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**TRANSFORMATION THROUGH TRANSLATION:
TRANSLATION POLICIES AT AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL**

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Doctor of Philosophy

ASTON UNIVERSITY
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ASTON UNIVERSITY

Title: Transformation through translation: translation policies at Amnesty International

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Thesis summary:

International non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are powerful political players who aim to influence global society. In order to be effective on a global scale, they must communicate their goals and achievements in different languages. Translation and translation policy play an essential role here. Despite NGOs' important position in politics and society, not much is known about how these organisations, who often have limited funds available, organise their translation work.

This study aims to contribute to Translation Studies, and more specifically to investigating institutional translation, by exploring translation policies at Amnesty International, one of the most successful and powerful human rights NGOs around the world. Translation policy is understood as comprising three components: translation management, translation practices, and translation beliefs, based on Spolsky's study of language policy (2004). The thesis investigates how translation is organised and what kind of policies different Amnesty offices have in place, and how this is reflected in their translation products. The thesis thus also pursues how translation and translation policy impact on the organisation's message and voice as it is spread around the world.

An ethnographic approach is used for the analysis of various data sets that were collected during fieldwork. These include policy documents, guidelines on writing and translation, recorded interviews, e-mail correspondence, and fieldnotes. The thesis at first explores Amnesty's global translation policy, and then presents the results of a comparative analysis of local translation policies at two concrete institutions: Amnesty International Language Resource Centre in Paris (AILRC-FR) and Amnesty International Vlaanderen (AIVL). A corpus of English source texts and Dutch (AIVL) and French (AILRC-FR) target texts are analysed. The findings of the analysis of translation policies and of the translation products are then combined to illustrate how translation impacts on Amnesty's message and voice.

The research results show that there are large differences in how translation is organised depending on the local office and the language(s), and that this also influences the way in which Amnesty's message and voice are represented. For Dutch and French specifically, translation policies and translation products differ considerably. The thesis describes how these differences are often the result of different beliefs and assumptions relating to translation, and that staff members within Amnesty are not aware of the different conceptions of translation that exist within Amnesty International as a formal institution. Organising opportunities where translation can be discussed (meetings, workshops, online platforms) can help in reducing such differences. The thesis concludes by suggesting that an increased awareness of these issues will enable Amnesty to make more effective use of translation in its fight against human rights violations.

Keywords: institutional translation, non-governmental organisations, ethnography, translation policy, press releases

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Amnesty International
AIBF	Amnesty International Belgique Francophone
AIFR	Amnesty International France
AIR	Amnesty International Report
AILRC	Amnesty International Language Resource Centre
AILRC-ES	Amnesty International Language Resource Centre, Spain (previously EDAI)
AILRC-FR	Amnesty International Language Resource Centre, France (previously EFAI)
AINL	Amnesty International Nederland
AIVL	Amnesty International Vlaanderen
ARABAI	Amnesty International Arabic Publishing
DU	Decentralised Units
EDAI	Editorial Amnistía Internacional
EFAI	Editions Francophones d'Amnesty International
ICM	International Council Meeting
IEC	International Executive Committee
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IS	International Secretariat
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Aims, rationale and relevance of the study

The twentieth century has seen a large increase in the number of international and supranational organisations, also due to the influence of globalisation. These organisations are powerful players that have an effect on the world and on global politics, and they are important providers and users of information across national borders. Translation and interpreting takes place in many contexts and across various languages, transmitting the voice, opinions and image of these organisations, and of the people they represent. Translation often takes place within the organisation itself, and previous research in Translation Studies has explored translation practices in such institutional settings, especially in intergovernmental and supranational organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union (see e.g. Cao and Zhao 2008; Koskinen 2008; Schäffner 2001; Tosi 2003; Tcaciuc 2013).

Yet various institutional settings remain largely unexplored, and scholars have pointed out that more empirical studies are needed to gain a better understanding of translation practices in these institutional contexts (Kang 2008; Koskinen 2011). Translation in non-governmental organisations (NGOs), a new type of political organisation that has gained importance in world affairs since the end of the Cold War, remains largely unexplored in Translation Studies.¹ This is remarkable, since NGOs are influential players in setting the political agenda and in framing debates, and there are seven times as many international NGOs as intergovernmental organisations (IGOs).² International NGOs often aim to spread their message on a worldwide scale, and so they are often prime users and producers of translations (Cronin 2003: 109). Translation and related issues such as institutional translation policy and translation quality play a central role in distributing information in an accurate and effective way, and they are thus essential factors for NGOs in order to maintain a high public profile and a good reputation.

The present thesis focuses on translation at Amnesty International³, one of the largest and most successful human rights organisations worldwide. It investigates the institutional context in which translations are produced, and how this context impacts on the translations. The importance of

¹ Although NGOs are not political institutions in the classical understanding of being governmental or legislative bodies, they play an important role in framing debates and setting the political agenda. On its website, Amnesty clearly deposits it is “independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion”, yet the organisation aims to be politically *influential*. Florini (2008: 673) refers to international NGOs and civil society as “a new type of political institution” that “has captured widespread attention, both popular and scholarly”. The current thesis agrees with Florini’s interpretation of international NGOs as politically influential institutions.

² The Yearbook of International Organisations (YIO) 2014-2015 counts 7,756 IGOs and 59,383 NGOs (Union of International Associations 2014).

³ Throughout the thesis Amnesty International will generally be referred to as “Amnesty”, as is also done by the organisation itself in its policy documents.

effective communication and accurate translation for Amnesty can be illustrated with the following example. In July 2013, Amnesty International published a report on routine torture in Kazakhstan. In the title of Amnesty's Russian translation the term "systematic torture" was used. Yet in Russian, the term "systematic torture" has political implications, and there is a UN definition of what exactly constitutes systematic torture, as opposed to routine torture. The authorities of the relevant countries were critical of Amnesty and did not want to accept the report. Amnesty needed to refer back to the English report to assure the authorities it was not claiming there was systematic torture in Kazakhstan. This incident shows how a mistranslation of sensitive discourse can have political consequences and, in this case, could have a negative impact on Amnesty's credibility and reputation as a neutral, trustworthy expert on human rights.

By exploring translation in a different type of institution than those previously focused on in Translation Studies, the present research aims to contribute to a better understanding of what institutional translation involves. Research into institutional translation practices entails a sociological understanding of translation, in which translation is understood as a complex social activity impacted on by various actors. Understanding the mechanisms underlying this form of social practice is what sociological approaches are interested in: training institutions, professional institutions and their social role, working conditions, questions of ethics in translation, translation and activism, and so on (Wolf 2010: 337).

This thesis is a qualitative study and is interdisciplinary by nature. Translation is part of a larger process, including various actors, functions and products. The current study is influenced by and contributes to translation studies, communication studies and journalism studies. By taking NGOs as the object of research, boundaries with a number of disciplines are crossed. In contrast to Translation Studies, other disciplines have explored NGOs from a variety of perspectives. Studies in political science and in international relations have investigated amongst others how non-governmental organisations (NGOs) influence states, and how both NGOs and governmental organisations (IGOs) interact with other actors such as business communities (for an overview, see Florini 2006). Wong (2012) has combined her background in political science with concepts from organisation theory to gain insight into the efficacy of international NGOs. In communication studies and journalism studies, NGOs have been explored as alternative providers of news (Fenton 2010; Powers 2014; Sambrook 2010; Van Leuven and Joye 2014; Waisbord 2011). Due to digitalisation and the cut in foreign news budgets of traditional news providers, NGOs increasingly take up publicity functions (Powers 2014: 92). NGOs have different goals than traditional news providers, such as raising awareness and collecting donor funds, and media attention plays a vital role in achieving these goals. The unethical stance of this "media logic" and its potentially harmful effects on NGOs' core values and public image is a concern that has been addressed in a number of publications (Cottle and Nolan 2007; Kalcsics 2011; Cottle 2009).

The ambiguous status of NGOs as both political institutions and news providers raises questions about the communicative strategies used by these institutions. As research in discourse analysis has shown, the discourse that political institutions produce is mediated and recontextualised by various agents, including news media, into new contexts, and this involves transformation. What exactly gets transformed, depends on the interests and the goals of the new context (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 96). Translations of news discourse and political discourse often involve processes of recontextualisation (Schäffner 2008; Kang 2007; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010; Hernández Guerrero 2010). In the case of NGOs, much of the discourse is translated within the organisation, and thus translations are regulated and constrained by institutional policies and ideologies. The question which then arises is if and how exactly the institutional context impacts on the final product and on the institutional voice that is represented through translation.

The fact that these organisations translate their own discourse and that they often function as alternative news providers is further problematized by the limited funds NGOs have available for translation (see also 1.3). This sometimes leads to inadequate translations, as the above example of a mistranslation in an Amnesty report illustrates. Not much is known about the translation solutions NGOs opt for, who the translators are, and what consequences these solutions have on the translation products. Interest in the phenomenon of volunteer translation has increased, and some scholars have explored voluntary networks such as Translators Without Borders, Babels and ECOS (Gambier 2007; Boéri and Maier 2010; Folaron 2010). Yet analysing these phenomena from an institutional point of view offers a different perspective, which would not only include volunteer translation, but also other arrangements that are made to cater for translation needs. Thus, it would provide insight into NGOs' translation policies and their strategic use of language and translation. Furthermore, research on translation policies in NGOs would contribute to our knowledge and understanding of how these organisations function in and impact on society.

The present research is part of the EU Seventh Framework Marie Curie Initial Training Network (ITN) TIME: Translation Research Training: An integrated and intersectoral model for Europe (FP7-PEOPLE-2010-ITN-263954). Part of the present research's objectives are directly linked to the TIME projects, one of which is to investigate what new expert profiles are needed for translators under the influence of the globalisation of trade and technologies. In order to answer this question, a better understanding is needed of what kind of translation practices and activities take place in institutions. An increased involvement between private/public institutions and academia for research is therefore needed. Through its collaboration with Amnesty, the present research thus aims to provide more knowledge on translation practices at a type of institution that has remained largely unstudied. More specifically, the present thesis forms part of TIME's subproject 4: "Transformation through Translation: Media Representation of Political Discourse in Europe", which sets out to explore translation practices in political institutions and to explore the role of translation in news reporting.

Subproject 4's overall aim is to formulate best practices for the strategic communication approach of government and non-governmental institutions.

The overall aims and objectives of the present research can be summarised as follows:

- To gain insight into translation practices at a specific type of institution, namely NGOs and specifically Amnesty International
- To gain insight into how translation at Amnesty is used as part of its communication strategies
- To gain insight into how available funding impacts on translation, and what translation solutions Amnesty opts for
- To gain insight into what role translation plays for Amnesty to spread its message and increase its impact on society
- To formulate suggestions for Amnesty regarding its translation practices and training needs

The next sections will provide a brief overview of Amnesty as a translating institution, and on other research on Amnesty that has previously been conducted. Section 1.4 will introduce the research questions and the general approach of the thesis.

1.2 Amnesty International as a translating institution

Amnesty International is today one of the largest and most successful human rights organisations. Not only does the organisation have a high status and the reputation of being a neutral expert, but many also believe that Amnesty has set the standards for the human rights movement as a whole and has provided a basis for our understanding of what human rights are (Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005: 559; Wong 2012: 84). Amnesty's roots go back to 1961, when British lawyer Peter Benenson published an article in *The Observer* about prisoners of conscience. Benenson was outraged after learning about the fate of two Portuguese students who were imprisoned for raising a toast to freedom. Benenson's article "Forgotten Prisoners" (28 May 1961) launched the "Appeal for Amnesty 1961", a worldwide campaign that provoked great response (Amnesty International 2013a). Benenson's modest campaign quickly grew into an international phenomenon, with participants all over Europe (Amnesty International 2013a; Wong 2012: 88). Amnesty's first international meeting was organised in July 1961, with participants from Belgium, the UK, France, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland and the USA. There it was decided that Amnesty would be established as a "permanent international movement in defence of freedom of opinion and religion" (Amnesty International 2013a). Benenson opened an office and library in London. These later became the International Secretariat (IS), the beating heart of the organisation.

In its official statute, Amnesty International describes its goals and methods as seeking to expose human rights abuses and address governments, intergovernmental organisations, armed political groups, companies and other non-state actors. It systematically and impartially researches the facts of individual cases and patterns of human rights abuses and publishes these facts. Members,

supporters and staff mobilise public pressure on governments and others to stop abuses (Amnesty International 2013b). Amnesty is also one of the most active NGOs in the UN context. The organisation perceives interaction with IGOs as highly important for promoting human rights standards (Martens 2006: 378). But the effectiveness of an NGO like Amnesty does not only depend on co-operating with (inter-) governmental organisations. Most importantly, it depends on maintaining a high public profile (Boli and Thomas 1997: 184). To be effective, to maximize international public awareness of violations, to promote educational, advocacy and media opportunities, and to raise funds, Amnesty must deploy information strategically (Ron et al: 560). As the organisation is active in more than 150 countries, this entails strategic use of translation as well, and thus translation largely depends on the needs of the organisation.

Collecting and circulating information is essential to Amnesty as an organisation, and the IS with its library lies at the heart of this process. Researchers doing fieldwork return to the IS, write their research reports and these are communicated to a worldwide network of Amnesty sections, journalists, politicians and academics. Along the process of information production, translation takes place in many different forms and at various stages. The IS's main institutional language is English, and its reports, press releases and other texts are produced in English. Yet translation often already takes place before the writing up stage. Fieldwork missions often make use of interpreters, or researchers themselves use various languages and translate witness accounts into English for the report. Translation of research reports and other materials and texts produced by Amnesty then takes place at different levels of the organisation, at different stages, and into different languages. This variety in translation processes goes hand in hand with the freedom sections enjoy to choose what campaigns and topics they want to focus on. Pym (2004) presumes that NGOs' arrangements for translation are different than those of IGOs, i.e. that they are more closely related to NGOs' real needs. This might entail that there are differences in arrangements for translation depending on the language and the text genre. Chapter 4 will describe the situation at Amnesty, and will provide an in-depth analysis of Amnesty's approach to language and translation.

Over the years, Amnesty has succeeded in becoming one of the most influential and trustworthy human rights NGOs. To remain influential in today's globalised world, Amnesty aims to increase its impact and reach a wider audience, attracting activists and donors in more countries around the world. Translation is an important tool in this context. It is through language that organisations spread their message, their ideals and aims, and it is through translation that a wider audience is reached. The current thesis will offer insight into how Amnesty's translation policy has evolved over the years and contributes to achieving these aims.

1.3 Previous research on Amnesty International

The present thesis aims to contribute to institutional translation by exploring a type of institutional setting that has remained largely unexplored within Translation Studies, namely that of the international NGO. The case focused on is that of Amnesty International, one of the largest and most successful human rights organisations. As an exemplary global actor, Amnesty has already received a substantial amount of scholarly attention from various disciplines. This section describes how the current thesis is linked to previous studies. It will show what new insights it aims to gain and how it builds on previous research.

Much of the scholarly interest in Amnesty has aimed at explaining the organisation's success from a number of different angles. Several studies have focused on Amnesty's involvement in the United Nations and the influence the organisation has been able to exert through collaborating with it (see Cook 1996; Martens 2006; Thakur 1994). Other studies have pursued alternative ways to analyse the effectiveness of Amnesty. Baldwin (2009) has presented three case studies of Amnesty campaigns in order to show the role Amnesty has played in shaping US foreign policy. Clark (2001) has adopted a wider angle and interpreted Amnesty's effectiveness as resulting from the variety of strategies that the organisation uses, including in-depth research, letter-writing campaigns by members, and celebrity appearances. Winston (2001) has argued that part of Amnesty's success is based on the NGO's educational function of raising awareness of human rights, which has significantly contributed to "the development of the global human rights culture" (2001: 29). Hopgood (2006) and Wong (2012) have both taken an organisational perspective to gain insight into the success of Amnesty. Hopgood (2006) provided an account of Amnesty's organisational development, based on a year of field research at Amnesty's International Secretariat (IS) in London. Whereas Hopgood's (2006) focus is on providing insight into how human rights norms take shape and what practical morality in action looks like, Wong's (2012) case study of Amnesty is focused on explaining the success of NGOs on the basis of their organisational structure.

