UNIVERSITY OF VAASA

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Master's Degree Programme in Language expertise in specialized society

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"Translators deserve to be just as visible as all other cultural contributors"

A Thematic Analysis of Translators' Visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat*

Master's Thesis in English Studies

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ABSTRACT:

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma tarkastelee kääntäjien näkyvyyttä päivälehti *Helsingin Sanomissa*. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, millaisia teemoja aineistosta nousee esiin, miten nämä teemat vaikuttavat kääntäjien näkyvyyteen sekä miten kääntäjien näkyvyys on muuttunut viimeisen kymmenen vuoden aikana.

Tutkielman tutkimusmenetelmä on temaattinen analyysi, joka on monitieteellinen ja kvalitatiivinen tutkimusmenetelmä. Menetelmä pohjautuu Braunin ja Clarken malliin temaattisesta analyysista kuusivaiheisena prosessina, joka etenee potentiaalisten teemojen tunnistamisesta aina teemojen määrittelyyn ja kategorisointiin asti. Analyysi puolestaan pohjautuu etenkin Venutin, Koskisen sekä Damin ja Zethsenin tutkimuksiin kääntäjien näkyvyydestä.

Tutkielman aineisto koostuu 64:stä *Helsingin Sanomissa* julkaistusta tekstistä: 46:sta artikkelista ja 18:sta mielipidekirjoituksesta. Artikkelit ovat toimittajien, kun taas mielipidekirjoitukset ovat kieliasiantuntijoiden kirjoittamia. Aineistosta nousi esiin yhdeksän teemaa, joista viisi, *asiantuntijuus*, *arvostus*, *palkkaus*, *aika* ja *kulttuuri* toistuvat läpi aineiston. Toimittajien ja kieliasiantuntijoiden teksteistä nousi esiin vielä yhteensä neljä teemaa, jotka esiintyivät vain osassa ainestoa. Tutkimuksessa selvisi, että kaikki teemat vaikuttavat pääasiassa positiivisesti kääntäjien näkyvyyteen. Ne kiinnittävät lukijan huomion kääntäjän ammatin epäkohtiin, mutta myös korostavat kääntäjien asiantuntijuutta. Kääntäjät rinnastetaan usein kulttuurityöntekijöihin, mikä edelleen vaikuttaa positiivisesti heidän näkyvyyteensä. Aineistosta käy lisäksi ilmi, että kääntäjien näkyvyys *Helsigin Sanomissa* on ollut vaihtelevaa viimeisen kymmenen vuoden aikana.

KEYWORDS: themes, translators, translator's visibility, thematic analysis, *Helsingin Sanomat*

1 INTRODUCTION

Finnish translators often feel overlooked and underestimated when their work is featured in Finnish daily newspapers. One might see the original authors being praised for flowing, compelling language in book reviews, even though the book in question w, in fact, a translation. Somehow critics and journalists seem to forget that the work was translated and that the praise belongs to someone else – the translator. However, when there are problems with the language, such as seemingly odd word choices, the existence of the translator is suddenly acknowledged. (Penttilä 2013; Stöckell 2007; Koskinen 2007) Translators' problem seems to be that they are made visible when their work is shown in a negative light, but overlooked when their work is worth praising.

Helsingin Sanomat (HS) is one of Finland's oldest daily newspapers. In the 2018 National Media Research, it was noted that, with its average of over 670 000 readers a day, HS is undoubtedly the biggest newspaper in the country (KMT 2019). Moreover, HS is well known for having an extensive section for culture and arts. This allows the newspaper to cover a wide range of cultural topics, which every now and then even include translators and their work. Translators might be mentioned or even interviewed in literary reviews, feature articles and news related to translators and their work.

Translators' visibility refers to them being visible and recognised beyond the textual level, their translations, that is. As further discussed in chapter 2 of this study, Finnish translators tend to feel unappreciated even though they are relatively well represented in the media (Koskinen 2007). The lack of appreciation seems to partly be caused by the notion of authorship – the better the translation is, the more original-like it feels. This applies especially to literary translators. When reading a well-translated book, the average reader or even a newspaper critic might overlook the fact that the book is a translation. Captivating, well-flowing target language gives the reader an impression that the book was written in the target language to begin with. This is considered to have a

negative effect on translator's visibility, as pointed out by Lawrence Venuti (1995), who is perhaps the best-known scholar in the field of translators' visibility.

The aim of this Master's thesis is to, firstly, find out what kind of themes are common to texts about translators published in HS between 2009 and 2018. The material for the present study consists of 64 texts published in HS during this time. This study will look into the possible similarities and/or differences between the two sets of texts the material consists of, texts by professional journalists and texts language experts, such as translators, scholars, teachers or other representatives of the translation field. Based on previous studies by for example Koskinen (2007; 2009) and Penttilä (2013), my assumption is that the themes found in texts by experts are more negative in tone, whereas the texts by journalists convey themes with mainly positive tone. Both Koskinen (2007; 2009) and Penttilä (2013) have stated that translators tend to be displeased with their visibility even if the they were relatively visible and mostly positively represented in daily newspapers, which supports my assumption.

Secondly, this study sets out to discover how the uncovered themes affect translators' visibility as well as to see, whether there has been a change in translators' visibility in HS during the past ten years (between 2009 and 2018). As past studies (Koskinen 2007; Penttilä 2013; Ruokonen 2013) show, there has not been a particular change in how translators and their visibility is viewed during recent years – the consensus seems to be that translators are unappreciated and would benefit from more visibility in the media and society. Thus, based on the previous studies mentioned, I assume that there have been no severe changes in translators' visibility during the ten years examined for this study.

There are four research questions this study seeks to answer:

1) What kind of themes can be discovered in the texts about translators published in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 2009 and 2018?

2) How, if at all, do the themes contribute to translators' visibility?

3) Comparing the themes found in texts by journalists and texts by experts, what kind of similarities or differences can be found?

4) Has there been changes in translators' visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 2009 and 2018?

The first two research questions concentrate on the themes found from the material. The following research questions, 3 and 4, concentrate, then, on the relationship of the themes and translators' visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat*. This study concentrates solely on texts published in HS because of its wide daily circulation, popularity, readership and tendency to publish more about translators than other Finnish daily newspapers.

Translators' visibility has been researched in Finland by for example Kaisa Koskinen (2007). In addition, there are smaller studies conducted on visibility (e.g. Penttilä 2013) and articles published on the matter, as well as on translator's status (Ruokonen 2013, 2014). Translator's visibility in Finnish printed media, then, has been studied in a few Master's theses. However, these studies are all conducted with the help of discourse analysis (Kokkonen 2012; Granroth 2017) Kokkonen's thesis studied the public image of translators in Finnish daily newspapers, whereas Granroth's looked into translator's visibility and public image created by media.

Kokkonen's (2012) findings showed that the public image of translators is dominated by that of literary translators. Translators are also presented as culturally significant workers, although their profession seems to be, according her findings, heavily divided: they are, on the other hand, seen as specialised experts of their fields, but, at the same time, unappreciated and poor. These are similar to Granroth's (2017) findings, which

show translators as culturally significant and somewhat equal to authors and artist. However, the challenges faced by translators are written about in a sympathetic manner.

The material of both of the aforementioned Master's theses was partially collected from *Helsingin Sanomat*, much like in this study. However, the difference between the previous studies and the present one is the method of analysis: whereas the other studies use textual and discourse analysis, this one uses thematic analysis as the main method. By doing this, I hope to, on my part, contribute to the research of translators' visibility in Finland.

In the following chapter I will discuss the material of this study as well as the method of analysis. After this, I will provide a short background for this study in terms of translator's visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat*. The remaining chapters, 2 and 3, concentrate on the theory behind the phenomenon of translator's visibility, translation critique, and Finnish translators' visibility. I will provide each topic with central theoretical concepts as well as discuss previous studies. I will also look into the status of the translation profession and what contributes to it. After this, in chapter 3, the analysis of the material is reported and discussed with the help of examples. This Master's thesis report will end with conclusions, which will discuss the limitations to this study as well as offer a summary on what was done.

1.1 Material

The material of this study consists of 64 texts published in *Helsingin Sanomat* between the 1st of January 2009 and the 31st December 2018, thus covering a 10-year time period. Roughly three fourths of the material, 46 texts, were written by professional journalists – these 46 texts are henceforth on referred to as texts by journalists. The remaining 18 texts, slightly over one fourth of the material, were written by translators or other

language experts closely related to translation. These texts are henceforth referred to as texts by experts. Figure 1 below visually demonstrates the division of material.

The division material

18 texts: 28.1%

48 texts: 71.9%

■ Texts by journalists
■ Texts by experts
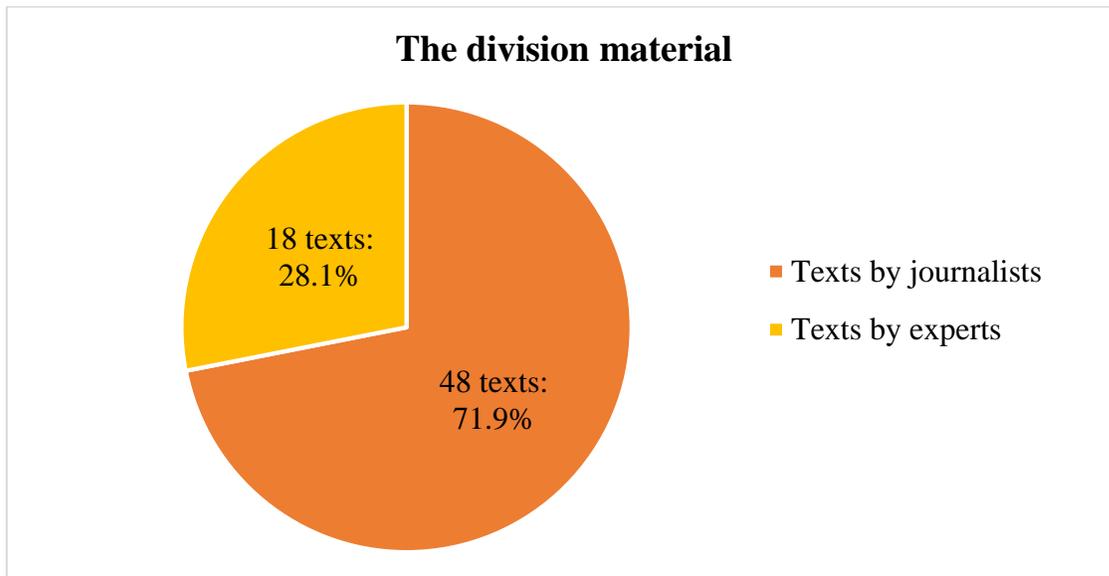
Figure 1. The division of material

The material was collected from the online archives of *Helsingin Sanomat*.[1] I searched through the archives with search words "suomentaja" and "kääntäjä", both being the primary terms for "translator" in Finnish. The terms are used in a synonymous way, although "suomentaja" refers specifically to a translator translating *to* Finnish. Literary translators are often referred to with the term "suomentaja" by journalists writing for HS. The term "kääntäjä" is, in the material, often used by journalists when they refer to audio-visual translators or as a general term for a translator irrespective of the source and target languages.

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[1] Arkisto, Helsingin Sanomat [https://www.hs.fi/arkisto/]

Because of the large number of texts by journalists found with these search words, narrowing down during the selection of material was of great importance. Some texts did not concentrate on translators but translations – these were all left out, since I did not feel they would contribute to this study. Furthermore, I chose mainly texts that included an interview of a translator or language expert. Exceptions to this were two columns (HSJ23, HSJ32) that dealt with translators in terms of the time pressures they work under (HSJ23) and their education (HSJ32). Furthermore, I decided to concentrate on Finnish translators who translate into Finnish. Even with these restrictive factors I found 46 texts eligible for this study.

When searching material produced by experts, I further narrowed the search down to texts published in the "Mielipide"-section (Letters to the editor in Finnish) of the paper in order to find letters to the editor by experts. The restricted search returned fewer results and thus made the assessment a less time-consuming task. All letters to the editor where the writer was listed as a Finnish translator or a person closely working with translation, such as representatives of SKTL[2] and KAJ[3] or, for example, a university lecturer in languages and translation, were included in the material. Because of the lesser number of these texts, all texts where the writer was listed as a language expert, were included in the material.

When first outlining the present study, my initial idea was to only look at texts written by experts since I thought this would have provided an interesting point of view for a Master's thesis study. However, after realising that even during 10 years, only 18 texts had been published, I realised that this would not be enough material. Therefore, I decided to include texts written by professional journalists in the material as well. Because there were only 18 texts by experts available, I did not want to have too many texts by journalists in order not to make the material uneven or biased. This was,

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[2] Finnish Association for Translators and Interpreters
[3] Translation Industry Professionals (a trade union for Finnish translation professionals)

unfortunately, unavoidable, since a smaller number of texts would have provided me with restricted possibilities in terms of constructing themes. So, 46 texts by journalists were chosen as the end result of purposive sampling. I was, thus, able to get enough material as well as to keep the division of the material somewhat logical: approximately 1/4 of texts are by experts and 3/4 of texts by journalists.

The material was collected with purposive sampling in mind. This means that I chose texts that would most likely reveal to be useful in terms of this study. In practice, I would, when reading through the potential texts, pay attention to their content in order to choose texts that dealt with translators and were from their point of view. Since the aim of this study is to, in addition to looking into translator's visibility, uncover the themes in texts about translators in HS, it was crucial that all texts did have something to say about translators.

In terms of texts types, the material consists of articles, columns and letters to the editor. Since writing a letter to the editor is the most common, if not only, way for the experts to get texts published in HS, or any daily newspaper, all texts by experts are letters to the editor. Texts by journalists, then, could have represented any texts types typical for daily newspapers, but because I wanted a majority of them to have an interview of a translator, they are mostly articles. As mentioned above, two columns were also included in the material. I wanted the texts by journalists to contain interviews of translators because I felt the two sets of material might be more comparable if they both included discourse from translators: them writing letters to the editors versus them being quoted in articles.

The material was collected within the last months of 2018 by regularly checking the HS archive for new texts eligible for this study. Even though I started working with this study already in October 2018, I wanted to wait until the end of the year in order make sure I would be dealing with an even time period of ten years (2009–2018). In some

years, more eligible texts were found compared to others. The distribution of material by each year can be seen in Diagram 1.
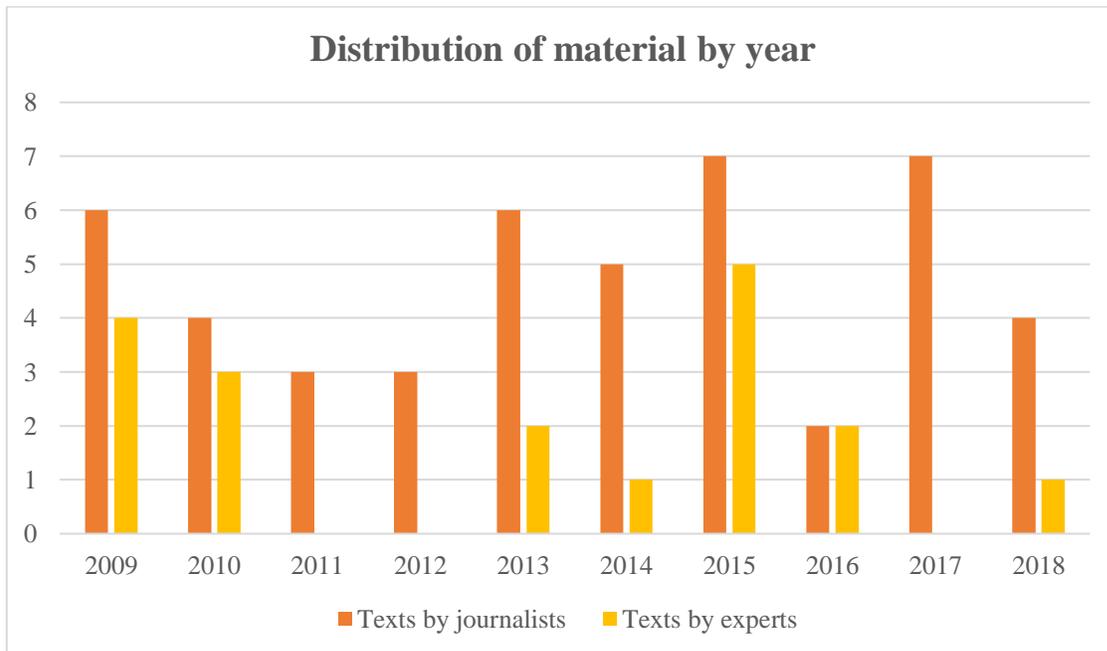
Diagram 1. Distribution of material by year

As can be seen in Diagram 1, the material is distributed quite unevenly, especially when examining the texts by experts. The texts by journalists, too, have their peaks within the ten years. This indicates changes in translators' visibility throughout the years, which will be further discussed in chapter 3.3.

