coded [2.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.08% Coverage

Ah... in general...a new client would not know us, in person. We just ... mmh...when we started we used a kind of ...okay...this is the team that's going to work for you, and we sent a photograph.

I: Uhuu

J: But then we... we forget about that part... because it was just like, we don't know if the client wants to have a picture of all the girls that are going to work for them.

<Documents\Loc IM David 24~9~04> - § 6 references coded [3.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.47% Coverage

What we noticed as a technical writing company is that we were working very closely with the development, the engineering and the quality assurance people within our clients companies, and our clients were largely companies in the I.T. sector,

Reference 2 - 0.61% Coverage

what your man in Hungary wants or what your person in Japan wants is not a sheaf of papers from a translator, what he's looking for is a CD Rom that will work a piece of software that works as if it was made for his market, so there is a production, a technical production element to that and that to my mind is a process

Reference 3 - 0.43% Coverage

entirely self taught, so as a free-lance technical writer putting myself round to companies I was actually able to offer them a service from one man that they would have had from perhaps about three different companies before,

Reference 4 - 0.74% Coverage

Now in that, the ideal environment is that the programmer wants to have a translator sitting by his shoulder so that he can say “Well actually would we want to see that, that way you'd want to say this” and you'd get an interchange between the sort of the programme designer or programmer and the translator, separating those two things I think makes for sort of low quality localisation,

Reference 5 - 0.73% Coverage

I'm finding as I talk to customers or prospective customers or people in export, is that there's a level of, ignorance would be too strong, but a lack of education and I can't tell you how many times I've spoken to companies and they've said “Oh we send everything out in English because all our customers speak English” that sort of issue we come up against again and again and again

Reference 6 - 0.44% Coverage

“Oh no we just have some guys out and whatever that do it” and my experience going away back years ago is guys out there (in the target country) were engineers never really wanted to do it, nor did they make a very good job of it.

<Documents\Loc IM Louise 4~1~04> - § 8 references coded [6.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

I'm on the management team. There are ..We've got an executive board of directors and there are three gentlemen on that. Then we have a ...(large?) management team where there is the Operations Director, the MD and the Financial Controller and then just below that there are four of us who are the in-house Dublin management team.

Reference 2 - 1.17% Coverage

it might be a specific campaign, so... For example we did one specific for the financial sector in September and for that we got a list of all the financial companies in Dublin and then we phoned them all. So we had about a 150 on the list (?) ... phoned them all and asked to speak to the financial controller/ the MD and then we explained to each of those that we just wanted to send them information on translation and they all generally say yes.

Reference 3 - 1.62% Coverage

So we got a silver key, just like a house key, and we got a luggage label and on the luggage label we had printed ... emm a marketing name which is "transsecure" which is obviously a combination of translation and secure...security, and we say "the key to fast, effective, confidential translation" we put that in a letter and sent it off. And then we also said on the back of the luggage label, "we will phone you on..." I think it was the 25th September at ... yea, "we'll phone you on the 25th September" full stop. And we sent it and we phoned all these people on 25th September and they were completely stunned ...

Reference 4 - 0.48% Coverage

At that time I had an intern who came in and who phoned for me. She did some of them. But she did all the prep work, but she wasn't adequately emm. experienced to do the follow-up

Reference 5 - 0.44% Coverage

but I did the bulk of the phoning on that day. Now for that follow-up phone call ...we had to clearly make them quite short and to the point, so it was more, you know,

Reference 6 - 0.33% Coverage

I don't know if you met (name), one of our members of staff he's our Operations Director I think he signed up for the Board

Reference 7 - 1.33% Coverage

they wanted and Irish representative to host the thing and Mark said, "We'll do it." And what he meant was Louise'll do it, so we organised it. It was a tremendous exercise. In terms of, for me, in terms of organising a conference, or a seminar, you know it wasn't very big and it was only, what? - a two hour seminar but I had to go back through their old meetings, the ...(?) meetings they've had in the past and decide if they'd covered everything they had mentioned in the in the mission statement

Reference 8 - 0.68% Coverage

that was slightly scary, because I'd never been to a board meeting, I'd never been to an (oral ?) meeting, I wasn't really sure how this would go down, but I really thought, "Well it's never been addressed before and if they aim to do it let's give it a go."