Another aspect that has great relevance for determining the success of an organisation is communication. A number of studies have focused on Amnesty's strategies for organisational "branding", its communication with the media, and the choices it makes in what cases to report on (Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005; Stone 2011; Vestergaard 2008). Russell (2002) and Thakur (1994) have emphasised the importance of publicity and media reporting for Amnesty to survive. Thakur argues that Amnesty "has only the weapon of publicity and the threat of publicity. The whole movement rests on the simple idea that governments respond to public opinion. The moral authority of AI would be weakened in proportion to political bias and factual inaccuracies" (1994: 157). Indeed, a study by Cottle & Nolan (2007) on the changing humanitarian aid and media field has drawn attention to the fact that many non-profit organisations nowadays are affected by the increasing trend in the media to pursue scandals and feel obliged to invest time and

energy into safeguarding their reputation and credibility (2007: 871). Furthermore, humanitarian aid organisations have adapted their communication strategies to increase media coverage. Cottle and Nolan emphasise how these developments “imperil the very ethics and project of global humanitarianism that aid agencies historically have done so much to promote” (2007: 862).

These issues of how communication strategies seem to contradict with the very nature of NGOs have been addressed in many of the studies referred to above. Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee (2013) and Ron et al. (2005) for example explore factors that influence Amnesty’s research reporting and agenda-setting. They uncover how in some cases, reporting and “naming and shaming” is biased and influenced by the possibility of media coverage. Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee (2013) explore if NGOs will respond to particular cases when the media pressures them to do so, even if the information available to the NGOs is poor. This often leads NGOs to compromise their credibility demands. Ron et al.’s (2005) analysis of Amnesty research reports and press releases published between 1986-2000 revealed that around 1993-1994, Amnesty’s number of research reports dropped, whereas its number of press releases increased considerably. This change was implemented after internal criticism that argued Amnesty had to be more visible as an organisation, and had to produce more accessible texts on issues that were in the public eye (Ron et al. 2005: 573).

This shift in the mid-90s to create more materials that are directly relevant for the media heralded a more in-depth change in communication strategies. Using a similar framework as Cottle and Nolan (2007), Vestergaard (2008) analysed a TV spot produced by the Danish section of Amnesty in 2001, and argued that Amnesty’s communication strategies, and those of non-profit organisations in general, are becoming more corporate and commercial. One aspect of commercialisation is the increasing attention paid to marketing, and the introduction of the concept of “branding” in the non-profit sector (Vestergaard 2008: 472). Hankinson’s research (2000; 2005) on branding in charity organisations found that branding a charity organisation goes further than branding a product:

[c]harity brand status is being used to communicate meaning via a unique set of values or associations that define the charity not only in terms of what it does (its cause) but more importantly in terms of the values it represents. (Hankinson, 2005: 1)

By presenting charities as brands, donors are able to identify easily which charities their own values match most closely with. Although branding is an effective way of communicating values explicitly, Stone’s study (2011) of the branding of Amnesty described how the use of the concept and the techniques associated with branding were met with scepticism by some Amnesty staff when the concept was first introduced. He describes how people wondered whether Amnesty was committed to its cause, or just to its own image. The scepticism and discomfort staff members had with the concept of brand made it extremely difficult for Amnesty to develop its global identity, which was long overdue in the context of globalisation. As Stone points out, “the lack of north-south coherence was increasingly apparent in stories appearing in global news media” (2011: 4).

The difficulty in defining the Amnesty brand is closely related to Wong's (2012) and Hopgood's (2006) work, even though these studies have taken an organisational perspective. As pointed out by Wong, "[m]any international human rights NGOs are more appropriately thought about as networks with both formal and informal aspects, rather than more cohesive organizations" (2012: 72). This kind of organisational structure makes it difficult to identify one global identity for the whole organisation.

Nevertheless, Amnesty has been one of the most successful worldwide NGOs for years, and it is this successful position that Wong (2012) aims to explain in her Amnesty case study. Wong (2012: 75) argues that Amnesty is successful as an NGO because it has succeeded in finding a good balance between centralisation and decentralisation of agenda-implementation techniques. She considers three mechanisms or types of power lying at the basis of agenda setting: proposal power, enforcement power, and implementation power. Proposal power is "the ability to create agenda items" (Wong 2012: 76). When proposal power is centralised, this means that only a few actors have the ability to create agenda items. They can propose changes that the rest of the organisation will approve or disapprove. Enforcement power is "the ability to veto proposals once they are on the agenda *and* to ensure that those vetoes are followed" (Wong 2012: 77). When enforcement power is centralised, this means, again, that only a few actors are allowed to vote. In this case, decisions usually go through a limited number of members who are part of a particular board or committee. These two first levels of agenda-setting techniques establish particular principles and strategies for the whole network that then need to be implemented on the local level (= implementation power). As pointed out by Wong (2012: 79), centralisation of implementation power is in fact counterproductive to becoming an effective international NGO. Decentralisation on this level, on the other hand, allows for local groups and sections to use their expertise to the fullest.

It is at the level of implementation power that the difficulty of creating a global identity comes in. As Stone (2011) argues, "over time both *campaigning* and *human rights* had come to mean different things in different places. By the start of the 21st century, Amnesty had many identities" (2011: 2). When Amnesty decided it needed a clear identity because of globalisation's impact on the news and on digital technologies, local sections already had materials tailored to their local level and they did not think that a single, global identity would help them in their work. Additionally, it was the term branding itself, coming from marketing and corporate communication, that people were distrustful of (Stone 2011: 3).

The distrust reported by Stone (2011) of Amnesty staff to the concept of branding can be framed in Hopgood's (2006) findings in his study *Keepers of the Flame*, which describes the tension at the IS in light of organisational changes through the years. He identified two main groups: the "keepers of the flame" and the "reformers" or "modernisers". "Keepers of the flame" are those staff members who want to preserve Amnesty's traditional moral authority, with a focus on forgotten prisoners and country-based research. Modernisers or reformers are the people who want Amnesty to

evolve to meet the challenges of the contemporary world and to use a broader concept of social change. According to Hopgood's model, the keepers of the flame fear that change may undermine Amnesty's accumulated moral authority. For Hopgood, "keepers of the flame" are usually (but not exclusively) IS researchers, and modernisers or reformers are primarily campaigners and senior managers, although the groups are not mutually exclusive. The concerns of staff members noted in Stone (2011) and other studies on Amnesty's increasing emphasis on media work and its brand can be framed in this light: whereas media workers and senior managers emphasise the need for Amnesty to change and to adapt to a highly globalised world and a changing media and humanitarian landscape, other staff members are concerned about Amnesty's core values, and the damage that may be done to the organisation's reputation.

This overview of previous studies on Amnesty has shown that research has mainly been concerned with explaining the success of Amnesty as an organisation by analysing its relationships with other NGOs, with the media, with IGOs, and by analysing its internal organisational structure. What these studies have largely overlooked, however, is the role that language and translation play in Amnesty's success, and in all of these relationships. While a lot of the research recognises the importance of the media for Amnesty, no in-depth studies have been conducted on how Amnesty deals with translation in order to communicate its message to media all around the world, in order to reach an audience as wide as possible. It remains unclear how Amnesty's message travels across cultural and geographical borders, and how issues of centralisation vs. decentralisation power impact on this. Furthermore, it remains unclear how Amnesty's emphasis on branding and its purposeful creation of one global identity impact on translation work.

Questions that remain unanswered include: Does the change in communication strategies towards a more corporate approach also imply changes to language and translation policy? In what languages does Amnesty choose to communicate and why? How has this evolved over the years? Who does the translations and who takes translation-related decisions? What does the division of proposal, enforcement, and implementation power on this level look like? How are funds for translation distributed? And can the concern that Amnesty staff members hold regarding the implementation of corporate communications and branding strategies also be related to decisions regarding language and translation policy? The present research aims to gain insight into these issues, and consequently aims to demonstrate how language and translation contribute to the success of an NGO.

1.4 Research questions

This thesis analyses translation in an institutional setting and focuses on Amnesty's translation policy as it is manifested in translation management, translation practices, and translation beliefs. The research aims to analyse the effect of translation policy on the translation products and on Amnesty's message and voice in translation. Additionally, the research reflects on how translation and translation

policy impact on the organisation's visibility, opening up the focus from the institutional perspective to the wider socio-political context. The research aims to answer three research questions:

- (1) What translation policies, including translation management, translation practices, and translation beliefs, are in place at Amnesty International?
- (2) Do differing translation policies cause differences in the translations?
- (3) How does translation and translation policy impact on the organisation's message and voice as it is spread around the world?

The research uses a linguistic ethnographic approach and draws on data collected during fieldwork at three different Amnesty offices. To investigate translation policy, the research draws on interviews, fieldnotes from the fieldwork and observations, and policy documents. A corpus of source and target texts is analysed in order to understand if and how translation policy impacts on the final translation product. A comparative analysis is carried out of translations from English into Dutch and into French. The findings of the analysis of translation policy and of the comparative analysis of translations are then combined in order to reflect on how translation and translation policy impact on Amnesty's message and voice in translation.

The first research question uses the definition of language policy as provided in Spolsky (2004) as its basis, and considers all three components of language policy defined there. Several aspects of translation management and practices will be explored: policy documents that regulate translation, the agents involved (Who takes which decisions at which point and why? Who is translating which texts and how are the translators selected?), the texts that are translated (Which texts are selected using which criteria?), revision (Are texts revised, by whom and how?), and resources (Are any translation tools or guidelines used?). In terms of translation beliefs, the research question aims to gain a better understanding of Amnesty staff's conceptualisation of translation and the status they attach to translation as a professional activity.

The second research question explores how translation policy affects the actual translations. Translation as a socially regulated activity is influenced by a number of variables. All three components of translation policy are expected to have a certain impact on translation. The underlying hypothesis is that differing translation policies will give rise to differences in translations as products. As mentioned above, discourse is prone to processes of recontextualisation, and meaning may shift during this process. What exactly is transformed depends on the interests, goals and values of the new context in which the discourse is recontextualised (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 96). A textual analysis will be carried out of a corpus of different genres of texts produced and translated by Amnesty on a regular basis, namely press releases and Urgent Actions.

The third research question aims to combine the results from the previous two questions and to come to a deeper understanding of the role of translation and translation policy at a worldwide NGO. Central to this research question is how the organisation's message and voice are represented through

translation. Thus, it aims to connect the institutional level to the wider sociocultural context, in order to see how institutional translation policies affect the representation of the organisation in society.

By answering these research questions, the thesis aims to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of institutional translation. By combining an ethnographic approach with elements of organisation theory and textual analysis, the thesis contributes to developing a sociology of institutional translation and answers to Koskinen's (2011: 59) call for more "local explanations", i.e. detailed case studies of different institutional contexts in order to come to a better understanding of institutional translation. It is pertinent to keep in mind that the current thesis is exactly that: a case study. It does not aim to make generalisations about translation in all other NGOs or political institutions. As pointed out by Wong (2012: 8), much research on non-state actors implicitly assumes that NGOs share a common field, and that studying one prominent NGO will help explain the rest of the field. The case of Amnesty discussed here is not considered as exemplary, but should rather be seen as a starting point for generating more questions, comparisons and generalisations.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The present thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical framework of the present research. It describes recent developments in Translation Studies and presents a detailed overview of research on institutional translation. The current research finds its theoretical grounding in ethnography and in linguistic ethnography specifically, and essentials of both of these are thus discussed. Chapter 2 also describes the nexus research model applied in the thesis, and explains its basis on linguistic ethnography and on the definition of translation policy.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology and the data of the present research. It sets out the grounded theoretical approach underlying the data analysis, and explains how the settings and case studies for the present research were selected and how access to the field was gained. Furthermore, the chapter discusses issues about ethnographic data analysis and theoretical sampling. Next, it sets out the analytical approach that was used to analyse the data relating to translation policy (consisting of policy documents, guidelines on writing and translation, recorded interviews, e-mail correspondence, and fieldnotes), and the textual analytical approach for the comparison of a corpus of original and translated Amnesty texts.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of translation policies at Amnesty. It uses a top-down approach and first explores translation policy on the global level. After describing how Amnesty's language and translation policy developed over the years and what kind of texts Amnesty produces, it moves on to

discussing translation policy on the local level. Two case studies are presented: translation at the translation office AILRC-FR in Paris, and translation at the local section AIVL in Antwerp. Local translation management, practices, and beliefs are explored thoroughly by analysing the data collected during fieldwork, including policy documents, recorded interviews and fieldnotes on informal talks.

Chapter 5 describes the results of the textual analysis. It presents a comparative study of English source texts and French and Dutch target texts of three text genres, i.e. press releases, web news, and Urgent Actions. The various shifts that were found in translation are described and differences between the three text genres and the translations from the two offices are analysed.

Chapter 6 aims at explaining the links between the translation products, as analysed in Chapter 5, and translation policy, as discussed in Chapter 4. The nexus model applied in the thesis serves as the basis for this discussion, and findings are linked to the wider sociocultural context in which the translations function. Questions for the future in terms of translation policy at Amnesty are raised, and the way in which Amnesty's message and voice is represented across national borders is discussed. The use of the concept of translation and other related concepts, such as localisation, adaptation and transediting, are reflected on in the context of the present thesis.

Chapter 7 summarises and evaluates the findings of the research. It highlights the main contributions to Translation Studies and the benefits of the present research for Amnesty. Furthermore, it also reflects on the limitations of the study and the drawbacks of some of the concepts and methods that were used. Finally, it sets out ideas for future research.

Chapter 2 – An ethnographic approach to institutional translation

This chapter describes the thesis' major theoretical foundations from Translation Studies and Ethnography. It presents a brief overview of recent developments in Translation Studies and discusses where the research situates itself in relation to other contemporary studies on translation and on language use in organisations. A number of concepts that are central to the present thesis are discussed in detail and it is described how they will be used in the present framework.

2.1 Recent developments in Translation Studies

Translation Studies is a relatively young academic discipline, with its first university training programmes arising around the 1940s. Interest in translation arose from linguistics and from literary studies, and early approaches in Translation Studies were developed from these angles. Over the years, attention increased to the context in and for which translations are being produced. Functionalist approaches, which gained ground in the 1970s, emphasised the importance of the purpose and communicative function of a translation in a target culture, often placing translation in a professional socio-economic context (Holz-Mänttari 1984; Reiss and Vermeer 1991; Nord 1997). A similar shift to a target-oriented approach took place around the same time in research approaches that focused on literary translation. Research in this framework is often referred to as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), and focused on the functioning of translated literature within the literary and historical systems of the target culture (cf. Toury 1995; Hermans 1985).

These approaches moved away from the purely textual focus and paved the road for research that explored cultural and social issues related to the production of translation. Since the 2000s, increasing attention is being paid to the influence on translation of power, politics, ideology, ethics, and individual agency. All these approaches are part of what has been described as the “sociological turn”, in which the impact of sociological configurations on translation are the main focus (Wolf 2007: 1). Sociological approaches consider translation as a socially regulated activity that is carried out by human beings, often called social agents, who are part of a social system and who act according to their cultural value systems and ideologies. The figure of the translator is central, and studies investigate translators' group behaviour, the institutions in which they function, etc. (Chesterman 2006: 11). Sociological approaches have thus moved the focus from the language and texts to the translators and other agents involved. They deepen our understanding of the mechanisms underlying translation by drawing on methodological tools from sociology. These tools allow to explore the

relations that exist outside the text and how these impact on the text, rather than solely focusing on textual analysis (Wolf 2010: 341). The current thesis draws on sociological tools to gain insight into how translation is organised in an institutional context. It uses an ethnographic approach, and it draws on particular sociological concepts, all of which will be discussed in more detail below.