In order for me to be able to easily reference to the material throughout the study, both sets, texts by journalists and texts by experts, of material have been coded using a consecutive numbering system. The code for texts by journalists is **HSJ** (**H**elsingin **S**anomat, **J**ournalists) and the code for texts by experts is, similarly, **HSE** (**H**elsingin **S**anomat, **E**xperts). The 46 texts by journalists are thus consecutively referenced to as

HSJ1–HSJ46, with the oldest text (first one published in 2009) being coded HSJ1 and so on. Same applies to texts by experts, which are referenced to as HSE1–18.

1.2 Method

The method used for analysing the data in this study is thematic analysis (TA). Thematic analysis is a process for analysing qualitative data. The purpose of thematic analysis is to identify and describe both implicit and explicit ideas, themes, that is. (Guest et al. 2012: 10). Themes, then, are patterns found in the data. They can describe and organise the observations made by the research or even, at their best, interpret aspects of the phenomena in focus (Boyatzis 1998: 4).

I chose thematic analysis for data analysis method since it excellent method for analysing qualitative data. It helps the researcher to categorise the data and to conduct a deeper, more exploratory analysis of his or her material (Koppa 2019). Although the material of this study is gathered from one specific platform and discusses the same topics, the different text types within the material do make it somewhat varied. Thematic analysis can also be used not only for analysing qualitative data, but also as a way of making sense of seemingly unrelated material (Boyatzis 1998: 5), TA is further described by Braun and Clarke (2012: 57) as a way of identifying what is common to the way a topic is talked or written about.

The approach to analysing the qualitative data of this study is exploratory. Exploratory, sometimes also described as "content-driven" approach, is a common approach when researching qualitative data, since it is not necessarily hypothesis-driven, but rather asks "what do people x think about y." In an exploratory study, the material is read and reread in order to recognise key words, trends, ideas or, like in the case of this study, themes, before any actual analysis is conducted. Thus, exploratory approach is well-fitting for

studies like the present one, which are driven by research questions rather than hypotheses (Guest et al. 2012: 7–8). In addition to being exploratory, the thematic analysis conducted for this study is inductive, meaning that the themes were created based on the data and not on any theoretical models. (Braun & Clarke: 2006: 83)

Thematic analysis is often heavily influenced by the researcher since the method requires involvement and interpretation from the researcher. The method, much like qualitative research in general, has previously been criticised for this very reason: it is said to "lack scientific rigour and credibility associated with traditionally accepted quantitative methods." (Vaismoradi & Turunen 2013: 400) In terms of credibility and transferability, thematic analysis is a tricky one. Vaismoradi and Turunen (2013: 403) have discussed the TA from this point of view:

> However, because of the pure qualitative nature of thematic analysis, peer checking of intercoder reliability is not always possible since there is scepticism about the value of such testing. It has been discussed that one researcher merely trains another to think as she or he does when looking at a fragment of text. Thus, the reliability check does not establish that codes are objective, and merely two people can apply the same subjective perspective to the text.

This means, as I understand it, that thematic analysis is seldom completely transferable. Although the researcher naturally aims to as little influence from his/her own values and culture as possible, this must be taken into consideration when regarding the findings. However, even though TA is perhaps not entirely transferable and influenced by the researcher, it does have some advantages to other methods close to it, such as content analysis. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to look into the occurrences of topics and ideas that are later developed into themes, with their original context, whereas content-analysis is often criticised for analysing the content out of context. (Vaismoradi & Turunen 2013: 403–404)

Furthermore, thematic analysis often revolves around a "level" at which themes are identified and is conducted with either semantic or latent approach. Semantic approach

identifies themes within the meanings of data and looks at what has been said about a certain topic. The analysis, in the semantic approach, moves from first describing the themes in order to show patterns in thematic content to interpreting them, which includes an attempt to theorise the significance of these patterns and their implications. Latent approach, then, looks beyond what is being said. (Braun & Clarke 2006: 84–85) The approach used in this study is the semantic approach, since, although the latent approach might provide a deeper analysis, I feel that a descriptive approach, such as the semantic one, is sufficient for a Master's thesis.

Although the thematic analysis is an interpretative method, it has become to be known as a valid research method during the recent years, making it widely recognised alongside other qualitative research methods, such as discourse analysis, grounded theory or narrative analysis. (Braun & Clarke 2012: 57) TA is accessible and flexible, and often recommended for new researchers working with qualitative data. This, in addition to everything discussed above, in my opinion, makes thematic analysis a valid, fitting and sufficient method for this Master's thesis study.

After collecting and finalizing the material, I moved on to analysing the data. Because the material of this study consists of two separate sets of data, texts by journalists and texts by experts, I conducted the analyses of the two separately. First, I looked into the texts by experts, simply because they are fewer in number and seemed more straight-forward in terms of their themes. Texts by journalists, then, are more complex and were, thus, analysed after the texts by experts.

Thematic analysis is said to consist of six (6) phases (Braun & Clarke 2006: 87): 1. familiarising yourself with your data, 2. generating initial codes, 3. searching for themes, 4. reviewing themes, 5. defining themes and naming themes and 6. producing the report. My analysis was conducted according to these phases. After my data was narrowed down to 64 texts, I started the analysis by reading them, rereading them, and repeating this

process. At this point, I conducted a pilot analysis by creating lists of things that were potentially interesting in terms of the possible themes in the data. Then, I moved on to phase 2, coding the data. This stage includes organising the data into meaningful groups. This was the semantic part of my analysis, since I organised the material based on what was said about translators on a semantic level, by, for example, organising everything said about translators' income, under a code called 'income.'

Even though the codes and the themes that are later developed in phases 3 to 5, are, according to Braun and Clarke (2006: 89–91) often different, I found that in the case of this study the initial coding was along the lines of the finished themes. This could be due to my interpretation of what is important – in the coding phase, the researcher is supposed to code everything that might be significant later. I did this, but was perhaps keeping an eye for reoccurring patterns already at this point, even though one is traditionally supposed to save that for phase three, searching for themes. In a way, my analysis combined phases 2 and 3 into one phase of searching the material for interesting topics and coding them while keeping in mind that a theme consists of reoccurring patterns. Thus, while coding the material, I was at the same time already constructing potential themes.

At this point, after phase 3, I had 13 potential themes. The potential themes, or candidate themes, as they could also be called, were labelled as *appreciation*, *authors*, *copyright*, *culture*, *editors*, *education*, *expertise*, *income*, *journalists*, *life*, *miscellaneous*, *time* and *translation*. I started phase 4, reviewing themes, with these candidate themes. Table 1 demonstrates these candidate themes and their frequency in the data, both in the form of the number of texts the themes occurred in as well as in percentage (rounded up by one decimal). HSJ refers to texts by journalists and HSE to texts by experts.

Table 1. Candidate themes

Candidate theme	HSJ (46 texts)	HSE (18 texts)
Appreciation	11 / 46 – 9%	13 / 18 – 32%
Authors	8 / 46 – 6.5%	No occurrences
Copyright	1 / 46 – 1%	1 / 18 – 2.5%
Culture	8 / 46 – 6.5%	3 / 18 – 7%
Editors	3 / 46 – 2.5%	3 / 18 – 7%
Education	3 / 46 – 2.5%	3 / 18 – 7%
Expertise	25 / 46 – 20%	6 / 18 – 16%
Income	6 / 46 – 5%	8 / 18 – 19%
Journalists	No occurrences	1 / 18 – 2.5%
Life	23 / 46 – 18.5%	No occurrences
Miscellaneous	3 / 46 – 2.5%	1 / 18 – 2.5%
Time	8 / 46 – 6.5%	3 / 18 – 7%
Translation	26 / 46 – 21%	No occurrences

In Table 1, each candidate theme and in how many texts out of the possible 46 (texts by journalists) or 18 (texts by experts) it occurred is presented. Themes that occurred in less than approximately 5% of all texts in their set of material were eventually left out. However, the size of data in this study needs to be taken into consideration, since even though for example the candidate themes of *education* and *editors* both occur only three times in both texts by journalists and texts by experts, both themes still make up to 7% of the entire data in texts by experts. This, in my opinion, is a high enough percentage in order to consider them meaningful But, in texts by journalists these themes, *education* and *editors*, could not be identified as themes at all as each of them covered only 2.5%

of their set of data. Again, I decided to draw the line to approximately 5%, which meant that any candidate theme constituting of less than 5% of their set of data was not considered a theme in the end.

After this, I moved on to phase 4 of the analysis. In phase 4 of thematic analysis, the researcher looks into each initial theme in order to find out, if it actually is a theme or not. If the theme has a "coherent pattern" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 91), it is likely to be a theme. Braun and Clarke point out that, at this stage of the analysis, some themes are likely to be "dropped" as the researcher notices that they are, in fact, not themes. This happened in this study, too: as can be seen in Table 1, some candidate themes occurred so seldom that they cannot be considered themes. Thus, the candidate themes *copyright, journalists* and *miscellaneous* were at this point left out of the finalised lists of themes. Also, a closer analysis revealed that the candidate theme of *translation* was actually a subtheme of *expertise*, so even that candidate theme was eliminated.

After reviewing the candidate themes and deleting the ones that were not considered themes in the end, I was left with 9 themes: *appreciation*, *authors*, *culture*, *editors*, *education*, *expertise*, *income*, *life*, and *time*. Out of these 9, *appreciation*, *culture*, *expertise*, *income* and *time* appeared in both texts by journalists and texts by experts. *Life* and *authors*, then, appeared as themes only in texts by journalists, and, similarly, *education* and *editors* appeared as themes only in texts by experts. So, out of the 9 themes found, 7 appeared in texts by journalists and 7 in texts by experts. After finalising the themes, all the occurrences of each theme were further placed in thematic categories. The categories are based on the themes they represent. For example, the thematic category *appreciation* consists of all occurrences of the theme of *appreciation* and, so on. This categorisation helps in depicting the sizes of each theme in relation to others.

Phase 5, the last phase of analysis before the reporting, consisted of defining and naming themes. In terms of names, I decided to use the ones I had created for the candidate

themes, since I found them to be descriptive of their content as well as easy to remember and grasp. So, I moved on to defining each theme. Even though there are two sets of material, texts by journalists and texts by experts, the five themes they have in common (*appreciation*, *expertise*, *culture*, *income*, *time*) are similarly defined for both sets of material. There were, however, subtle differences in tones of these themes. These differences, discussed in detail later in section 3.2.3, were, in my mind, not big enough to justify dividing the themes into two based on the set of material they appear in. Therefore, all themes have only one definition and description throughout the entire material.

Braun and Clarke (2006: 92) describe defining themes at this stage of the analysis as follows:

> "As well as to identifying the 'story' each theme tells, it is important to consider how it fits into the broader overall 'story' that you are telling about your data, in relation to your research question or questions, to ensure there is not too much overlap between themes."

The "broader story" in this study is "what is said about translators in *Helsingin Sanomat*" and, in line with the research questions, "how does what is said affect translator's visibility." Since the thematic analysis here is done on the semantic level, the definitions of the themes concentrate on answering these questions before making any interpretation as to what the themes further imply. These interpretations are discussed in chapter 3.

However, themes overlapping each other can be considered to be problematic in terms of this study, since, as further discussed below in chapter 2, many factors affecting translator's work and, therefore, their visibility are quite intertwined. Translator's status, which affects translator's visibility, for example, is determined by the overall appreciation of the profession, which is determined by the level of income, which of often determined by high-expertise and education. (Dam & Zethsen 2008) This means that the themes, too, are inevitably closely related to each other. As seen in Tables 2 and 3, each theme does still have a distinctive definition of their own, but, as later discussed

with the help of examples in chapter 3, some themes are, unfortunately, very close to each other in content since several themes might appear in just one sentence. Tables 2, 3 and 4 introduce the finalised themes and their definitions. Table 2 introduces the themes occurring throughout the material, whereas Tables 3 and 4 introduce the themes found only in texts by journalists and texts by experts.

Table 2. Themes occurring throughout the material

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Appreciation	Translators are not appreciated enough
Expertise	Translators are experts
Income	Translators have low income
Culture	Translators are equal to artists and other people doing culturally significant work
Time	Translators experience time-related pressure

Table 3. Themes occurring only in texts by journalists

Theme	Definition = What the themes say about translators
Authors	Translators are experts on the authors they translate
Life	Translators' personal life is interesting

Table 4. Themes occurring only in texts by experts

Theme	Definition = What the themes say about translators
Editors	Translators have a complicated relationship with editors
Education	Translators have varying educational backgrounds

The largest theme, *expertise*, was divided into two subthemes in order to make sense of this large thematic category and because it was clear very early during the analysis that this thematic category is slightly more complex than the rest. Tables 5 introduces the subthemes of *expertise* and their definitions.

Table 5. Subthemes of *expertise*

Subtheme	Definition = What the subthemes say about translators
Expertise: *Translation expertise*	Translators are experts of translation
Expertise: *Other expertise*	Translators are experts of other topics

Even though *expertise* is a theme appearing in both sets of material, only one of the subthemes appears throughout the material. The subtheme of *translation expertise* appears in both texts by journalists and texts by experts. The other subtheme, *other expertise*, then, appeared only in texts by journalists. This is probably because of, firstly, the smaller number of texts by experts and, secondly, their text type: letters to the editor, which texts by experts consists of, are straightforward and clear in terms of language use, whereas articles in texts by journalists paint more vivid pictures with language as well as simply discuss translators' expertise from more points of view than just their own profession.

Because the aim of this study is not only to find out what kind of themes were found in the texts published in HS between 2009 and 2018, but, more importantly, discuss the effects these themes have on translators' visibility, this study will not conduct a deep analysis into each theme. This Master's thesis is study going to only discuss the five themes found in both sets of material in detail, concentrating especially on the three

largest ones (*appreciation*, *expertise* and *income*). The analysis will be discussed in chapter 3.

1.3 Translators in *Helsingin Sanomat*

Since the present study aims to look at translators' visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat*, an overlook on translators in HS is needed. During the 10-year period this study looks into, translators were discussed in HS in various occasions, although perhaps most during the summer of 2015, when translators were relatively visible in other Finnish media, too. All in all, translators are quite visible in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Compared to other Finnish newspapers, HS has quite an exhaustive culture section, which covers everything from music, film, literature and theatre to various cultural phenomena and people working closely with culture. The articles about translators in HS are always published in the culture section (a section of the newspaper discussing for example literature, music and art) which labels the translators and their work as "cultural" – translators are, in HS, often presented in connection to the literature they have translated or as experts of their field, foreign cultures and the languages they translate from.

The summer of 2015 marked an especially vivid period of discussion on translation and translators not only in *Helsingin Sanomat*, but also in other Finnish daily newspapers and tabloids. This can be seen in the material of this study – within only a few days in July 2015, HS published a total of four letters to the editor by translators. (HSE11–HSE14) These texts tackled the issues of low pay and appreciation as well as concentrated on matters related to translators' education.

The reasons behind translators suddenly becoming a popular media topic can only be speculated. In April 2015, Gaudeamus, a publishing house owned by the University of

Helsinki, published a book called *Käännetyt maailmat – Johdatus käännösviestintään*[4] (Aaltonen et al. 2015). This inspired at least Ville Eloranta, a journalist of HS, to write his leading article on translators, in which he refers to the newly published book. This, then, opened the channels for discussion in HS which led to experts writing letters to the editor for the paper. Although there were some articles even in HS published before April, most of the discussion took place after the publishing of *Käännetyt maailmat* and Eloranta's article in which it was mentioned.