Appendix 8: sample of earlier draft from findings chapters with linguistic analysis

Analysis relating to Jennifer's interview

“The presence of other voices in the data related to women’s expressions of agency; in the context of considering others. While presenting their actions in relation to the needs of others in their lives, there were instances where voices that may be expected were missing. For example, when Jennifer talked about important domestic and work decisions, the voice of her marital partner, whose presence one might have expected, was absent and the only other voices were those of the family group, “all of us” or her children. This placed the emphasis on the self and on Jennifer’s agency in managing the domestic sphere,

1. “Yes I did, as I said it was very part-time but I did like to keep my hand in and the
2. only time when I really almost stopped completely was when I had my third child. I
3. found that really it was a bit much and it worked out better for all of us if I kind of
4. really just only dabbled a bit then, but I’d been able to do that and then expand
5. again once they were all older.” (Jennifer, page 1)

The first person pronoun, “I” dominates lines 1 & 2 in short clauses and it is at the end of line two that the object “my third child” is mentioned. In line 3 the central object “all of us” compliments “my third child” as Jennifer’s central consideration. There is no other voice or agent present, no other subject pronoun until “they are older”. The discourse underlined Jennifer’s primary role in such decisions – she was the only agent, the only voice ... “until they are older”. Butler (1997) highlights the agentic force of speech, but also how language links agency and structure by reinvoking structures in particular utterances (ibid: 19). The structure reinvoked by this passage in Jennifer’s interview was that of patriarchy: a male-dominated society where the male fulfilled the role of bread-winner, where the women used their agency in the context of others and carried the caring responsibilities in families. “

(4.9.07)

Appendix 9.1 : Conference Programme



LRC -X **The Global Initiative for Local Computing**

The 10th Annual Internationalisation and Localisation Conference organised by the LRC

The Development Localisation Event

13-14 September 2005
University Of Limerick, Ireland

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Pre-Conference - 13 September

09:00	Registration
09:20	Welcome Reinhard Schäler (LRC)
09:30	<p>Session 1: Asia</p> <p><u>Issues of Multilingual Electronic Publishing In India with Special Reference to (Academic) Universities</u> <i>Rajesh Chandrakar, Scientific & Technical Officer INFLIBNET</i></p> <p><u>Lessons Learnt in the Development of Applications for Remote Communities LISTEN</u> <i>Dr Alvin W. Yeo, Faculty of Computer Science and Information Technology, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak</i></p>
10:45	Coffee Break
11:15	<p>Session 2: Africa</p> <p><u>"Sikhuluma kanje" / We speak like this: Localisation and language development in South Africa. LISTEN</u> <i>Dr Kim Wallmach, Department of Linguistics, University of South Africa</i></p> <p><u>The PanAfrican Localisation Project: Facilitating and Networking African Localisation Initiatives LISTEN</u> <i>Dr Donald Z Osborn, Director of Bisharat Ltd</i></p>
12:30	Lunch Break
14:00	<p>Session 3: South America</p> <p><u>Localisation in Brazil and Reverse Localisation LISTEN</u> <i>José Eduardo de Lucca, Coordenador General - GeNESS, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil</i></p> <p><u>Web-based Translation of Quichua LISTEN</u> <i>Professor Martha O'Kennon, Professor Emerita of Mathematics and Computer Science from Albion College in Michigan</i></p>
15:15	Break
15:45	<p>Session 4: GILC – The Global Initiative for Local Computing LISTEN</p> <p><u>The Global Initiative for Local Computing</u> <i>Reinhard Schäler, University of Limerick</i></p> <p><u>The Literacy Barrier</u> <i>Professor Pat Hall, Open University</i></p>
17:00	Close
17:45-19:15	LRC Industrial Advisory Board Meeting

	CSIS Building
19:30-22:30	Joint Celebration: LRC 10th Anniversary and TILP Annual Social Event sponsored by the LRC and TILP Stables Courtyard