Apart from contributing to institutional translation, the current thesis also relates to other research foci of sociological approaches. Through its focus on NGOs, the thesis contributes new insights to translation and its role in activism. As addressed in Chapter 1, research has been conducted into volunteer translation networks such as Translators Without Borders, Babels, and ECOS. Translators and interpreters as activists have been the object of research in a number of studies (see contributions in Bielsa & Hughes 2009; Boéri & Maier 2010). Yet volunteer translation is present in many more ways in society and is not necessarily linked to activism. A special issue of *The Translator* (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012a) collects a number of articles on non-professional translators and interpreters conducting work in a variety of contexts, such as crowdsourced translation initiatives (Wikipedia content, fansubbing), translation in the context of non-professional independent media websites, translation for museums, and interpreting in healthcare and in church. The special issue provides insight into who the individuals are who undertake this kind of translation or interpreting work, into the networks and organisations for which they are working, and into the impact of these activities on the political, economic, and social context (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012b: 159). Another recent case study has explored volunteer translation motivation in the context of crowdsourcing (Olohan 2014). Although these case studies explore a wide range of contexts, they still only cover a fraction of the amount of non-professional translation that takes place worldwide, and that “is being conducted by an increasingly heterogeneous range of agents”, as argued by Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva (2012b: 152).

One of the contexts that has hardly received attention in Translation Studies is volunteer translation from the perspective of NGOs. As pointed out, volunteer translation has been studied through networks such as Babels, but how NGOs themselves deal with translation needs remains largely unexplored. One particular contribution that does explore this perspective and discusses NGOs’ translation and interpreting needs is Valero Garcés and Cata (2006). This publication deals with volunteer translation and interpreting services offered through NGOs that provide assistance to immigrants and asylum seekers. The article focuses on three NGOs in this particular field in Spain and is based on information that was directly received from the NGOs, and does not rely on fieldwork. Additionally, the article reports on a meeting that was organised at the University of Alcalá attended by four NGOs and Valero Garcés, where the main problems of volunteer translation and interpreting for these NGOs were discussed. Overall, the publication concludes that there is a need to facilitate the training of interpreters and translators in more languages, so that NGOs can cope better with the requests they receive for translation/interpreting into many different languages and often in urgent

circumstances. Furthermore, the NGOs agreed that professionalisation should be insisted on by requiring minimum training standards.

The findings of Valero Garcés and Cata (2006) are relevant to the present research, yet the point of view that is taken is quite different. Rather than entering the institutions in question and exploring translation from the inside, the article is focused on the NGOs' practical needs and how universities can provide adequate training. Furthermore, the focus of Valero Garcés and Cata's (2006) study is solely on volunteer translation and interpreting, and does not take into account other forms of translation at NGOs provided by in-house and freelance professionals, for example. It does not investigate how NGOs use translation to communicate their message and voice around the world in order to gain visibility and to be effective as organisations.

Volunteer translation only makes up one aspect of translation practices taking place at NGOs. Part of the current study explores the role of volunteer translators working for the NGO Amnesty International, yet it also pays attention to translation as a professional activity. In fact, it takes up the contradiction of voluntary vs. paid translation work and investigates how these two types of translation influence the agents' views on translation as a professional activity, and how these views in their turn impact on translation practices and management. The thesis will analyse beliefs of professional translators working for Amnesty, and of staff who were not trained in translation but that carry out translation as part of their job and who often collaborate with volunteer translators. It will be explored to what extent activism is important for translators working for Amnesty.

It has been noted that many studies focusing on translation and activism go a step further than traditional Descriptive Translation Studies: rather than only describing what is observed in translation, they recognise that researchers cannot take a neutral position and always interpret data "through their individual and society's conceptions" (Brownlie 2007: 136). Furthermore, these studies share a critical view of the state of the world. They usually aim to improve an existing situation, and in some cases encourage researchers to take a political stance and to combine scholarship with commitment. A number of terms have been proposed to refer to these approaches, such as "engagement in Translation Studies" (Tymoczko 2000: 23), "committed approaches" (Brownlie 2007; Brownlie 2010), "Critical Translation Studies" (Koskinen 2004: 153), and the "activist turn" in sociological approaches to Translation Studies (Wolf 2012). What unites these studies is that there is an underlying "shared belief that the task of the researcher is not only to describe and explain but also to attempt to improve the situation or to offer solutions to a perceived problem" (Koskinen 2004: 153). The present thesis fits in with such an approach, especially in light of the ethnographic approach that was applied and the impact of the researcher on the research field, as will be addressed in Chapter 3.

2.2 Institutional translation

2.2.1 Institutions and institutional translation

Many translations are created in an institutional context. Institutional translation as an area of research has emerged in recent years, as part of sociological approaches to translation, which became widespread from the 2000s onwards. As described in 2.1, these approaches consider translation as a socially regulated activity that is carried out by agents, and draw on concepts from the neighbouring discipline of sociology to describe translation. As part of this, interest in the concept of institution and in institution as an object of research has increased.

In Translation Studies institutions are a relatively new research object, but they have been investigated in other disciplines for a long time. Contributions to institutional theory have been made in economics, political science, and sociology from the nineteenth century onwards (Scott 1995: 1). The fact that contributions come from different disciplines entails that the concept of institution has been defined and used in a variety of ways (see Djelic 2010 for different definitions of institution from economics, political science, and sociology). In sociology particularly, institutions have often been understood as a symbolic system of knowledge, belief and moral authority in which social norms and normative control play a central role (Koskinen 2008: 16). A helpful definition of institutions which allows room for many of the different approaches is Scott's (1995: 33) definition, which he himself describes as an "omnibus" definition: "Institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour". Scott describes these cognitive, normative and regulative elements of institutions as "pillars". Different scholars emphasise different elements of institutions, yet they all recognise that "social behaviour and associated resources are anchored in rule systems and cultural schema" (Scott 2005: 464). All three pillars are interdependent and mutually reinforcing, and they all contribute to a powerful social framework (Scott 1995: 32).

In organisational theory, a field of sociology relevant for the present thesis, this institutional framework is applied to formal and concrete organisations. Organisations are "social structures created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals" (Scott 2003: 11). They are collectives established for specific purposes or to exercise particular functions in society (Strati 2000: 29). In organisation theory, organisations are seen as being gradually "institutionalised": they are infused with sets of values over time and acquire a particular structure and identity (Scott 1995: 18).

Defining an institution as a symbolic system of knowledge, belief and moral authority is at first sight confusing. With such an abstract understanding of institutions, translation itself could be considered as a social institution, in which "all translations and all discourse about them constitute a system, or institution, of translation" (Koskinen 2008: 19). It is helpful to conceptualise institutions on three levels of abstractions, following Koskinen (2008: 17): "abstract institutions (such as religion)

give rise to more formal institutions (such as the church) that are, for practical reasons, further divided into concrete institutions (such as local parishes) with their assigned material spaces, members and recurrent activities” (2008: 17). For the present thesis, Amnesty International is considered as a formal institution, with its local sections as concrete institutions, each with their members and local activities. The idea of Amnesty campaigning for human rights can be considered as the abstract institution. In fact, because of its focus on moral authority, Amnesty shows much resemblance to the social institution of a chapel (Hopgood 2006: 3). To be meaningful as a human rights organisation, it is essential for Amnesty to strengthen and protect this moral authority, which arises from Amnesty’s privileged access to knowledge that is inaccessible to other people (Hopgood 2006: 4). Through translation, the institution’s aims, values and mission are transmitted to various cultures worldwide.

Interest in studying institutions in Translation Studies arose in the 1980s, when Brian Mossop argued that paying greater attention to them was important, since “the goals of a translating institution are what determines the general approach taken in the translations it produces” (Mossop 1988: 65). The translating institutions that Mossop has in mind include “corporations, churches, governments, newspapers” (1988: 65). André Lefevere’s work developed in the early 1990s on literary translation refers to institutions much in the same way. They can be religious bodies, political parties, publishers or the media: institutions that have the power to influence the development of literature (Lefevere 1992: 15).

Since these early contributions, institutions have become a regular object of study in sociologically oriented studies of translation. Especially since the 2000s, concrete translating institutions from different cultures and ideological backgrounds have been the object of study, including the EU and the UN in numerous publications (Cao and Zhao 2008; Koskinen 2008; Schäffner 2001; Tcaciuc 2013; Tosi 2003). Mossop (1988; 2006; 2014) and Gagnon (2006; 2009) have looked at the Canadian Government’s translation service. Apart from political institutions, research has also been conducted on publishing houses (Buzelin 2007), translation agencies (Risku 2004; Risku 2006; Risku et al. 2013), media institutions (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2012; Kang 2007; Pan 2014; Tsai 2010), and non-profit organisations such as the monitoring press service Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) (Baker 2007). As described in 2.1, not much has been done from the perspective of NGOs, and the research in this area has been focused on volunteer translation and interpreting needs of NGOs (Valero Garcés and Cata 2006) rather than exploring these institutions from the inside.

Some of the recent studies listed above (Mossop 2014; Pan 2014) form part of a special issue of *Perspectives* on institutional translation that explores “the relationship between translation and institutions across a range of cultural and institutional settings” (Kang 2014: 2). Apart from these two articles, the issue also contains case studies of commercial translator training institutions (Wakabayashi 2014) and of governmental, supra-national and non-governmental organisations

(Schäffner, Tcaciuc, and Tesseur 2014).⁴ As this wide variety of institutional contexts shows, defining the concept of institutional translation proves difficult. In her introductory paper to the special issue, Kang (2014) identifies three themes that unite the papers in this special issue: they demand that the specific, local context of an institution is taken into account when critically examining institutional translation; they emphasise the slipperiness of the concept of “institution”; and many of them pay attention to the wider socio-political and cultural context in which the institutions are established. Kang (2014: 3) points out that many of the papers show that the political and cultural significance that is given to institutional translation depends on geographical location and cultural traditions.

The slipperiness of the concept of “institution” and “institutional translation” is an aspect raised in this special issue with reference to the definitions or characteristics of institutional translation that scholars have previously described or proposed. Due to the increasing number of studies devoted to translation in institutions, a need arose for a clear definition of what institutional translation involves. In recent years, articles on institutional translation have been included in handbooks and encyclopaedia on Translation Studies (see Kang 2008; Koskinen 2011). Because the use of the concept of institution in itself is so diverse, it is also problematic to define what institutional translation exactly implies. Kang (2008: 141) points out that the concept is generally used to refer either to “translating *in* or *for* specific organisations [...] or to institutionalized social systems”. Kang (2008: 141) concludes that “[b]ased on this definition, the study of institutional translation is concerned with organisational, structural, relational, ideological or historical aspects of a translating institution and their impact on translators and the process and product of translation”.

Koskinen (2008), however, presents a more detailed definition of institutional translation, where the concept is interpreted as a particular genre:

[W]e are dealing with institutional translation in those cases when an official body (government agency, multinational organisation or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of “speaking” to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated. (Koskinen 2008: 22)

This means that whereas all concrete translating institutions commission and/or produce translations, not all of them necessarily produce *institutional* translations, or at least not all the time. Koskinen (2008: 22) sees the difference between institutional and non-institutional translation as unclear, and argues that translations “can rather be placed on a continuum or a line of increasing institutionality”. Koskinen (2008: 22) considers official documents of governments and local authorities, translations of EU and UN documents, and multinational companies’ consumer stakeholder information as prime examples of institutional translation. In a later publication, Koskinen (2011: 57) argues that

⁴ These articles have been published online; a few additional articles that form part of the special issue are still to be published, including an article on institutional interpreters working for justice organisations by Kim Wallmach, a contribution on the publishing industry by Sue-Ann Harding, and an article by Kaisa Koskinen that further reflects on our understanding of institutional translation.

multinational organisations and private companies are potential producers of institutional translations, yet she states that it might be preferable to restrict the concept of institutional translation “to those concrete institutions that directly serve the societies’ control and governance functions”.

From this definition of institutional translation, it follows that translation is often a form of self-translation (Koskinen 2011: 57). Institutions produce and translate their own documents. The voice to be heard is that of the institution, and the institution is the author of both source and target text. Translators are constrained by the rules and regulations of the institution. Because of this, institutional translation is typically anonymous, collective and standardised (Koskinen 2011: 57). Previous research has shown that the syntax, style and vocabulary of documents are controlled by the institution, for example through the use of guidelines, revision and computer-assisted translation tools (Leblanc 2013; Tcaciuc 2013; Trosborg 1997). These CAT-tools improve consistency and increase speed, but they also restrict the freedom and creativity of the translator. In institutional translation, it is the goals of the institution which determine the translation approach (Mossop 1988: 65). Thus, the translator does not act as an individual, but translates as an agent who represents the institution (Mossop 1990: 351). The role of the translator is in this case subordinate to the aims of the institution. The use of sociological concepts such as agency, status and habitus provide tools to describe these institutional contexts, as will be addressed in 2.2.2.

Koskinen’s definition of institutional translation (2008, 2011) is based on her own research that focuses on EU institutions. Some of the recent contributions in the special issue of *Perspectives* further discuss these particular characteristics of institutional translation in various contexts, and thus also contribute to our understanding of institutional translation as a concept (see e.g. Schäffner, Tcaciuc, and Tesseur 2014). As Kang points out, “very little is empirically known about the process and product of translation in institutional contexts. More research is needed at this stage to examine critically what we know and to move the discussion forward” (2014: 3). Investigating the context of a non-governmental organisation as a largely unexplored type of institution, the current research aims to contribute to the discussion on how to understand and define institutional translation by adding a new perspective to the existing body of research.

2.2.2 Sociological concepts: habitus, agency, ethics, status

As described in 2.1., sociological approaches to translation have adopted many concepts from sociology to help describe and explain translation, which is considered as a socially regulated activity. The notion of **agency** has become a central concept in understanding the professional roles of translators and interpreters (Koskinen and Kinnunen 2010: 4). Koskinen and Kinnunen (2010: 5) define agency as “the willingness and ability to act”, where willingness denotes notions of consciousness, reflectivity and an individualistic nature, and ability relates to choice, constraints and issues of power(lessness), highlighting the relation between agency and power. Studies that look at the

translators' agency often take into account several factors that influence agency. For example, Abdallah (2012) explores translators' agency by investigating accessibility of information and cooperation, the quality of the working process and of the product, salaries and fees, and the translator's role and status as perceived by themselves. The translator's agency is connected to power roles and social structure, which will limit or increase the translator's freedom to act. In the context of institutional translation, agency denotes the extent to which translators can take their own decisions in a context where behaviour is regulated and constrained by the institution (Koskinen 2008: 18).

Translators' agency is dependent on their **status** within and outside the organisation and on their **visibility**. In recent years, several sociological studies on translation have focused on the concept of status. Dam and Zethsen (2008, 2009, 2012), who have conducted research on the status of professional translators, identify four parameters that influence translator status. These include: (1) education and expertise; (2) visibility and fame; (3) power and influence; (4) remuneration or salary. Agency, as defined above, is related to the parameter of power and powerlessness. Dam and Zethsen (2012) have shown that the status of both EU translators and of company translators is relatively low, even though the expectancy was that EU translators would be associated with higher status. EU translators are paid more than national-market translators, yet the challenge for EU translators in relation to their status seems to lie in their lack of visibility. This was also described in Koskinen's (2008) study on translation at the EU. The low status implies that the translators' level of expertise is rarely recognised, and that translators' influence is limited, if existent at all. Dam and Zethsen (2010: 207) conclude that when it comes to translation status, "*the general lack of awareness/recognition of the level of expertise required to translate* may in fact be the heart of the matter — the overall reason why translator status is relatively low". Katan (2011) relates how the traditional conceptualisation of translation as "mere copy" is linked to a conceptualisation of language as a static conveyer of meaning, with the success of, for example, Google Translate accentuating low recognition (Katan 2011: 146). Translation is often seen as a simple secretarial activity. Research on news translation has also described how journalists often distance themselves from translation practice as well. They object to being called translators, and often conceptualise translation in this same traditional way (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 132, 144; Davier 2012: 80). The lack of awareness and recognition of the level of expertise needed for translation is a potential barrier to full professionalization. As Katan (2011: 146) points out, translation still has no official status, or no relative social or professional position.