In addition to HS, newspapers such as *Keskisuomalainen* (2015) and *Taloussanomat* (Mård 2015) as well as the tabloid *Iltalehti* (Mattila 2015) took part in the discussion. Their texts highlighted the invisibility of translators in the society as well as emphasised the importance of good translations. Also, the national Finnish broadcasting company, YLE, published two articles on translators in June and July (Vaarne 2015; Seppälä 2015) which discussed the work of translator Laura Jänisniemi, who talks about trying to make ends meet as a translator. The article takes on the issues of low pay and appreciation (Vaarne 2015). In addition to this, YLE reported on "Translator days[5]", a biennial summer workshop and get-together for literary translators throughout Finland. The article, again, discussed the low pay and translators' seemingly ever-worsening employment situation (Seppälä 2015; KAOS 2018).

As mentioned above, the discussion in HS was spurred by Ville Eloranta's leading article published on 12th of July 2015. His article is also part of the material of this study (HSJ32). Eloranta took on machine translations and criticised the streaming service Viaplay Finland for substandard translations. He then went on to point out that a true professional translator has studied translating at a university level and that no one should think translators as machine-replaceable, since, quoting Aaltonen et al. (2015),

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[4] BT: Translated worlds – introduction to translation
[5] "Kääntäjäpäivät" in Finnish

translators work can be anything from "subtitling a film to translatng a Britney Spears doll's press conference."[6] Eloranta goes on to express his sympathy for translators, who "have been mistreated in many areas, even though the society is dependent on translations. Proper translations take time and money."[7] (HSJ32) He then gives a few amusing examples of bad translations by unprofessional translators and concludes with the notion of translators irreplaceability. This text sparked a discussion that was then continued by translators themselves on the Letters to the Editor -section of the newspaper.

Although the discussion was somewhat positive from the point of view of the translators, and the journalists systematically took the translators' side in their writings (HSJ32; *Keskisuomalainen* 2015; Marttila 2015; Mård 2015; Seppälä 2015; Vaarne 2015), translators still felt the need to make corrections and set things straight in their letters to the editor (HSE11–14). This is quite typical when talking of translators' visibility (please see chapter 2), since translators often feel that they are not represented correctly. (see e.g. Penttilä 2013; Koskinen 2007)

This vivid discussion in *Helsingin Sanomat* did, in a way, set this study in motion. The media attention translators received during 2015 seemed exceptional at the time this study was first outlined and it made me regard translator's visibility as an interesting research topic. The many texts by experts published during the short period threw my attention to what is said about translators in *Helsingin Sanomat*, and how that affects translator's visibility. Although I, during the collection of material, noticed that large numbers of texts were published also in other years, the discussion that occurred in 2015 seemed exceptional and worth looking into in wider context.

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[6] "[…] elokuvan ääniraidasta Britney Spears -nuken lehdistötilaisuuteen." (HSJ32)
[7] "[Viime vuosina kääntäjien ammattikuntaa] on kohdeltu monissa paikoissa kaltoin, vaikka yhteiskunta on riippuvainen käännöksistä. Kunnon suomennokset vaativat aikaa ja rahaa." (HSJ32)

2 TRANSLATORS' VISIBILITY

An American translator Norman Shapiro (quoted in Venuti 1995: 1) described his line of work as follows:

> I see translation as the attempt to produce a text so transparent that it does not seem to be translated. A good translation is like a pane of glass. You only notice that it's there when there are little imperfections […] Ideally, there shouldn't be any. It should never call attention to itself.

Scholars' opinions on whether translations should visibly be translations vary – Venuti (1995) discusses translators' (in)visibility and calls for translators to be more visible in their works whereas others like Anthony Pym (1992; 1996) thinks the opposite and encourages translators to be as invisible as possible in their texts. However, in terms of social visibility, many scholars agree that translators are entitled to and need more visibility in their societies (Bassnett 2014: 106).

In this chapter, I will first discuss translators' visibility in general and introduce the central ideas on the subject, concentrating especially on those by Lawrence Venuti (1995) and the ones standing in opposition to his views. Furthermore, I will look into translators' visibility in Finland and the Finnish media as well as the effects translation critique has had on translators' visibility. Finally, I will discuss translators' status and the factors that contribute to it: translators' appreciation, expertise and income.

2.1 The invisible workers

During the last few decades the emphasis in translation studies (TS) has shifted more and more on the translator. The complexity of the translation process and the importance of the translator has received greater recognition, with the translators seen both as (re)readers and (re)writers (Bassnett 2014: 106). There is, however, still room for more visibility for translators in Western societies – there is a need for "reassessment of the

translators' status" as well as "greater focus on the significance of translation as a shaping force in the world literatures" (Bassnett: 2014: 106).

Translators' visibility, or invisibility, has been perhaps most influentially researched by Lawrence Venuti, who sees translators' invisibility as cultural critique (1995: 17). According to Venuti (1995), translators should aim to as much textual visibility as possible in their work, especially when translating from English into small languages. According to Venuti, a translated text, regardless of the genre, is deemed acceptable when it reads fluently and when "the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent" (Venuti 1995: 1). This gives the reader the impression that the translation reflects the "foreign writer's personality" and creates the illusion of the translated text being the original. (Venuti 1995: 1)

Venuti's starting point is the low status of translators, which he thinks is because of the above-mentioned illusion of transparency that is born from translations being read as original texts in their target languages. Venuti (1995: 1–2) summarizes this illusion as follows:

> The illusion of transparency is an effect of fluent discourse, of the translator's effort to insure easy readability by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning. What is so remarkable here is that this illusory effect conceals the numerous conditions under which the translation is made, starting with the translator's crucial intervention in the foreign text. The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text.

Translator's invisibility can also be determined by the receiving target culture. If a foreign text is reconfigured in a way that its foreign characteristics are removed in order to make it more familiar and acceptable to the target audience, then, according to Venuti, this can potentially lead to a complete domestication. Venuti criticises domestication as an undesirable act and point out that, in domestication, the translation act involves "an appropriation of foreign culture for domestic agendas; cultural, economic, political" (Venuti 1995: 18)

Another concept that, according to Venuti (1995: 5–6), ensures translators' invisibility is the so-called "concept of authorship". This means that translations are perceived as original literally works and the author is taken into consideration when discussing the translation, not the translators. Venuti (1995: 6) points out that translators' invisibility is partly determined by this kind of thinking. The concept of authorship is, understandably, disadvantageous for the translators, since although translations are defined as "second-order representations", they are still required to produce this kind of illusion of authorial presence in order to be considered good and transparent, for a flawed translation cannot be considered a good one. (Venuti 1995: 7)

Not all translators and scholars, however, share Venuti's views. Anthony Pym, although calling himself a "fan" of Venuti's (1996: 1), criticised Venuti's 1995 book in a paper published only a year after: Pym disagrees on Venuti's notions about culture determining translator's visibility and points out that if translators "refuse to produce fluent texts, if they make themselves visible through the use of "resistant" strategies […], all the rest will surely change, too." (Pym 1996: 2) This, to Pym, seems undesirable, since it would negatively affect the translation. Pym himself would allow the translator a very limited visibility. He emphasises the importance of illusion of translation equivalence. Pym sees visibility as a short-term solution that unnecessarily seeks to reduce translator's anonymity. (Pym 1992: 164–165)

Weinberger (2002), too, defends translators' invisibility, although even he criticises the reviewers for not always recognizing the translator in their reviews. According to him, the greatest "joy" of translating is the anonymity (2002: 114), and, rather than calling for translators to be visible in their work, he speaks for the importance of retranslation. Translations are never inferior to the original text, but they can be that to other translations, both older ones and those not yet made. Everything worth translating, he points out, should be translated at least twice. (Weinberger 2002: 114–118)

Another point of view is offered by John Balcom (2006), a translators of old Chinese poetry, who points out that it is the translator's role to "assist" his readers, not only with the linguistic forms but also with the context: "the intertextuality, allusion, traditional poetic form and structure, forms of wordplay peculiar to the Chinese language." (Balcom 2006: 120) A translation, no matter how fluent, cannot be considered accessible and understandable to its readers if they do not have a larger understanding of its cultural context (Balcom 2006: 120–121).

Bassnett (2014: 124) further points out that translations are "visible traces of individual readings", the translators' readings and interpretations of the original texts. The problem, according her, is not that translators are invisible but that translations are evaluated in a way that makes them inferior to the original. When the importance and role of the original texts and authors are made significant, the translation and the translator automatically become more invisible. (Bassnett: 2014: 124)

Venuti (1995), in the last chapter of his book, introduces ideas on how to improve translators' visibility in translations. In order for translators to become visible, they need to "force a revision of the codes – cultural, economic, legal – that marginalize and exploit them" (Venuti 1995: 311). Translators should work to revise the idea authorship by developing translation practices that help the translator to become more visible to readers of translated literature. Venuti also calls attention to the importance of interviews, essays, prefaces, lectures and other "self-presentations" that would, again, make translators more visible in their societies. (Venuti 1995: 310–311)

2.1.1 Translation critique's effects on translator's visibility

It seems that critique and reviews are important contributing factors to translators' extratextual visibility, which will be further discussed in chapter 2.1.2. Interestingly, very little seems to have changed over the years in terms of translators' visibility. For example, Venuti (1995), Koskinen (2000), Weinberger (2002), Balcom (2006), Penttilä (2013) and Bassnett (2014) all seem to tackle the same problem: translators are not visible enough. Critics are making things worse by leaving translators unmentioned, invisible. Example 1, published in HS as a part of an expert's letter to the editor in 2018, is a good example of this feeling of invisibility after a book review left the translator unrecognised. The bolded part of each example is the part that best introduces the phenomenon the example demonstrates – the same applies to all examples provided in the present study. In example 1, then, the bolded part demonstrates the translators' feelings of invisibility:

(1)   **Suomentajalla on nimi. Sen soisi näkyvän kulttuuriuutisoinnissa**. (HSE18)

      BT: **The Finnish translator has a name, which should be made visible in a newspaper**.

Historically, however, the situation has been quite the opposite. Outi Paloposki (1997) points outs that in the beginning of translation critique in Finnish newspapers in the 1830s, the reviews used to mention only the translator of set work, and not the original author, which highlighted the translators' agency. This, of course, changed during time, and giving credit to both the author and the translators became the "norm" in literary newspaper reviews. (Paloposki 1997: 106–107). If this is the case, why do critics at times forget to mention the translator?

Andrew Chesterman (2000) has looked into the role of a critic from the point of view of translation theory. In his mind, the role of the critic depends on what kind of model is used to describe the translation act. Based on this, he introduces three models: a static one, a dynamic one and a causative one. Static model highlights the equivalence between the original and the translation; ST (source text) = TT (target text). If there is there is no equivalence, the TT is not a translation. From the critic's point of view, this model is an easy one – there either is equivalence and therefore a translation, or there is not. This, however, requires that the critic is fluent in both the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) and has in fact read both texts and conducted a comparative analysis between the two. (Chesterman 2000: 62)

The dynamic model, then, displays translation as process and is therefore slightly more complex than the static model. In the dynamic model, the translator is considered both the recipient and the sender of the message:

S1 (sender) – M1 (message) – R1 (recipient)
S2 – M2 – R2

Since the translator is both R1 and S2, the critic's role in this model is different compared to that in static model. The critic is present and active in the model as R2. His job is not to compare M1 and M2, but to compare the experiences and reactions of R1 and R2. This can be problematic, since recipients of the original text and the translation do not necessarily react to the message, the text, in the same way. Also, the skopos, the purpose, of the two target texts can be different. Furthermore, as Chesterman points out, the reaction of an individual reader is hardly ever the same as that of everyone else's. (Chesterman 2000: 63)

Finally, there is the causative model, which displays the translation as both the cause and the effect, as in causes – translation – effects. The chain of causes and effects is endless

and repetitive. In his research on causes and effects, Chesterman (2000: 64) introduces the following model of causes and effects:

<div align="center">

Sociocultural causes

↓

Translation situation

↓

The translator

↓

Translation

↓

Cognitive effects

↓

Behavioural effects

↓

Sociocultural effects

</div>
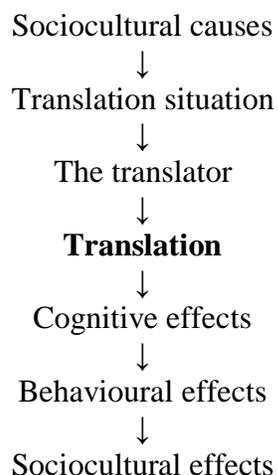
Sociocultural causes include for example norms, languages and power relations. All these affect the translation situation, which includes the client, the skopos, the translators' tools and ST, which then affect the translator and his/her emotional state, energy, language skills and common knowledge. The translation, then affects the cognitive (in the reader's mind, e.g. aesthetic impressions) and behavioural (how the reader acts, e.g. decision to purchase a book) effects. By sociocultural effects, then, Chesterman refers to for example relationships between different cultures and cultural changes in target languages. (Chesterman 2000: 64)

The causative model described above presents the critic as one of the readers. The translation affects the critic by making him experience something in his mind while reading the translation. The critic, after having finished and published his review, affects other readers – do they, for example, decide to by the book in question – who, then, affect the development of the target culture (does the book become a bestseller), and even, through the translation, the original author of the book (does he become a millionaire). (Chesterman 2000: 64).

Although the causative model presents the critic as one among all readers, critics do form a readership of their own. Critics may have read the original text and they might concentrate on the linguistic form rather than the content of the translation and register their own observations subjectively (Chesterman 2000: 71). The critic's comment cannot be thought to represent all readers, since another critic might concentrate on different things in the same translation, which seems to make translation critique problematic and, according to Chesterman, frustrating to translators; he goes on to list, in a rather provocative manner, things that critics are guilty of, such as their inability to set thing into proportions and "manipulative" ways of writing. (Chesterman 2000: 71–72)

Looking further into translation critique, many scholars seem to agree with Chesterman's models. Balk (2004) seems to be, at least partly, a supporter of the static model in terms of the critic's role, since, according to him, in an ideal situation, the critic has knowledge of both the SL and the TL and has familiarised himself with both the ST and the finished translation, TT, that is, in order to conduct a comparative analysis between the two. Without this, he points out, the critic's text cannot be called translation critique but a mere text analysis of the TT (Balk 2004: 95). Moreover, the critic should always be aware of whether he is reviewing the work of the original author or the translator as well as whether he wants to review how the translation works in relation to the ST or to the target culture and context.

Are translators, then, in need of critique when their work is considered? According to Balk (2004), being able to review translations requires competence similar to that of translators. Stöckell (2007), observing translation critique in daily newspapers, says that translation critique is first and foremost for the readers of translated works. Reviews work as consumer education – they deal with interesting, noteworthy books and maintain the ideas of good and valuable literature. (Stöckell 2007: 458). Balk (2004) indicates that because translation critique is "useful" to translators and crucial for the development of their expertise and to the appreciation of the profession (2004: 105), the reviewing

should be done by other translators and scholars of translation. Chesterman (2000: 76), too, points out that critics often lack the understanding of translation and calls for them to do more background research when reviewing translations in order to set them in a richer context. In doing this, the interests of critics and translators might not "clash" as they often seem to.

2.1.2 Translators' visibility in Finland

Generally speaking, the visibility of Finnish translators is fairly good. Koskinen (2007) states that although translators of especially literature are visible, the translators' own perspective is that they and their work often go unnoticed. The feeling of invisibility is closely connected to translation critique in daily newspapers, and translated literature is often reviewed as if it was an original work by an author. This problem typical to translators is, again, an example of Venuti's (1995: 6) concept of authorship that makes translators invisible on a daily basis.

In Finland, translators' visibility has been divided, by Kaisa Koskinen (2000), into three dimensions: textual, paratextual and extratextual visibility. Textual visibility refers to translators' visibility within the translation, through strategies and conscious choices. Textual visibility is, in any case, inevitable, since "every translator is textually visible in so far as any translation reflects the translator's 'translational position'" (Koskinen 2000: 99). In terms of social visibility, though, textual visibility does not exactly give the translator an opportunity to explain herself. Although inevitable, it does not necessarily contribute to translators' visibility and status in the society because of the illusion of authorial presence.

Paratextual visibility is visibility outside the actual translation which can be seen in, for example, translators' own remarks about their translated texts. This can, at the very least,

mean a translator signing his or her work, or writing a preface to the translation. Paratextual visibility and demands for it often circle around prefaces, which have been seen as opportunities for translators to explain their strategies and choices to the readers (Koskinen 2000: 99). Also, paratextual material serves as to "highlight the agency of the translator" (Bassnett 2014: 118) in an effective way, since it is often presented with the translated work itself.

