NARRATING MOTIVATION: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON ARABIC VOLUNTEER TRANSLATORS' MOTIVATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION PROJECTS

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DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of collaborations or the work of others except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in whole or in part, to any university or institution for a degree, diploma, or other qualification.

In accordance with the Department of Languages and Cultures guidelines, this thesis does not exceed 80,000 words.

Date: 21-08-2021

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Abstract

Due to advancing technologies and Internet access, the use of crowdsourcing models and collaborative platforms has become popular in translation projects. This has led to an increase in participation by volunteer translators, and, in turn, to attention being drawn to these volunteers' motivations (which drive them to expend effort without any expectation of monetary reward).

Most studies of such motivations have used surveys and/or interviews. However, an exclusive reliance on surveys and/or interviews could lead to a failure to consider some underlying factors motivating volunteers' decisions to perform unremunerated translation work. Therefore, this study has used, instead, a socio-narrative approach; exploring the common discursive narratives regarding translation in the Arabic linguistic context — to understand the influence of the presentation, in the public discourse, of Arabic translation on volunteering for this activity.

Undergirded by Baker's (2006) socio-narrative theory, a mixed-methods approach was implemented to answer the research questions raised in this study. The data examined included interviews, surveys, and case studies comprising textual materials published by four leading Arabic translation initiatives: Kalima, the Arab Organization for Translation, Taghreedat, and the Translation Challenge. Other smaller translation initiatives were the source of survey and interviews participants. These initiatives are Ollemna, Edrak, Autrjim and the Wikipedia Club at Princess Nourah University. In summary, the present study found that the Arabic discourse on translation relies on three motivating narratives: (1) the Golden Era of translation, (2) the bridge to knowledge, and (3) the dearth of Arabic online content.

These findings highlight the differences between the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteers and those of their European and North American counterparts. For example, religion, gender, and diglossia proved to be key motivating factors for the (Arabic) study participants. This study has demonstrated the need to go beyond the usually discussed intrinsic and extrinsic motives to include the influential narratives that affect volunteers and inform their actions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many thanks to my supervisors, Erika Fülöp and Shuruq Naguib, for their support and guidance, especially their much-needed kind compliments throughout the years of research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

TS—Translation Studies

AOT—Arab Organization for Translation

MSA—Modern Standard Arabic

AHDR—Arab Human Development Report

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1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a remarkable number of volunteers have entered the translation industry, which has been conventionally perceived as the province of professionals. The involvement of volunteers raises several issues, including agency, quality, motivation, and ethics, for translation studies (TS). The noticeably high participation of volunteers means that professional, rather than nonprofessional, translation is now considered the exception (Perez-Gonzalez & Susam-Sarajeva, 2012). A significant amount of translation work has been produced by volunteers through crowdsourcing. This approach allows a group of volunteers to work collaboratively on translation tasks via platforms designed by or for large organisations, such as Facebook and Wikipedia.

A wide range of institutions and initiatives have opted for crowdsourced translation to produce content in two or more languages. This includes charities (e.g., Kiva), activist initiatives (e.g., Yeeyan), non-profit organisations (e.g., TED), for-profit enterprises (e.g., Facebook), and self-organised translation initiatives. Thousands of volunteers have joined these projects and translated an incalculable number of words into many languages. The potential for engaging millions of volunteer translators is astonishing, especially because Google Translate, which allows for post-editing collaborations among end users, can produce 10 times more content than all the professional translators worldwide in one day (Van de Meer, 2010). Because of such contributions by volunteers, the industry has witnessed the entry of new players with new practices.

The mobilisation of crowds of volunteer translators has drawn translation scholars' attention to the motivations for performing translation without expectation of

remuneration (see Dolmaya, 2012; Dombek, 2014; Fuente, 2014; Jimenéz-Crespo, 2017; O'Brien & Schaler, 2010; Olohan, 2012, 2014). However, because of the culture-specific circumstances, evolving practices of volunteer translators, and need for interdisciplinary approaches, the subject has been relatively under-researched. For example, most studies on volunteer and/or collaborative translation have tended to focus on modern technology-based translation projects. However, O'Brien (2011) noted that collaborative translation is a historical practice and cited the collaboration of 72 translators on the Septuagint Old Testament.

Modern volunteer translators' motivations, especially from a Western perspective, are a research area that has begun to receive attention. Further exploration through different lenses would broaden the view and generate new questions and issues to be addressed by individuals who are directly or indirectly involved in the translation industry and this research area.

1.1 Background to the research area

A definition of volunteer translation as translation produced without remuneration would include the incalculable work and efforts of Arabic volunteer translators. Narrowing the scope to organised projects could make it possible to trace the work produced by volunteer translators in the Arab world. Large volunteer translation projects predate the internet and popular online collaborative tools. The story of the translation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* into Arabic is a clear example of volunteers' remarkable contributions.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has been considered a well-known reference in Islamic studies since being published by Brill in 1913. The entries were written by Western specialists and Orientalists over 40 years. The first edition was published in English, French, and German. Many years passed before the Arabic version was produced through a lengthy volunteer translation project initiated in the early 1930s by four new graduates: Ibrahim Kurshid, Ahmad Ashintinawi, Abdelhamid Yunus, and Mohammad Alfindi (Hassan & Omran, 2018). Initially, they were criticised and advised to leave the project to seasoned translators because of the monumental effort and institutional support required. Despite the discouraging comments, the volunteers believed that their

dedication would lead to success. They began to translate and, over 15 years, periodically released interim publications. The volunteer translators did not receive adequate support to complete the project, so the work was suspended for approximately 20 years. It was not until they received a small financial contribution from a publisher that they resumed their great work. The second postponement was late in the 1970s when they faced similar circumstances. This proved to be the end of the ambitious attempt, as the lives of the volunteer translators ended in the 1980s (Shukri, 2010). However, they had translated a significant portion of the encyclopaedia over the years and left a great legacy that informed the completion of the project.

The story of the volunteer translation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is not unique in Arabic history. There are many other self-initiated translation projects. However, the more interesting current trend is governmental and private-sector reliance on volunteers for translation projects. The appeal of these projects to large numbers of volunteer translators is an interesting topic.

A successful volunteer-based translation project is the Translation Challenge, which attracted more than 36,000 volunteers to translate more than 11 million words in one year. The goal has been the subtitling of 5,000 math and science educational videos. An Al-Maktoum Global Initiatives project, it was initiated in October 2017 by the ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum. Instead of recruiting professional translators, the Translation Challenge used crowdsourcing. It released an open call for volunteer translators to work collaboratively. The project was nominated for the 2019 World Summit on the Information Society prize.

Taghreedat, a non-profit initiative, has recruited more than 14,000 volunteers to translate various types of content ranging from education to entertainment. A more specialised translation project is the King Abdullah Initiative for Arabic Content, which was launched in 2007 to create a community of volunteers to translate 2,000 Wikipedia biotechnology, nanotechnology, medicine, and general health entries (Alkhalid, 2011). Indeed, the number of crowdsourced Arabic translation projects has been growing in various areas of interest and specialisation.

This interesting trend of joining projects to produce different types and amounts of translation for various purposes influenced this exploration of the motivations of the

volunteers, who have made a remarkable contribution to the field of translation. In addition, these volunteers are changing industry norms.

The current exploratory study aimed to fill some gaps in the knowledge of the motivations of volunteer translators in the Arab world. As is the case in other cultures, Arabs have used translation for multiple purposes. Translation is highly respected in Arabic discourse. It is perceived as a core element in the distinguished history of Arabic civilisation, the panacea for the current decline in education and scientific achievement, and the path to a bright future. Translation is seen as a medium through which the iconic knowledge construction and transmission periods in Arab-Islamic history can be revived (Salama-Carr, 2019). Such culturally driven perceptions could have a significant influence on volunteer translators' motivations.

1.2 Research justification

This area of study is important because of the marked increase in the involvement of Arabic-speaking volunteers in translation projects initiated locally and even internationally by organisations such as TED and Wikipedia. Engagement in free collaborative translation online is a relatively new phenomenon in the Arab world. It can be attributed to several factors, such as advanced technologies and internet access. Thus, the exploration of the role of public narratives in the motivations of volunteers on Arabic translation projects proved interesting.

Most studies on volunteer translators' motivations are volunteer-oriented and survey- and/or interview-based. However, this study approached the topic from a different perspective that not only elicited answers from volunteers but also explored the translation discourses to which they were exposed. This new dimension in the study of volunteer translators' motivations could contribute to TS through the integration of methods that are usually used singly. The outcomes of this research should highlight the construction of the translation narratives in the discourse of translation initiatives and reveal the potential of public narratives to influence mass action for a cause, e.g., volunteer translation.

It can be argued that volunteer motivations can be influenced by cultural backgrounds. Previous studies on volunteer translation were conducted in Europe and North America.

It is possible that volunteer motivations could be influenced by location. Thus, this research focused on the Arab world. The participants in this study were Arabic-speaking volunteer translators and administrators on Arabic translation initiatives. The existence of volunteer translation projects in several cultures emphasises the need for culture-specific perspectives on volunteer translators' motivations. The exploration of the subject with participants from a different background was expected to produce interesting results that would allow translation scholars to make generalisations about volunteer translation.

Not only the research population but also the theoretical framework in this study were expected to yield noteworthy results. Unlike previous studies, the current study explored volunteer translators' motivations from a narrative perspective. As will be explained later, the main advantage of the narrative approach is its interpretive aspect that considers dimensions beyond the rigid dichotomy of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. This project assumed that, in addition to the possible motives presented in previous studies, specific narratives might be motivations for Arab volunteer translators' participation in crowdsourcing projects that employ and/or construct those narratives.

1.3 Research objectives

Given the research gap and context explained above, the purpose of this research was to explore volunteer translation in the Arab world. The study aimed to identify the factors that motivate Arabic-speaking volunteers to do translation without expectation of remuneration. Therefore, the following objectives were established:

- To identify the most popular narratives of Arabic translation.
- To understand the narration of the role of translation in the Arab world.
- To understand Arabic-speaking volunteer translators' perceptions of volunteer translation.
- To explore the possible correlations between volunteer motivations and common Arabic translation narratives.
- To understand Arabic-speaking volunteer translators' motivations to contribute their translations free of charge.

1.4 Research questions

The thesis set out to answer two main questions, followed by sub-questions. The results provided insights into the motivations of volunteer translators and the role of recurrent public narratives in mobilising crowds of volunteers to do free translation work.

> Q1: What are the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation in the discourse on translation initiatives?
> - Why are these narratives common in the Arabic translation discourse?
> - How do these narratives represent Arabic translation?
> - To what extent do the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation motivate Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourced translation projects?
>
> Q2: What are the motivations for Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourcing translation projects?
> To what extent are the volunteers' motivations affected by gender, age, translation profession, and employment status?
> - What is the role of cultural backgrounds in volunteer translators' motivations?

1.5 Researcher's positionality

The establishment of positionality clarifies the researcher's beliefs and assumptions regarding a research topic. It also enables the choice of the methods that are most congruent with the study goals and are capable of providing well-informed results. Researcher positionality is important to understanding the relationship between the researcher and the topic under study (Bourke, 2014). Moreover, the elucidation of the researcher's stance at the outset provides a clear justification for the study, the chosen approaches, and the implied procedures.

The focus of the current study was translation, a field in which the research has grown rapidly and become more diverse in scope, interests, and approaches. Much of the existing research, however, has focused on *what* people translate (e.g., type, quality, tendency, and quantity). This is evident in literary translation research. *How* translation is produced (e.g., tools, professionality, and procedures) is another focus. These issues have also been

addressed in interpreting studies and translation technologies research, which includes audio-visual translation. The prevalence of research addressing "what" and "how" questions means that "why" questions have not received much attention. This is the first stance taken in this project. The goal was to understand why volunteer translation is performed.

Volunteer and social work activities have always been of interest. I have had opportunities to join volunteering projects, and I have also done some translation for friends and non-profit organisations free of charge. I had my own reasons and motivations. However, in recent years, the number of translation initiatives that capitalise on volunteer contributions has greatly increased. This phenomenon, combined with my interest in volunteer work, triggered the idea for this research.

In the current research, the narratives of Arabic translation and volunteers' motivations to offer translations free of charge were studied through (1) a review of the literature and (2) the collection of data from existing translation initiatives and a sample of volunteer translators and translation experts. Being a translator in the Arabic translation community and being very close to the volunteer-driven initiatives facilitated contact with the active participants and provided opportunities to conduct in-depth examinations in areas that might be overlooked by an outsider.

The adoption of a socio-narrative approach declares the absence of neutrality because a narrative is a product of a narrator who, in this case, is the researcher. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that the process of inclusion or exclusion of a text or translation project for analysis is itself part of the researcher's inescapable narrative construction. The material included in a narrative construction is certainly influenced by the researcher's position regarding the subject under consideration. However, the collection criteria in this study were designed to minimise this influence (see Chapter 3).

Bourke (2014) stated that positionality creates a space for the intersection of objectivism and subjectivism. Thus, pure objectivity is not possible because researchers are individuals and also members of social groups. In the current study, researcher positionality simultaneously embraced objectivity and subjectivity, and the relationship between the researcher and the participants was as important as subjectivity and objectivity. According to Rowe (2014), positionality refers to the researcher's insider or outsider relationship with the community engaged in the study. In the current study, the

researcher was positioned as a very close outsider because, despite being a translator who understood the context, the researcher had never been an organiser and/or member of any of the included initiatives. Anonymous surveys were used to avoid the social desirability effect, i.e., participants providing answers that they think the researcher is seeking.

The core focus of this research is the influence of Arabic translation narratives. Conducting this project allowed for the examination of the assumption that narratives would serve as motivators for volunteer translators. The hope is that this work will make a valuable contribution to Arabic translation initiatives through the critical exploration of the recurrent narratives and identification of volunteers' tendencies and preferences. It is also the hope that it might prompt significant improvements in the practices surrounding Arabic volunteer translation practices. Most important, the aim is to increase volunteers' awareness of, and thus their ability to make well-informed responses to, the translation narratives employed by crowdsourcing projects.

In relation to TS, the aim of this project was twofold: (1) to reveal the differences in the cultural perceptions of translation by providing an example of translation narratives in the Arabic context; and (2) to demonstrate a new application of the socio-narrative approach, i.e., its integration with other methods and types of data. Most of the previous studies that adopted the socio-narrative approach have used qualitative methods and textual materials. The current study incorporated surveys and interviews to blend qualitative and quantitative methods in a single research design. This could encourage researchers to maximise the existing approaches to study the continually evolving and expanding discipline and practice of translation.

1.6 Theoretical framework[1]

As was previously mentioned, this study adopted a socio-narrative approach to the exploration of volunteer translation. Chapter 2, the literature review, provides an in-depth discussion. This section functions as a prelude by explaining *narratives*, the theoretical underpinnings of the study, and the reason for choosing the socio-narrative approach.

Narratives as a concept exist in many fields, and this influences the definitions. For example, from a literary perspective, a narrative is merely an optional type of discourse that constitutes a genre (Baker, 2006). Baker described the narrative as an "inescapable mode by which we experience the world" (p. 9). Boeri (2009) stated that narratives are the prisms through which individuals comprehend and construct a vision of themselves and the world around them (p. 34). This conceptualisation of narrative theory assumes that "people are inescapably embedded in a variety of narratives, and hence that there is

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[1] Part of this section was included in the following publication: Alonayq, A. (2021). Narrating Arabic translation online: Another perspective on the motivations behind volunteerism in the translation sector. In R. Desjardins, L. Claire, & L. Philippe (Eds.), *When translation goes digital* (pp. 91–119). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

no possibility of assuming a totally objective stance" (Boeri, 2009, p. 30). To perceive and to respond to information, individuals tend to embed information in their own versions of the narrative on the basis of their narrative locations, e.g., cultural and geopolitical locations (Baker, 2014).

Narrative theory, as applied in TS, draws on sociology for the elaboration of narratives. Baker (2006) imported the socio-narrative approach from sociology and communication studies. Baker drew primarily on the work of researchers such as Somers and Gibson (1994), Bruner (1991), and Fisher (1987, 1997). The approach posits that individuals understand events through their personal narratives and the narratives that are shared in society. According to Baker, narratives are "public and personal stories that we subscribe to and that guide our behavior" (p. 19). Somers (1994) argued that to comprehend an event, "narrativity demands that we discern the meaning of any single event, only in temporal and spatial relationship to other events" (p. 616).

It is notable that narrative in this context is a constructive instrument and constitutive element that shapes, rather than merely describes, reality. Baker (2006) argued that translators are key players in any narrative in which they are involved, regardless of any claimed neutrality. According to Boeri (2009), this is the core contribution of the social sciences to narrative theory. Narrative is understood not as a representational form but as a constitutive element of the individual and the world in which they live. Thus, case studies were used to explain the narration of Arabic translation and the role of narratives as the motivations for volunteer participation in crowdsourced translation projects.

The consideration of narratives from a sociological perspective has had a significant effect on translation research. In other words, translators act in light of the narratives to which they subscribe, and they might re-narrate existing narratives through the act of translation. Baker (2006) argued that "whether the motivation is commercial or ideological, translators and interpreters play a decisive role in both articulating and contesting the full range of public narratives circulating within and around any society at any moment in time" (p. 38). The recognition of the dynamism of narratives can increase the understanding of volunteer translators' behaviours through the conceptualisation of volunteers as not mere information bridges but participants with decisive roles in producing, circulating, and responding to narratives and information in their communities (Jones, 2018). Therefore, not only are translators motivated to engage with certain

narratives, but as social actors, their actions can be guided by the narratives with which they are acquainted and/or to which they adhere.

Indeed, the consideration of translators' agency broadens the view of translation activity and, thus, the discussion to include all the elements and their roles in translation practices and decisions. The agents are thus understood as the "social actors who are heavily involved in the dynamics of translation production and the power interplay arising at every stage throughout the translation process" (Khalifa, 2014, p. 11). The agents include all the actors and elements in the translation process: "from production and distribution to consumption and critical metadiscoursal" (Khalifa, 2014, p. 11). This definition suggests that narratives and narrative constructors and/or promoters can be crucial agents with decisive roles in translation activity.

The link between Arabic translation narratives and the activities of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators is a worthwhile area for research. Somers and Gibson (1994) claimed that "everything we know from making families, to coping with illness, to carrying out strikes and revolutions is at least in part a result of numerous cross-cutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves" (p. 41). Arabic literature in this regard accommodates many recurrent stories about translation, translation projects, and translators that are worthy of further consideration. Examples are the story of Bayt al-

Hikma[2] (the House of Wisdom) and the Golden Era of Translation (Baker & Hanna, 2011). Therefore, narratives may function as a key element in the understanding of human behaviour, e.g., why individuals participate in volunteer translation without expecting rewards.

Currently, a great deal of translation activity and discourse occurs through social media (see Desjardins, 2017) and crowdsourcing platforms (see Jimenéz-Crespo, 2017). As this study shows, Arabic translation is narrated in the digital sphere, where modern translation initiatives operate and volunteers are mobilised. Therefore, to understand the narratives to which volunteers are exposed, a socio-narrative approach was adopted. According to Baker (2006):

[It] allows us to piece together and analyze a narrative that is not fully traceable to any specific stretch of text but has to be constructed from a range of sources, including non-

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[2] A historical institution for translation established during the golden era of translation in Arab-Islamic history. More context will be provided in Chapter 4.

verbal material. In so doing, it acknowledges the constructedness of narratives and encourages us to reflect critically on our own embeddedness in them. (p. 4)

This approach offers new dimensions for the exploration and discussion of translation practices.

Regardless of the influence of narratives on human actions, a socio-narrative approach is a promising lens for the exploration of motivations. In other words, narratives can reveal unimagined possibilities; however, they ultimately guide the individual's actions (Kirkwood, 1992). Narratives, by definition, are constructed stories through which messages are delivered. However, in TS, the socio-narrative approach does not prioritise rhetoric and style in a specific narrative; instead, it focuses on its effects (Boeri, 2009). This clearly highlights the shift in the perception of a narrative from its being a communication mode to its being an inescapable perspective through which individuals' actions reflect the construction of identities and the world in which they live.

It should therefore be evident that the approach to the data in this study was guided by Baker's (2006) socio-narrative model of analysis. It is the most widely used model for narrative analysis in TS (Harding, 2012a). The study design, including the application of the socio-narrative approach, will be explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3).

1.7 Thesis structure

The thesis comprises six chapters, followed by the reference list and appendices. Chapter 1, the present chapter, has introduced the project by highlighting the context, research gap, and feasibility, in addition to the study aims and the approach to addressing the main research questions. Moreover, it has presented the theoretical framework. The researcher's positionality is clearly established to acknowledge the researcher's perspective and stance in relation to the investigated data. It is a detailed introduction that supports the work and provides a road map for the reader.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review, which focuses on Arabisation, volunteer translation, crowdsourcing, and the relevant translation theories. Arabisation is presented in terms of its conceptuality, challenges, history, and contemporary issues. Translation will be discussed as a cultural vehicle that plays a crucial role in the Arabic translation

discourse. However, the discussion will be narrowed to the digital sphere in which the study participants operate.

The existing research and potential regarding volunteer translation are then addressed. The aim of this chapter is to integrate volunteer translation, crowdsourcing, and Arabisation to address the research questions and to present the most appropriate theoretical approach to the subject.

In Chapter 3, the socio-narrative approach is applied to the study of motivation. Previous studies and attempts are discussed prior to the introduction of narrative theory, which undergirds this research. The practicability and limitations in the application of this theory to this project are addressed.

After the presentation of the theoretical account, the research design is explained and justified. The chosen data collection methods are then compared to other methods regarding their relevance to the research objectives. The chapter concludes by addressing sampling and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 presents the findings on the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation and traces them in the analysis of the textual dataset, surveys, and interviews. Each narrative is introduced and discussed regarding the findings of the mixed methods. The analysis demonstrates the influence of these narratives on crowdsourced translation and volunteer motivations. The results are analysed and discussed against the research questions to provide coherent and well-developed answers.

Chapter 5 presents alternative motivations and interesting trends that emerged from the data. These findings were generated from the social and cultural configurations rather than the recurrent narratives. They are discussed within two themes: (1) gender-driven motivations and (2) culture-specific motivations. The chapter presents the researcher's interpretations and critical insights in relation to the research questions. The findings are linked to the study hypothesis that volunteers' motivations would be influenced by their cultural backgrounds.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, summarises the findings and discusses the contributions and impact of the study. The summary is followed by the presentation of the research limitations and recommendations for further study.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE FROM EARLY ARABISATION TO THE PRESENT VOLUNTEER TRANSLATION PHENOMENON

This chapter introduces a literature review that focuses on achievements in four major areas: Arabisation, volunteer translation, crowdsourcing theories applied in TS, and the narrative turn in TS. This exploration facilitated the delineation of the current trends in Arabic translation. Arabisation is presented in terms of conceptuality, challenges, history, and contemporary issues. Furthermore, translation is discussed as a cultural vehicle that plays a crucial role in Arabisation discourse and projects. The scope will be gradually narrowed to the digital sphere in which the study participants usually operate.

Volunteerism in translation is highlighted. A review of the literature indicates that very little attention has been paid to volunteer translation; however, recent studies have shown the potential value of this area of research. This will be followed by a section on the crowdsourcing trend, which has been facilitated by the existence of collaborative platforms through which translation work is performed on a voluntary basis. After the contextualisation of the research inquiry and narrowing of the focus to the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators, the chapter concludes with a review of translation theories and the introduction of the narrative turn that guided the study.

The aim of this chapter is to integrate volunteer translation, crowdsourcing, Arabic translation trajectory, and translation theories to approach the research questions and to present the most appropriate theoretical approach to the subject.

2.1 Arabisation

The long history of Arabic translation, through which narratives on translation have been constructed and circulated, is the starting point for understanding the current policies, practices, and trends in translation in the Arab world. This section provides background information on the Arabic language. Next, Arabisation is introduced as an ideologically laden translation concept, and the early Arabisation attempts and the Arabisation trajectory are presented. With the narrowing of the focus to the core issue of the thesis, crowdsourced volunteer translation, the remainder of the section discusses Arabic translation in the digital age and the tendency to operate on collaborative platforms in the digital sphere.

2.2 Conceptual background

This section starts with the importance of Arabic to the Arab world, its relationship with Islam, and non-Arab Muslims' perceptions of the language. For readers with expertise outside Arabic and Middle Eastern studies, this will facilitate an understanding of the concept of Arabisation and its implications for translation policies and practices in the region.

Arabic is the native language of more than 300 million people in the Arabic-speaking region. Linguistic competence has always been admired in Arabic culture. Consequently, the language has held a privileged position as a medium of the most highly prized cultural creative product, poetry, since the pre-Islamic era (Suleiman, 2003). Because Arabic was the language of the first Muslim believers, it has spread wherever Islam has found a home. In the modern world, Arabic plays an especially important role. It is the third most common official language around the globe and the sixth most spoken language in terms of population. In addition, it has been one of the six official languages in the United Nations since 1973 (Mahsab, 2015).

Arabs appreciate Arabic because it is not only a national language but also the language of the Quran, the holy book of Islam, which is the main religion. This connection with

Islam means that Arabic has a high status as the medium through which the holy book is understood and interpreted. As Brustad (2017) explained:

> In the context of Arab history and culture, including the strong ties between *fuṣḥa*[3] [standard Arabic], the Qur'an and the prophet Muhammad, idealises *fuṣḥa* beyond its "correctness" to a moral stature that, at its logical extreme, makes any language form that is not *fuṣḥa* a moral failing. (p. 47)

Mejdell (2017) noted that the association with a sacred heritage links linguistic competence in Arabic with honour and moral dignity. In his introduction to his book *Fiqh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya*, Al-Thaʿālibī[4] stated:

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[3] IJMES transliteration system is used for transliterating Arabic words throughout the thesis.

[4] A poet, critic, and lexicographer, Al-Thaʿālibī is a towering figure in Arabic literature because of his great knowledge and contributions.

> Whoever loves God will love His prophet, whoever loves the Arab prophet will love Arabs, and whoever loves Arabs will love Arabic, the language in which the Quran was revealed; and whoever loves Arabic will dedicate his efforts for it. (2000: 29)

This consequential argument of this Muslim non-Arab scholar is based on a religious logic.

The status of Arabic as the language of Islam has motivated non-Arab scholars to study Arabic and, thus, to make significant contributions to medieval linguistic scholarship. For example, Persian scholar Fairuzabadi[5] authored one of the most prominent Arabic dictionaries in history. In *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, he emphasised the time and effort that need to be devoted to the study of Arabic to increase the understanding of the religion, the Qur'an, and Islamic science (2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that many scholars who have devoted their time and efforts to Arabic and Islamic studies have been non-Arabs.

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[5] Fairuzabadi was a Persian-born lexicographer who lived most of his life in Arab cities. Despite his many writings, he is remembered principally for the dictionary that he compiled.

Indeed, the essential association with Islam has globalised Arabic and made it accessible to foreign enthusiasts. Anis (1970) asserted that "the boundaries of Arab nationalism were defined by the spread of the Arabic language" and that "wherever the language took root, Arab nationalism did the same" (p.190). In Africa, for example, the Arabic language accompanied the first Muslim immigrants who took refuge in Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) during the early prophetic period in the 6th century (Fadlah, 2016). This occurred elsewhere; consequently, Arabic was introduced to new communities.

Not only was Arabic the lingua franca in Islamic countries, but it was also a prerequisite for gaining religious knowledge, engaging in disputation, and studying rhetoric (Al-Musawi, 2015). The discussion of attitudes towards Arabic is an important precursor to the sections on Arabisation. It will show that the subscription to Arabic is not ethnically bound. Some Arabisation attempts by non-Arabs will be highlighted in the following section.

The topics of Arabic and Arabisation could easily be divided into several sub-topics, all of which would not be relevant to the present study. The discussion will be focused on modern Arabic translation practices with regard to crowdsourced volunteer translation.

Arabisation has been ideologically loaded since the 19th century. However, in this study, it is explored from linguistic and socio-linguistic perspectives. Less attention is given to the political and ideological inflections of the term. This approach highlights the relevant issues, such as national identity (of which language is a core element) and Arabic translation narratives.

There have been many attempts to explain and to define Arabisation. For example, Hassan (2016) claimed that Arabisation is merely the daily use of Arabic and the maintenance of Arab social and cultural identity. He confirmed that the term has been used to refer to the process of transferring a foreign lexicon into Arabic in translation practice. Aysa (2016) described Arabisation as the pronunciation of a foreign lexicon in accordance with Arabic phonetic rules and the conscious use of Arabic rather than a colonial language. Khalifa (1986) defined Arabisation as the use of terminologies that were created for concepts imported from other languages. This linguistic perception is largely supported by Arab linguists.

The meaning of Arabisation is context-dependent. Aysa (2016) asserted that in Algeria, it means the populace's voice, which had been muted by francophone colonialism for a long time. Although the context is specified, Aysa seemed to refer to the identity aspect of the term. This might indicate the extent to which language and identity are intertwined. In nations, languages are often considered identity markers (Suleiman, 2003). Thus, the Ottoman rule of the Levant triggered Arab nationalism, of which Arabic is a core element, as a resistance to the Turkinisation of the region and its people (Suleiman, 2003). In this case, Arabisation involved a recourse to Arabic as a bond and source of power for resistance.

Arabisation is looked at, in terms of TS, from a different perspective. The distinctiveness of this perspective is bound to the fact that TS, as a discipline, has developed primarily as a Western field of study and has therefore been shaped by Western views and circumstances (Tymoczko, 2010:5). One of its main accounts, in this respect, sees Arabisation as an instance of the enforcement of the Arabic language across the non-Arab Christian communities of the Near East. In other words, it focuses on the idea that those communities had to adopt the Arabic language as part of a strategy implemented by the Arabic rulers at the time (Zaki, 2019). The Arabisation strategy involved making Arabic the administrative language. It is historically established that large areas that came under Muslim rule in the Near East were inhabited by non-Arabs (Vagelpohl, 2008:18). This situation led to a large-scale Arabisation endeavor, aiming at replacing the languages of administration and scholarship.

While that first perspective is concerned with religion and politics generally, there is another one that perceives Arabisation specifically as the translation agenda of the Abbasid Caliphs. This agenda gave rise to specific translation efforts and oriented the translation contributions toward certain types of texts and genres, while at the same time ignoring others (Jamoussi, 2019). Like any other theory or term related to translation, Arabisation is usually discussed within the Eurocentric discourse which is contemporary within translation studies. Such an approach overlooks the Arabic world's own issues and debates related to the concept of Arabisation. Therefore, the same term triggers different resonances based on the perspective within which it is defined.

The term Arabisation is perceived based on the narrative in which it is embedded. On one hand, Arabic studies define it in a positive light, as a key component of reform, advancement, and unification projects. On the other hand, the term Arabisation is perceived in terms of TS as a political strategy of enforcement and replacing the languages of other ethnicities that live within the areas ruled by Arab-Muslim powers. Such perception is influenced by the Western perspectives that have shaped TS as a discipline.

A review of the literature on Arabisation indicated that the concept can include borrowing lexicons and concepts from other languages, legislating Arabic as the language of education, and enhancing the status of the language through activities within and outside the Arab region. This includes virtual communities. Hence, translation is perceived as instrumental to achieving these purposes.

2.3   Arabisation attempts by non-Arabs

A review of the history of the Arabic language throughout the world is beyond the scope of this study. However, some non-Arab-initiated Arabisation projects are discussed to corroborate the value of the language from non-Arab perspectives. It might also show that, in most instances, Arabisation was a strategic plan to achieve specific objectives.

Most of the Arabisation projects that were initiated in non-Arab countries have had religious motivations; thus, commercial or political interests have often been the drivers. In Southwest Asia, which is far east of the Arab region, the Indo-Arabic academy was established in India in 1976 (Khalifa, 1986). Chinese officials have opted to support Arabic-language learning for commercial purposes (Almalki, 2015). This has resulted in the creation of more than 44 Arabic departments in Chinese universities (Almalki, 2015).

The situation in Turkey is different because the population is divided about Arabic language programs and Arabisation. It started with the alphabet revolution led by modern Turkey's founder, Kemal Ataturk, in 1928. He changed Turkey's alphabet from Arabic to Latin and thus transformed the writing and education systems (Cetingulec, 2015). Since then, Arabisation projects have led to conflicts between conservatives and seculars. The

reason might be the perceptions of Arabic as a language of religion. Therefore, Arabisation in Turkey has been dependent on policy makers' perspectives on Arabic. A recent plan to introduce the language as an elective in elementary school curriculums has provoked arguments about the utility for Turkish society (Cetingulec, 2015).

Interestingly, these ongoing attempts to enhance the language's presence might be indicative of the importance of Arabic in non-Arab communities. Moreover, these tendencies might open possibilities for non-Arab participation in crowdsourced Arabisation projects that involve translation or other activities, such as the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language.

2.4 Diglossia in the context of Arabisation

A discussion of Arabisation must include the issue of diglossia. Arabic is one of the languages in which two forms of the language, high and low, coexist (Ferguson 1959). In the literature, the high form is referred to as *fuṣḥā*, and the low form, *ʾamiyyah*, includes all vernacular dialects. Identity is an ultimate objective of Arabisation activities; however, the low variety of Arabic is often marginalised in the Arabisation discourse (Suleiman, 2003). It has been argued that *ʾamiyyah* lacks heritage, an essential ingredient of identity. In contrast, standard Arabic *fusḥa* adequately serves the mission of Arab nationalism (Suleiman, 2003). This might be true if *heritage* refers only to the written history, poetry, and religious books of Arab tribes since the pre-Islamic era. These works were written in classical and, recently, modern Arabic (Alasad, 1978).

It can be argued that each contemporary local Arabic dialect, regardless of the number of speakers or non-Arabic cultural influences (e.g., origins, immigration, colonisation, or other long-established communication modes), has its own heritage. In an exploration of linguistic heritage, Fahmy (2011) asserted that writing in colloquial dialects was a common practice at the beginning of the 20th century. However, this part of the literature was obliterated by the purist literary culture that attended the Arab renaissance, *Nahḍa* (Hoigilt & Mejdell, 2017). The perception of the inferior variety might have resulted in the exclusion of projects that employed colloquial Arabic from the Arabisation trajectory, which often tends to highlight the translation efforts that embrace *fusḥa* and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

The heated debate on the legitimacy of the vernacular dialects (ʾamiyyah) and modern standard Arabic (fuṣḥā) is recurrent. This might be obvious in Egypt and Morocco, which have been battlefields for the adherents of each variety. Nevertheless, the situation can be generalised to contemporary populations throughout the Arab region. The advent of new communication and literary production tools has reignited this debate. Kindt and Kebede (2017) asserted that ʾamiyyah is frequently used in writing by the large majority of the population in Cairo and Rabat. However, it is more likely to be accepted in less formal contexts, such as Facebook posts and comics.

The use of these varieties in unexpected contexts could easily provoke controversy. A recent attempt was Nārimān al-Shāmilī's translation of the famous classical epistle *Risālat al-ghufrān* by the great Arab poet and philosopher Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1057) into Egyptian ʾamiyyah. The translator aimed to make the cultural heritage accessible to people with little or no competence in *fuṣḥā*, written Arabic (Hoigilt & Mejdell, 2017). However, it could be argued that the target audience would still not be able to read written ʾamiyyah, given the low literacy levels. The conflict between ʾamiyyah and *fuṣḥa* has also been occurring in translation. Hanna (2005) demonstrated these identity conflicts through a discussion of the two competing translations of Shakespeare's *Othello* in Egypt. Translation generated two distinct narratives for the same source text.

Diglossia is not the only challenge in terms of the language varieties within the Arabic community. The issue is further complicated in North Africa because of the existence of minority languages, such as Berber (Suleiman, 2003). Although these populations supported the use of Arabic rather than colonial languages, they have resisted the dominance of the language in the post-colonial era (Sueliman, 2003). Alamri (2013) rejected the correlation between Arabisation policies and the marginalisation of the indigenous dialects and languages of minorities. Alamri asserted that Standard Arabic has always been tolerant of other dialects and languages throughout its history. Nevertheless, this claim does not confirm the general perception that colloquial Arabic is inadequate for the representation of Arab identity and the implementation of Arabisation policies. Fadlah (2016) went further by considering colloquial Arabic dialects rather than globalisation and European languages as the real threat to Arabisation.

Arabic colloquial dialects could avoid marginalisation in the literary sphere because of the arguably functional deficiency and lack of heritage. The Arab Human Development Report attributed the linguistic and social fragmentation in the Arab world to the enhancement of vernacular varieties rather than the use of MSA (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2003). In other words, these varieties are local. Each region has at least one vernacular dialect. It has been argued that campaigns for standardising ʾamiyyah are a phenomenon promoted by "Information Age Orientalists" (UNDP, 2003, p. 126). This leads to the second possible reason for the disparagement of vernacular dialects: colonialism.

Arabic dialectology was initiated by European Orientalists who studied spoken Arabic dialects when they accompanied missionaries and tradesmen to the colonial lands in the Arab region (Mejdell, 2017). The strong support and active participation of colonial officials in the campaigns to support vernacular dialects did not serve the cause (Mejdell, 2017). Hassan (2016) argued that the real danger for Arabic is its hybridity. The incorporation of elements of foreign languages and local dialects has altered the phonology and morphology of the language. Therefore, local residents have been suspicious of such campaigns, and they have resisted all aspects of colonialism, including language.

Unlike political perceptions, geography has not been a limitation in the linguistic aspect of Arabisation. Therefore, Arabisation efforts should be regarded as cultural projects that assimilate everyone who speaks Arabic and adheres to it regardless of their political perspectives of Arabisation or the part of the world they inhabit (Fadlah, 2016). In a discussion of the history and status of Arabic in Africa and the attitudes of Africans towards Arabic, Fadlah suggested that Arabic faces similar challenges in the Arab region. This might imply that similar linguistic re-formations and Arabisation projects would be appropriate for various communities in different parts of the world, i.e., primarily non-Arab Muslims for whom Arabic is essential to their beliefs and identities.

Arab linguists and policy makers are aware of the status of and recurrent challenges for the language; thus, translation is at the heart of Arabisation projects. Arabisation has been a recurring topic at conferences throughout the Arab region. Alhajmari (2016) asserted that well-developed language policies are necessary to prevent the marginalisation of the Arabic language in the communities to which it belongs. This typical Arabisation

conference recommendation confirms that for the language to flourish, the people should participate in Arabisation either individually or as a community, and good language policies could enhance this involvement (Crystal, 2003).

2.5 Trajectory of Arabisation

A comprehensive understanding of Arabisation would require an examination of its trajectory. The translation movement during the Abbasid era appeared frequently in Arabisation discourse (Jacquemond, 2009). However, it has been argued that the 19ᵗʰ century witnessed important collaborative contributions to the cause at the state level. This could be attributed to factors such as the independence movements, the introduction of printing machines in the region, and the birth of political Arabisation projects for which language was a vital resource.

Muhammad Ali Pasha (c. 1770–1849), a prominent Egyptian ruler during the Nahda era, made a substantial contribution to Arabisation. He founded the Bulaq Press to strengthen the modern state of Egypt and to keep the European and Ottoman powers at bay (Hover, 2007). During his reign, Madrasat Al-Alsun [School of Languages] was established to train the first generation of Egyptian translators (Jacquemond, 2009). Their extensive translations influenced Arabisation projects. However, vernacular language adherents have attributed the low propensity to write in colloquial Arabic to the language policies and their enforcement during the Nahda era. Davies (2008) asserted that Middle Arabic, the integration of ʾamiyyah and fusḥa in writing, would have been the norm and the standard form of writing in Egypt and elsewhere had the reforms not been introduced.

These efforts were followed by the establishment of Arabic-language academies in Damascus (1918), Cairo (1932), and Baghdad (1947). Regarding Arabisation, all three institutions have similar visions, such as the enhancement of the language, translation, and terminologies. Governments and ruling figures have continued to launch language projects as an element of Arabisation policies. The King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz Int'l Centre for the Arabic Language ([KAICA] 2008) and other projects will be presented in the next section.

The trajectory of Arabisation might be slightly different in North Africa, specifically Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, primarily because of the fight for independence. However, Arabic has remained vulnerable because of the preference for French, the colonial language, which has been promoted by the elites who once fought against its hegemony prior to independence (Suleiman, 2003). Therefore, despite specific policies and projects, Arabisation remains a site of conflict between its adherents and opponents (Fehri, 2013).

The existence of several Arabic-language academies has led to several issues, such as the duplication of efforts and terminologies. Therefore, the Arabisation Coordination Bureau (1961) was established as the liaison for the wide range of Arabisation projects for organisational purposes (Alhajmari, 2017). The project was a recommendation of a 1961 Arabisation conference in Rabat. It was later incubated by the Arab League Education, Culture and Science Organization. Jacquemond (2009) highlighted the lack of cooperation as a negative aspect of translation projects in the Arab region. His argument might apply to Arabisation in general, in which translation is a core activity.

Arabisation projects are initiated by not only states but also individuals and small independent institutions. For example, in 1892, Mohammad Albakri[6] voluntarily established the first Arabic academy dedicated to terminology (Marefa, 2007). Mahsab (2015) created four categories for the work of 22 associations and personal initiatives engaged in Arabisation: corpus-based activity, language technologies, language usage, and language purification. These categories comprise the contributions of a variety of individuals who have consistently, or inconsistently, contributed to Arabisation via social media and other technologies.

2.6 Arabisation in the digital sphere

Despite the similarities in Arabisation projects and their ultimate objectives, new features have been observed in contemporary Arabisation activities. There has been a greater tendency to incorporate technological advances, to involve non-specialists, and to include

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[6] Mohammad Albakri, an Egyptian poet and writer, was motivated to establish the Arabic Academy in response to ʾamiyyah and French campaigns.

the contributions of foreign players. Despite the increased success in terms of achievements, the issue of Arabisation remains a concern for academics, Arabists, and the Arab people. The reason might be the massive information flows in foreign languages, mainly English (Aljubailan, 2015). This protects the vulnerable position of monolinguals and possibly engenders cultural imperialism.

Despite the growing concerns about the Arabic language and identity in the modern digital world, Mahsab (2015) contended that advanced technologies are paving the way for sustainable Arabisation initiatives. The literature includes examples of the use of high technology to promote Arabisation. Aljubailan (2015) discussed the Arabisation activity occurring on Twitter, a social media platform. Most of his examples were non-official accounts initiated by volunteers with shared interests in Arabic and translation. Unlike their counterparts that promote the study of other languages, the official Arabisation institutions have lacked an active presence on Twitter (Aljubailan, 2015). However, large contemporary Arabisation and translation projects, such as Kalima and KAICA, have archived and disseminated their production through their websites. Alsayed (2015) highlighted several Arabisation initiatives, including the technology-based Mareb, an Arabic digital content observer devoted to online content analysis.

For a long time, Arabisation projects, policies, and discourse were the province of the elites and linguists. However, with the affordability of technology tools, this is no longer the case. Perez-Gonzalez (2012) asserted that "the increasing disjuncture between technoscapes and mediascapes . . . has empowered citizens to effectively take on an agentive role in the appropriation and recirculation of media content and experiences" (p. 165). Thus, arguably, Arab individuals have found the tools to contribute to Arabisation on a level equal to that of the elites and specialists. Aljubailan (2015) asserted that Arabisation activities initiated within a society and with public participation are more likely to succeed. Pinker (2005) expressed doubts about the viability of academically based prescriptions because language is a collective human creation. Some linguists have initiated a virtual Arabic academy on Twitter, and it has attracted people with varying levels of expertise (Aljubailan, 2015). Another successful example of public participation in Arabisation projects is the Taghreedat initiative. Volunteers contribute their own translations into Arabic to enrich the Arabic content on the internet without expecting tangible rewards.

Another aspect of contemporary Arabisation has been the contribution of foreign parties: primarily large corporations, such as Google and Wikipedia. The work of these and other organisations has been based largely on translation and product localisation. Arabs have many reasons for supporting Arabisation initiatives; however, foreign companies are driven by economic ambitions (Alsayed, 2015). Non-profit organisations, such as TED and Wikipedia, have also featured prominently in translation into Arabic because of the variety of approaches to reaching Arabic users and generating high-quality Arabic content. An effective approach has been the recruitment of volunteers through collaborative translation tools. For example, the Taghreedat initiative serves as an intermediary between volunteers and international organisations to create and to enrich online Arabic content.

2.7 Arabic content on the internet

The ongoing developments in technology, content creation tools, and platforms have engendered new information exchange and consumption practices. Thus, there are new opportunities and challenges for Arabisation projects regarding language and people. There is a consensus among Arab linguists regarding the necessity of maximising the advantages of advanced technology to facilitate revolutionary enhancements to Arabic (Dyab, 2012). An important issue has been the quality and quantity of Arabic online content.

Wikipedia defines Arabic online content as the aggregated web pages, videos, music, and books produced in Arabic and archived on the worldwide web. The amount of Arabic content accessible on the web has long been an important topic of discussion among web developers, multinational enterprises, and Arabic-speaking internet users. The size of the Arabic-speaking online population has surpassed that of the language communities in developed countries, such as Russia, France, and Germany; however, Arabic is still considered an underserved language on the web (Sargent, 2012). This situation has not improved very much, as indicated in a recent press report that described Arabic digital content as a slowly beating heart in a meagre body (Sbiti, 2020). Vein (2014) considered the statistics on the ratio of digital Arabic content to the size of the Arabic population alarming. For example, in Egypt, one-third of the 50 most visited websites did not have a

default Arabic version, and some were not even available in Arabic (Malouf, 2016). The content deficiency, along with the massive flow of information written in other languages, puts the Arabic readership in a vulnerable position.

Arabic content suffers from deficiencies in not only quantity but also quality. Experts in and campaigners for content development have attributed this to several factors. Aljubailan (2015) stated that low budgets led to many Arabisation institutions appearing isolated because of a lack of well-developed websites to ensure a strong online presence and, thus, a platform to present their achievements and be accessible to the public. It has been argued that online Arabic content needs to be original and authentic. A large portion has been user-generated via social media and duplicated by copying and/or translation from other languages (Ahmed, 2014). However, there are other institutional hurdles regarding the quality and quantity of Arabic content in cyberspace. Jadu (2015) asserted that most Arabic institutions, such as universities, research centres, national archives, and libraries, have been slow to digitise information resources and to provide their databases on the internet. Jacquemond (2009) claimed that there was a good but inaccessible corpus because of the underdevelopment of the libraries in the Arab world. This suggests that increased accessibility could increase the status of online Arabic-language content.

The availability of Arabic content on the internet is as important for foreign companies as it is for Arabs. Humphreys (2016) suggested that companies should not ignore the native language of a wealthy population segment (Arabs) if good marketing practices are followed. Most of the Arabic content is translated. Venuti (2008) argued that translation is crucial if brand names are to enter foreign markets. It would appear that Taghreedat, a case in this study, has implemented a crowdsourcing model to recruit volunteer translators to translate content from international enterprises into Arabic. This suggests that the quality of Arabic online content is of interest to all the involved parties. The same is true for the results of the aggregated efforts regardless of their adequacy.

Interestingly, the role of non-professionals would be recognised in this sphere of Arabisation activity. The media and technological revolution has resulted in the blurring of most boundaries between cultures. This has led to the development of virtual communities in the global village: communities that revolve around common interests regardless of the sense of place (Meyrowitz, 1985). Not only have the media marginalised the aspect of place, but they have also transformed individuals from being solely receivers

to being producers. The involvement of citizens in media creation has clarified the notions of participation and collaboration, which have been facilitated by the new technologies and from which Arabisation projects might benefit. According to Deuze (2006), the involvement of non-professionals is "a defining principle of digital culture" (p. 67). Perez-Gonzalez (2014) asserted that collaborative technologies have attracted participants other than professionals to the field of translation. These new participants have their own motives, approaches, and goals. Because of these trends and dynamic changes, traditional content producers might focus on mobilising crowds that have embraced the role of content producer.

The traditional issues and challenges in Arabisation might still exist for online Arabic content. This is expected because the Arabic language is still the core. An obvious example is the use of vernacular dialects to produce formal content that had traditionally been written in MSA. Brustad (2017) argued that the new technologies and writing tools and evolving autonomy of expression would put pressure on the vigorously protected *fuṣḥā*. It must be noted that the most serious attempt has been the Egyptian Arabic Wikipedia, the Wikipedia Masry project, which aims to create Wikipedia entries in an Egyptian dialect. The ongoing project has provoked divided opinions. Some have appreciated it. However, others have questioned the feasibility and utility of creating Wikipedia in multiple vernacular dialects. They consider it a waste of time and effort. Regardless of the type of contribution, the involvement of ordinary people adds new dimensions to Arabisation. Deuze (2006) asserted that the remediation and participation practices in the digital culture have developed mostly through the actions of individuals. This is significant for academics and professionals.