Translator's **visibility** also impacts on his or her status and agency. Translators are often conceptualised as submissive intermediaries, and this has been argued to contribute to their low status (Simeoni 1998). These arguments are related to the translator's *habitus*, another concept Translation Studies scholars have adopted from sociology, particularly from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (see for example Simeoni 1998; Sela-Sheffy 2005; Inghilleri 2003; Meylaerts 2010). For Bourdieu the concept designates "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-

ordinated or governed by any ‘rule’” (Bourdieu 1991a: 12). The habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives in an unconscious, taken-for-granted sense (Bourdieu 1991a: 13). With the concept of habitus, Bourdieu tries to move away from the dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism, expressing how social life is not an aggregate of individual behaviour or determined solely by supra-individual structures. Instead, it offers a bridge between the two extremes (Wolf 2012: 135).

However, as pointed out by Sela-Sheffy (2005: 3), habitus is often associated with a deterministic view of human action, with a lot of weight put on the idea of submissiveness, as does Simeoni (1998), allowing almost no room for understanding choice and variability in the translators’ action. Whereas Simeoni (1998) argues that the translator’s habitus has contributed over the years to the internalisation of a submissive behaviour, generating low social prestige for translators, Sela-Sheffy (2005: 4) has contradicted this argument by pointing out that it would be misleading to conclude that this inferior status is the same in all cultural periods and spaces, and that it applies to all individuals.

Many contemporary Translation Studies scholars take a stance against conceptualising the translator as an invisible intermediary. Venuti’s seminal work *The translator's invisibility* (1995) argues that domestication translation strategies contribute to the invisibility of translators within the texts, and to a lack of recognition which is experienced by many literary translators. Foreignising translation strategies should be adopted to address this issue. Other scholars, such as Arrojo (1998: 44), have argued that striving for invisibility can in fact be seen as *unethical*. This point of view is opposed to traditional views of ethics of translation, where fidelity to the source text and author and neutrality are key. These traditional views on translator ethics, which have been around for centuries, are critically reflected on in contemporary Translation Studies. As pointed out in 2.1, many recent studies consider the requirement that translators neutrally reproduce a source text in a new language as impossible to achieve. Instead, approaches focus on the function that a text will attain in the target language and culture (*skopos*) and on the agency of the translator and the difference they will inevitably produce (Van Wyke 2010: 117).

How these ideas of ethics, faithfulness and functionality apply in the context of institutional translation is part of the focus of the current study. The ethical attitude of translators working for an NGO is likely to involve aspects such as faithfulness to the target audience and to the institution. Translators might feel strongly about Amnesty’s core values, its mission and vision, and this might be reflected in their translations. These issues will be addressed in Chapter 4.

The low status that translators are associated with stands in contrast to the volume of translation work that is carried out worldwide, which has increased under the influence of globalization. Two separate developments can be observed: whereas the volume of translation has increased, and its importance is recognised in international organisations such as the EU and the UN, the status of the translators as seen by the general public is often decreasing, due to amongst other the

influence of Computer Assisted Translation. The idea that many of the translations produced by these organisations have an overall symbolic function rather than a practical one also contributes to low status from the part of translators themselves. As observed by Koskinen (2008: 94), feedback from clients is rare, and translators often wonder if anyone reads their translations. As not much research has been done yet on translators working for NGOs, it still needs to be established whether these findings relating to status, job satisfaction and motivation also apply to them. By working for an NGO, translators might feel morally rewarded for their contribution. The notion of **capital** in Bourdieu's work is particularly useful to gain a better insight into a translator's motivation to work for a particular organisation or company. Capital designates different kinds of resources that determine the different positions and interrelations in the field, a structured system of social positions occupied by social agents. To gain insight into the structure of the field and to uncover underlying power relations, Bourdieu argues that what is needed is to better understand the distribution of different types of capital, and more concretely the capital that is at stake in the field. Different types of capital can be distinguished: "not only 'economic' capital in the strict sense (i.e. material wealth in the form of money, stocks and shares, property, etc.), but also 'cultural capital' (i.e. knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications), 'symbolic capital' (i.e. accumulated prestige or honour), and so on" (Bourdieu 1991a: 14). If the position of agents in the distribution of specific capital can be determined, this will largely explain the agents' practices, how they relate to others, and what their position is on particular issues (Bourdieu 1991: 28).

For the current research project, it is worthwhile to look beyond "economic capital" to explain why translators choose to work for Amnesty International. Since Amnesty is part of the non-for-profit sector, translators can expect to be paid less than when working for the for-profit sector or for (inter)governmental institutions. On top of this, a large amount of translation work for Amnesty is carried out by volunteers who are not remunerated for their work. As Pym (2012: 4) points out: "The discussion of commerce is still very relevant, but we now have to recognize that the kind of value for which effort is exchanged is not just economic: translators also work, legitimately, for value of a social, symbolic and cultural kind". In the present case, being associated with Amnesty International can not only be seen as contributing to a person's symbolic capital, it also denotes a particular ethical attitude towards social life.

These issues of translator's ethics, status, and the concepts of habitus, capital and agency will be explored in the discussion of translation policy in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Translation policy

Studying institutional translation implies exploring institutional policies relating to translation. Policy commonly refers to a set of plans or actions agreed on by a government, a political party, business, or other groups. Yet policy can also relate to more informal aspects such as a principle or a set of beliefs

or ideas on a more personal level. In accordance with these different meanings of policy, translation policy can refer to official institutional settings, but also to more informal aspects such as translation strategies, ethics and ideology (Meylaerts 2011: 163). In her contribution to the *Handbook of Translation Studies*, Meylaerts proposes to define a translation policy “as a set of legal rules that regulate translation in the public domain: in education, in legal affairs, in political institutions, in administration, in the media” (2011: 165). In this definition, translation policy encompasses policies as they are set out in legal and regulative documents, yet it does not include policy in its more implicit understanding of how things are done on the work floor.

González Núñez (2013), whose research focuses on the role of translation policy in the integration of linguistic minorities, proposes a broader understanding of translation policy, which also includes implicit policies. González Núñez's (2013) definition is based on Spolsky's (2004) understanding of language policy. For Spolsky (2004: 5), who explores language policy in society and especially on the level of the nation state, language policy encompasses three components: (1) language practices, (2) language beliefs or ideology, and (3) language intervention, planning or management. Defining translation policy in accordance with this definition of language policy recognises the strong connection between the two concepts. As argued by Meylaerts, “[a]ny language policy presupposes a translation policy: determining the rules of institutional language use presupposes determining the right to translation within these same institutions in a democratic society” (Meylaerts 2011: 165). Language policy necessarily includes choices about the use of translation, *and* about the non-use of translation. González Núñez (2013: 475) argues that translation plays a role in all three areas of Spolsky's language policy. For González Núñez, translation practices involve questions “such as what texts get translated, into and out of what languages, where it takes place, who is tasked with it, what mode of interpreting is used, etc.” (2013: 475). For the second component, González Núñez uses the term translation beliefs, which relate to “issues such as what the value is or is not of offering translation in certain contexts for certain groups or to achieve certain ends” (2013: 475). Finally, translation management refers to “decisions regarding translation practices made by people in authority” (2013: 475). Usually, the formulation of an explicit policy is stated in a formal document about language and translation use, although the existence of an explicit policy does not guarantee that it will be implemented or that it is successful (Spolsky 2004: 11).

Spolsky's conceptualisation of language policy with its three components forms a useful basis to define translation policy. Spolsky's (2004) focus is mainly on national language policy, yet he emphasises that the same processes for decision-making which operate on the macrolevel also operate on the microlevel. Policies on the national level interact with less obvious policies on levels below and above the nation state, including those of families, schools, religious organisations, the workplace, local government, and supra-national organisations (Spolsky 2004: 39, 55).

This wider context is important in light of Spolsky's main aim of his study, i.e. to understand how language policy can be recognised and how language is managed. He emphasises that

“[L]anguage policy studies that focus only on the individual nation state and its centralized language planning are likely to miss many significant features” (Spolsky 2004: 55). By implementing his model of language policy as consisting of three levels, Spolsky demonstrates how language policy is shaped by politics and ideology, and is more than what is set out in policy documents. Language management is a way to manipulate language and the existing practices, and these efforts may “go beyond or contradict the set of beliefs and values that underlie a community’s use of language, and the actual practice of language use” (2004: 14).

In the final chapter of his study, Spolsky argues that real language policy is in fact rather what takes place in terms of language practices - what the community does - than what is outlined in policy documents. Even within one group, there are often conflicting beliefs, and it is difficult to identify what the “real” language policy is (Spolsky 2004: 217). This conclusion emphasises that his definition of language policy is a heuristic tool. It is helpful for our understanding of how languages work and are regulated, but it does not automatically mean that the three levels are easily distinguishable. The boundaries between the three components of language policy (and consequently between those of translation policy as understood in the present thesis) are blurred, and the causal relationships between them are not always easy to establish. Specific language management decisions may not lead to any results or to a result that was not anticipated (Spolsky 2004: 41).

González Núñez’s (2013, 2014) research on the role of translation policy in the integration of linguistic minorities focuses on a similar area as Spolsky’s research, i.e. policy as reflected in international treaties and national law. Yet his interpretation of translation policy slightly differs from Spolsky’s definition of language policy. Spolsky defines language practices as “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire”, language beliefs or ideology as “the beliefs about language and language use”, and language intervention, planning or management as “any specific effort to modify or influence that practice” (2004: 5). Language practices for Spolsky are linked to Hymes’ concept of “ethnography of speaking”, in which attention is not only paid to language itself, but also to the context in which communication takes place. Spolsky states that:

[b]y language practices, then, I mean the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language. (...) Language practices include much more than sounds, words and grammar; they embrace conventional differences between levels of formality of speech and other agreed rules as to what variety is appropriate in different situations. (2004: 9)

González Núñez’s (2013) interpretation of translation practices does not include analysing actual words and grammatical choices, but rather encompasses the context surrounding translation: who translates where and what. In the context of the present thesis, the study of the actual words and grammar for translation are conceptualised as the study of translation products, which will be discussed in more detail in 2.4.3.

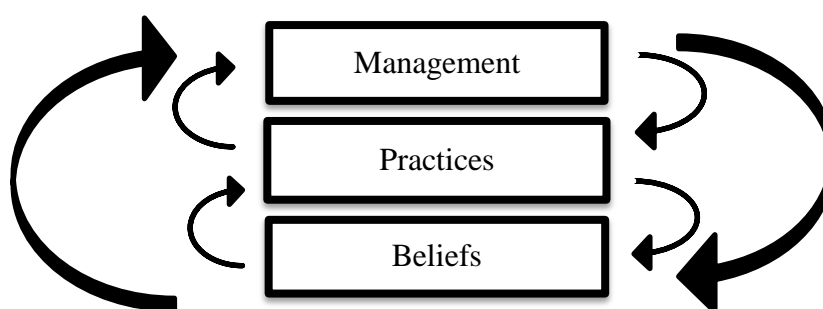
The present thesis adapts Spolsky's (2004) conceptualisation of language policy to translation policy, and largely agrees with González Núñez's (2013) definition. Yet there are some differences. Both González Núñez (2013; 2014) and Spolsky (2004) explore policy in international and national law as set out in policy documents. In contrast, the present thesis explores translation policy in one particular institution, and the focus is on how this institution implements translation to increase its visibility and impact worldwide. Furthermore, the current thesis does not only analyse policy documents, but also relies on observations and notes from fieldwork at the institution in question, recorded interviews with staff and the analysis of translation products produced by the institution to come to a full understanding of translation policy at Amnesty.

For the purposes of this research, the components of translation policy are referred to as "translation management" (not intervention or planning), "translation beliefs" (not ideology), and "translation practices". The thesis specifically uses the term "translation management" because it studies translation policy within one particular organisation, with attention paid to how language and translation are used to increase impact. This differs from Spolsky's study of language in society and in the nation state. The analysis of translation policy in this thesis does not for example include "efforts to constrain what is considered bad language and to encourage what is considered good language" (Spolsky 2004: 8). In short, language intervention is not the object of research. For the component of "translation beliefs", reference is not made to "translation ideology", as ideology is often associated with aspects of power, domination and exploitation. Rather than taking a critical view, the interpretation of ideology in the present thesis is more related to a "descriptivist view", in which ideology is understood as "positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, etc. of social groups without reference to relations of power and domination between such groups" (Fairclough 2003: 9). To avoid any confusion, this component of translation policy will therefore be referred to as "translation beliefs".

By adapting Spolsky's model of language policy, Meylaerts' (2011) definition of translation policy is covered by the component of translation management. The more informal meaning of policy as beliefs on a personal level is included under translation beliefs, and there is also room for analysing what actually happens on the work floor under the component translation practices. Including these aspects is essential, as translation and translation policy exist in highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts, and the nature and scope of translation management can only be understood in relation to the particular sociocultural settings in which translation takes place (cf. Spolsky 2004: 15). Studying these sociocultural settings should include analysing anything that can impact on translation practices and on beliefs, or that could lead to intervention in translation policy (cf. Spolsky 2004: 15). The three components of translation policy all influence each other, as represented in Figure 1. Translation beliefs influence translation practices, and can also form the basis of translation management. Similarly, particular translation practices or management strategies that are imposed can influence the translation beliefs of the actors involved.

Translation policy functions in a complex social system in which a large variety of both linguistic and non-linguistic factors have an impact. In fact, it can be helpful to conceptualise translation policy as an abstract institution, consisting of “cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour” (Scott 1995: 33). Translation beliefs correspond to the cognitive pillar of institutions. The three components of translation policy form a continuum, moving “from the conscious and the legally enforced to the unconscious and the taken-for-granted” (Koskinen 2008: 18).

Figure 1: Translation policy as management, practices and beliefs



The three components of translation policy and the surrounding variables influencing them are often varied and conflicting. In the case of Amnesty International, a worldwide organisation with offices around the globe, it is plausible that offices differ in the practices and local policies they have in place, and translation beliefs could even vary on the local level, for example between staff and volunteers. The interest of the present study is in exploring and describing the multiplicity of institutional arrangements, and in the possible differences in dealing with translation within one organisation. These issues are explored by using a linguistic ethnographic approach, as will be discussed in 2.3.

2.3 Ethnographic framework

2.3.1 Essentials of ethnography and linguistic ethnography

The current thesis adopts “inquiry from the inside” to explore translation policy at Amnesty International. As discussed above, what is set out in policy documents is not necessarily what happens in practice, and policy documents may contradict local beliefs and values. Therefore, it is essential as a researcher to submerge oneself in the local culture and institutional settings to gain insight in translation policy on all three levels.

Ethnography (from the Greek *ethnos* (folk, people) and *grapho* (to write)) serves as a useful framework for this type of research. Ethnography finds its roots in nineteenth-century anthropology and was originally used to describe communities or cultures typically situated outside the West

(Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 1). The use of ethnography has since then become more widespread and varied, and it has also been applied in research investigating organisations and institutional settings, also in translation (see 2.3.2). This development is related to the evolving ontological and epistemological views underlying ethnography. Although ethnography is often understood as a particular methodology used in social sciences, ethnography has a strong theoretical and philosophical basis (Rampton et al. 2004: 2). Early ethnographic studies were often based on a naturalist view of social research, which propagates that the social world should be studied in its natural state, undisturbed by the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 7). Research data should be collected in natural settings, as opposed to artificial and experimental settings often created for traditional scientific research that propagates a positivist view of the world. Positivism assumes that reality is independent of and can be revealed by human perception. What we perceive is what exists (Burr 2003: 88). Positivistic research typically privileges quantitative research, especially with an eye to ensuring representativeness of the research results. Naturalism, on the other hand, holds that ethnographers can learn about the culture of the particular groups under study by being present and observing (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 8). However, this aim and the possibility of describing social phenomena in a literal, direct way has been questioned and contested over the years. As researchers, we are part of the social world we study, and we cannot escape relying on common-sense knowledge and methods of investigation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 15). The commitment to describe *facts* and the striving for neutrality and objectivity, which is characteristic both of naturalism and positivism, started to be questioned during the 1980s (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 13).