The most interesting and important level of visibility for the purposes of this study is extratextual visibility. Extratextual visibility is connected not only to textual and paratextual visibility, but also to the social status of translation (and translators) outside the translation. This means that translators themselves are somewhat powerless when their extratextual visibility is considered. As for example Penttilä (2013) concludes, translators are not always mentioned when their work is discussed. Therefore, the demands for extratextual visibility are often directed to others working with translations. These demands range from having the translator's name mentioned by a publisher to the need for more visibility and acknowledgements in newspaper book reviews. (Koskinen 2000: 99)

Extratextual visibility is not, however, completely out of translators' own hands. They can contribute to their extratextual visibility through interviews and their own publications, such as Kääntäjä-Översättaren[8] magazine, a professional magazine published by SKTL, The Finnish Association for Translators and Interpreters. In daily newspaper, translators can affect their extratextual visibility through, as mentioned, interviews and letters to the editor, as the material of this study shows (HSE1–18, HSJ1–46). Of course, newspapers always moderate the letters to the editor – for example, *Helsingin Sanomat* retains the right to edit the letters to the editor they publish (*Helsingin Sanomat* 2018).

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[8] https://www.sktl.fi/liitto/kaantaja-oversattaren-lehti/

The biggest contributor to translators' extratextual visibility are literary reviews. They have been researched, from this point of view, by for example Penttilä (2013), whose material consisted of reviews from three different newspapers and magazines, one of them being *Helsingin Sanomat*. He then looked into how often the translator was made visible by mentioning him or her in the review. Penttilä's 2013 study points out that translators' unhappiness with literary reviews in this aspect is not entirely justified; the reviews tend to present translators in a positive light and were mentioned more often than they were left out, although there are differences between the magazines and newspapers included in the study. (Penttilä 2013) One can, however, argue that positive visibility does not exclude the problem caused by reviewers leaving translators unmentioned. If translators are sometimes left unmentioned when the review is positive but always mentioned when the review is negative, can their overall publicity be described as positive? As Bassnett (2014: 124) points out, translators are easily made more invisible by the critics and reviews.

Translators demanding more appreciation even after positive publicity can be seen as a result of the feeling of invisibility that for example Koskinen (2000) and Bassnett (2014) above describe. Stöckell (2007: 452–458) points out that even though translators are often ignored, they and their work are on the other hand described as being culturally significant. It is interesting that year after year translators are forced to demand appreciation even when they are often described as essential cultural workers in feature articles. Examples 2 and 3, taken from the same letter to the editor, are excellent examples of translators feeling invisible and unappreciated.

(2) Kun otsikossa **osoitetaan arvostusta työn tulokselle, ansaitsisi työn tekijäkin tulla mainituksi**. Pitkässä kirjaluettelossa **ei mainittu** yhdenkään teoksen **kääntäjää.** (HSE8)

BT: If the headline shows **appreciation to the outcome of the work, the person who had done the work deserves to be mentioned.** The long book list **didn't mention a single translator.**

(3) Minkään muun kulttuurityöntekijän työtä ei **sivuuteta yhtä järjestelmällisesti ja huolettomasti** […] **Kääntäjä ansaitsee tulla näkyväksi siinä kuin muutkin kulttuurin tekijät** – tai suomennoksista kirjoittavat toimittajat. (HSE8)

BT: No other culturally significant work is **as systematically and carelessly ignored** […] **Translators deserve to be just as visible as all other cultural contributors** – such as journalists writing about translations.

Critics and reviewers not mentioning translators is a common factor behind the Finnish translators' frustration. Although translations are in reviews commented on in a generally laudatory manner, the reviews still often end with the critic pointing out separate "mistakes" (Koskinen 2007: 335). Many letters to the editor included in this study point to the same conclusion (see for example HSE1 and HSE8). This goes back to Venuti's (1995) idea of the illusion of transparency; translations are acceptable and considered original as long as the readers, critics and publishers think they are fluent and there are no oddities in terms of language. Many of the articles and letters to the editor in *Helsingin Sanomat* do, however, tackle the problem of translators' visibility. Still, as examples 1, 2 and 3 above demonstrate, translators themselves feel that they are not appreciated but ignored when their work is discussed. (HSE1; HSE10; HSE12; HSE15–HSE18)

All in all, it is difficult to say how often translators are actually mentioned when their work is reviewed in Finnish newspapers. Based on what has been researched by Penttilä (2013), Riikonen (2007) and Koskinen (2007), literary reviews seem to be the most

common, and, as pointed out in this study, the most controversial, aspect of translators' extratextual visibility. Although translators do not necessarily get much attention in reviews (Koskinen 2002; Penttilä 2013), feature articles about translators are frequently published by *Helsingin Sanomat* and other Finnish newspapers.

2.2 Translators' status

Previously a mainly unresearched subject, translators' status has been researched during the last ten years by for example Dam and Zethsen (2008; 2011; 2016), Pym et al. (2012), Ruokonen (2013; 2014) and Svahn et al. (2018). According to Bassnett (2014: 12), translation activity or production has been considered by many, and especially those outside the profession, as a secondary, reproductive as well as "non-creative". Translation is in the society seen as a process "best over and done with quickly and cheaply" (Koskinen 2000: 54). Furthermore, translators have been referred as "a shadowy presence" (Steiner, quoted in Bassnett 2014: 77), invisible and seldom recognized (Venuti 1995: 17) as well as anonymous (Koskinen 2000: 60) and poorly paid (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 73). All this, obviously, hurts the status and appreciation of translators' profession. Solutions to this have been offered by for example Vermeer (1994) who thought that if people only understood translators' tasks better, it would "inevitably" result in a better appreciation of the translators' social position (1994: 14).

"Status" is, according to Pym et al. (2012: 5) defined as follows:

> Status is understood as the presumed value of expert skills, rather than the skills themselves. An individual or group with high status is ideally attributed trustworthiness, prestige, authority, higher pay and a degree of professional exclusivity.

In order for good translators to keep practising their profession, their status must not be weak (Pym et al. 2012: 5). Furthermore, not only is the status of all translators lower than it should be, but the status of a translator also varies within his or her field of

expertise: looking at previous studies, literary translators seem to be the ones suffering from the lowest status amongst translators. Then again, their status, visibility and appreciation has been researched a great deal more than that of other translators (see e.g. Venuti 1995, Koskinen 2007, Riikonen 2007, Penttilä 2013, Abdallah 2012). Dam and Zethsen (2008) have studied the status of company translators in Denmark, and observe the differences in status within the profession (2008: 75):

> Within the translation profession, conference interpreters and to some degree translators working for the EU or similar international organizations are often considered the highest status translators, due to their presumed glamorous working conditions and/or high salaries.

Looking into the status of translators in Danish society, Dam and Zethsen point out, referring to a Danish study, that there are four main parameters which seem to determine status in Danish society: 1. high salary, 2. high level of education/expertise, 3. visibility/fame and 4. power/influence. Interestingly enough, these parameters seem to include the three biggest parameters (salary, expertise, visibility) often mentioned when discussing (literary) translators' status and appreciation. (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 74) Even more interestingly in terms of the present study conducted 10 years later, the same themes still arise when looking into translators' visibility.

In the upcoming subsections, I will look into three of the four parameters Dam & Zethsen (2008) discuss in their study, since these are also the three main thematic categories that arise from my material. Instead of visibility, which has already been discussed above, I will discuss the effects appreciation has on translators' status and, therefore, their social visibility. Furthermore, expertise and income will also be discussed. All these topics are closely related to each other: education, for example, has an effect on the translator's expertise, which has an effect on appreciation, which has an effect on income – all of these, then, together affect the translator's status which, as I see it, contributes to the translator's overall visibility in a society.

2.2.1 Status: Appreciation

"It is often a very low-paid, lonely, unappreciated job", answered a translator when asked about their line of work (Katan 2009: 205). This is a very typical description of translation, since appreciation is a topic that often emerges when translators are researched from a social point of view. The lack of appreciation is often one of the main concerns for translators (Koskinen 2000; 2009; Penttilä 2013). Translation critique, as discussed above, is a key factor in terms of the appreciation of translators' work, but there are other factors that further have an impact on translators' appreciation, too.

A look on the European Union, although otherwise a seemingly "better" employer for translators compared other companies and agencies, offers an excellent example of the lack of translators' appreciation. Despite their high numbers, translators in the EU suffer from lack of visibility and low appreciation (Koskinen 2009: 99–100), even though the European Commission highlights the importance of multilingual communications, which, of course, could not be achieved without translators, who, despite their key role, were "misrecognised." (Koskinen 2009: 101–103)

Furthermore, the appreciation of translators and their work is lowered by the too often heard misconception that anyone can translate and that translation "can't be that difficult." (Dam 2013: 18, 25). In her study of translator's blogs from the point of view of the main themes presented here, Dam (2013: 18) says that there "seems to be a widespread 'anyone-can-do-it' attitude towards translation, which translators find is a serious threat to their occupational status." This kind of misconception of translation work does, in my mind, directly affect the appreciation of translation work and translators in a negative way.

In Finland, translators' appreciation has been studied by Minna Ruokonen, who asked Finnish translation students about appreciation, among other things. According to her

findings, the students' views of translators' appreciation were quite pessimistic compared to views of those outside the translation profession, with all of them evaluating the appreciation being average or below average (Ruokonen 2014: 43). The low salaries of translators, people always mentioning mistakes in translations but never praising good translations, as well as constant pressure to work quickly were among the factors the students felt had an effect on translators' appreciation (Ruokonen 2014: 46). These seem to be common concerns for Finnish translators, as even the material of this study shows. Example 4 from the material demonstrates this:

(4) Suomessa **kääntäjän palkkiot ovat naurettavan pienet**, Klemelä selittää. **Arvostus on muutenkin Euroopan pohjaluokkaa**. "Usein unohtuu, että kääntäjä on tulkki siinä missä näyttelijä tai muusikkokin." (HSJ8)

BT: **Translator's wages are ridiculously small** in Finland, Klemelä explains. **Appreciation is among the lowest in Europe as it is.** "The fact that a translator is an interpreter in the same way as an actor or a musician is often forgotten."

However, translators' appreciation seems to be changing for the better, as Penttilä's (2013) as well as Koskinen's 2009 studies of show. When asked about for example the feedback the translators receive, they, in the first part of Koskinen's study, indicated that they get next to no feedback. However, when later asked about feedback in 2008, translators indicated that they get regular feedback from their coordinator as well as indirect feedback from the Finnish media. (Koskinen 2009: 105).

The translators participating in Dam and Zethsen's 2008 study generally felt their work was appreciated with a clear majority thinking that their work was appreciated to "a very high degree". The translators had "a strong professional profile and a high degree of perceived appreciation" (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 80). Their study also showed that not

only did translators think they were appreciated but that the other employers of the set companies were well aware of translators' work and had confidence in the quality of their work as well as evaluated the expertise required in translation work just has high as translators themselves did. This is crucial, since social appreciation is determined by those outside the profession (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 81–85; Dam & Zethsen 2011: 988).

2.2.2 Status: Expertise

Translation is considered as high-level expertise work that is the product of high-level education. Although translators are often educated in the field of translation, translation is considered an occupation where learning by experience can lead to high expertise. (Kiraly 2014: 10–12) According to Dam and Zethsen's (2016) data, at least Danish translators describe their education as having been "long and extensive" as well as necessary in order to be a good translator. Most of Finnish translators, according to SKTL[9], are experts of their field with a Master's degree. The association urges students to be active and familiarise themselves with the translation market during their studies, as well as emphasises the importance of making connections within the field. (SKTL 2019)

However, whether translation can be considered a profession rather than an occupation is tricky. Weiss-Gal and Welbourne (2008) list the following criteria as indicative of a profession: 1. public recognition of professional status, 2. professional monopoly over specific types of work, 3. professional autonomy of action, 4. possession of a distinctive knowledge base, 5. professional education regulated by members of the profession, 6. an effective professional organization, 7. codified ethical standards and 8. prestige and renumeration reflecting professional standing. (Weiss-Gal & Welbourne 2008: 282)

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[9] The Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters
https://www.sktl.fi/kaantaminen_ja_tulkkaus/opiskelu/

Translation is, in many countries, Finland included, not a closed profession, but anyone can call themselves a translator should they choose to do so.

This affects the status of translators, since people with lower levels of expertise, inadequate education or ethical standards are, by the public, recognised as translators. Katan (2009), after researching translators' working world, concludes that even though translators and interpreters themselves identify as professionals because of their specialised knowledge and skillset, their professionalism is limited to translation. When asked the criteria that make translation/interpreting a profession, the translators and interpreters in Katan's study ranked expertise and knowledge the highest, whereas recognition and visibility were among the lowest of criteria ranked. The lack of above mentioned "public recognition" of translators negatively affects their professional status, of which translators and interpreters seem acutely aware of. Translating can be, according to Katan, categorised rather as an occupation (Katan 2009: 188, 192, 206) than a profession.

An expert, then, is a person who excels in their line of work. When compared to novices, experts are faster and have a more thorough understanding of their field and problems they might face in their line of expertise. (Chi et al. 1988: 17–19) Translators tend to usually rank their expertise high (Katan 2009, Dam & Zethsen 2008; 2011). However, freelancers and agency translators tend to rank their expertise higher than company translators. This is considered to be because, contrary to the freelancers and agency translators, company translators work in firms, on which the core service can be something else than translation, since company translators' firms provide other services, too. (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 987–988)

When translator's expertise is considered, external evaluation plays an important role (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 988). Perhaps even more important than internal, translators' own evaluations, external evaluations shape the translators' status since, as Dam and

Zethsen (2011) observe: "A profession's status is always shaped by both profession-internal and profession-external views, but when it comes to perceptions of expertise, external recognition is likely to be of particular importance." They further point out that people outside the translation profession seem to hold translators' expertise in lower esteem compared to translators' themselves (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 988), which, undoubtedly, affects translator's status and visibility negatively.

2.2.3 Status: Income

The fact that translators' salaries are low greatly affects the overall status of translators. The salaries of translators are "generally lower than they should be" and their "level of expertise is not sufficiently recognized and their influence is limited to the point of being virtually non-existent (Dam & Zethsen: 2009). Furthermore, translators evaluate their income below average, although there are exceptions within the trade, as some do, in fact, evaluate their income above average. According to Dam and Zethsen, freelance translators evaluate their income higher than company or agency translators, since "only" 70% of them have a monthly income below average. (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 986)

The only exception to translators' poor income is, perhaps, the salaries of the translator's working for European Union (Dam & Zethsen 2016; Koskinen 2009). EU translators are regarded as high-level professionals, and paid a salary similar to the other experts working for the EU. Nevertheless, even there the translators do not feel that their high-level expertise work is as appreciated as it should be. (Koskinen 2009: 95, 104)

It is further indicated that, within the EU, translators who are members of translation associations are better paid than those who are not. (Pym et al. 2012: 6) This could possibly have to do with associations acting as "strong signals of status" and with high level of professionalism and expertise, since translation associations do, in some cases,

have high entrance criteria. (Pym et al. 2012: 3) However, Pym et al. also point out that although this might be the case with translators belonging to older associations, newer translation associations do not have similar position in strengthening translators' status. (Pym et al. 2012: 3–4)

In Finland, translators' income is said to be one of the lowest in Europe. Even the translation students surveyed by Ruokonen (2014) highlighted the importance of income as a factor affecting translator's status. Over 70% of the students felt that translators' income was low compared to those of other professions with same-level education. According to Ruokonen, this perception of translators' income is at least partly correct, since Finnish translators' yearly income is reportedly low on average. When asked how the status of Finnish translators could be bettered, salaries were, according to the students, in a key role. (Ruokonen 2014: 46–48)

2.2.4 Call for action

It is safe to say that the overall status, as well as visibility, of translators is lower than it should be. Abdallah (2012: 59) sees empowering translation students as vital in order to better translators' agency and their ability to stand up for themselves and their profession. Likewise, Dam and Zethsen call for empowerment and action, but point out that their study, as well as those of many in the same field, are mainly descriptive. (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 93–94) Since the explanatory level is often missing, it is impossible to say *why* the status of the translators' status is as low as it is.