2.8 Volunteer translation

TS has witnessed an ever-growing phenomenon that has resulted in large-scale translation projects being conducted by paid or unpaid non-professionals because of their interests or other motivational factors to be explored in this study. Therefore, the new areas in TS have included the exploration of the translation practices of non-professionals and volunteers, as well as the participatory culture that nurtures their involvement in the field.

Prior to the discussion of the recent studies on volunteer translation, it is important that some definitions of volunteering be reviewed. From a social work perspective, Wilson (2000) provided a broad definition of volunteer work as "any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group or organization" (p. 215). This definition does not consider other elements, such as spontaneity, motivation, and non-monetary rewards. The UN (2013) defined volunteering as "an activity undertaken out of free will, for the general public good, and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor" (p. 01). Stukas *et al.* (2009) explained volunteerism as the provision of support and assistance free of charge to create social capital that benefits society, the service recipients, and the volunteers themselves, in addition to contributing to the public good. Both definitions exclude monetary rewards; however, Stukas seems to explicitly recognise other possible rewards for voluntary work.

Most definitions describe volunteering activity as help provided without remuneration. Clary et al. (1998) excluded spontaneous assistance, i.e., the one-time provision of support in unexpected situations. From this perspective, volunteer work involves planning and deliberate engagement to make a sustained contribution. Therefore, it is the volunteers who decide on the amount of time and level of effort to be donated (Dombek, 2014). Snyder and Omoto (2008) provided a comprehensive definition of volunteerism as "freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time, [that] are engaged in without expectation of reward or other compensation and often through formal organizations, and that are performed on behalf of causes or individuals who desire assistance" (p. 3).

As is the case with most definitions, the aforementioned definitions of volunteering reflect different perspectives and disciplines, which together create complementary views on volunteerism. This wide range of definitions has laid the foundation for an examination of volunteering from a TS perspective.

2.8.1 Volunteering in translation studies

By definition, translation is a linguistic task that is performed by individuals or groups. The requirements for languages to flourish and to serve their speakers are varied. Therefore, languages have historically enjoyed significant attention from scholars and the

general public through volunteer projects (Alburaidi, 2015). Alburaidi coined the term *linguistic volunteerism*, which has been defined as "a resolution combined with skills to initiate well executed projects by individuals or teams in order to contribute to Arabic language, deal with challenges it faces and take advantage of opportunities in favour of it without expecting monetary benefits" (p. 30). This definition seems to be language-oriented, with applicability to languages other than Arabic, regardless of the volunteers' motivations. Moreover, it indicates that the benefits accrue to the language (in this case, Arabic) and not just the volunteers and recipients. This interesting perspective will be included in the discussion on volunteer translators' motivations.

Despite the recent interest in volunteer practices in TS, it must be noted that volunteer translation predated the dawn of the contemporary collaborative projects (Fuente, 2014). For example, Olohan (2012) studied the motivations for the volunteer translation of 19th-century scientific journals into English. Surprisingly, translation dictionaries, such as the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 2014) and the *Dictionary of Translation Technology* (Chan, 2005), as well as the core TS reference, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker & Saldanha, 2011), do not include entries for volunteer translation.

It was only after large entities, such as TED, Wikipedia, and Facebook, recruited volunteer translators and presented their remarkable contributions that this collaborative activity gained the attention of translation scholars. The last few years have witnessed a growing body of research on volunteer, online, crowdsourced, and collaborative translation practices. There is no agreement on the use of these terminologies (Olohan, 2014); thus, these concepts had not always been clearly delineated. This might be a result of the relatively late consideration of these activities and the rapid developments in the technologies and collaborative tools.

The definitions of volunteer translation have emphasised various features, such as collaboration and the translators' professional status, altruism, or monetary compensation. Pym (2011) defined volunteer translation as "unpaid in financial terms" and suggested the use of the term *volunteer translation* for collaborative translation projects (p. 77). Jimenez-Crespo (2017) distinguished between *volunteer translation* and *collaborative translation* because collective work can be remunerated. The fact that most volunteer translation projects are collaborative would foreground the collaborative aspect

of such projects. It must be noted that volunteer translation can also be performed by an individual.

The absence of monetary rewards is a key concept in volunteering; however, it might be problematic in volunteer translation. The majority of the unpaid translation has been produced by non-professionals who often neither seek monetary rewards nor obtain copyright permission from the content owners. According to Perez-Gonzalez and Susam-Sarajeva (2012), this participation means that it "is professional – rather than non-professional – translation that should be taken as the exception within the wider context of translation" (p. 157). O'Hagan (2009) deemed anime as fansubbing and video game translation initiated by collective fans as volunteer translation. However, Dombek (2014) questioned such activities because they are very often illegal. Yet another problematic issue with unremunerated translation is what Yang (2009) termed "aggravated corporate exploitation" (p. 527). A comprehensive definition of volunteer translation should therefore differentiate between volunteer activities and other unpaid pursuits that could include ethical violations.

The involvement of non-professional translators in volunteer translation projects is remarkable. Indeed, they might account for a majority of the volunteers. However, this by no means undermines the role of professional translators in volunteer projects. Flanagan (2016) argued that the success of a collaborative volunteer translation project during the Haiti crisis confirmed the benefits of collaborations between non-professionals and professionals. Dolmaya (2012) highlighted the voluntary participation of non-professional and professional translators in crowdsourced translation projects despite the differences in their motivations and attitudes regarding crowdsourcing initiatives. Non-professional volunteer translators tend to cover areas that are not of interest to their professional counterparts (O'Brien & Schaler, 2010). A growing body of literature has indicated that volunteer translation is practiced by professionals and non-professionals. Olohan (2012) asserted that professionality is less relevant in definitions of volunteer translation. This perspective should be considered in comprehensive definitions of volunteer translation.

The foregoing survey of the literature on volunteering and volunteer translation informed the definition of volunteer translation adopted in the present study. Olohan (2014) considered volunteer translation to be "translation conducted by people exercising their

free will to perform translation work which is not remunerated, which is formally organized and for the benefit of others" (p. 19). This well-considered definition excludes the primary features of contemporary volunteer translation. First, it omits the self-organised informal collectives of volunteer translators despite their significant contributions. Second, it is based on the sender–receiver, i.e., volunteer–beneficiary, dichotomy. However, the literature and some existing volunteer translation projects have shown that translations are not always produced for specific recipients. Volunteers might perform the work for their own benefit, such as resumé and language skill enhancement. Third, motivational factors must be included in a comprehensive definition. As the literature shows, volunteers are always driven by one or more factors to exercise their free will to contribute to translation projects.

The following definition is influenced by Olohan's (2014) suggestions and other perspectives revealed in the literature reviewed thus far. Volunteer translation is an activity that is performed by individuals who, based on various factors and without expecting monetary rewards, have exercised their free will to perform unpaid translation work that is formally or informally organised for the benefit of beliefs, language, other individuals, and/or the volunteers themselves without a breach of law. This definition includes volunteer translators' practices and the volunteer translation features highlighted in previous studies. More important, it emphasises the issue of legality highlighted by Dombek (2014). Being in accordance with the law might be the only critical difference between volunteer translation and non-professional translation because the latter often entails copyright infringement regardless of the individuals' good intentions.

2.8.2 Reasons for recruiting volunteer translators

In most cases, volunteer translation projects are organised by either for-profit or non-profit organisations. Studies have identified some of the reasons why some organisations would opt to mobilise volunteers instead of hiring professionals to perform translation tasks to perform the job. Cost reduction has been the purpose, given that volunteer contributors do not expect monetary rewards (Borst, 2010). However, it has been argued that the cost of crowdsourcing could be 20% to 100% of that of traditional translation (see DePalma & Kelly, 2011; Munro, 2013). For some projects, the use of volunteers has

reduced costs. However, for large-scale projects, the cost of community management and platform development can equal that of hiring professionals (Jimenez-Crespo, 2017). These arguments suggest that the use of volunteers is not necessarily driven by financial considerations.

Facebook is a prominent example of the crowdsourcing of volunteer translators to do massive amounts of translation work. According to Facebook, the volunteers were not used for cost reduction because most of the savings were spent on platform management (O'Hagan, 2009). The motivation seemed to be Facebook's promotion of participatory approaches (Mesipuu, 2012). This might explain why the project was exclusively for Facebook users, thereby fostering a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Facebook's crowdsourcing project used a hybrid approach in that volunteers performed translation under the supervision of paid professionals (Jimenez-Crespo, 2017). From a volunteer translator's perspective, the motivation to join such projects would be only to support an organisation that they like or subscribe to (Dolmaya, 2012). Therefore, regardless of the financial cost, crowdsourcers might consider translation projects a good opportunity to engage their users or supporters to increase their loyalty.

2.8.3 The crowdsourcing trend

Crowdsourcing has been a successful business model for many large translation projects by organisations such as Wikipedia, TED, and Al Jazeera. This business model helps to recruit non-professionals to work collectively on professional jobs. Crowdsourcing has been defined from several perspectives. Before a discussion of its application in TS, it is important that its implementation in other industries be understood. The term was coined by Howe (2006) in his seminal article in *Wired* magazine. It was later comprehensively explained in his book *Crowdsourcing: Why the Power of the Crowd Is Driving the Future* (Howe 2008). Howe (2006) defined crowdsourcing as follows:

> Crowdsourcing represents the act of a company or institution taking a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in the form of an open call. This can take the form of peer production (when the job is performed collaboratively), but is also often

undertaken by sole individuals. The crucial prerequisite is the use of the open call

format and the large network of potential laborers. (para. 05)

Declercq (2014) referred to crowdsourcing as a production method that aims to reach
underserved communities and to enhance the value of corporations, brands, or ideas. It
gives the audience the agency to make a scalable contribution of innumerable products.
Translation is an example. The term *crowd* refers to the participants in such projects. They
are not employees; rather, they are a large "distributed, plural, collaborative" group of
individuals (Brabham, 2008, p. 75).

Howe (2008) reviewed crowdsourcing from a business perspective. He highlighted some
well-known companies that relied on the efforts of an unlimited number of people, the
crowd, to find solutions and/or to scale up production. His examples included Netflix,
iStock, and Innocentive. The collective intelligence proved to be a valuable resource for
such enterprises. Thus, Howe (2008) claimed that "given the right set of conditions, the
crowd will almost always outperform any number of employees – a fact that companies
are becoming aware of and are increasingly attempting to exploit" (p. 11). It is possible
that these corporations have realised that the crowd would offer more resource solutions
than a limited number of employees. Brabham (2013) emphasised *problem-solving* and
production models in his definition of crowdsourcing as "an online, distributed problem-
solving and production model that leverages the collective intelligence of online
communities to serve specific organizational goals" (p. xix).

Estellés and González (2012) offered a more detailed definition of crowdsourcing by
describing it as:

> a type of participative online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-
> profit organization, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying
> knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary
> undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and
> modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work,
> money, knowledge and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. (p. 09)

That an individual can be an initiator and not necessarily a member of the crowd is notable
in this definition. Most, if not all, descriptions have referred to crowdsourcing as
organisation-initiated. These definitions seem more general and, thus, are not limited to

perspectives of crowdsourcing for problem-solving or production tasks. In TS in particular, the crowd's contribution is usually questioned in terms of quality and cost-effectiveness. This will be discussed in the next section.

2.8.4 Crowdsourcing in translation

Crowdsourcing has recently received attention in TS because of the prevalence of the use of volunteer translators by organisations. Despite their similarities, many of the definitions in TS have varied in their emphasis on platform, agency, and motivation.

With crowdsourcing, user-generated translation has evolved from an unsolicited individual initiative to a supplicated community practice (O'Hagan 2009). Gambier's definition goes further to highlight the role of social media: "Crowdsourcing in translation means using the huge reach of social media to encourage voluntary participatory or collective translation" (Gambier and Munday 2014, p. 24). These platforms have been creatively utilised to reach out to prospective enthusiastic volunteers. For example, Dombek's (2014) definition emphasised the online environment: "Translation crowdsourcing is understood as a distinct translation practice performed specifically in the online environment, at a request of a for-profit company or organisation and enabled only thanks to the incorporation of collaborative translation technologies" (p. 03). Jiménez-Crespo (2017) asserted that "crowdsourcing represents a practice firmly grounded in the participatory nature of the Web 2.0" (p. 13). Such definitions make the exploration of early translation crowdsourcing practices that predate the development of Web 2.0 and the online participatory culture a worthwhile endeavour.

In terms of agency, most studies have discussed crowdsourcing as an act of organisations that craft a call for participation to an undefined number of people. However, in translation crowdsourcing, Fuente (2014) noted that the individual can be the crowdsourcer too: "The initiator [of a crowdsourcing project] is an organization or an individual who puts up a task and asks for the crowd's voluntary support. It can be for-profit or not-for-profit by nature" (p. 199). The recognition of the individual's agency in crowdsourcing can improve the understanding of the involvement of non-professionals, given their remarkable contributions to the translation industry.

The increased use of crowdsourcing in translation practice has encouraged explorations of the motivations of volunteer participation (see Dolmaya, 2012; Olohan, 2014). Businesses, organisations, institutions, and collectives have taken advantage of crowdsourcing tools to harness the wisdom of the crowd, be it a large group of non-professionals, experts, volunteers, professionals, fans, or citizens, to perform tasks (Jiménez-Crespo, 2017). Despite the recent interest, this is still an under-researched area in TS.

2.9 Motivation theories

The exploration of the high prevalence of volunteer translation projects could be facilitated through the conceptualisation of motivation. According to Reeve (2009), motivation is a "private, unobservable, and seemingly mysterious experience" (p. 10). Thus, the identification of individual motivations, which have been addressed in many studies, can be complicated (Dombek, 2014).

2.9.1 Early theories of motivation

Motivation is primarily a psychological attribute that triggers action. Early theories of motivation revolved around the idea of humans as organisms responding to internal and external forces (Yeung, 2004), such as needs (Maslow, 1970), drives (Miller, 1951), and instincts (Freud, 1915, 1926). For example, Maslow's (1943) seminal hierarchy of needs theorises human motivation in a five-tiered model that begins with the physiological needs for living and ends with the need for personal growth. The motivations in this model suggest an internal desire to take action.

The attempts to understand human motivation were extended with the introduction of Alderfer's (1969) theory of human needs as an alternative to Maslow's theory. Alderfer's theory is based on a three-fold conceptualisation of human needs: existence, relatedness, and growth. It is similar to Maslow's in terms of the focus on internal needs. However, Alderfer does not consider lower-level satisfaction (i.e., physiological needs) to be a

prerequisite for the emergence of higher-order needs (e.g., growth). Over the years, several other approaches to the study of motivation have emerged.

The next stage in motivation research extended the scope. For example, Tesser (1986) and Harter (1990) introduced the theme of self-evaluation in self-worth theories. Maehr's (1984) personal investment theory and Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, which focused on personal agency beliefs, provided another perspective. Other studies during this period adopted the view that human actions are driven by two types of motivation: intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivations are the spontaneous satisfaction and appreciation that influence behaviour (Gagné & Deci, 2005). Extrinsic motivations refer to external compensation, such as rewards and opportunities to gain work experience (Olohan, 2014). Thus, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are almost indistinguishable.

During the 1980s and 1990s, motivation studies focused on goal-related processes and personal agency beliefs. Nevertheless, cognitive processes and, increasingly, emotion have also received attention. For example, Ford's (1992) motivational systems theory indicated "the need to integrate separate but generally compatible ideas into a systematic understanding" (p. 2). A key aspect in this theoretical perspective of human motivation is the inclusion of societal factors (Yeung, 2004).

Ford's (1992) view of motivation consists of three elements: the organised patterning of personal goals, emotional arousal processes, and personal agency beliefs (i.e., capability and context beliefs; pp. 3, 73–75, 78). This approach to motivation is more comprehensive than that regarding the internal–external dichotomy in traditional categorisations. A key element in Ford's (1992) theory is the definition of internal factors as a combination of environment and individual reflections rather than psychological explanations: "Achievement and competence are [the] results of a motivated, skilful, and biologically capable person interacting within a responsive environment" (p. 70). Ford's theory introduced the turn toward the consideration of the role of environmental factors in motivation. Yeung (2004) argued that human motivation follows a trajectory. In other words, motivations change over time; thus, the passage of time is an influence. The current study assumed that the public narratives on Arabic translation would motivate volunteers to perform translation work either individually or in collaborative crowdsourced projects.

2.9.2 Theorising motivation in translation studies

TS has highlighted the external factors in motivation. For example, O'Brien (2011) identified three types of motivation for participation in collaborative translation: (1) commercial motivation, i.e., clients' need for the translation of a high volume of content in a short time; (2) social motivation, i.e., aid organisations' reliance on volunteer translation for social causes; and (3) personal motivation, i.e., translator collaborations as opportunities for skill enhancement or simply repaying society. Dombek (2014) also went beyond the purely psychological approach to evaluate the role of the environment in which translation is performed on volunteer translators' motivations. The study examined the design of Facebook's interactive platform through which the Polish translation of the social network was performed by volunteers.

Despite the variations, there are commonalities in the definitions, concepts, and approaches regarding motivation. The current study on volunteer translation adopted a narrative perspective. It was informed by the aforementioned theories, which contain elements that are universally recognised as complex human attributes.

2.9.3 Overview of common motivations identified in previous studies

Generally, the motivations of the volunteer translators did not appear to be much different from those of the volunteer contributors to humanitarian causes organised by charities and nongovernmental organisations. However, volunteer translators tend to be driven essentially by the need to gain work experience and the desire to improve their translation skills. This section discusses the motivations previously identified in studies conducted mainly in Europe and North America. The condensed review of previously highlighted motivations facilitates comparisons with the findings of the current study.

In a study of the underlying motivations in user-generated translation, O'Hagan (2009) found that volunteer translators who participated in crowdsourced projects seemed to be influenced by the spirit of sharing materials with like-minded people. Therefore, self-appointed volunteer translators were willing to perform laborious time-consuming tasks, including the translation and distribution of open-source programs or other topics in which they had a great interest. O'Brien and Schaler (2010) found that volunteer translators who participated in TRF translation projects were highly motivated by their

support of the organisations' goals. This was followed closely by the desire to gain professional translation experience for future paid work. O'Brien and Schaler also found that the feedback from TRF clients and professional translators was the most influential motivating factor for future volunteering in translation.

Dolmaya (2012) studied the motivations of volunteers who translated for the English Wikipedia and other crowdsourced translation initiatives. Most (89.3%) of the 75 respondents were found to be motivated primarily by the desire to make information available to other language speakers. The same motivation appeared to be the case for historical volunteer translation. For example, Olohan (2012) found that the "progress of science," an altruistic motivation, influenced volunteer translations of 18th century scientific materials (p. 205). The project relied on the perception of scientific knowledge dissemination as a public good that ultimately contributes to scientific progress, particularly in Britain.

Olohan (2014) provided a contemporary example. A qualitative analysis of 11 blog entries of volunteer translators identified the underlying motivations for their contributions to TED Translations. The motivations were placed into six categories: (1) sharing TED benefits, (2) effecting social change, (3) deriving a warm glow, (4) participating in communities, (5) enhancing learning, and (6) deriving enjoyment. In a case study of 177 TED Translation volunteer translations, Fuente (2014) found that the highest ranked motivations were related to values, reciprocity, enjoyment of free time, and learning. The most common motivations were (1) to be involved in the organisation's mission to spread ideas (87.6%), (2) to contribute to society through knowledge sharing (76.8%), (3) to spend free time in a fun and constructive way (63.3%), and (4) to gain more experience and translation skills (53.1%).

The situation in for-profit organisations was not significantly different. Dombek's (2014) study of Facebook user-translators found that they perceived their translation as an activity for the public good and for the benefit of individuals who did not understand English. The opportunity to put their skills into practice was indicated as the most common influence in the volunteers' participation in Facebook's translation project.

On the basis of the foregoing review, the motivations of European and North American volunteer translators can be summarised as follows:

- Enhancing learning

- Deriving a warm glow

- Effecting social change

- Putting skills into practice

- Supporting the cause of an organisation

- Sharing materials with like-minded people

- Contributing to knowledge progression

- Gaining professional translation experience

- Using free time in a fun and constructive way

- Getting constructive feedback from professional translators

- Making information available to other language speakers

2.10 Theory in translation studies

Any exploration of motivation in TS must begin with an understanding of the established theories and approaches in the field. That TS seems to be interdisciplinary is a reflection of the fact that the act of translation always occurs between two or more languages or varieties of a language. Therefore, translators' and translation researchers' modifications of theories and practices over time should not be unexpected.

Since the 20th century, remarkable progress has been made in TS, which continues to incorporate theories from related disciplines. Translation theory and research have been enhanced by the development of other disciplines, such as linguistics, literature, narratology, sociology, and psychology since the 1950s, and the rise of movements, such as deconstructionism, feminism, postcolonialism, and activism. The incorporation of theories and perspectives from other disciplines have led to innovations in TS.

The 1970s are significant because they mark the birth of TS as an academic discipline. It was the period when James Holmes (1972) advanced the understanding of translation and coined the term *translation studies*. In his seminal article, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies," Holmes drew a map for TS and divided the field into two parts: pure and applied studies. The former focuses on the theoretical and descriptive aspects of the

discipline, and the latter focuses on the practice (e.g., training, technology, and assessment).

Scholars have played a critical role in the changes in TS; however, the reasons for these changes have not received much attention. Jixing (2012) attributed the significant changes to the diversity of definitions of translation. According to Jixing, the definition of translation is a fork in the road that eventually leads to a new turn in TS. The choice of a definition, which usually functions as a research orientation during a specific period, is made for scholarly interests and/or cultural reasons. Any definition not only describes and interprets the basic properties of translation but also determines its connotation and scope (Jixing, 2012). The various perceptions of translation in contemporary TS have been grouped under three paradigms: linguistic, cultural, and social.

2.10.1   The linguistic paradigm

The linguistic paradigm comprises several definitions and discussions regarding translation. For example, Roman Jakobson (2000) introduced three types of translation: intralingual, interlingual, and inter-semiotic (p. 114). They refer to the transfer of meaning within the same language, between two languages, and even between verbal and nonverbal signs. It can be argued that Jakobson's definition has inspired other linguistics-oriented accounts of translation. Catford (1965) defined translation as "an operation performed on languages": an operation that is "a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another" (p. 1). Newmark (2001) described translation as the process of "rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the way that the author intended the text" (p. 5).

The linguistics-oriented approaches in TS were influenced by Nida (1964), whose experience in translating the Bible and training inexperienced translators informed his development of a new approach. This systematic approach borrowed theoretical concepts and terminology from semantics, pragmatics, and Chomsky's syntax (Munday, 2012). Based on these experiences and theories, Nida (1964) introduced a new dichotomy: (1) formal equivalence, which is oriented towards the form and meaning of the source text; and (2) dynamic equivalence, which focuses on the receiver's response, rather than the

original form and message, by producing the closest natural equivalent of the meaning and style of the source text in the target language.

According to linguistics-focused theories, translation refers to the substitution of texts from one language in another or the exchange of meaning between languages. The focus on equivalence in TS has led to the neglect of factors such as context and translator subjectivity (Jixing, 2012). This deficiency in the linguistics-based account of translation has necessitated research that goes beyond the equivalence–non-equivalence dichotomy.

2.10.2   The cultural paradigm

The cultural paradigm signifies the next turn in TS, in which the prescriptive definitions of the linguistics-influenced theorists were supplanted by descriptive descriptions. Gutt (1991), who introduced pragmatics into TS, was critical of the previous theories and approaches, especially equivalence and the resemblance of meaning. According to Gutt, "equivalence-based theories" focus exclusively on "systematic comparison," and "the notion of equivalence itself may not be truly evaluative in nature but merely comparative," thereby rendering it "inadequate for evaluating translation" (pp. 13–14). Gutt drew on Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory of communication. He emphasised "the significance of changes in context often involved in translation work" (Gutt, 1991, p. 41). According to Gutt, translation is the "interpretive use of language" to convey meaning (p. 46).

This pragmatic approach prioritises communication over equivalence, the previous focus, with regard to the source text. According to Hickey (1998):

> [The pragmatic approach] attempts to explain translation – procedure, process and product – from the point of view of what is done by the original author in or by the text, what is done in the translation as a response to the original, how and why it is done in that way in that context. (p. 4)

In fact, this approach considers the process and wider context of translation.

The cultural turn in the definition of translation continued away from the purely linguistics-oriented perspective. For example, Lefevere (1992) explained translation as a

form of rewriting. The focus is the underlying factors, such as ideology, institution, and power, in attitudes towards literary texts (Munday, 2012). Individuals in positions of power are driven by ideology and/or poetics to "rewrite" (i.e., translate) the literature. The aim is to make the text conform to literary conventions (Munday, 2012). Rewriting is at the heart of almost any type of writing; however, Lefevere differentiated translation:

> Translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and . . . it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin (Lefevere, 1992, p. 09).

In the post-structuralism perspective and Lefevere's idea of rewriting, all readings are necessarily misreadings, and every reading is rewriting (Jixing, 2012). Thus, no translation can reflect the exact meaning of the original text. Even the original can be questioned because there is no original; there is merely a translated idea that is a product of rewriting (Jixing, 2012). The external influence on the text is at the core of Lefevere's theory of rewriting. The influential power could be a person, a group, or institutions.

The cultural turn in TS brought attention to the cultural elements that were unnecessarily marginalised or completely ignored in the early translation theories. In other words, the cultural approach addresses the interaction between translation and culture in terms of impact and constraints. According to Lefevere (1992), "if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win out" (p. 39). Indeed, the relationship between power and translation has been a focus of researchers since the 1990s. It coincided with the rise of post-colonial studies and the growing influence of Foucault's power theory (1971) and Bourdieu's (1991) culture and power theory. This interest in the concept of relationship in the context of translation has led to continued attempts to explore the influences of not only translators and source texts but also power and social and cultural factors.

The contact with other disciplines related to cultural studies introduced gender as an area of interest in TS. For example, Simon (1996) discussed translation from a gender perspective. The focus was the sexist language in translation in terms of dominance, fidelity, faithfulness, and betrayal. Feminist approaches have highlighted the similarities between the status of translation, which is usually considered to be inferior to the original

text, and that of women, who have been repressed in society and literature (Munday 2012, p. 198). A feminist translator, therefore, deliberately aims to manipulate the text and use of language to emphasise the presence of women. According to Godard (1990), affirming a critical difference, rewriting, and demonstrating manipulation of the text are the practices of a feminist translator.

In her introduction to her translation of Lise Gauvin's *Lettres d'une autre*, feminist translator Susanne de Lotbiniere-Harwood (as cited in Gauvin, 1989) explained her stance: "My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature on a translation means: this translation has used every translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language" (p. 9). Thus, translation is not merely a process of transferring meaning from one language to another. Cultural issues, which are very influential, cannot be overlooked. Therefore, the cultural turn in TS was inevitable and even predictable.

It is notable that the perceptions of translation have expanded beyond the traditional idea of fidelity to the source text. Culturally driven studies have considered the wider context of translation and have advocated descriptive rather than prescriptive approaches. A focus has been the influence of cultural factors on the translated text regardless of the achievement of equivalence between the source and target texts. The translator's subjectivity and stance in relation to the text have also been addressed. The focus on the translator's subjectivity is obvious, particularly with the perception of translation as rewriting.

The focus of the linguistic paradigm has been what translation should be, and that of the cultural paradigm has been what translation is. This tendency to examine environmental factors has paved the way for new attempts to interpret translation decisions, to understand the motivations, and to explore the function of the translated text. These theories and approaches influenced the turn toward social and psychological perspectives.

2.10.3   The social paradigm

The social paradigm encompasses studies that focus on the interactions of translation, society, and identity. The study of translators rather than texts and cultures has been

receiving attention (Munday, 2012). The role of translators as active agents is addressed because no translation can exist without their involvement. Even automated translation is programmed and/or operated by an active agent, be it an individual or an institution.

Many of the early studies drew on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) concepts of field, habitus, capital, and illusion to investigate the role of the translator. In an early article, Simeoni (1998) explored the sources of translators' dispositions, the influences on their decision-making, and the related mechanisms. He concluded that translation is an inadequately structured activity in which "most translating agents exert their activity in fields where their degree of control is nil or negligible" (Simeoni, 1998, p. 14). Conversely, Inghilleri (2005) argued that the application of Bourdieu's theory to translation research could facilitate the understanding of how translators and interpreters are "both implicated in and able to transform the forms of practice in which they engage" (p. 143). The theory proved fruitful, given its wide adoption (see Alkhamis, 2012; Angelelli, 2014; Elgindy, 2013; Hanna, 2016; Inghilleri, 2005; Khalifa, 2017; Khalifa & Elgindy, 2014; Sapiro, 2008, 2010, 2015; Wolf & Fukari, 2007).

The study of translation from social perspectives highlights the association between translation and identity. Cronin (2006) perceived translation as central to the understanding of identity. He stated: "From the household to the city to the world, translation must be at the centre of any attempt to think about questions of identity in human society" (Cronin, 2006, p. 1). Cronin highlighted China because of the crucial role of translation in the social and national reforms, as expressed in the statement "the country must either translate or perish" (p. 25). Gentzler (2008) argued that translation constructs individuals; it shapes identity. He perceived translation as a social activity that creates national identity. Based on the study of translation in several countries and regions, such as the United States, Canada, Brazil, Latin America, and the Caribbean, Gentzler drew parallels between human progress and the history of translation.

Not only does translation construct identity, but it might also reposition it in another society. In a study of the subtitling of a French movie, Mevel (2007) showed that translation can be used to relocate identity. Using a dialect-to-dialect approach, the translators produced a new identity that did not exist in the original work. Another example of transferring identity through translation is Muṭrān's (1912) Arabic translation

of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The translator took an extreme Arabisation approach. Muṭrān claimed that the story was originally Arabic and that Shakespeare must have accessed it in Arabic or via a translation before writing his version. He asserted that his translation of *Othello* restored the story and returned it to the language and culture from which it was taken: "I approached this play to Arabise it, as if I were retrieving it into its origin" (Muṭrān, 1912, p. 8). Not only did Muṭrān shift the origin of the story, but he also swapped the positions of the two texts such that his Arabised text is considered the source text, and Shakespeare's becomes the translation (Hanna, 2005). Translation in this case is an example of constructing, as well as relocating, the identity of Othello.

The mutual influence of translation and identity can also be seen in self-translated literature. Wilson (2009) associated self-translation with the problematisation of identities. She gave an example of Duranti, who drew on her own experience as a migrant between two cultures to reflect on what it means to be translated both geographically and textually. Translation in this respect is integral to the construction, embodiment, and voicing of identity instead of the mere provision of the text to the audience of the target culture.

These examples of and approaches to translation that go beyond the transfer of meaning between two languages indicate that TS is entering a new paradigm: the social paradigm. The questions in this paradigm are not about equivalence or the effects on culture but, rather, the interactions of translation, translators, and society. The focus on key social issues, such as agency, ideology, and identity, has broadened the scope of the discipline.

2.10.4   The narrative turn in Translation Studies

The socio-narrative approach constitutes a methodology for research under the social paradigm. It integrates storytelling from narratology with social effects from sociology to understand and/or to interpret behaviours. In other words, this approach aims to explore the ways in which narratives shape society. In sociology, the link between narratives and action is not unexpected. Somers and Gibson (1994) claimed that "everything we know from making families, to coping with illness, to carrying out strikes and revolutions is at least in part a result of numerous cross-cutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves" (p. 41). Similarly, Fisher (1997) asserted that "[all] communities are co-

constituted through communication transactions in which participants co-author a story that has coherence and fidelity for the life that one would lead" (p. 323). That said, narratives may be key to understanding behaviour, e.g., volunteer translation performed without the expectation of monetary rewards.

In the narrative approach to TS, narratives in any society are considered to be dynamic in terms of their construction and presentation. This is different from the literary perception. Thus, a narrative is not a specific genre or discrete text. It is the shared perception of ideas, events, or people on which individual actions are based. This also means "that no narrative can be understood as a static construct since it evolves in time and space out of a process of negotiation among actors of the same or different communities" (Boeri, 2009, p. 41). The socio-narrative approach, therefore, allows researchers to adopt a critical stance on traditional sociological methods that, according to Somers and Gibson (1994), had constrained the scope of study to "observable social behaviour measured variously by social interests, rational preferences, or social norms and values rather than by exploring expressions of social being and identity" (p. 04).

There is a substantial relationship between identity and narratives that can be investigated from a socio-narrative perspective. Questions of identity formation, agency, and ideology have always been at the heart of scholarly discussions. For example, Suny and Kennedy (2001) underscored the role of intellectuals in the construction of national identity in terms of the double image of silencing/articulating:

> Intellectuals create different ideologies of national identity within a larger discursive universe of available materials. They do the imaginative ideological labor that brings together disparate cultural elements, selected historical memories, and interpretations of experiences, all the while silencing the inconvenient, the unheroic, and the anomalous. (p. 2)

Suny and Kennedy (2001) attributed ultimate agency to intellectuals in terms of identity formation. Other scholars have disagreed with this rather simplistic view. Addressing identity formation from a socio-narrative perspective, Lakoff (1997) argued that narratives constructed and told by members of a culture give a picture of the culture: a picture that presents its identity. Thus, identity is the product of the shared contributions of the members of a society. This includes, but is not limited to, intellectuals.

Social identity is too complex and dynamic to be shaped by a limited group, i.e., the intellectuals, in a society. Hanna (2005) argued that the overestimation of the role of intellectuals as the sole creators of national identities implies the neglect of the complex socio-cultural and institutional processes that, along with the agency of the intellectuals, condition the formation of national identities. The convolution of social identity involves multiple agents who adjust narratives to fit their own identities and lead their lives (Somers & Gibson, 1994). Somers (1992) argued that these narratives "are not incorporated into the self in any direct way; rather they are mediated through the enormous spectrum of social and political institutions and practices that constitute our social world" (p. 625). It would appear that institutions and practices, such as the family, work, state, hobbies, and friends, contribute to the development of identity.

The socio-narrative approach facilitates the investigation of the stories that shape individuals' sense of self in the world with which they interact. For example, Kucharski (2020) explained that in an epidemic, individuals are tempted to conjure up narratives and explanations about the outbreak as if it were inevitable and could therefore recur in the same way. To make sense of what happened, they use narratives in ways that might not be correct. Somers and Gibson (1994) argued that "narrative reframing" requires that scholars "postulat[e] something much more substantive about narrative: namely, that social life is itself storied and that narrative is an ontological condition of social life" (p. 38). Narratives, which shape identities, are mediated by the institutions and practices in a society. Translators are a part of this social fabric; thus, it stands to reason that the socio-narrative approach would be incorporated into TS.

2.10.4.1 The socio-narrative approach in translation studies

In a globalised world, translation is a critical communication tool. Baker (2006) asserted that translation is essential for the legitimisation of specific versions of events and appeals to an international audience. This certainly cannot be achieved without translators and interpreters. The need for good communication has been best expressed by Chilton (1997), who considered a declaration of war as a very linguistic action. Whether it be a political conflict, multinational corporate advertising campaign, or pandemic (e.g., coronavirus disease 2019 [COVID-19]), there is a story that needs to be adequately told in two or more languages to encourage support for a war, the purchase of a product, or

the adoption of protective measures to minimise disease transmission. When more than one language is involved, the performance of translators and interpreters has a major effect on the audience response.

Smith (1997) observed that during the break-up of the USSR and Yugoslavia, the successful politicians were those who used effective strategies for mobilising the public. This is also true in commerce. When The Coca-Cola Company penetrated the Chinese market, the brand name was translated as *kekoukele*, which, while being different from the original, maintained the basic phonetic features. This translation appeals to the Chinese people's cultural identity and psychology and narrates the new product as the drink of happiness (Ran, 2010). For disease names, the choice tends to be translation that endorses the translators' narratives. Kucharski (2020) noted that blaming others for epidemics is not an unexpected tendency. He gave an example of a 16th century syphilis outbreak that was referred to by the British as the French pox. The French believed that it had come from Naples; thus, they named it the Neapolitan disease. In Russia, it was called the Polish disease. In Poland, it was the Turkish disease, and in Turkey, it was narrated as the Christian disease. These examples demonstrate how translation is influenced by and promotes narratives.

The critical role of translators in circulating, constructing, or contesting narratives has attracted the attention of translation scholars. Drawing primarily on social and communication theory, Baker (2006) introduced the socio-narrative approach to TS. Narratives are understood as dynamic entities that develop as individuals encounter and experience new stories every day. The power of the socio-narrative approach lies in its recognition that "people's behavior is ultimately guided by the stories they come to believe about the events in which they are embedded, rather than by their gender, race, colour of skin, or any other attribute" (Baker 2006, p. 3). Translation, therefore, can be used as a vehicle to promote narratives that eventually shape reality, legitimise decisions, or trigger actions.

The consideration of the translation from a narrative perspective facilitates the detection of the translator's driving ideology and the possible manipulation of the source and/or target text. Thus, every translation, to some extent, represents a social group's ideology and poetics. In intercultural and intracultural communication, strong narratives usually

dominate the discourse. Thus, translation is a tool to express ideas and to confront the less appealing narratives.

In a study of the translation of Shakespeare's *Othello* in Egypt, Hanna (2005) demonstrated the significant differences in two translations of the same play. Influenced by their own narratives on national identity, the two translators "use[d] language in order to (un)make particular versions of national cultural identity" (Hanna, 2005, p. 112). This example shows that Shakespeare was narrated through translation and embedded in competing narratives in a society that it had never been part of.

Approaching translation from a socio-narrative perspective allows translation research to go far beyond the texts being translated or produced. It highlights the key elements, other than the meaning of the source text, that can drive translation decisions. Al-Sharif (2009) argued that translators' practice "is guided by their intentions; by the narratives to which they subscribe; and by the interests of the institution for which they are employed" (p. 50). Thus, translators act to comply with narratives they believe or want to circulate. Their involvement is crucial in taking the narratives to a higher level, a meta-narrative. For example, translators and interpreters were instrumental in developing the public narrative of terrorism into a globally known meta-narrative of the War on Terror (Baker, 2006). Public narratives might initially emerge from local communities and social entities (e.g., family, workplace, city). However, their reach depends on their wider circulation, hence the influence of translators and interpreters (Boeri, 2009).

The articulation of narratives is not necessarily straightforward or streamlined into a set of stable stories. Instead, they are dynamic and identifiable through multiple sources:

> Narrative theory . . . allows us to piece together and analyse a narrative that is not fully traceable to any specific stretch of text but has to be constructed from a range of sources, including non-verbal material. In so doing, it acknowledges the constructedness of narratives and encourages us to reflect critically on our own embeddedness in them. (Baker, 2006, p. 04)

The segmentation of a narrative does not mean that it does not exist. Instead, it is more like an infinite jigsaw with everyone fitting together as part of the picture.

Scientific narratives are no exception, as they legitimise and justify actions and stances in everyday life. Moreover, they become self-evident, normalised, and non-controversial over time. Scientist Georges Cuvier (1769–1923) (as cited in Baker, 2006) wrote about the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of other races. He performed his infamous scientific dissection of a South African woman to solve the mysteries of her genitalia. Because the narrative of racial superiority was "scientifically" accepted at that time, Cuvier's work did not raise any eyebrows. Thus, prior to the woman's death and Cuvier's "scientific" dissection, the woman was put on public display in London for the inspection of her narratively different body (Baker, 2006). According to Baker, "their senses had been numbed by the narratives of their time" (p. 12). The extent to which narratives shape understanding is the influential factor in the exploration of the position of translators as social actors, whether they translate political or scientific content or perform volunteer translation in their spare time.

The involvement of translators in disseminating, contesting, or merely getting exposed to a narrative marks their position. According to Baquedabo-Lopez (2001), narratives relate not only events but also "stances and dispositions towards those events" (p. 343). The alignment of individuals and events in narratives highlights the fact that neutrality is not possible from a narrative perspective. Consequently, the outcome of narrative-based research is necessarily influenced by the researcher's own narrative location. In fact, this attribute of the narrative approach is implicitly acknowledged in Baker's (2006) model.

Baker's (2006) model consists of the narrativity features of temporality, relationality, selective appropriation, and causal emplotment. These features suggest the deliberate inclusion and exclusion of elements to construct a coherent narrative. Temporality requires a narrative to be embedded in a timeframe in order to make sense to the recipient. Temporal elements can be manipulated to stir a narrative or to reconstruct it completely. Choosing the time component is actually an attempt to understand a story and/or to deliver an intended meaning of it. Within the temporal frame, a narrative can make sense only by relating events to each other (Somers, 1994). Relationality, therefore, is an act in which the narrator constructs their version of a narrative. A narrative construction from an infinite number of events is an acknowledgement that the human mind constructs a narrative "through patterns of selection and foregrounding" (Baker, 2016, p. 249). This selective appropriation feature is very subjective by nature; hence, any claim of neutrality is unexpected.

The whole narrative-making process is overarched by the causal emplotment feature that plots the narrative. In other words, the same facts and events can result in two conflicting narratives when plotted by opposing parties. The COVID-19 pandemic is an example of globally conflicting narratives on the same events related to the disease. Chinese officials tried to control the narrative. However, opposing narratives blamed China for hiding the truth and causing normal life to be upended around the world. The causal emplotment feature is conditioned by the narrative location of the narrator and their stance regarding the subject.

2.10.4.2 The socio-narrative approach under criticism

Despite being a turning point in TS, the socio-narrative theory (Baker 2006) has received some critiques. In an interview with Baker, Chesterman raised the question of the vagueness and flexibility of the concept of narrative in the theory (Baker, 2008). The utility of the theory was also addressed. Baker (2008) argued that narrative, like culture and context, is a meeting ground for disciplines and is therefore open to multiple interpretations. The socio-narrative approach in TS is "concerned with the way people construct narratives rather than whether what the construct meets all the requirements of a given definition of narrative" (Baker, 2008, p. 22). Sadler (2019) considered Baker's approach pragmatic. She asserted that a theory should be assessed not by its internal coherence and/or beauty as an abstract system but, rather, its utility in real-world interpretations.

The major criticism of the socio-narrative theory was made by Pym (2016) in his paper on empiricism in TS. The main critique was that Baker's approach lacked an empirical basis and instead consisted of fragments of other theories. According to Pym, Baker "shanghaies those pieces into political activism, a place that not all of the original theorists had envisaged" (p. 290). Although this argument is true to some extent, Sadler (2019) nevertheless considered it to be one of the significant contributions of Baker's work on narratives. The notion of *story* has been adopted in a wide range of disciplines. Examples are Somers and Gibson (1994) in sociology; Bruner (1986), Polkinghorne (1991), and Sarbin (1986) in psychology; White (1973), Mink (2001), and Danto et al. (2007) in historiography; Ricoeur (1984, 1991) in philosophy; and Derrida (1974), Barthes (1975), and Ryan (2004) in narratology. Sadler (2019) argued that the approaches and traditions

of these scholars remained separate. They did not acknowledge the significance of interlingual mediation and the crucial role of translation in transmitting narratives across lingual and cultural boundaries. This is the area in which Baker's approach has flourished and provided answers to often overlooked questions about translators as social agents.

With the socio-narrative approach, narrative is understood as an inescapable mode of communication. Pym (2016) argued that narratives are merely one element in a communicative exchange. They are not the only way for the human mind to apprehend knowledge and everyday experiences. Nevertheless, to contextualise the criticism of the socio-narrative theory, Pym began his paper with his personal narrative: "One of the things that first attracted me to translation was the way this particular object of knowledge invited repeated testing" (p. 289). The paper includes stories about the TS field. It discussed the introduction of Baker's (2006) socio-narrative theory before concluding with a story: "Let me close with a story about why I am interested in the issue" (Pym, 2016, p. 311). Therefore, it can be argued that Pym confirmed rather than denied the inevitable narrative mode of human communication.

The question of subjectivity remains a critical point in research in general. However, the socio-narrative approach specifically shifts away from this question and sensibly embraces subjectivity by rejecting any claimed neutrality. This integral element has attracted criticism. Chesterman (as cited in Baker, 2008) argued that the narrative theory is interpretive in a way that makes any narrative unfalsifiable. He wondered whether the theory was rooted in the Manipulation School (of translation studies in the 1980s), which argued that translators inevitably manipulate texts. However, Baker (2008) asserted that her approach was different in terms of the data used to support the claim, the conceptual apparatus applied to data analysis, and the degree of self-reflexivity performed by the analyst. According to Baker, the strength of her approach is the researcher's self-reflexivity: "It makes you constantly aware that you are not analysing other people's narratives from a privileged position but from a specific narrative location that restricts your own vision in specific way" (p. 11).

Narrative analysis, as applied in TS, has also been criticised for being conditioned by the researcher's stance. Pym (2016) argued that the process has been no more rigorous than cherry-picking the bits and pieces that suit the researcher to eventually produce an ideology termed *narrative*. Moreover, he asserted that separating linearity from narrative

ultimately leads to fragmented pieces of data being used to construct a narrative that excludes the remainder of the involved parties' expressions and actions. Paradoxically, Pym also selectively used aspects of Baker's academic work, publishing business, and activism to make his argument about the "non-empirical approach" (p. 296). Thus, it could be argued that the narrative mode as applied in TS is genuinely inescapable.

Pym (2016) considered the selectivity in the socio-narrative approach a structural defect. However, Sadler (2019) considered it instrumental. It demonstrated that scholars should not avoid theoretical eclecticism because narrative still had much to offer as a theoretical concept. For example, Baker (2006) gave equal consideration to the researcher's embeddedness within narratives and to their objects of inquiry. She also rejected the notion of the objective researcher uncovering truths through methods that allow them to set aside the influence of their own positions and concerns. Thus, Baker highlighted the value of scholars studying contexts to which they have personal connections and practicing sufficient reflexivity.

Pym's (2016) criticism of Baker's theory came 10 years after Baker's prominent book *Translation and Conflict*, which was first published in 2006. A review of the literature indicates that, thus far, this is the only paper devoted to criticising the approach under question. Some fundamental issues, such as the theoretical basis and high subjectivity, were questioned. However, Pym's argument contains contradictions. He constructed a narrative that was supported by selectively included fragments, and he took a subjective stance about the book's author, Mona Baker. The inclusion of someone's business and employment position and use of words such as *hypocrisy* and *infantile narratives* are surprising in a paper that severely criticises subjectivity and advocates empiricism. It confirms the strength and appropriateness of the socio-narrative approach for studying real-world experiences, events, behaviours, and perceptions.

2.10.4.3 Early adopters of socio-narrative theory

Since its introduction by Baker (2006), socio-narrative theory has been used by translation scholars and researchers to study a wide range of issues. These studies constitute a significant body of literature in their own right (Sadler, 2019) and demonstrate the flexibility of the approach. Sue-Ann Harding is considered the most important proponent, as evidenced by her adaptation of Baker's approach and application of socio-narrative theory to a variety of issues, such as translations of news on the Beslan

Hostage Disaster (Harding, 2012b); the relationship between national narratives and publishing in Qatar (Harding 2014); the changing representation of migration on Russian television (Tolz & Harding 2015); and translations of witness testimony in South Afrian police stations (Harding & Raala 2017).

Other researchers have also successfully employed the socio-narrative approach. Al-Herthani (2009) investigated the re-narration of Edward Said in the Arab world through translation. Al-Sharif (2009) examined the narration of Palestinian women in MEMRI translations in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Boeri (2009) studied Babels' narratives of its activist volunteer (mainly simultaneous) interpreting project. Castro (2014) explored the history of translations of philosophical writing in Mexico. Luo (2015) examined the narratives constructed by the Yeeyan translation community. Sadler (2017) considered the fragmented narratives of Egyptian activists on Twitter. Alkroud (2018) studied the re-narration of Berbers in the Amazigh Translations of the Holy Quran. Jones (2018) investigated Wikipedia translations and the collaborative production of spatial knowledge through a case study of Paris. Dubbati and Abudayeh (2018) introduced the reframing of conflict in the Arabic translation of Sacco's novel *Footnotes in Gaza*. Filmer (2019) explored Italian identity through voice-over translations in BBC broadcasting.

These studies reveal the evolution and expansion of the scope of the narrative approach to overcome the limitations of prescriptive theories. To Sadler (2019), the significance of Baker's (2006) approach is that translation scholars have been encouraged to take more engaged positions in their work and to address topics that are less obviously textual than those studied in previous decades.