Main Conference - 14 September*

08:30	Registration		
09:00	Official Opening Philip Blair, jr – the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (recently retired)		
09:10	Announcement of LRC 2005 Award Winners LISTEN		
09:20	Keynote 1: The unfinished saga of Indian language software LISTEN Keynote Address by Kenneth Keniston, Professor of Human Development in the Program in Science, Technology, and Society and Director of the MIT India Program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology		
10:15	Break and Exhibition		
10:30	Parallel Sessions		
	<u>Business</u>	<u>Engineering</u>	<u>Translation</u>
	Microsoft In Emerging Markets (LIPS Strategy) (Liam Cronin, Microsoft)	TMX/SRX – Exchange Standard for TM Data (Angelika Zerfass, University of Bonn)	Using MT as a Pre-Translation Tool (Johann Roturier, Heidi Düchting, Sylke Krämer, Symantec Ireland)
	Managing Distributed Localisation Teams (Alym Rayani, Symbio Group)	Free Pascal Compiler Internationalisation (Rimgaudas Laucius, Matematikos ir informatikos institutes)	The Promotion of Oligocultures on the Web. (Phillipe Caignon, Deborah Folaron, Université Concordia)
	Beyond Global Websites... (Renato Beninatto, Common Sense Advisory Inc.)	Beginnings: New Media and the Welsh Language (Dr. Grahame Davies & Iwan Standley, BBC Wales)	Leveraging TM Technology to Increase Translatability and Usability (Dr Jody Byrne, University of Sheffield)
	Localisation of .NET Applications	Measuring Quality in Testing	

	(Tony O'Dowd, Alchemy Software)	(Roman Civin, Moravia Worldwide)	
12:30	Lunch		
14:00	Keynote 2: <u>Open Standards and Localisation - Symbiotic Partners in International Growth LISTEN</u> Keynote address by Patrick J. Gannon, president and CEO of OASIS (Organization for the Advancement of Structured Information Standards)		
14:45	<u>Ireland's Place in the Localisation World LISTEN</u> John Sterne, Author of "Adventures in Code, The Story of the Irish Software Industry"		
15:15	Break and Exhibition		
15:30	Technology Will Shape Us All: Anticipating the Consequences of the Process We Are Caught Up In LISTEN Philip Blair, jr, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (recently retired)		
16:10	<u>IGNITE: Linguistic Infrastructure for Localisation: Language Data, Tools and Standards</u> Reinhard Schäler – Director of the Localisation Research Centre		
17:00	Close & Draw		

<http://www.localisation.ie/resources/conferences/2005/programme.htm#programme>

Appendix 9.2 - Extract from conference notes (8 of 43 pages)

The 10th Annual Internationalisation and Localisation Conference , “The Global Initiative for Local Computing 13 – 14 September 2005, University of Limerick, Ireland.

Rheinhard Schäler, Director of the Localisation Research Centre at the University of Limerick (host organisation) does the introduction to the day and emphasises the importance of allowing time for discussion and informal networking.

Presentation One

“Lessons Learnt in the Development of Applications for Remote Communities”

This presentation took about an hour and there are 74 slides.

The speaker is from Universiti Malaysia, Sarawak, from the Faculty of Computer Science and Information Technology. The project’s aim was to develop digital inclusion through ICTs for rural communities. The main activities were:

a digital library for Lakuh – women’s songs
a tourist website

word processing in the schools for teachers and pupils

the setting up of a technology centre in Bario.

Bario is a very remote part of the country which can take months to reach. It is populated by Kelabits of whom there are 1, 000 in this region. There are 12 villages and the population grows rice for a living. There were no telephones and the area is not accessible by road –planes had to be used in the project. The Kelabits are a religious community. They have gravity fed water and their electricity comes from generators and solar power.

The presentation starts with a description of where Bario is and how difficult it is to get there. There is some cache in the remoteness of the place and the audience at the conference seems to marvel. Scenes of high mountain valleys and photographs of Kelabits in traditional dress or working in fields feature on the slides. In the ppt copies of slides, the speaker describes the criteria of those directing the project :

“ rural, remote location”,

“no telecommunication service”

- “not accessible by road”.

Bario met these criteria and was, therefore,

- “Real case of “digital divide” and “digital poverty”.

The speaker also states that the community were willing to participate.

The e-Bario project is part of a “national pilot project on bridging the digital divide”, the research was multidisciplinary and combined, “community service and faculty research”

Objectives:

“To define the extent to which contemporary ICT could deliver sustainable social and economic development to remote rural communities” &

“To identify further needs and opportunities within such communities that can be satisfied by the innovative use of contemporary ICT”

The next slide in the presentation shows a picture of an ox pulling a cart loaded with boxes. The caption under this picture expresses one of the project objectives, to “bring the internet to Bario”. Here the speaker tells the audience that there are not many 4-wheel drive vehicles in Bario and they had to be brought in by plane and assembled there. At this point I wonder which of the two communities is “advanced”: the academics and IT specialists who are introducing IT or the inhabitants of Bario.