Perhaps the only exceptions amongst the otherwise descriptive studies of translators' status are those of Pym et al.'s (2012) and Ruokonen's (2014). However, even Pym et al. research, being financed by the EU, concentrates on improving the status of translators' in terms of professionalism – they call for multileveled certification systems

in order to have companies using qualified translators instead of unskilled ones. On the other hand, Pym et al. call for lower requirements for translators and interpreters translating and interpreting to and from "immigrant languages", where the demand often exceeds the supply. (Pym et al. 2012: 126–128)

The students participating in Ruokonen's study list working conditions, expertise, better visibility and quality and translator's own attitudes as things that could be improved in order to improve the appreciation and status of the profession. Translation agencies should, according to them, hire only educated translators and pay them according to their education. Also, even Ruokonen's findings call for empowerment: translators should themselves be more visible in media, for example through letters to the editor. (Ruokonen: 2014: 47)

Despite all the previous studies and their calls for action, it seems that still, nearly 25 years after Venuti's *Translator's Invisibility*, the translation industry battles the same problems and hardships in terms of visibility. Although there has been improvement in many areas, translators' visibility and status in the society are still topics worth discussing and researching in order to find concrete solutions to these problems. To me, one of the biggest problems regarding translators' visibility is the lack of knowledge about the translation profession within the public. If people knew what a translators' work truly consists of, the entire profession would surely become more visible.

3 TRANSLATORS' VISIBILITY IN *HELSINGIN SANOMAT*

Perhaps the most effective way to increase translators' extratextual visibility is to make topics and issues translators feel are worth discussing accessible to the public. It is safe to say, I think, that this is most often done by daily newspapers, since translators' work is usually reviewed and discussed in these papers. Since *Helsingin Sanomat* has an extensive culture-section as part of their publication, it offers a good basis for translators to both give interviews about their work as well as express their concerns.

The questions this study set out to answer relate to the themes arising from articles written by journalists about translators (HSJ) and letters to the editor written by translators (HSE) in HS, as well as to whether these two sets of texts are similar and/or different in terms of the themes. The main basis of this study was, however, on how, if at all, these themes affect translators' visibility. My assumption was that the texts by experts would be more negative in tone compared to texts by journalists.

The analysis revealed that there were, in fact, both similarities as well as differences between the two sets of material. Whereas journalists seemed more interested in the translators' life and their occupation as a whole, the experts used HS as a platform to take on topics such as their lack of appreciation and sufficient income. Then again, both were equally interested in translators' expertise. Also, as assumed in the beginning of this study, the text by experts were, indeed more negative in tone. They presented the challenges and issues of the translation profession and demanded changes, but, at the same time, seemed to, especially when their low income was discussed, transfer the blame on others, indicating that translators cannot solve these problems on their own. Texts by journalists, then, were, indeed, more positive in tone and mainly descriptive in nature.

The question of visibility, then, was a more complex one. Since all texts were about translators and therefore drew attention to them, one could argue that all the themes found in the material affected translators' visibility positively. Then again, when looked deeper into, in some cases the themes affected translators' visibility negatively by emphasising the translator's secondary role and invisibility. However, no theme could be said to have a solely or mainly negative effect on translators' visibility. An analysis of the themes occurring throughout the entire material revealed that translators' visibility was strengthened through painting a picture of translation as a difficult profession that requires expertise and should be better appreciated. Translations are referred as "cultural achievements" that deserve to be acknowledged.

In the upcoming subchapters, I will first discuss the five themes (*appreciation*, *expertise*, *culture*, *income* and *time*) that were found in both and texts by journalists and texts by experts. Then, I will look into these theme's effects to translators' visibility and, finally, report the similarities and differences between the themes found in two sets the material, texts by journalists and texts by experts. Both sets of material are shortly discussed on their own and then compared to their counterpart. Furthermore, the changes in translators' visibility during the ten years this study's material covers will be discussed.

3.1 Themes found in HS and their effects on translators' visibility

As discussed above, a total of 9 themes were discovered from the material. These themes served as the basis of the thematic categories previously introduced in section 1.2. The sizes of the thematic categories are demonstrated in Diagram 2.

Themes found in the material
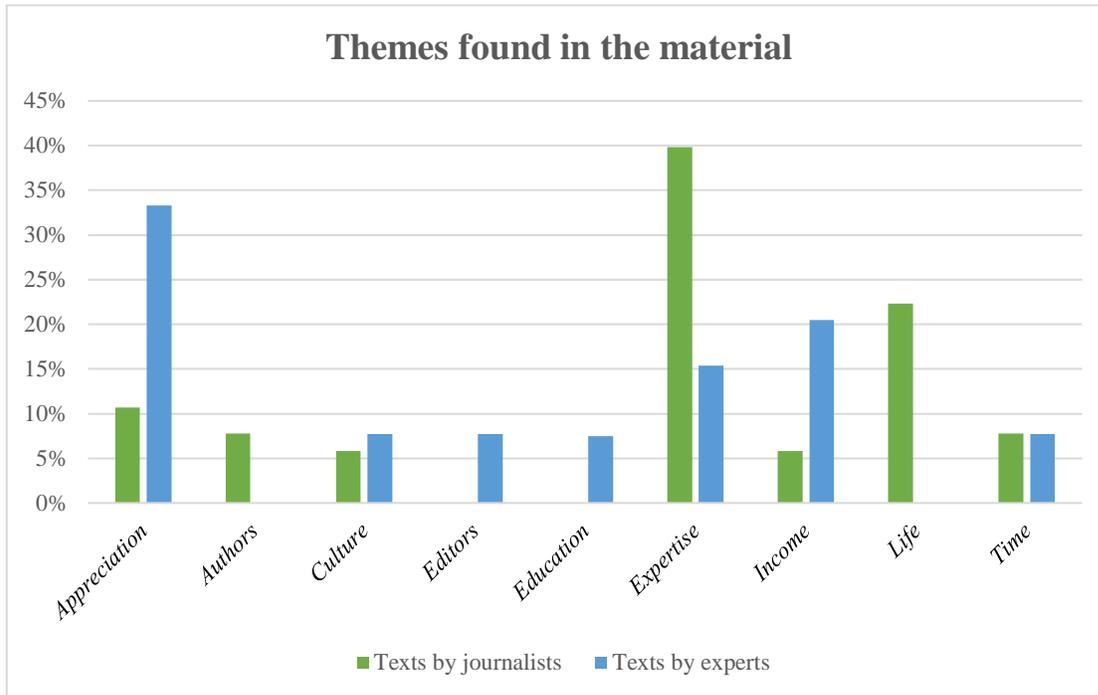
Diagram 2. Themes found in the material

The differences between the two sets of material, texts by journalists and text by experts, can be seen in Diagram 2, as well as all the discovered themes and their sizes. Some of these categories occurred only in texts by journalists and some only in texts by experts. Because texts by journalists cover ¾ of the material and texts by experts only ¼, some thematic categories, like *life*, seem significant, but since they occurred only in texts by journalists, one cannot draw conclusions on the entire material based on them. This is why this study concentrates to analyse the 5 thematic categories that occurred in *both* texts by journalists *and* texts by experts. These categories are *appreciation*, *expertise*, *culture*, *income* and *time*. Diagram 3 shows the thematic categories occurring the both texts by journalists and texts by experts.

Themes found in both texts by journalists and texts by experts
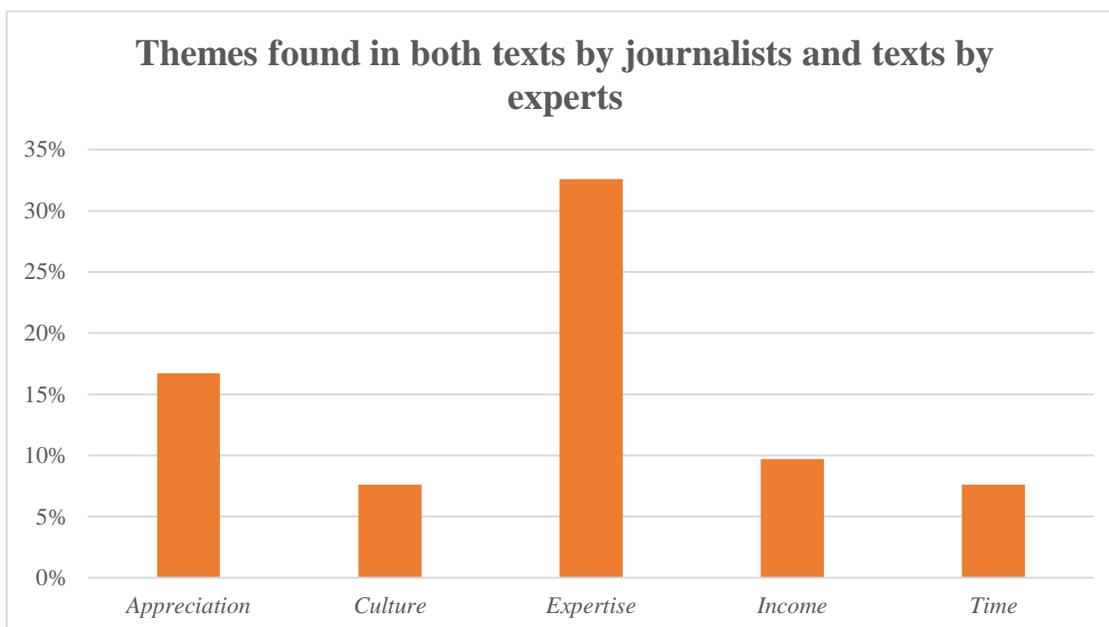
Diagram 3. Themes found in both texts by journalists and texts by experts

Expertise is by far the largest category, as can be seen in Diagram 3. Next comes *appreciation*, although it is only about a half of the size of *expertise*. Based on this observation, it seems that translators' special skillset and their expertise work is in centre of topics that journalists and experts deem worth discussing. The next subsections will discuss each of these 5 thematic categories. Each theme will be illustrated with the help of examples, and the theme's effects on translators' visibility will be discussed as well. The themes will be discussed in the order from largest to the smallest. The analysis will be based on the concepts of translators' visibility and status discussed earlier in chapter 2.

3.1.1 *Expertise*

The largest theme as well as thematic category in the material is *expertise*. This theme is further divided into two subthemes and subcategories. The texts in the material present translators as experts with a high level of expertise. Translators are experts with knowledge of both their mother tongue and foreign languages, their own and foreign cultures. They are required to have knowledge on other specialised fields in addition to their own as well as be able to adapt the texts they translate into the target language and culture (see e.g. HSE1; HSJ32) The theme of *expertise* and its subthemes are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. *Expertise*

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Expertise	Translators are experts
Subtheme	**Definition** **= What the subthemes tells about translators**
Expertise: Translation expertise	Translators are experts of translation
Expertise: Other expertise	Translators are experts of other topics

The theme of *expertise* represents 33% out of the themes identified in the entire material. It occurs in 57 texts out of the 64 texts the material consists of. This means that *expertise* occurs in almost each text in the material. In texts by journalists, it is the largest category with 39.8%. In texts by experts, then, it is the third-largest category with a 15.4%. So, in terms of size, *expertise* is by far the largest thematic category and theme. The two subthemes, then, occur partly in both sets of texts and partly just in texts by journalists.

The texts by experts consists of instances where translators' expertise is discussed in terms of translation expertise, whereas in texts by journalists, translators' expertise is also discussed from the point of view of translators being experts of other subjects, too.

The subtheme of *translation expertise* covers instances where translators are talked about as experts of translation. This includes translators' comments on what it is to be a good translator, what is a good translation and how they think one should translate. The subtheme of *other expertise*, then, covers instances where translators are presented as experts of other topics, such as a specific language, culture or literature. Translators are, for example, seen as experts of Chinese culture, because they have translated a number of works from Chinese. The subtheme *translation expertise* makes up to approximately 75% of all the occurrences of the theme, *other expertise* consists of approximately 25% of the entire theme. Figure 2 demonstrates the distribution of subthemes within the theme *expertise*.
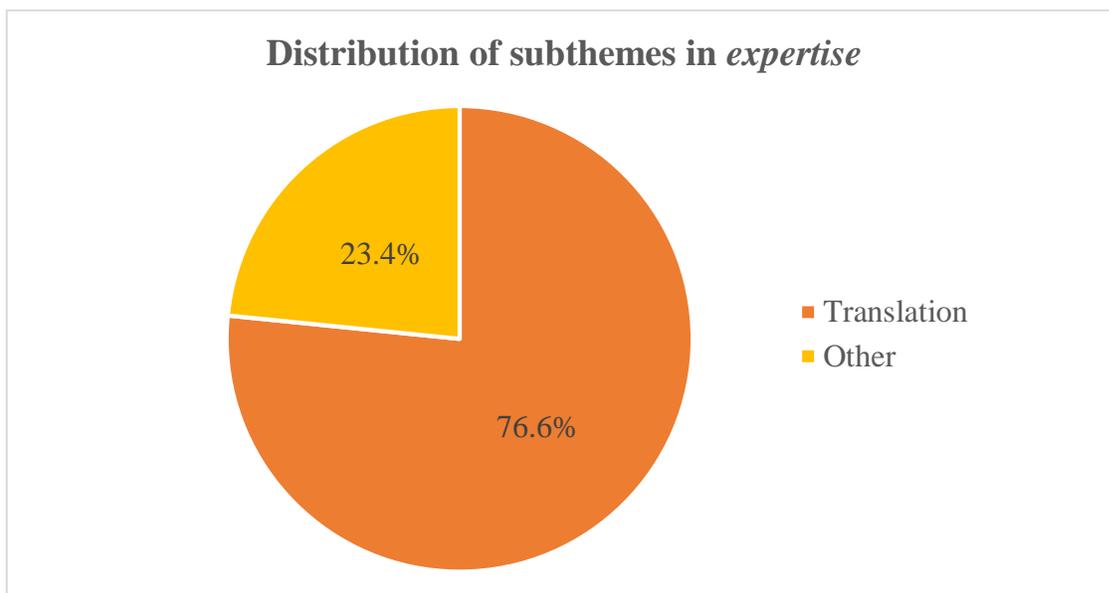

Figure 2. Distribution of subthemes in *expertise*

This means that translators are more often referred to as experts of their own field than as experts of other topics or fields. Since all texts by experts where the theme was present represented translators as translation experts, all texts by experts in this theme are included in the first subtheme. In texts by journalists, then, the subthemes were more evenly divided, with both subthemes representing approximately half of the occurrences of the theme.

Expertise is one of the key factors affecting translators' status (Dam & Zethsen 2008). Furthermore, expertise is greatly affected by outside opinions. This means that even though translators themselves think they are experts, in terms of visibility, this is not enough. High-level expertise is mostly determined by those outside the profession looking in (Dam & Zethsen 2011). If the rest of the society does not see translators as experts, it affects the overall status and visibility of the trade.

Journalists seem to, however, regard translators as experts, by either directly calling them experts or indirectly presenting them as ones. This can often be seen in the headlines of the texts by journalists that portray translators' expertise, such as the headline of HSJ26; "Top translators manage to translate even the most impossible novels of world literature."[10] Also, translators are often referred as "experts" in texts by journalists. The two subthemes are closely related to each other in texts by journalists. As Examples 5 and 6 show, the expertise can refer to both translation expertise as well as that of other topics even in the same text. In Example 5, the translator is presented as an expert of his field, his translation and a specific author and his work.

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[10] "Huippusuomentajilta onnistuu myös maailmankirjallsuuden mahdottomien romaanien kääntäminen." (HSJ26)

(5) ”Se on niin **älyttömän vaikeaa**, mutta samalla kuin olisi lähtenyt löytöretkelle”, kuvailee suomentaja Jukka-Pekka Pajunen käännösurakkaansa. […] **Näytelmä on 120-sivunen tekstimassa assosioivaa tajunnanvirtaa, kielieikkejä ja sitaatteja**. (HSJ29)

BT: "It is so **incredibly difficult**, but, at the same time, it's like going on an expedition", translator Jukka-Pekka Pajunen describes his current, extensive, translation job. […] **The play is a 120-page mass of text with associative streams of consciousness, word plays and citations**.

Example 5, representing the subtheme of *translation expertise*, indirectly introduces the translator as an expert. The difficulty of his work is emphasised, which creates the image of a profession that not just anyone can do. By listing the linguistic challenges the translator faces with Jelinek's work, the journalist strengthens the idea of translators as language experts. Example 6, then, represents of subtheme of *other expertise*.

(6) Vaikeat tehtävät kiinnostavat **Jelinek-asiantuntjaa**. Jukka-Pekka Pajusen mielestä huumori ja ironia ovat nobelisti Elfriede Jelinekin hienoimpia piirteitä. (HSJ29)

BT: Difficult tasks are in the interests of the **Jelinek-expert**. According to Jukka-Pekka Pajunen, humour and irony are the greatest characteristics in Nobel-winner Elfriede Jelinek's works.