2.11 Concluding remarks

This chapter presented a literature review that focused on key knowledge areas that have contributed to the study of motivation from a narrative perspective, with specific reference to Arabic-speaking volunteer translators. Among the topics included in the review were the trajectory of Arabic translation, volunteer translation, motivation theories, translation theories, and the narrative turn in TS.

The chapter explained the phenomenon of new turns in the discipline and their influence on the development of interesting ideas. The crucial role of translators in human communication was addressed from multiple perspectives. For example, the linguistics-oriented approaches are focused on how translation should be performed, the cultural approaches try to describe what translation is, and the socio-narrative approach is concerned with what translation does. This new turn, which is attributed to Baker's (2006) work, is still open for improvements and new applications. According to Harding (2012a), this approach is limited only by the researcher's imagination. Therefore, stories about translation and translators are worthy of further consideration. This is the basis for the questions posed by the current study and the attempts to provide the appropriate answers.

3 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND RESEARCH DESIGN[7]

This chapter presents the research design and the approaches to the questions. It discusses mixed-methods approaches and the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design that was applied in this study. The research design is presented within the theoretical framework, which is guided by socio-narrative theory. The chapter provides justifications for the appropriateness of interviews and questionnaires as data collection methods, and

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[7] A portion of this chapter was included in the following publication: Alonayq, A. (2021). Narrating Arabic Translation online: Another perspective on the motivations behind volunteerism in the translation sector. In R. Desjardins, L. Claire, & L. Philippe (Eds.), *When translation goes digital* (pp. 91–119). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

it elucidates the pilot phase for both methods. It describes the sample of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators whose motivations were explored. The demographic profile of the participants is then presented. Finally, because this research involves human subjects, the data collection procedure and research ethics are addressed to show compliance with ethical principles.

Before the research design is presented, the study goal will be summarised to contextualise the methodology. This study explored the narratives of Arabic translation in relation to the underlying motivations in Arabic-speaking volunteer translators' participation in crowdsourcing initiatives. The study assumed that, in addition to possibly being influenced by the possible intrinsic and extrinsic motives discussed in previous studies, Arabic-speaking volunteer translators would also be motivated by appealing narratives to join a crowdsourcer that employs and/or constructs these narratives.

The study was undergirded by a socio-narrative theoretical framework. A narrative approach has been successfully adopted in various disciplines, such as literature, history, sociology, and medicine. It has proved helpful for interpreting practices, behaviours, and perceptions regardless of the academic perspectives and approaches toward the subjects (Al-Sharif, 2009). Baker's (2005, 2006) pioneering use of the narrative approach in translation has inspired the application of narratives in TS and the adoption of her model for narrative analysis. Therefore, the study design incorporated socio-narrative theory to explore the subject from a narrative perspective in an attempt to provide a novel interpretation of the phenomenon of crowdsourced volunteer translation.

3.1 Research design

Because of the use of the socio-narrative theoretical framework (see Chapter 1) and the complexity of the research questions, a mixed-methods approach was chosen. The data examined included surveys, interviews, and textual materials extracted from leading translation organisations in the Arab world and texts written about these organisations. The organisations are Kalima, the Arab Organization for Translation (AOT), Taghreedat, and the Translation Challenge. This blend of data offered the opportunity to investigate the topic from a variety of angles that included the volunteers' perspectives of and the researcher's engagement with Arabic translation narratives.

The interdisciplinary aspect of translation research has made the discipline very receptive to the use of a variety of methods to achieve research goals. Methods should be selected only on the basis of their potential to provide access to data that are relevant for answering the research questions (Kozinets, 2010). The present study was designed on this premise. The combination of narrative analysis with other methods, such as a survey and interviews, allowed for the research questions to be addressed with multiple complementary approaches. Consequently, it was necessary to identify and to apply methods that would enable: (1) the exploration of the Arabic translation narratives constructed and/or employed by translation initiatives, (2) the characterisation of the active volunteers' contributions to the translation initiatives, (3) the volunteers' underlying motivations, and (4) the influence of the narratives on these motivations. Hence, narrative analysis, questionnaires, and follow-up semi-structured interviews were incorporated into an exploratory sequential mixed-methods research design.

Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) defined mixed-methods research as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of enquiry" (p. 4). According to Creswell and Clark (2012), mixed-methods research can provide a better understanding of the subject under consideration than either qualitative or quantitative approaches. This claim is questionable and not necessarily the case in all types of research. However, the main objective of using this approach in the current research was to capitalise on the strengths of socio-narrative theory by gathering and analysing multiple types of data to expand the view of the subject. The mixed-methods approach was considered to be particularly appropriate because it overcomes the limitations of a single method. As Creswell (2009) stated, "biases inherent in any single method could neutralise or cancel the biases of other methods" (p. 14). Within the socio-narrative perspective, neutrality is not possible; thus, the mixed-methods approach allows for a well-supported interpretation of the findings.

The next section provides the rationale for this approach and explains the incorporation of the methods into the research design. Next is a discussion of each method. The elaboration of each method includes the implementation and type of data collected in order to explain their appropriateness for answering the research questions. Towards the end of the chapter, research ethics and compliance are addressed.

3.2 Justification for the mixed-methods approach

The present study is interdisciplinary. It examined the motivations of the individuals who participate in translation crowdsourcing projects in the Arab world and the narratives that they believe. Thus, a single method was not considered sufficient to provide the insights required to achieve the research objectives. The rationale for the application of mixed-methods designs in most studies is that "mixing both kinds of data within one study is grounded in the fact that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient, by themselves, to capture the trends and details of a situation" (Ivankova et al., 2006, p. 03). Therefore, two research methods were combined in the current study, which used a mixed-methods research design.

Before the questions regarding volunteer translators' motivations for participating in crowdsourcing translation initiatives were addressed, it was necessary to gain a sufficient understanding of the cultural backgrounds of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators, the initiatives in which they participate, the relevant narratives to which they are exposed, and their own narratives of translation and the projects in which they were involved. This could not be achieved with just one method, whether it be qualitative or quantitative. Therefore, this research adopted a mixed-methods approach guided by socio-narrative theory.

Currently, a great deal of translation activity occurs online in virtual communities that capitalise on affordable and easily accessible digital tools. These online communities are usually created to realise common interests and purposes (Dombek, 2014). Regardless of the purpose, each community has its own story that justifies its existence and contributions. This explains the continuing existence of volunteer groups, such as Babels, Translators Without Borders, TED Translators, Wikipedia, and fansubbing communities, which have taken different approaches and stances. In these continually growing translation communities, the volunteer motivations range from the desire to challenge political narratives to merely make Japanese anime available in other languages. The members of the Arabic-speaking translation community under consideration are no exception. There are stories that prompted them to undertake volunteer translation work.

It was assumed that narratives, in general, and Arabic translation narratives, in particular, would influence the volunteer translators' perceptions of Arabic translation initiatives and organisations. This would affect their intentions and behaviour and, hence, their

motivations. This highlighted the need for a detailed analysis of translation organisations' narratives and their effects when these narratives are used to attract volunteer translators to capitalise on their work.

A narrative analysis of selected materials was considered an appropriate investigation method for the present study. It was expected to provide the contextual background for the translation organisations and volunteers while showcasing the narration of translation in the Arabic discourse (i.e., Arabic stories about translation and the trajectory of Arabic translation projects). However, regarding the objectives of the present study, the use of only narrative analysis might have yielded a partial understanding of the subject under consideration (i.e., volunteer translators' motivations). The incorporation of other research methods seemed more likely to result in a well-rounded view of the subject under study.

The review of the literature revealed the previous attempts to study volunteer translators' motivations. Most were survey-based studies (e.g., Dolmaya, 2012; Dombek, 2014; O'Brien & Schaler, 2010). However, the study of volunteer translators' motivations is still open to new perspectives using different methods. Despite her very limited corpus, Olohan (2014) discussed the potential of textual analysis to facilitate explorations of translators' motivations. A review of the literature indicated that the only study that used a mixed-methods approach was conducted by Dombek (2014), who used surveys and netnography to study the motivations of volunteer translators who participated in a crowdsourced translation project.

From a methodological perspective, all of these studies, despite their significant contributions, have originated from volunteers and their involvement in translation projects. The exclusive reliance on surveys and/or interviews could, however, result in some underlying factors in volunteers' contributions to unremunerated translation work being overlooked. Such factors might not always be consciously recognised by survey participants. In other words, what participants consider to be the motivation might not necessarily be the real motivation and/or what they express as the motivation might not be the only one. Other factors, such as activism, ideology, political agenda, and public discourse, could be overlooked or even deliberately withheld or denied.

It can be argued that surveys often generate a limited number of responses (Oppenheim, 1992). In contrast, a narrative approach can enhance the understanding of not only the

emerging volunteer-driven translation projects but also the narratives that attract and retain volunteers. A narrative perspective is also appropriate for examining translation organisations' mission statements.

The socio-narrative theory is considered particularly useful for filling the above-mentioned gap and highlighting the Arabic translation stories circulated in the discourses to which Arabic-speaking volunteers are exposed. A review of the literature indicated that none of the studies on volunteer translators' motivations used narrative analysis. However, socio-narrative theory has proved to be a successful framework for translation research.

Although motivation and volunteer translation were not on the radar of the narrative research in TS, the existing research demonstrates the versatility of the narrative approach. Harding (2012a) asserted that the only limit to the application of narrative theory in TS is research imagination and data availability. The application of socio-narrative theory in this study was slightly different from that of previous studies in the field. Those earlier works explored the role of translation in challenging and/or constructing certain narratives and translators as key players in circulating narratives. This project, however, aimed to determine the narration of translation in the Arab world and the motivational narratives underlying translators' decision to work without monetary rewards. To achieve this goal, not only surveys and interviews but also a narrative analysis of a textual dataset were performed.

The research questions necessitated a deep analysis of the narratives of Arabic translation crowdsourcing initiatives. However, it was also necessary to directly approach the volunteers to elicit their perceptions about volunteer translation and their motivations regarding the organisations with which they had participated. Therefore, in addition to a preliminary narrative analysis, surveys and interviews were conducted. This use of a mixed-methods design within a narrative theoretical framework facilitated the approach to the phenomenon of volunteer translation and crowdsourcing initiatives from a new perspective and an in-depth, rigorous discussion and interpretation of the data.

3.3 Mixed-methods research in translation studies

As was previously observed, TS is interdisciplinary by nature. It emerged from linguistics and comparative literature and, thus, initially drew on the theories of these disciplines (Snell-Hornby, 1988). With the growth of TS, several methodologies and theoretical frameworks have been adapted from other disciplines to meet the demands of researchers and their inquiries. This accommodating aspect of TS encourages researchers to cross the traditional boundaries of qualitative and quantitative approaches. This section will elucidate the mixed-methods approach with regard to translation research.

The common understanding of mixed-methods research is work that combines two or more data collection methods. Meister (2018) defined it broadly as "a methodological approach that attempts to systematically explore the advantages and deal with the consequences of mixing at any level or phase in the research process" (p. 78). Thus, the mixing could exist in the theoretical framework, data collection, data analysis, or any other stage of the project. It is the integration of methods rather than the mere use of more than one method. The reason for mixed methods is that translation is a complex process itself. In Meister's study, five of 10 researchers confirmed the need to consider not only the translated texts but also the translators and their social contexts. Therefore, it was important that the present study use a mixed-methods approach.

It could be assumed that mixed-methods designs would not be commonly used in TS research, given that the discipline emerged from comparative literature and linguistics. However, they have been increasingly applied in recent studies. For example, Abdallah (2012) conducted a mixed-methods study to explore translators' workplaces in terms of the organisation, agency, structure, and interactions of the actors. The tendency to use mixed methods in translation research may lead to new questions and innovative methodologies that contribute to the discipline in general (Meister 2018). Within the field of TS, Williams and Chesterman (2002), and Saldanha and O'Brien (2013) are two key texts that assist researchers in the field to refine their ideas and be informed about the conceptual and methodological tools that can be applied based on the scope of a project. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary aspect of TS provides the flexibility to import and to adapt methods from other knowledge domains.

3.4 Exploratory sequential mixed-methods research design

In recent years, mixed-methods designs have been increasingly used in TS. Several mixed-methods strategies can be applied to a project depending on the data collection and analysis approaches (sequential vs. concurrent) and the data types (equally significant vs. complementary; Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2012). Creswell (2009) identified six frequently used designs: three sequential and three concurrent designs. One is an exploratory sequential mixed-methods design, which has gained popularity among researchers. Typically, the collection and analysis of the qualitative data are completed prior to the analysis of the quantitative data in consecutive phases in a study.

The current study applied the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design. The first phase was qualitative data collection and analysis, and the second was quantitative data collection and analysis. The key aspect of this design is that the second phase builds on the results of the first, the qualitative phase (Creswell, 2009). In the current study, the first phase was a narrative analysis that explored the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation in the Arabic discourse. Those narratives then constituted the main part of the ensuing questionnaire, which investigated volunteer translators' perceptions of these narratives and their motivations to join crowdsourced translation projects. According to Creswell (2009), the mixture lies in the connection between the quantitative data collection and qualitative data analysis. However, the current study incorporated a third follow-up phase. Interviews were conducted with some of the survey participants, as well as translation experts and project managers. These supporting interviews allowed for the further exploration of the data and in-depth discussions of the participants' perspectives.

The exploratory sequential mixed-methods design has many strengths. At the most basic level, it provides the opportunity to use the quantitative data and results to facilitate the interpretation of the qualitative findings (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, this multi-phase approach is more appropriate for describing and reporting on complex topics, such as volunteer translation. Creswell stated that this design "is useful to a researcher who wants to explore a phenomenon but also wants to expand on the qualitative findings" (p. 212). This opportunity for extended interpretation is probably most needed in studies such as the current study, which has a narrative orientation.

However, like any other research design, the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design has some weaknesses. For example, a substantial amount of time is required to

complete the phases. Moreover, the researcher has to weigh the findings of the initial phase to make key decisions about the focus in the ensuing quantitative phase (Creswell, 2009). Whatever the decisions, they should be informed and well justified, and more importantly, they should respond to the research objectives.

3.5 Qualitative and quantitative research approaches

The application of the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design allows the researcher to choose from a variety of methods for the qualitative and quantitative phases. The commonly used qualitative methods include focus groups, content analysis, observation, and individual interviews. In the quantitative phase, the methods facilitate the numerical analysis of data collected from polls, questionnaires, and surveys to explain specific phenomena. In the current study, narrative analysis and interviews were used in the qualitative phase, and a questionnaire was used in the quantitative phase. In the succeeding sections, the discussion on the research design will include the implementation of the methods and the data that were collected.

3.5.1 Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis was used to study selected texts and, subsequently, to inform the design of the questionnaire. This was guided by Baker's (2006) model, which is widely used for narrative analysis in TS (Harding 2012). The model consists of two parts. The first addresses the narrative typology, and the other addresses the narrative features. Baker identified four types of narratives that construct individuals' worldviews and guide their understanding of real-world experiences: the lives that they lead and the events in which they are embedded. They are personal narratives, public narratives, disciplinary narratives, and meta-narratives.

Personal narratives are individuals' stories about themselves: the stories they tell themselves about the world and their own lives. Public narratives are the shared stories that appear within social groupings, such as families, workplaces, communities, and societies. Disciplinary narratives are the theoretical concepts and historical accounts that circulate in academia and knowledge areas. Examples are theories of climate change,

Bourdieu's field theory, and Vermeer's skopos theory. Finally, meta-narratives are the universal stories "in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history . . . Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment, etc." (Somers & Gibson, 1994, p. 61). Baker (2006) cited the War on Terror as a contemporary example of a meta-narrative.

Each type of narrative can be located within a single text, statement, photograph, and/or website; however, each can also transcend these boundaries (Boeri, 2009). The narrative types also function interdependently as prisms that mediate an individual's experience of the world and sense of identity. The second part of the model identifies four narrativity features that can be used as tools for narrative analysis. They are temporality, relationality, selective appropriation, and causal emplotment (Baker, 2006; Somers & Gibson, 1994).

3.5.1.1   Temporality

Temporality refers to the way that a narrative is configured in time and space. This accommodates the complex organisation of elements that transcend the sequential progression of time. This embeddedness in time and space plays a very important role in narrative construction. As Somers (1994) argued, "narrativity demands that we discern the meaning of any single event, only in temporal and spatial relationship to other events" (p. 616). Baker (2006) asserted that "the way we order elements in a narrative, whether temporally or spatially, creates the connections and relations that transform a set of isolated episodes into a coherent account" (p. 52). The temporal and spatial elements in a narrative are significant to its meaning. Boeri (2009) argued that "they are meaningful in their own right" (p. 61). However, the same narrative would be apprehended differently if it were embedded in a different temporal context.

3.5.1.2   Relationality

A narrative consists essentially of events that together construct a meaning only if relationality exists between the events such that someone can make sense of them. Somers (1994) asserted that narrativity creates the meaning of a single event only by association with other interrelated events. Boeri (2009) offered an example in which the narration of

volunteer translation was influenced by the relationship between the translation and events. On the one hand, volunteer translation was narrated positively in the Babels community as an act of political engagement in an anti-globalisation movement. On the other hand, the same action of volunteer translation was narrated as the devaluation of the profession by the professional conference interpreting community. The narrative was influenced by the relationality to the act.

3.5.1.3   Selective appropriation

Narrative construction is a process that involves the inclusion and exclusion of events in order to achieve a goal. Social actors have beliefs, principles, and values that form the basis of the evaluative framework that guides their behaviour (Al-Sharif, 2009). This framework decides the choices they make from "the infinite variety of events, experiences, characters, institutional promises and social factors" that surround them during the process of elaborating a narrative (Somers & Gibson 1994, p. 60). Baker (2016) stated that "in order to elaborate a coherent narrative, the human mind must de-select some aspects of what it perceives and foreground others, whether consciously or unconsciously" (p. 250). This selection or de-selection eventually contributes to the narrative, whether from the constructor's or receiver's perspective. Both practice selective appropriation in order to make sense of a given narrative.

3.5.1.4   Causal emplotment

Causal emplotment can be considered the overarching feature of narrativity. According to Baker (2006), two parties may agree on a set of "facts" or events but still strongly disagree on the interpretation of their relationship because of the different plots to which they subscribe. She provided the Israeli–Palestinian conflict as an example, as each party interprets the same acts in opposing plots that construct different "moral" stories. Baker argued that causal emplotment "is perhaps the most important feature of narrativity, because it is identifying a cause for a set of events that helps us determine what course of action we should take" (Baker, 2006, p. 67). The identification of the moral configuration of a specific narrative is crucial to the formation of communities (Boeri, 2009). Thus, it could be argued that the content of a narrative matters only if it is comprehended in a specific plot. A recent example of causal emplotment is the narratives surrounding the

COVID-19 pandemic. China promoted its own narrative to the world. However, other countries challenged the narrative on the same events and associated their narratives with reasons other than those offered by China for the outbreak of the disease.

3.6 Temporality and narratives on Arabic translation

In a narrative, the temporal and spatial order of the elements contributes significantly to the meaning-making process (Baker 2006). Thus, the present study focused mainly on temporality to identify and to analyse narratives for two reasons. First, time is a key element for making sense of any story because it functions as the link to events. Furthermore, not only is temporality constitutive of narratives, but it also supersedes all other narrativity features to convey meaning (Baker, 2006). Second, translation has been associated with an enduring debate in the Arab world, and it has played a major role in the cultural and reformative movements in Arabic history. For example, Madrasat Al-

Alsun [School of Languages][8] was established in Egypt in the 19th century to train the first generation of Egyptian translators who were expected to contribute to the state's modernisation project (Jacquemond, 2009). The focus on temporality reveals that Arabic translation was narrated as a key activity in the past and that it is a necessary task in the present and a promising vehicle for the future.

3.7 Data collection for narrative analysis

Four prominent Arabic translation organisations were selected for the exploration of common Arabic translation narratives. The dataset included content about these initiatives, as published on the initiatives' websites: Wikipedia entries on the initiatives; news stories published by Aljazeera.net and Alarabiya.net; and public opinion via comments published in newspapers, personal blogs, and other websites. These data reflect

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[8] The use of square brackets henceforth indicates my own translation of Arabic words that I use in the text (as in this case), the original quotes written in Arabic or the inserted words.

the content from institutional, individual, and collective agencies and, thus, provided a holistic view of the public narratives on Arabic translation.

Four organisations were chosen because of their roles in shaping the discourse and narratives on translation in the Arabic world. All four initiatives mobilised translators. Two focused on the crowdsourced model, and two were premised upon a more traditional model with an in-house translation team and/or on-demand professional translators. The additional criteria for the selection of these four initiatives included the following:

- Volume of translation work
- Availability of source material (data retrieval)
- Recourse to volunteer engagement and volunteer labour

Only high-volume projects were selected because they were more likely to be influential in the construction and/or promotion of Arabic translation narratives. All the organisations had consistently published millions of words in the form of books, texts, and audio-visual content. This criterion excluded dozens of translation projects that operated inconsistently. These included university student initiatives or initiatives, such as the translator awards offered by several Arab countries, with no direct production. Thus, these projects were excluded despite their contributions to the Arabic public narrative on translation. On the basis of these criteria, the following four initiatives were included in the study:

- Kalima Project
- Arab Organization for Translation
- Taghreedat Initiative
- Translation Challenge

Four types of source content were analysed. First was each organisation's "About Us" web page, a public narrative. Second, Wikipedia entries about the organisations were included as publicly constituted narratives. Although a Wikipedia entry might be published by an organisation's leadership or participants, it is subject to negotiations with or even contestations by online editors and other users (Jones, 2018). Third, textual posts and news reports from Aljazeera.net and Alarabiya.net were chosen because, according to Dubai Press Club (DPC), these are considered to be the largest Arabic news outlets (DPC, 2018). The extracted texts were exported in the Portable Document Format (PDF)

format to Atlas.ti, the software used in the analysis (more details will be provided later in this section).

Because personal narratives contribute to public narratives and vice versa, it was important that individually produced content be included. This content was taken from personal blogs and opinion pieces published in Arabic online newspapers. Each piece was downloaded separately and documented in ATLAS.ti software (version 1.5.4). These types of texts were chosen to support the analysis. They also functioned as complementary material to explain how Arabic translation is narrated. Disciplinary narratives and meta-narratives were not included in the data because the research question did not address an established concept in a specific knowledge domain, such as Darwin's theory of natural selection, or a universal event, such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

The selection criteria yielded these four sources was practical for this study because it facilitated the collection of manageable, inclusive data from multiple sources. In addition, it helped to elaborate the researcher's narrative location.

Data collection and triage were performed from February 23, 2018 to March 28, 2018. The Google Search and internal search tools of the websites facilitated data collection (issues related to this method will be addressed below). To obtain the optimal results, as many keywords as possible were used in the search, which was performed in Arabic. For example, words and phrases such as مشروع كلمة [Kalima Project], كلمة للترجمة [Kalima for translation], and ترجمات كلمة [Kalima translations] were used for the search on the Kalima Project website. Because the texts were publicly available, permission was not needed to obtain the research data. In addition, from an ethical perspective, care was taken to ensure that copyrights and/or other restrictions were not violated.

The data collection process presented a few limitations. For example, the geographic location (i.e., geolocation effects) of the Google searches influenced the search query results. Search engines tend to show the most relevant results on the basis of the user's location. This research was conducted in the United Kingdom, and this influenced the results. The geographic location can be toggled off; however, there is no guarantee that the search results will not be affected. In addition, the internal search tools, which can vary in terms of the algorithms and the quality, can also influence the results. More important, search engine results are usually commercially driven (e.g., advertising and sponsored content), and this affects the salience of the search results. The effects of

geolocation, search engine optimisation, and paid content were not thoroughly examined; however, this constitutes a worthwhile avenue for future research. The type of content was also a limitation. Multimedia content, such as video, could have supplemented the data; however, this was outside the timeline and beyond the scope of the project. In addition, the narrative analysis was the first phase of the mixed-methods research design, which uses complementary methods.

The collected data consisted of 23 documents (17,495 words): five for each organisation except Taghreedat, for which eight documents were extracted. Table 1.1 provides an overview of the data.

TABLE 1.1 DATA COLLECTION RESULTS

Project	Project publications	Wikipedia	Aljazeera.net	Alarabiya.net	Individual opinion	Total
Kalima	1	1	2	None	1	5
AOT	1	1	2	None	1	5
Taghreedat	None	1	5	1	1	8
Translation Challenge	2	None	None	1	2	5

These data represent a relatively small sample; therefore, generalisations cannot be made. However, these initiatives represent some of the leading voices in translation in the Arab world. Thus, the sample could be considered representative. Moreover, the results of the analysis were examined and verified in a follow-up phase in which the surveys and interviews were conducted.

The ATLAS.ti software was used to document the data and to analyse the common narratives about Arabic translation. ATLAS.ti is a powerful tool which can be used for the qualitative analysis of large volumes of data. It facilitates the systematic arrangement, reassembly, and management of material. It also enables the coding of the data and the performance of fully automated searches across one or multiple documents. The coding

feature facilitated the grouping of the recurrent themes in the fragmented texts in order to assemble the narratives together. Basically, the researcher read through the dataset and generated codes for the general themes such as translation, volunteerism, crowdsourcing, and narrative. Each of those codes is associated with a number of subordinate codes that branch from the main theme (see Appendix 8.4). The main function of the codes was to bring together the most closely related components, which may be from unrelated sources, and so assist in making sense of the topic under consideration.

The codes outlined the prevalent themes that helped to identify the recurrent narratives. It became obvious that those narratives are common and circulated in the discourse about Arabic translation. After the identification of three recurrent themes in Arabic translation, each narrative related to the themes was traced, with a focus on temporality. The codes were crucial for selecting the quotations from the data, either the dataset or the interviews, for analysis and discussion. I only included the parts that correlated with main codes that constituted substantial ideas related to the research questions. This procedure allowed for the narratives to be assembled into coherent wholes within the set of fragmented sources.

Furthermore, the codes contributed to the analysis and discussion of the interviews. In other words, I included the recurrent narratives in the interviews in order to understand to what extent such narratives are present in interviewees' minds, shape their perceptions, and drive their behaviours as far as translation is concerned. The codes that originated from the data assisted me to structure informative interviews that eventually verified the results of the study and widened the perspective.

The results of the narrative analysis are presented in Chapter 4. These recurrent narratives were then incorporated in an online survey to determine their influence on the volunteers' translation practices and their presence in the volunteers' perceptions of translation.

3.8 Questionnaire

The initial qualitative phase of the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design was followed by a quantitative method. A questionnaire was specifically designed for the online survey (as will be explained later in detail). A questionnaire can be simply defined

as a written list of questions that are read and answered by a group of participants in a study (Dawson, 2006; Thomas, 2013). It is a widely used data collection instrument (Cohen et al., 2011). Closed-ended questions are typically used to obtain data for quantitative research (Dawson, 2006). Translation researchers have used several types of questionnaire items, such as multiple-choice questions, rating scales, ranking scales, and open-ended questions. The choices are dependent upon the purposes of the research.

Questionnaires have the benefit of being inexpensive and offering the respondents anonymity (Cohen et al., 2011). In addition, coding is likely to be quicker and easier (Dawson 2006) than with other methods, such as focus groups and interviews. However, this method has disadvantages, such as low response rates, the lack of an opportunity to clarify the meaning with participants (Cohen et al., 2011), and the use of predefined answers that might not accurately reflect the participants' opinions (Dawson, 2006). The main reason for choosing this instrument for the current study was that it is "a relatively systematic and standardised method of collecting data which lays emphasis on the measurement and conversion of data from qualitative to quantitative forms" (Alomary, 2017, p. 86). Thus, an online survey was chosen for the quantitative phase of the study.

The role of the online survey was to determine the variables regarding demographics, motivations, and perceptions related to Arabic translation narratives and volunteer translation, with a focus on the volunteer translators' motivations. The online survey data were collected to complement and to test the findings of the initial narrative analysis and to reveal new information on the narrative influence on participation in crowdsourced translation projects.

3.8.1 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was designed (1) to gain an understanding of the Arabic-speaking volunteer translators, (2) to gain insights into the factors most likely to motivate them to offer their translation skills free of charge, and (3) to assess the influence of the Arabic translation narratives under consideration. The design of the questionnaire was informed by the literature review and the narrative analysis conducted in the first stage of the study.

After many revisions, the final version of the questionnaire consisted of five sections comprising 45 questions. These five sections addressed the participants' demographics,

the translation initiatives in which they participated, their motivations, their perceptions of volunteer translation, and their perceptions of Arabic translation. Each section focused on a specific perspective that would eventually answer one or more of the research questions.

The first section was dedicated to collecting general demographic information on the participants. It was important to supplement the research with the volunteer translators' demographics, including their education, and to learn about their backgrounds and experience in terms of language competence. This type of information was important for interpreting the results. It also increased the understanding of the participants' attitudes and preferences.

The second section was designed to identify the common translation initiatives in which the volunteers participated. This contributed to the analysis by facilitating the tracing back of the narratives that were used and/or constructed in the discourse regarding the volunteers' involvement in the projects. In other words, the data on the types of projects in which the volunteers participated provided sufficient data to test the hypothesis and to examine the results of the initial stage of the narrative analysis.

The third section focused on the motivations for the volunteers' involvement in translation initiatives. This section included 14 items that were likely to be motivators for the target sample. These factors were chosen on the basis of previous studies on volunteer translation, the result of the first-stage narrative analysis, and the feedback from the pilot survey. Given the possibility of an infinite number of possible motivations, an open-ended question allowed the participants to state what they thought had motivated them to offer free translations. In other words, they were not bound to a restricted list of motivations. This section was very important because it directly addressed the motivations and indirectly investigated the hypothesis about the influence of narratives on volunteers' tendencies to join translation projects.

After the volunteers' motivations were elicited, the fourth section of the questionnaire addressed their general perceptions of volunteer translation. A list of seven statements was designed to understand the participants' views about their activity. The understanding of their perceptions informed the analysis and interpretation of the data. The goal was to gain insights into the expectations for volunteer translation, such as ethics, quality, and efficiency.

The last section focused on the participants' general perceptions of Arabic translation. Ten statements were created to understand the target samples' perceptions of translation and any possible relationships with their motivations to offer volunteer translation. This section also included the three narratives that resulted from the first phase of analysis that confirmed their recurrence in the Arabic discourse on translation. Thus, the answers to this section were expected to either confirm or disconfirm the assumptions regarding the influence of Arabic translation narratives on volunteer translators' motivation.

The last two sections were purposefully placed at the end of the survey to avoid leading the participants to specific answers in regard to their motivations. Additionally, the participants were given the chance to add comments at the end of the survey. This was done in an attempt to minimise the effects of the limited options in closed-ended questions. In other words, the purpose was to mitigate one of the main disadvantages (restrictiveness) of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire went through multiple refinements, from the first version, through a pilot survey, to the final version. This lengthy process was meant to ensure validity and reliability. The amendments were made to improve the survey: to ensure its alignment with the research questions and to increase the possibility of high response rates. This process led to the inclusion and exclusion of questions and statements, as well as the reordering of some sections, to reach the final version that met the research objectives and provided the data.

The aim of the survey was to ascertain the volunteer translators' reasons and motivations for joining translation initiatives and their general perceptions of volunteer translation and Arabic translation. Besides infusing the results of the initial narrative analysis, the design of the online questionnaires, particularly the sections on volunteer translators' motivations, was adapted from the studies listed below. Each was described in the literature review, Chapter 2:

- O'Brien and Schäler's (2010) study of the motivations of volunteer translators in The Rosetta Foundation (TRF) crowdsourcing initiatives
- Dombek's (2014) work on the motivations of Facebook's Polish volunteer translators
- Fuente's (2014) paper on the motivations of volunteer translators in the TED Open Translation Project.

The review of the abovementioned studies facilitated the identification of several recurring motivators in studies on crowdsourced translation and the construction of some of the initial survey questions. However, Fuente's (2014) work had a greater influence on the questionnaire for two reasons: (1) the comprehensiveness of the Motivation Inventory regarding possible motivations because of the inclusion of almost all the items from similar previous studies; and (2) its inclusion of items, such as support for a first language and identification with an organisation's message (i.e., narrative), that were relevant to the current study.

Upon the review of the literature on human motivation, some intrinsic and extrinsic motivations were incorporated into the questionnaire in order to determine the motivations that might satisfy volunteer translators' needs for a warm glow (Andreoni, 1990), relatedness, change, and competence. In addition, the common narratives in the Arabic translation discourse were infused into the questionnaire to assess the awareness of these narratives, their influence on the volunteers' participation, and the correlations between these narratives and the motivations to perform translation without monetary rewards.

Before the presentation of the pilot study and the changes that were made to develop the final version of the questionnaire, it is important to briefly discuss the premise of the questionnaire. On the basis of the volunteer translation literature, the most likely underlying factors in volunteers' motivations to contribute unpaid translations can be classified as follows:

- The self-satisfaction that results from contributing to society and sharing knowledge in other languages.
- The contribution that matches volunteers' values, enhances their careers, and improves their language competence.
- The attachment to like-minded groups and opportunities to maintain (or gain) online reputations.
- The opportunity to do something useful in their spare time and to have an enjoyable experience.

The focus was Arabic-speaking volunteer translators. Therefore, the Arabic literature on the Arabic language and translation was reviewed to obtain culture-specific elements for

inclusion in the questionnaire (see Alburaidi, 2015; Almahmoud, 2015). The common factors can be classified as follows:

- The religious perspective regarding Arabic being the language of a sacred text, i.e., the Quran, is the holy book of a majority of Arabs.
- The dearth of Arabic online content.
- The controversy about Arabic replacing foreign languages in education in some Arabic countries.

This thesis aimed to explore the common narratives on Arabic translation. Thus, the questionnaire included the three narratives explained previously in the narrative analysis phase, as well as other narrative-related motivations. The data revealed that the following three narratives were the most recurrent in the Arabic discourse on translation: (1) *the Golden Era of translation*, (2) *the bridge to knowledge*, and (3) *the dearth of Arabic online content*. These narratives were included in the last section and the motivation section, which contained an item related to each. For example, one of the statements in the motivation section was "to revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations," and this matched the Arabic narrative of the Golden Era of translation. The inclusion of narrative-related items in the motivation section facilitated the measurement of the influence of these narratives on the sample.

3.8.2 Pilot survey

Once the first version of the questionnaire had been drafted, it was necessary for an experimental survey to be conducted. The primary goal of the pilot survey was to assess the feasibility, validity, and reliability of the questionnaire as a quantitative data collection method to complement the qualitative research methods (i.e., the narrative analysis and semi-structured interviews) that were incorporated into the research design.

A pilot study has been defined as "a small-scale trial of the proposed procedures, materials, and methods, and sometimes also includes coding sheets and analytic choices" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 43). Piloting a survey is "an important means of assessing the feasibility and usefulness of the data collection methods and making any necessary revisions before they are used with the research participants" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 43). It also allows for data quality and accuracy to be assessed and feedback on the

length and validity to be obtained (Cohen et al., 2011). Pallent (2005) suggested that a pilot study is useful for identifying respondents' reactions to the questions and, thus, facilitating the removal of unsuitable questions. The main effect of a pilot study is the determination of any adjustments that need to be made to the main study (Kim, 2010). The adjustments are not limited to the questions. They can extend to the protocol and sample recruitment strategy (Kim, 2010).

However, pilot studies have problems that need to be recognised. Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) argued that test-piloting does not necessarily ensure ultimate validity because some problems might not emerge before the larger-scale study is conducted. This argument seemed true in the current study because the pilot survey did not highlight the issues related to communication and access to the target subjects. For example, at the time that the main survey was conducted, a positive response had not yet been received from the administrators of a major case study, the Translation Challenge. They had initially showed an interest in cooperating and disseminating the survey to their volunteers.

Contaminated data is another possible shortcoming that could affect the results. Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) discussed the problem of contamination when the results or participants of the pilot study are included in the main study. In the current study, the results of the pilot survey were excluded. In addition, the pilot participants were not invited to participate in the main survey even though most were qualified to be included in the sample. According to Peat et al. (2002), "an essential feature of a pilot study is that the data are not used to test a hypothesis or included with data from the actual study when the results are reported" (p. 57). Despite the aforementioned issues, the pilot survey yielded significant adjustments that produced a refined version of the survey.

In the current study, the pilot survey was meant to evaluate the questionnaire for length, clarity, and reliability. The participants were encouraged to propose suggestions and amendments that would improve the questionnaire and increase the response rates. The pilot survey was expected to determine the sections or individual questions that could be excluded, included, or expanded to match the research objectives and to gain insights into the motivations of volunteer translators who contribute their translation skills to crowdsourcing projects. To achieve the purpose of the pilot survey, the following were considered:

- Determining the similarities in the characteristics of the participants in the pilot and main studies.

- Informing the pilot participants that their feedback would help to improve the survey and procedures in the main study.

- Providing the pilot subjects with the research context.

- Discussing the questionnaire issues with the pilot subjects to obtain detailed feedback.

- Revising the survey procedures, content, and design on the basis of the pilot study results.

A total of 15 participants, including the researcher's supervisors, were invited to complete the pilot survey and share their opinions. The group included PhD students, translators, and a research methodology expert to ensure diversity in backgrounds. The survey was disseminated via email, and the participants were provided with the research context and informed that their feedback would inform the redesign of the questionnaire. Face-to-face discussions about the questionnaire were held with only the researcher's supervisors and the research methodologist.

One of the comments from most of the participants related to the length of the survey. Completion required approximately 20 minutes, which was considered too long. A suggestion was to merge some questions, to exclude the less important ones, and to delete the introduction to each section. They took some time to read and could induce boredom. The methodologist suggested shortening the survey because obtaining a high response rate was the priority at this stage, given that interviews would be conducted in the next stage.

To determine the elements to be excluded from the questionnaire, the methodologist advised that any element that did not directly contribute to a research question be removed. An example was the question about copyright infringement in volunteer translation. It was suggested that this question be excluded because it contributed to the understanding of neither the motivations nor the narratives. Some of the removed elements might have been helpful later in the analysis. However, the aim was to maintain focus and to obtain the maximum amount of data on the main themes: narratives and motivations. The exclusion of the less relevant questions created the space to thoroughly analyse the most relevant ones.

TABLE 2: EXCLUDED QUESTIONNAIRE ELEMENTS

Question	Reason for exclusion
Translation is a good tactic for encouraging the use of Arabic instead of foreign languages in business and academia.	Not relevant.
To what extent do you think Arabic translation is important in the following knowledge areas?	Not relevant.
Which of the following entities do you think should play a major role in Arabic translation?	Not relevant.
How did you learn about the translation initiative(s) in which you participated?	Not relevant.
I volunteer with only initiatives whose goals reflect my principles.	Redundant.
I am more willing to participate in translation initiatives with inspiring stories.	Pre-expected answer.
The recruitment of volunteer translators in institutional initiatives might reduce copyright infringement, which usually occurs in non-professionals' translations.	Not relevant.
Arabic translation initiatives lack variety in terms of the subjects and content.	Not relevant.
Arabic translation initiatives lack a strong online presence.	Not relevant.
Volunteer translation is a part of my contribution to society, and it allows me to share my knowledge.	Pre-expected answer.
I do volunteer translation to promote Arabic language globally.	Redundant.
I do volunteer translation because it is a great opportunity to support Arabic against foreign languages.	Redundant.
I am more motivated to participate in projects where I can do translation online through a specific collaborative platform.	Redundant.

The participants agreed that, in general, the language in the questionnaire was clear; however, some interesting comments were made. It was suggested that the House of

Wisdom be written in Arabic (دار الحكمة) to achieve the same effect as that in the Arabic discourse in the narration of the Golden Era of translation. Another note referred to the question on translation qualifications. Translators in the Arab world do not necessarily graduate from translation departments, which are a more recent phenomenon. Thus, a participant suggested that "language" and "intercultural studies" be added to the question so that it would read as follows: "Do you have a degree in translation, language, or intercultural studies?"

Some participants suggested that the questionnaire statements should not be categorical. One way to accomplish this was to use words such as "may" and "might." An example is question 25: "Translation is the solution for Arabic societies to bridge the gap with the developed countries". Two participants indicated that it should be rephrased as follows: "Translation is one of the solutions for Arabic societies to bridge the gap with the developed countries."

The analysis of the responses to the pilot study informed the alterations to the design of the second questionnaire. Sections were expanded, and questions were rephrased mainly to obtain more specific responses to certain questions. Both questionnaires, the one for the pilot study and the other for the main study, were written in English because the subjects were bilingual (i.e., translators). The use of two languages might have caused confusion, and it is possible that the translations themselves might have introduced effects unrelated to the questions.

The primary aim of the revisions was to reduce the estimated survey completion time to 10 minutes and to ensure that every question served one or more of the study's objectives. Thus, some questions were removed for one or more of the following three reasons: (1) irrelevance, (2) redundancy, and (3) pre-expected answer.

The questionnaire design and organisation were amended to achieve the optimal results. The pilot participants suggested that some sections be merged for clarity and time savings. For example, the inclusion of the statements and questions about Arabic translation narratives in the Perceptions of Arabic Translation section was meant to save time by eliminating the transition between the two sections. Merging the sections meant removing the title Arabic Translation Narratives, which some pilot participants found either confusing or suggestive and, thus, likely to influence the respondents' answers. Elements

of both sections were grouped into one section, Perceptions of Arabic Translation, which seemed more general and neutral.

Another fundamental change in the design was the re-organisation of the sections. Some of the pilot participants recommended that some sections be foregrounded and others backgrounded to avoid any chance of influencing the participants' answers, especially regarding their motivations to do volunteer translation. The following is the original order of the sections:

Section 1: Perceptions of Arabic Translation

Section 2: Translation Initiatives

Section 3: Perceptions of Volunteer Translation

Section 4: Arabic Translation Narratives

Section 5: Volunteer Translators' Motivations

Section 6: About You

It was suggested that the Volunteer Translators' Motivations section be prioritised because it was the main section in the survey. The reason for foregrounding the questions about motivation was to ensure high response rates because respondents sometimes become bored and skip questions towards the end of surveys. In addition, the change would allow the respondents to choose the answers about their motivations without being influenced by their answers in other sections, namely Perceptions of Arabic Translation and Perceptions of Volunteer Translation. Another adjustment was related to the placement of the About You section. It was suggested that it be placed at the beginning of the survey to conform to the norm. In addition, demographics are key data in the interpretation of research results. On the basis of the suggestions about merging and reordering the section, the final version of the survey was organised as follows:

Section 1: About You

Section 2: Translation Initiatives

Section 3: Volunteer Translators' Motivations

Section 4: Perceptions of Volunteer Translation

Section 5: Perceptions of Arabic Translation

All five sections consisted of closed-ended questions. Because this quantitative phase required high response rates, closed-ended questions were more appropriate because of the ease and speed of completion. Thus, a higher number of participants were likely to complete the survey. However, closed-ended questions, which are restrictive, do not allow respondents to add remarks. This can cause problems if the choices are biased or not exhaustive (Oppenheim, 1992). Therefore, the respondents were given two spaces to add comments. One was at the end of the Volunteer Translators' Motivations section, where they could add any additional motivations that had not been included in the pre-set list of answers. The other space was at the end of the survey, where they were encouraged to share their thoughts about the topic.

The pilot and main surveys were conducted via the SurveyMonkey online platform. The link to each survey was sent to the prospective participants. The pilot participants were asked to provide their feedback by email or face to face, if possible. The main survey participants submitted their answers through SurveyMonkey. Detailed information on the procedure and results will be presented in the findings chapters (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

3.8.3 Surveying Arabic volunteer translation

Guided by the results of the narrative analysis in the first phase of the study, the online survey was designed and conducted to collect relevant data that could be incorporated into the analysis of volunteer translators' motivations to join crowdsourced translation projects. The survey data were also very important for examining the influence of the previously highlighted narratives and considering the respondents' demographic profiles and perceptions of Arabic translation. This information was very important for interpreting the results.

Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was selected as the non-parametric version of the Pearson correlation coefficient. It was selected for its suitability for measuring the strength of associations (i.e., correlations) between the ordinal data in the survey

responses. Correlations were also performed to determine significance. This section summarises the strong correlations ($r > 0.5$) and significant correlations ($p < 0.05$). Consequently, the "asymp. Sig 2-tailed" abbreviation appears in some tables and sections when the findings are introduced. This abbreviation refers to the Asymptotic Significance test, which is used to determine possible statistically meaningful differences between groups (i.e., the results are unlikely to have occurred by random chance). The purpose of this test is also to determice the p-value. If the p-value is less than 0.05, there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables; therefore, the null hypothesis of no association is not confirmed.

3.8.4 Participant demographics

Overall, the survey had 313 participants. A majority, every three out of four respondents, were women (Table 3). The respondents were predominantly from Saudi Arabia (68.7%). A majority of the other respondents were from countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA; e.g., Egypt, Palestine, Oman, Algeria, United Arab Emirates), and the remainder respondents were from other regions (i.e., Canada, Turkey, Ukraine). Most respondents were aged 18 to 32 years (86%). In terms of economic status, most were either students (36.4%) or employed (34.2%). Most of the remainder were either unemployed or self-employed, and a small number were retired (Table 3). Most participants had higher education qualifications, with their highest qualification being BA (64.2%), MA (17.3%), or PhD (2.2%). The data collected from the participants will be presented in the next chapter in the discussion of the findings from all the methods.

TABLE 2: PARTICIPANT GENDER

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Valid	1 Male	75	24.0	24.0	24.0
	2 Female	237	75.7	76.0	100.0
	Total	312	99.7	100.0	

Missing	System	1	.3
Total		313	100.0

TABLE 3: PARTICIPANT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Q0004 What is your employment status?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid	1.00 Student	114	36.4	36.8	36.8
	2.00 In work	107	34.2	34.5	71.3
	3.00 Unemployed	61	19.5	19.7	91.0
	4.00 Self-employed	26	8.3	8.4	99.4
	5.00 Retired	2	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	310	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	1.0		
Total		313	100.0		

3.9 Interviews

This section presents the interview design and procedure. It discusses the guiding questions and their preparation. First, the interview as a data collection instrument is discussed, and the justification for the study is provided.

Interviews, whether structured, semi-structured, or unstructured, are a powerful qualitative data collection method. One of the key characteristics of the exploratory interview is that it facilitates the development of ideas and research hypotheses rather than the mere gathering of fixed and numerical data. Therefore, it is recommended that a questionnaire be complemented with interviews in a mixed-methods research design (Arksey & Knight, 1999). A quantitative questionnaire is considered an objective instrument. However, a qualitative interview, an appropriate spontaneous tool, is more likely to capture subjective viewpoints and to gather information based on individuals' expressions of their experiences with minimal researcher influence (Rabionet, 2009). In

addition, interviewees generally have more opportunities than survey participants to elaborate on their answers.

From the researcher's perspective, the interview method provides more opportunities than other data collection methods for open-ended and complex questions to be asked (Cohen et al., 2011). In other words, the interviewer can delve deeply to understand and to further investigate the interviewee's beliefs (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Cohen et al., 2011). This flexibility allows the researcher to deal with unpredicted answers that might be of importance to the subject under question. In addition, the researcher can ensure that the interviewee fully understands a given question.

Despite its benefits, the interview has several disadvantages and limitations. For example, interviewing can be generally very time-consuming for the interviewee and even for the researcher who conducts and analyses them. In addition, the potential exists for interviewer bias before or during the interview. Depending on the research topic, interviews may present problems, e.g., the lack of anonymity, for the interviewees (Cohen et al., 2011; Judge et al., 2000; Kumar, 2011; Zohrabi, 2013). These general limits might need to be addressed in order to conduct interview-based research.

In the current study, the semi-structured interview was chosen as a complementary data collection method in the final phase of the study to validate the prevalence and influence of Arabic translation narratives and to explore the volunteer translators' perceptions as influential factors in their motivation to join crowdsourcing translation projects and to contribute their translation without monetary rewards. Thus, the implementation of this method at the end of the study provides an opportunity to reflect and to elaborate on the survey results and the corpus analysis of the first phase.

The mixing of all the data collected in the research phases would allow for a broader comparison and the opportunity to seek convergence across the data sources to contribute to the validity of the whole study. The results of the surveys and the narrative analysis were expected to indicate the sections or questions that should be expanded in the interviews to delve more deeply into the motivations of volunteer translators who participate in crowdsourced translation projects.