As I type the notes and review the PowerPoint slides. I have a sense of dramatic and sudden change which will have profound implications for individuals’ lives: the future implications of such change cannot be known at present.

One of the issues may be not just the implications of introducing technology to such areas of the world, but also what goes with that. 43

The speaker talks about the “digital divide” and “digital poverty”.

On a slide that describes the “concept and approach” that the researchers took in the project, the speaker describes “baseline studies” where the first bullet point is “to understand living conditions, culture, existing uses and access to information sources and their needs for improved information delivery”. We don’t live in one world but in many worlds. This means that there are also many “knowledges”. The academics and IT specialists seem partly motivated by the notion that these people need “information”. There is a tension here between what information and knowledge is validated and recognised in our Western-dominated culture. No doubt the Kelabits have knowledge that has allowed them to survive and retain some of their culture. However, there seems to be a perception on the part of those involved in the project that they need information and access to information and knowledge of a different kind. The project was not initiated by the Kelabits themselves, but from outside Bario. (The Kelabits’ website makes clear the rapid rate of cultural change since the Second World War and the loss of traditions in that time.)

There are also contradictions and some dissonance in the power balance within the project. A major IT company is involved and purchases of IT hard and software must be made. Also, considerable investment is required to localise software for the Kelabit language. The speaker emphasises the importance of community participation. Yet, while community interest was identified as being one of the criteria, there are

⁴³ After the conference when I was writing up these notes, I read Kelabits’ website to learn about the historical context; I realised that the situation and the ethical dimensions are much more complex than they had seemed. <http://www.kelabit.net/kelabits/introduction.html> Last accessed 30.7.07

contradictions here in what the speaker says. When describing his work as “participatory, action research” he says that they had to consult the elders who were “sometimes not open to computers”. The approach is called “people-centred” and how the Kelabits are seen is revealed in the bullet point: “people/communities are agents for change”. Why are they configured in this way? On the same slide, there is the aim to “focus on their needs” and the speaker says that his aim was to “focus on problems and provide solutions to them”. What do we understand as a problem? The speaker also says that, “even though they are remote, they are quite well educated – they have PhDs etc.” Also, they encourage their children to get an education.

Whilst one of the early slides is entitled “people-centred” the second slide after this describes the “Smart Partnership” of university, government and private companies who are involved in the project. The language used betrays some dissonance here since the use of “smart” is widespread in business to indicate an ability to accomplish work in a shorter space of time, more efficiently, and in a way that is likely to maximise commercial yield. This modern business-speak that such projects have to espouse may appear to be at odds with the description of the project as “people-centred”.

An important development was the setting up of a public telephone. Basic telecommunications were lacking. When describing the major milestones of the project, the speaker says that providing internet access in the secondary school was “a major event. It was very exciting. They could go on CNN and see what’s happening.” (I looked at CNN on the internet on 22.6.06. It has an international version which is similar to the main US version. Today the Kelabits would be able to read in English about war and about tensions with North Korea. They would also be able to read another headline entitled a “Dude with Elvis hairdo builds a “Graceland”” .)

As part of the e-learning initiative children have compulsory IT lessons. One of the challenges of the project is the need for fuel and the fact that there is no diesel available. A telecentre, a bit like a cyber café, has been set up for the community with 8 computers working on solar energy.

The speaker identified 8 benefits to the community of the project:

Education

Computer literacy; IT based teaching and learning; distance learning

- Culture

Preservation of culture; family trees and oral traditions.

- Commerce

Tourism; e-commerce; accommodation booking; handicrafts; rice.

- Agriculture

Assembling, classifying and sharing information about rice production.

- Health

Information on upper respiratory ailment; exchange of medical information; clinic with internet access.

- Community
Empowerment of the community; telecentre sustainability.

- Technology

Satellite internet access; telephone; wireless network.

- Human Resource Development

IT literacy.

The development of a digital library for the preservation of lakuh songs is given prominence in the presentation. These are songs sung by women about the experience and events of the society. The songs are obviously a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge within the traditional framework of the society. These songs were particularly important when the society had an oral culture, but the speaker says that the songs had lost their “impact” and that the women who sang them are now 60 – 70 years old. The project used ICT to capture these and “give them back to the community”. The songs were collected, translated and transcribed. At this point they came into being.