In Example 6, Pajunen is literally referred to as an expert on Jelinek's work. Journalists often highlight the difficulty of translators' work when presenting them as experts, much like in Example 5 – Pajunen's work is described as difficult with various linguistic challenges. Equating translators' work with difficulty seems to be a way for journalists to strengthen the notion of translators' expertise and, at the same time, make them more recognisable. Example 7, from a text by journalist, describes the difficulty of translating by referring to the various topics translators work with.

(7) **Työtehtävä saattaa olla "mitä tahansa […] elokuvan ääniraidasta Britney Spears -nuken lehdistötiedotteeseen"**. Koulutettu kääntäjä on **myös suomen kielen ja kielenhuollon ammattilainen**. (HSJ32)

BT: **The translation tasks might be "anything from […] subtitling a movie to press release of a Britney Spears doll."** An educated translator is **also a professional of Finnish language and its usage**.

Much like in Example 7, translators are often referred to as language professionals in terms of their own mother tongue by journalists. The experts, too, like to emphasise this as an important part of their expertise, although, in slight contrast to the journalists, they like to emphasise the versality of translators' expertise rather than just describing their work as linguistically difficult. Example 8 is from the category of texts by experts:

(8) Hyvä käännös on muun muassa **vankan kielitaidon, tyylitajun, kulttuurin- ja asiantuntemuksen tulosta**, se on **kulttuuriteko, joka on vaatinut työtä ja paneutumista**. (HSE8)

BT: A good translation is a result of **strong language proficiency, knowledge of different cultures and expertise**, it is a **cultural achievement that has required work and concentration**.

As mentioned above, since all texts in the material are about translators, they all reinforce translators' visibility. The theme of *expertise* does this as well. The theme can be considered entirely positive, since journalists and experts emphasising translators' expertise is, in my mind, an effective way to further better translators' visibility. In painting a picture of translating as a difficult, demanding profession, journalists as well as experts can be seen as trying to improve the image of translators. Since expertise is largely determined by the outside opinion, this is important. Similarly, a stronger image and status of translators would strengthen translators' visibility.

3.1.2 *Appreciation*

Appreciation, the second-largest thematic category in the material, includes the instances of the theme of *appreciation*. According to the theme, translators are not appreciated enough. This can be seen in all of the instances within the theme. In this chapter, the theme will be discussed with the help of examples. Table 7 recaps the definition of the theme.

Table 7. *Appreciation*

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Appreciation	Translators are not appreciated enough

Appreciation, as seen in Diagram 3 (p. 52), is the second-largest thematic category in the entire material by 16.7%. However, in texts by experts it is the largest category, appearing in over 30% of the texts by experts. In texts by journalists, *appreciation* makes up to 10.7% of the category. The theme of *appreciation* occurred in 24 out of the total of 64.

As pointed out in the method section, all the themes, especially the largest ones, discovered from the material, are very closely related to each other. Especially the themes of *time* and *income* are closely tied up with *appreciation*. This can be seen in for Example 9, which demonstrates the close relationships of these themes.

(9) **Sanallinen arvostus lämmittää toki mieltä, mutta korkean ammattitaidon todellinen arvostus mitataan rahassa**. […] on päästävä irti siitä asenteesta, että **kääntäjä elää kissan tavoin pelkällä kiitoksella**. (HSE1)

BT: **Although written appreciation does feel good, the true appreciation of a high-level expertise is measured in money** […] we must get rid of the idea that **a translator lives purely off acknowledgement**.

As can be seen in Example 9, the demand for appreciation is justified with the notion of translators being experts that are forced to work in a constant hurry yet are poorly paid. The lack of appreciation is, in addition to low income, affected by translators being ignored.

A poorly appreciated profession cannot have a high status. (Dam & Zethsen 2008; Dam & Zethsen 2016) As previous studies have concluded, translators suffer from lack of appreciation, which, understandably, annoys them (Chesterman 2000). Appreciation is a big part of visibility, since, as previously discussed, visibility is related to status which is affected by appreciation. The translators written about in this material are frustrated and constantly demand better appreciation. The examples featured in this subsection were published in 2009, 2013 and 2018. Based on this I think it is safe on assume that, at least in *Helsingin Sanomat* and within this material, the level of appreciation has been low for all of the past 10 years.

How does the theme of *appreciation* affect translators' visibility, then? Although all the examples can be thought to be negative in tone, the theme's effect on visibility can be considered positive, since it draws attention to the problem, lack of appreciation. The notion of authorship (see Venuti 1995) that makes the readers think the translation is the original work of literature rather than a translation, does seem to affect translators' appreciation negatively. Example 10 is a typical example of this.

(10) Olipa tausta mikä hyvänsä, on näiden kolmen, toisistaan poikkeavaa kirjoitusjärjestelmää käyttävän kielen omaksumisen **taustalla ollut vuosikausien, yleensä vuosikymmenten ankara uurastus. Suomennokset eivät ilmesty tyhjästä**. (HSE18)

BT: No matter the background, adopting these three different languages with different writing systems has been **a result of years, often decades of hard work. The translations do not appear from nothing**.

Only a few examples could be interpreted to affect visibility negatively. Example 11, for instance, describes the work of translators who subtitle the operas in Finnish National Opera. It is important to note that "visibility problem" referred to in the example below does not mean translators' visibility in the society, but refers to the limited visibility the translators have in the opera house in Helsinki.

(11) Näkyvyysongelma kuvaa oikeastaan aika hyvin tekstittäjien ja kääntäjien työtä. **He eivät ole taideteoksen kokonaisuudessa pääosassa, minkä vuoksi moni ottaa tekstitykset itsestäänselvyytenä.** Tavallaan tekstittäjät tähtäävätkin juuri tähän. **"Työ on onnistunut silloin, kuin katsoja ei huomaa huomaa lukevansa tekstitystä."** (HSE21)

BT: The problem of [poor] visibility actually depicts the work of translators quite well. **They are not in the centre of the work of art, which is why many people take subtitles for granted.** In a way, this is the translators' goal. **"The translation is considered as good, when the reader does not realise, he/she is reading a translation."**

This example, from a text by a journalist, like all examples of *appreciation*, remind the reader that translations do not appear from nothing. However, on the other hand, translators are said to be in a secondary role: they are not in the centre of the work of art (in this case, the opera performance). Even this example draws attention to the problem

of translators' appreciation: people take subtitles for granted. Then again, in the light of the context, Example 11 could be said to have a negative effect on translators' visibility, since saying that translations should not be noted makes the translator invisible. Then again, if the translation makes the reader paying attention to the translation, can it be considered a good translation?

There is no clear answer to this question since, like scholars', translators' opinions of translators being visible *in* their translations vary. The question does, however, become easier to answer if one takes the different aspects of the translators' visibility into consideration: translators being visible *in* their translations is textual visibility, whereas them being visible *outside* their translations is paratextual, or, in this case, extratextual visibility. Translators can, in my opinion, be visible on extratextual level even if they were invisible on the textual level. All in all, the effects the theme *appreciation* has on translators' overall visibility in HS is positive. Even though the translators themselves feel overlooked (see Chesterman 2000; Koskinen 2007; Penttilä 2013), their visibility and especially appreciation seems to be fairly well discussed in HS.

3.1.3 *Income*

The third largest theme in both texts by journalists and texts by experts is *income*. This theme is closely related to *appreciation* and *expertise*, as shown in the examples presented in the previous subsections. Table 8 presents the definition of this theme.

Table 8. *Income*

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Income	Translators have low income

Income is featured in 9.7% of all texts in the material. It is, perhaps, not a large category in terms of the entire material, but it does make up to 19.5% in texts by experts, which is quite a high percentage compared to other thematic categories. In texts by journalists, however, it came only up to 5.8%. This is quite interesting, since even though the category was present in both sets of material, it is clear that experts experienced it as more significant than journalists.

Furthermore, *income* is a significant category, since salary seems to be an important issue for translators (Dam & Zethsen 2009; 2011, Koskinen 2009, Ruokonen 2014). High salary affects both expertise and appreciation, and vice versa, so it is natural for translators to be frustrated by their low income. This can be seen throughout the material, in both texts by journalists and texts by experts. Examples 12 and 13 are from texts by journalists (12) and texts by experts (13) and they demonstrate translators' frustration with their insufficient income.

> (12) Suurin osa kääntäjistä joutuu tekemään työnsä kiireellä, sillä **alhaisten käännöspalkkioiden takia se on ainoa tapa saada työstään elanto** (HSJ23)
>
> BT: The majority of translators are forced to work in haste, because, **due to low salaries, it is the only way to make a living with their work**.

The low income is seen negatively effecting translators' work, since, as demonstrated in Example 12, they are not able to work up to their standards because of the low pay. In order to make a living, translators need to work in haste, which, then, affects the quality of their translations. In not paying translators the salary they deserve, the sources doing so negatively affect both the quality of translations and translators' visibility. Example

13 below further demonstrates the frustration of translators. In this example, translators are said to be forced to move to other fields, because they cannot live solely on translating.

(13) […] **suomentamisella ei elä. Palkkiot tosiasiallisesti pienenevät kokoajan**, […] **Moni suomentaja on jo tehnyt ratkaisunsa ja on kouluttautumassa tai muuten siirtymässä aloille, joilla voi saada jokapäiväisen leipänsä**. (HSE9)

BT: […] **one does not live on translating. Salaries are constantly getting smaller** […]. **Many translators have already made their moves and are retraining themselves or otherwise moving on to other fields, so that one might earn his/her livelihood.**

It also seems that translators in both texts by experts and texts by journalists seem to somehow dislocate the responsibility to others, instead of themselves doing something in terms of their low income. Of course, translators cannot themselves fix the problem of low income, but there is no empowerment around this topic, either. This is seen in Example 14, but also throughout the material, like in Example 14 that also partly includes the theme of *appreciation*.

(14) **Suomentajat ovat jo vuosikymmeniä kituuttaneet köyhyysrajalla.** Olisiko yksi syy he, että heidän tärkeä kulttuurityönsä **jätetään toistuvasti huomiotta**? (HSE10)

BT: Translators have, for decades, scraped by on the margins of poverty. Could one reason be the fact that their important cultural achievement **is repeatedly ignored**?

Although a positive theme in terms of raising awareness of translators' income and bettering their visibility, the tone of the theme is quite negative. As seen in Examples 13

and 14, especially experts seem to favour descriptive, almost exaggerative words and expressions, saying they have to "scrape by" (Example 14) in order to make ends meet. This kind language use, is, however, typical for letters to the editor, which aim for powerful argumentation and, ultimately, change. (Peda.net 2019)

3.1.4 *Time*

The first of the two smallest thematic categories occurring in the entire material is *time*. It consists of passages, which discuss the time-related challenged translators face. The definition of the theme is shown below in Table 9.

Table 9. *Time*

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Time	Translators experience time-related pressure

Time is a small theme, occurring only in 7.6% of all texts examined in this study. It is equally significant in both sets of material, with occurrences of 7.8% (texts by journalists) and 7.3% (texts by experts). Although a small theme, *time* is significant because of its relation to other themes. As demonstrated by Example 12 in subsection 3.1.3, this theme is very close to the theme *income*. The time-related issues and challenges translators face are seldom discussed on their own, but usually as an additional topic alongside *income* or *appreciation*. When discussed separately from other themes, then, time-related issues are often mentioned as a kind of a side note, as if it was just "thrown" in to paint a more vivid picture of translators' work.

When the hurry the translators experience is discussed, it seems often to be discussed as being the publisher's fault – translators would like to translate in peace and concentrate on the quality, but publishers are hurrying them to translate book to get it ready for, for example, the Christmas season or some other event. Examples 15 and 16, both from texts by journalists, comment on the pressure translators experience time-wise.

(15) Kirjan kierto markkinoilla on nopeutunut, ja **liike-elämän lait puuskuttavat** luovaa työtä tekevän ihmisen niskaan. Ryömän mielestä suunta on väärä. **"Nopeus on tärkeämpää kuin lopputulos. Aina on odottamassa joku kilpailu- tai joulumarkkinat, joita varten kirjan pitää valmistua**. (HSJ6)

BT: A book's circulation in the market has become faster, and **the rules of business breathe down the neck of a person doing creative work**. Ryömä thinks that the direction is wrong. **"Speed is more important than the end result. There's is always some competition or Christmas market to which to the book has to be ready for, waiting."**

(16) Harmittaa, etten voi uutuutta kääntää, koskan tunne kirjailijan niin hyvin. Toisaalta juuri siksi arvelen, **ettei laatukäännös onnistu niin lyhyessä ajassa. En ymmärrä kiirettä** […]. (HSJ15)

BT: "It vexes me that I'm not able to translate the new book, because I know the author so well. Then again, for that very reason **I don't think a quality translation is manageable is such a short time. I don't understand the hurry** […].

Both examples well represent the frustration of the translators. In both of the examples, the translators talk about the pressure there is to get a book translated quickly in order for them to be published in Finnish as soon as possible after the publication of the original. In HSJ15, from which Example 16 is taken out of, the publisher further comments on the importance of quality translations, and says that hurry may not affect the finished translation. However, the book the translator refers to in Example 16 has

480 pages, yet the translator has been given a month to translate it. This seems an almost unreasonable timetable from the translator's point of view.

Quality seems to be a concern for translators, since, according to them, working in a hurry inevitably leads to translations that are not up to quality standards. But, as discussed in subsection 3.1.3, low income forces translators to work quickly. So, in a way, translators feel that they are forced to compromise in terms of quality because of the time pressures they experience. This seems like a start of a vicious cycle: translators' appreciation is hard to improve if the quality of the translations they produce starts to suffer. Example 17, from a text by expert, demonstrates, again, the frustration of translators.

(17) **Laatua eivät tosin pysty tuottamaan pätevät ammattikääntäjätkään silloin, kun he joutuvat työskentelemään kohtuuttomassa kiireessä**. (HSE12)

BT: **Even professional translators cannot provide high-quality translations, when they're forced to work in unreasonable hurry**.

As stated in Example 17, even professionals cannot work up to their standard when they are pressured to work with a fast pace. Although the tone of this and other examples of this theme is negative, translators talking about the issues they face in terms of *time* is, again, positive visibility for translators. Much like other themes, even though the content and tone of the theme is mostly negative, its effects cannot be considered anything but positive, since drawing attention to this and other issues raise awareness of the challenges of translators' profession.

3.1.5 *Culture*

Second of the two smallest categories occurring in the entire material is *culture*. The category consists of the theme of *culture*, which includes passages in which translators are presented as doing culturally significant work. Although not a large category, it is a rather interesting one. Table 10 shows the theme and its definition.

Table 10. *Culture*

Theme	Definition = What the theme says about translators
Culture	Translators are equated with artist and other people doing culturally significant work

Culture is not a large category – it consists of 7.6% of the themes in the entire material. Out of all 46 texts by journalists, the thematic category is present in 5.8% of them. In texts by experts, the theme made up to 12.2% out of all texts. It is, despite its small size, an interesting theme. The previous Master's thesis studies on translators' visibility (Kokkonen 2012; Granroth 2017) pointed out that translators are often equated with cultural workers. This can be seen throughout the material of the present study, too. Translators are equated with cultural workers – authors, artists, musicians, and so on. Their work is referred to as a "cultural achievement", which can be seen in Example 18.

(18) Suomentajat ovat jo vuosikymmeniä kituuttaneet köyhyysrajalla. Olisiko yksi syy he, että **heidän tärkeä kulttuurityönsä jätetään toistuvasti huomiotta**? (HSE10)

BT: Translators have, for decades, scraped by on the margins of poverty. Could one reason be the fact **that their important cultural achievement is repeatedly ignored**?

Translators are not only equated but also compared to other artists and cultural workers. In Example 19, too, translators are compared to singers and musicians, and the different attitude towards their work is pointed out: a musician, when playing from sheet music composed by somebody else, is still an artist but a translator, translating a book somebody wrote, for some reason, is not.

(19) "On erikoista ajatella, että laulaja ja soittaja saavat kyllä käyttää työssään nuotteja, mutta **kääntäjä muka vain toistaa** [kirjailijaa]." (HSJ43)

BT: It is odd to think that a singer or a musician is allowed to use sheet music in their work, but a **translator merely repeats** [what the author has done]."