Specific information, such as the perceived motivating factors, the volunteer translators' demographics, and their perceptions of the initiatives in which they participated, informed the design of the final data collection method. A semi-structured interview was designed

and implemented in the final phase of the study to investigate the function of Arabic translation narratives when implemented by either individual volunteer translators and/or the translation initiatives and to explore the possible implications. The interviews were informed by the previously obtained data, the initial analysis, and each interviewee's personal experiences.

3.9.1 Interview design

The semi-structured interviews were designed to complement the survey by facilitating further explorations of the trends revealed by the survey results and to eventually corroborate or contradict the hypothesis that translation narratives would be the underlying factor in Arabic volunteer translators' participation in crowdsourced translation projects. Because semi-structured interviews are flexible, the questions were prepared only to provide guidance.

The results of both the narrative analysis and the survey were expected to reveal the sections or individual questions that needed to be expanded to gain an in-depth understanding of the motivations for volunteer translators' contributing to crowdsourcing projects. The design of the final method, the semi-structured interview, was informed by specific information, such as the perceived underlying factors in the volunteer translators' motivations, the volunteers' demographics, and their perceptions of the initiatives in which they had participated.

Following the survey, a very quick analysis was performed to identify the trends worthy of elaboration in the interviews. Next was the preparation of the interview guide, which included themes and questions for the interviewees: a group of volunteers, translation project managers, and translation specialists. Because semi-structured interviews were used, the guide was not very detailed. The expectation was that follow-up questions would allow for the exploration of areas that had not been initially considered (Gray, 2004). Thus, the prior determination of the key themes and trends facilitated the management of the interview, including the deeper exploration of the interviewees' ideas and the unplanned discussions during the sessions (David & Sutton, 2004). The guide was designed to contribute to the research questions and to give the interviewees more opportunities than the survey to share their opinions.

The interview questions were divided into three categories on the basis of the interviewees' roles. The questions were for (1) volunteer translators, (2) translation project managers, and (3) translation experts. Because the interviews were a part of a narrative-based study, the volunteer and project manager interviews began with the following open-ended question: "Can you tell me your story with volunteer translation?" It was an opportunity to observe the possible intersections of their personal narratives and the recurrent public narratives on Arabic translation. The follow-up questions were determined by the flow of the interview. The other main questions for the volunteer translators were as follows:

a) What inspired you to do volunteer translation with (name of initiative[s])?
b) What do you think motivates other people to do volunteer translation?

c) How important is volunteer translation?
d) What is your opinion of Arabic translation today?
e) What do you know about the Golden Era of translation and/or the House of Wisdom?
f) The survey showed that the story of the House of Wisdom would motivate people to participate in translation initiatives. What do you think about this?
g) More women than men participated in the survey. Do you have any ideas about why this happened?
h) Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about this topic?

Each of the questions above elicited lengthy answers and follow-up questions when necessary. The interviews with the volunteers were focused on investigating the data related to the motivations. The answers facilitated the preparation of the interviews with the translation project managers who administrated the translation initiatives and mobilised the volunteers. The guiding questions for the second category of interviewees were as follows:

a) Why did you initiate your translation project?
b) Many translation projects choose to rely on volunteers to carry out the translations. What are the reasons for this?
c) The data show that translation organisations attract many volunteers. What motivates volunteers to do translation free of charge?
d) What motivations do you highlight in your project?

e) My research shows that some translation initiatives are usually linked to common narratives like the Golden Era of translation, the dearth of Arabic online content, and translation is the bridge to knowledge. To what extent does your initiative correspond to these narratives?

f) Do you think that these or similar narratives would motivate volunteers to join you?

g) More women than men participated in the survey. Have you noticed this in your projects that rely on volunteer translators?

h) Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about the topic?

Unlike the interviews with the volunteers and project managers, those with the translation experts began with the following general open-ended question: "What is your opinion about Arabic translation today?" The course of the interview was dictated by each answer to the data retrieved from the survey. The list of the guiding questions was as follows:

a) As a translation expert, what is your opinion on volunteer translation, which is usually initiated by organisations, non-professional groups and/or activists?

b) Have you noticed any trends in volunteer translation projects?

c) If yes, what are they?

d) What do you think motivates people to give their time and effort free of charge?

e) Do you think volunteer translation may devalue the translation profession?

f) If you have heard about the House of Wisdom, what does the story about it mean to you?

g) Do you think this specific story is prevalent in the Arabic discourse on translation?

h) The data show that some translation organisations use this story in their discourse. Do you think that it could encourage volunteers to join them?

i) Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about the topic?

It must be noted that all the questions in the abovementioned three categories were for guidance only. Similar and/or different questions were asked during the interviews. The questions and the answers are presented and discussed in the findings (Chapters 4 and 5). The initial narrative analysis yielded three recurrent narratives in the discourse on Arabic translation; however, only one was presented in the interviews. The reason was to determine whether the interviewees would introduce the other two narratives. It was another attempt to examine the prevalence of the narratives among Arabic-speaking translation enthusiasts.

3.9.2 Conducting the interviews

Before the main interviews were conducted, a pilot interview was conducted to test the recording device and interview questions and protocol. For the pilot interview, a translator was chosen as the interviewee. He was not one of the main survey participants and was not included in the main interview. He was invited because he was a translator and, thus, had relevant information. The pilot interview was adequate preparation for executing the main interviews.

Upon successful preparation for the interviews, invitations were sent to 15 candidates who had been chosen on the basis of their contributions to volunteer translation and/or answers to the survey. Ten of the 15 candidates accepted the invitation. Attempts were made to achieve demographic diversity to gain a variety of insights into the topic. The interviewees were from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, Palestine, Syria, and Germany. Most of the interviews were conducted via Skype because of the range of geographic locations. The interviews were conducted in Arabic. The average duration was 45 minutes.

The interviews provided substantial information. The interviewer had opportunities to elaborate on the relevant ideas. The only difficulty was scheduling the appointments. The fieldwork coincided with the holy month of Ramadan and summer vacation; thus, some interviews had to be postponed and/or rescheduled upon the interviewees' requests. Except for this minor issue, the interview process proceeded smoothly.

Upon completion of the interviews, the interview notes and recordings were documented in preparation for analysis. Given the relatively large amount of data, a professional transcriber was hired to transcribe the recordings to facilitate analysis. Participant privacy and data security are discussed in the section on ethical considerations. The interviews were subsequently combined with the study findings to provide further elaboration. The interviewees' thoughts are presented in the findings (Chapters 4 and 5).

3.9.3 Interviewee contributions

The main purpose of the interviews was to validate the results of the narrative analysis and the survey. They allowed for further investigations of the trends and broadened the perspectives on emerging issues, such as women's high participation in volunteer translation projects. The validation of the results via the semi-structured interviews, in addition to the results from the other methods, provided valuable answers to the research questions.

The interviews answered primarily three research questions. First, the narrative analysis and survey revealed three recurrent narratives on Arabic translation. However, it was important to answer the following question: "Why are the three narratives prevalent in the Arabic discourse on translation?" Given that the interviewees were directly engaged in the translation discourse, they were expected to provide valuable explanations for this finding. Second, the elaboration of the following research question was important: "To what extent do the recurrent Arabic translation narratives motivate Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourced translation projects?" The assumption was that the volunteers would be motivated by the narratives; therefore, the interviewees' comments were salient for the validation and differentiation of the examined narratives.

The third question answered through the interviews was as follows: "How do the narratives motivate the volunteer translators?" This question facilitated the exploration of the motivating aspects of the narratives under question and their influence on the volunteers' desire to offer free translation. The survey results and the recurrent narratives employed by the Arabic translation organisations, as revealed by the narrative analysis, made it possible to address this third question.

The results of the interviews are presented in the findings to validate the narrative analysis and survey results, to provide additional interpretations, and to facilitate the discussion of the emerging trends.

3.10 Sampling

Given that the aim of the study was to explore volunteer translation, specifying the volunteer translators and other stakeholders as the sample was an easy decision. The types

of volunteers and number of participants were more difficult decisions. Sample selection is an important aspect of rigorous research. The individuals from whom the researcher plans to collect data must be identified (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2013) because research quality is judged by not only the suitability of the methodology and the originality of the outcomes but also the appropriateness of the sampling (Cohen et al., 2011). According to Dawson (2006), sampling refers to the process of choosing a few participants from a large group (the sampling population) to become the source for estimating or predicting facts and generalisable outcomes. The study sample was a group of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators who had participated in crowdsourced translation projects, translation project managers who had administered crowdsourcing projects, and Arabic translation experts.

Volunteer translators constituted the main sample for the survey. The survey was expected to yield quantitative data; thus, simple random sampling was the most appropriate approach in this quantitative data gathering phase (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2013). Simple random sampling ensures that the sample is representative of the selected population (Thomas, 2013), which was Arabic-speaking volunteer translators in crowdsourced translation projects.

Simple random sampling is characterised by the fact that every individual in the population has an equal opportunity to participate (Cohen et al., 2011; Edmonds & Kennedy, 2013). The problem with this sampling strategy, however, was that contacting everyone in the population was impossible because the survey targeted online translation communities of inestimable sizes. Thus, using the fishbowl draw technique, which is typical in random sampling, was not possible (Kumar, 1999). Moreover, crowdsourced projects usually utilise a mass audience that includes people who participate continually and those who make one-time contributions. The crowd members are not necessarily identified by names and/or email. Given the large number and the difficulty in obtaining data on the whole population, the best approximation possible in this context to random sampling was achieved by the dissemination of the surveys via the administrators of the translation initiatives. They simply sent the link to the online survey to the chosen sample (i.e., volunteer translators).

The plan was to distribute the survey to the volunteers who participated in the Translation Challenge and Taghreedat, since both organisations were significant in terms of size, as well as the number of participants. Unfortunately, the two organisations did not show an

interest in helping (despite the efforts to contact them, formally and informally, since 2017), until a few weeks before collecting data.

Fortunately, I was prepared with an alternative plan to reach volunteer translators who participated in crowdsourced translation projects. I contacted Ollemna, Edrak, Autrjim and the Wikipedia Club at Princess Nourah University. Most of these projects operate online and include volunteers from different countries in the Arab World. They willingly passed the online survey to their volunteers and provided the study with substantial data. Interestingly, many of their volunteers participated in the Translation Challenge and / or Taghreedat as well.

Regarding the qualitative phase, purposive sampling was chosen for the interviews. Because qualitative research enables the in-depth study of human experience and behaviour, the sample should be purposefully, rather than randomly, selected (Greene, 2007). These selection criteria mean that the expectations and contributions of the participants in the qualitative phase should be different from those in the quantitative phase, for which generalisation (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Clark, 2012) rather than in-depth discussion is the aim.

The aim was to select participants with backgrounds relevant to the research objectives (Lichtman, 2014) and the ability to provide in-depth information to answer the research questions (Creswell & Clark, 2012). To obtain a diversity of opinions, maximal variation sampling was applied. It is a strategy for selecting participants who are expected to have different perspectives on the central topic (Creswell & Clark, 2012; Flick, 2009; Rapley, 2014). This was achieved by selecting participants with varying backgrounds, educations, and roles (i.e., volunteers, professionals, and project managers). Such a diverse sample should reflect the differences in the population and provide valuable qualitative data that leads to a complex, but well-informed, view of the phenomenon (Creswell & Clark, 2012). In addition, maximal variation sampling was appropriate for testing the study assumptions through the inclusion of multiple critical perspectives.

3.10.1   Sample rationale

The rationale for choosing Arabic-speaking volunteer translators who participated in translation organisations or initiatives was their ability to provide the appropriate data regarding the study constructs. The chosen translation initiatives were the most active translation projects in the Arabic digital sphere (see Chapters 1 and 3). Most were administered online. They included all nationalities in the Arab world; thus, a diversity of opinions was obtained, and the findings were appropriate for generalisation. The main sampling frame (Arabic translation initiatives) and the unit of analysis (Arabic-speaking volunteer translators) corresponded to the objectives of the current study.

3.10.2   Sample size

Sample size selection is important for finding well-justified answers to research questions. Thus, sample size is a critical issue for researchers (Cohen et al., 2011). However, there is no straightforward answer. The appropriateness of the sample size depends on the study goal, desired accuracy, and study design, e.g., qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods approach (Cohen et al., 2011). In quantitative studies, the general rule is that the larger the sample, the more likely it is to be representative (Cohen et al., 2011) and, therefore, allow for generalisation. Devellis (2003) suggested that a large sample size enables more meaningful statistical tests. In such tests, a small sample is more likely to produce non-significant results because of insufficient data (Pallent, 2005). The determination of the appropriate size is one of the challenges in quantitative research. Thus, a mixed-methods approach is usually suggested to compensate for the weaknesses of quantitative research.

Unlike quantitative methods, such as surveys, qualitative methods, such as interviews and narrative analysis, do not necessarily require a large sample. The reason is that the outcome of these methods is interpretation rather than generalisation (Cohen et al., 2011; Lichtman, 2014). Given the expected outcome (i.e., interpretation) of the interviews, the purposeful rather than random selection of the participants ensured in-depth relevant contributions to the investigated subject. In the current study, the interviewees were volunteers, translation project managers, and translation experts, who were selected for a specific reason. Only translators whose answers indicated consistent volunteering activity

were included. The translation project managers had initiated and/or administered volunteer-based translation initiatives. The translation experts had performed translation as a profession.

Dawson (2006) suggested that a sample of 30 to 250 is often adequate if bias is avoided, randomisation is maintained, and the data are obtained from a cross-section of the target population. The most cited research on volunteer translation suggests that approximately 99 subjects constitute the average sample size. In an early study on volunteer translation, O'Brien and Schäler (2010) surveyed 139 participants involved in TRF's crowdsourced translation project. Dolmaya (2011) invited 204 volunteer translators who contributed to Wikipedia to participate in her study on the perception of translation and the motivation to perform translation work without monetary rewards. Using a mixed-methods approach, Dombek (2014) involved only 20 participants in the survey as a part of a study on the motivations of Polish volunteer translators in Facebook's translation project. In the same year, Fuente (2014) surveyed 177 volunteer translators to explore their motivations to join the TED Open Translation project. Olohan (2014) studied the motivations of volunteer translators by using 11 blog entries written by translators and published by TED to mobilise and attract more volunteers. Two years later, Flanagan (2016) published a thematic analysis. Forty-eight professional translators' blogs were analysed to explore their attitudes towards crowdsourced and volunteer translation work.

The sample size for the whole population in this study was more than 300 participants ($N = 338$): 15 subjects completed the pilot survey, 313 answered the main survey, and 10 participated in the semi-structured interviews. The size of the sample was twice that of the average sample in previous studies on volunteer translation. The study applied a mixed-methods approach in which each phase compensated for the weaknesses, if any, of the others.

3.11 Ethical considerations

It was necessary to obtain ethical approval from the research ethics committee at Lancaster University before conducting a study that involved human participants. The participants in the current study completed an online survey and participated in semi-structured interviews. Research ethics requires that the participants and the obtained data

be treated with honesty, respect, and confidentiality (Dawson, 2006). Qualitative research arguably presents more complex ethical considerations than quantitative research (Mertens, 2014). The surveys and interviews in this study involved human interaction, and this emphasised the need for ethics compliance.

Permission to conduct the online surveys and fieldwork was obtained from the Lancaster University ethics committee (see Appendix 8.1). Taking an ethical approach means following the code of conduct for professional research practice. Therefore, the ethical considerations in the current study included seeking consent, explaining the research purpose, maintaining anonymity and confidentiality, securing data, reporting accurately, and providing the right to withdraw. In addition, as stated in the application for study approval, the participants were informed that there would be no incentives or compensation for participation.

For the online survey, informed consent was requested on the first page. This was accompanied by an overview of the project, a written guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity, and the contact information for the researcher and the research supervisors. It was made clear at the beginning of the questionnaire that the participants had the right to withdraw at any stage before submitting their answers. Once the answers were submitted, withdrawal was impossible because of the absence of personal identifiers.

Personal information sheets and informed consent forms were provided for the interviewees prior to the interviews. In these documents, the interviewees were briefly informed about the project, including the format, recording, storage, and transcription of the interviews. They also received a note that emphasised their right to withdraw for any reason during or within two weeks of the interview. Once the consent forms were completed, the interviews were conducted. Only the researcher had full access to the recorded data. The participants were also told that some data might be shared anonymously with the research supervisors if needed. They were given a note that the recordings might be shared with a transcriber who had previously signed a confidentiality form. The professional transcriber who was hired to prepare the data for analysis was required to sign a non-disclosure agreement before being granted access to the recordings via a view-only link that provided limited and controlled access to the data.

In fact, three professionals were involved in the thesis: the statistician, the transcriber and the proofreader. None of them had access to the personal data and/ or identifiers of the

participants. Nevertheless, each of them signed a non-disclosure agreement before proceeding with their jobs. The transcriber had access to view-only links of the recordings. The access was blocked immediately after completing the job, so no one other than me, the researcher, gets hold of the data.

In the discussion of the findings, pseudonyms instead of numbers were assigned to the interviewees. The reason was that pseudonyms reflect each interviewee's existence. Numbers are impersonal as identifiers and, thus, would have been at odds with the spirit of the narrative approach. Thus, each interviewee was assigned a name that was common in their communities.

For full compliance with research ethics, the data used for the narrative analysis in the first phase of this study was treated ethically. Because the extracted texts were publicly available, permission was not needed to obtain the data. Care was taken to ensure that the use of the data did not violate any copyrights and/or restrictions.

This project did not pose serious ethical issues. However, at every step of the study, the approved ethical application was referred to in order to ensure the consideration of the ethical issues and implications and the protection of the participants.

3.12 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented the research design, methodological approach, and mixed methods used in this study. The piloting, sampling, validity, reliability, limitations, and ethical considerations were explained and discussed in detail. A socio-narrative approach was adopted within an exploratory sequential mixed methods design. The data were collected via a textual corpus, online survey, semi-structured interviews, and an online questionnaire. The participants were volunteer translators, translation project managers, and translation experts. The sample for the whole study comprised more than 300 subjects. Permission to conduct the fieldwork was obtained from the Lancaster University ethics committee. The next chapter (Chapter 4) presents the results of the narrative analysis, survey, and interviews to provide the appropriate answers to the research questions.

4 RESEARCH FINDINGS: CONTEXTUALISING THE RECURRENT NARRATIVES AS MOTIVES[9]

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[9] A portion of this chapter was included in the following publication: Alonayq, A. (2021). Narrating Arabic translation online: Another perspective on the motivations behind volunteerism in the translation sector. In R. Desjardins, L. Claire, & L. Philippe (Eds), *When translation goes digital* (pp. 91–119). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

This chapter presents the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation and traces them in the analysis of the textual dataset, surveys, and interviews. Each narrative is introduced and discussed as part of the findings of the mixed methods. It is an attempt to understand the motivations of volunteer translators and the influence of these narratives in crowdsourced translation. The merging of the findings from all the methods was expected to provide coherent answers to the research questions.

The researcher's interpretations are integrated into the discussion of the findings in order to maintain the coherence of the ideas; thus, the discussion is not placed in a separate chapter. The current chapter shows the influence of the narratives on Arabic translation on volunteer translators' actions and motivations to join crowdsourced translation initiatives.

4.1 Translating to revive the Golden Era of translation

The corpus of the current study revealed that the Golden Era of translation is a recurrent Arabic translation narrative. Arabs have been credited with establishing the first organised large-scale translation activity. It started during the Umayyads' reign (661–750) and reached its peak during the Abbasids' rule (750–1258), a period known as the Golden Era of translation (Baker & Hanna, 2011). This celebrated era witnessed the establishment of Bayt al-Hikma (the House of Wisdom), the first known and most important translation institution in Arabic history (Baker & Hanna, 2011).

4.1.1 Narrative analysis findings

The narrative of the Golden Era of translation has been circulated in Arabic discourse in various ways, with temporal configurations employed for emphasis. In a published interview with the director of the AOT on the organisation's 17th anniversary, the journalist acknowledged the Golden Era of translation:

> [These publications may remind us of the Golden Age of Arabic culture when Baghdad and Damascus, in the Umayyad and Abbasid eras, were pioneering capitals in translation from different languages, especially Syriac, Greek, and

classic Latin, and when, until 1908, Arabic and Latin languages were prerequisites for students who wanted to join Oxford University.] (Khoury, 2017, para. 1)

This introduction was then followed by the interview, which concluded with the following statement: "[Despite the challenges, the organization won Arabic and international prizes that proved its success in the mission to bring back Arabic translation to its golden ages]" (Khoury, 2017, para. 06).

The interview established a clear logical relationship between the AOT and the Golden Era of Arabic translation. The spatial position of the link at the beginning and the end of the interview creates a narrative that introduces the AOT as a project that continues the historical success of Arabic translation. Interestingly, the narrative links the AOT with a romanticised historic translation movement that occurred in the 8th century despite the many more recent (e.g., 19th century) successful Arab translation initiatives that could have been referenced. In addition, what was said about the University of Oxford to support the narrative is arguably incorrect. Although Arabic was taught at the University of Oxford by English Orientalists in the 19th century, it is unlikely to have been a prerequisite for entry into the university. However, a historical era was evoked to support the narrative and overstate the AOT's contributions.

In an article published on Aljazeera.net (Mohammad, 2008), this narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation was employed to legitimise the AOT projects. The article discussed the issues of Arabic translation and the challenges faced by translators. The use of certain features of temporality to promote this narrative should be noted. First, the spatial organisation of content is a key element in the effective presentation of the topic. In other words, the order of the content prepares the reader to receive the narrative. For example, the narrative was preceded by a view of the current status of Arabic translation that is very pessimistic in comparison with that of the Abbasid era. The article concluded with an optimistic view of the AOT's role and ambition. In the Crisis and Chaos section of the article, the journalist paraphrased Fayez Al-Sayegh:

> [Al-Sayegh describes the translation movement in the Arabic nation as deficient, referring to the Human Development report that states that what has been translated since the Abbasid era thus far is five times less than what Spain translates in a year. But what makes one optimistic is that some Arabic

institutions, such as the AOT, are considering translation issues . . .] (Mohammad, 2008, para. 15)

In the above quote, Al-Sayegh was introduced as the head of the Jordan Center for Strategic Studies, and his comment was placed in the Crisis and Chaos section. This position under a subheading with a negative connotation was supposed to add value to the narrative that Al-Sayegh promoted. Time is also important in this quote. The positive effects of the AOT are presented through the narrative of Arabic translation's Golden Era. It might not actually be innocent where he got that data from. However, Al-Sayegh supported his opinion with data from the Abbasid era. Interestingly, he did not go further back in history even though the translation movement during the Golden Age of Arabic translation began during the preceding Umayyad era.

Moreover, by using a year-based comparison with Spain, Al-Sayegh strengthens his argument more than if he had compared decades or centuries. Periodisation, which is subjective, plays a key role in history narration. According to Salama-Carr (2019), the Middle Ages is an example of periodisation that "would not map easily onto the history of translation in the Arab World, where the Classical period, seen as the Golden Age of Islam, belongs to the medieval world" (p. 287). According to Baker (2006), data cannot be interpreted without narrative mediation. Thus, embedding the Golden Era of Arabic translation in the argument overstates the current low volume of translation and presents it as an enduring problem.

The narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation can also be found in the data associated with Kalima, a relatively recent but reputable translation organisation. As is the case with the AOT, the narrative of the Golden Era of translation has been used to validate Kalima's work. Kalima's "About" page introduces the organisation as follows:

> [When Europe was drowning in the Dark Ages, the old Arabic civilization was undertaking a pioneering role in translation and publication and introducing translations in all realms of knowledge, and this has allowed humanity to flourished and advance.] (Kalima, n.d., para. 2)

> [The Kalima Project wants to revive that Golden Era of translation and reunite the Arabic book industry. This goal will be achieved by bringing together the publishers, literary agents, authors, translators, and distributors in order to

increase the number of books and choices for Arab readers.] (Kalima, n.d., para. 3)

Kalima's Wikipedia page shared some of the traits of the narrative of the Golden Era (Kalima, 2017). The page, which was created in 2012 (five years after Kalima was established), has been updated 60 times by Wikipedia users. The narrative is constructed as follows: "[It was launched in 2007 with a core objective to revive the translation movement in the Arab world through translating, publishing, and distributing wide varieties of chosen books from many international languages in different domains]" (Kalima, 2017, para. 2).

This extract was placed under the "History" subheading, and the narrative was again mentioned in the "Background" section, which was preceded by nostalgia about Arabic translation. The subheadings emphasise the association between the modern translation project, Kalima, and the "good old days" of the Arabic translation movement. The following quote contextualises the role of Kalima, which aims to maintain the achievements of Arabic translators: "[Arab scholars made remarkable contributions to the Renaissance in Europe through their translations and preservation of the classics of the Roman, Greek, and Persian civilizations. However, the Arabic translation movement declined in the early 11th century]" (Kalima, 2017, para. 6).

The focus is the decline at a specific time regardless of the efforts of other contemporary translation organisations. This temporal linkage between Kalima and a historic translation movement makes this narrative more effective in legitimising Kalima's mission.

Elaph, an online newspaper, published ["Kalima: A Project to Revive Translation in the Arab World"], an article about Kalima (Masad, 2007). There were slight differences between the two articles; however, the *Elaph* article began with the same narrative of the Golden Era. It was even more detailed:

> [The Abbasid era was truly the time when translation flourished and became
> prevalent because of the caliphs' support. Translators and translation were given
> a respected status crowned with the establishment of the House of Wisdom. . . .
> This also occurred during the European civilization when the books of Averroes,
> al-Khwarizmi, and other figures of the Arabic-Islamic culture were translated.
> Because translation is considered key to development and prosperity, Arabs have
> been trying to return translation to its position in the Nahda "renaissance" era by

either the translation school established in 1826 or the Arab League's current work.] (Masad, 2007, para. 1)

The above was the introductory paragraph for the Kalima Project. The narrative of the Arabic translation movement during the Golden Era was foregrounded to add value to a contemporary project. The excerpt contains references to times and places that contextualise Kalima's mission. Unlike the other analysed texts, this text recognised other Arabic translation projects from the 19th century through the contemporary era. However, these projects are presented as desperate attempts to bring back the glory days of Arabic translation.

The most recent Arabic translation organisation is the Translation Challenge, which was initiated by the ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (Emarat-Alyoum, 2017a). The organisation recruits volunteers to translate science and mathematics texts (with a target of 11 million words) into Arabic. The analysis again shows the implicit recourse to the narrative of the Golden Era in the way that the past and Arabic-Islamic civilisation are honoured. The official invitation used the narrative as a motivator and concluded with an implied reference to the honoured past: "[We look forward to forming a team of Arabs who desire to create a better future for education in the Arab World and to bring the Arab World closer to reviving our civilization]" (Translation Challenge, 2017, para. 4).

The call for action is based on nostalgia, and it is purposely placed at the end of this invitation, which contains detailed information. Unsurprisingly, the reference to a past civilisation contextualises the project as another attempt inspired by the translation movement during the Golden Era. Alatar's (2017) blog on the Arageek website urged Arab readers to join the Translation Challenge. The post began by praising the efforts of Arabs in the past: "[The translation movement conducted by Arab Muslims during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods in the seventh century was the first step towards knowledge]" (Alatar, 2017, para. 2).

This narrative is common in the Arabic translation discourse. For example, *Emarat-Alyoum*, a Dubai-based newspaper, published a press release about the Translation Challenge (Emarat-Alyoum, 2017b). It contained an explicit reference to the past to explain the significance of science translation for Arabs. Therefore, the Translation Challenge initiative is crucial for a new scientific revolution:

[Today, we celebrate the great legacy that the Islamic civilization left for all humanity . . . during its golden time that is known for a dynamic and active translation movement. . . . Thus, the Arabic translation movement led a scientific revolution that enhanced the power and presence of the Islamic civilization.] (*Emarat-Alyoum*, 2017b, para. 2)

In the previous excerpts, the Golden Era narrative is referenced in the discussion of translation. Recourse to this narrative of a romanticised period of Arabic translation history seems to act as a form of legitimisation to reinforce the importance of translation and to entice volunteers who want to be a part of the mission of reviving the Golden Era and reviving civilisation, as embodied in the narratives used in the Kalima and Translation Challenge initiatives, respectively. The discourse of Arabic translation, as represented by the leading Arabic translation organisations, shows the prevalence of the Golden Era of translation. It is important to determine the potential influence of this narrative on volunteer motivations.

4.1.2 Survey findings

To understand the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourcing translation initiatives, the survey respondents were asked a series of carefully selected questions (Q10–Q24), which were informed by previous studies, the literature review, and the narrative analysis. At least 50% of the responses to the four

questions pertaining to the narrative-related motives[10] indicated strong agreement that these narratives were motivations for joining the translation project. The least popular narrative-related motivation was the desire to revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations. However, 31.9% strongly agreed, and 30.6% agreed that this was a motivation. These results confirm the popularity and influence of the Arabic translation narratives highlighted in the first phase of the study.

TABLE 4: MOTIVATIONS TO JOIN TRANSLATION PROJECTS (Q15 AND Q20)

Questions (Motivation)	1.00 Strongly agree	2.00 Agree	3.00 Neither agree nor disagree	4.00 Disagree	5.00 Strongly disagree
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.	63.0%	29.1%	4.8%	2.2%	0.9%

[10] Q15, Q20–Q22

Q0020 To revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations.	31.9%	30.6%	26.2%	8.3%	3.1%

The survey respondents were asked questions (Q35–Q41) related to the highlighted narratives to understand their influence on the volunteers' views about Arabic translation. Some of the main findings are presented. The overall results are discussed before the results for the comparison of the subgroups are presented.

The respondents were asked whether they knew about the House of Wisdom, the historical translation project that represents the Golden Era of Arabic translation (Q35). Fifty-nine percent indicated awareness. Men and women had a similar level of awareness: 60.9% and 58.4%, respectively. The respondents aged 26 to 32 were the least likely to know about the project; however, the difference in the age groups was not significant ($p = 0.124$). There was also no significant difference by employment status and country of origin.

The respondents who were aware of the House of Wisdom were then asked follow-up questions to assess their views about the historical translation project. Generally, they either strongly agreed (70%) or agreed (25%) that the story of the House of Wisdom in the Golden Era of Arabic translation proves the necessity for well-supported translation projects (Q36). Many either strongly agreed (63.3%) or agreed (24.2%) with the statement that the story of the House of Wisdom's translation activity in Arab-Islamic history was a source of inspiration for Arab translators (Q37). The responses to the two follow-up questions indicated that there was no significant difference. There was a positive association ($r = 0.539$) between the responses to the statement about improving the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook [Q21]) and reviving the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations (Q20).

4.1.3 Interview findings

The survey was followed by semi-structured interviews in order to elaborate on the trends in the results and to incorporate the interviewees' accounts on volunteer translation. The responses regarding the narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation were based on the participants' roles. The volunteers seemed to be more engaged with the narrative than the translation project managers and translation specialists, who also indicated awareness of the narrative. The succeeding sections introduce the answers for each group.

The volunteer group included five individuals with different experiences in volunteer translation at organisations, such as Wikipedia, TED, the Translation Challenge, WordPress, the Dadd-initiative, Ollemna, and Taghreedat. The volunteers were asked two questions about the Golden Era of translation: (1) What do you know about the Golden Era of translation and/or the House of Wisdom? (2) The survey showed that the story of the House of Wisdom would motivate people to participate in translation initiatives. What do you think about this? The responses to these questions and other comments on the Golden Era of translation are discussed below.

The first interviewee[11] was "Salwa" from Saudi Arabia. She was an undergraduate student specialising in TS. She had participated in a few volunteer opportunities in translation. "Salwa" indicated some awareness of the Golden Era of translation: "I know that translators used to be generously rewarded for what they translate during that time." However, when asked about the motivating aspect of the narrative, she disagreed with the survey finding. "Salwa" said: "I don't think the story inspires people to participate in translation projects because I see my classmates not interested in the module about the history of Arabic translation. They were not taking it seriously. It was boring for them."

The second interviewee, "Basil" from Palestine, was an undergraduate medical student in Egypt. "Basil" had been volunteering for a long time, mainly with Wikipedia. He indicated engagement with the narrative and explained how it motivated him and his peers:

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[11] All interviewees' quotes are the researcher's translation of the original comments that were made in Arabic. The source texts are included in appendices.

> Yes. It is a very encouraging story and one of [the] things that motivate us to do translation. If you notice, translation is not taken seriously in the Arab world today. Therefore, it is natural to look for something realistic to inspire you, something outstanding like the House of Wisdom.

Not only was "Basil" aware of the Golden Era narrative, but he also admired the House of Wisdom, which represented the translation movement at that time. He considered it a realistic model that motivated volunteers like him. He told a story about an existing volunteer-based translation initiative named after the historical House of Wisdom:

> I remember when a colleague was talking about how translators were respected at that time. He suggested organising translation campaigns. Now, there is an initiative called the House of Wisdom too. It does not belong to Wikipedia, but they contribute to the encyclopaedia.

The third interviewee, "Tariq" from Algeria, was in his 30s. He lived with his small family. A passionate blogger and freelancer, he had previously volunteered with many translation organisations. Commenting on the first narrative, "Tariq" gave an example of a recent state project that was named after the House of Wisdom: "This reminds me of when the United Arab Emirates launched a satellite recently and named it (813), which referred to the House of Wisdom, which was established in 813."

This example shows how the narrative is deployed even on a state level. "Tariq" explained his opinion of the narrative and gave the reason for its popularity and the connection that individuals would feel to it:

> The story of the House of Wisdom spreads because of the mainstream media and the literature about translation. Surely, this is because we rely on our legacy of civilisation. You, as a translator, do not want to detach from your predecessor, but you like to be connected and continue the work. If this story is something to be proud of, then why not keep it alive?

"Tariq" added: "It is a motivating story but not the only one, for sure. At the same time, it has its own historical conditions and circumstances that do not necessarily apply for us today."

Despite the circumstances, the narrative is still influential to the extent that it triggers behaviours and constructs perceptions. "Tariq" explained this: "The story gains currency and popularity because it is the ideal example. For instance, in the West, they have St. Jerome, who is considered the father of translation because he translated the Bible from Latin into English." However, the interviewee seemed to be critical about the tendency to associate modern translation organisations with historical translation movements:

> I agree with the idea of copying successful models, but we should not try to make another House of Wisdom. The House of Wisdom was a natural progression in civilisation but was not enforced. We should live our time based on our resources and work on this basis.

The fourth interviewee was "Hasan," an undergraduate English literature and translation student from Egypt. Hasan had participated in large volunteer translation projects and was also interested in science. When asked about the Golden Era, "Hasan" told his story, which included how he became involved in volunteer translation: "Yes, I heard of the House of Wisdom during the Abbasid era and, specifically, during the rule of Caliphate Almamoun, the so-called Golden Era. I do not know very much, but I know that the Caliphate supported translators to transfer knowledge into Arabic."

Although "Hasan" had been exposed to the narrative of the Golden Era, he had not initially been motivated by it. He said:

> Of course, I am one of those who were inspired by such stories. But to be honest, it was not the story of the House of Wisdom that inspired me first because I only heard about it in recent years when I studied Islamic history, and I was not interested in translation at that time, so I did not pay much attention. Later on, I studied the history of Egypt during Muhammad Ali's reign, and from that time, I felt interested in translation, which flourished during that period of history. I was inspired by Rifa Tahtawi and the Alsoun School. Their story encouraged me to join initiatives that contribute to society. I felt that I could be an active member in the community by doing what I love and what benefits people too.

Although he enjoyed volunteer translation and was aware of its importance to society, "Hasan" disagreed with the veneration of the past at the expense of the present: "I think that associating translation with great stories is a good idea. However, translation

institutions should celebrate their own success, not the success of others or even stories from the past."

The fifth interviewee was "Shareef," a Saudi programmer in his late 20s. He dedicated most of his time to voluntarily translating open-source software. Like other interviewees, he was aware of the Golden Era of translation: "I know the story that Arabs and Muslims translated scientific knowledge from other languages into Arabic, and then those books were translated into different languages through Arabic, I think."

He considered the narrative a motivating factor for participation in volunteer translation. However, he explained how he was different in this regard:

> Of course, I think it is very motivating. Everyone wants to be part of a community that spreads knowledge. I know some translation projects talk about the House of Wisdom, and some translators feel attached to that history. It might be something special for them. For myself, I do volunteer translation, but my translation work is different, and I do not think it is preferred by the majority of Arab translators because it requires interest in web development and open-source software, and maybe some coding background. I have been volunteering for many years to Arabise the WordPress platform, along with other enthusiasts but inconsistent volunteers.

"Shareef" further discussed the importance of his work and his ideas about what should be the interest of volunteer translators currently: "This is something that translators throughout history have not done before. They inspire us by translating the best knowledge of their time. Today, we should translate programming tools because this is what people need today."

The second group of interviewees comprised three project managers who were involved in recruiting and managing volunteer translators. The managers worked with the Taghreedat Initiative, Dadd-initiative, and Ollemna, which are based in different countries and translate different types of texts on various scales. The semi-structured interviews included the following questions: (1) My research shows that some translation initiatives are usually linked to common narratives, such as the Golden Era of translation. To what extent does your work correspond to this narrative? (2) Do you think this or similar narratives would motivate volunteers to join you?

The first translation project manager and sixth interviewee was "Haifa" from Jordan. She holds a bachelor's degree in computer science and had lived many years in Japan and Malaysia. She had a great deal of volunteering experience in translation and had worked with thousands of volunteers. When asked about the Golden Era of translation, "Haifa" stated:

> To be honest with you, I don't know the story of the House of Wisdom, but I know that when the Islamic civilisation established its knowledge, it began by translating books from other languages to transfer their thoughts into Arabic, such as what the European civilisation did after the Dark Ages when they translated knowledge from the Islamic civilisation.

It was clear that "Haifa" was not familiar with the term *Golden Era* or the House of Wisdom. Nevertheless, the narrative shaped her account of Arabic translation history. She went further by showing the similarity in the Islamic and European civilisations regarding the use of translation for development. She then provided her opinion on the current recourse to translation: "Instead of starting from scratch, it would be easier to translate what already has been produced by others." She continued by explaining the purpose for translating knowledge: "This way, we make knowledge available for a large population, and people can build on this."

The second project manager and seventh interviewee, "Rashid" from Saudi Arabia, was an e-learning entrepreneur. Driven by his interest, "Rashid" had launched a translation initiative that attracted hundreds of volunteers to translate selected blog posts from English into Arabic. Similar to "Haifa," he seemed to be implicitly engaged with the narrative. When asked about the Golden Era of translation and the presence of the House of Wisdom in their discourse, "Rashid" said: "You mean the Abbasid era. From the discussions with our volunteers, I don't hear so much about the House of Wisdom specifically. However, the idea of the Golden Era and its impact on translation is larger and more influential than the House of Wisdom." "Rashid" continued: "I mean, the legacy of that era in terms of translation and knowledge production is more prevalent than that of the House of Wisdom, which was only one translation institution at that time." This shows that "Rashid" considered the proliferation of translation during the Golden Era the natural outcome of a collective knowledge production practice.

The third project manager and eighth interviewee was "Yusuf," a Syrian in his 30s living in Germany. He had already launched many cultural initiatives for Arabs in the diaspora and was, at the time of the study, leading hundreds of volunteers to contribute to Wikipedia via translation. Unlike the other two managers, "Yusuf" exhibited less awareness of the Golden Era. He avoided going into detail because of insufficient information. "Yusuf" explained: "I don't have any comment because frankly I don't know anything about the story of the House of Wisdom during Almamoun's reign. I heard about it but not in detail." However, the idea of respect and generous compensation for translators at that time was not new to him. "Yusuf" said: "I heard that the Caliph used to reward translators with the weight of their work in gold, but I didn't associate what I had heard with the House of Wisdom."

The other interviewees were two professional translators. They were expected to have slightly different opinions on the subject. The interview was guided by one or more of the following questions: (1) What does the story of the House of Wisdom mean to you, if you have heard about it? (2) Do you think that this story is prevalent in the Arabic discourse on translation? (3) The data show that some translation organisations use this story in their discourse. Do you think that it would encourage volunteers to join them?

The first professional translator was "Bandar," a Saudi in his late 30s. He had majored in English literature and worked full-time as a translator in tourism and archaeology. "Bandar" commented on the prevalence of the narrative among translators:

> It might be true that the story is popular, especially from a materialistic perspective. The rewards were generous in return for the great efforts translators made to translate and refine the texts during Almamoun's era. There is no comparison between that time and today in this regard.

"Bandar" kept the focus on the monetary aspect of the subject. He added: "If you notice, the money translators make today for translating a page is very little. The rates are not encouraging. There is no official pricing policy."

Despite his statement about the low pay for translation, "Bandar" nevertheless considered the narrative a source of inspiration: "I come across the story of the House of Wisdom in many sources. It's usually presented to encourage translators, especially because they are not making a good income for what they do."

The second specialist translator and last interviewee was "Nasir," a Saudi poet and translator who specialised in literature. He holds an MA degree in translation and had already led several translation initiatives. "Nasir" exhibited more engagement with the narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation. However, he was concerned about volunteer translators' rights. "Nasir" made the following comment about the story of the House of Wisdom: "No doubt, we translators always recall the story of the House of Wisdom. We bring it to the discussion to prove the importance of translation and its role in transforming the nation in one way or another."

"Nasir" attributed the advances in the translation movement to not only translators but also other influences: "The opportunities that arose during the Ummayad and Abbasid eras were great and paved the way for establishing the House of Wisdom. The project was driven by political will, economic power, and a great geographical location in contact with other civilisations." "Nasir" then highlighted the inspiration of the narrative: "It is definitely an inspirational story, especially for us, the translators. Similarly, there was the Toledo School of Translators following the fall of Islamic rule in Andalusia where Europeans translated the Arabic knowledge."

This extract shows that the interviewee introduced a comparison and the notion of similarities between different civilisations in the pursuit of knowledge. "Nasir" added his own account of the narrative:

> What I would like to say is that translation narratives somehow have a great impact on nations. We can say that we Arabs translated from other civilisations and then transferred the knowledge to the European civilisation. The beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe was influenced by our scientific knowledge through Andalusia.

"Nasir" continued: "The Europeans felt the need for translation and established translation schools to train translators and rewarded them generously."

The conversation was redirected to obtain the interviewee's opinion on the influence of the narrative on translators, in general, and volunteer translators, in particular. "Nasir" stated:

> If we consider the factors that led to the thriving House of Wisdom and make this institution a role model, that is great. Today, translation is focused on reviving the

great days of translation in our nation. This is good. However, I always think about the translator's rights. There are projects that raise this banner of "reviving the great days" but indeed exploit the translators' time and efforts for the benefit of the organisations.

4.1.4 Discussion of the findings regarding the Golden Era

Each of the three methods—narrative analysis, survey, and interviews—yielded interesting findings, thereby validating the data and providing multiple perspectives on the research questions. The aim was to answer the primary question: What are the recurrent translation narratives in the discourse on Arabic translation? The findings indicate the prevalence of the narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation among Arabic translators. (The remaining narratives will be presented later in this chapter.) The findings of the survey and interviews confirmed those of the narrative analysis and elaborated on the narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation.

By Baker's (2006) definition, this narrative is considered a public narrative; thus, it can be found in the discourse of almost any Arabic translation organisation. In fact, many Arabic translation organisations appeal to their Arabic audiences by establishing relationships with powerful and highly circulated narratives in the Arabic discourse on translation. For example, the story about the House of Wisdom and its role in the translation movement during the Golden Era is frequently repeated in translation-related settings. The focus of this narrative, be it status or remuneration, knowledge contribution or civilisation revival, depends largely on the organisation's goals. If volunteers are motivated by the need to be respected, then the narrative focuses on status-related cues. The tendency of translation organisations to emphasise different aspects of the narrative explains the variations in the interviewees' accounts despite their engagement with it.

The findings are a clear indication of the prevalence of the narrative of the Golden Era of translation in the general discourse on Arabic translation. The previously presented data, which are a representative collection of the Arabic discourse, reflect the narrative. For example, a UNDP (2003) report referred to the translators of the Abbasid era, the Golden Era of translation, as pioneers of the scientific revolution. This acknowledgment highlights the role of translators in promoting knowledge and, thus, assuring a prosperous

future. Fehri (2013), an Arabic linguist, claimed that the House of Wisdom promoted science and knowledge in the Islamic and Arabic communities by leveraging translation. The narrative is also present in the prominent *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*[12] (Baker & Saldanha 2011). The entry on Arabic translation highlights the narrative of the Golden Era of translation (Baker & Hanna, 2011). Thus, the narrative has been circulated in not only Arabic societies but also academia, specifically TS, internationally, thereby increasing the authenticity and validity of the narrative, or at least the main part of it.

However, a motivating narrative is not necessarily a presentation of reality, nor is it unquestionable. It could be argued that Arabic translation is sometimes narrated on the basis of misleading data. For example, a reference to the Arab Human Development Report (AHDR) stated that "[what has been translated since the Abbasid era until today is

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[12] This publication is now in its 3rd edition (2020). However, the introduction to this edition indicates that the entire section on translation history and traditions was excluded. This citation refers to that excluded section.

five times less than what Spain translates in a year]" (Mohammad, 2018). An examination of the AHDR revealed different information: "The aggregate total of translated books from the Al-Ma'moon era to the present day amounts to 10,000 books – equivalent to what Spain translates in a single year" (UNDP, 2003, p. 67). This statistic was not based on surveys; rather, it was a quote from the book *"[Translation in the Arab World: Reality and Challenges]"* by Jalal (1999). Surprisingly, in the third edition of the book, Jalal (2010) narrated the status of contemporary translation on the basis of the same data despite the passage of 10 years. For this statistic, Jalal (2010) referred to a 1996 AHDR without providing an appropriate citation. However, he claimed that any attempt to explore contemporary translation production would be hindered by insufficient statistics and inadequate archival systems (Jalal, 2010).

The narrative analysis revealed the volunteer translators' awareness of the Golden Era of translation. Their responses to the survey showed its influence on their decision to lend their time and efforts to translation organisations. The results were not surprising. Arabs have perceived translation as integral to nation building and the development of pan-Arabism (Salama-Carr, 2019). Interestingly, regarding the narrative of the Golden Era of translation , there was no difference in the survey participants regardless of gender, age, or employment status. However, the interviewees showed slight differences.

Despite the differences in their experiences, the interviewees showed a strong awareness of the Golden Era of translation and its famous institution, the House of Wisdom. One of the 10 interviewees found the story uninteresting because she had noticed that her classmates were not interested in the class on Arabic translation history. Another interviewee referred to a state-run science project that was influenced by the House of Wisdom although it was not a translation project: "This reminds me of when the United Arab Emirates launched a satellite recently and named it (813), referring to the House of Wisdom, which was established in 813."

This example shows that the narrative is deeply rooted in the advancement and reform attempts in the Arab world. Such a practice could imply a perennial view of the present as inferior to the celebrated past. More than one interviewee highlighted the importance of translating what is needed in the present rather than trying to pursue what was done in the past. One of the volunteers was engaged in Arabising the WordPress blogging platform to enable Arab users to produce online content (more details are provided in the discussion of the third narrative). This explained the positive association ($r = 0.539$)

between the survey participants' responses regarding improvements in the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook (Q21), and the revival of Arabic-Islamic civilisation.

Another trend in the data is the reference to and comparison with the *other*, which is always the *West*. The narrative analysis showed how Kalima embedded Europe and the Dark Ages to present the translation achievements of the Golden Era of Arabic translation. One of the interviewees explained that the Industrial Revolution benefited from the scientific knowledge translated through Arabic. The inclusion of the West in the narrative of Arabic translation can be attributed to the meta-narrative of civilisational conflict and the current political relations with Western countries. One of the interviewees explained the influence of the House of Wisdom as the need for an ideal example. He compared this to introducing St. Jerome as the father of translation in the West because he translated the Bible from Latin into English. This comparison highlights the global narration of translation too.

To varying degrees, all the interviewees subscribed to the narrative. The professional translators were concerned about remuneration and translators' rights. "Bandar" indicated that the narrative of the Golden Era was circulated among translators to increase the low pay for translators. Recurrent in the narrative were translators' opportunities to be paid appropriately. Paradoxically, the greater recognition and rewards that translators received in the past could motivate volunteer translators to donate their services anonymously. "Nasir" said that some translation initiatives attract volunteers by venerating the Golden Era and then exploiting their rights by making money and social gains off their efforts without acknowledgement and transparency.

4.2 Translating to build a bridge to knowledge

The second narrative that emerged in the narrative analysis was the idealistic perception of translation as a bridge to literacy and knowledge acquisition in the Arab world. The AOT's "About" section is an example: "[It is a result of what the Arab intellectuals have always called a necessary project because translation is a core activity for renaissance. . . . The AOT was established after a survey of the status of translation in the Arab nation]" (AOT, n.d., para. 1).