Under the influence of post-structuralism and post-modernism, the reflexive character of social research has become of central importance. Reflexivity “acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 15). The recognition that the researcher is part of the social world he or she studies is missing in both positivism and naturalism. Many recent qualitative studies adopt a relativist position instead, recognising that our understanding of and perspectives on the world are shaped by our own background and culture. Hammersley (1992) questions such a relativist position in terms of the validity of the research results. If all interpretations are personal, then a multiplicity of accounts would arise, and there is no reason to prefer one above the other. The value of contributing knowledge using such an approach can be questioned (Andrews 2012: 42). Hammersley’s solution (1992; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) consists of a position between realism and relativism, which he calls “subtle realism”. This approach acknowledges independent reality exists, but that we cannot gain direct access to it. A researcher always represents a particular perspective, and this implies reflexivity. Being aware of the issue of reflexivity serves as the basis “for a reconstructed logic of inquiry” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 18). It is vital to be aware of our own role as researchers. In subtle realism, the researcher acknowledges that his or her account is a representation and not a reproduction of the social world (Andrews 2012: 42).

Another issue with the production of knowledge when using ethnography is the representativeness of small case studies. Together with the rejection of positivist and naturalist attitudes to ethnography, the holistic idea of providing a comprehensive ethnography and describing whole realities has been criticised and rejected over the years (see for example Clifford and Marcus 1986). To study a cultural group as a foreigner, the ethnographer would need many years to produce anything more than a description of conventional systems. The awareness of ethnography's limitations in exotic or distant locations has made ethnographers turn to more familiar surroundings, and has given rise to a tendency for small, topic-oriented studies (Rampton 2007: 592). The advantage of employing a narrow focus is that multiple viewpoints can be discussed (see also 2.4.1). By focusing on detailed analysis of small samples, it is possible to increase our understanding of a larger whole (Koskinen 2008: 7). Ethnographic case studies are used to demonstrate theory. Blommaert and Jie (2010: 12) describe ethnography as an inductive science, meaning that it works "from empirical evidence towards theory, not the other way around". Choices need to be made as to which aspects exactly insight will be gained into.

The preference for topic-oriented studies is especially characteristic for linguistic ethnography, a strand of ethnography that has received increasing interest in recent years, especially in the UK and in Belgium (Creese 2008; Flynn, Jacobs, and Van Praet 2010; Rampton et al. 2004) see also <http://www.lingethnog.org/>). The focus in linguistic ethnographic approaches is not on anthropological theories of culture and cultural interpretation, but on analysing language in use (Koskinen 2008: 36; Jacobs and Slembrouck 2010: 235). By explaining the use of language, linguistic ethnography aims to gain better insights into the activities that shape the social world. This includes the relations and dynamics of language on the one hand, and social and cultural production in everyday life activities on the other hand (Flynn et al. 2010: 97-98). The idea that language is a tool for human agents is central to linguistic ethnography, and language and social life are considered as mutually shaping.

Linguistic ethnography holds two main methodological assumptions. First of all, the context of communication should be investigated rather than just assumed, as meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, where it is produced and construed by agents (Rampton 2007: 585). Secondly, analysing the "internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic data) is essential" if we want to understand its significance and position in the world (Rampton 2007: 585). Therefore, linguistic ethnographic research embeds linguistics and discourse analysis in an ethnographic approach.

As pointed out, linguistic ethnographic research mainly explores smaller case studies. It typically focuses on specific types of professional interaction, literacy event, speech style, etc., rather than on "comprehensive" descriptions of speech communities (Rampton 2007: 592). Research on institutional contexts in which interaction take place is also of interest, as illustrated by the special issue of *Text and Talk* 30:2 (2010). Contributions focus on institutional discourse in different fields, including education, the media, social work, and diplomacy (Flynn et al. 2010: 98). One of the central

themes of the issue is “the impact of these sites on the situated meaning making within them” (Flynn et al. 2010: 98). By entering these sites, more insight can be gained into how knowledge is constructed through language. In terms of translation research, linguistic ethnography offers a helpful framework to analyse the institutional setting in which translations are produced, and how the institutional context impacts on the texts and on the meaning that is transmitted through translation.

2.3.2 Ethnography and Translation Studies

With the rise of sociological approaches in Translation Studies, ethnography is increasingly used as a methodological and theoretical framework in translation research. Analysing discursive practices within particular institutions can contribute to our understanding of “roles and social identity, especially the enactment of institutional power roles through discourse” (Flynn et al. 2010: 98). Yet studying the discourse in itself is not enough. In order to come to a better understanding of why translations look like they do, the institutional context in which they are produced should also be investigated. As pointed out by Schäffner, “understanding the practices and underlying policies thus requires us to research organisational structures, interactions and agency” (2012: 121).

Linguistic ethnography can serve as an answer here, as it embeds discourse analysis in an ethnographic framework, in which the context of interaction can be investigated. Affinities between translation and ethnography and advantages of using ethnographic approaches in translation research have been described by a number of Translation Studies scholars (Sturge 2007; Wolf 2002; Koskinen 2008; Hubscher-Davidson 2011; Flynn 2007). It has been pointed out how ethnographic approaches can answer to the need for more contextual information, called for in other areas of translation research such as corpus studies (Flynn 2010). Moreover, Koskinen argues that ethnography can help overcoming the “perhaps undue traditional emphasis on general theories” in Translation Studies (2008: 38). Ethnography would serve as a means to introduce more data-driven approaches, instead of starting from general theories where it is sometimes difficult to relate abstractions to actualities (Koskinen 2008: 38).

Studies of the institutional settings of translation and interpreting and of the translator’s and interpreter’s workplace have been on the increase in recent years. In research on interpreting, ethnographic approaches have been used to study a variety of topics and settings, such as medical interpreting (Angelelli 2004), asylum application processes (Inghilleri 2003; 2005), volunteer interpreting in church settings (Hokkanen 2012), and the role of signed language interpreters within the workplace (Dickinson 2010).

For translation, ethnographic research was conducted in the field of literary translation by Flynn (2007), who interviewed literary translators on translating Irish poetry. Many ethnographic studies on translation explore concrete institutional settings, such as the European Commission (Koskinen 2008), translation agencies (Abdallah 2012; Risku 2004), publishing houses (Buzelin 2007)

and news agencies (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2012; 2014). Rather than focusing on the actual translation products, these studies focus on the actors involved and the organisational structures through which the translations are produced. For example, Koskinen's (2008) study focuses on the translators and their cognitive-cultural conceptions of translation and their identity. Risku (2004) focuses on translation management processes at a translation agency in Vienna, and investigates issues of quality control and deadlines. Abdallah's research (Abdallah and Koskinen 2007; Abdallah 2010; 2011; 2012) also explores the translation industry, but focuses on production networks and the place of the freelance and in-house translators in these networks. Her findings provide an alternative viewpoint to those of Risku (2004) in that Abdallah's (2012) focus is on the translator, whose work is managed by project managers (Abdallah 2012: 42). Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Davier (2012; 2014) focus on translation practices in news agencies, exploring the concept of translation in a journalistic environment. Other research that has used ethnographic approaches in institutional settings is often focused on the translator's workplace and the actual translation process. For example, Leblanc (2013) has applied ethnography to investigate the impact of the use of translation memories on the interaction between the translator and the text. Ehrensberger-Dow and Perrin (2009; 2013) have combined ethnographic observations with interviews, keystroke logging, screen-recording, eye-tracking and cue-based retrospective verbalisation to gain insight into the cognitive aspects of the translation process.

The recent increase of ethnographic approaches in interpreting and translation research confirms that researchers feel the need to investigate the context in which interaction takes place in order to gain better insights into translation and interpreting processes. From the field of ethnography itself, the problematic role played by translation in meaning-making and in representing other cultures has been part of theoretical reflections on ethnography for a long time. Several essays in Clifford and Marcus (1986) discuss the similarities between translation and ethnography and the difficulty of translating meaning that is not known in our own culture. Yet translation has not explicitly been theorised in ethnographic approaches. As described above, linguistic ethnography posits that meaning takes shape within specific social relations and is produced and construed by agents. Translation and interpreting processes can reshape knowledge and meaning, whether intentionally or unintentionally. The current thesis aims to include processes of translation in its linguistic ethnographic approach. The next section will introduce the research model used in the present research, which allows a focus on translation (or interpreting) as a social process in which meaning is shaped and reshaped.

2.4 Research model

2.4.1 The nexus model

A research model is an intermediate construction between theory and data (Chesterman 2000a: 15). Whereas a theory is abstract, consisting of a set of concepts and statements that provide a systematic perspective on the research object, a model typically illustrates a theory, or part of a theory. Different research models present different ways in which a theory can be tested or developed and in which data can be explored (Chesterman 2000a: 15). Chesterman (2012) lists four types of models that have been widely used in Translation Studies: the comparative, process, causal, and nexus models. The choice for a particular research model depends on the aims of the research, on the research questions, and on the theoretical framework that is in place.

The current thesis takes a sociological view of translation and considers translation as a socially regulated activity influenced by social agents. Institutional translation specifically is considered as a complex process, in which multiple agents (translators, revisers, editors, and other staff) participate and are constrained and regulated by the institutional context (Koskinen 2008: 35). Rather than focusing only on the process of translation or on causal issues (why do translations look like they do?), the present thesis aims to contextualise the translation process.

The use of a **nexus** or **network** research model helps to conceptualise the complex social world in which translation takes place, and in which multiple factors and actors influence the eventual outcome of translation. Contrary to process and causal models, a nexus model does not try to reduce complex reality into linearity. Some Translation Studies scholars have drawn on Actor Network Theory (ANT) to develop nexus-like models (Abdallah 2011; 2012; Buzelin 2005; 2007; Jones 2009). ANT was originally developed in sociology to study technological innovation and scientific progress, and aims to describe how processes develop. The focus of ANT is on the act in itself, rather than on the product as the end result. Actors in an actor-network can include both human and non-human agents. For example, people interact with books, computers, or they could be working under specific competitive restrictions, etc. (Abdallah 2011: 178). ANT has been used in Translation Studies to describe the translation process with all the different steps involved, e.g. translation, revision, proofreading (see for example Buzelin 2007).

The models based on ANT differ from the nexus model applied by Koskinen (2008) in her study of institutional translation at the EU, which is related to models used in ethnography and in studies on organisational culture. Instead of aiming to describe all the steps in the translation process, Koskinen's focuses on the translators as actors. She places her object of study at the centre, and analyses all kinds of data to gain insight into the various relationships surrounding it. She explains:

I will view the [translation] unit as a contact point of various relations from within the Commission, from other EU institutions and outside them. These different relations are threads I use to weave the net around the translators. (Koskinen 2008: 44).

A set-up with a nexus at the centre and around it actors that constantly shift positions encourages an in-depth case study in which various perspectives are represented, although not everything can be accounted for (Koskinen 2010: 180). Koskinen's model is based on the nexus model described by Martin (2002), which represents an organisation as a nexus where a variety of internal and external influences come together (Martin 2002: 164). People have multiple ties in their cultural identification, and the nexus approach allows for these ambiguities and for various points of identification and connections (Koskinen 2008: 2).

These ideas can also be found in Scollon and Scollon's (2007) description of nexus analysis, an ethnographic approach that takes human action rather than language or culture as its unit of analysis. Scollon and Scollon's (2007) nexus analysis focuses on the point "at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas and objects come together to enable some action" (Scollon and Scollon 2007: 615). Starting from the idea that nothing happens in a social and political vacuum, the central question in nexus analysis is "*How have just these elements come together at just this moment to produce this particular action?*" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 169). Any available resources can help to gain insight into the context under study. This approach fits in well with the underlying ideas of linguistic ethnography. Both call for exploring various focus points in which discourses and other practices "intersect to form new meaning and alter the old ones" (Krzyżanowski 2011: 232). The nexus model developed in the present thesis is related to the nexus models developed by Koskinen (2008), Martin (2002), and Scollon and Scollon (2007), and to linguistic ethnography, as explained below in 2.4.2.

2.4.2 Linguistic ethnography's foci for analysis

The idea of exploring a number of different focus points in order to investigate communication lies at the basis of linguistic ethnography. As described in 2.3.1, linguistic ethnography holds two main methodological assumptions, i.e. the context of communication should be investigated rather than assumed; and analysis of internal organisation of verbal data is essential. Rampton (2007: 3) emphasises that linguistic ethnography "can be very wide-ranging in its empirical scope" and proposes three focus points for analysis: (1) persons; (2) situated encounters; and (3) institutions, networks and communities of practice. The underlying assumption is that these three levels are profoundly interlinked, and research is thus concerned with "the nature and dynamics of these linkages" (Rampton 2007: 3).

With its three empirical foci, Rampton's (2007) proposal for investigating communication could be represented as a nexus model, with communication as the central object, and the different foci surrounding it. When studying these three foci, various elements can be explored. For persons,

this can for example involve looking at their physical bodies, senses and perceptions, but also their capacities and habits, their likes and dislikes, fears, personalities, social status, etc. Exploring situated encounters involves looking at “events, genres and types of activity in which people, texts and objects interact together”. This does not only include verbal language, but also texts, signs, media, the physical arrangements and material settings, or the “interpretation and the efforts of participants to understand or influence each other” (Rampton 2007: 3). The third level of analysis can include networks and institutions from small-scale to large scale settings, e.g. the study of classroom settings or playground peer-groups, the mass media, or government institutions. The interest here is in how institutions shape and get reproduced through texts, objects, media, genres and practices, and in how they “control, manage, produce, and distribute persons, resources, discourses/ representations/ ideologies, spaces, etc.” (Rampton 2007: 3). When studying communication as a social process, it is vital to pay attention to all three levels, as they interact with each other. As Rampton explains: “[R]epertoires get used and developed in encounters, encounters enact institutions, and institutions produce and regulate persons and their repertoires through the regimentation of encounters” (2007: 3).

The three focus points proposed by Rampton (2007) can be recognised in Koskinen’s (2008) study of translation at the EU. Emphasising that the work of translators is influenced by several factors, her study is built on three levels of analysis: the study of (1) the institutional framework; (2) the translators working in these institutional settings; and (3) translated documents and their source texts (Koskinen 2008: 6). Koskinen’s research is “a study of both texts and people in their institutional habitat”, although the overall focus is on the translators (2008: 6).

Although Rampton’s framework (2007) is useful for the current thesis, it does not really account for translations. Rampton’s position in linguistic ethnography is related to interactional sociolinguistics (cf. Gumperz 1999) where the focus is on situated communication, and more particularly on “the efforts individuals make to get other people to recognise their feelings, perceptions, interests etc.” (Rampton 2007: 3). Interactional sociolinguistics focuses on speech exchanges, and aims to show how individuals use talk to achieve their communicative goals by concentrating on the meaning making processes (Gumperz 1999: 454). Rampton (2007:4) includes discourse analysis as a possible analytic tool for linguistic ethnography, but his framework of linguistic ethnography is mostly applicable to speech exchanges, and not to the analysis of translations.