Slide 33:

Lakuh

“The songs are composed by women, usually women in the Kelabit Highlands
Kelabits are like many oral communities in Borneo – knowledge is passed down to the next generation through songs.

Inability of the Kelabit women to document them, as most of them were illiterate

A way of passing information on significant events to the next generation, as well as depicting one’s feelings.

Also a valuable resource of historical events of the Kelabits in Bario

Today, the women are literate and as such do not compose lakuhs anymore.”

Slide 34

Amongst the objectives in relation to this part of the project are:

“To explore the cultural benefits of ICT in stimulating the production, protection and popularisation of Sarawak rural communities’ oral traditions

To record and transcribe some of these traditional Kelabit songs, particularly the lakuh

Else a rich knowledge and cultural resource will be lost.”

Nine Lakuh songs have been recorded, transcribed, translated and published on a CD-Rom. Amongst the outcomes the speaker told us that some of the women had forgotten their lakuh – there were some bits that they couldn’t remember, but he hopes that they have preserved enough. Another outcome is that the recordings provide a way for the younger generation to learn about their own culture through the lyrics. They can learn and sing the lakuh through the audio-visual component of the CD Rom. He also thinks that there is interest to linguists since the language changes all the time.

(In recording and translating they are transformed and what the children will now learn will be very different. The power of song and the affective role in nurturing and in other aspects of human interaction is lost.)

The tourism website

Slide 42

The aim of this is to promote Bario to potential tourists.

“Tourist operators are fully utilizing the ICTs (emails, website) to promote Bario and attract more customers.”

And in the next slide one of the outcomes identified is:

“Now in eBario, the people are fully utilizing the ICTs (emails, website) to promote Bario and attract more customers.”

It is clear from the website that the rapid rate of change has transformed the Kelabits' culture and that there is a danger of much of it being lost. Depopulation of the region is a serious problem that is mentioned on the website. For the community to become sustainable and for the depopulation to be halted the Kelabits must become part of the commercial, capitalist world that is dominated by Western culture. Survival will mean transformation to a new identity. Part of this process is to preserve aspects of their culture for our interest and for the benefit of global diversity and, potentially, tourism. As they join the culture that is displayed on CNN their original culture may offer some capital that they can convert to revenue which may delay depopulation by developing tourism.

The last slide in this part of the presentation informs us that they have introduced word processing in Kayan and Kelabit. This is, of course, the nub of localisation and must have been something of a challenge since the language has 45 dialects and is spoken by only 4- 5,000 people. (In the question and answer session afterwards this is, indeed, taken up and it appears that OSS were used. Commercial and ethical issues come into sharp focus around this issue.)

The second part of the presentation deals with a subsequent project that has started more recently in another area, Long Bedian village.

The objectives of this project appear narrower and more focused on IT and localisation. The main objective given is, “re-engineering of software application, which allows interactions in English, Bahasa Melayu, Kelabit and Kayan”, using global SDLC. The project members decided to undertake this localisation using OSS which is, in itself, is a significant political and ideological decision.

Among the key findings and outcomes are:

- “...related to Open Source Software:

OSS is lacking in documentation and the distributiveness of the OSS development makes it hard to get feedback. The size of the OSS affects all of the factors contributed to the difficulties encountered.”

Among the seven bullet points that make up two slides which cover, “lessons learnt” the first is “rapport with target community crucial...” . Other lessons include, travel, logistical, power supply and sustainability. The speaker then suggests a possible approach to such projects for the conference delegates and much of what he emphasises on this slide (63) relates to collaboration with the community. For example, “follow protocol, e.g. meet the elders, dialogue with council of elders. Participatory approach – form rapport, identify needs, current situation, suggest solutions. Identify champions. Start with small applications (small successes). Training must be incorporated.” At this point in the presentation the speaker said “if they don’t want technology it is best to leave them alone”. He emphasised that you cannot take a “bottom up approach”, but must follow “protocol”.

The speaker told an anecdote to illustrate why some remote communities are sceptical about government or official involvement in their communities. The government built a hydro electric dam at great expense. However, the engineers did not listen to the local people and the water levels were too low to generate enough electricity and power is only available for 45 minutes per day. The speaker told this anecdote, I think, to illustrate why there might be some scepticism on the part of remote communities about contact with the “developed” part of their country.