This quote illustrates the perception and introduction of translation as a bridge to knowledge. It also presents the AOT as a result of intellectuals' views gleaned from surveys conducted in the Arab world. Temporality is indicated by the repeated calls over time for large translation projects that would bridge the gap in the Arab world. The data included an Aljazeera.net article in which translation was considered an essential, but unmaintained, activity in the Arab world. The article contained three subheadings: [Status of Translation], [Lack of Cooperation], and [Reasons and Solutions]. The tone of the article was negative; however, the role of the AOT seemed to be expressly stated under the third subheading, Solutions:

> [But the professor of linguistics at Lebanon University disagrees with this (negative) reading (of translation status) and confirms that the movement of Arabic translation is witnessing a renaissance in terms of content, translated titles, and institutional work. He gives an example of AOT that has translated about 100 titles over 6 years.] (Ashqar, 2009, para. 16)

The above quote highlights the AOT's contributions and translation efforts. However, it assumes that Arabic translation is recovering from a long decline. In the same article, Alshamy, a language expert at the UN, stated that "[Greece with its population of 11 million translates five times more content than what the Arabic region translates annually from all languages in all domains]" (Ashqar, 2009, para. 7). Using a year-by-year comparison, as in the above quote, would increase the emphasis on the claimed crisis of translation in the Arab world. In other words, statistics are presented for a time frame that reinforces the notion of the ongoing decline in Arabic translation. In contrast, there is no reference to a specific decade and/or century in which the comparison holds true.

Kalima's discourse employed the same narrative of translation as a bridge to knowledge in the Arab world. Kalima's About page stated:

> [The Kalima Project was launched to tackle a persistent problem that has endured over 1,000 years. It is the production shortage, which the translation movement in the Arab world suffers from. . . . This shortage has deprived Arab readers of enjoying the works of the greatest authors and intellectuals in history.] (Kalima, n.d., para. 1)

The temporality in this quote emphasises the need for translation. It is considered an essential strategy for accessing knowledge. Without translation, Arabs might fail to

achieve parity with developed countries. Furthermore, this quote underestimates the translation efforts over the past thousand years. The disregard of the preceding projects makes the bridge to knowledge narrative more appealing. A similar narrative can be found in Kalima's Wikipedia entry:

> [The Arabic translation movement declined at the beginning of the 11th century. Since then, only a few valuable books have been translated into Arabic, whereas other countries have enjoyed a bounty of translated and originally written books. Therefore, Kalima attempts to bridge the gap that goes back 1,000 years by financing the translation of many outstanding books from many languages into Arabic.] (Kalima, 2017, para. 7)

Because of the high similarity, the Wikipedia entry seemed to be influenced by the original text on Kalima's website. The page history showed that other users had edited the entry. Another temporal dimension can be noticed in the above quote. The 11th century is identified as the beginning of the decline of Arabic translation. The comparison of translation in the Arab world and other countries serves the narrative by presenting Arabs as being disadvantaged in terms of access to knowledge. The paragraph concludes with Kalima's role in changing the status of Arabic translation. The temporal aspects in the entry emphasise the importance of Kalima and justify its work.

The Translation Challenge project has circulated the same narrative in its call for volunteers to translate educational content. The open invitation letter repeatedly states that the translation project aims to make knowledge accessible for Arabs by translating scientific educational materials. The following is an excerpt from the conclusion of the letter: "[We look forward to forming a team of Arabs who are ambitious to create a better future for education in the Arab World and to bring the Arab World closer to restoring our civilization]" (Translation Challenge, 2017, para. 4).

The organisation has presented translation as a solution (i.e., bridge to knowledge) to guarantee a bright educational future for Arabs. Alatar (2017) posted an article that begins with an appreciation of the Arabic translation movement during the Golden Era and its significant contributions to the advancement of modern science in Europe and the United States. Here is an excerpt from a Translation Challenge description: "[Individuals who are interested in participating in this huge work must not be hesitant. They should

contribute to this platform that I think will be a transformative change in knowledge and education in the Arab world]" (Alatar, 2017, para. 11).

This excerpt evokes the bridge-to-knowledge narrative in which translation is esteemed and considered the panacea for education problems. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of this narrative with that of the Golden Era of translation revealed a temporal relationship between the modern project and the highly valued translation movement of the past. An *Emarat-Alyoum* (2017b) press release supported its focus on the importance of translation for Arabic communities through the frequently used example of the Golden Era of translation. The press release concluded with an instance of this juxtaposition: "[Through the Translation Challenge, we will create hope, which is much needed in our Arabic nation, and lay the foundation for a bright Arabic future]" (Emarat-Alyoum, 2017b, para. 13).

This conclusion promotes the narrative of the bridge to knowledge and the assumption of translation being as essential for the future of Arabs as it was in their past. It could be hypothesised that the invocation of the past to create a brighter future could lead volunteers to view these narratives as invitations to participate in translation projects. The survey and interview findings sections below support this hypothesis and show the prevalence of the narrative of translation as a bridge to knowledge.

4.2.1 Survey findings

The participants were given a list of possible motivations and asked to indicate their opinions on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). The results for the knowledge-related motivations are presented in Table 4. The statements that elicited the strongest agreement were those related to motivations to improve their English proficiency (67.7%) and to update the knowledge available in Arabic (63%).

On three of the four questions on narrative-related motives,[13] at least 50% of the respondents strongly agreed they were a motivation for joining translation projects. Regarding the influence of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative (Q15), Table 4 shows that 63% strongly agreed and 29.1% agreed. Only 2.2% and 0.9% disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively.

The survey presented the participants' views on volunteer translation. Some main findings in relation to the bridge to knowledge were that 77.3% of the survey respondents strongly agreed and 20.4% agreed that Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for Arabic native speakers. In terms of importance, 72% of survey respondents strongly agreed and 25.1% agreed that translation was essential for the development of educational knowledge. In addition, the respondents tended to agree (54.2% strongly agreed; 36.3% agreed) that volunteers should be given a bigger role in enhancing translation activity in the Arab world. Most respondents disagreed (38.1% disagreed; 17.7% strongly disagreed) with the statement that only

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[13] Q15, Q20–Q22

individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.

TABLE 5: PERCEPTIONS OF VOLUNTEER TRANSLATION

Questions (Perceptions)	1.00 Strongly agree	2.00 Agree	3.00 Neither agree nor disagree	4.00 Disagree	5.00 Strongly disagree
Q0025 Only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.	9.3%	19.5%	15.3%	38.1%	17.7%
Q0026 Volunteer translators are a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation.	44.2%	46.5%	7.0%	1.9%	0.5%
Q0027 Translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators.	43.9%	36.9%	15.0%	3.7%	0.5%
Q0028 There should be limitations on the types of content that volunteers are allowed to translate.	13.6%	25.2%	25.2%	26.6%	9.3%
Q0029 Making contributions to a language through volunteer translation is as important as other usual volunteering (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).	40.6%	43.4%	12.3%	1.9%	1.9%
Q0030 Volunteers should be given a bigger role in enhancing translation activity in the Arab world.	54.2%	36.3%	8.0%	1.4%	0.0%
Q0031 Volunteer translation could devalue the translation profession.	15.6%	25.5%	28.8%	18.9%	11.3%
Q0032 I think that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge.	72.0%	25.1%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Q0033 Arab countries translate enough content at the present time.	5.2%	12.8%	19.9%	37.0%	25.1%

Q0034 Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers.	77.3%	20.4%	0.5%	0.9%	0.9%

The analysis of the perceptions of volunteer translation by age group revealed two significant differences (see Table 6). First, respondents aged 33 to 40 years were the least likely to strongly agree with the statement that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge (age 18–25, 77.6%; age 26–32, 72.1%; age 33–40, 41.2%; age ≥40, 60%). Second, respondents aged 33 to 40 years were the least likely to strongly agree with the statement that Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers (age 18–25, 80.2%; age 26–32, 80.9%; age 33–40, 47.2%; age ≥40, 70%).

TABLE 6: SIGNIFICANCE TEST (QUESTIONS 25–34)

	Asymp. Sig.
Q0025 Only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.	0.185
Q0026 Volunteer translators are a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation.	0.646
Q0027 Translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators.	0.621
Q0028 There should be limitations on the types of content that volunteers are allowed to translate.	0.113
Q0029 Making contributions to a language through volunteer translation is as important as other usual volunteering (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).	0.216
Q0030 Volunteers should be given a bigger role in enhancing translation activity in the Arab world.	0.332
Q0031 Volunteer translation could devalue the translation profession.	0.092
Q0032 I think that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge.	0.024
Q0033 Arab countries translate enough content at the present time.	0.089
Q0034 Arab countries should invest more in translation in order to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers.	0.018

The survey respondents were asked questions (Q35–Q41) about the recurrent narratives to ascertain their influence on volunteers' views about Arabic translation. On the narrative question of translation as a bridge to knowledge, 90% of the respondents indicated "yes"

regarding the important role of translation in bridging the gap with the developed countries.

4.2.2 Interview findings

The narrative on translation as a bridge to knowledge permeated the interviewees' accounts of Arabic translation and the goals for volunteer translation. There was no significant difference by role. The volunteers seemed to be more engaged with the narrative than the translation project managers and translation specialists, who also indicated awareness of and some agreement with the narrative. The succeeding sections present the answers for each group.

"Salwa," a volunteer, was asked whether she agreed with those who promoted translation as the route to scientific development in the Arab world. She said: "Sure, I say this because if we look at the primary goal of translation we will find that it revolves around transferring knowledge." A translation student, "Salwa" highlighted the relationship between the quality of the translation and the results: "Translation is the solution, but appointing qualified translators will make it a very effective solution."

The influence of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative seemed to create an arbitrary opinion on translation. To prompt a response, "Salwa" was asked why Arabs relied on translations from other cultures rather than producing knowledge. She confidently stated that there might be a failure to produce original knowledge: "We can do them both. There is no problem. However, let us assume we failed in knowledge production; then translation is a need."

"Basil" explained his motivation to start his long journey of volunteer translation to provide knowledge in Arabic:

> The internet, especially the Arabic web, is full of topics that are limited mainly to sport and entertainment. A lot of people write on these topics, but there is a very low interest in and demand for topics like science, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.

After this introduction, "Basil" offered his reason for translating Wikipedia entries: "[Because of] this shortage, I began to translate medical content on Wikipedia." His

experience had not always been smooth because of the challenges of translating scientific content into Arabic: "There were some challenges, like conflicts and heated debates over terminology. For example, the word 'antibiotics' is translated differently in some Arabic countries. I prefer to go for the common translation for each term." The terminology problem is rooted in the usually overlooked responsibility of Arabic language policy makers. "Basil" revealed some of the issues:

> All our debates are triggered by the arguments on terminology. I blame linguists, Arab specialists, and Arabic language academies for this problem. I use six or seven dictionaries for my work, but unfortunately, none of them is updated or includes the most recent scientific concepts.

Volunteers have therefore taken the lead in transferring terms and concepts between languages in the most popular encyclopaedia. "Basil" stated: "In this case, we work hard to make up new terminologies for medical concepts that have no existing Arabic equivalent." He explained that the reliance on volunteers could overcomplicate the issue of translating specialised terminologies: "Volunteer translation is very important, but it is a double-edged sword. From my experience, I noticed that when someone publishes a mistranslation for a scientific concept, it goes viral and becomes nearly impossible to rectify."

When "Tariq" was asked about translation initiatives and the utility of advocating for volunteer translation, the idea of translation as a bridge to knowledge was present in his answer: "It's very important, and to be frank with you, we are now in an inferior position from a civilisation point of view. We urgently need to acquire science and knowledge in our mother tongue; hence, we need translation." "Tariq" compared Arabs to other nations who are assumed to be superior in terms of civilisation and stressed the importance of translation: "The same applies even if we were in a superior position. In the past, we translated Aristotle, who died decades ago, and had interacted with other civilisations."

When asked about the motivations for volunteering to perform translation, "Tariq" focused on personal interests and offered an example that, unsurprisingly, reflected the bridge to knowledge narrative:

> There are many motivations, and one of them is the volunteers' interests. For example, some Syrian students have recently translated a core medicine book that

has more than 500 pages. Such a contribution paves the way for the next generations of medical students.

Like most volunteer translators, "Hasan" started translation with a nonofficial group dedicated to science translation. He stated: "I had the chance to join a Facebook group dedicated to providing knowledge in Arabic. My role was translating simplified articles in science, philosophy and culture." To a question designed to gain an understanding of volunteers' perceptions that a dearth of translation means a lack of knowledge, "Hassan's" response was similar to that of some other interviewees: "Sure. I agree that it is better to make our own contributions in different fields of knowledge. However, if we are unable to provide unique contributions, then translation is the solution."

This answer indicates either disappointment with or unawareness of the work of Arabic educational and research institutions. Thus, the inability to produce knowledge was assumed, and the bridge-to-knowledge narrative persisted. "Hasan" confirmed this perception of translation as the solution for achieving parity with other countries. He stated:

> If we look at the Western world or most of the great countries like the US, UK, the rest of Europe, China, and Russia, we find that they are far ahead of us. To close the gap with them, we need to benefit from their knowledge through translation. This enables us to build on what we translate for the future rather than being left behind.

Because of the type of translation he was doing, "Shareef" had a different view. Although he subscribed to the narrative, he stated that translation could be a game changer because of the translation of the tools that enable individuals to interact with knowledge:

> It is true that translation was used to transfer knowledge in the past, and I think a lot of organisations are doing the same today. But I believe that we need to translate the tools that help us to interact with knowledge and circulate it. I mean tools like WordPress, the most popular platform for publishing and content management.

However, most volunteers did not subscribe to this view of "Shareef":

> To be honest, I found it difficult to convince others to join me or even to see the importance of what I have been doing for years. Nevertheless, there are some volunteers like me who believe in the mission, and we can see the great results of our work.

"Haifa" was a project manager. This might explain her view that translation is the only recourse for science enthusiasts:

> I meet a lot of people in and outside Jordan who want to learn and access the most recent knowledge, but they do not understand English. The majority of Arabs face the same problem since what they look for is not available in Arabic.

"Haifa" gave an example of a highly regarded organisation whose content has been translated into many languages, including Arabic: "Websites like TED cover various topics, including science, culture, astronomy, and philosophy. These topics need to be translated to reach as many people as possible." When asked about the importance of volunteer translation, she offered examples of recent achievements in science and technology:

> There are some good initiatives. I think there is one in Jordan devoted to medical articles. Now they have a whole medical dictionary in Arabic. I know there are other initiatives specialising in technology. We need them all. Therefore, I can say that volunteer translation is crucial for knowledge.

A translation project manager who works with thousands of volunteers, "Haifa" offered a different reason for resorting to translation to bridge the knowledge gap: "Writing books might be a burdensome pursuit; therefore, some people believe it is easier to at least translate the available knowledge and add to it later."

"Rashid," another project manager, said that translation is preferable for speed: "We cannot reach the nations ahead of us unless we translate from them. This is one of the most important and fastest approaches." He also promoted translation as the bridge to knowledge, the route for achieving parity with other countries.

"Yusuf" offered an opinion on the steadily increasing number of translation organisations that rely on volunteers: "Resources are very scarce in Arabic, and this is the reason that makes you consult other sources in other languages, of course English on top of them.

This is being done on different levels, including volunteering projects." Regarding volunteer engagement in translation projects on the basis of the narrative of the Golden Era of Arabic translation: "Volunteer translators realise that Arabs in the past began to achieve success by translating science before taking the lead in knowledge production. I think this idea plays a key role, especially among the conservatives."

To expand on the previous point, "Yusuf" was asked about the link between translation activity at the present time and in past civilisations. He stated: "There is a link if translation projects are science-based, not like what is going on now. Today, we have a real problem in standardising terminology. A solution is urgently needed because science is constantly updated and doubling in size."

"Yusuf's" concerns about the lack of standardised terminology were shared by "Basil," who expressed the idea of bridging the gap with the West through translation: "During this state of backwardness, translation is a necessity to keep level with the Western world and begin self-produced knowledge projects." "Basil" also agreed with the other project managers that for Arab advancement, translation is more advantageous than knowledge production: "Translation, however, is not the only solution, but at the moment, we seem to have no other option. It is the first rung on the ladder. We do not have to reinvent the wheel."

The professional translators expressed slightly different opinions. For example, "Bandar" offered a reason why translators were more likely to translate literature than science:

> There is a tendency to translate literature, and translators are disinclined to scientific translation. This can be attributed to the many terms that have no official equivalents so far or maybe have multiple suggested translations that have not been agreed upon.

Although "Bandar" considered translation a bridge to knowledge, he was less concerned than most of the other participants about the quantity:

> That is true. However, we should not hurry in translation. Some people say "because we are behind in terms of translation, let us translate a thousand books in a year." In fact, if we do this with the currently insufficient quality, all the efforts will be wasted. [It would be as] if we did nothing. If quality does not go hand in hand with quantity, there is no point in doing it.

Nasir, also a translation specialist, subscribed to the narrative of the bridge to knowledge in a historical sense: "Translation took science to another level. We, the Arabs, translated from other civilisations and brought knowledge to Europe." However, he agreed with the other professional translator that most efforts favoured literary translation over scientific translation: "Our translation activity is not great today since it seems to be limited to one field: literature and novels. Also, most translations are commercialised. We are going astray from scientific translation."

All the interviewees provided deep insights from multiple perspectives: as volunteers, project managers, and translation specialists. The findings from the interviews and the survey supported and elaborated on the findings of the narrative analysis, specifically translation as a bridge to knowledge, the focus of this section. The succeeding sections discuss the findings and provide interpretations.

4.2.3 Discussion of the bridge to knowledge narrative

The first narrative, the Golden Era of translation, seemed inspirational and nostalgic. However, the bridge to knowledge has been more influential and, hence, motivational. This narrative has influenced governments' and institutions' initiation of translation projects and/or justified their investments in translation. The results of the survey and interviews confirmed those of the narrative analysis by indicating the adoption of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative by the Arabic translation community, including professionals, project managers, and volunteers. As was the case with the previous narrative, adoption is often based on misleading and inaccurate information, especially comparisons of Arabic countries with other countries.

Individuals who promote translation as a bridge to knowledge usually refer to Japan and Israel as successes; however, inaccurate data are often cited (see UNDP, 2003; Ali, 2001). This suggests the comparison of the situation in the Arab world to that in Japan and Israel, which quickly rebuilt after a war to become developed countries in a relatively short time. Furthermore, the AHDR (UNDP, 2003) stated that translation in the Arab world was stagnant and chaotic. It claimed that the number of books translated per person was much lower than that in countries such as Hungary, which translated 519 books a year per one million people. These data on Hungary are frequently circulated, absent the indicators in

the report, to support the narrative. The AHDR (UNDP, 2003) indicated that the data were only for the early five years of the 1990s. Nevertheless, it attributed the flourishing of knowledge during the Abbasid era primarily to translation, which is considered the activity that allowed science to thrive.

Jacquemond (2009) contended that this report revealed the deficiencies in contemporary translation and overvalued the contributions of the House of Wisdom's translation movement. He argued that the report is misleading because it is based on outdated data from 1985 and archives and databases of varying quality and consistency. Because of this report, the bridge-to-knowledge narrative permeated translation publications and projects. This demonstrates that a narrative can be influential regardless of its accuracy or truthfulness.

The influence of this comparison was evident in the responses of the survey and interview participants. The results indicated that 90.3% of the respondents thought that translation was a vehicle for Arabic societies to bridge the gap with the developed countries. Most interviewees supported their engagement with the bridge to knowledge narrative with comparisons to other nations. However, unlike the AHDR (UNDP, 2003), they referred to the most developed countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Russia, without providing any data.

"Nasir" confirmed the importance of translation by stating "[we, the Arabs, translated from other civilisations and brought knowledge to Europe]." "Yusuf" stressed the importance of translation for "[maintaining parity with the West and beginning self-produced knowledge projects]." "Hasan" warned that Arabs could be left behind: "To close the gap with them, we need to benefit from their knowledge through translation. This enables us to build on what we translate for the future rather than being left behind."

The interviewees' responses explain the influence of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative on Arabs' perceptions of translation. For example, "Salwa" stated that translating science and knowledge is "the primary goal of translation." This perspective overlooks the basic human need for communication, which triggers the need for translation without necessarily involving science and/ or education. Because of the prevalence of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative, the volunteer translators' participation in crowdsourced translation projects was not surprising.

The survey results indicated that the motivation-related questions that most frequently elicited *strongly agree* responses were those on improving English proficiency (67.7%) and updating the knowledge available in Arabic (63%). These results confirmed the assumption that knowledge would be acquired only through translation. In other words, translation was considered the means to language competence, which in return empowers individuals and ultimately increases the aggregate knowledge in a society via translation. There was clearly a basic perception and/or assumption that knowledge is valuable for both society and the individual, but not exactly in the same sense or for the same reasons. The previous data revolved around knowledge; however, there was no correlation between the answers to the two statements of improving English proficiency and updating the knowledge available in Arabic. Thus, the participants' perceptions of translation reflect two different perspectives on knowledge: 1) the comprehension of information in different fields of science and humanities 2) the linguistic competence that makes information accessible.

Some interviewees assumed an Arab failure in knowledge production and surrender regarding knowledge creation. Others expressed that scientific success was conditioned by the translation of data from more developed countries. These interviewees supported their opinions with the example of the pioneering scientists during the Arabic-Islamic civilisation. Scientists' engagement in translation preceded their scientific contributions, as the interviewees claimed. This perception was influenced by the bridge-to-knowledge narrative because none of the interviewees mentioned other paths, such as empirical research and innovation, to scientific development. However, "Shareef" stated: "We need to translate the tools that help us to interact with knowledge and circulate it." To him, modern organisations were operating in the mode of past translation movements, and the lack of modern publishing and sharing tools, such as WordPress, does not promote knowledge access.

The survey results revealed a significant association between the motivations for volunteer translation and the bridge-to-knowledge narrative. A large majority of the respondents (90.3%) indicated that translation is an important vehicle for Arabic societies to bridge the gap with the developed countries. The respondents were motivated to perform volunteer translation to improve their English proficiency (67.7%) and to update the knowledge available in Arabic (63%). Although "Tariq" said that volunteers are usually motivated by their own interests, he did not give a sport or entertainment example.

He instead mentioned a group of Syrian students who had translated a medical book: "Such [a] contribution paves the way for next generations of medical students." "Tariq" could have mentioned several other areas. However, the influence of the narrative, and its presence in the Arabic discourse on translation, led him to use a science-related example.

Interestingly, more than one interviewee expressed annoyance at the terminology chaos when translating science into Arabic. "Basil" mentioned the debates between him and other translators on Wikipedia over terminology. He also stated that volunteer translation is a double-edged sword because mistranslations can be posted on the internet before being edited. "Bandar," a translation specialist, confidently stated: "If quality does not go hand in hand with quantity, there is no point in doing it."

The survey results indicated general agreement (54.2% strongly agreed; 36.3% agreed) that volunteers should be allowed to play a bigger role in enhancing the translation activity in the Arab world. This tendency reflects the confusion and lack of standardised terminology resulting from the enthusiastic recruitment of volunteers who, in most cases, are not specialists. Specialisation and qualifications were not a concern because most respondents did not agree (38.1% disagreed; 17.7% strongly disagreed) with the statement that only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.

Despite the persistent influence of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative, the middle-aged participants seem to be less concerned about the importance of translation for intellectual development. The survey results indicated that respondents aged 33 to 40 years were least likely to strongly agree with the statement that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge (age 18–25, 77.6%; age 26–32, 72.1%; age 33–40, 41.2%; age ≥40, 60%). Translators in this age group (33–40 years) were also less concerned about the absence of translation projects. They were the least likely to strongly agree with the statement that Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers (age 18–25, 80.2%; age 26–32, 80.9%; age 33–40, 47.2%; age ≥40, 70%).

It is possible that people in this age group might be busy with their day jobs and, thus, not have enough time to engage in volunteer translation. They might therefore not consider volunteer translation important and/or feel that more translation is needed. The survey

findings support this interpretation because a majority of the respondents strongly agreed (27.4%) and agreed (36.5%) that they were motivated to do volunteer translation as a way to spend their free time and to fight boredom.

The results indicated that the narrative of translation as a bridge to knowledge is a key component of the contemporary Arabic discourse on translation. It is deeply rooted in the history of Arabic translation. Salama-Carr (2019) explained that translation is foregrounded in terms of not only knowledge transmission but also knowledge construction and production in the sense that translation activity has been integral to Arabic intellectual development.

4.3   Translating to overcome the dearth of Arabic online content

The third recurrent narrative on Arabic translation was the dearth of Arabic content online. Despite the focus on web content, this narrative is not independent from the narrative of translation as a bridge to knowledge. Thus, it is usually leveraged by translation projects that operate mainly online. As was the case for the previously discussed narratives that emphasised the need for translation, the findings revealed that the narration of Arabic web content was problematic. This highlights the role of translation and/or translators and the need for more translation projects. The next section presents the findings of the narrative analysis, survey, and interviews on translation and Arabic web content.

4.3.1 Narrative analysis findings

Temporal features were once again used to construct the narrative that presents translation as the solution for the Arabic internet and engages potential volunteers. For example, Taghreedat, a volunteer-based translation initiative, became the focal point in the conversation about Arabic online content. Aljazeera.net published a report on the subject. The report could have focused on the efforts to improve Arabic online content through content creation rather than just translation. The narrative attributed the problems with Arabic online content to the dearth of translations, and the spatial organisation of the report highlighted Taghreedat's contributions. The organisation of the content

emphasised the role of volunteer translators. The introduction presented Taghreedat and its achievements over the previous two years. The subheadings, [Production Culture] and [Huge Gap], were used to construct the narrative.

Taghreedat aims to motivate Arabs to be content producers rather than just content consumers. For Taghreedat, translation is content creation. The [Production Culture] section stated the following: "[Volunteers work to translate and Arabise good content from Wikipedia and numerous websites, and they have Arabised at least a million words during the last period]" (Aydaros, 2013, para. 6).

The need for more Arabic online content was highlighted under the [Huge Gap] subheading. Maha Abouelenein, Google's public relations (PR) manager in the MENA region, stated:

> [There is a huge gap between the Arabic-speaking population and Arabic online content. According to the latest statistics, Arabic online content is no more than 3% of the total web content despite the Arabic-speaking population being more than 356 million people.] (Aydaros, 2013, para. 08)

On several occasions, the dearth of Arabic online content was narrated as a problem that Taghreedat's team and its volunteer translators could potentially solve. The placement of important information under descriptive subheadings reveals the influence of the order of textual elements in the construction of this narrative. Spatial organisation was also used in a previous Aljazeera.net article (published one year earlier) under the [Social Responsibility] subheading to solicit investments: "[Businessmen are urged to invest more in developing Arabic content and to consider these investments not only from the profit perspective but also as social responsibility toward their people]" (Afzaz, 2012, para. 8).

The spatial organisation of this article promoted the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content through the subheadings. The first subheading, [Investors' View], provided an introduction to investors' perceptions of Arabic online content. The climax, [Social Responsibility], appealed to the audience's emotions, as shown above in the example of Taghreedat. The final section, [Virgin Industry], tells prospective investors about the opportunities to invest in the Arabic web.

The same narrative on Arabic online content exists in the discourse of the Translation Challenge. Alatar (2017) published a post about the project in order to encourage volunteers to join the initiative. The development of Arabic online content is a key element in her post: "[Arabic content on the internet is underdeveloped and miserably insubstantial. Try to search on YouTube for a scientific subject . . . in Arabic and then in English, and notice the difference]" (Alatar, 2017, para. 3).

The Translation Challenge was presented as the largest project of its kind in the Arab world. The goal was to translate 5,000 videos with more than 11 million words within a year. In the second part of the article, Alatar (2017) answered the question of whether Arabs were unable to produce high-quality content. She confirmed that the issue was not a lack of skills or knowledge but a lack of institutional support to produce quality content on the internet. Therefore, the Translation Challenge represents a worthy project for enthusiastic volunteers to contribute their translations. Interestingly, in the article, the narrative was used to introduce the project from multiple perspectives. The article began by using the narrative of the Golden Era and proceeded to create a temporal juxtaposition between a venerated past and the current problem of deficiencies in Arabic web content.

The analysis of the dataset revealed the use of narratives on translation to improve Arabic online content and to attract volunteers to crowdsourced translation projects. The analysis of the numerical data from the survey confirmed these findings.

4.3.2 Survey findings

The respondents were asked to indicate the translation initiatives in which they had participated as volunteers. Several (22.7%) had participated in Wikipedia projects. Participation in other specific translation projects ranged from 10 to 15% (Taghreedat, 10.2%; Translation Challenge, 10.9%; Ollemna, 13.1%; TED, 10.2%). Some of the respondents (26.8%), indicated that they had not volunteered on any translation initiatives. The responses to the request to name the translation initiatives on which they had volunteered varied. The initiatives included scientific and research publications, YouTube, the Autarjim initiative, Facebook, and Google Translate.

To gain an understanding of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators' motivations for participating in crowdsourced translation, the survey respondents were asked carefully

chosen questions (Q10–Q24). The two online content-related statements that elicited the most *strongly agree* responses were those on updating knowledge available in Arabic (63%) and improving the quantity and quality of Arabic content (54.6%). The respondents strongly agreed (36.5%) and agreed (29.6%) that they were motivated by the desire to improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook.

On three of the four questions on the narrative-related motives,[14] at least 50% of the respondents strongly agreed on their influence on their participation in a translation project. For 54.6%, one of these motivations was to improve the quality and quantity of the Arabic content on the internet. This confirms the prevalence and influence of the narrative on the dearth of Arabic online content, which was highlighted in the first phase of the study.

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[14] Q15, Q20–Q22

TABLE 7: MOTIVATIONS TO JOIN TRANSLATION PROJECTS

Questions (Motivation)	1.00 Strongly agree	2.00 Agree	3.00 Neither agree nor disagree	4.00 Disagree	5.00 Strongly disagree
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.	63.0%	29.1%	4.8%	2.2%	0.9%
Q0021 To improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook.	36.5%	29.6%	21.3%	10.9%	1.7%
Q0022 To improve the quality and quantity of Arabic content on the internet.	54.6%	33.2%	8.3%	3.5%	0.4%

Questions 35 to 41 addressed the influence of the recurrent narratives on the volunteers' views about Arabic translation. Some of the main findings are presented. The focus is the overall results and the between-group differences.

Regarding the dearth of Arabic content online, most (87.9%) of the respondents felt that the Arabic content on the internet was poor. Most either strongly agreed (56%) or agreed (33.5%) with the statement that more translation initiatives might be necessary to enrich Arabic online content. A majority (70.4%) of the respondents indicated that they had seen a translation project that aimed mainly to enrich the Arabic content on the internet.

There were significant differences between the professional and non-professional translators. First, the professionals (13.6%) were more likely than the non-professionals (3.3.%) to strongly agree that only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives. Non-professionals (23.3%) were also more likely than professionals (13.6%) to strongly disagree that only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives. Second, a higher proportion of professionals (63.2%) than non-professionals (46.1%) strongly agreed that more translation initiatives might be needed to enrich Arabic online content.

Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was selected as the non-parametric version of the Pearson correlation coefficient. It was selected for its suitability for testing the strength

of associations (i.e., correlations) in ordinal survey data. The data were analysed to determine the existence of significant correlations. This section summarises the strong significant correlations ($r > 0.5$; $p < 0.05$).

Regarding the narrative on the dearth of Arabic online content, the results revealed strong significant correlations. For example, there was a positive association ($r = 0.539$) between the responses regarding the need for improvement in the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook [Q21]) and those regarding the revival of the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of the ancient civilisations (Q20). There was a positive association ($r = 0.534$) between the responses regarding the need for improvement in the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook [Q21]) and that for improvements in the quality and quantity of Arabic internet content (Q22). There was a positive association ($r = 0.523$) between the responses to "volunteer translators are a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation" (Q26) and those to "translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators" (Q27).

4.3.3 Interview findings

The participants' responses revealed the pervasiveness of the narrative on the dearth of Arabic online content. The participants all subscribed to it, albeit from various perspectives. Some were critical of translation organisations that employ the narrative for their own benefit. The succeeding sections introduce the interviewees' opinions, which elaborate on the main narrative analysis and survey results.

When asked about the importance of volunteer translation, "Salwa," a volunteer translator, mentioned the Arabic web content in her answer: "We need volunteer translation because Arabic web content is very poor and needs volunteer translators to enrich it." She provided her reason for believing in the crucial role of volunteer translators: "I say this because paid translators will be limited to work hours, and organisations cannot afford to pay for [an] unlimited number of professional translators."

"Salwa" then explained her views on the Arabic web content by offering a comparison with the English content for clarification:

Arabic content online is very poor in general. Let's assume you're searching for the "if clause rule," you will find too many explanations in English websites. In contrast, try to look for any Arabic grammar rule, and you will find a handful of websites, probably no more than fifteen. That's the problem.

Because of the subjectivity of her opinion about the Arabic internet, "Salwa" was asked to define an acceptable quantity and quality of online content. She stated:

We can consider it as good when there is enough information on most topics. But today we lack this privilege; thus, Arabs, including me, tend to consult the internet in English. It is a disgrace, and I don't know why this happens.

This has been a driving narrative in Arabic internet users' decisions to spend their time and effort on translation work. "Basil" shared his motivation: "I started volunteer translation in 2014 when I came across a Wikipedia entry entitled 'Isoenzyme,' which was not available in the Arabic Wikipedia. I decided to translate it, and that was my starting point." He was referring to the Arabic Wikipedia. He then generalised the problem to the whole Arabic web: "I decided to do this to solve the scarcity of Arabic content online, especially in scientific topics." "Basil" explained that his mission to improve the Arabic content by translating Wikipedia caused him to increase his translation activity:

One day, I met a Syrian guy on social media and asked him to help me in developing the Arabic online content via translation. He liked the idea, and we started with the "Cold" entry on Wikipedia. It took us about six months to complete it. The entry now receives millions of visits every year.

"Basil's" anecdote shows the strength of crowdsourcing and the potential of volunteers commitment that led to six months of work and millions of views every year. However, the endeavour was not free of challenges:

We faced many challenges and were shocked that statistics about cold in the Arab world are not available. And if some countries have published statistics, they require permission for access since such numbers are not open to the public, as is the case in foreign countries.

Because of his hard work as a volunteer translator, "Basil" was asked whether volunteer translation was equivalent to charity work, as some survey participants had indicated. His answer was not surprising: "True, because you can consider it charity work that you do secretly in your life and for your society too. When I talk to some people about volunteer translation, I highlight the virtue of supporting the Arabic language."

"Basil's" long experience in volunteer translation allowed him to take a critical look at the effects of the crowdsourcing trend. He explained the disadvantages of assigning specialised work to non-professionals who may authoritatively coin and circulate inaccurate terminologies.

 "Tariq" was also critical of the use of the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content for bragging and gaining credibility without transparency:

> When a translation initiative appears out of nowhere and they say it is translating books or anything but at the same time they give no information about the funding source, then the organisation you'll be joining is unknown and lacks transparency.

"Tariq" had volunteered with some organisations and believed in the importance of translation. However, he was sceptical about many of the translation initiatives that promoted the narrative:

> One day, I saw an invitation to join a translation project that is apparently devoted to Arabic web content by translating science into Arabic. I decided not to join them simply because the manager said in an interview that he spends $2,500 per month on the project without referring to the funding source. Even if you tell me that you are working for the sake of the online Arabic content and science, I will be sceptical because transparency is missing.

The above extract prompted a deeper examination of the idea of supporting Arabic web content; thus, "Tariq" was asked whether he considered it a legitimate goal. He answered:

> Every organisation has its own goals. If we look at many websites and initiatives, we will find that they foreground the famous phrase "we are on a mission to enrich the Arabic content." This sentence is more like a reaction to the serious scarcity of good content.

"Tariq" considered the goal trendy: a reaction rather than a valid attempt. He explained his scepticism: "But let's see the hidden reasons for such projects. I think some people start these projects with the intention to transfer them into business when achieving a certain level of growth." "Tariq" commented on the attractiveness and effectiveness of the idea of enriching Arabic web content: "Yes, it's attractive for young users because they lack experience, and they are enthusiastic to contribute to the Arabic web. But for the experienced translators, they see it as a redundant cliché."

"Tariq's" comments as an experienced volunteer reveal the influence of the narrative on volunteers' decisions. The "poor" Arabic web content prompted "Hasan" to perform volunteer translation:

> I was driven by many social motivations, such as enriching the Arabic content on the internet, which is very poor compared to English content. This was my vision when I decided to practice translation, and I will be committed to this vision in the future.

In answer to a question on the value of volunteer translation, "Hasan" said:

> I think volunteer translation is very important as far as Arabic web content is concerned. This is because most translators, due to living expenses, tend to do professional translation jobs that take place offline. This tendency benefits their clients exclusively without sharing what they translate online, where society can access the information.

"Hasan" shared his reason for the paucity of Arabic web content. For him, translation was the solution. This also reflects the influence of the previously discussed narrative of translation as a bridge to knowledge. Regarding the utility of developing Arabic web content, "Hasan" stated:

> Opinions vary in this matter. From my point of view, I think there are people who really contribute to the development of Arabic web content, and there are those who take it as a cliché just to pretend they are doing something worthwhile.

"Hasan" was then asked about the influence of the mission to support Arabic online content. He stated: "Enriching the Arabic web content is an enticing mission, at least for me personally, because it matches my goal. I think it is motivating others too. Serving

society and enriching the knowledge in your language are honourable objectives." Explaining why Arabic content online was a concern, "Hasan" said: "Considering the number of Arabic translators and the flow of information in other languages, Arabic online content is underdeveloped and deserves more attention."

"Shareef" had a different opinion. He was more positive and optimistic: "Translation efforts have been growing in recent years. I'm happy about this although I have not participated with any of them other than my experience in Arabising WordPress." Unlike other interviewees, he considered translation to be growing and flourishing: "But you can see the early results of those initiatives when you browse the internet. The Arabic web content is getting better. Today, you find information in topics that were difficult to find in the past." Nevertheless, "Shareef" was realistic about the role of translation:

> In my opinion, we need writers and contributors of all types of digital content more than we need translators. We should aim for something sustainable and try to change the culture of Arab internet users. We should encourage them to produce content instead of being consumers only.

However, "Shareef" understood the frustration of some Arabic internet users and appreciated the work of volunteer translators:

> Most of the initiatives that aim to enrich Arabic online content do so through translation. Their aim is amazing, and I think it attracts volunteers who deal with the problem every day when Google gives them obsolete results in Arabic.

"Haifa's" experience was different because she began as a volunteer translator before taking a management role in a crowdsourcing organisation. She stated: "I basically love writing in Arabic and enriching the Arabic content on the internet. I participated with some initiatives that aimed to enrich the Arabic content and engaged with them via Twitter and other platforms." Nonetheless, "Haifa's" views on engagement with the narrative were similar to those of the other participants:

> One day, I noticed the Taghreedat Initiative by chance when they were recruiting volunteers for the TED translation project. I loved the idea and joined them. Then I kept an eye on Taghreedat's activities and participated with them in translating for the Khan Academy.

"Haifa's" enthusiastic involvement in crowdsourced translation projects led to her having a bigger role: "They also liked my productivity and offered me a job to manage their volunteers."

"Haifa" shared her view on Arabic web content. It was clear that she subscribed to narrative on the dearth of Arabic content online: "There is little Arabic web content, and most of the available texts are literally translated via Google Translate. And for some topics, you do not find any content." She considered translation to be the solution. "Haifa" underscored the role of volunteer translators: "Volunteer translation is very important for us Arabs. The specialised Arabic content is very poor, and although we should produce our own content instead of translating it from other languages, we can consider translation as the first step."

When asked why many organisations adopted the cause of enriching Arabic internet content, "Haifa" answered: "Of course, when an organisation highlights their support for Arabic content online, I feel attached to them and encouraged to follow their projects and join them." She acknowledged the motivation in such a cause, including the message communicated to the Taghreedat volunteers:

> Taghreedat's had the following message for volunteers: "If you care about the Arabic web content and like languages and translation, you should join us. A lot of people love to be active team members, especially if they can do their job anytime from anywhere."

"Rashid" had a similar story. He began to translate as a volunteer before taking a managerial position. He said:

> In 2015, I was one of the lucky people who learnt English at an early stage of my life. I had the chance to access great English content that can be imagined only by English readers. I began to read and translate for the public benefit. Then I noticed my productivity was limited, so I decided to take a managing role and founded Ollemna to crowdsource translation work.

Regarding the importance of expanding volunteer translation so that it can be organised institutional work, "Rashid" stated: "Answering your question on volunteer translation, I think it is very important. We cannot catch up with the Western world, at least in web content, unless we scale up our translation efforts." It was clear that "Rashid" considered

translation a bridge to knowledge, even in the digital sphere. He explained that volunteer translation projects had the advantages of strength and flexibility when compared to official institutions:

> There are many official initiatives dedicated to translation in Saudi Arabia, but I don't think they could achieve even a part of what the volunteering initiatives have done in different areas. They do not have the flexibility that we have in volunteer projects. Today, we have a small initiative with a nearly zero budget, but it includes a team of 600 volunteers. I bet we operate better than any translation organisation in Saudi Arabia because our business model is different, and we leverage the new approaches for unlimited growth.

"Tariq" expressed concerns about financial transparency. "Rashid," a project manager, expressed his opinion on this subject: "Personally, when I founded Ollemna, I was not aiming for profit. The aim was clearly to enrich the Arabic content online. However, I will be happy for the project to be taken over by sponsors to ensure sustainability." As was the case in other crowdsourcing organisations, "Rashid" recognised the potential of volunteer translators as a great human resource: "We have talent in translation, and the challenge we face is how to take advantage of this talent and enable them to contribute to society by providing great content for Arab internet users."

"Yusuf" started by translating Wikipedia entries before initiating a volunteer-based translation organisation. He explained what triggered his decision to translate with Wikipedia: "My story with volunteer translation began from Wikipedia when I tried in 2015 to contribute to the encyclopaedia because the Arabic version was inadequate." "Yusuf" continued with a comparison: "I think the sources and information are scarce in Arabic, and this makes you consult other sources in other languages, mainly English. Here comes the power of translation."

"Yusuf" commented on the legitimacy of supporting the Arabic online content and the appeal this has for volunteers: "At least, it is attractive for those who know the reality. I mean, those who study in foreign universities or specialise in specific areas of knowledge will be shocked about the shortage of Arabic content on the internet." He elaborated further to shed some light on the lack of diversity in the topics published online in Arabic: "A random comparison will reveal how poor the Arabic content is in terms of quality and

quantity. The statistics show that Arabic content is in a difficult situation since most of it is religious and/or redundant."

"Yusuf" claimed that the Arabic web lacked basic information. He offered the following example: "We are missing the basics. For example, algebra is originally Arabic, as we know, but we do not find Arabic topics that cover this area of science online." Hoping for change, "Yusuf" underscored the importance of digital tools and platforms for individual internet users, including volunteer translators: "I think social media and the internet, in general, give opportunities for people to contribute and encourage them to translate."

The professionals' views on Arabic online content were different. "Bandar" said that the problem lay in quality rather than quantity: "Sure, there is a problem. The quantity is good, but the quality needs to be improved to reach a good level." He continued to elaborate this idea: "Arab internet users usually focus on certain areas when discussing the issue of the content, but I always care about the quality." Unlike the other interviewees, "Bandar" said that volunteers were more likely to be motivated by the innate desire to make a contribution rather than campaign mobilisation strategies: "Highlighting the initiative's support for Arabic content online is not necessarily an enticing tactic. Those who tend to volunteer will do so whether they realise the mission or not."

"Nasir," on the contrary, was more aligned with the narrative on the dearth of Arabic online content. He also believed that translation was beneficial: "I agree with them 100%. The Arabic content needs significant improvement, and volunteer translation can be considered an effective solution. Now, we see great efforts in translation." When asked whether the call to improve the Arabic web content was appealing to translators, "Nasir" was somewhat sceptical: "I hope so. I'm sure that the majority of volunteers do not know what 'enriching the Arabic content' really means. Sometimes it's more like a platitude, but we definitely need to enrich the Arabic content online." He thought that the call might be persuasive because of its repeated use by translation organisations: "Most translation initiatives when asked about their objectives, they bring 'supporting the Arabic content' to the top of their list. It seems to be attractive."

The interviews revealed that the narrative of the dearth of Arabic content online was a significant motivator for volunteer translators to initiate their own translation projects and/or to engage with translation organisations that crowdsource translation work. The

interviewees were very keen to change the Arabic digital landscape, be it translating content or Arabising famous platforms and technology tools to improve the content and enhance the user experience. Although the interviewees subscribed to the narrative, their perspectives varied. The next section discusses the findings and presents the researcher's interpretation of the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content.

4.3.4 Discussion of the dearth of Arabic online content

The findings revealed the inadequacy of Arabic online content and the embedding of translation in this narrative as the key for development. Over the past few years, many conferences, events, and reports have been dedicated to the issue of Arabic online content. Most, if not all, of these events have been driven by the fact that Arabic content makes up only 3% of the content on the internet. Interestingly, the reference has usually been a UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (2012) report that did not provide empirical data. It merely estimated the amount of Arabic online content that still needed verification. This could indicate the irrelevance of accuracy in promoting a narrative. Discussions about Arabic online content have tended to involve comparisons that make it seem inadequate for meeting users' needs.

In response to the dearth of Arabic online content narrative, the Arabic web has witnessed many projects to bridge the gap between the number of users and the amount of Arabic content. One such project, Arabic Web Days, was launched in partnership with Google. One of its early projects was a short film about the story of Arabic content (Arabic Web Days, 2012). This and other projects have contributed to and perpetuated the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content. The goal of enriching Arabic online content has become a cliché for many Arabic crowdsourcing platforms, such as Ollemna and Athra that, like many other initiatives, rely on volunteer translators. The survey results showed that a majority (70.4%) of the respondents had encountered a translation project that aimed mainly to enrich the Arabic content on the internet. This statistic reveals the extent to which Arabic translation organisations have leveraged this narrative and/or have been influenced by it.

The survey and interviews confirmed the influence of the narrative on Arabic web content and revealed its pervasive influence on decisions to perform translation work even in the

absence of monetary rewards. A majority (87.9%) of the survey respondents indicated (by choosing *yes*) that they considered the Arabic content on the internet poor. Fifty-six percent strongly agreed and 33.5% agreed that the solution might be additional translation initiatives to enrich the Arabic online content. Similarly, the interviews revealed that this narrative, along with the previously discussed narratives, has nurtured the perception of translation as the key to development in the Arab world. For example, "Hasan" opined that the reason for the dearth of Arabic online content is the fact that professional translators do most of their work offline. He referred to their tendency to "[benefit their clients exclusively without sharing what they translate online where society can access the information]." He ignored other potential knowledge contributors, such as writers, authors, scholars, institutions, and avid internet users.

In fact, the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content catastrophises the issue and leads to the neglect of other factors that limit the exponential growth of Arabic online content. Factors such as the growing illiteracy rates (including technological illiteracy) and limited internet access in many regions render the production of and interaction with online content a privilege. It is likely that the political instability in many Arab countries might have an effect on the situation with Arabic web content; therefore, the promotion of sustainable solutions, including translation, is a priority. The narrative ignores these fundamental factors. Thus, the steady, albeit slow, growth of Arabic content online went unnoticed by the participants. The situation was discussed mostly in terms of persistent stagnation.

That most of the survey respondents had been involved with translation organisations that operated online and/or were dedicated to enriching Arabic web content was not unexpected. Three of the interviewees had started as volunteer translators before taking higher positions as administrators of thousands of volunteers.

"Rashid" considered the increase in volunteer translation a necessity. He said: "[We cannot catch up with the Western world, at least in web content, unless we upscale our translation efforts]." He emphasised the greater flexibility and growth potential that volunteer-based organisations enjoyed over traditional state-supported bureaucratic translation centres. "Basil" expressed a similar view when explaining the difficulty of accessing data related to *cold* in some official Arabic sources.

The narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content has been used by translation organisations to attract large numbers of individuals. However, some scholars have attributed the issue to the government and the private sector, which are not doing their part to support a strong online presence and information accessibility (Aljubailan, 2015). Jadu (2015) deemed the efforts of most Arabic institutions, such as universities, research centres, national archives, and libraries, regarding the digitisation and online publication of information inadequate. Jacquemond (2009) contended that the problem was not the availability but, rather, the inaccessibility of information because of the underdevelopment of archives and libraries in the Arab world. These fundamental issues have not usually been addressed by the narrative's promoters, whether organisations or individuals, who would lose the appeal of their translation work. Thus, the volunteers' disappointment about Arabic online content is understandable.