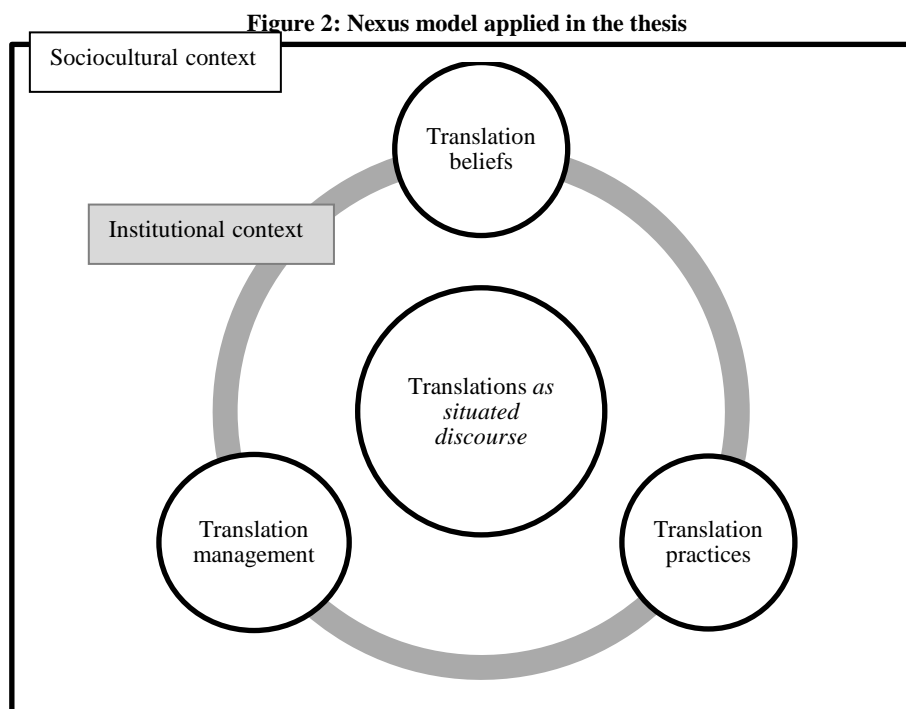
Translations could also be conceptualised as situated encounters, as the place where the translator and the institution come together: the translator takes particular decisions based on values and beliefs that are all impacted on by the institutional setting in which he or she works and interacts with other agents and texts. These lead to a specific outcome, visible in the translation product. In order to distinguish translations from the speech exchanges between individuals that Rampton (2007) has in mind, it is useful to consider translations as *situated discourse*. Using this term enables us to add a focus point specifically related to language transfer, whether written or spoken. The individual

involved in this case acts as an agent on behalf of the institution, aiming to transfer the institution's message. Situated discourse is the end-product of this process. Speaking of *situated* discourse emphasises the fact that the translations are shaped by and participate in shaping the context in which they are produced.

2.4.3 Translation policy as a nexus model

A nexus model in Translation Studies typically represents translation as the product of a complex process, involving various actors or agents (Chesterman 2012). In the present framework, translations are considered as the culmination of translation policy's three facets: translation management, translation practice, and translation beliefs. Yet as Koskinen (2008: 62) points out, translations also *participate* in shaping the context in which they are produced. In their turn, translations influence translation policy. For example, a tendency for low-quality translations might influence people's beliefs relating to translation, or it might encourage management to put a policy in place to improve the quality. Furthermore, translations as situated discourse have an impact on the sociocultural context. This implies that for Amnesty, translation may have an impact on the representation of the organisation's message and voice around the world; on whether or not specific human rights actions are undertaken, or if human rights violations go by unnoticed. Because an institution's communication is spread through translation, translation as a social act will influence an institution's visibility, power and relevance.

The concept of translation policy with its three components serves as the basis for the nexus model applied in the present thesis, as presented in Figure 2 below. As described above, Scott (2005) understands institutions as comprised of three pillars: rules, norms and beliefs. These three pillars are influenced by and influence the agents involved. In the present thesis, the analysis of the institutional context in which translations are produced does not directly set out to describe the institution or the agents as such, but their involvement naturally comes up when describing translation policy. For example, for the analysis of translation beliefs, the focus is on beliefs of the translators and other agents involved. Their cultural and semiotic repertoires, their capacities and habitual practices, fears and dislikes will naturally be part of the analysis, as Rampton (2007) proposes for the analysis of the persons involved. The discussion of translation management in the current thesis will analyse policy documents in order to come to a better understanding of "how institutions control, manage, produce and distribute persons, resources, discourses/ representations/ ideologies, spaces etc.", specifically in relation to language and translation services (Rampton 2007: 4). Rampton's (2007) focus on situated encounters is closely related to studying translation practices. Analysing translation practices involves questions such as what happens on the work floor, who interacts with who, who translates what into which language and how?



The nexus model as presented in Figure 2 provides a framework for the three research questions addressed in the present thesis. Research questions 1 and 2 (addressed in Chapters 4 and 5) relating to translation policy and the translation products are represented in the inner structure, labelled “institutional context”. The third research question (addressed in Chapter 6), which relates to Amnesty’s visibility in the wider sociocultural environment, is represented by the square encompassing all the other levels. This way, attention is not only paid to translations and the institution, but also to how the translations shape the institution’s visibility in its wider sociocultural environment (cf. Baumgarten 2007: 36; Chesterman 2000a: 20).

2.5 Conclusion and contribution

This chapter has provided an overview of recent developments in Translation Studies and research on institutional translation. It has described how many contexts of institutional translation still remain unexplored. NGOs have been looked at to some degree in the context of volunteer translation and interpreting, but they have received scant attention as translating institutions in their own right. It still needs to be established how these organisations use different types of translation to communicate their goals and achievements in order to increase their impact. The present research aims to contribute insights in this area by applying the concept of translation policy in the context of a formal translating institution, adapting Spolsky’s (2004) concept of language policy that has been applied to the level of the nation state (Spolsky 2004; and González Núñez 2013; 2014 for translation policy). As was pointed out, these studies focused on the analysis of policy documents, whereas the present research also brings in data from recorded interviews, notes on informal talks and observations, and other

documents collected during fieldwork to describe translation beliefs, practices, and management in-depth. In order to investigate this previously unexplored context of institutional translation with the concept of translation policy, the thesis proposes to use a research model that relies on linguistic ethnography and the three foci as set out by Rampton (2007). However, as this framework does not account for translations, an additional focus point is added by including translations as situated discourse. The next chapter will set out how different data sets were collected and analysed in the framework of the nexus model.

Chapter 3 – Data and methodology

The previous chapter described the theoretical basis of the current thesis as ethnographic. One of the main characteristics of ethnography is the collection and analysis of various data sets to throw light on the issue under study. Data can consist of basically anything collected during fieldwork: interviews and focus group recordings, questionnaires, observation and fieldnotes, and any other documents that could help in understanding the issues under study. Data collection methods can be both quantitative and qualitative. Fieldwork is usually carried out in one place, but can explore several research sites as well. This chapter discusses the ethnographic methodological approach applied in the present research in more detail, and provides details on how, when and where the fieldwork was conducted.

3.1 Developing the research problem: a grounded theory approach

In ethnography, data collection and analysis typically go hand-in-hand. In contrast to traditional empirical research where data is collected first and then analysed in a second, separate phase, ethnographic research goes back and forth between the two, and initial data analysis feeds additional data collection. This iterative process is similar to grounded theory, a particular way of working with data that was introduced by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. Glaser and Strauss (1967) proposed this new approach to empirical research to counteract the traditional research design in which data is first collected and then analysed in order to test a hypothesis or an existing theory. Instead of a methodology of verification, they proposed an approach in which empirical research can be used to generate, or “ground”, theory. Over the years, grounded theory has become a well-established alternative to existing research methodologies. As it has been applied by so many different researchers, there are by now many varieties and it is impossible to speak of one single grounded theory.

Grounded theory as originally proposed by Glaser & Strauss (1967) set out to be an open methodology in which the material at hand stimulates the actual analysis. More recent publications on grounded theory have provided more rigid procedures of data analysis, with sets of guidelines and protocols to follow (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 159). Strauss’s own approach evolved in a more practical direction in Corbin and Strauss (2008), which contains many chapters with methodological procedures the researcher can follow. Furthermore, although grounded theory was initially focused on generating new theory, as the name indicated, Corbin indicates in the introduction of Corbin and Strauss (2008) that she has ceased to believe that theory construction is the only way to develop new knowledge, and that their book should also be able to accommodate other research goals in addition to theory building (2008: ix). Theory building is the final step in a long process, and using grounded theory approaches for thick description, case study analysis and narrative analysis for example should

be possible according to Corbin, as long as the researcher makes clear that building a theory is not the goal of the research (2008: x).

This broader understanding of grounded theory allows for an easier correlation with ethnography as well, since not all ethnographic research is aimed at generating theory but also at other outcomes, such as description and explanation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 158). What is essential is that an open, general approach to grounded theory is used, so that fruitful ideas can emerge from thinking with and through the data. There is a danger that relying too much on the procedures and techniques offered in some grounded theory approaches will result in a “thin” description rather than a thick description, in which the complexity of social life would be lost. Hammersley and Atkinson argue on this point: “The more introductory treatments of the approach, and some secondary treatment of it, however, presented the idea of grounded theorizing as if it were driven exclusively by a somewhat mechanistic desire to *code* data, as if the desire were to reduce social complexity through a form of content analysis” (2007: 167).⁵

In order to understand and explain the complex social world, a complex theory is needed, which allows capturing complexity in as much detail as possible (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 8). Yet our understanding is always influenced by our background knowledge and preconceptions, which are impossible to leave behind. Glaser and Strauss emphasise that the best approach to generate theory is “an initial, systematic discovery of the theory from the data of social research”, yet that having a perspective on particular events is also essential, so that the researcher can decide what would constitute relevant data and identify potentially interesting abstract categories to analyse the data (1967: 3). However, it is highly challenging to maintain the open-ended approach proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in a modern research context, with its multitude of time and budget constraints (i.e. to acquire funding, a research proposal will need to be specified well before the fieldwork). Moreover, being familiar with previous literature can help identifying gaps in knowledge, which can then be used as the starting point for the research. This is a common rationale applied in ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 22).

The principle of grounded theory lies at the basis of the current thesis’s methodological approach. The aim of the study is to generate new insights on translation in an institutional context, more specifically at an NGO, a type of institution that has hardly been explored in Translation Studies. Yet previous research on institutional translation is taken into account. The knowledge of this research led to initial research questions and helped to design the research problem. For example, as described in Chapter 2, the characteristics of institutional translation have previously been defined as collective, anonymous and standardized (Koskinen 2011: 57). Since hardly any research has been conducted on

⁵ The criticism on overemphasis of analytical techniques and coding is perhaps one of the reasons why the third edition (2008) of Corbin and Strauss’s *Basics of Qualitative Research* (first edition 1990) includes a new chapter on the ontological assumptions underlying the authors’ proposed grounded theory methodology, in which the belief in a complex, ambiguous and changing world is postulated clearly (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 5).

NGOs as translating institutions, it is a valid question to ask if these characteristics would also apply to translations produced within this particular institutional context. If this is not the case, our understanding of institutional translation will need to be adapted. From the outset, the focus of the current study was on translation at Amnesty as an NGO, yet a relatively open mind was maintained during the initial stages of fieldwork as to which aspects of translation and which texts would be relevant to focus on. By constantly alternating between data collection and data analysis, and by going back and forth between the different data sets, connections and areas of interest gradually emerged.

As a sociological method, grounded theory contains many methodological aspects that are useful for this type of ethnographic research, such as theoretical sampling for data collection and its constant comparative method for data analysis. The current thesis agrees with Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) that care should be taken not to overuse the procedures outlined by many grounded theorists, but to select the ones that are appropriate to a particular project, and the specific data at hand. The applicability of grounded theory methods in the present thesis are therefore discussed in more detail in 3.4.2.

3.2 Selecting settings and cases: multi-sited ethnography

An important part of developing the research problem is selecting settings where research can be conducted and selecting appropriate cases to focus on. The use of case studies is inherent to ethnography. As mentioned, ethnographic studies gradually narrowed down their research objects over the years, and linguistic ethnographic research specifically favours small, topic-oriented studies (see Chapter 2). A research object needs to be a manageable entity, especially if various points of view need to be taken into account. For research on institutional translation specifically, Koskinen (2008: 7) points out that “one cannot make a comparative analysis of all aspects of institutional translation in the numerous different contexts and languages”. An advantage of a narrow focus is that multiple viewpoints can be represented, and a net can be weaved around the research object, as described in Koskinen’s application of the nexus model (2008: 1). Ethnography as an inductive science applies case method, meaning that the analyses of one case or a number of cases will generate theory. The context of a particular case is unique, and the specific factors making it unique should be taken into account for the analysis. This is different from quantitative research, where the effects of a particular context are often controlled and eliminated so that they would not influence the analysis.

Translation in the current research project is understood as a complex process. The aim of the research is to represent not only patterns and correlations, but also variations that can be noted between different contexts (Hesse-Biber 2010: 33). Policy decisions on translation may vary according to the language. Consequently, translation practices may also be different depending on the local cultural and linguistic context. To add a deeper understanding of translation practices throughout Amnesty, the thesis uses a multi-sited approach, in which various sites are explored.

Multi-sited ethnography has been used increasingly since the 1990s. One of its proponents is Pierre Bourdieu, who in Translation Studies is particularly well-known as a macro-sociologist providing insights into the larger processes of structuration. Yet his work contains a strong ethnographic epistemological foundation (Blommaert 2005: 288). For Bourdieu, his use of multiple ethnographic case studies served as a way to avoid subjectivity. Experiences from his own past were juxtaposed to new experiences in an entirely new context, and by expanding the data it became possible to identify patterns and variations (see Wacquant 2004 for an elaborate discussion). Bourdieu's use of multi-sitedness is close to the traditional meaning of triangulation: it was used as "epistemological vigilance", as a way of self-monitoring and epistemological safeguard (Wacquant 2004: 396).

More recent applications of multi-sited ethnography, however, use multi-sitedness as a way to explore processes in and between variously situated subjects (Marcus 1995: 96). This is especially useful in the light of globalisation, and the method has been used frequently in anthropology since the 1990s. Associations and connections between different sites can be explored, and in this way social phenomena can be studied that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site.

However, multi-sited ethnography has also been criticised for its attempts at being too holistic, and many researchers have reservations about the possibility of exploring numerous research sites with the same degree of thoroughness as one-sided ethnographies, and to come to equally "thick" descriptions (Falzon 2009: 2; Horst 2009: 120). Proponents of multi-sited ethnography have refuted this criticism by arguing that ethnographic methods should not remain focused on the local level when people and places become increasingly more connected. This is also pertinent in the context of this thesis. Over the years and under the influence of globalisation, Amnesty has come to emphasise that it is a global organisation that unites people worldwide. With respect to language specifically, Amnesty is aiming to coordinate services into all languages from one central office, yet many issues and problems arise through differences on the local level. Thus, focusing on just one local context where translation is done would be limiting for our understanding of translation and translation policy at Amnesty. The multi-sitedness of the current research project remains within limits: all research sites are part of the same organisation, and all fieldwork focuses on one particular topic or on one phase in text production, namely translation. In this way, the risk of being unable to provide a "thick description" of the sites under study is mitigated.

3.3 Accessing the field

One of the main challenges of ethnography is gaining access to the field. Much translation research reporting on institutional settings has been carried out by scholars who worked in the institutional context they were examining before or during the research (e.g. Cao and Zhao 2008; Hursti 2000; Koskinen 2008; Tosi 2003; Wagner 2001; Wagner, Bech, and Martínez 2002). Gaining access to the

field can be so problematic that doing ethnography is entirely dependent on the willingness of the research subjects to cooperate. Selecting a site that is already familiar can facilitate access (Koskinen 2008: 4).