In other instances of this theme, journalists and experts, though especially the latter, talk about the significance of translations in terms of Finnish culture. They often link for example the history of Finnish language, literature and arts with translations, thus, in my opinion, reaffirming the image of translating as being significant, culturally important work. This can be seen in Example 20.

(20) **Käännöstekstien merkitys suomalaiselle kulttuurille ja suomen kielen kehitykselle on ollut suuri** Mikael Agricolasta lähtien. Suomen kirjakielen alkutaipaleella **käännösten avulla kehitettiin suomen kieltä ja suomalaista kirjallisuutta**. (HSE1)

BT: **Translated texts have had a great impact on Finnish culture and the development of the Finnish language** ever since Mikael Agricola. During the beginnings of Standard Finnish, **translations helped to develop the Finnish language and literature**.

In Example 20, translated texts are presented as culturally significant. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that translations have been significant in terms of the development of the Finnish language and culture. This can be seen as a way of strengthening translators' visibility, since it does further create an image of translators as people doing significant, important work.

Much like the other themes discussed in section 3.1, *culture* is a positive one in terms of translators' visibility. It, too, calls for more attention to translators and their work, and reminds the readers that translations are vital and important for the development and survival of Finnish language and culture. Since translations can often be taken for granted, again because of the notion of authorship (Venuti 1995), it is important to remind the people reading these texts that translators are, in fact, created by someone: a professional doing significant work.

3.2 Comparing the themes in texts by journalist and texts by experts

The analysis of the material revealed that there were some similarities as well as differences with the themes found in the two sets of material, texts by journalists and texts by experts. Both texts by journalists and texts by experts shared some themes as well as contained themes that only occurred in one set of material. Diagram 2 (p. 50) shows the distribution of themes in the material.

Expertise is the largest thematic category in texts by journalists, whereas *appreciation* is the largest in texts by experts. Both are considerably larger than the rest of the categories in their respective sets of material. Both sets of material have one large thematic category that stands out, whereas the rest of the thematic categories in both sets of material are more even in size, and especially the smaller thematic categories occurring in both sets

of material are equal in size. Then again, both sets of material have themes that only occurred in their respective sets of material. These, as well as other differences and similarities, will be discussed in the subsections below, which will begin with an overlook of both sets of texts.

3.2.1 Themes in texts by journalists

Texts by journalists consist of 46 articles from HS, published between July 2009 and November 2018. They were all written by journalists and deal with translators. A total of 7 thematic categories arose from these texts: *appreciation*, *authors*, *culture*, *expertise*, *income*, *life* and *time*. Diagram 5 demonstrates the themes found in texts by journalists in exact percentages.
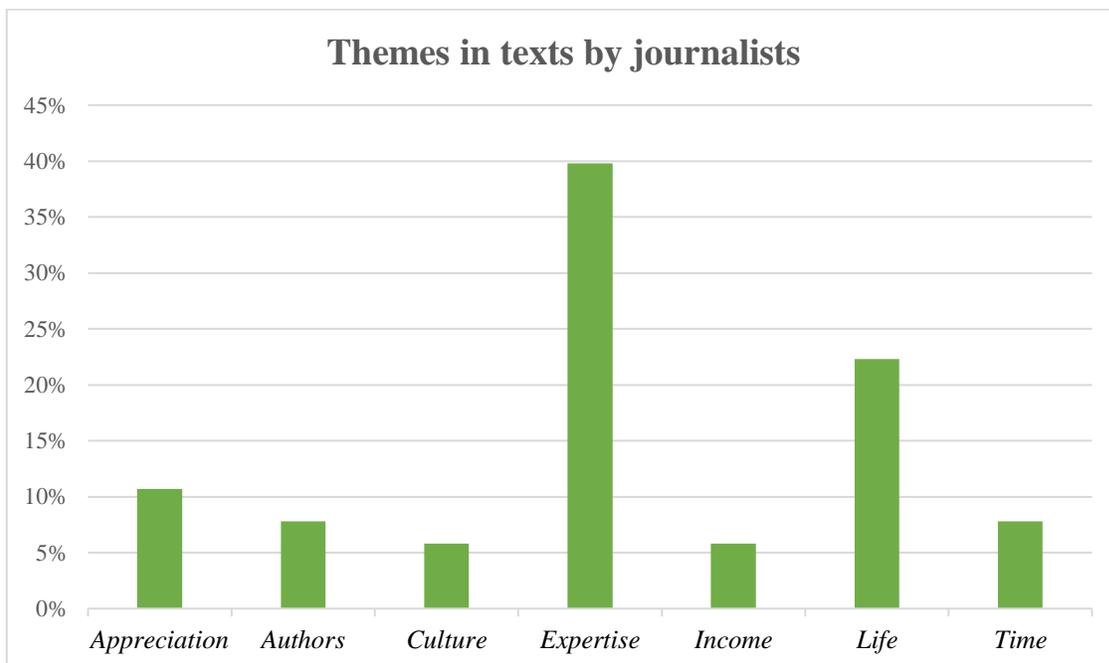

Diagram 4. Themes in texts by journalists

Texts by journalists deal with many topics, although two are clearly dealt with more often than the rest: *expertis*e and *lif*e, although *expertise* is clearly the largest category, being twice the size of *life*. The largest categories make up to roughly 60% of all themes appearing in texts by journalists. They are followed by *appreciation* and *time*, *culture* and *authors*. The smallest categories, *income* and *culture*, make only up to 5.8% of the texts by journalists each.

An analysis of texts by journalists revealed that journalists like to concentrate on translators' expertise and personal life. In the theme of *life*, translators' childhood homes and how they got excited about translation are often described vividly, whereas their professional life is often shortened into a one-paragraph list of merits. Still, texts by journalists were, as a whole, positive in tone and 'on the translators' side' – they emphasised the importance of translators' work and often presented the translators as experts of not only their own field, but also of specific author's work or a specific foreign language, country or culture. However, despite this, only a few texts in this set of material took a serious stand on the issues translators themselves are concerned about (lack of appreciation, low income, constant hurry) – but rather mentioned them in passing.

The two thematic categories specific to texts by journalists are *authors* and *life*. This means that they only appeared in this set of material and were thus not present in texts by experts. During recent years, the media has started to emphasise the personal content in their texts in order to reach the audience (Fairclough 2003: 43). This could explain why journalists like to concentrate on translators' life and profession. Discussing translators' personal life and presenting them as individuals rather than just translators could be seen as more appealing to the public than, for example, just discussing translators' income. The journalists' interest in translators as experts of the authors they

translate, then, is explained by the fact that literary translators tend to get attention because of the books they have translated. If a foreign author wins the Nobel prize, the Finnish translator is the next best person to talk about the novel in question.

Even though most texts by journalists include an interview of a translator, and, therefore, direct quotes from translators, an interesting point to take into consideration with these texts is the effect the journalists might have on translators' quotes. Of course, since all texts are edited by the journalists and the newspaper, one cannot be absolutely sure that a direct quote from a translator is, in fact, a direct one. The Finnish Council for Mass Media, has certain guidelines for journalists, which even the group publishing HS is committed to follow. (JSN 2019a) The guidelines read as follows:

> "17. Interviewees have the right to know in advance the context in which their statements will be used. They must also be told if the interview will be used in multiple mediums. The interviewee must always be told whether the conversation is intended for publication or will be used exclusively as background material." (JNS 2019b)

However, the guidelines do also note that the interviewees should be allowed to read their personal statements prior to publication "if the editorial deadline permits." (JNS 2019b) So, although it might be safe to assume that the translators all stand behind their statements, they have most likely been modified by the journalists.

The texts by journalists consist mostly of articles (44 texts), but there are a few columns (2) included in the material. The two columns are the only texts without an interview of a translator, but because they closely deal with translators, they were included in the material. The motivation behind the articles seemed to be to introduce a translator due to, for example, an important birthday, their work being recognised with a prize or them having translated works that are or have become popular and generally well-known – for example Jaana Kapari-Jatta, having translated the world-famous Harry Potter books into Finnish, is an often interviewed translator: she was mentioned in a total of 5 articles, and interviewed in 4 of those.

3.2.2 Themes in texts by experts

Texts by experts consist of 18 letters to the editor from HS, published between March 2009 and February 2018. They were written by experts, which means that the writers of these texts include translators as well as other language experts working with translation such as researchers, or representatives of SKTL and KAJ[11]. A total of 7 thematic categories occurred in texts by experts: *appreciation*, *culture*, *editors*, *education*, *experts*, *income* and *time*. Diagram 6 demonstrates the themes found in texts by experts.

Themes in texts by experts
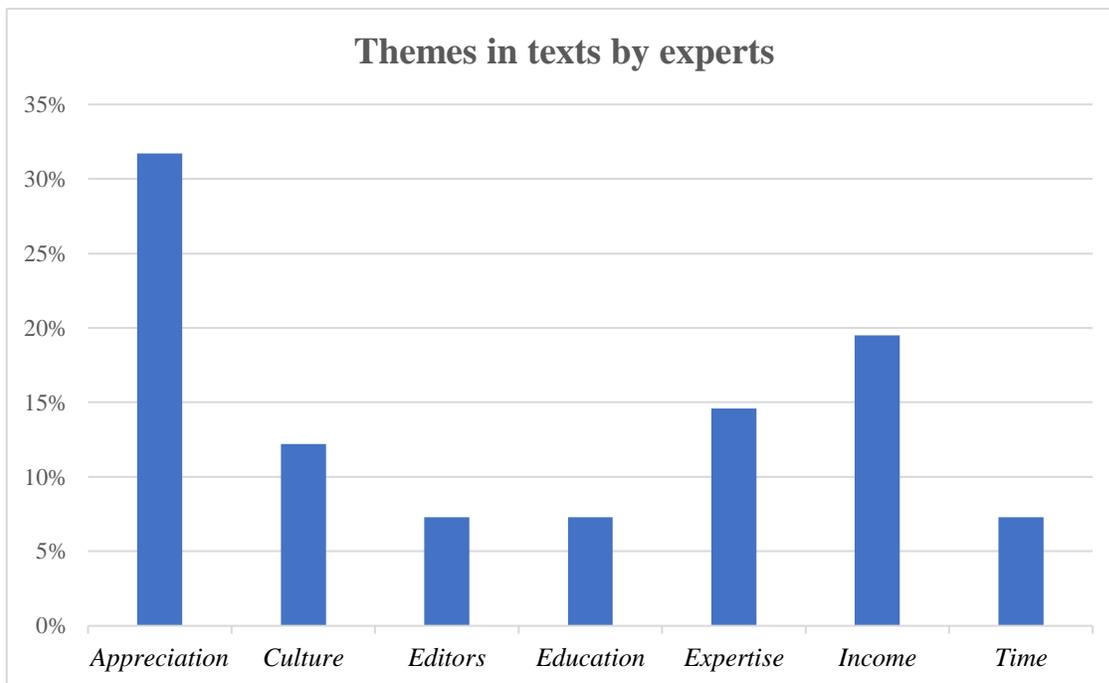
Diagram 5. Themes in texts by experts

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[11] Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters and Translation Industry Professionals (trade organization)

The texts by experts seem to mostly concentrate on translators' appreciation, income and expertise. *Appreciation* is by far the largest theme with a share of 32% of all texts by experts. It is followed by *income* (19.5%) and *expertise* (14.6%). Much like in texts by journalists, the three largest categories make up to over 60% of all texts by experts. *Culture* makes up to 12.2% of all texts by experts, whereas the 3 remaining categories, *editors*, *education* and *time*, all make up to approximately 7.5% of the entire material. Because the texts by experts comprise only 18 texts, the thematic categories in this set of material are quite small. For example, the smaller thematic categories, although constituting over 7% of the material, have their themes occurring only in 3 texts.

The analysis of texts by experts revealed that the experts feel that *appreciation*, *expertise* and *income* are significant themes and topics worth concentrating on. This is not a surprise in the light of the theoretical framework. As for example Dam and Zethsen (2008; 2011) and Ruokonen (2014) point out in their studies, appreciation, expertise and income are among the topics translators feel are important in terms of translators' status and, therefore, visibility. In their texts, experts concentrate closely on these issues.

The two thematic categories occurring only in this set of material are *editors* and *education*. *Editors* concentrates on the important relationship between translators and editors. In texts by experts, translators tend to feel that editors pressure them and do not always remember to work with them. Then again, translators who also work as editors, criticise the "demonization" of editors (HSE3; HSE14). *Education*, then, includes instances were translators' education is examined. The theme points out that translators have different backgrounds in terms of education: some have a university level education, whereas others have learned their trade through experience.

Since all texts by experts are letters to the editor, they are, naturally, demanding and commentary in nature. It is typical for letters to the editor to communicate with a previously published text; this is not required, but in the present study, all texts by experts

refer to a book review, article, column or another letter to the editor published in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Letters to the editor in present study's material are short and compact, they go straight to the point and are argumentative, which, too, is typical for the text type. (Kielikompassi 2019a; Kielikompassi 2019b)

3.2.3 Similarities and differences between the two sets of material

Although the two sets of material, texts by journalists and texts by experts, have a number of differences, the two sets of material do share some similarities. As discussed above, half of all themes discovered from the entire material were common to both sets of material. These themes were *appreciation*, *expertise*, *income*, *time* and *culture*. Despite the slight differences within the themes in the two sets of material, the examples discussed in subsections 3.1.1–3.1.5 show that the themes found texts by journalists and texts by experts work in similar ways in terms of translators' visibility.

Also, the writers of all texts in the material seem to be on the translators' side. Translators are not criticised and they are always presented in a positive light throughout the material. Even though experts tackle the possible problems and issues more effectively, even journalists mention the challenges of the profession, especially the difficulty of translating as well as other important issues such as low pay or time-related pressure.

There are, however, a number of differences between the two sets of material of the present study. Not only do they consist of different text types (articles versus letters to the editor) and are of very different sizes, both texts by journalists and texts by experts had themes that only occurred in one set of material. Also, in terms of the tone of the texts, the texts by journalists and texts by experts were different – journalists write in a descriptive but neutral style, whereas experts tend to sometimes even exaggerate to make their point.

Let us first discuss the themes that occurred in only one set of material: *authors*, *editors*, *education* and *life*. *Authors* and *life* were specific to texts by journalists, whereas *editors* and *education* where specific to texts by experts. As the construction of themes discussed in section 1.2 showed, a theme was defined as a theme in its respective set of material based on its size, how often the theme occurred in the material, that is. The line was drawn at 5%, which means that themes occurring in less than 5% out of a set of material were excluded. The candidate themes presented in section 1.2 (see Table 1, p. 19) show that even *editors* and *education* were present in texts by journalists, but because they did not occur often enough to make the 5% mark and, therefore, to be called themes, they ended up constituting as themes only in the texts by experts.

Interestingly enough, these themes had different effects on translators' visibility. *Education* (in texts by experts) was clearly a positive theme, highlighting translators' education as being both high-level and important, even though the theme stated that translators have different educational backgrounds, and that it is possible to even learn within the trade. *Editors*, likewise, was a positive theme, even though it was more negative in tone. This theme emphasised the negative effect editors can have on translators' work with their tight deadlines, but also concentrated on the importance of a good relationship between editors and translators. *Life*, too, can be seen as having a positive effect on translators' visibility since, even though the theme is very descriptive in nature and concentrates merely on the personal lives of translators, it does put translators on display and shape the image people have of translators.

Authors, however, is a complex theme in terms of visibility. Although it does add to translators' visibility, it can be seen as having a somewhat negative effect. The theme consists of instances where the translators discuss the authors they work with. When a foreign author has accomplished something, the translator if often interviewed, but mostly asked about the author and their personality and style, probably because a Finnish

translator is far easier to reach than a foreign author. But why not discuss the translation, rather than the original work, with the translator? Then again, since literary translators' work is based on literature, it seems legitimate to ask translators about the literary works they translate. In Example 21, translator Kristiina Rikman is congratulated after the author whose work she translated won the Nobel prize.

> (21) Onneksi olkoon, Kristiina Rikman, olet suomentanut kaikki kahdeksan Alice Munron novellikokoelmaa. "Kiitos. **Tämä onkin vasta ensimmäinen Nobel-palkintoni**", Rikman riemuitsee.
>
> BT: Congratulations, Kristiina Rikman, you have translated all eight short story collections by Alice Munro. "Thank you**. This is only my first Nobel prize, too**", Rikman rejoices.