The success of some translation organisations in attracting thousands of volunteers has sometimes been accompanied by criticism from the volunteers. "Tariq" was concerned about the financial transparency of some organisations. For him, foregrounding the support for the Arabic web content did not reveal the hidden agenda of some organisations that use the narrative of the dearth of Arabic content online. "Tariq" said that "some people start these projects with the intention of converting them to businesses when achieving a certain level of growth." This criticism was also aimed at large corporations.

It has often been argued that large companies, such as Facebook, exploit volunteer translators to reduce the cost of translation work (Borst, 2010). However, it has been suggested that crowdsourcing could cost 20% to 100% of traditional translation (see DePalma & Kelly, 2011; Munro, 2013). Jimenez-Crespo (2017) argued that large-scale projects likely spend a similar amount on community management and platform development. According to Facebook, the use of volunteers in its translation project was driven by participatory approach (Mesipuu, 2012). Therefore, crowdsourcers might find that translation projects are valuable for engaging their users or supporters and enhancing their loyalty regardless of the financial cost.

In relation to the narrative on the dearth of Arabic content online, the data revealed two strong and significant correlations. First, there was a positive association ($r = 0.534$) between the responses regarding the need to improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook [Q21]) and those regarding the quality and quantity of the Arabic content on the internet (Q22). This

correlation might explain the role of large organisations in promoting the narrative and/or engaging with it. For example, Maha Abouelenein, Google's PR manager in the MENA region, stated:

> [There is a huge gap between the Arabic-speaking population and the Arabic online content. According to the latest statistics, the Arabic online content is not more than 3% of the total web content despite the Arabic-speaking population being more than 356 million people.] (Aydaros, 2013, para. 08)

This statistic was previously discussed in terms of its inaccuracy and lack of context. In other words, 3% could be considered a good amount if it reflects growth rather than an assumed decline.

The second correlation was a positive association ($r = 0.539$) between the responses to the question on improving the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook [Q21]) and the responses to the question on reviving the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations (Q20). This correlation revealed the intertwining of the narratives on Arabic translation and the ways in which they influence the volunteers' perceptions of translation and its value to the world. Therefore, the translators were more inclined to become involved with crowdsourcers.

The high participation of volunteer translators in the mission to improve the Arabic web content and their ability to offer their own translations outside the traditional institutions reflect what Burgess (2006) termed the technologisation of democracy. "Basil" is an example of a volunteer translator who, through the availability of technology tools, was able to coin scientific terms that were subsequently used by international organisations. He told his story about translating for Wikipedia:

> I translated Wikipedia entries that were not available in Arabic anywhere on the internet. Now, when I search for the terms I translated, I see that global websites, such as the Mayo Clinic and the World Health Organisation, use the terminology that I coined on the basis of Latin sources.

The *democratisation of technology has increased* participation in online organisations and the demand for more volunteers. The results of the survey indicated that most respondents either strongly agreed (43.9%) or agreed (36.9%) that translation projects

needed to create more opportunities for volunteer translators. "Yusuf" stated that technology has equipped people to contribute: "I think social media and the internet in general give opportunities for people to contribute and encourage them to translate."

The survey results indicated a significant difference between professionals and non-professionals. The professional translators (13.6%) were more likely than the non-professionals (3.3%) to strongly agree that only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives. This debate between professionals and non-professionals was also reflected in the survey. The participants' opinions varied: 15.6% strongly agreed, and 11.3% strongly disagreed that volunteer translation could devalue the translation profession. Therefore, regarding the development of Arabic online content, the professional interviewees were more concerned with quality than quantity.

The availability of digital tools and access to the internet have enabled thousands of volunteers who are passionate about translation to contribute to the aggregated knowledge of the modern era regardless of age or qualifications. In addition, they are being influenced by the public narratives they encounter in everyday life. The narrative on the dearth of Arabic content online is just one example that is applicable to the audience and context of this study. As was discussed in the previous sections, this narrative has been leveraged by translation organisations to attract volunteers for non-financially rewarded translation work.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented and discussed the recurrent Arabic translation narratives which are used within discourses about Arabic translation; however, the data shows that the triggers relating to motivations vary and volunteers express a seemingly infinite variety of reasons and motivations behind their involvement in a translation project. The following chapter is dedicated to the investigation of some motivations that have emerged from the data that do not appear to be related to the previously discussed narratives.

5 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS OF ALTERNATIVE MOTIVATIONS

This chapter presents some interesting trends that emerged from the data and warranted further examination. The presence of culture-specific motivations in Arabic volunteer translators' engagement in translation initiatives was notable. In addition to confirming the motivations identified in previous studies on volunteer translation, the study found that the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteers were different from those of European and North American volunteers. Therefore, it is worth it to explore the effects of the intertwining of perceptions and behaviours with environmental, social, and cultural factors on the development of motivations.

The second emerging trend, which is presented in the second section of the current chapter, was the high rate of female volunteer translators. This cannot be easily overlooked or addressed only superficially. A look at the data from a gender perspective prompted an in-depth examination to refine the interpretation of the results. Thus, secondary references were also considered to create a deeper understanding through a discussion of the role of gender in Arabic volunteer translation.

5.1 Translating to achieve other objectives

This study focused on the recurrent Arabic translation narratives regarding motivation; however, as was acknowledged at the outset, motivations cannot be limited to the identified narratives. Personal goals and social causes, which may or may not be influenced by the narratives to which volunteers are exposed, and additional personal narratives must also be considered. To comprehensively explore the role of motivation in

volunteer translation, the following question was posed: *What are the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourcing translation projects?* The assumption was that the motives of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators would be different from those of volunteer translators from other backgrounds. These are culture-specific motivations.

Therefore, this chapter introduces the first trend that emerged in the findings of the survey and interviews. This includes the culture-specific motivations, in addition to the recurrent narratives, that drive Arab volunteer translators to join translation initiatives. Most of the new findings emerged from the survey and interviews. Thus, a separate discussion of the narrative findings was not provided, since the emergent findings were not planned in the first phase of the thesis that focused on the recurrent narratives about Arabic translation. That said, the narrative-related findings will be tapped on whenever applicable in the discussion sections of this chapter.

5.1.1 Survey findings

The survey respondents were asked questions (Q10‒Q23) to determine the motivations for their participation in crowdsourcing translation projects. The main results from the motivations are reported in Table 8. The motivation-related statements that elicited the highest percentage of *strongly agree* responses were those regarding improving English proficiency (67.7%) and updating the knowledge available in Arabic (63%). Other strong motivations were to join projects to put their translation skills into practice (56.5%), to improve their MSA proficiency (51.3%), to improve the quality and quantity of Arabic intent content (54.6%), and to seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an (43%, strongly agreed; 28.3%, agreed).

TABLE 8: MOTIVATIONS TO JOIN TRANSLATION PROJECTS

Questions (Motivation)	1.00 Strongly agree	2.00 Agree	3.00 Neither agree nor disagree	4.00 Disagree	5.00 Strongly disagree
Q0010 To join projects to put my translation skills into practice.	56.5%	33.0%	6.5%	2.6%	1.3%
Q0011 To do something in my free time to fight boredom.	27.4%	36.5%	18.3%	12.2%	5.7%
Q0012 To build a professional portfolio to get some more paid translation jobs.	34.3%	31.7%	16.5%	11.3%	6.1%
Q0013 To reclaim online space for issues, such as those related to identity, beliefs, and gender.	17.9%	27.9%	36.2%	16.2%	1.7%
Q0014 To seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an.	43.0%	28.3%	18.3%	5.2%	5.2%
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.	63.0%	29.1%	4.8%	2.2%	0.9%
Q0016 To improve my English proficiency.	67.7%	24.9%	3.9%	2.6%	0.9%
Q0017 To improve my Modern Standard Arabic (fusḥa) competence.	51.3%	31.3%	11.2%	4.0%	2.2%
Q0018 To improve my reputation with other translators.	34.6%	27.2%	18.0%	11.0%	9.2%
Q0019 To gain a social media presence and appreciation.	19.7%	25.8%	24.9%	19.7%	10.0%
Q0020 To revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations.	31.9%	30.6%	26.2%	8.3%	3.1%
Q0021 To improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media	36.5%	29.6%	21.3%	10.9%	1.7%

platforms, such as Facebook.

Q0022 To improve the quantity and quality of Arabic internet content.	54.6%	33.2%	8.3%	3.5%	0.4%
Q0023 To work for a well-known brand (e.g., Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter).	22.6%	24.3%	27.8%	17.0%	8.3%

5.1.1.1 Differences between professional and non-professional Arabic translators

The survey aimed to examine the possible (significant) differences in professional and non-professional translators' motivations and perceptions of volunteer translation. Of the participants who responded to the question, 55.2% had professional experience, and 44.8% had no professional translation experience. Significance tests were performed to identify the possible statistically meaningful differences between professional and non-professional translators. The results indicated significant differences ($p < 0.05$; see Table 9).

There were significant differences in the motivations for joining crowdsourcing translation projects. First, professional translators were more motivated to improve their reputations with other translators (professionals: 39.8% strongly agreed; 30.1% agreed; non-professionals: 27.4% strongly agreed; 23.2% agreed). Second, a higher proportion of professional translators (24.8%) than non-professionals (12.5%) indicated strong agreement about being motivated to gain a social media presence and appreciation. Third, regarding the motivation to seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an, a higher proportion of professionals either strongly agreed (37.1%) or agreed (21.8%) than non-professional translators (26.1% strongly agreed; 20.3% disagreed). Fourth, professional translators were more motivated to build a professional portfolio to obtain more paid translation jobs (professionals: 39.6% strongly agreed; non-professionals: 27.1% agreed).

Finally, a higher proportion of professional translators (56.2% strongly agreed) than non-professionals (44.7% strongly agreed) were motivated to improve their MSA (*fusḥa*) proficiency. However, there was no significant difference between the professionals and non-professionals in terms of the equivalence of making contributions to a language by

translating into it and performing other usual volunteering work (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).

TABLE 9: RESULTS OF SIGNIFICANCE TESTS (QUESTIONS 10–41).

	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Q0010 To join projects to put my translation skills into practice.	0.770
Q0011 To do something in free time to fight boredom.	0.650
Q0012 To build a professional portfolio to get more paid translation jobs.	0.037
Q0013 To reclaim an online space for issues, such as those related to identity, beliefs, and gender.	0.781
Q0014 To seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an.	0.072
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.	0.822
Q0016 To improve my English proficiency.	0.189
Q0017 To improve my Modern Standard Arabic (*fusḥa*) proficiency.	0.022
Q0018 To improve my reputation with other translators.	0.002
Q0019 To gain a social media presence and appreciation.	0.032
Q0020 To revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations.	0.485
Q0021 To improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook.	0.769

	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Q0022 To improve the quantity and quality of Arabic internet content.	0.135
Q0023 To work for a well-known brand (e.g., Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter).	0.032
Q0029 Making a contribution to a language through volunteer translation is as important as other usual volunteering (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).	0.957

5.1.2 Interview findings

The interviewees were asked about their motivations to offer unpaid translation work. In some ways, their answers were similar to those of their counterparts in other cultures; however, they also reflected and elaborated some unique motivations. To avoid redundancy, only interviews with well-developed ideas were included.

"Salwa" wanted to use her free time wisely and was more concerned about her career goals and the need to gain work experience. She stated: "At the beginning, I volunteered in translation to increase my knowledge in the subjects I translate. Also, because school holidays are a bit long, I wanted to kill the time." She thought that this was the motivation for other volunteers: "It's good to get experience via volunteer translation, especially if we know that employers usually look for graduates with some work experience. This is what drives most volunteer translators, in my opinion."

"Basil" also found himself with a great deal of free time. Volunteer translation was the solution: "I started doing volunteer translation approximately five years ago. I was a foreign student in another country, and that situation left me alone with plenty of time, so I chose to do volunteer translation." However, "Basil" was also driven by the desire to make a contribution to the Arabic language: "I promote volunteer translation and do it myself because it is a good way to support and enrich our mother language."

The motivation to get work experience prompted "Tariq" to do volunteer translation in the hope of gaining a competitive edge: "When I used the internet in the early days, I published some translations voluntarily with the intent to draw the attention of others who could be my future employers or clients." "Tariq's" response to questions about other possible motivations was as follows:

> As far as I know, there are many motivating factors, some of which translators are shy to talk about. For example, some translators are motivated by improving their linguistic skills. Also, some others are psychologically motivated to restore the honoured history of Arabic science, especially those who are truly passionate about Arabic heritage and the Arabic language.

"Hasan" had a similar motivation: "Sure, motivations vary each time. But the main motivations can be increasing my translation experience and networking with others in the field of translation or even in neighbouring knowledge domains." He kept the focus on the benefits that volunteers expect to receive:

> Other volunteers might have other motivations. I believe some people do volunteer translation to spend their spare time, and others do it in order to gain some value by being affiliated with well-known organisations. No sure if it works, but I heard about it.

Regardless of other possible gains, the desire to leave a legacy was "Shareef's" motivation for providing unpaid translation for many years: "I am motivated by the legacy I am creating by translating web tools and making them available in Arabic." He fervently believed that volunteer work and motivation could coexist even if the true motivation is not recognised: "I don't know what exactly motivates others. However, there must be a motivation; otherwise, nobody will work, let alone offer unpaid work."

As was the case for some survey respondents, "Haifa" considered volunteer translation an opportunity to sharpen her Arabic skills:

> I lived in Malaysia for a long time, and I noticed that my Arabic was getting lost after a while because I used to speak in English most of the time. Because I love writing in Arabic, I was motivated to do volunteer translation as training and a way to conserve my Arabic language competence.

On the basis of his experience as a translation project manager, "Rashid" opined that appreciation kept volunteers motivated and ready to participate: "Simple things like mentioning them on Twitter can do wonders". He added: "We usually ask our volunteers about their reasons for joining us. A lot of them say they are motivated to give the *zakat*[15] of their knowledge." Nevertheless, "Rashid" was driven by a unique factor:

> Personally, I'm driven by the idea of building the earth. I believe that mankind was created to build the earth and look after it. As Allah says in the Holy Qur'an, "I shall instate a successor on Earth!" It is a great motivation.

He continued with a metaphor:

> Also, I remember seeing a tweet for someone asking, "Have you planted a tree today as prophet Mohammad ordered you to do?" This question is still motivating

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[15] *Zakat* is an Islamic term that refers to individuals' obligation to give a certain amount of their wealth to charity. It is considered wealth purification.

us, and I remember we replied to him that we launched our translation initiative to plant a tree every day and enable others to do so.

Another variant of this motivation was the need to express opinions and/or impose ideas through translation. This was highlighted by "Yusuf":

I think people want to add value and meaning to their lives; thus, they do volunteer work, including translation. However, especially when it comes to Wikipedia, some people are expressing their opinions and promoting their ideas through translation. You can say it is a hidden motivation.

However, "Yusuf" appreciated the unsung volunteers: "That said, there are many volunteer translators who go unnoticed, but we see their remarkable achievements. Those people are driven by their goodness." As did other interviewees, he leveraged volunteer translation for language proficiency: "Also, for me and some friends, we find it a chance to maintain our Arabic language skills. I believe it is a hands-on learning opportunity for translators." He was asked for more details about the issue of volunteers' feelings and/or fears about their Arabic proficiency. "Yusuf" answered: "In fact, many scientific subjects are not easy to write about in Arabic because usually they are taught in foreign languages, either English or French. Therefore, it is motivating to enhance our Arabic competence through translation."

A professional translator, "Bandar" thought that volunteer translators were motivated primarily by the opportunity to gain translation and work experience: "Gaining experience, fulfilling passion, and improving translation skills are the most important key factors that motivate volunteer translators."

Commenting on motivation, "Nasir" drew attention to ethical issues: "I think translators are driven by the value of giving. However, I have been recently reconsidering my view on volunteer translation since some organisations are exploiting the goodness of translators." However, he made some exceptions: "Some volunteers are motivated to offer unpaid translation for companies like Google and Facebook in order to build their portfolios. I have no problem with such a thing because the benefit is mutual and for all parties."

In response to the question regarding the tendency to engage in volunteer translation to improve linguistic skills, "Nasir" clarified the problem that many Arabic translators face:

"Sure, there are people who look to improve their Arabic skills, especially writing, by doing more volunteer translation." He further stated:

> My master's thesis studied the language competence of fresh graduate translation students. I found out that the majority are below average when it comes to the Arabic language. It is a pain point for a lot of translators due to the education programs.

He continued: "I personally talked with known seasoned translators about this issue, and they express their need for some sort of training to improve their Arabic language."

The survey and interviews revealed an additional perspective on the underlying motivations in volunteers' decision to contribute their work without the expectation of monetary rewards. The overview of the motivations highlighted in previous studies and the results of the present study have revealed the role of cultural factors in motivations. The next section discusses the results, with a focus on the culture-specific motivations.

5.2 Arabic-related motivations

This study acknowledges the presence of multiple motivations in translators' decisions to provide translation without pay. Therefore, the main research questions were designed to investigate the most important overlooked motivations: culture-specific motivations and narratives on Arabic translation. Chapter 4 addressed the role of Arabic translation narratives. This section aims to answer the second research question: *What are the motivations of Arabic-speaking volunteer translators to join crowdsourcing translation projects?*

The findings in this section support the assumption of the thesis: Despite some overlap, volunteers' motivations would be influenced by their cultural backgrounds. In other words, cultural and geographical situatedness would influence motivations. The Arabic-speaking translators' decision to perform volunteer translation to gain knowledge and to improve their skills were shared by their counterparts from other cultures. However, the findings indicated that they were also driven by unique motivations. These culture-specific motivations included seeking rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an, updating the knowledge available in Arabic, improving language

competence in Modern Standard Arabic (*fuṣḥa*), improving the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook), and enhancing their reputation with other translators.

An explicit relationship between these motivations and the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation was not identified. Nevertheless, the motivations can be the result of these and/or other narratives. For example, the motivation to build a good reputation with other translators could be attributed to the honoured and respected status of translators during the Golden Era of Arabic translation. Likewise, the motivation to gain knowledge and to improve language skills could be attributed to the narrative of the bridge to knowledge. This is evident in a comment by "Salwa": "At the beginning, I volunteered in translation to increase my knowledge in the subjects I translate."

Other interviewees referred to the same motivation. However, it is likely that the translators' motivations could be further explained by yet-to-be-explored narratives, especially those related to ethics and religion.

In the conversations about motivations and narratives, the interviewees exhibited the complexities in motivation. It is therefore evident that asking volunteers about what drives them to do unpaid work is a simplistic approach. "Tariq" expressed this clearly: "As far as I know, there are many motivating factors, some of which translators are reluctant to talk about."

He indicated that volunteers, including himself, sometimes hid the truth about their motivations. When asked about the possible motivations for volunteer translators, "Shareef" was not specific. Instead, he confirmed that whether or not the motivation was identified, no one would work, let alone without pay, without being motivated. His answer signifies the complexities in identifying specific motivations despite the awareness of the existence of motivating factors. The motivation might be deliberately hidden, especially in situations of conflicts of interest. "Yusuf" explained this on the basis of his experience:

> I think people want to add value and meaning to their lives; thus, they do volunteer work, including translation. However, especially when it comes to Wikipedia, some people are expressing their opinions and promoting their ideas through translation. You can say it is a hidden motivation.

Encyclopaedias are expected to be balanced and professionally reviewed. However, Wikipedia provides an example of conflicting ideas and narratives because of volunteers' motivations to impose their thoughts and beliefs. The issue raised by "Yusuf" reflects Jones's (2018) findings that Wikipedia content is subject to negotiations with, or even contestations by, online editors and other users (Jones 2018). According to "Yusuf," volunteers could become motivated to participate in a forum of competing ideas without necessarily declaring their true reasons.

It appears that a platform could be an underlying factor. In the case of Wikipedia, the motivation might be the opportunity for volunteers to promote their own ideas. On other platforms, such as Facebook, it might be the ability to make the platform available in their language (e.g., Arabic). The translation of technical data is less prone to contestation. Thus, the motivation to advocate for ideas via volunteer translation can be seen in the involvement in each project.

Previous studies have indicated that volunteers are motivated to support the organisation's goals. The survey and interview participants generally considered translation for organisations, profit or non-profit, to be acceptable and not ethically problematic. However, Nasir voiced a concern: "I have been recently reconsidering my view on volunteer translation since some organisations are exploiting the goodness of translators."

Only 17% disagreed and 8.3% strongly disagreed that working for a well-known brand (e.g., Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter) was a motivation. "Nasir" explained the extent to which the leverage of volunteer translators' skills was acceptable: "Some volunteers are motivated to offer unpaid translation for companies like Google and Facebook in order to build their portfolios. I have no problem with such a thing because the benefit is mutual and for all parties."

Some organisations, however, leverage social media to engage a larger number of volunteers who enjoy the increase in their social media presence and status. "Rashid" offered an explanation: "From my experience, I think the appreciation is key in motivating volunteers. Simple things like mentioning them on Twitter can do wonders. It helps them to get more views and followers." In such situations, the non-monetary mutual interest replaces the financial rewards for volunteers and reduces the costs for organisations to the satisfaction of all parties. Through features such as likes and retweets,

social media platforms offer a wide range of incentives that fulfil the desire for social recognition (Alonayq, 2021). These peer-to-peer reward systems could easily trigger the intrinsic motivation of users and make them willing to translate more content to earn more likes and increase the number of followers.

Regarding the Arabic-specific motivations, a linguistic problem emerged. The surveys and interviews revealed a lack of MSA proficiency among professionals and non-professionals. However, the interviewees suggested a paradoxical solution that involved a foreign language. In other words, learning another language and translating from it into Arabic was seen as a way to hone their Arabic skills. This solution was aligned with the Arabic translation convention of written translation being in MSA rather than vernacular languages. The convention has been associated with the heated debates on *fuṣḥa* and *ʾamiyyah* (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion). Nārimān al-Shāmilī's (2016) controversial translation of *Risālat al-ghufrān* by renowned Arab poet-philosopher Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī into Egyptian *ʾamiyyah* is worth mentioning again. The translation challenged the norm of such a text being written in MSA.

An understanding of the complexity of the Arabic linguistic context, the norms of Arabic translation, and the expectations of the readers explains the participants' perceptions of translating from another language as a strategy to improve their MSA proficiency. For most of the participants, this was their only opportunity to practice this variety of Arabic. Not only did this motivation receive a high score in the survey (51.3% strongly agreed; 31.3% agreed), but also most interviewees indicated that it was a motivating factor. "Haifa" explained her situation and the decline in her language skills from living abroad and interacting in English. Therefore, her regular engagement in volunteer translation was a way to maintain her Arabic-language competence.

"Haifa's" situation was not unique. The findings indicate that the problem exists even in the case of translators who live in Arabic countries. "Nasir" discussed his study of the issue:

> My master's thesis studied the language competence of fresh graduate translation students. I found out that the majority are below average when it comes to the Arabic language. It is a pain point for a lot of translators due to the education programs.

"Nasir" indicated that the problem was not limited to new graduates. It was also common among senior and expert translators and indicated the need for specialised training in Arabic. The possible relationship between this language deficiency and the low quality of education is worthy of attention. For example, "Yusuf" highlighted the benefit of hands-on training: "Also, for me and some friends, we find it a chance to maintain our Arabic language skills. I believe it is a hands-on learning opportunity for translators."

This reflects the curricular emphasis on theory over applied training. "Yusuf" explained that scientific modules were usually taught in foreign languages, mainly English and French. This can have two serious consequences: (1) the lack of ability to write scientific texts and terminology and (2) the creation of a common perception that scientific knowledge should be taught in other languages because Arabic is not appropriate for incubating science. Both consequences create a vicious circle. Therefore, the Arabic-speaking translators' difficulties in translating into their native language were not a surprise. They would be expected to seek opportunities to improve their language skills before applying for translation jobs.

The motivation to contribute to the Arabic language was not solely education. In commenting on translators' reluctance to disclose their true motivations, "Tariq" gave the example of being a promoter of Arabic: "Some are psychologically motivated to restore the honoured history of Arabic science, especially those who are truly passionate about Arabic heritage and the Arabic language." However, "Basil" had no hesitation in stating that he was driven by the desire to contribute to the Arabic language and had asked others to do the same. Thus, he promoted volunteer translation and recruited volunteers to support his native language.

"Tariq" and "Basil" confirmed the findings that a large proportion of the survey participants strongly agreed (43.0%) and agreed (28.3%) that they were motivated to seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an. These findings were influenced by the strong relationship between Arabic and Islam, Arab-Islamic history, and Arab nationalism. The Arabic language is usually narrated as a core component of these three perspectives (see Chapter 2).

The interviews highlighted the religion-related motivations to do volunteer translation. The existence of zakat, an Islamic concept, in the data highlights the religious motive of many Arabic-speaking volunteer translators. It also explains the differences between

these translators and their counterparts with other cultural backgrounds. "Rashid," a translation manager, elaborated on the motivations of many volunteers who worked with him with the explicit intention of giving the zakat of their knowledge. Salama-Carr (2019) asserted that the religious encouragement to seek science is often foregrounded in the discourse of Arabic translation to either legitimise the translation project or to deal with any possible objections.

Indeed, the narration of volunteers and humanitarians in the Islamic discourse is worthy of exploration. "Rashid's" views were not different from those of his volunteers. He introduced a new motivator:

> Personally, I'm driven by the idea of building the earth. I believe that mankind was created to build the earth and look after it. As Allah says in the Holy Qur'an, "I shall instate a successor on Earth!" It is a great motivation.

The Islamic narrative of Man's creation is present in the above extract. It triggers the need for further exploration of the subject. The Islamic discourse on doing good and contributing to society has always motivated "Rashid" and his team. He compared volunteer translation to planting a tree. This is a reference to a famous saying of Prophet Mohammad: "Peace be upon him." The discourse on translation into Arabic has often had religious overtones, and translation activity has usually been legitimised through references to Islam (Salama-Carr, 2019). This attitude has been shaped by the assumption that Arabic is under siege because of the influences of other languages (Salama-Carr, 2019). Thus, religion is a factor that cannot be ignored in examinations of volunteers' motivations for engaging in linguistic activities, such as translation.

Some unique factors in motivation are products of the public narratives of the translators' cultures and backgrounds. The motivations could not be attributed to specific narratives; however, the influence of narratives in general in shaping perspectives was evident.

5.3 Translating to bridge the gender gap

The data also showed that the gender gap in terms of gender inequalities and representation, at least in the digital sphere, played a role in mobilising the volunteers to

join crowdsourced translation projects. The elucidation of Arab women's involvement in translation in general and volunteer translation in particular facilitates the understanding of volunteers' motivations. It also suggests opportunities for translation organisations to leverage the gender gap and gendered discourse to attract female volunteers. However, this section is not exclusively focused on the gender gap *per se*. It presents the findings from a gender perspective, offers an interpretation for the high participation of women in the current study, and explores the issue of gender hierarchy in the wider context of translation.

5.3.1 Narrative analysis findings

The corpus for the current study did not reveal specific findings related to gender. However, the data showed that women were highly engaged with the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation: (1) the Golden Era of translation, (2) the bridge to knowledge, and (3) the dearth of Arabic online content. Of the 23 documents collected for the study, two were produced by women and/or featured women to promote various narratives.

The first document featured Maha Abouelenein, Google's PR manager in the MENA region. She was interviewed while attending a conference in Dubai dedicated to Arabic content on the internet. The conference was organised in partnership with Google and Twitter. Abouelenein did not focus on gender in her comment. However, independent of any translation initiative, she promoted one of the most recurrent narratives: the dearth of Arabic online content. In the same document, she spoke from a position of power, as Google's representative, to encourage the audience to develop Arabic online content:

> [There is a huge gap between the Arabic-speaking population and Arabic online content. According to the latest statistics, Arabic online content is no more than 3% of the total web content, despite the Arabic-speaking population being more than 356 million people.] (Aydaros, 2013)

The above excerpt appeared in the conference report, which was published by Aljazeera.net. The report clearly narrates the Arabic online content as deficient and in need of improvement. The report presented translation as the key for developing online content and strengthened the argument by relying on a woman affiliated with Google to

support the cause. Interestingly, in the same report, the journalist highlighted women's effective participation and high attendance at the conference.

The other document was a blog by Lina Alatar (2017), a female Syrian blogger with an interest in education. She wrote a detailed blog to campaign for the Translation Challenge project and to mobilise volunteers to participate. The post was published on Arageek, a large Arabic website aimed at young readers. Alatar urged readers to join the Translation Challenge. Although the post promoted primarily the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content, she leveraged the other narratives: "[The translation movement conducted by Arab Muslims in the 7th century during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods was the first step towards knowledge . . .]" (Alatar, 2017, para. 02). Alatar presented the Translation Challenge as a project to guarantee a bright educational future for Arabs. She urged the audience to take action and join the crowdsourced translation project to create change in the Arab world: "[Those who are interested in participating in this huge work must not be hesitant and should contribute to this platform that I think will be a transformative change in knowledge and education in the Arab world]" (Alatar, 2017, para. 11).

As was the case of Abouelenein, Alatar (2017) did not seem to be explicitly concerned about the gender inequalities in terms of presence and representation. However, her activist role increased women's presence in translation. The findings of the survey and the interviews indicate that women have been substantially involved in crowdsourced translation projects and penetrating towards the front lines of the translation industry in Arab countries. More insights will be presented in the discussion.

5.3.2 Survey findings

An examination of the survey from a gender perspective revealed some interesting statistics. A majority of the 313 participants, three out of every four, were women. The respondents were predominantly from Saudi Arabia (68.7%). The motivations for joining crowdsourcing translation projects were investigated to identify possible significant differences in the subcategories, including gender.

A comparison by gender indicated that there were significant differences in the responses to Q12 and Q16. Thus, the significance test revealed significant differences between men

and women ($p < 0.05$). The results from the significance tests are reported in Table 10. Regarding the motivation to improve English proficiency, women (72.2%) were significantly more likely to strongly agree than men (51%; $p = 0.004$). Women were also more likely than men to strongly agree (women, 35.6%; men, 30%) and slightly agree (women, 34.4%; men, 22%) that they were motivated by the opportunity to build a professional portfolio to get more paid translation jobs (Q12). This difference was statistically significant ($p = 0.039$).

TABLE 10: SIGNIFICANCE TESTS (QUESTIONS 10–23). GROUPING VARIABLE: SEX

	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Q0010 To join projects where I can put my translation skills into practice.	0.102
Q0011 To do something with my free time and fight boredom.	0.454
Q0012 To build a professional portfolio to get more paid translation jobs.	0.039
Q0013 To reclaim online space for issues, such as those related to identity, beliefs, and gender.	0.252
Q0014 To seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an.	0.851
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.	0.474
Q0016 To improve my English proficiency.	0.004
Q0017 To improve my Modern Standard Arabic (*fusḥa*) proficiency.	0.415
Q0018 To improve my reputation with other translators.	0.228
Q0019 To gain a social media presence and appreciation.	0.584
Q0020 To revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that	0.199

translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations.

Q0021 To improve the quality of the Arabic versions   0.381
of famous websites and social media platforms, such as
like Facebook.

Q0022 To improve the quantity and quality of Arabic   0.717
internet content.

Q0023 To work for a well-known brand (e.g.,   0.487
Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter)

The comparisons of the responses to the section on the perceptions of volunteer translation by gender revealed significant differences ($p < 0.05$; see

Table 11). First, men (58.7%) were more likely than women (39.9%) to strongly agree that translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators. Second, men (57.4%) were more likely than women (40.5%) to strongly agree that volunteer translators were a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation. Third, women (29.2%) were more likely than men (17.4%) to disagree with the statement that there should be limitations on the types of content that volunteers are allowed to translate. Fourth, men (35.6%) were more likely than women (22.3%) to strongly disagree that Arab countries translate enough content at the present time.

TABLE 11: SIGNIFICANCE TEST (QUESTIONS 25–34)

	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Q0025 Only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.	0.058
Q0026 Volunteer translators are a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation.	0.044
Q0027 Translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators.	0.007
Q0028 Volunteers should be allowed to translate only certain types of content.	0.038
Q0029 Making contributions to a language through volunteer translation is as important as other usual volunteering (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).	0.290
Q0030 Volunteers should be given a bigger role to enhance translation activity in the Arab world.	0.166
Q0031 Volunteer translation may devalue the translation profession.	0.806
Q0032 I think that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge.	0.811
Q0033 Arab countries translate enough content at the present time.	0.036
Q0034 Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers.	0.380

Regarding the narratives, an examination of the responses by gender indicated that there was no significant difference. The respondents were asked whether they knew about the

historical translation institution, the House of Wisdom, which represents the Golden Era of Arabic translation. Fifty-nine percent indicated awareness. The level of awareness was similar for men (60.9%) and women (58.4%). There were also similarities in the attitudes to the other narratives. Regarding the crucial role of translation in the development of educational knowledge, 73.3% of men and 71.7% of women strongly agreed. This confirms the validity of the bridge-to-knowledge narrative. Men (89.1%) and women (87.6%) strongly agreed that the Arabic content on the internet was poor. This response reflects the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content.

5.3.3 Interview findings

The gender gap, as presented in this chapter, and its consequences for volunteer translation activity were more obvious in the interviewees' answers. The interviewees provided several accounts and interpretations regarding women's higher participation in Arabic crowdsourced translation projects. Some did not provide in-depth answers to the gender-related questions; thus, these responses were not included in the findings below.

"Salwa" was a female undergraduate student specialising in translation. When asked about her opinion on the preponderance of female participants in the survey, she focused on quality rather than quantity:

> It's not about how many translators. Today, unfortunately, we see universities full of translation students, but most important is how professional they are. We are 172 female students in our translation department, but if we look at the grades, we see that the majority are lower than B, which means a low level in translation.

"Salwa" was concerned about the quality of their work. She indicated that volunteer translation was merely an opportunity for her classmates to improve their language competence: "They may find it an opportunity to improve their translation quality and skills. The majority is good in English but poor or mediocre in modern standard Arabic." Because of the low Arabic language competence, "Salwa" suggested that her peers seek only certain types of translation jobs: "These students do not work hard at studying Arabic and prefer to do interpreting jobs for foreigners instead of written translation work."

Because not everyone lacks Arabic skills and/or does volunteer translation for skills training, "Salwa" emphasised the female students' work-related motivations: "[It's] not necessary that people do volunteer translation to increase awareness and/or enrich Arabic content online. The aim is often to gain experience that is required for work after graduation." However, she stated that women were also driven by other motivations to do unpaid translation:

> From my experience and based on my relationship with women translators at university, the main thing for volunteers was fame and social recognition. Of course, not everybody is like this, but it's a common reason for doing volunteering work.

"Basil" attributed women's inclination to engage in volunteer translation to employment issues. He provided insights into the gender inequalities as far as work is concerned. Because of his administrative position at Wikipedia, he dealt with this issue regularly, and he was able to view it holistically. "Basil" was not surprised that most of the study participants were women:

> In fact, I can see that girls are more inclined to do voluntary work, especially online. This can be due to the work conditions in the Arab world. Sometimes women find it difficult to work either paid or on a volunteering basis if the job requires leaving home for a long time. Therefore, a lot of girls invest their time and skills in short and flexible volunteer projects.

He was asked about the situation in Wikipedia because of his long-time membership and position as one of the highest-ranking editors. "Basil" stated:

> When it comes to Wikipedia, the issue is complicated and sort of contradictory. Gender inequalities have been a very sensitive topic on Wikipedia since 2010. The encyclopaedia has always been accused and criticised of gender bias. All studies have shown that most of Wikipedia's communities include more men than women. This fact definitely has its own impact on the entries and may eventually result in male-oriented content.

The encyclopaedia has witnessed many campaigns to bridge the gender gap in terms of women representation and number of female users. "Basil" gave some details: "Wikipedia aimed to have 25% of users be women by the end of 2015, but they failed

and barely achieved between 9% and 20% based on different Wikipedia communities."
He offered an explanation:

> The exact reason for this gap is not obvious; however, some people attribute it to the heated debates that usually take place among Wikipedia users, and women usually prefer to avoid such discussions, especially those which may lead to stress and conflict.

"Basil" was asked about translation and Arabic translators' engagement. He said that Arabic Wikipedia was not an exception in terms of the gender gap and that the efforts to improve the presence of women were ongoing: "Wikipedia still runs many campaigns to bridge the gender gap, and there is some progress happening in this matter. In Arabic Wikipedia, many workshops and translation projects dedicated to this issue are organised every year."

Despite the progress, the statistics have shown a persistent significant imbalance in the number of men and women on Wikipedia. "Basil" stated:

> If we look at it from a statistical point of view, 90% of Arabic Wikipedia users are men, and 10% are women. Of the 26 Arab administrators, there are only three women, and of the five Arabic bureaucrats, there is only one woman.

The gender disparity is a global issue on Wikipedia, as the interviewee explained that "Internationally, of the 39 Wikipedia Stewards, which is the highest rank, there is only one woman." Interestingly, "Basil" said that the numbers did not reflect the female volunteer translators' involvement and enthusiasm: "Despite all these statistics, we see dozens of volunteering women who are interested to take part in each campaign we launch compared to only a few men willing to participate, either in translation or writing."

Answering a question on Wikipedia conflicts concerning gender, "Basil" told his personal story:

> Let me tell you this: I'm the only Arabic steward in Wikipedia since I gained about 400 international votes for this administrative position. At the same time, I was shocked when I realised that some foreign people voted against me, and their misjudged reason was because Arabs mistreat women, so they do not want someone to do the same and oppress women in Wikipedia.

He continued: "Interestingly, the same people who voted against me have now changed their minds, and we communicate regularly. Some of them say finally, we have someone who knows how to treat women well."

"Tariq" had no specific explanation for the high participation of women in crowdsourced translation projects. He agreed that Arabic women are active in translation and gave some examples: "There is a library named Takween, supervised by the novelist lady Buthina Alesa. This library offered the opportunity for volunteer translation, and I participated in their project many times." He opined that volunteers are driven by the joy of giving. "Tariq" provided an example of a woman who was involved, although indirectly, in a remarkable volunteer-based Arabic translation institution:

> Some people are motivated by the desire to give something, especially those people who love being good to others. For example, I remember a Saudi website called Hekma, [Wisdom], which specialises in translating philosophy, usually by qualified volunteers. Once you visit that website, you will know it is dedicated to the soul of Reem, the daughter of Hekma's founder.

"Rashid" did not have a visible reaction to being told that most of the participants in the current study were women. He stated: "I am not surprised. Most Ollemna volunteers are women who want to translate without financial rewards." When invited to offer his opinion as a head of a volunteer-based translation organisation, "Rashid" stated:

> We actually asked volunteers about their reasons for translating with us. From their answers, I realised that houses are full of energetic talents, mostly girls, who want to contribute to society and make a difference. However, they do not find places to put their energy in, so our initiative and similar translation projects are suitable platforms where volunteer translators play their social role and gain social appreciation.

There was no explicit reference to the gender gap in Rashid's comment.

"Nasir's" views were similar to those of the previous interviewees. He offered an opinion on women's high participation in crowdsourced translation projects:

I think there is a reason behind it. There are new undergraduate translation programs at Saudi universities, and one of the best programs is at Princess Nora University, from which many female students graduate every year and do not find translation jobs easily because the market is not capable of incubating this large number. In contrast, male graduates from other universities are more likely to find jobs in other sectors rather than translation; thus, they have less spare time compared to women.

"Nasir" opined that, in addition to having too few employment opportunities, women have an innate desire to do volunteer work: "There are some natural differences between men and women. Women tend to keep improving their skills, so they see value in doing volunteer translation."

The interviews provided some insights and perspectives on the trends in Arab women's participation in volunteer translation projects. The reasons included the greater amount of spare time, search for employment, ongoing desire for skill enhancement, and the innate desire to give. These factors directly or indirectly contribute to the bridging of the gender gap in different areas. Wikipedia was introduced as an obvious example where gender inequality, in terms of representation, was considered a problem to be solved by engaging more women to contribute their work and have their voices heard.

5.4   The gender gap as a source of motivation

The results of the narrative analysis did not reveal substantial differences by gender. However, the survey and interview results indicated the emerging attempts at change and the active involvement of women to increase their representation. For example, women have been actively taking advantage of volunteer translation opportunities to increase their presence on platforms, such as Wikipedia, or their opportunities for paid work by improving their translation skills. Thus, volunteer translation is considered a vehicle for closing the gender gap and challenging the gender hierarchy. The results also showed that Orientalism has constructed stereotypes and influenced the views on men and women in the Arab world, as indicated by "Basil," the Wikipedia editor. (This will be discussed later.)

The survey results on the recurrent Arabic narratives on translation indicated that there was no significant difference in men's and women's engagement with and subscription to the three narratives. On the one hand, it could be assumed that, ultimately, the differences in men's and women's perceptions would reflect a gendered construction of reality and even an acceptance of gender inequality. On the other hand, it could be argued that women sometimes find themselves adopting the mainstream narratives, which are affected mainly by gender hierarchy, to have a presence and gain authority.

There was a significant difference in the representation of men and women in the recurrent narratives. For example, the Golden Era of translation seemed to be the most widely circulated narrative in Arabic translation. A review of the literature indicates that women's contributions have received little attention. Women's writings about the story of the House of Wisdom are easily accessible; however, the role, even marginal, of women in this institution is not reflected. The names of the translators of that era are exclusively those of men.

Interestingly, much has been written about women as poets and writers, but not translators, during the Abbasid era (Halaboni, 2010). The elite women of the Abbasid rulers, although rarely narrated, had a major influence on political decisions and social and cultural developments (Hanne, 2005). The translation movement during the Golden Era was a political and cultural decision that received substantial backing from the caliphate. Therefore, it could be argued that women around the caliphs might have made a contribution to the narrative of the Golden Era of translation. The presence of women translators at that time has not been narrated and may therefore warrant investigation.

Until recently, it was unusual to see women taking leading roles that eventually influenced the scenes of volunteer translation too. However, the affordability of technical tools and publishing platforms has facilitated the presence of women in translation dialogues. The data showed that a publishing house led by a female novelist has enabled volunteers to contribute their translations as "Tariq" did. Alatar (2017), a female blogger, has promoted the Arabic translation narratives and enthusiastically urged her readers to volunteer with translation projects. From her position as Google's PR manager in the MENA region, Abouelenein (cited in Aydaros, 2013) warned about the fragility of Arabic online content. These examples demonstrate how media technology has empowered the active participation of women who had heretofore been voiceless in the translation community.

Google's PR manager's promotion of the narrative of the dearth of Arabic online content and Wikipedia's enthusiastic mobilisation to rectify the gender bias on its website have confirmed the role of corporate entities in recruitment and leveraging social issues to their advantage. Facebook achieved exponential growth by simply using a crowdsourcing translation platform. The gender issue, however, is apparent at Wikipedia and its communities. "Basil" explained it in detail in terms of the Arabic community. He said that the encyclopaedia has always faced criticism for gender bias.

From a narrative perspective, the conflicts on Wikipedia have been the result of internal and external competing narratives. For example, "Basil" told his story of being accused of gender bias by his peers on Wikipedia. Voter suspicion and distrust could be a result of a mainstream media-promoted narrative on the relationship between men and women in the Arab world. These competing narratives on Muslim/ Arab men on Wikipedia are a reflection of the competing perceptions in real communities (Scott-Baumann et al., 2020). These perceptions and gendered expectations are sometimes influenced by Western feminism and Orientalist narratives of Arabic or Muslim culture.

In the media and the popular imagination, Muslim men are constructed as oppressors (Bilge, 2010), and Muslim women are often stereotyped as veiled, restricted, and secluded passive victims (Ahmed & Matthes, 2017; Scharff, 2011). These representations of Arabs and Muslims have been linked to Orientalist descriptions of Eastern societies (Hasan, 2005). Hasan argued that the promotion of Western feminist dogma in the Arab and Islamic world failed because of the dissimilarities in the contextual specificities of women's issues in different societies. Thus, "Basil" needed some time to prove to his editors that they had misjudged his attitudes towards women.

"Basil's" story reveals the key role of narratives in shaping the understanding of gender issues, including gender inequalities. Despite some attempts to explore gendered narratives, this topic has received little attention in studies on volunteer translation and user-generated content. For example, Al-Sharif (2009) studied the narration of Palestinian women in the Middle East Media Research Institute translations, which have supported Israeli propaganda in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

The gender gap at Wikipedia has long been the target of many initiatives, including translation projects. Efforts have been made to improve the male–female ratio and to increase women's participation. However, a gender disparity still exists. In addition, it

seems to be addressed primarily from a patriarchal perspective. For example, "Basil," the Wikipedia editor, was aware of the problem and eager to solve it; however, his comments were influenced by a gender hierarchy. He attributed the gender imbalance in the administrative team to a stressful environment that, in his opinion, women would find intolerable.

"Basil" was subjected to gendered expectations from the international Wikipedia community. However, he also seemed to be influenced by a discourse that included gender essentialism, such as women's inability to tolerate a stressful environment, or gendered barriers, such as women's avoidance of jobs that require spending long hours away from home. In neither comment did he consider the socio-cultural differences in Arab countries. It is notable that these were the comments of someone who was from Palestine, had studied in Egypt, and had dealt with a large Arabic Wikipedia community of men and women from a broad spectrum of Arabic backgrounds. This experience should have equipped him with a more well-informed account of gender imbalance in translation or, at least, at Wikipedia.

Despite the gender disparity at Wikipedia, the percentage of women in the Arabic editorial team is higher than it is internationally. This can be attributed to the Arabic Wikipedia community. In addition, it might reflect perceptions of inequality and, thus, prompt enthusiastic attempts to bridge the gender gap. The *Alwatan* newspaper published a report on the Wiki Arabic competition, which was organised by King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology. Eight of the 10 winners were women translators (Alwatan, 2011). King Khalid University (KKU) published a news story about 60 female students who had volunteered to translate 100 Wikipedia entries (KKU, 2020).

Bridging the gender disparity is not an issue exclusively for Wikipedia or other platforms. It is also a discussion in other domains. Indeed, Arab women's tendency to do volunteer translation is an attempt to bridge the gender gap in other areas, such as employment, publishing, and awards. The survey results indicate that women tend to perform volunteer translation to improve their English skills and to build professional portfolios to increase their marketability for paid translation jobs. This was confirmed by the interviews. For example, "Rashid" associated women's high participation in crowdsourced translation projects with the lack of other outlets to use their talents. In other words, the high percentage of women in volunteer translation might be simply that they are less likely to have paid employment and, thus, would have more time to devote to volunteering.

Volunteer translation is believed to be the formula for entering the market and closing the gender gap in workplaces. The situation is similar in the literary sphere, where women translators are trying to claim their place. Jaquette (2016) wrote that across languages, women authors accounted for 26.6% of all fiction translations and 29.6% of all poetry translations published between 2008 and 2014 in the United States. The Arabic statistics are even worse because works authored by women accounted for 22.7% of all the Arabic literature in translation published in 2010 and just 17% published in 2014 (Jaquette, 2016). The small presence in Arabic literary works resulted in a lack of representation in translation prizes before the novelist al-Harthi (2019) and her translator Booth won the 2019 Man Booker International Prize for *Celestial Bodies*.

The survey results showed that most of the respondents were women (76%), and most of the respondents were from Saudi Arabia (68.7%). These numbers match another interesting fact noted by Lynx Qualey (2016). She posted an article to trace the presence and representations of women in translation. She concluded the article by citing the fact that Saudi Arabia was the only Arabic country where Three Percent, the literary organisation, found that more work by women than men had been translated, two male authors and three women authors, between 2008 and 2014 (Qualey 2016). These interesting statistics can be seen as contradicting the common perception about women in Saudi Arabia. They can also be considered as early signs of the ongoing change in the country with regard to gender inequalities.

"Nassir," an interviewee, attributed the findings to the large number of female graduate students from translation programmes. Indeed, the number of Saudi female participants in the study might have been influenced by the higher literacy rates for women. The most recent statistics on education in Saudi Arabia indicated that there were more graduate women (53.2 %) than men (46.8%). In addition, women (58%) were more likely than men (42%) to major in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (General Authority for Statistics, 2020). This indicates that women are interested in fields that are usually taught in English. Thus, bilingualism, high education levels, and the desire to gain employment might account for their involvement in translation activities.