In the case of the present research, access was facilitated in another way. As already indicated in 1.1., the current PhD research was carried out as part of the Marie Curie Initial Training Network TIME. In the framework of TIME, work placements or internships with non-academic partners were set up in order to allow the researcher to train in complementary skills.⁶ This opportunity was used as a way to collect data in an environment where translation is produced. With Amnesty International, one of the non-academic partners of TIME, it was agreed that the researcher would enter the field both as an intern and a researcher. Time at the institution was divided between working for Amnesty and training in complementary skills on the one hand, and collecting data for research purposes on the other hand. Internships were carried out at three different Amnesty offices: at Amnesty International Vlaanderen (AIVL), a local Amnesty section that does not employ translators, and at two offices of the Amnesty International Language Resource Centre (AILRC), i.e. AILRC-ES in Madrid, and AILRC-FR in Paris.

Negotiating access to these offices was a gradual process and developed as a snow-ball effect: gaining access to the first office, AIVL, led to the fieldwork at AILRC-ES, and the second phase of fieldwork then led to access at AILRC-FR. As described above, selecting research sites is a gradual process and it goes hand in hand with the development of the research problem. Negotiating access with AIVL, which was the initial partner of the TIME project, was a long process. Contact had been established with AIVL in 2011, about a year before the internship took place in February-March 2012. The terms of the internship were discussed in detail in October 2011 in a meeting, resulting in a written agreement between the two parties. The discussion and agreement included decisions on:

- Possible areas of work for AIVL (for 50% of internship):
 - complementary skills training (writing web content, time and project management, team work, translation and editing);
 - project on developing tools for volunteer translators of Urgent Actions, including liaising with all staff members on their ideas, doing proposals and developing actual tools.
- Possible data that could be collected and used for research purposes (50% of time): interviews, observations, access to internal policy documents related to the research; access to originals and translations of various texts.

⁶ For more information on the project and the set-up of these work placements, see Pym et al. (2014). As Marie Curie research fellows, the early-career researchers were expected to carry out two work placements with non-academic partners. A variety of terms have been used to refer to this cooperation with non-academic partners: in the context of the EU, they are referred to as secondments. In communication with Amnesty, the term “internship” was used, as this term was most clearly understood by the staff. Therefore, the “secondments” or “work placements” will in this thesis be referred to as “internships”.

- The researcher would present herself openly as both an intern and a researcher and inform the staff clearly of her research aims and interests (participant observer).
- AIVL would help the researcher to establish contacts with other institutions for research purposes.

As agreed in the meeting, AIVL would help the researcher to establish new contacts, and this led to the second phase of fieldwork which took place at AILRC-ES. The internship was planned for April-May 2012, starting a few days after the first phase at AIVL had been concluded. It was agreed between the AILRC-ES, AIVL and the researcher that the researcher would spend another week at AIVL after the fieldwork at AILRC-ES had been completed, so that she could communicate her findings and could share ideas for best-practice on the level of translation. As with AIVL, an agreement was drawn up stating the expectations of both parties. The conditions were the same as those with AIVL. In terms of work for AILRC-ES, the researcher was asked to participate in a data collection project of AILRC-ES on translation practices at various Amnesty offices worldwide, thus enabling her to acquire information on many more offices than the three where she conducted fieldwork. Furthermore, she assisted in an alignment project for English-Spanish that would serve to feed new terminology to the Amnesty termbase.

The third phase of fieldwork was completed one year later, in April 2013 at AILRC-FR, with whom contact had been established through AILRC-ES. At AILRC-FR, the researcher devoted most of her time to her own research project, and less to tasks for the office. Thus, during this phase, she was present as a researcher rather than as an intern, although she was still expected every now and then to help out with alignment projects. The same conditions in terms of information access were agreed on as for the previous internships.

Before starting the fieldwork at each institution, the director of the local institution (AIVL, AILRC-ES and AILRC-FR) also signed an informed consent form as a representative of the institution. This form was part of the agreement and of the ethics application for the present research that was filed at Aston University. It declared that the local director had understood the purposes of the research and what the collected data would be used for (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the form).⁷

Especially during the first phase of fieldwork at AIVL, the aspect of participant observation was taken to a higher level: the main objective of the internship was to gain insight and to improve particular translation practices, related to AIVL's work with volunteer translators. The researcher entered the field having a double role. Because she introduced herself overtly as a researcher, the staff was aware that her role was different than that of many other interns, who were doing internships as part of their bachelor or master-degrees to improve their complementary skills. The staff was aware of

⁷ An application on the ethical approach of the research project was submitted to and approved by the Aston School of Languages and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in January 2012, before the fieldwork started. Next to the informed consent form for the representative of the institution, the application also included an information sheet and an informed consent forms for interviewees, discussed in more detail in 3.5.2 Ethnographic interviews.

the goals of the research project, and these goals were linked to tasks the researcher was asked to carry out as an intern.

As such, the first phase of fieldwork had strong similarities with Action Research, where research and action go hand in hand and the research aims to understand and improve a specific reality (Cravo 2007: 94). Action Research usually aims to solve concrete problems, which often affect professionals who do not have the time to look for adequate solutions themselves (Cravo 2007: 94). Even though the researcher was also asked to help out with tasks during fieldwork at the AILRC offices, her presence at these offices did not have as large an impact as at AIVL. She was able to help out with tasks that the AILRC had difficulty completing themselves due to a lack of time and resources, but she was not solving particular problems. Furthermore, the AILRC employs professional translators, which meant that the researcher and the employees came from “similar worlds” and her questions about translation did not leave an overtly great impact. AIVL, on the other hand, does not employ any language specialists or translators, and welcomed the opportunity to discuss its problems with the researcher, who the staff considered to be an expert on language and translation issues. Because the researcher was asked to work on specific and acute problems for AIVL, the relationship between the researcher and the staff was close. Problems and ideas were discussed again and again, and both parties were learning from one another.

One of the main assets of Action Research is its successful effort to start bridging the gap between academia and the professional world, something the current research project also aimed to accomplish (Cravo 2007: 97). Yet despite the similarities with an Action Research model for the fieldwork at AIVL, there are also many differences. In a typical Action Research project, the researcher looks for the solution for one particular problem, and the whole research project is focused around this. This is not how the current research project was built up. Whereas the researcher sought solutions to specific problems during fieldwork, these specific problems are not the sole focus of the project. Instead, the project aimed at a much wider understanding of translation policy in Amnesty, comparing practices, beliefs and management structures at different offices. Furthermore, Action Research usually develops as a cyclical process, where each turn marks the beginning of a new research cycle and builds on the understanding of the previous one. Gradually the researcher will be able to formulate a solution to the specific problem under study (Cravo 2007: 94).⁸ As this is not how the current research project was designed, the main focus remains the ethnographic approach.

Yet it is clear from the above description that the presence of the researcher also had an impact on the research findings. As described in Chapter 2, the ethnographer unavoidably forms part of the social world that he or she is examining. The interpretation of data and data analysis is dependent on

⁸ Cravo (2007) discusses Action Research as a Translation Studies Research Model. She identifies similarities between Action Research and what Chesterman (2000a) defines as the causal model: both seek to interpret and to describe, to explain and to predict. The major difference between the two is that Action Research follows a cyclical process (Cravo 2007: 94). Therefore, Action Research can be conceptualised as a cyclical or spiral research model.

the ethnographer: they are his or her personal knowledge and understanding. Not only does the ethnographer observe, he or she also participates and shapes the world under study, and thus also the research that is being produced. In the present case, there was a particularly close relationship during the fieldwork at AIVL between the researcher and the local staff, and the distinction between being a researcher and being an intern was particularly blurred. The researcher was here not only an observer, but was also critically reflecting on how particular practices could be improved (see also Critical Translation Studies in 2.1). Being aware of reflexivity in research is critical, and the close relationship between researcher and research field will therefore be taken into account in the analysis of the institutional practices in Chapter 4. Attention will be paid to how the researcher's critical approach influenced data collection, and subsequently the research outcome.

In the case of AILRC-FR, some reflexivity is also in order. In this particular case, the views expressed by participants and the description of translation policies at this office should be seen in the particular context of the restructuration processes that were taking place at the LRC. Times were stressful and many employees were concerned about the changes taking place. If the research had been conducted a few months earlier or later, or, for that matter, at a different LRC office, a different picture may have arisen. It is thus important to keep in mind that the analysis of AILRC-FR is not necessarily representative of the whole LRC.

3.4 Collecting and analysing data: general issues

3.4.1 An ethnographic approach using mixed methods and triangulation

Research methods are selected in order to be able to address the research questions, and are part of a general orientation to conducting social research (Brannen 2005: 4). To come to an understanding of the various factors that constitute and impact on translation policy, qualitative methods are considered as the most appropriate ones. Quantitative methods can be used in a linear fashion, to show causal relationships between particular phenomena, but, as argued by Whitehead, they “have been long known to be weak in providing insight on the relationships between the contexts and processes of human social life, and the ‘meaning’ that humans attach to social and physical phenomena” (2002: 5).

Yet qualitative research is often criticised for lacking scientific rigour and being subjective. Many researchers argue that the results, or rather, “impressions”, from one or two cases cannot be generalised (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 7). To minimise the risk of subjectivity and to be able to represent various viewpoints on social phenomena, a mixed methods approach can be used, in which several research methods and data sets are combined. This type of research can include several qualitative methods, or various quantitative methods, or it can combine both qualitative and quantitative methods (Brannen 2005: 4). Ethnography and Action Research are research methodologies that typically use more than one method (Brannen 2005: 4). Traditionally, ethnography

is considered as qualitative research, yet some ethnographers also use quantitative methods as part of their research design (Whitehead 2002: 6). The mixed methods approach of the present thesis relies primarily on qualitative methods of data collection, such as interviews, participant observation, and textual analysis.

Using a mixed methods approach is related to *triangulation*, a term originally used in traditional scientific research that draws on quantitative methods. The term has been widely used in recent years in the social sciences, especially in ethnography and in discourse analysis approaches (see Baker 2008; Hammersley 2008; Titscher et al. 2000; Van Dijk 2006; Van Leeuwen 2005). Triangulation refers to the combination of the analysis of different sets of data. Originally, this entailed checking the validity of an interpretation based on a single source of data. However, as argued by Hammersley (2008: 22), in the literature of social science methodology at least four different meanings of the term can be identified.⁹ The term triangulation “is often treated as if its meaning were clear and its value universally accepted”, but in the four meanings Hammersley distinguishes varying philosophical or methodological assumptions lie at the basis (Hammersley 2008: 22).

Considering triangulation in its original meaning as validity checking holds that there is only one single reality whose characteristics can be uncovered by studying various data sets (Hammersley 2008: 25). This interpretation of triangulation clashes with the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the present thesis. Rather, the use of triangulation here fits in with what Hammersley (2008: 27) describes as “triangulation as seeking complementary information”. This interpretation is quite common today in social research, and is outlined by Erzberger & Kelle (2003) as follows:

[T]he use of different methods to investigate a certain domain of social reality can be compared with the examination of a physical object from two different viewpoints or angles. Both viewpoints provide different pictures of this object that might not be useful to validate each other but that might yield a fuller and more complete picture of the phenomenon concerned if brought together. (Erzberger and Kelle 2003: 461, as quoted in Hammersley 2008: 27)

Similarly, Koskinen (2008: 149) comments on how the use of triangulation in her ethnographic study of EU translators did not lead to arguing a stronger case and cross-validating facts, but that instead the triangulation of different data sets added confusion. Additional sets of data open up unexplored avenues for research, and thus this may lead to contradicting research results instead.

Because ethnography considers the social world as highly complex, contradicting results are in fact a natural outcome of this type of triangulation. Whereas researchers who have a positivist view and who use quantitative methods are looking for patterns and correlations, researchers opting for qualitative methods are also interested in the *variations* of these patterns, supporting the idea that there is no one single story (Hesse-Biber 2010: 33). As the present thesis considers translation as a complex process in which multiple agents are involved and cooperate, the use of a mixed methods approach is

⁹ Hammersley (2008) describes these as: (1) triangulation as validity-checking; (2) indefinite triangulation; (3) triangulation as seeking complementary information; (4) triangulation as epistemological dialogues or juxtaposition.

meant to improve our understanding of the tensions and interrelatedness of different viewpoints and data.

Combining ethnography with textual analysis is one way of triangulating research results. It leads to a broader understanding of the phenomena under study. Some scholars have pointed out the benefits or even the necessity of combining textual analysis and ethnography. Fairclough (2003) for example argues:

To research meaning-making, one needs to look at interpretations of texts as well as texts themselves, and more generally at how texts practically figure in particular areas of social life, which suggests that textual analysis is best framed within ethnography. To assess the causal and ideological effects of texts, one would need to frame textual analysis within, for example, organizational analysis, and link the 'micro' analysis of texts to the 'macro' analysis of how power relations work across networks of practices and structures. (Fairclough 2003: 15)

Fairclough (2003) thus considers textual analysis as a supplement, not a replacement, of other methods of social research. Other scholars from both discourse analysis and ethnography have argued that ethnography and discourse analysis can be used as complementary approaches. Van Leeuwen (2005: 13) states that the texts that are analysed in discourse analysis are only a part of social practices. For example, analysis of news reports will provide insight into how journalists report about particular events, but information on selection and editing processes that precede the reporting cannot be accessed. Complementing discourse analysis with ethnographic research allows exploring production and reception processes.

Conversely, Van Leeuwen (2005: 13) also advocates that ethnographic research needs discourse analysis. Discourse analysis can provide more ground for ethnographic research, where very often production and reception practices are studied without detailed reference to what it is that is being produced and received.

From the side of ethnography, and linguistic ethnography more specifically, Rampton (2007b: 588) has pointed out that two of the main difficulties with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) could be addressed by combining a CDA approach with ethnography. Firstly, ethnography would provide more detailed and empirical data on non-textual processes and relationships. Secondly, Rampton states that "the movement from (media) textual forms to grand theory frequently seems too rapid, seeping past contingent indeterminacies and missing out the inductive mid-level theory to which ethnography is particularly inclined, working one step at a time from the data bottom-up" (2007: 588). By combining textual analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, the risk of analysing decontextualized examples of language is diminished. Being familiar with the social conditions of production (e.g. knowing who the author of a text was, in what circumstances it was produced and for whom, motivated by what) is important to understand patterns of language that might be found in a text corpus, but which cannot be answered by using discourse analysis or corpus-based techniques alone (Baker 2008: 18).

For these reasons, the present research combines ethnographic fieldwork with textual analysis. Translations are considered as the product of a complex social process of translation. In order to gain

insight into the meanings underlying the texts and to understand better why the texts look like they do, textual analysis is embedded in an ethnographic framework.

3.4.2 Theoretical sampling

As mentioned in 3.1, theoretical sampling is a data collection method used in grounded theory approaches. Grounded theory aims to generate ideas *through* the data. Instead of starting from a particular hypothesis and selecting the data on the basis of this from the very beginning, data collection and data analysis are constantly alternated and feed each other. In contrast to statistical sampling methods used in qualitative research, which aim to generalise, theoretical sampling aims to trace both regularities and discrepancies. The social world is complex and social actors are not predictable, thus random sampling methods are not appropriate for qualitative research, which is aimed at describing this complexity. As Hammersley and Atkinson point out, deviant and unusual cases should also be included in the analysis, as these are important in “helping us to understand the limits of the normal and the unremarkable, and in mapping the types and variety of actions in any given social setting” (2007: 169). Analysis must focus both on the routines and on the unusual. Theoretical sampling allows for an ongoing process of data selection and analysis, and this maximises opportunities to develop concepts, identify relationships, and uncover variations (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 143).

Theoretical sampling is driven by concepts or themes derived from the data (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 143). These feed the selection of further interesting cases to examine and analyse in more detail. In quantitative research, the size of the sample is determined by the need to generalise and by statistical validity. In qualitative research, however, the aim is not to generalise, but to understand a particular phenomenon. Sample size is determined by “theoretical saturation”: the point when further data does not generate any new insights, distinctions, or refinements. While coding, the researcher sees similar instances again and again, and no more new properties can be added to coded categories (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 61). At this point, all concepts are well defined and explained, and there is no need to continue with data collection (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 145). Differences in the categories have been maximised to the highest extent possible (see also 3.5.2).