In the case of Example 21, the Nobel prize is considered to have been awarded to both the author and the translator, Rikman, that is. Congratulating translators on a Nobel prize they have, on their part, advanced, seems fair and can be seen as positive visibility, since the translators' work is clearly appreciated. However, equating translators with authors can, in my opinion, also have a negative effect on translators' visibility, since concentrating on authors instead of translators, the original instead of the translation, takes attention away from the translation profession and strengthens the problems related to authorship (Venuti 1995) and invisibility of the translator.

Compared to journalists, experts seem to present the translation profession in a slightly more negative light. Although journalists, too, covered the problems of the profession, such as those related to appreciation, income and time, they did not concentrate too much on the issues. Where journalists might neutrally point out the difficulties of the profession, experts take stand. In Examples 22 and 23, translators' profession is described by both a journalist (22) and an expert (23).

(22) ”Ihan **mahdotonta hommaahan** tämä on, tavallaan”, Drews analysoi. ”Joku kirjoittaa jotain, toinen kirjoittaa sen uudelleen. **Ja silti lukijat eri maissa puhuvat näistä teoksista kuin kyseessä olisi yksi ja sama kirja**.” (HSJ26)

BT: ”In a away, this is **an impossible job**”, analyses Drews. ”Somebody writes something, somebody else writes it again. **And still readers in different countries talk about these works as if they were one and the same**.”

Although translating is described as an ”impossible job”, the tone of the example is still quite neutral, almost reflective. Even though this example refers to the notion of authorship that does not have a positive effect on translators' visibility, it is not discussed further as a problem, but rather as a part of the profession. Example 23, below, is completely different in tone.

(23) Kouluttauduin kääntäjäksi […] ja […] jouduin luonnollisesti toimimaan freelancerina, suomeksi **pakkoyrittäjänä**. Toimeksiantajani, minua suuremmat yritykset, **sanelivat palkkiot**. Pelin henki on se, että **kunnon suomentaja hyväksyy köyhyyden rakkaustesta kirjallisuuteen – ja jos ei hyväksy, seuraava jonossa hyväksyy**. (HSE12)

BT: I am an educated translator […] and […] I had to, naturally, work as a freelancer, **forced to go into business for myself**. My clients, companies bigger than mine, **dictated my salary**. The name of the game is that **a proper translator accepts poverty for her love of literature – and if she doesn't, the next one in line does**.

In this example, a translator describes how she is ”forced” to work as a freelancer with the salaries ”dictated” by others. And if she does not work for low pay, somebody else

will. These two examples demonstrate the different tones of texts by journalists and texts by experts quite well.

Another significant difference between the two sets of texts is the overall tone of the texts. Texts by journalists are descriptive in style. They paint pictures of not only translators' work but also the surroundings translators work in. Journalists like to describe the translators' offices and working spaces, as well as their working habits. When the challenges of the profession are discussed, journalists concentrate on facts and present them clearly. Texts by journalists are positive and chatty in tone, and they do not often use exaggerating words, unlike texts by experts, which tend to be more demanding and argumentative in tone. Experts tend to use words and terms like "unreasonable" and "ignored." Examples 24 and 25 demonstrate the differences in tone between texts by journalists and texts by experts.

(24) **Kapeat kiviaskelmat kohoavat** Jaakko Hämeen-Anttilan huoneeseen yliopistolla Unioninkadulla. **Kirjahyllyjen väliin likistyy pöytä, joka kantaa kirjoja kuin kameli**. (HSJ11)

BT: **Narrow stone steps ascend** to Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's office at the university on Unioninkatu. **A table, carrying books like a camel, is squeezed between the book shelves**.

Example 24 is an example of the descriptive language texts by journalists often use. Journalists often describe translators' offices and working spaces through metaphors, much like in the example above. Example 25, then, is an example of the language and words choices used by experts.

> (25) **Suomentamisen kurjuus** ei vähene, mutta **suomentaja voi nousta kurjuuden yläpuolelle**. (HSE14)
>
> BT: The **misery of translation** is not going to be reduced, but **the translator can rise above it**.

In Example 25, the expert refers to translation as being a miserable work, with challenges of low pay and appreciation. The word "misery" is used in an exaggerating way – it is a relatively charged word and it is effectively used to get the reader's sympathy as well as to argue for translators' status.

In conclusion, one can state that even though there are a number of differences between texts by journalists and texts by experts, the writers of both sets of texts seem loyal to translators and present them in mostly positive light – even experts, who sometimes present translation profession as being full of problems and in a negative light, do, in the end, emphasise the importance of the translation profession and translators.

3.3 Changes in translators' visibility in HS between 2009 and 2018

Since all the texts analysed for this study are about translators, they can all be seen as supporting translators' visibility. Translators being visible through texts published in *Helsingin Sanomat*, a large daily newspaper, has a positive effect on translators' visibility in the Finnish society. However, the number of texts vary when the material is examined year by year. This can be seen in Diagram 1 (p. 14). HS published more texts on translators in some years and less in others, as can be seen in Diagram 1. Texts by journalists were published on each year between 2009 and 2018, whereas texts by experts were published only in 2009, 2010, 2013–2016 and 2018. The clear high points in the material were 2015 and 2009, with a total of 11 texts published in both years. 2011 and 2012, in comparison, had only 3 and 2 published texts.

The relationship between texts by journalists and texts by experts seems to change interestingly throughout the years examined. In the beginning of the ten years under examination, 2009–2012, the relationship between the two sets of material seems to be somewhat unchanged; 2009 was a high point for both sets of material, and when journalists started to write less about translators towards 2012, the number of texts by experts decreased as well. It could be that experts did not write letters to the editor because there was not anything published in the paper that year to irritate them or make them want to "set things straight".

Then, interestingly, the relationship between texts by journalists and texts by experts changed in 2013. Even though the number of texts by journalists increased and stayed at the same level through the next three years, the number of texts by experts varies severely: 2 texts in 2013, only one text in 2014 and, quite suddenly, 5 texts in 2015. This activity by experts, the "translation discussion of 2015", was discussed in chapter 1.3. As discussed earlier, one text by Ville Eloranta, published in 2015, produced a chain of texts by experts. This is exceptional in the material, since all the texts by experts in 2015 were written within a few weeks, very close to each time-wise, that is.

Another reason behind the significance of year 2015 could be that texts by journalists published that year were quite different in tone compared to previous year. Texts by journalists published in 2014 (HSJ23–28), for example, were quite neutral in their tone: 5 of the 6 texts published were articles about translators and their profiles. They were chatty, descriptive and light – they introduced translators and their work without taking any real stand to the problems translators face. Texts by journalists published in 2015, however, were slightly different. These texts (HSJ29–34) include three articles similar to the ones in 2014, but also three larger pieces that present the challenges translators face: HSJ30 deals with the copyright issues translators face when their translations are used without their permission, HSJ32, Eloranta's text, deals with translators' education

and expertise, and HSJ34 deals with audio-visual translators not seeing the film they translated, which made their job very difficult. Perhaps 2015 just happened to be a year when translation profession's issues and challenges were noted when writing articles about translators, instead of just introducing the artistic, author-like translators on a general level. Thus, 2015 can be considered as the most visible year for translators during the 10 years examined.

In 2016–2018, it seems, experts did not have much to say. 2016 was a quiet year for translators, and only 4 texts in total were published. 2017 demonstrates a sudden improvement, with journalists again writing 6 texts about translators. However, experts did not write anything during 2017. The texts in 2017 were positive and light, mainly introductory. (HSJ37–42) Finally, in 2018, the number of texts stayed at the same level in terms of texts by journalists and even experts did get one text published.

It seems that journalists did write about translators every year. Since the material of this study does not include all texts published between 2009 and 2018 that deal with translators, but only those where translators were interviewed and in a key role, there could easily be dozens of texts in HS about translators in addition to the ones looked into at the present study. Therefore, this study cannot draw any definite conclusions on the number of texts journalists wrote during the ten years. However, even though the present study deals with a mere part of texts journalists wrote to HS about translators, it seems that translators are not the most interesting topic to write about. *Helsingin Sanomat* is published practically every day. This means that over 360 newspapers are published yearly. Given that in all years considered for this study, translators were the main topic in less than 15 texts, one cannot exactly say that translators are overly visible in HS.

Translators' visibility in HS seems to be connected with the activity of experts. Texts by journalists, although adding to translators' visibility in terms of quantity of texts, were, as mentioned before, stylistically more descriptive. They concentrated on translators'

expertise and personal life instead of the problems that could help to strengthen translators' status and visibility in the society. On the contrary, texts by experts took on the issues and discussed translators' lack of appreciation and low income in addition to their expertise. Once again, this could be explained by the different text types as well as styles of writing. Whatever the reason, the texts by experts had more to add in terms of positive visibility than texts by journalists did, since they were more critical and pointed out the issues that need to be changed. Since many of these issues, like lack of appreciation or low income, have a negative effect on translators' visibility, trying to change and remove these disadvantages can be, in my opinion, seen as very positive visibility.

Should translators and other languages experts, then, be more active in daily newspapers? The material of this study included all letters to the editor written by experts published in HS between 2009 and 2018. This means that experts did not actively discuss translator-related issues in HS in 2011, 2012 or 2017. However, is this because no texts were submitted to the paper, or because they were not published? As mentioned before, *Helsingin Sanomat*, as well as all newspapers, has the right to choose the letters to the editor they publish. Perhaps more texts were, in fact, written, but deemed insignificant and not worth publishing at the time. This is, of course, only speculation, but one could state that translators should be more active in promoting themselves and their profession in order to better their visibility in the Finnish society. As Dam & Zethsen (2008) and Abdallah (2012) point out, translators are in need of empowerment if they are to raise awareness of their profession and defend it.

In conclusion, translators' visibility during the 10 years examined has experienced some changes from year to year. All in all, translators are somewhat visible in HS since something was written about them each year. However, even the most visible years had only 11 texts, which means translators were talked about on merely 11 days of the year, which is not often at all. Although it is impossible to say how often translators should be

covered in order to regard them as very visible in the paper, I think it is safe to say that, again, there is room for improvement and translators could be more visible in HS.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this Master's thesis was to find out, what kind of themes occur when translators are discussed in the prominent Finnish daily newspaper Helsingin Sanomat. The material was collected from the online archives of Helsingin Sanomat, and it consisted of 64 texts published between 2009 and 2018. 46 of these texts were written by journalists and the remaining 18 by language experts such as translators, researchers and representatives of translators' trade unions and associations. The research questions this study set to answer were the following:

1) What kind of themes can be discovered in the texts about translators published in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 2009 and 2018?

2) How, if at all, do the themes contribute to translators' visibility?

3) Comparing the themes found in texts by journalists and texts by experts, what kind of similarities or differences can be found?

4) Has there been changes in translators' visibility in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 2009 and 2018?

The material was analysed with the help of thematic analysis. The analysis was conducted in six parts, based on the model by Braun and Clarke (2006). The material was first read through in order to identify reoccurring topics, after which candidate themes were constructed. These candidate themes were evaluated and constructed further into 9 final themes that were defined in more detail. The themes found from the material were *appreciation*, *expertise*, *culture*, *income*, *time*, *authors*, *life*, *editors* and *education*. 5 of these themes, *appreciation*, *expertise*, *culture*, *income* and *time* occurred throughout the material, that is, in both texts by journalists and texts by experts. *Authors* and *life* occurred only in texts by journalists, and *editors* and *education* occurred only in texts by experts.

The five themes common to both sets of material were further analysed in the light of translators' visibility, how the themes affect translators' visibility, that is. The analysis revealed that all themes have positive effects on translators' visibility, since they concentrate and shed light on the challenges translators face in their profession. Even though there were a few instances were a specific theme worked against translators' visibility, the overall effects were positive. The analysis of the five themes occurring in both sets of material further revealed that the texts found in the material concentrated on translators' expertise and presented translators as doing culturally significant work.

In order to answer the third research question, a comparison was conducted between texts by journalists and texts by experts. The comparison revealed that there were both similarities and differences between the two sets of material. The analysis disclosed that texts by journalists are descriptive in style and positive in tone, whereas the texts by experts are more argumentative and straightforward in style and negative in their tone. However, all texts in the material were "on the translators' side", so to speak, and contributed positively to their visibility by writing about translators in the first place.

Furthermore, a look at the changes of translators' visibility during the 10 years examined further revealed that there have been changes in translators' visibility throughout the years, and that, at least in *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2015 was a significant year. Also, it seems that translators' visibility is discussed in a more diverse manner when experts are active and have their texts published in HS.

My assumption was that texts by experts would be more negative in tone. Although the texts by experts cannot be called entirely negative, they did appear to be more negatively charged than texts by journalists, proving my assumption correct. Experts did at times present the translation profession in a negative light, whereas journalists seemed to present the profession in a more positive or neutral light.

In terms of limitations, I feel this study, unfortunately, has more than one. The biggest limitation is the modest size and unevenness of the material. As discussed in chapter 1.1, this could not be avoided since the number of texts by experts published between 2009 and 2018 was very limited. The unevenness between the two sets of material and the fact that texts by journalists and texts by experts do show some differences, probably did affect the present study. However, I have tried to take this fact into consideration whenever possible.

Since the material consisted of only 64 texts, one can hardly draw any definite conclusions on translators' visibility based on this material. The present study could have been made more extensive by including all texts published in HS between 2009–2018 that even named, or, in terms of book reviews, should have named a translator. This, unfortunately, would have been too demanding and time-consuming for this Master's thesis, and would have required much more time and resources. However, a more extensive material could have shed light on the negative effects that especially the texts by journalists could have had on translators' visibility.

Although translators' visibility and status have been researched in recent years, most lately by Svahn et al. (2018) as well as Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018), most studies are of descriptive nature. The present study is no exception to this. This means that although status and visibility have been subjected to research, the reasons behind translators' low social status remain unrevealed: why are translators so poorly paid, for example, when they are, at the same time, recognised as experts as for example Dam and Zethsen's (2008; 2016) and Koskinen's (2009) studies show. Why do translators still feel invisible and unappreciated in the daily newspapers, even though the present study as well as those of Penttilä (2013) and Koskinen (2007) suggest otherwise? Further research into these questions and translators' visibility and status together would, in my opinion, be appreciated in the field of Translation Studies.

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Appendix 1: Texts by journalists in HS

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HSJ2: Manninen, Antti (2009). Suomentaja myy sivutöinään hyviä kirjoja. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000004671082.html

HSJ3: Leppänen, Marko (2009). Missio: pitää suomi kulttuurikielenä. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/ihmiset/art-2000004630365.html

HSJ4: Grönholm, Pauliina (2009). Aku Ankka kääntyy suomeksi yhteistyöllä. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004630795.html

HSJ5: Laitinen, Jaana (2009). Runoilija ei halua puhua enää Kiinasta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/ihmiset/art-2000004662452.html

HSJ6: Pääkkönen, Sirpa (2009). Työpari pistää vahtia kääntämiseen. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004685209.html

HSJ7: Pohjanpalo, Olli (2009). "Aina on töitä jonossa" Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000004687473.html

HSJ8: Aho, Arhja (2010). "Kääntäjänä menen todella sisälle tarinaan" Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/radiotelevisio/art-2000004715924.html

HSJ9: Mattila, Noora (2010). Kahdenkymmenen kulttuuriteon mies. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004742743.html

HSJ10: Orjala, Anne (2010). Suomentaja opettelee uusia kieliä. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/ihmiset/art-2000004751952.html

HSJ11: Autio, Milla. (2010). Supersatua on kerrottu yli tuhat vuotta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004762183.html

HSJ12: Becker, Leena (2011). Grassin kirjaa ei voi kääntäjä. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004795446.html

HSJ13a: Karila, Juhani (2011). 4 kääntäjää kertoo työstään: Kimmo Paukku, 34. kääntänyt 6 vuotta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004817110.html

HSJ13b: Karila, Juhani (2011). 4 kääntäjää kertoo työstään: Tuula Kojo, 49, kääntänyt 16 vuotta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004817111.html

HSJ13c: Karila, Juhani (2011). 4 kääntäjää kertoo työstään: Ville Keynäs, 51, kääntänyt 19 vuotta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004817112.html

HSJ13d: Karila, Juhani (2011). 4 kääntäjää kertoo työstään: Jaana Kapari-Jatta, 56, kääntänyt 23 vuotta. Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000004817113.html

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