These statistics reveal the reason for the tendency for women to participate in translation activity. They also contest the gender essentialism reflected in some interviewees' comments: (a) women's innate desire for self-improvement and opportunities to do volunteer work or (b) their greater suitability for volunteer work rather than managerial

roles (in organisations such as Wikipedia) because of their preference to avoid discussions and heated debates. The gendered expectations in translation are not the exception; indeed, they occur in everyday life. A study on Islam and gender in UK universities found that the gendered expectations regarding certain caregiving roles, or as sometimes described by the shorthand *feminine roles* (e.g., making tea and coffee), extend beyond the Muslim community to British society (Scott-Baumann et al., 2020).

The findings on gender and volunteer translation have highlighted the need to integrate the various types and sources of information about women's contributions to, as well as their presence and representation in, the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation. This would allow for the comprehension of Arabic translation from a gender-oriented narrative. It would also facilitate the understanding of the actions of women translators and their perceptions of translation in general and volunteer translation in particular.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Although this chapter was not focused on narratives, it did validate the hypothesis that Arabic-speaking volunteers are motivated by culture-specific factors that are not necessarily shared by volunteers from other backgrounds. The focus was mainly on two trends that emerged from the data. The first one was defined by a group of largely culture-specific motivations such as: contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an, updating the knowledge available in Arabic, improving language competence in Modern Standard Arabic (*fuṣḥa*), upgrading the quality of the Arabic versions of widely-used websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook), and enhancing their reputation with other translators.

The second trend which emerged was related to the gender inequalities evident in some public spheres in the Arab World. Some volunteers considered their involvement in translation activity to be part of an attempt to improve women's presence and representation across various fields and platforms. The following chapter will summarise the thesis and introduce possible future directions as far as the motivation of volunteer translators is concerned.

6 RESEARCH CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter summarises the project by revisiting the research questions in light of the theoretical framework and methodology outlined in Chapters 1 and 3, respectively. Next, the key findings are briefly highlighted, followed by the limitations of the research and its original contributions. Finally, recommendations for potential future research bring the thesis to a close.

6.1 The study in a nutshell

In recent years, a remarkable number of volunteers have entered the translation industry, which has been traditionally perceived as the province of professionals. In addition, the number of organisations that leverage volunteer translation has increased significantly. The involvement of volunteers has raised many issues, including agency, quality, motivation, and ethics, to be addressed in TS. With the noticeably high participation of volunteers, professional translation, rather than non-professional translation, has become the exception (Perez-Gonzalez & Susam-Sarajeva, 2012). The significant volume of translation work performed by volunteers via crowdsourcing and collaborative models prompted this exploration of the volunteers' motivations. In other words, the goal was to examine the underlying motivations in volunteers' decisions to work on translation tasks via platforms designed specifically by or for large institutions, such as Wikipedia and Facebook, without expecting monetary compensation.

This thesis built on previous studies that investigated the trend of mobilising crowds of volunteer translators to perform unpaid translation (see O'Brien & Schaler, 2010; Dombek, 2014; Dolmaya, 2012; Jimenéz-Crespo, 2017; Fuente, 2014; Olohan, 2012, 2014). Despite the volunteers' contributions, the subject has been relatively under-researched because of the variety of interdisciplinary approaches, continually evolving volunteer practices, and the culture-specific circumstances.

The current exploratory study aimed to fill some of the gaps in the current knowledge about the motivations of volunteer translators in the Arabic context. As is the case in other cultures, Arabs have been using translation as a vehicle to achieve different purposes on different levels. Translation is given great respect in Arabic discourse. It is perceived as a core element in the storied past of Arabic civilisation, the panacea for the contemporary decline in education and scientific achievement, and the guarantee for a bright future. Such culturally driven perceptions have been found to have a significant influence on volunteer translators' motivations.

The tendency to collaboratively offer free translation online is relatively new in the Arab world. It has been coterminous with and influenced by the launch of national translation projects, policies, and awards in several Arab countries (Hanna et al., 2019). However, the current study revealed the extent of volunteers' enthusiasm about participating in and making significant contributions to a wide range of translation projects. This phenomenon can be attributed to several factors, such as advanced technologies and internet access. However, the crowds of Arab volunteers were motivated by the public narratives on Arabic translation that they encountered and engaged with in daily life.

Most studies on volunteer translators' motivations have focused on the volunteers' views, as ascertained from surveys and/or interviews. This study used a different approach by seeking not only to discern the volunteers' perspectives but also to explore the translation discourses to which they have been continually exposed. This new dimension for studying volunteer translators' motivations should contribute to TS through the integration of methods that are usually used independently. The outcomes of this research have revealed the construction of translation narratives within the discourse of translation initiatives and revealed some of the benefits of public narratives in prompting large numbers of people to act for a cause, i.e., to perform volunteer translation.

The data collected in the study provided insights into the influence of the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation and their culturally based prioritisation on volunteer translators. Most previous studies on volunteer translation were conducted in Europe and North America. This research focused on the Arabic context to highlight the influence of cultural backgrounds on motivations. Examples are the motivations to revive the Golden Era of Arabic translation, to enhance Arabic-language competence, and to seek rewards from Allah for supporting the language of the Holy Qur'an. Understanding such

motivations facilitates the determination of the extent to which they have been leveraged by translation organisations to engage volunteers.

The main reason for the adoption of a narrative approach was the opportunity for in-depth discussions from multiple perspectives rather than the rigid intrinsic–extrinsic motivation dichotomy. The results confirmed the hypothesis of the current study and the motives identified in previous studies. Arab volunteer translators were found to be motivated by specific narratives to join the crowdsourcing projects that employed and/or constructed those narratives.

6.2 Summary of the research findings

The study found that the following three narratives were the most recurrent in the Arabic discourse on translation: (1) the Golden Era of translation, (2) the bridge to knowledge, and (3) the dearth of Arabic online content. These narratives revealed the narration of Arabic translation in the digital sphere in which modern translation initiatives operate and volunteers are mobilised.

The first narrative was the Golden Era, the period in Arabic-Islamic history when translation activity flourished and translators were highly respected. The second narrative that emerged from the data was the perception of translation as the bridge to knowledge, i.e., a means for literacy and knowledge acquisition in the Arab world. The third narrative was the dearth of Arabic content online. This narrative was leveraged by translation organisations that operated mainly online. These narratives emphasise the need for translation.

The study also showed that the participating volunteers were engaged with and motivated by these narratives to perform unpaid translation work. On three of the four narrative-based motivational statements, at least 50% of the respondents strongly agreed that it was a motivation for joining the translation project. The least acknowledged narrative-related motivation was the desire to revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of the neighbouring ancient states (31.9% strongly agreed; 30.6% agreed). The results confirmed the prevalence and influence of the Arabic translation narratives highlighted in the first phase of the study.

The examination of the data from a gender perspective revealed some interesting statistics that warranted further exploration. A majority (every three out of four) of the 313 survey respondents were women. The high female participation in volunteer translation was confirmed by the interviewees. The comparison of the respondents' narrative-related responses by gender indicated that there was no significant difference. However, on the statements about the improvement of English proficiency as a motivation, women (72.2%) were more likely than men (51%) to strongly agree. Women were also more likely than men to strongly agree (women, 35.6%; men, 30%) or slightly agree (women, 34.4%; men, 22%) about the motivation to build a professional portfolio to obtain more paid translation jobs.

Similarly, the interviews revealed the role of the gender gap, at least in the digital sphere, in mobilising volunteers to join crowdsourced translation projects. The reasons included the higher likelihood of Arabic women to have more spare time than men, to seek employment, to have a desire for self-improvement, and to be driven by an innate desire to give. These factors directly or indirectly contributed to bridging the gender gap in work, representation, and social recognition. Wikipedia was presented as an example of an entity in which gender inequality was considered a problem to be solved by engaging more women to contribute their skills and have their voices heard.

The other emerging trend was the presence of culture-specific motivations in Arabic volunteer translators' participation in translation initiatives. In addition to confirming the motivations identified in previous studies on volunteer translation, the current study found that the motivations highlighted by the Arabic-speaking participants were different from those of European and North American volunteers. Volunteer translators in general were driven by the positive outcomes of their contributions. However, Arabic-speaking volunteers were found to have unique motivations derived from their cultural background.

The results confirmed the original assumption of the thesis that volunteers' motivations would be influenced by their cultural backgrounds. In other words, Arabic-speaking volunteer translators agreed with their counterparts from other cultures on the role of the desire for knowledge acquisition and skill improvement on participation in volunteer translation. However, they indicated that they were also driven by other specific motivations. The volunteers' culture-specific motivations included: (1) seeking rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an; (2) updating the knowledge available in Arabic; (3) improving their Modern Standard Arabic (*fuṣḥa*)

competence; (4) improving the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook; and (5) enhancing their reputation with other translators.

There were no explicit relationships between these motivations and the three most recurrent narratives on Arabic translation. However, the motivations could have resulted from the intersection of these and/or other public and personal narratives in individuals' lives. For example, the motivation to earn a good reputation with other translators could be attributed to the esteemed status of translators during the Golden Era of Arabic translation. The motivation for knowledge acquisition and skill improvement could be influenced by the bridge to knowledge narrative.

The case studies revealed the narration of Arabic translation and the role of the translation narratives in volunteers' motivations to participate in crowdsourced translation projects. The recognition of the dynamic aspect of narratives would help to explain the behaviour of volunteer translators by conceptualising them as not mere information bridges but participants with decisive roles in producing, circulating, and responding to the narratives and information in their communities. The findings of the present study highlighted the evolution in Arabic translation in terms of gender participation and representation. Finally, the thesis introduced the common culture-specific motivations that, together with other findings, elucidated the Arabic translation trajectory to reveal the motivations and Arabic perceptions of translation.

6.3 Limitations of the study

The topic of this thesis is timely and well motivated. It draws attention to a very under-researched area. Therefore, there are a few limitations that make such a study challenging in terms of data, methods, or even sub-topics. First, the study revealed the narratives that were likely to motivate Arabic-speaking volunteer translators. However, an in-depth examination of each narrative was almost impossible because (a) the most recurrent narratives had not been identified in previous studies and (b) a comprehensive examination of each narrative was beyond the scope of the current study in terms of the time and objectives. Because of this limitation, Baker's (2006) narrative analysis model was utilised to obtain the data required for the other methods in the research design. The

focus was primarily public narratives and personal stories. However, obtaining the individual stories of all participants was impossible because of the limited time, which allowed for only a general view of the subject. Individual stories could be the focus of future studies.

Second, the data collection posed some challenges in terms of the types and sources. This study was based primarily on digital (i.e., online) data, which were accessible so that the study could be completed within the time limit. Every digital format could not be included. Multimedia content (e.g., video) could have supplemented the data. However, the scope and timeline of the project did not allow for the acquisition of this type of content, which, in a study of this scale, would have required a team of researchers. Thus, only textual digital content was considered. It must be acknowledged that the inclusion of offline data, such as printed books, newspapers, and magazines, would have contributed significantly to the subject. Unfortunately, such materials were not accessible. The study was conducted from the UK, and the physical publications were located in libraries and archives throughout the Arab world. Thus, accessing such a large corpus was beyond the time limit. This leads to the next limitation, which is a common hurdle faced by Arabic-language researchers.

Another limitation was access to contacts and key crowdsourcing translation organisations. The reason was not the inability to contact them but the complex protocols that prevented distribution of the survey distributed to their volunteers and the participation of their administrators in interviews. For example, the largest and most recent crowdsourced Arabic translation project was Translation Challenge. It had succeeded in attracting more than 30,000 volunteers, half of whom were translators. Efforts were made to contact them formally when the research began in 2017. Unfortunately, no response, including approval to distribute the survey to the volunteer translators in their databases, was ever received. Persistence, such as contacting well-known Emirati people who could facilitate direct contact with the Translation Challenge team, provided fruitful results. The plan succeeded, and contact was made with the organisation officials. However, the communication was very slow, and the promises did not go beyond the mostly neglected emails and unanswered calls.

Fortunately, the study proceeded with other translation initiatives that provided substantial data and facilitated high response rates. Nevertheless, the lack of research

support from some Arabic institutions is a limitation that should be addressed and discussed to facilitate the work of future researchers.

6.4 Original contributions of the research

This thesis has made four main contributions to TS. First, it has highlighted the paucity of research on the narratives on Arabic translation, especially volunteer translation. The review of the literature indicated that the present study is the first to provide a large-scale narrative-oriented investigation of volunteer translators' motivations. It is also the first of its kind as far as Arabic translation is concerned. Previous studies focused primarily on areas such as literary translation, the translation of sacred texts, the sociology of translation, and comparative studies. Thus, volunteer translation has received little attention. The present study made a serious attempt to address the subject and to draw attention to the ever-growing segment of enthusiastic volunteer translators.

Second, the thesis has highlighted the influence of discourse, an area that has been overlooked in studies of volunteer translators' motives. Thus, the study filled the gap left by previous studies. Most of these studies, which made significant contributions, used surveys and interviews to study volunteer translators' motivations and behaviours. The exclusive reliance on surveys and/or interviews could result in the neglect of the precursory factors in volunteers' engagement in unremunerated translation work. Participants might not always be aware of such factors. Thus, they might inadvertently fail to identify the actual motivation. It is also possible that the motivation identified might be only one of many. Other factors, such as activism, ideology, political agenda, and public discourse, might be overlooked or even deliberately withheld or denied, as was explained by some interviewees.

Third, and most important, the present study identified three recurrent overarching narratives on Arabic translation: (1) the Golden Era of Arabic translation, which represents the honoured past; (2) the bridge to knowledge, which ignites the hope of success; and (3) the dearth of Arabic content online, which addresses the development of the Arabic digital sphere.

The study revealed the partial congruence and occasional juxtaposition of these narratives in motivating volunteer participation. It also revealed a noteworthy dimension of

motivations in volunteer translation: narratives. This includes those that influence volunteers and guide their behaviours. This influence was not always articulated by the volunteers in the interviews and questionnaires. The study highlighted the role of volunteer backgrounds in the culture-specific perceptions that shape motivations. Thus, the findings underscored the complexities in volunteer translators' motivations: an issue that has been oversimplified. The narrative-based interviewees and surveys demonstrated the complexities in motivation. They also showed that asking volunteers what drives them to do unpaid work is a simplistic approach to the subject. The motivation identified by the participant might offer only a glimpse of the underlying interrelated factors.

Fourth, the present study has proposed another application of socio-narrative theory and demonstrated the potential for this approach to be improved and adjusted to fit various research designs. Since Baker's (2006) influential *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, socio-narrative theory has frequently proved successful as a framework for translation research. Although these narrative studies were not motivation-oriented, they nevertheless demonstrated the variety of feasible applications of this approach. The current study expanded the socio-narrative approach to reveal its strengths, via a mixed-methods research design. This research design allowed for follow-up, the revisiting of the data, and the elaboration of the emerging results that indicated issues (e.g., the gender gap) that had not initially been considered.

Infusing the narrative approach into a mixed-method research design helps, for instance, to explore how Saudi women are narrated in the English translations of Saudi novels, and to what extent those narratives are shaping public perceptions regarding Saudi women and of Saudi culture generally. The results regarding this topic are expected to be reached from various perspectives and to complement each other thanks to the narrative-oriented mixed-method design.

In addition to the use of a unique approach to the mixed-methods research design, the application of socio-narrative theory was somewhat different from that in previous TS. Previous studies explored the ways in which translation challenges and/or constructs narratives and translators' agency as key players in the circulation of the narratives. This project, however, aimed to determine the narration of translation in the Arab world and the underlying recurrent narratives that motivate translators to work without monetary compensation. Changing the perspective within the narrative theoretical framework facilitated the approach to the phenomena of volunteer translation and crowdsourcing

initiatives from a new dimension and an in-depth, rigorous discussion and interpretation of the data.

6.5 Recommendations for further study

The present thesis has indicated the need to expand the nascent research efforts to employ dynamic approaches to the examination of the emerging volunteer translation projects. The reason that such approaches are necessary is that they can be easily adjusted to be applicable to the rapidly changing trends in collaborative translation activities. For example, socio-narrative theory has proved to be a promising lens through which to understand the tendency of organisations to leverage public narratives in order to legitimise their missions. There is a necessity for large-scale studies that could trace the narratives about Arabic translation in order to understand the points in time and the manner of their emergence and their possible influence on Arabic-language translation activity, the latter having grown significantly in recent years.

Also, studies regarding the motivations of volunteer translators should explore the shared circumstances and/or perspectives of translators who belong to specific segments of society worldwide. Whether these segments are minorities, voiceless groups, or people with shared political views or cultural backgrounds, investigations of their unique motivations for participating in volunteer translation efforts would be worthwhile. Also, findings of interest may emerge from studies with narrow foci — because motivations are not universal.

Another area of expansion for future studies should include gender-oriented examinations of the motivations of volunteer translators. There is a need to discern women's presence and representation in Arabic translation narratives and their contribution to the recurrent narratives on Arabic translation. Such studies could facilitate the understanding of the distinct behaviours of women and men translators and their perceptions of translation in general and volunteer translation in particular.

As far as narratives are concerned, the previously recommended angles of research are expected to provide fruitful approaches for future study.

Here we come to the end of this thesis; however, the story of Arabic translation continues.

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8 APPENDICES

8.1 Ethics approval

Ethics approval (REC reference number FL17143-please quote this in all correspondence about this project)

FASS and LUMS Research Ethics <fass.lumsethics@lancaster.ac.uk>
Mon 23/04/2018 23:24

To: Alonayq, Abdulmohsen <a.alonayq@lancaster.ac.uk>
Cc: Fulop, Erika <e.fulop@lancaster.ac.uk>; Naguib, Shuruq <shuruqnaguib@lancaster.ac.uk>

Dear Mohsen

Thank you for submitting your ethics application and additional information for *Exploring the Motivations of Volunteer Translators Who Participate In Crowdsourced Arabic Translation Projects*. The information you provided has been reviewed by member(s) of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;

- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;

- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information about this.
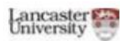
Kind regards,

Debbie

Debbie Knight
Secretary, FASS-LUMS Research Ethics Committee fass.lumsethics@lancaster.ac.uk
Phone (01524) 592605| D22 FASS Building, Lancaster University, LA1 4YT | Web: http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/arts-and-social-sciences/research/ethics-guidance-and-ethics-review-process/ & http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/lums/research/ethics/

Lancaster University

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Figure 1 Ethics approval letter

8.2 Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a study about the motivations of volunteer translators who participate in crowdsourced Arabic translation projects. I am interested in painting an informed picture, by collecting the views of those who contribute their Arabic translations for free. I am interested in your experiences and your point of view, whether you are interested in volunteer translation, are an active volunteer translator yourself or if you have offered a volunteer translation at least once before.

Some of the questions are about your experiences of volunteer translation while some ask about your views and opinions in relation to translation activity in the Arab world.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, only your answers. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential and anonymous to ensure that no personal identifiers are revealed during the analysis and write up of findings. There is no remuneration for participating in this study. However, by providing me with a sincere and honest account of your perspective, I will be better able to explore how volunteers are motivated to contribute their translations.

By taking part in this survey

- I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study, and have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during my participation without giving any reason.
- I understand that this survey should be completed anonymously and I will not be asked about my identity.
- I understand that data will be kept according to University guidelines for a minimum of 10 years after the end of the study.

By ticking the box below, I confirm that I understand the above statements and agree to take part in the study.

☐

Name of researcher:

Email:

Many thanks for taking the time to complete this survey. It should take no more than 10 minutes of your time.

Section 1: About you

Q0001 What is your gender?

☐ Female

☐ Male

Q0002 What is your age range?

- 18 to 25 years old
- 26 to 40 years old
- Over 40 years old

Q0003 What country are you from? (Drop list)

Q0004 What is your employment status?

☐ Student

☐ In work

☐ Unemployed

☐ Self-employed

☐ Retired

Q0005 What is your native language?

    ☐ Arabic

    ☐ Other (please specify)…

Q0006 What is your highest educational qualification?

☐ Intermediate school

☐ High school

☐ BA

☐ MA

☐ PhD

Q0007 Do you have a degree in translation?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Q0008 Do you have any professional experience as a translator from English into Arabic?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Section 2: Translation initiatives

Q0009 What are the translation initiatives you have participated in as a volunteer translator?

☐ Taghreedat

    ☐ Translation Chalenge

☐ Wikipedia

☐ Ollemna

☐ Ted

☐ Other (specify)

Section 3: Volunteer translators' motivations

I do volunteer translation

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Q0010 To join projects to put my translation skills into practice.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0011 To do something in my free time to fight boredom.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q0012 To build a professional portfolio to get some more paid translation jobs.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0013 To reclaim online space for issues, such as those related to identity, beliefs, and gender.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0014 To seek rewards from Allah by contributing to the language of the Holy Qur'an.					
Q0015 To update the knowledge available in Arabic.					
Q0016 To improve my English proficiency.					
Q0017 To improve my Modern Standard Arabic (*fusḥa*) competence.					
Q0018 To improve my reputation with other translators.					
Q0019 To gain a social media presence and appreciation.					
Q0020 To revive the Arabic-Islamic civilisation that translated the knowledge of ancient civilisations.					
Q0021 To improve the quality of the Arabic versions of famous websites and social media platforms, such as Facebook.					
Q0022 To improve the quantity and quality of Arabic internet content.					
Q0023 To work for a well-known brand (e.g., Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter).					

If you are motivated by other factors to do volunteer translation, please list them below:

-

-

-

Section 4: Perceptions of volunteer translation

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Q0025 Only individuals with translator certification should be allowed to participate in translation initiatives.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0026 Volunteer translators are a valuable resource for increasing the volume of translation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0027 Translation projects need to create more opportunities for volunteer translators.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0028 There should be limitations on the types of content that volunteers are allowed to translate.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0029 Making contributions to a language through volunteer translation is as important as other usual volunteering (e.g., helping vulnerable people, donating blood).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0030 Volunteers should be given a bigger role in enhancing translation activity in the Arab world.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0031 Volunteer translation could devalue the translation profession.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q0032 I think that translation is essential for the development of educational knowledge.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0033 Arab countries translate enough content at the present time.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0034 Arab countries should make greater investments in translation to make science accessible for native Arabic speakers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section 5: Perceptions of Arabic translation

Q0035 Do you know بيت الحكمة (the house of wisdom)- the historical translation project?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(Conditional Qs)	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Q0036 The story of بيت الحكمة in the golden era of Arabic translation proves the necessity for well-supported translation projects.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Q0037 The story of بيت الحكمة regarding translation activity in the Arab-Islamic					

history is a source of inspiration for Arab translators.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q0038 Do you think that translation is a key solution for Arabic societies to bridge the gap with the developed countries?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Q0039 Do you think that the Arabic content on the internet is poor?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(Conditional Q)	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Q0040 Arab users may need more translation initiatives to enrich the Arabic online content.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q0041 Have you ever seen a translation project that aims mainly to enrich the Arabic content on the internet?

☐ Yes

☐ No

8.3 Interviews translation[16]

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Extracts from "Salwa's" Interview</th></tr>
<tr><th>Target Text</th><th>Source Text</th></tr>
<tr>
<td>"I know that translators used to be generously rewarded for what they translate during that time"</td>
<td dir="rtl">"ما أعرفه، أنهم في ذلك الزمان كانوا يكافئون المترجمين بالعطايا تثمينا لما قاموا بترجمته"</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>"I don't think the story inspires people to participate in translation projects because I see my classmate not interested in the module about the history of Arabic translation. They were not taking it seriously. It was boring for them"</td>
<td dir="rtl">"لا أعتقد أن القصة كانت ملهمة للناس للمشاركة في مشاريع الترجمة، لأني أرى زميلاتي في الجامعة غير مهتمات بمادة تاريخ الترجمة ولا يأخذنها على محمل الجدّ والإلهام، بل بالعكس كانت مملّة بالنسبة لهنّ."</td>
</tr>
</table>

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[16] Interviews were generally held in Modern Standard Arabic, however, at some points interviewees used their local dialects. In such situations, those parts of recordings were transcribed in Modern Standard Arabic.

"Sure, I say this because if we look at the primary goal of translation we will find it revolves around transferring knowledge"	"أكيد. أقول هذا لأننا إذا رجعنا إلى الهدف الأساس من الترجمة، سنجد أنه يتمحور حول نقل العلوم."
"translation is the solution but appointing qualified translators will make it a very effective solution"	"الترجمة فعلا هي الحلّ، لكن اختيار المترجمين الكفؤ هو الذي سيجعل منه حلًّا فعّالًا"
"We can do them both. There is no problem. However, let us assume we failed in knowledge production, then translation is a need"	"بإمكاننا فعل الاثنين، ننتج ونترجم، ليست هناك أية مشكلة. لكن إن افترضنا أنّنا عجزنا عن الإنتاج، فالتّرجمة ضرورة."
"We need volunteer translation because Arabic web content is very poor and needs volunteer translators to enrich it" "I say this because paid translators will be limited to work hours and organisations cannot afford to pay for unlimited number of professional translators"	"نحتاج الترجمة التطوعية لأن المحتوى العربي في الإنترنت ضئيل جدا وبحاجة لإثراء المترجمين المتطوعين" "أقول هذا لأن المترجمين الموظفين ملتزمون بساعات عمل محددة، والمؤسسات لا تستطيع دفع أجور عدد لامحدود من المترجمين المحترفين"
"Arabic content online is very poor in general. Let's assume you're searching for the 'if clause rule', you will find too many explanations in English websites. In contrast, try to look for any Arabic grammar rule and you will find a handful of websites, probably no more than fifteen. That's the problem"	"المحتوى الإنترنت العربي ضعيف جدا بشكل عام، فلو افترضنا أنك تبحث عن قاعدة 'if clause rule'فستجد الكثير من الشروحات في المواقع الإنقليزية، وبالمقابل جرب أن تبحث عن أي قاعدة لغوية عربية فستجد مواقع محدودة جدا، ربما ليس أكثر من خمس عشرة موقعا. هنا المشكلة"
"we can consider it as good when there is enough information in most topics. But today we lack this privilege; thus, Arabs, including me, tend to consult English internet. It is a disgrace and I don't know why this happens"	"نستطيع أن نقول أن المحتوى جيد عندما تكون هناك معلومات كافية في معظم المجالات، ولكننا اليوم نفتقد لهذه الميزة ولذلك العرب وأنا من ضمنهم يميلون إلى البحث في الإنترنت باللغة الإنقليزية. هذه حقيقة مخزية ولا أدري لم يحدث هذا"
"At the beginning, I volunteered in translation to increase my knowledge in the subjects I translate. Also, because school holidays are a bit long, I wanted to kill the time"	"في البداية تطوعت بالترجمة لأزيد معرفتي بالمواضيع التي أترجمها، وأيضا لأقضي وقت فراغي بما إن إجازات الدراسة طويلة"
"It's good to get experience via volunteer translation especially if we know that employers usually look for graduates with some work	"من الرائع اكتساب خبرة من خلال الترجمة التطوعية وتحديدا إذا عرفنا أن أصحاب الأعمال عادة يطلبون خريجين بخبرة عملية للتوظيف. هذا الشيء يحفز أغلب المترجمين المتطوعين في رأيي"

Target Text	Source Text
experience. This is what drives most volunteer translators in my opinion"	
"It's not about how many translators. Today, unfortunately, we see universities full of translation students, but most important is how professional they are. We are 172 female students in our translation department, but if we look at the grades, we see that the majority are lower than B, which means a low level in translation"	" القصة ليست في وجود مترجمين أكثر، فاليوم نجد الجامعات مليئة بالمترجمين. لكن المهمّ هو مدى احترافية المترجم. للأسف تجد في الجامعات – نفترض دفعتنا مثلا – 172 طالبة ترجمة، لكن إن اطّلعنا على درجات الترجمة تجد أغلبهم تحت الـــــ (B) ، ما يعني أن المستوى ضعيف جدًّا في التّرجمة"
"They may find it an opportunity to improve their translation quality and skills. The majority is good in English but poor or mediocre in modern standard Arabic."	"بعضهم يجد الترجمة التطوعية فرصة لتحسين ترجماتهم من ناحية الجودة والمهارة، لأن الغالبية جيدات في اللغة الإنقليزية ولكن مستواهم منخفض في اللغة العربية الفصيحة"
"These students do not work hard at studying Arabic and prefer to do interpreting jobs for foreigners instead of written translation work."	"نجد أيضا نفس الطالبات قرّرن عدم دراسة الترجمة العربية بشكل عميق، وسيركّزن على الترجمة للأجانب بدلا من أعمال الترجمة التحريرية"
"[It's] not necessary that people do volunteer translation to increase awareness and/or enrich Arabic content online. The aim is often to gain experience that is required for work after graduation."	"ليس كلّ من يرغب بتأسيس مبادرة، يهدف منها إلى إثراء المحتوى العربي أو نشر الوعي. فهذا ليس شرطًا؛ لكن دافع المترجمين يتجلّى في سعيهم للخبرة لأنها الأهمّ، خاصة الآن؛ أغلب مجالات العمل، ما بعد الجامعة، تتطلب الخبرة"
"From my experience and based on my relationship with women translators at university, the main thing for volunteers was fame and social recognition. Of course, not everybody is like this, but it's a common reason for doing volunteering work"	"أنا، وبناء على خبرتي، بحكم مرافقتي لأناس مترجمين بالجامعة؛ فقد كان الشيء الأساسي بالنسبة للمتطوعين الذين عرفتهم وواجهتهم، هو الشهرة؛ فكل من أحبّ أن يكون له صيت يتّجه إلى التطوع. ولكن هذا على الأغلب وليس عند الجميع طبعا هو الدافع للعمل التطوعي"

Extracts from "Basil's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"Yes. It is a very encouraging story and one of things that motivate us to do translation. If you	"طبعا، هي محفّزة جدًّا. فهي من الأمور الأساسية التي حقّزتنا للتّرجمة. فكما تلاحظ إنّ موضوع الترجمة غير منتشر بشكل كبير

notice, translation is not taken seriously in the Arab world today. Therefore, it is natural to look for something realistic to inspire you, something outstanding like the House of Wisdom."	أو واضح في الوطن العربي، فمن الطبيعي أن تبحث عن شيء واقعي يلهمك للترجمة، عن شيء بارز مثل بيت الحكمة"
"I remember when a colleague was talking about how translators were respected at that time, and he was suggesting organising translation campaigns. Now there is an initiative called House of Wisdom. It does not belong to Wikipedia, but they contribute to the encyclopedia"	"أتذكر حين كان أحد الزملاء يتطرق في حديثه لموضوع الترجمة وبيت الحكمة، بما في ذلك تقدير المترجمين في ذاك العصر، ويقترح على الزملاء بأن ينظموا حملات؛ وقد برزت حاليا حملة اسمها بيت الحكمة، وهي ليست تابعة رسميا لويكيبيديا ولكنهم يساهمون في الموسوعة."
"The internet, especially the Arabic web, is full of topics that are limited mainly to sport and entertainment. A lot of people write in these topics but there is a very low interest in and demand on topics like science, medicine, astronomy and mathematics"	"إنّ الشبكة العنكبوتية وخاصة باللغة العربية تجد أغلب مواضيعها مكتوبة في مجالات محدّدة كالرّياضة والفنّ والإعلام، وما إلى ذلك، حيث يوجد الكثيرون ممّن يكتبون في مثل هذه المواضيع. أمّا بالنسبة للمواضيع العلمية الطبية، والفلك والرياضيات؛ فالإقبال عليها من العرب يعدّ ضعيفا جدًّا."
"for this shortage I began to translate medical content on Wikipedia"	"وبسبب هذا النقص المعرفي بدأت بترجمة المحتوى الطبي في ويكيبيديا"
"However, there were some challenges like conflicts and heated debates over terminologies. For example, the word 'Antibiotics' is translated differently in some Arabic countries. I prefer to go for the common translation for each term"	"ولكن العمل لا يخلو من التحديات والصراعات والنقاشات الحادة حول المصطلحات. مثلا مصطلح 'Antibiotics' يترجم بطريقة مختلفة في بعض الدول العربية، وعلى أية حال أنا دائما أميل مع التعريب الشائع لكل مصطلح"
"All our debates are triggered by the arguments on terminologies. I blame linguists, Arab specialists and Arabic language academies for this problem. I use six or seven dictionaries for my work but, unfortunately, they are all not updated and not including the most recent scientific concepts"	"كل جدالاتنا تكاد تكون حول المصطلحات. هنا ألقي باللوم مجامع اللغة العربية، واللغويين، النّاس المهتمّة باللغة العربية. وأحيانا أشعر بالاستغراب،فأنا أعتمد على ستّ أو سبع مراجع ، لكن مشكلة هذه المراجع تتجلّى في أنها طبعات قديمة، ولم يضف إليها الطّروحات العلمية الجديدة"
"In this case, we work hard to make up new terminologies for medical concepts that have no existing Arabic equivalent."	"في هذه الحالة نجتهد في تكوين مصطلحات طبّية جديدة لأسماء أمراض ومفاهيم طبية ليس لها تسميات عربية نهائيا"

"Volunteer translation is very important but it is a double-edged sword. From my experience, I noticed that when someone publishes a mistranslation for a scientific concept, it goes viral and becomes nearly impossible to rectify"	"الترجمة التطوعية مهمة جدا ولكنها سلاح ذو حدين، فالأمر أيضا لا يخلو من سلبية. ومن واقع التجربة، لاحظت أنه بمجرّد نشر ترجمة خاطئة لمفهوم علمي فإنها تنتشر انتشارا واسعا وقد تعطي للآخر فكرة خاطئة أو تنشر مصطلحات خاطئة قد يستحيل تصحيحها"
"I started volunteer translation in 2014 when I came across a Wikipedia entry entitled 'Isoenzyme' which was not available in Arabic Wikipedia. I decided to translate it and that was my starting point"	"بدأت الترجمة التطوعية في عام ٢٠١٤ عندما وقعت على مقالة بعنوان 'Isoenzyme'في ويكيبيديا ولم تكن متوفرة في ويكيبيديا العربية، فقررت ترجمتها وكانت هي نقطة البداية"
"I decided to do this to solve the scarcity of Arabic content online especially in scientific topics"	"قررت فعل ذلك لأحل مشكلة ندرة المحتوى العربي في الإنترنت خاصة في المواضيع العلمية"
"one day I met a Syrian guy on social media and asked him to help me in developing the Arabic content online via translation. He liked the idea and we started with the 'Cold' entry on Wikipedia. It took us about six months to complete it. The entry now receives millions of visits every year"	"في أحد الأيام تعرفت على شاب سوري في مواقع التواصل الاجتماعية وسألته أن يساعدني في تطوير المحتوى العربي في الإنترنت من خلال الترجمة. أعجبته الفكرة وبدأنا بمقالة "الزكام" على ويكيبيديا. استغرقت منا حوالي ستة شهور لإكمالها، والآن المقالة تحظى بملايين الزيارات كل سنة"
"We faced many challenges and were shocked that statistics about cold in the Arab world are not available. And if some countries have published statistics, they require permission for access since such numbers are not open for public like in foreign countries"	"بالطبع واجهنا عدة تحديات وصُدمنا بأن الإحصائيات حول الزكام في العالم العربي غير متوفرة، ولو نشرتها بعض الدول فسيتطلب الوصول لها تصاريح خاصة لأن تلك الأرقام ليست متاحة للعموم كما يحدث في بلدان أجنبية"
"True, because you can discern it as a charity work that you do secretly in your life and for your society too. When I talk to some people about volunteer translation, I highlight the virtue of supporting Arabic language"	"هذا صحيح، تستطيع اعتباره عمل خيري تقوم به سرا في حياتك ولصالح مجتمعك أيضا، فأنا عندما أتحدث مع بعض الناس عن الترجمة التطوعية أركز على فضيلة دعم اللغة العربية"
"Volunteer translation is a double-edged sword. We know it is important and plays a key role in the	"الترجمة التطوعية سلاح ذو حدين، فنحن ندرك أنها مهمة ولها دور في نمو المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت، ولكن من واقع

growth of Arabic content online. But from my experience, I noticed that when someone publishes a mistranslation for a scientific concept, it goes viral and became nearly impossible to rectify. For example, I translated Wikipedia entry that were not available in Arabic anywhere in the internet. Now when I search for the terms I translated, I see that global websites such as Mayo Clinic and the World Health Organisation use my own terminologies that I coined myself based on the Latin sources"	تجربتي لاحظت أنه بمجرّد نشر ترجمة خاطئة لمفهوم علمي فإنها تنتشر انتشارا واسعا وقد تعطي للآخر فكرة خاطئة أو تنشر مصطلحات خاطئة قد يستحيل تصحيحها. على سبيل المثال أنا ترجمت مقالة في ويكيبيديا لم تكن متوفرة باللغة العربية في أي موقع على الإنترنت. الآن عندما أبحث عن تلك المصطلحات التي ترجمتها أجد أن مواقع عالمية مثل مايو كلينك ومنظمة الصحة العالمية تستخدم مصطلحاتي التي ابتكرتها بنفسي اعتمادا على مصادر لاتينية"
"I started doing volunteer translation five years ago approximately. I was a foreign student in another country and that situation left me alone with a plenty of time, so I choose to do volunteer translation"	"بدأت بالترجمة التطوعية قبل خمس سنوات تقريبا، وكنت حينها طالبا أجنبيا في دولة أخرى، وهذا الوضع جعلني وحيدا بوقت فراغ طويل، فلذلك اخترت ممارسة الترجمة التطوعية"
"I promote volunteer translation and do it myself because it is a good way to support and enrich our mother language"	"أنا أدعو للترجمة التطوعية وأمارسها بنفسي لأنها وسيلة رائعة لدعم وإثراء لغتنا الأم"
"In fact, I can see that girls are more inclined to do voluntary work, especially online. This can be due to the work conditions in the Arab world. Sometimes women find it difficult to work either paid or on a volunteering basis if the job requires leaving home for a long time. Therefore, a lot of girls invest their time and skills in short and flexible volunteer projects"	"في الحقيقة أتوقع أن الفتيات أكثر رغبة في العمل التطوعي خاصة عبر الإنترنت، وهذا قد يكون بسبب ظروف العمل في العالم العربي. أحيانا النساء يجدن صعوبة في العمل بأجر أو العمل التطوعي إذا كان يتطلب مغادرة المنزل لوقت طويل. ولهذا السباب كثير من الفتيات يستثمرن أوقاتهن ومهاراتهن في مشاريع تطوعية مرنة"
"When it comes to Wikipedia, the issue is complicated and sort of contradictory. Gender has been a very sensitive topic on Wikipedia since 2010. The encyclopaedia has always been accused and criticised of gender bias. All studies have shown that most of Wikipedia's communities include more men than women. This fact definitely has its own impact on the entries and may eventually result in male-oriented content"	"بالنسبة لويكيبيديا فالوضع مُتناقض، نقطة الإناث والذكور حساسة جدًا في ويكيبيديا، وكان الموضوع قد بدأ تقريبًا في عام 2010، حيث كانت ويكيبيديا تواجه انتقادات حول تحيزٍ جنسي (ذكر-أنثى) ضمن جملة الانحيازات المعرفية. أظهرت جميع الأبحاث التي أجريت في ويكيبيديا أنَّ أغلبية مجتمعات ويكيبيديا تتكون من ذكور، وأنَّ عدد الإناث قليل جدًا، وما يُبنى على هذا الأمر من توجه المقالات نحو جانبٍ واحد وإهمال (ربما) للجانب الآخر"
"Wikipedia aimed to have 25% of users be women by the end of 2015, but they failed and barely	"كان من أهداف مؤسسة ويكيبيديا الوصول إلى 25% كنسبة للإناث في ويكيبيديا في عام 2015، ولكن أعلنت المؤسسة بعدها

achieved between 9% and 20% based on different Wikipedia communities."	فشلها التام في ذلك، وأنَّ نسبة الإناث في ويكيبيديا بين 9-20% حسب المجتمعات"
"The exact reason for this gap is not obvious; however, some people attribute it to the heated debates that usually take place among Wikipedia users, and women usually prefer to avoid such discussions, especially those which may lead to stress and conflict"	"لا يُمكن معرفة سبب هذه الفجوة بالتحديد، ولكن هناك فرضيات حول ذلك، مثل كثرة النقاشات التي تحصل في ويكيبيديا حول المقالات، وأنَّ الإناث يُفضلن تجنب هذه النقاشات وخصوصًا يحصل فيها احتدام وتوتر أحيانًا"
"Wikipedia still runs many campaigns to bridge the gender gap, and there is some progress happening in this matter. In Arabic Wikipedia, many workshops and translation projects dedicated to this issue are organised every year."	"مازالت ويكيبيديا تنظم حملات لردم الفجوة بين الجنسين، وهناك تقدم في هذا الشأن، ففي ويكيبيديا العربية تقام سنويا العديد من ورش العمل والمشاريع المخصصة لهذه القضية"
"If we look at it from a statistical point of view, 90% of Arabic Wikipedia users are men, and 10% are women. Of the 26 Arab administrators, there are only three women, and of the five Arabic bureaucrats, there is only one woman"	"ولو أردنا التحدث بالأرقام، في ويكيبيديا العربية حوالي 90% من المساهمين ذكور، و10% إناث. وأيضًا بالنسبة للإداريين في ويكيبيديا العربية هناك 3 إداريات فقط من بين 26 إداري وبيروقراطية واحدة من بين 5 بيروقراطيين"
"Internationally, of the 39 Wikipedia Stewards, which is the highest rank, there is only one woman."	"وحتى لو تحدثنا عالميًا، فمثلًا لو نظرنا للمضيفين -يمكن اعتبارهم أعلى صلاحيات في ويكيبيديا- فهناك فقط مضيفة واحدة من بين 39 مضيف"
"Despite all these statistics, we see dozens of volunteering women who are interested to take part in each campaign we launch compared to only a few men willing to participate, either in translation or writing."	"وبرغم تلك الإحصائيات إلا إننا عندما نطلق حملة نجد عشرات المتطوعات مقابل عدد قليل من المتطوعين الذكور سواء بالترجمة أو الكتابة"
"Let me tell you this: I'm the only Arabic steward in Wikipedia since I gained about 400 international votes for this administrative position. At the same time, I was shocked when I realised that some foreign people voted against me, and their misjudged reason was because Arabs mistreat women, so they do not want someone to do the same and oppress women in Wikipedia"	دعني أخبرك بشيء، أنا المضيف العربي الوحيد في ويكيبيديا حيث حصلت على قرابة ٤٠٠ صوت عالمي لنيل هذا المنصب الإداري. وفي نفس الوقت صُدمت حينما عرفت أن بعض الأجانب صوتوا ضدي، وكان تبريرهم الخاطئ أن العرب يضطهدون المرأة، فهم لا يريدون ترشيح أحد يمارس نفس الاضطهاد في ويكيبيديا"

"Interestingly, the same people who voted against me have now changed their minds, and we communicate regularly. Some of them say finally, we have someone who knows how to treat women well."	"العجيب أن نفس هؤلاء الناس الذين صوتوا ضدي عرفوا خطأهم وغيروا رأيهم لاحقا، وبيننا تواصل دوري. بل إن بعضهم قال أخيرا لدينا أحد يُحسن معاملة المرأة"

Extracts from "Tariq's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"This reminds me when the United Arab Emirates launched a satellite recently and named it (813) indicating to the House of Wisdom which was established in 813."	"هذا يذكرني حينما أطلقت الإمارات مسبار الفضاء وأسمته "813"، فقد كان الاسم إشارة منها إلى بيت الحكمة، لأنّ هذا الأخير تأسّس سنة 813 ميلادية."
"The story of the House of Wisdom spreads because of the mainstream media and the literature about translation. Surely, this is because we rely on our legacy of civilisation. You, as a translator, do not want to detach from your predecessor but you like to be connected and continue the work. If this story is something to be proud of, then why not keep it alive"	"انتشرت قصة بيت الحكمة لأنها بارزة إعلاميا وفي أدبيات الترجمة العربية. وهذا أكيد، لأننا ننطلق من إرث حضاري. وحين تكون مترجمًا، فأنت لا تنفصل عن سابقيك، بل تحبّ أن تكون متّصلا ومتواصلا. ومادامت هذه القصة تعتبر عزًّا وفخرًا، فلا ضير من أن نحاول إعادة هذا العزّ وهذا الفخر."
"It is a motivating story but not the only one for sure. At the same time, it has its own historical conditions and circumstances that do not necessarily apply for us today"	"صحيح هي قصة محفزة، لكن ليست هي المحفّز الوحيد، لأنّها تجربة لديها جوانب خصوصية وظروف تاريخية خاصة لا يمكن الاستناد إليها في يومنا الحالي."
"The story gains currency and popularity because it is the ideal example. For instance, in the West, they have St. Jerome who is considered as the father of translation because he translated the Bible from Latin into English"	"القصة شائعة فعلا وتكتسب أهمية لأنها استناد ومثال نموذجي. مثلا في الغرب، لديهم شخص اسمه القديس جيروم، يعتبرونه شفيع المترجمين، لأنّه ترجم الكتاب المقدس اللّاتيني إلى الإنجليزية"

"I agree with the idea of copying successful models, but we should not try to make another House of Wisdom. The House of Wisdom was a natural progress in the civilisation but was not enforced. We should live our time by its means and work on this basis"	"فأنا مع فكرة اقتباس الآليات والتجارب الناجحة، لكن ليس اللَّصق والنسخ ومحاولة تكوين بيت حكمة آخر. فلا يمكن أن ننسخ تجربة المأمون، لأنها كانت دفعة حضارية وتطور طبيعي، وليست أمرًا تكلَّفيًّا، فينبغي أن نعيش زماننا ونستخدم أدواته، ونعمل على هذا الأساس"
"It's very important and to be frank with you, we are now in an inferior position from a civilisation point of view. We urgently need to acquire science and knowledge in our mother tongue, hence, we need translation"	"هي مهمة جدًّا، ولكي أكون صريحا معك؛ بالنسبة للساحة الحضارية حاليا، نحن في حالة ضعف، مطلوب منّا عاجلا أن نكتسب العلوم، وأن نكتسب المعارف باللّغة الأمّ، فلذلك نحتاج للترجمة"
"The same applies even if we were in a superior position. In the past we translated Aristotle who died decades ago, and interacted with other civilisations"	" الأمر نفسه حين كنّا مثلا في موقع قوّة، ففي الماضي ترجمنا لأرسطو الذي مات منذ قرون، وتعرّفنا على الحضارات الأخرى"
"there are many motivations, and one of them is the volunteers' interest. For example, some Syrian students have recently translated a core medicine book which comes in more than 500 pages. Such contribution paves the way for the next generations of medical students"	"هنالك الكثير من الدوافع، ومنها اهتمام المترجم بالموضوع نفسه؛ مثلا يوجد عدّة سوريين قاموا بعمل عظيم جدًّا في ترجمة أهمّ كتاب مرجعيّ طبّيّ، حيث ترجموا أكثر من 500 صفحة. مثل هذا العمل يسهل الأمر على الأجيال القادمة من طلبة الطب."
"When a translation initiative appears from nowhere and they say it is translating books or anything but at the same time they give no information about the funding source, then, the organisation you'll be joining is unknown and lacks transparency"	"عندما تظهر مبادرة ترجمة فجأة مع العدم ويقولون أنهم يترجمون الكتب أو أي شيء آخر ثم لا يفصحون عن مصدر التمويل بأي معلومة، فستكون المنظمة التي تترجم معها مجهولة وتفتقد الشفافية"