In the concluding part of his talk, the speaker discussed the benefits that he believes have been realised by the remote communities he has worked with. A series of 5 slides is devoted to the benefits:

1. The first slide is entitled “Overcoming educational exclusion” and features some quotes from the secondary school principal who said:“... rural students always started at a disadvantage when they left Bario”

“...need to bridge the gap between the shy, unexposed students and their aggressive, well – informed counterparts in town” .

2. The second slide is entitled, “Benefits: Improvement of Local Economic Conditions” and this seems to be an important part of the project – creating some economic sustainability for this community. This would seem to have wider benefits for the nation as a whole, since it would attract tourists to this region. The speaker says that “tour operators got a lot of benefits”. Some of the Kelabits own lodges which are let out to tourists and can be booked through e-commerce. The website www.kelabit.net (accessed 22.6.06) gives some detailed information about the region and its history. There are now two flights per day to Bario. The speaker said that there were now 6/7 lodges available for rent, that these were run by young people and that this tourism was encouraging younger people to stay, thus “halting rural migration”.
3. Third slide: “Benefits: improvement of lives”. Something of the present reality of the demographics is revealed in this slide when the speaker says that “80% of the population are old people”

Slides 4 & 5

The last two slides in this series deal with a plane crash in the area and the fact that the rescue and recovery operation was much aided by the technology that had been put into place by eBario.

(It seems that any area of the world that is remote represents a potential threat.)

The speaker then talked about critical success factors and at this point in his presentation he makes the point that the technology “is the easiest. Getting people to accept and use these things is the challenge.” (Commentary to slide 70)

The final slides deal with dissemination and acknowledgements. The project obtained a number of technical awards, including the eAsia award presented by the Asia Pacific Council for Trade Facilitation and Electronic Business, Taipei, 2004.

Question session:

“Was the language standardised for localisation?”

Kelabit is recorded by the government. Some words in computing don't exist. It was not standardised. Children used English websites. By providing information in the local language it is hoped that this will encourage the children to look at their own language and use it. English has status and the local language is looked down on.

The website is hosted on a voluntary basis by a Scotsman who is married to a Kelabit.

Philip Blair (recently retired from the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development) asked a question:

“Had there been missionaries in the area and so were the people literate?”

The answer given to this question is that the people were very isolated, but that Tom Harrison (?) came into the area in 1945. The people are now literate and they are god-fearing. They tell their children that education is important; they saw education as a way to be up with the rest of the world. There are Kelabits in high places.

(It is not mentioned that the Kelabits were used by the British army in the Second World War as fighters. The area was swamped with missionaries, who converted the entire population to Christianity,

“Shortly after the war, groups of missionaries arrived, chastised the Kelabits roundly for their pagan ways of life, destroyed many cultural artifacts and converted them into Christianity, almost en masse! Around that time, too, came the first schools.”
<http://www.kelabit.net/kelabits/bario.html> (accessed 23.6.06))

One of the software developers asked,

“What opposition was expressed? Were there disadvantages?”

The speaker said that some were against the technology and worried that it would change the values of the people. Some went onto a pornography site, but “They have made sure that they can't do it now.”

The speaker then explained that in the Kelabit community, “the older you are the more power you have and people look up to you. Children now have power because they can use technology.”

The speaker also said that there is a man who is the local champion of IT and of the project. It is a woman who has done the translation work.

The last question was posed by the Director of the LRC (Localisation Research Centre) Reinhard Schäler.

“When we talk to these big localisation companies they say it “adds colour” (to localise into lesser used languages), but there is no commercial benefit to computer companies. What does the speaker think?”

The speaker’s response to this was passionate. He said that there was a social responsibility and that they (the remote community) have a “basic human right” to these things.

The speaker did not say how complete the localisation was. One assumes that the keyboard has been fully localised. However, if there is no, or if there is little e-content in Kelabit for the children to read, the effect of the introduction of IT could be to drive them further to the use of English to access information and for their education.

Irene Malcolm
13.9.05

Appendix 10 - Church designed by Alexander Thompson

1, Caledonia Road, Hutchesontown, Glasgow



Built 1856-57 burned out and partly demolished 1965