"One day I saw an invitation to join a translation project that is apparently devoted for Arabic web content by translating science into Arabic. I decided not to join them simply because the manager said in an interview that he spends $2500 per month on the project without referring to the funding source. Even if you tell me that you are working for the sake of the online Arabic content and science, I will believe what the dollars say but not you because transparency is missing"	"في أحد الأيام رأيت دعوة للانضمام إلى مشروع ترجمة كما يبدو مخصص لتعزيز المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت من خلال ترجمة العلوم إلى العربية. ببساطة قررت عدم الانضمام إليهم وذلك لأن المدير قال في إحدى مقابلاته أنه يدفع ٢٥٠٠ دولار شهريا على المشروع من دون أن يشير إلى مصدر التمويل. حتى لو أخبرتني أنك تعمل من أجل المحتوى العربي والعلوم فسأصدق ما يقوله الدولار وليس ما تقوله أنت وذلك بسبب أن الشفافية معدومة"
"Every organisation has its own goals. If we look at many websites and initiatives, we will find that they foreground the famous phrase "we are on a mission to enrich the Arabic content". This sentence is more like a reaction to the serious scarcity of good content"	"كل منظمة لديها أهدافها الخاصة، ولو نظرنا إلى العديد من المواقع والمبادرات نجد أنهم يرددون العبارة المشهورة "نسعى لإثراء المحتوى العربي" وهذه العبارة تبدو ردة فعل لمشكلة حقيقية حول ندرة المحتوى الجيد"
"But let's see the hidden reasons for such projects. I think some people start these projects with the intention to transfer them into business when achieving a certain level of growth"	"ولكن دعنا ننظر إلى الأسباب الخفية لتلك المشاريع، فأنا أظن أن بعض الناس يبدأ تلك المشاريع وهو ينوي تحويلها إلى عمل ربحي بمجرد تحقيق مستوى معين من النمو"
"Yes, it's attractive for young users because they lack experience and they are enthusiastic to contribute to the Arabic web. But for the experienced translators they see it as a redundant cliché"	"نعم هي جاذبة للمستخدمين الشباب لأنهم ربما يفتقدون للخبرة ومتحمسون للمساهمة في المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت، ولكن للمترجمين المتمرسين ليست سوى كليشة متكررة"
"When I used the internet in the early days, I published some translations voluntarily with the intention to draw the attention of others who could be my future employers or clients"	" بعد دخول عصر الإنترنت، نشرت ترجمات مجانية، يعني تطوعية، ولم يكن عملًا ذو عائد ماذي، لأنّ هدفي كان هو كسب "الملحوظية"، أي الشهرة والأهمية، لكي أحصل على عمل في المستقبل"
"As far as I know, there are many motivating factors, some of which translators are shy to tell about. For example, some translators are motivated by improving their linguistic skills. Also, some others are psychologically motivated to restore the honoured history of Arabic science, especially those who are truly passionate about Arabic heritage and Arabic language"	" حسب ما تابعت في الموضوع، هناك عدة عوامل ليست منتشرة بشكل عام، وقد يخجل المترجم شخصيا من ذكرها، كزيادة التدريب على اللغات، في وقت يدرس فيه مثلا الترجمة. هناك أيضا عامل نفسي، لاسترجاع الأمجاد القديمة للعلوم العربية، خاصة لمن لديه حرقة حقيقية وفعلية، لأنه يحبّ العرب ويحبّ اللغة العربية والتراث العربي"

Target Text	Source Text
"Some people are motivated by the desire to give something, especially those people who love being good to others. For example, I remember a Saudi website called Hekma, "Wisdom," which specialises in translating philosophy, usually by qualified volunteers. Once you visit that website, you will know it is dedicated to the soul of Reem, the daughter of Hekma's founder"	"بعض الناس تدفعهم الرغبة في فعل الخير والعطاء ومساعدة الناس. كمثال على ذلك موقع سعوديّ اسمه **"حكمة"** مشهور بترجمة الفلسفة فقط. حين تدخل إلى هذا الموقع تجده وقفا لروح ريم، ابنة مؤسس حكمة"
"There is a library named Takween, supervised by the novelist lady Buthina Alesa. This library offered the opportunity for volunteer translation, and I participated in their project many times."	"هناك مكتبة اسمها مكتبة "تكوين" تشرف عليها الروائية الكويتية بثينة العيسى، هذه المكتبة تتيح فرص الترجمة التطوعية وقد شاركت معهم عدة مرات"

Extracts from "Hasan's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"Yes, I heard of the House of Wisdom during the Abbasid era and specifically during the rule if Caliphate Almamoun, the so-called Golden Era. I do not know too much, but I know that the Caliphate supported translators to transfer knowledge into Arabic"	"نعم، سمعت عن بيت الحكمة في العهد العباسي، أعتقد بالضبط في عهد الخليفة المأمون وما يسمونه العصر الذهبي، رغم أن معرفتي به خجولة، لكن حسب ما أعرفه عنه أنه كان يهتم بالمترجمين وبنقل المعارف للغة العربية."
"Of course, I am one of those who were inspired by such stories. But to be honest, it was not the story of the House of Wisdom that inspired me first because I only heard about it in recent years when I studied Islamic history and I was not interested in translation at that time, so I did not pay much attention. Later on, I studied the history of Egypt	" نعم بالطبع، فأنا واحد ممن ألهمتهم مثل هذه القصص، لكن ليست قصة بيت الحكمة التي ألهمتني لأني لم أعلم بها إلا مؤخرا، حين درست التاريخ الإسلامي في مراحل تعليمية معينة، لكنها كانت عبارة عن نبذة قصيرة في الوقت الذي لم أكن فيه مهتما بعد بالترجمة، فلم ألق لها بالا، فقط كنت أذاكرها من أجل الاختبارات. فيما بعد درست حقبة تاريخية في مصر، هي حقبة محمد علي وأسرته، حيث ظهر اهتمامي بالترجمة في ما يخص هذه الحقبة

during Muhammad Ali's reign and from that time I felt interested in translation which flourished during that period of history. I was inspired by Rifa Tahtawi and the Alsoun School. Their story encouraged me to join initiatives that contribute to society. I felt that I can be an active member in the community by doing what I love and what benefits people too"	وبرفاعة الطهطاوي، مرورا إلى مرحلة إنشاء مدرسة الألسن. بالتالي كانت هذه الحقبة هي قصتي الملهمة التي جعلتني أفكر في الالتحاق بما هو مفيد، في الوقت الذي كان فيه هدفي ودافعي الوحيد هو العمل في مجالٍ أحبه، حيث وجدت أنه باستطاعتي أن أكون عنصرا مفيدا في المجتمع بمعية هذه المبادرات. فقد أدركت أنه بإمكاني أن أعمل في مجال أحبّه وفي نفس الوقت أنفع به الناس أيضا."
"I think that associating translation with great stories is a good idea. However, translation institutions should celebrate their own success not the success of others or even stories from the past"	"أرى أن ربط الترجمة بالقصص الملهمة أمرٌ مفيد، لكن أعتقد أن المؤسسة أو المبادرة تعتدّ بنجاحها هي وليس بنجاح شيء آخر من الماضي أو مبادرة أخرى من الماضي."
"I had the chance to join a Facebook group dedicated to providing knowledge in Arabic. My role was translating simplified articles in science, philosophy and culture"	"أتيحت لي الفرصة بالانضمام لصفحة فيسبوك مخصصة للعلوم باللغة العربية. كان دوري وقتها ترجمة مقالات مبسطة في العلم والفلسفة والثقافة"
"Sure. I agree that it is better to have our own contribution in different fields of knowledge. However, if we are unable to provide unique contributions, then translation is the solution."	"أكيد أنا أتفق مع فكرة أن تكون لنا إسهاماتنا في مجالات العلوم المختلفة، ولكن إن لم نستطع تقديم شيء مميز فالترجمة هي الحل"
"If we look at the Western world or most of the great countries like US, UK, the rest of Europe, China and Russia, we find that they are far ahead of us. To close the gap with them, we need to benefit from their knowledge through translation. This way enables us to build on what we translate for the future rather than being left behind"	"لو نظرنا إلى العالم الغربي أو أكثر الدول الكبرى مثل الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا وبقية دول أوروبا والصين وروسيا لوجدنا أنهم يسبقوننا بمسافات. وحتى نستطيع اللحاق بهم نحتاج للاستفادة من علومهم عبر الترجمة. هذه الطريقة تمكننا من الاعتماد على ما ترجمنا لبناء مستقبلنا بدلا من التراجع"
"I was driven by many social motivations such as enriching the Arabic content on internet which is very poor compared to English content. This was my vision when I decided to practice translation and I will be committed to this vision in future"	"شجعتني كثير من العوامل الاجتماعية مثل إثراء المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت الذي يعد ضئيلا بالمقارنة مع المحتوى الإنقليزي. كانت هذه هي رؤيتي عندما قررت ممارسة الترجمة وسأظل ملتزما بهذه الرؤية في المستقبل"

English	Arabic
"I think volunteer translation is very important as far as Arabic web content is concerned. This is because most translators, due to living expenses, tend to do professional translation jobs that take place offline. Such tendency benefits their clients exclusively without sharing what they translate online where the society can access the information"	"أتصور بأن الترجمة التطوعية مهمة جدا فيما يتعلق بالمحتوى العربي على الإنترنت، وذلك بسبب أن المترجمين المحترفين وبسبب تكاليف المعيشة يميلون لوظائف الترجمة الميدانية خارج الإنترنت، وهذا الأمر يفيد عملاءهم فقط من دون مشاركة ما يترجمونه عبر الإنترنت حيث يستطيع المجتمع الوصول إلى المعلومة"
"Opinions vary in this matter. From my point of view, I think there are people who really contribute to the development of Arabic web content and there are those who take it as a cliché just to pretend they are doing something worthy"	"تختلف الآراء بهذا الشأن، ولكن من وجهة نظري أعتقد أن هنالك من يساهمون حقا في تطوير المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت وهناك من يأخذونه مجرد كليشة للتظاهر بأنهم يفعلون شيئا يستحق الاهتمام"
"Enriching the Arabic web content is an enticing mission at least for me personally because it matches my goal. I think it is motivating others too. Serving society and enriching the knowledge in your language are honourable objectives"	"إثراء المحتوى العربي مهمة محفزة على الأقل لي أنا شخصيا لأنها تتقاطع مع هدفي، وأظن أنها محفزة للآخرين أيضا. خدمة المجتمع وإثراء المعرفة بلغتك الأم أهداف نبيلة"
"considering the number of Arabic translators and the flow of information in other languages, the Arabic content online is under-developed and deserves more attention"	"بالنظر إلى عدد المترجمين العرب وحجم تدفق المعلومات بلغات أخرى يمكن القول بأن المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت متواضع جدا ويستحق الاهتمام"
"Sure, motivations vary each time. But the main motivations can be increasing my translation experience and networking with others in the field of translation or even in neighbouring domains of knowledge"	"بالتأكيد فالدوافع تتنوع وتختلف في كل مرة، ولكن المحفزات الأساسية تشمل زيادة خبرتي الترجمية وبناء العلاقات مع الآخرين في مجال الترجمة أو مجالات معرفية قريبة"
"Other volunteers might have other motivations. I believe some people do volunteer translation to spend their spare time, and others do it in order to gain some value by being affiliated to well-known organisations. No sure if it works, but I heard about it"	"المتطوعون الآخرون قد يكون لهم دوافع مختلفة. أعتقد أن بعض الناس يمارس الترجمة التطوعية لقضاء وقت الفراغ، وآخرون يحاولون اكتساب قيمة بالارتباط مع منظمات عالمية معروفة، ولست متأكدا إن كان هذا يجدي ولكني سمعت به"

Extracts from "Shareef's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"I know the story when Arabs and Muslims translated science knowledge from other languages into Arabic and then those books were translated to different languages through Arabic I think"	"نعم أعرف القصة حينما ترجم العرب والمسلمون العلوم من اللغات الأخرى إلى العربية، ثم تُرجمت تلك الكتب إلى لغات أخرى من خلال العربية كما أظن"
"of course, I think it is very motivating. Everyone wants to be part of a community that spreads knowledge. I know some translation projects talk about the House of Wisdom and some translators feel attached to that history. It might be something special for them. For myself, I do volunteer translation, but my translation work is different and I do not think it is preferred by the majority of Arab translators because it requires interest in web development and open-source software; and maybe some coding background. I have been volunteering for many years to Arabise Wordpress platform among other enthusiast but inconsistent volunteers"	"بالطبع أظنها قصة محفزة. كل أحد يريد أن يكون جزء من مجتمع ينشر المعرفة. وبحسب علمي هناك كثير من مشاريع الترجمة التي تتحدث عن بيت الحكمة والعديد من المترجمين يشعرون بالارتباط بذلك التاريخ. وذلك قد يعني لهم الكثير. أنا عن نفسي أتطوع بالترجمة ولكن ترجماتي مختلفة ولا أظن أنها محببة لغالبية المترجمين العرب لأنها تتطلب الاهتمام بمجال تطوير الويب والبرمجيات مفتوحة المصدر، وأحيانا خلفية يسيرة في البرمجة. أنا أتطوع منذ سنوات لتعريب منصة وربريس مع عدد من المترجمين الشغوفين رغم انقطاعهم أحيانا"
"This is something that translators during the history has not done before. They inspire us by translating the best of their time. Today, we should translate programming tools because this is what people need today"	"هذا شيء لم يفعله المترجمون عبر التاريخ من قبل. هم يُلهموننا حيث ترجموا أفضل ما في زمانهم، ولكننا اليوم ينبغي أن نعرب أدوات البرمجة لأنها هي ما يحتاجه الناس في هذا الوقت"
"It is true that translation was used to transfer knowledge in the past and I think a lot of organisations are doing the same today. But I believe that we need to translate the tools that help us to interact with knowledge and circulate it. I mean tools like Wordpress, the most popular platform for publishing and content management"	"صحيح أن الترجمة كانت وسيلة نقل المعارف في الماضي، وأتصور أن كثير من المنظمات تفعل نفس الشيء اليوم، ولكني أعتقد أننا نحتاج إلى ترجمة الأدوات التي تساعدنا في التفاعل مع العلوم وتداولها. أقصد بذلك الأدوات مثل وردبريس، وهي أشهر منصة رقمية للنشر وإدارة المحتوى"
"To be honest, I found it difficult to convince others to join me or even to see the importance of what I have been doing for years. Nevertheless,	"حتى أكون صادقا معك، أنا أجد صعوبة في إقناع الآخرين بالانضمام لي أو إدراك أهمية ما أقوم به منذ سنوات، ومع ذلك

there are some volunteers like me who believe in the mission and we can see the great results of our work"	هنالك بعض المتطوعين مثل ممن يؤمنون بهذه المهمة، ونستطيع أن نرى النتائج العظيمة لما نقوم به"
"Translation efforts are growing in recent years. I'm happy about this although I have not participated with any of them other than my experience in Arabising Wordpress"	"جهود الترجمة تتزايد في السنوات الأخيرة، وأنا سعيد بهذا بالرغم أني لم أشارك في أي من تلك المشاريع سوى تجربتي في تعريب وردبرس"
"But you can see the early results of those initiatives when you browse the internet. The Arabic web content is getting better. Today you find information in topics that were rare find in the past"	"ولكنك تستطيع رؤية النتائج الأولية لتلك المبادرات عندما تتصفح الإنترنت، فالمحتوى العربي يتحسن، واليوم تجد معلومات في مواضيع كانت نادرة في الماضي"
"In my opinion, we need writers and contributors of all types of digital content more than translators. We should aim for something sustainable and try to change the culture of Arab internet users. We should encourage them to produce content instead of being consumers only"	"برأيي أننا نحتاج كتاب ومساهمين بكل أنواع المحتوى الرقمي أكثر من حاجتنا للمترجمين. ينبغي أن نركز على هدف مستدام ونحاول تغيير ثقافة مستخدمي الإنترنت العرب. نحتاج أن نشجعهم لإنتاج المحتوى بدلا من أن يكونوا مستهلكين"
"Most of the initiatives that aim for enriching the Arabic content online do this through translation. Their aim is amazing and I think it attracts volunteers who deal with the problem every day when Google gives them obsolete results in Arabic"	"أكثر المبادرات التي تهدف لإثراء المحتوى العربي تفعل ذلك من خلال الترجمة، وهدفهم هذا رائع وأعتقد أنه يجذب الكثير من المتطوعين الذين يتعاملون مع المشكلة كل يوم حين يعطيهم قوقل نتائج قديمة ضئيلة باللغة العربية"
"I am motivated by the legacy I am creating by translating web tools and making them available in Arabic."	"يحفزني جدا الإرث الذي أصنعه بترجمة أدوات الويب وإتاحتها باللغة العربية"
"I don't know what exactly motivates others. However, there must be a motivation; otherwise, nobody will work, let alone offer unpaid work."	"لا أدري ما الذي يحفز الآخرين تحديدا،ولكن لا بد من وجود محفزات ودوافع، ومن دونها لا أحد سيعمل فضلا عن أن يقدم عملا دون أجر"

Extracts from "Haifa's" Interview

Target Text	Source Text
"To be honest with you, I don't know the story of the House of Wisdom, but I know that when the Islamic civilisation established its knowledge, it began by translating books from other languages to transfer their thoughts into Arabic. Like what the European civilisation did after the Dark Ages when they translated knowledge from the Islamic civilisation."	"لأكون صادقة معك، أنا لا أعرف قصة بيت الحكمة، ولكنّي أعرف أنّ الحضارة الإسلاميّة عندما أنشأت علومها الخاصّة بدأت بالترجمة من كتب اللغات الأخرى لنقل المعرفة، وكذلك أيضًا الحضارة الأوروبية بعد القرون المظلمة بدأت أوّلًا بالترجمة من الحضارة الإسلاميّة وبنت معارفها عليها"
"Instead of starting from scratch, it would be easier to translate what already has been produced by others"	"فبدلًا من أبدأ بصناعة المحتوى من الصفر وهو متوفر أصلًا بجهود الآخرين، سيكون من الأسهل أن أترجمه إلى لغتي"
"This way, we make knowledge available for a large population and people can build on this"	"فبهذه الطريقة أتأكد من توفير المعرفة لأكبر شريحة ممكنة من الناس للبناء على أساسها"
"I meet a lot of people in Jordan and outside Jordan who want to learn and access the most recent knowledge but they do not understand English. The majority of Arabs face the same problem since what they look for is not available in Arabic"	"أقابل كثيرين في الأردن وحتى خارج الأردن يريدون تعلم أحدث ما توصلت له العلوم ولكنهم لا يفهمون الإنجليزية. غالبية العرب اليوم يواجهون نفس المشكلة بحكم أن ما يتطلعون إليه ليس متوفرا باللغة العربية"
"Websites like TED cover various topics including science, culture, astronomy and philosophy. These topics need to be translated to reach as many people as possible"	"مواقع مثل تيد تغطي مواضيع متنوعة بما فيها العلوم والثقافة والفضاء والفلسفة، وهذه المواضيع لا بد أن تترجم حتى تصل لأكبر عدد ممكن من الناس"
"There are some good initiatives. I think there is one in Jordan devoted to medical articles. Now they have a whole medicine dictionary in Arabic. I know there are other initiatives specialised in technology. We need them all. Therefore, I can say volunteer translation is crucial for knowledge"	"فيه مبادرات جيدة، وأعتقد فيه مبادرة في الأردن مخصصة لترجمة المقالات الطبية، ولديهم الآن قاموس طبي عربي. وأعرف أيضا أن هناك عدة مبادرات متخصصة في التقنية. نحن نحتاجهم جميعا، ولذلك أقول بأن الترجمة التطوعية مهمة لنقل العلوم"
"Writing books might be a burdensome pursuit, therefore some people believe it is easier to at least translate the available knowledge and add to it later"	"تأليف الكتب قد تكون مهمة ثقيلة ولذلك بعض الناس يرون أنه من الأسهل ترجمة العلوم المتاحة والإضافة عليها لاحقا"

"I basically love writing in Arabic and enriching the Arabic content on the internet. I participated with some initiatives that aimed to enrich the Arabic content and engaged with them via Twitter and other platforms"	"أنا أصلا أحب الكتابة بالعربية وإثراء المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت، وشاركت مع بعض المبادرات التي تهدف لإثراء المحتوى العربي، وتفاعلت معهم في تويتر ومنصات أخرى"
"One day I noticed Taghreedat Initiative by chance when they were recruiting volunteers for TED translation project. I loved the idea and joined them. Then, I kept an eye on Taghreedat's activities and participated with them in translating Khan Academy"	"في أحد الأيام لاحظت مبادرة تغريدات بالصدفة عندما كانوا يستقطبون المتطوعين لمشروع ترجمة تيد. أحببت الفكرة وانضممت لهم، ثم صرت أتابع أنشطة تغريدات وشاركت معهم كذلك في ترجمة أكاديمية خان"
"They also liked my productivity and offered me a job to manage their volunteers"	"وهم أيضا أحبوا إنتاجيتي وعملي فعرضوا علي وظيفة إدارة المتطوعين"
"The Arabic web content is very little and most of the available texts are literally translated via Google Translate; and for some topics you do not find any content"	"محتوى الويب العربي ضئيل ومعظم النصوص المتوفرة تكون بترجمة قوقل، وفي بعض المواضيع لا تجد أي محتوى"
"Volunteer translation is very important for us, the Arabs. The specialised Arabic content is very poor; and although we should produce our own content instead of translating it from other languages, we can consider translation as the first step"	"الترجمة التطوعية مهمة جدا لنا نحن العرب. المحتوى العربي المتخصص ضعيف، وبالرغم من أننا ينبغي أن ننتج محتوانا بدلا من ترجمته من لغات أخرى إلا إنه يمكن اعتبار الترجمة هي الخطوة الأولى"
"Of course when an organisation highlights their support for Arabic content online, I feel attached to them and encouraged to follow their projects and join them"	"بالتأكيد حينما ترفع المنظمة شعار دعم المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت فإني أشعر بانتماء لهم وأتشجع لمتابعة مشاريعهم والانضمام إليهم"
"Taghreedat's message to volunteers is that "if you care about the Arabic web content and like languages and translation, you should join us". A lot of people love to be active team members especially if they can do their job anytime from anywhere"	"رسالة تغريدات للمتطوعين هي أنك لو تهتم بالمحتوى العربي وتحب اللغات والترجمة فينبغي أن تنضم لنا. الكثير من الناس يحبون أن يكونوا أعضاء فاعلين وتحديدا لو كان بإمكانهم القيام بأعمالهم في أي وقت ومن أي مكان"
"I lived in Malaysia for a long time, and I noticed that my Arabic was getting lost after a while because I used to speak in English most of the time.	"عشت في ماليزيا وقت طويل، ولاحظت أنّي أفقد لغتي العربية مع مرور الوقت لأني كنت أتحدث بالإنجليزية أغلب الوقت. وبما إني بالأصل أحب الكتابة باللغة العربيّة وإثراء المحتوى العربي

Because I love writing in Arabic, I was motivated to do volunteer translation as training and a way to conserve my Arabic language competence."	على الإنترنت، وجدت الترجمة التطوعية محفزة للتدريب وللمحافظة على لغتي العربية"

Extracts from "Rashid's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"You mean the Abbasid era. From the discussions with our volunteers I don't hear so much about the House of Wisdom precisely. However, the idea of the Golden Era and its impact on translation is larger and more influential than the House of Wisdom"	"تقصد تجربة الدولة العباسية. من خلال حواراتي مع المترجمين والمتطوعين، لم أسمع عن تداولهم هذا المفهوم. ولكن أظن أنّ موضوع العصور الذهبية وأثر الترجمة في هذا العصر، يعتبر أكثر تأثيرا من دار الحكمة."
"I mean the legacy of that era in terms of translation and knowledge production is more prevalent than the House of Wisdom which was only one translation institution at that time"	"صحيح.. لكن أقصد أنّ إرث الترجمة في ذلك العصر وأثرها، هو الفكرة السائدة الآن أكثر من فكرة دار الحكمة التي لم تكن إلا مركز ترجمة في ذلك الوقت"
"We cannot reach the nations ahead of us unless we translate from them. This is one of the most important and fastest approaches"	"لا نستطيع اللحاق بالأمم التي سبقتنا إلا عندما نترجم من علومهم، وهذه من أهم الوسائل وأسرعها"
"In 2015 I was one of the lucky people who learn English at early stage of my life. I had the chance to access a great English content that only can be imagined by English readers. I began to read and translate for the public benefit. Then, I noticed my productivity is limited so I decided to take a managing role and founded Ollemna to crowdsource translation work"	"في عام 2015، كنت من المحظوظين الذين تعلموا اللغة الإنجليزية في فترة - نوعا ما- مبكرة من حياتي، فكانت لديّ فرصة كبيرة للوصول إلى محتوى إنجليزي ضخم جدًا وبشكل لا يمكن أن يتخيله إلا القارئ الإنجليزي. فصرت أقرأ وأترجم هذه المقالات ليستفيد الناس منها. لكن اكتشفت أنّ إنتاجيتي محدودة، ففكّرت في أن أتحوّل من كرسيّ المترجم إلى كرسيّ المنظّم، فأسست مبادرة عُلِّمنَا".
"Answering your question on volunteer translation, I think it is very important. We cannot catch up with the Western world. At least in web content, unless we upscale translation efforts"	"عودًا على سؤالك عن أهمية الترجمة التطوعية؛ فحسب رأيي إنها مهمة جدًا، لأننا لا نستطيع أن نلحق بالعالم الغربي – على الأقل بالمحتوى العربي- إلا بمضاعفة جهود الترجمة"
"There are many official initiatives dedicated for translation in Saudi Arabia, but I don't think they could achieve even part of what the volunteering	"هناك في السعودية مبادرات، خصوصا مبادرات رسمية، تقوم بالترجمة. لكن لا أظن أنها حققت ولو جزءًا بسيطا من الذي حققته المبادرات التطوعية بكافة أشكالها، ولا أظن أنهم يستطيعون أن

initiatives have done in different areas. They do not have the flexibility that we have in volunteer projects. Today, we have a small initiative with nearly zero budget but includes a team of 600 volunteers. I bet we operate better than any translation organisation in Saudi Arabia because our business model is different and we leverage the new approaches for unlimited growth"	يحقّقوا المرونة التي لدينا في الترجمة التطوعية؛ تخيل أنه لدينا اليوم مبادرة صغيرة جدًا، ميزانيتها تقارب الصفر، لكنها تتضمن 600 مترجم، وأعتقد أن طاقتنا وقدرتنا على الترجمة تفوق الترجمة في أيّ مكان آخر في السعودية الآن. وهذا راجع إلى طريقتنا المختلفة في العمل، وإلى اعتمادنا على التطبيقات الجديدة، وعلى التوسع اللّامحدود، أكثر من الجهات الرسمية."
"Personally, when I founded Ollemna, I was not aiming for profit. The aim clearly was to enrich the Arabic content online. However, I will be happy for the project to be taken over by sponsors to ensure sustainability"	" أنا شخصيا، حين أسّست "عُلّمنا" لم يكن هدفي منه الرّبحية، بل الهدف منه منذ البداية هو إثراء المحتوى العربي، لكن سأكون سعيدا لو قدر للمشروع أن يكون تحت رعاية ودعم أي جهة لضمان الاستدامة"
"We have talents in translation and the challenge we face is how to get advantage of these talents and enable them to contribute to society by providing great content for Arab internet users"	" لدينا طاقات ضخمة جدًا في الترجمة، والتحدّي الكبير الذي يواجهنا هو كيفية الاستفادة من هذه الطاقات، وتمكين الأشخاص للمساهمة لصالح المجتمع، بتقديم محتوى ممتاز لمستخدمي الإنترنت العرب"
"From my experience, I think that appreciation is key in motivating volunteers. Simple things like mentioning them on Twitter can do wonders. It helps them to get more views and followers."	"من تجربتي أرى أن التقدير مؤثر في تحفيز المتطوعين. أشياء بسيطة مثل إشارة لحسابهم في تويتر يفعل الأعاجيب، لأنهم يساعدهم في الحصول على مشاهدات ومتابعة أعلى"

"We usually ask our volunteers about their reasons for joining us. A lot of them say they are motivated to give the *zakat*[17] of their knowledge."	"عادة نسأل المتطوعين عن سبب انضمامهم لنا، والكثيرين منهم يقولون أنهم يرغبون في تقديم زكاة علمهم"
"Personally, I'm driven by the idea of building the earth. I believe that mankind was created to build the earth and look after it. As Allah says in the Holy Qur'an, "I shall instate a successor on Earth!" It is a great motivation"	" لكن أنا شخصيا، أركّز الآن على مفهوم مهمّ جدًّا، هو إعمار الأرض؛ فالإنسان وجد في هذه الحياة لإعمار الأرض، كما جاء في كتاب الله الحكيم: (إنّي جاعل في الأرض خليفة)، وهذا دافع عظيم"
"Also, I remember seeing a tweet for someone asking, "Have you planted a tree today as prophet Mohammad ordered you to do?" This question is still motivating us, and I remember we replied to him that we launched our translation initiative to plant a tree every day and enable others to do so"	"أتذكر رؤية تغريدة لشخص يتساءل فيها: هل غرست فسيلة اليوم، كما أمر الحبيب عليه الصلاة والسلام؟ هذا السؤال ما زال يحفزنا، وأتذكّر أنّنا قمنا بالردّ عليه بأنّ السبب في تأسيس عُلّمنا هو غرس فسيلة كلّ يوم وتمكين الناس من ذلك"

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[17] *Zakat* is an Islamic term that refers to individuals' obligation to give a certain amount of their wealth to charity. It is considered wealth purification.

Target Text	Source Text
"I am not surprised. Most Ollemna volunteers are women who want to translate without financial rewards."	"لست متفاجئا، فأكثر المتطوعين مع علمنا إناث يرغبن في الإسهام بالترجمة دون تلقي حوافز مالية"
"We actually asked volunteers about their reasons for translating with us. From their answers, I realised that houses are full of energetic talents, mostly girls, who want to contribute to society and make a difference. However, they do not find places to put their energy in, so our initiative and similar translation projects are suitable platforms where volunteer translators play their social role and gain social appreciation"	"نحن نسأل المتطوعين عن أسباب انضمامهم لنا، اكتشفت من خلال الإجابات أنّ البيوت مليئة بطاقات غير طبيعية، والتي ترغب في أن يكون لها علاقة بالمجتمع وأن يكون لها أثر فيه وقيمة، لكن لا يجدون مواقع أو عملًا يفرغون فيه طاقاتهم؛ فكانت "عُلّمنا" وغيرها من المبادرات، عبارة عن منصة ممتازة لتعزيز دورهم الاجتماعي، وأيضا تمنحهم قيمة اجتماعية"

Extracts from "Yusuf's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"I don't have any comment because frankly I don't know anything about the story of the House of Wisdom during Almamoun's reign. I heard about it but not in detail."	ليس لديّ تعليق، لأنّني بصراحة لا أعرف شيئا عن قصة بيت الحكمة في عهد المأمون. لأصحّح، أنا أعرف بيت الحكمة، لكن ليس بالتفاصيل."
"I heard that the Caliph used to reward translators the weight of their works in gold, but I didn't associate what I heard with the House of Wisdom"	" أنا سمعت أيضا أن الخليفة كان يعطي للمترجم وزن الكتاب ذهبا، لكنّي لم أربط ما سمعته ببيت الحكمة"
"Resources are very scarce in Arabic, and this is the reason that makes you consult other sources in other languages, of course English on top of them. This is being done on different levels including volunteering projects"	"المصادر شحيحة باللغة العربية وهذا هو السبب الذي يجعلك تتجه إلى مصادر بلغات أخرى، وبالطبع الإنقليزية أولها. وهذا أمر يحدث على عدة مستويات والمشاريع التطوعية أحدها"
"Volunteer translators realise that Arabs in the past began their success by translating science before taking the lead in knowledge production. I think	"المترجمون المتطوعون يدركون أن العرب في الماضي بدؤوا نجاحهم بترجمة العلم قبل أن يحققوا الريادة في إنتاج المعرفة، وأتصور أن هذه الفكرة تؤدي دورا مهما خاصة لدى المحافظين"

this idea plays a key role especially among the conservatives"	
"There is a link if translation projects are science-based, not like what is going on now. Today we have a real problem in standardising terminology. A solution is urgently needed because science is constantly updated and doubling in size"	"هنالك رابط لو كانت مشاريع الترجمة تقوم على أساس علمي وليس كما نرى الآن. اليوم لدينا مشكلة حقيقية في تنظيم المصطلحات، ونحتاج إلى حل عاجل لأن العلم يتجدد باستمرار وحجم المحتوى العلم يتضاعف"
"During this state of backwardness, translation is a necessity to keep level with the Western world and begin self-produced knowledge projects"	"في حالة التخلف الحالية تصبح الترجمة ضرورة حتى نجاري العالم الغربي ونبدأ مشاريع الإنتاج الذاتي للمعرفة"
"Translation, however, is not the only solution but at the moment we seem to have no other option. It is the first step on the ladder. We do not have to reinvent the wheel"	"الترجمة بطبيعة الحال ليست الحل الوحيد ولكن في الوقت الراهن يبدو أننا لا نملك خيارا آخر، فهي الخطوة الأولى لصعود السلم، ولا داعي أن نعيد اختراع العجلة"
"My story with volunteer translation began from Wikipedia when I tried in 2015 to contribute to the encyclopedia because the Arabic version was inadequate"	"قصتي مع الترجمة التطوعية بدأت من ويكيبيديا عام ٢٠١٥ عندما حاولت المساهمة في الموسوعة لأن النسخة العربية كانت ضعيفة"
"I think the sources and information are scarce in Arabic, and this makes you consult other sources in other languages, mainly English. Here comes the power of translation"	"أعتقد أن المصادر والمعلومات نادرة باللغة العربية، وهذا الشيء يجعلك تبحث في مصادر أخرى بلغات أخرى، وتحديدا باللغة الإنقليزية. هنا تأتي قوة الترجمة"
"at least it is attractive for those who knows the reality. I mean those who study in foreign universities or specialise in specific area of knowledge will be shocked from the shortage of Arabic content on the internet"	"على الأقل هي جاذبة لمن يدركون الحقيقة، وأعني الذين يدرسون في جامعات أجنبية أو يتخصصون في مجالات معرفية دقيقة سينصدمون بندرة المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت"
"A random comparison will reveal how poor is the Arabic content in terms of quality and quantity. The statistics shows that the Arabic content is in a difficult situation since most of it is religious and/or redundant"	"مجرد مقارنة عشوائية ستكشف مدى الضعف في المحتوى العربي من ناحية الجودة والحجم. الإحصائيات تبين أن المحتوى العربي على الإنترنت في حالة صعبة وغالبيته يصنف تحت محتوى ديني أو مكرر"

"We are missing the basics. For example, algebra is originally Arabic as we know but we do not find Arabic topics that cover this area of science online"	"نحن نفتقد للأبجديات، فعلى سبيل المثال علم الجبر أصله عربي كما نعرف، ولكننا لا نجد مواضيع عربية تغطي هذا العلم على الإنترنت العربي"
"Therefore, I think social media and the internet in general give opportunities for people to contribute and encourage them to translate"	"ولذلك أعتقد أن الشبكات الاجتماعية والإنترنت عموما تمنح الفرصة للناس للمساهمة وتشجعهم على الترجمة"
"I think people want to add value and meaning to their lives; thus, they do volunteer work, including translation. However, especially when it comes to Wikipedia, some people are expressing their opinions and promoting their ideas through translation. You can say it is a hidden motivation"	"أعتقد أن من الدوافع المحفزة حبّ المتطوع لفعل الخير، بالإضافة إلى رغبة الإنسان في أن يكون له قيمة في الحياة، وبأنه حقّق معنى معيّنا بالعمل التطوعي ومن ضمنه الترجمة. وهناك أشخاص – خاصة في و يكيبيديا– يكون دافعهم هو كتابة رأيهم وترويج أفكارهم عبر الترجمة، وقد يعتبر هذا دافع ومحفز خفي"
"That said, there are many volunteer translators who go unnoticed, but we see their remarkable achievements. Those people are driven by their goodness."	"هناك الكثير من الدوافع، لكن أعتقد أن أهمّها، خاصة بالنسبة للمتطوعين الذين لا نراهم ولكن نرى إنجازاتهم فقط، هو حبّ عمل الخير"
"Also, for me and some friends, we find it a chance to maintain our Arabic language skills. I believe it is a hands-on learning opportunity for translators."	"من ناحيتي أنا وبعض الزملاء فإننا نجد الترجمة التطوعية فرصة للمحافظة على مهاراتنا في اللغة العربية، فهي تدريب عملي وفرصة تعلم للمترجمين"
"In fact, many scientific subjects are not easy to write about in Arabic because usually they are taught in foreign languages, either English or French. Therefore, it is motivating to enhance our Arabic competence through translation."	" في الحقيقة الكثير من المواضيع في لغتنا العربية ليس من السهل على الإنسان الكتابة فيها، خاصة في المجال العلمي أو في المجالات التخصصية، وذلك بسبب أنها عادة تدرس بلغات أجنبية سواء الإنجليزية أو الفرنسية. إذن يكون تحسين الكفاءة اللغوية العربية عبر الترجمة أمرا محفزًا"

Extracts from "Bandar's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"Might be true that the story is popular especially from a materialistic perspective. The rewards were	ربما كانت القصة صحيحة خاصة من الناحية الماديّة؛ فقد كانت المكافآت مجزية مقابل التعب الذي يبذله المترجم ومقابل ما يقدّمه

generous in return of the great efforts translators made to translate and refine the texts during Almamoun's era. There is no comparison between that time and today in this regard"	من مراجعة للنّصوص في عهد المأمون. لكن لو حاولنا مقارنتها، فلا وجه للمقارنة بيننا وبين ذلك العهد"
"If you notice, the money translators make today is very little for translating one page. Until today the rates are not encouraging. There is no official pricing policy"	"لاحظ معي؛ الأجر الذي يتقاضاه المترجم حين يترجم صفحة واحدة، هو أجر ضئيل جدًّا. وإلى حدّ الآن ليس هناك أسعار مشجّعة، ولا سياسة تسعير رسمية"
"I come across the story of the House of Wisdom in many sources. It's usually presented to encourage translators, especially because they are not making good income for what they do"	"أحيانا أجد قصة بيت الحكمة في مصادر متنوعة، وعادة يستشهد بها على سبيل التشجيع للمترجم، خاصّة وأنه ليس هنا عائد مادّي محفّز مقابل ما يقدّمه."
"There is a tendency to translate literature and translators are disinclined to scientific translation. This can be attributed to the plenty of terms that have no official equivalents until now, or maybe have multiple suggested translations that have not been agreed on"	"هناك ميل لترجمة الأدب، والمترجمون يعزفون عن الترجمة العلمية، وقد نعزو ذلك لكثرة المصطلحات التي ليس لها مقابل عربي معتمد حتى الآن، أو يكون لها عدة ترجمات غير متفق عليها"
"That is true. However, we should not hasten in translation. Some people say "because we are behind in terms of translation, let us translate thousand books in a year". In fact, if we do this with the currently insufficient quality, all the efforts will be wasted like if we do nothing. If quality does not go hand in hand with quantity, there is no point in doing it"	"ينبغي ألا نتعجل في الترجمة. بعض الناس يقول لأننا متخلفون في الترجمة فعلينا أن نترجم ألف كتاب في السنة. في الحقيقة لو فعلنا ذلك بالجودة الحالية الرديئة ستكون جهودنا هباء كما لو أننا لم نفعل شيئا. إن لم تكن الجودة موازية للكمية من ناحية الأهمية فلا داعي للترجمة"
"Sure, there is a problem. The quantity is good but the quality needs to be improved to reach a good level"	"بالتأكيد هناك مشكلة، من ناحية الكم يبدو الوضع جيد ولكن الجودة تحتاج للتطوير حتى نصل لمستوى جيد"
"Arab internet users usually focus on certain areas when discussing the issue of the content, but I care always about the quality"	"مستخدمي الإنترنت العربي عادة يركزون على مواضيع معينة عندما يناقشون قضية المحتوى، ولكني دائما أهتم بالجودة"

"Highlighting the initiative's support for Arabic content online is not necessarily an enticing tactic. Those who tend to volunteer will do so whether they realise the mission or not"	"التركيز على دعم المنظمة للمحتوى العربي على الإنترنت ليس بالضرورة أسلوب جاذب، فالذين يتطوعون عادة سيتطوعون للمحتوى سواء أدركوا هدف المنظمة أم لا"

Extracts from "Nasir's" Interview	
Target Text	**Source Text**
"No doubts we, translators, always recall the story of the House of Wisdom. We bring it to the discussion to prove the importance of translation and how translation plays a role in transforming the nation in a way or another"	"لا شكّ أنّنا نحن المترجمين، دائما نستحضر قصّة بيت الحكمة، ونستشهد بها على أهمية الترجمة، وعلى أنها تلعب دورًا في تغيير واقع الأمة بشكل أو بآخر."
"The opportunities that rose during the Ummayad and Abbasid eras were great and paved the way for establishing the House of Wisdom. The project was driven by a political will, economic power and a great geographical location in contact with other civilisations"	"الظروف التي تهيأت في العصر العباسي والعهد الأموي، أيام بيت الحكمة، كانت جميلة جدًّا؛ ومهدت الطريق لتأسيس بيت الحكمة. المشروع كان نتيجة إرادة سياسية وقوة اقتصادية، وموقع جغرافي مميز للتواصل مع الحضارات الأخرى"
"It is definitely an inspirational story especially for us, the translators. Similarly, there was the Toledo School of Translators following the fall of the Islamic rule in Andalusia where Europeans translated the Arabic knowledge"	" بالفعل، هي قصّة ملهمة بلا شكّ، خاصّة لنا نحن المترجمين. أيضا هناك قصة سقوط الأندلس والحكم الإسلامي هناك، وما قام به الأوروبيون في طليطلة فيما يخص ترجمة المعرفة العربية"

"What I would like to say is that translation narratives have somehow a great impact on nations. We can say that we, Arabs, translated from other civilisations and then transferred the knowledge to the European civilisation. The beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe was influenced by our scientific knowledge through Andalusia"	"قصدت القول أن قصص الترجمة كان لها تأثير كبير بشكل أو بآخر على الأمم. يمكن القول أننا كعرب ترجمنا من حضارات أخرى، ونقلنا العلوم إلى الحضارة الأوروبية؛ فبداية النهضة الصناعية في أوروبا، كانت عن طريقنا نحن العرب من خلال الأندلس."
"The Europeans felt the need for translation and established translation schools to train translators and rewarded them generously"	"ولأن الأوروبيين استشعروا الحاجة إلى الترجمة، أنشأوا مدارس للترجمة، وكان فيها مترجمين بارعين، فيجزلون لهم العطيّة."
"If we consider the factors that led to the thriving House of Wisdom and make this institution a role model, that is great. Today, translation is focused on reviving the great days of translation in our nation. It is good. however, I always think about the translator's rights. There are projects that rise this banner of 'reviving the great days' but indeed exploit translators' times and efforts for the benefit of the organisations"	"إذا اتخذنا من العوامل التي ساعدت في ازدهار بيت الحكمة، أو جعلنا من هذه الأخيرة نموذجًا لنا، فهذا شيء ممتاز. وهم اليوم يسلّطون الضوء على زاوية إعادة مجد الترجمة في أمّتنا؛ وهذا أمر جيّد وصحّيّ. ولكن أنا دائما أميل لحقوق المترجمين. هناك مشاريع كثيرة ترفع شعار إعادة الأمجاد، لكنهم في الحقيقة يستغلون وقت المترجمين وجهودهم ويرجع كلّ العائد للمنظمات."
"Translation took science to another level. We the Arabs translated from other civilisations and brought knowledge to Europe"	"الترجمة نقلت العلوم إلى مستوى آخر، فنحن العرب ترجمنا من حضارات أخرى ونقلنا المعرفة لأوروبا"
"Our translation activity is not great today since it seems to be limited to one field: literature and novels. Also, most translations are commercialised. We are going astray from scientific translation"	"نشاطنا في الترجمة اليوم ليس جيدا ويكاد يكون محصورًا في مجال واحد وهو الأدب والروايات، والترجمات أصبت تجارية بحتة، فنحن نبتعد كثيرا عن الترجمة العلمية"

"I agree with them 100%. The Arabic content needs significant improvements, and volunteer translation can be considered as an effective solution. Now we see great efforts in translation"	"أتفق معهم ١٠٠٪ فالمحتوى العربي يحتاج لتطويرات هائلة، والترجمة التطوعية قد تعد حلا فعالا، والآن نرى جهود عظيمة في الترجمة"
"I hope so. I'm sure that the majority of volunteers do not know what 'enriching the Arabic content' really means. Sometimes it's more like a platitude, but we definitely need to enrich the Arabic content online"	"أتمنى ذلك، وأنا متأكد بأن غالبية المتطوعين لا يعرفون ماذا تعني عبارة "إثراء المحتوى العربي" حقيقة. أحيانا تكون مجرد تكرار وكليشة، ولكننا بكل تأكيد نحتاج لإثراء المحتوى على الإنترنت"
"Most translation initiatives when asked about their objectives they bring 'supporting the Arabic content' to the top of their list. It seems to be attractive"	"أكثر مبادرات الترجمة عندما تسألهم عن أهدافهم يضعون دعم المحتوى العربي في أعلى القائمة، فيبدو أنها عبارة جاذبة"
"I think translators are driven by the value of giving. However, I have been recently reconsidering my view on volunteer translation since some organisations are exploiting the goodness of translators."	"أعتقد أنها قيمة موجودة لدى أغلب المترجمين الحاليين. وأقصد قيمة العطاء، ولكني بصراحة في الفترة الأخيرة بدأت في إعادة النظر في فكرتي عن الترجمة التطوعية لأن بعض المؤسسات تستغل طيبة المترجمين"
"Some volunteers are motivated to offer unpaid translation for companies like Google and Facebook in order to build their portfolios. I have no problem with such a thing because the benefit is mutual and for all parties."	"بعض المتطوعين لديهم دافع المشاركة بالترجمة مجانا مع شركات ربحية مثل قوقل وفيسبوك لبناء ملف أعمال. ليس لدي مشكلة مع هذه الممارسة لأن المصلحة متبادلة بين الطرفين"
"Sure, there are people who look to improve their Arabic skills, especially writing, by doing more volunteer translation."	"بالتأكيد هنالك من يرغبون أيضا في تطوير مهاراتهم في اللغة العربية، وتحديدا في الكتابة وذلك بتقديم المزيد من الترجمات التطوعية"
"My master's thesis studied the language competence of fresh graduate translation students. I found out that the majority are below average when it comes to the Arabic language. It is a pain point	"فبحثي في الماستر كان يقيس مستويات مخرجات الترجمة في جانب القدرات اللغوية، وكانت هذه فعلا من النتائج التي توصلت إليها في بحثي هذا؛ فهذه المخرجات بالفعل ضعيفة نوعا ما في مسألة اللغة العربية أو تطويرها، لأن الخطط التعليمية في الغالب لا تركز على هذا الجانب"

for a lot of translators due to the education programs”	
“I personally talked with known seasoned translators about this issue, and they express their need for some sort of training to improve their Arabic language.”	"تحدثت بنفسي مع مترجمين معروفين لهم صيتهم حول هذه القضية، وقد أبدوا احتياجهم لشيء من التدريب لتحسين لغتهم العربية"
“I think there is a reason behind it. There are new undergraduate translation programs at Saudi universities, and one of the best programs is at Princess Nora University, from which many female students graduate every year and do not find translation jobs easily because the market is not capable of incubating this large number. In contrast, male graduates from other universities are more likely to find jobs in other sectors rather than translation; thus, they have less spare time compared to women”	"نعم هناك تعليل لذلك.. في مخرجات الجامعة بالسعودية، يوجد تخصص في الترجمة بالذات. ومن الجامعات الرائدات في هذا التخصص، جامعة الأميرة نورة، والتي يتخرج منها كمٌّ هائلٌ من الطالبات، لا يستوعبه سوق العمل. بعكس المتخرجين الرجال الذين يتخرجون في تخصص الترجمة، يستطيعون العمل في أي وظيفة أخرى غير الترجمة، وبالتالي فهم ينشغلون دائما ولديهم وقت فراغ أقل بخلاف الإناث"
“There are some natural differences between men and women. Women tend to keep improving their skills, so they see value in doing volunteer translation.”	"هناك اختلاف في طبيعة الشخصيات؛ حيث تحبّ الإناث تطوير أنفسهنّ دائما. وبالتالي تتّجه المتخرّجات إلى العمل التطوّعيّ في الترجمة"

8.4 List of codes

Code
1. Arabisation
2. Arabisation-narrative
3. Arabisation-by-non-Arabs
4. Arabisation-project
5. Collaborative-translation
6. Crowdsourcing
7. Crowdsourcing-impact
8. Crowdsourcing-model
9. Crowdsourcing-platform
10. Crowdsourcing-project
11. Crowdsourcing-quality
12. Definitions
13. Digital-translation
14. Motivation-extrinsic
15. Motivation-intrinsic
16. Motivation-narrative
17. Motivation-theory
18. Narrative-analysis

19.	Narrative-bridge-to-knowledge
20.	Narrative-critique
21.	Narrative-golden-era
22.	Narrative-institutions
23.	Narrative-nahda
24.	Narrative-people
25.	Narrative-theme
26.	Narrative-theory
27.	Narrative-translation-events
28.	Narrative-web-content
29.	Volunteerism
30.	Volunteer-translation
31.	Volunteer translator

The end.