Theoretical sampling was used in the present research as a way to identify interesting cases and to define the research problem in more detail. The data in the current project can be split into two main types: data relating to translation policy, and data relating to translation products. Data relating to translation policy consist of policy documents, recordings from interviews, fieldnotes on observations and informal talk, and any other data that was collected during fieldwork. The data relating to translation products consist of a corpus of source and target texts, which were selected on the basis of their empirical wealth and theoretical salience, rather than on criteria relating to length or content. The process of data collection and analysis was ongoing in both groups of data during fieldwork, and

findings from the analysis of both fed additional data collection. Collection and analysis of data relating to translation policy is discussed in more detail in 3.5; and 3.6 contains a discussion of the data on translation products.

3.5 Analysing translation policy

3.5.1 The data

The core of ethnographic data collection is traditionally seen as fieldwork observations and the notes the ethnographer takes that describe his or her observations and interpretations. The ethnographer participates in a world previously unknown to him or her and observes daily routines. Relationships with the participants are developed, and a systematic record is kept of all these activities (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995: 1). What is essential is that the ethnographer *immerses* into the world he or she is studying: by being physically and socially present, the ethnographer will not only be able to access the fluidity of others' lives and to grasp their experiences better, but he or she will also be able to experience events and circumstances for oneself. It is from this immersed position that the researcher collects data. Besides fieldnotes, data can consist of virtually anything that helps to answer the research question. As described in Chapter 2, institutions can be conceived of as consisting of beliefs, norms and rules. Various types of data can be collected that provide insights into these levels of institutionalisation.

In the current context, rules are clearly presented in internal Amnesty documents. Policy documents were therefore collected and analysed in order to trace the history of Amnesty's translation policy. The majority of these documents describe policy on the highest level, i.e. they apply to the whole organisation. The material is quite varied. It includes documents specifically relating to language policy and strategy, but also reports from meetings, information bulletins, documents on strategic planning, etc. The corpus of policy documents contains over 100 files. Consequently, the analysis of these documents is thematically focused (cf. Koskinen 2008: 62). For the policy documents relating to language policy and strategy in particular, the analysis explores how the official policy and strategy developed over time. For other internal documents, the focus is on how language and translation are represented in these documents and in which way importance is attached to language and translation issues. NVivo, a software programme for qualitative data analysis, was used to assist in the analysis of these documents. Notes and annotations were added to several documents. A basic coding system was used, mainly to enable easy retrieval of particular documents or themes. Section 3.5.2 will discuss the use of coding in NVivo in more detail.

To gain insight into translation practices, various types of data were collected. Observation, informal discussions, interviews and fieldnotes on these events are one source of data. The researcher kept a field diary in which she described observations, discussions she had with staff and volunteers,

and impressions of how she was received and how these talks developed. Other data include brochures, magazines, research reports published by Amnesty, results from internal questionnaires carried out by AILRC, and e-mail exchanges with Amnesty staff. As pointed out, data collection alternated with data analysis. During the first stages of fieldwork, anything that could be of interest was considered as data and was explored. Gradually, recurring themes were identified, and the selection of material became more specific, following the typical funnel structure. The data which are described in detail in the present thesis are the materials that were identified and analysed as key documents for understanding translation policy at Amnesty.

Translation beliefs are explored by an in-depth analysis of fourteen recorded interviews and by analysing fieldnotes on informal discussions with staff. As the number of interviews conducted is considerable, and their analysis is central to our understanding of translation beliefs, the next sections discuss in detail how participants were selected, and how interviews were conducted, transcribed and analysed.

3.5.2 Ethnographic interviews

The purpose of ethnographic interviews is to provide more clarity to issues the ethnographer observed during fieldwork, but which remain unclear or ambiguous to him or her (Gobo 2008: 191). Learning about actors' personal beliefs and behaviour can also be achieved through organising focus groups, where several participants can be asked to talk about particular topics. Depending on the topic of research and on the group of participants, actors may more readily express themselves as part of a group, or, conversely, there might be a risk that participants are not able to talk freely (Yin 2011: 142).

For the purposes of the present research, interviews were selected as the most appropriate method of data collection. The language services at Amnesty were going through a wide range of changes while the interviews took place, and certain topics were sensitive for open discussion. To minimise the risk that participants would not be able to express their personal views, individual interviews were organised. Furthermore, interviewing allowed exploring the tasks of each individual staff member in more depth.

The interviews were conducted between spring 2012 and summer 2013, and thus more than a year passed between the first and the last interview. In ethnography, interviews usually take a relatively unstructured form, and they can range "from spontaneous, informal conversations in the course of other activities to formally arranged meetings in bounded settings out of earshot of other people" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 108). Following the typical funnel structure of ethnographic research, ethnographic interviews tend to become more focused over time.

The funnel structure was also applied in the current research project. Interviews started off as informal and exploratory talks with several staff members at AIVL. Following the arrangements for fieldwork that were made, these talks were in the first instance related to the translation of Urgent

Actions (see 3.3). Notes were taken during and after the talks in the researcher's field diary, but there was no recording. Ten staff members were spoken to on an individual basis, including staff from the Policy and Movement team, the Communications team, and the AIVL director. The researcher consulted with her mentor at AIVL and with the AIVL director to select the discussants, and the selection was based on the discussants' job profile and their involvement with translation and with the Urgent Actions.

After the initial exploratory talks, fourteen interviews were conducted and recorded with formal consent of the interviewees between spring 2012 and summer 2013. These interviews include:

- 2 interviews with AIVL's press officer (spring 2012 and summer 2013)
- 3 interviews at AILRC-ES (spring 2012)
- 7 interviews at AILRC-FR (spring 2013)
- 2 interviews at the IS (summer 2013)

The interviews and informal talks at AIVL were conducted in Dutch; all the other interviews were undertaken in English. Participating was entirely voluntary. Interviewees received a one-page information sheet on the project, and the research purpose was discussed with each participant before the interview (see Appendix 2). Participants had the choice of remaining anonymous or giving permission for their name to be mentioned. As a principle, anonymity is maintained in the present thesis wherever possible. No names of participants are used, yet their job function is mentioned when this is essential to contextualise the citations and when permission for this was granted.

The selection of the interviewees was based on their job function. For example, because AIVL's press officer is one of the only staff members at AIVL who deals with translation on a daily basis, she was selected as a participant. A follow-up interview took place after 1.5 year to gain further insights into particular translation shifts noted during the textual analysis of press releases. The interviews at AILRC-ES, AILRC-FR and the IS include interviews with translators, translator coordinators and translation office managers, and a director for research. The interviews at the IS were conducted to gain some insight into translation beliefs at the IS, the centre of the organisation that sends out most of the translation work.

Questions asked to all participants included questions on daily job tasks, the main actors participants interacted with, and what the participants' role relating to translation is. These questions were aimed at gaining more insight into local translation practices. Translation management was also discussed, particularly in relation to recent changes to Amnesty's language policy and strategy. Towards the end of the fieldwork, particularly at AILRC-FR, interviews became more structured and more questions and topics were outlined (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 4). For example, interviewees at AILRC-FR were also specifically asked about their personal opinion relating to Amnesty's language strategy, a topic that had previously not been addressed in so much detail. The

translators working at AILRC-FR were also presented with a small questionnaire before the actual interview took place, in order to gain insight into their background and to be able to prepare for the interviews in as much detail as possible. Appendix 3 contains an overview of interview questions and of the questionnaire.

Collection and analysis of translation products were ongoing during fieldwork. As the purpose of interviews is to gain insight into issues that are unclear to the researcher, interviews in the present case also presented an opportunity to discuss particular phenomena that were observed in the translation products. The answers provided by the actors formed the basis for further data collection and textual analysis, as is typical in theoretical sampling. Whereas most interviews were conducted during fieldwork, a few additional interviews with staff from the IS and follow-up interviews with staff from AILRC and AIVL were conducted after the last fieldwork phase had been completed, again to fill in the gaps in the data and to find answers to questions that arose during data analysis.

The funnel structure used to design the structure of the interviews was also applied to their transcription and analysis. The first set of interviews at AIVL and at AILRC-ES was transcribed in its entirety, so that maximum understanding could be achieved and common themes and interesting issues could be identified. For the interviews conducted at AILRC-FR and afterwards, only those passages that were identified as relevant to the issues under analysis were transcribed (Bazeley 2007: 47; King and Horrocks 2010: 143). Appendix 4 contains a list of transcription conventions.

The interviews were thematically analysed with NVivo, a software programme that supports reading, reflecting, coding the data, annotating, linking and visualising. The coding tool in NVivo allows to systematically build up coding and facilitates identifying relationships and theoretical reflection. It is based on the theoretical principles of grounded theory (Gobo 2008: 41). Glaser and Strauss's "constant comparative method" for qualitative data analysis consists of four stages and moves from spontaneous coding to writing a systematic, substantive theory. During the first stage, the data is coded with as many categories as possible, emerging both from the data itself as from ideas from the researcher. The researcher adds comments to the coded passages to stimulate analytical reflection (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 105-107). In the second stage, the researcher starts to reflect on what unites particular codes together and groups them into what can be called "trees". The trees create order out of randomness or chaos (Bazeley 2007: 103). In the third stage, codes become more abstract and interpretive. Theoretical ideas solidify and categories that are not relevant to the emerging ideas are deleted. It is at this stage that theoretical saturation is reached, and no more new categories or different incidents that fit the categories can be identified (see also 3.4.2 above). Broad overarching themes are established, which form the key concepts of the analysis and the theory building that takes place in stage four. During this final stage, all the coded data, the linked memos and annotations, and the structure of the categories come together. The theoretical reflections in the researcher's notes are used as the basis for writing up the analysis.

The process of coding and theoretical development was followed for the analysis of the fourteen recorded interviews. Coding on the basic level focused on clear, descriptive codes of translation management and practices, whereas the more interpretive coding to beliefs and ideology only developed during the second and third stage. The final coding “tree” and its overarching themes provided the basis for writing up the analysis.

Appendix 5 contains the categories used for coding. There are two trees: one related to translation practices, and one related to translation beliefs.¹⁰ Overarching themes for discussion relating to translation beliefs were identified as (1) beliefs relating to translation itself (what does it mean?); and (2) beliefs relating to Amnesty’s use of translation (organisation and restructuring under AILRC). Translation practices and beliefs relating to translation itself are discussed in Chapter 4, whereas Chapter 6 includes an analysis of beliefs relating to Amnesty’s restructuring plans.

3.6 Analysing translations

3.6.1 Corpus compilation

The current research project analyses translations as the product of the social process of translation. The textual analysis in Chapter 5 aims to provide an answer to the question if differences in translation policy result in differences in the translations. More concretely, it pursues the question if differences can be observed between translations produced by AILRC-FR and AIVL. The selection of texts by AILRC-FR rather than AILRC-ES, where fieldwork was also conducted, is due to the language competence of the researcher, and to the data on translation policy that was collected. As discussed above, interviews at AILRC-FR focused more in-depth on translation beliefs than interviews that were conducted at AILRC-ES. Data on translation beliefs was gathered at AIVL through the conversations with several staff members on the translations of Urgent Actions. They were asked about their own translation activities, and on their opinions of the organisation of the UA translations. Thus, the interviews and fieldnotes from AILRC-FR and AIVL focus on the same aspects, and can therefore be used in a comparative study of translation policy and translation products in these two offices.

The selection criteria of a text corpus are determined by the needs and goals of the project (Bowker and Pearson 2002: 45). The textual analysis in Chapter 5 aims to describe shifts in the translations in order to establish what kind of relationships exist between translation practices, beliefs and management on the one hand and the translations on the other hand. To reach this goal, it is unnecessary to compile an exhaustive and quantitative list of shifts. Rather, the analysis needs to create a more general impression of what kind of differences there are and if for example these are established on the micro-level or macro-level. The corpus needs to be large enough to be able to

¹⁰ No separate coding tree was developed for translation management, as the main source of information on this component of translation policy are policy documents.

identify regularities and irregularities. This means that several translations from one office need to be analysed to be able to gain insight into the various ways an Amnesty office may carry out translation. Moreover, Amnesty produces different text genres (e.g. press releases, web news, slogans, etc. See Chapter 4 for an elaborate discussion). This diversity should also be represented in the corpus.

As pointed out in 3.4.2, data collection and data analysis were constantly alternated in the present research. New data collection was based every time on findings of the previous analysis. The final corpus compiled, analysed and discussed in Chapter 5 consists of three text genres: press releases, web news, and Urgent Actions. These genres are the ones that are most frequently translated at the two offices under analysis, which will be explained in Chapter 4.

The overall corpus consists of all the press releases, web news texts, and Urgent Actions from 2011 produced by the IS and translated by AIVL and AILRC-FR. The texts by the IS and AILRC-FR were retrieved from the international Amnesty website (www.amnesty.org). AIVL's web news texts were downloaded from the section's local website (www.aivl.be), and its translations of press releases and Urgent Actions were collected during fieldwork. Through previous analysis it was established that compiling a corpus of texts from one complete year would allow for a rich and in-depth analysis, containing a multitude of shifts. With this size of the corpus, differences in the various categories of shifts are maximised (see 3.4.2 above). Table 1 presents the corpus in more detail.

Table 1: Corpus size

	Press releases	Web news	Urgent Actions
English / AI IS	189	189	783
Dutch / AIVL	25	144	507
French /AILRC-FR	189	189	764

As can be seen in Table 1, the difference between the number of texts translated by AIVL and by AILRC-FR can differ greatly, especially for press releases. The size is dependent on the section's translation activity. Furthermore, the number of press releases and web news by AI IS and AILRC-FR are the same. This is because the press releases and web news texts produced by AI IS are essentially the same texts in a different lay-out, e.g. web news items typically contain a photo with underneath it a quotation in a larger font size, but the text is nearly always identical.

The three corpora of different text genres were mainly used to explore general features of the text on the macro-level. From these three corpora, three subsets of ten source texts and their Dutch and French translations were selected for in-depth analysis by using a random formula in Excel, to avoid a biased selection. The findings of this detailed analysis were then checked against the larger corpus. This ensured that the findings of the analysis of the subset were representative of the larger corpus, and also of the previous round of analysis that had taken place as part of the research process.

Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of the subsets, consisting of ten press releases with their source texts and target texts by AIVL and AILRC-FR, ten press releases translated for the web by

AIVL (from here on referred to as web news), and their source texts and target texts by AILRC-FR, and ten Urgent Actions with their source texts and target texts by AIVL and AILRC-FR. The method for the in-depth comparative analysis was informed by previous approaches to textual analysis in Translation Studies, and is discussed in more detail below.

3.6.2 Text and discourse analysis approaches to translation

Since the emergence of Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right, various approaches have been used for the textual analysis of translations. Early Translation Studies approaches drew on linguistics and text linguistics and focused on the notion of equivalence and on shifts in translation (see Catford 1965/2000; Jakobson 1959/2000; Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/2000). Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000) for example drew up a taxonomy of methods or procedures to describe what happens in translation. These early approaches are rather formal and text-focused, and they do not take into account the wider context in which translations are produced.

Functionalist approaches, which arose around the 1980s, partly provided an answer to this issue of decontextualisation by taking into account the purpose and communicative function of the target text. Yet the wider sociocultural and political context in which translations are produced and received was still not sufficiently accounted for within these approaches. The influence of postmodernism on Translation Studies increased the awareness of the impact that the context has on the text. The impossibility of the quantitative principle that lies at the basis of the earlier models was revealed, and heterogeneity and difference became central instead of homogeneity and sameness (Dizdar 2011). Especially in the context of translated news and political discourse, the type of texts that are the focus of the present thesis, existing approaches did not suffice, as they did not allow the inclusion of factors such as the translator's ethos and ideological influences that impact on the translation production process. These new areas of interest that developed in sociological approaches to translation entailed a need for new approaches to textual analysis, which would take into account the analysis of social practices as well.

Some scholars have found an answer to these needs in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which they have applied as part of their sociological approach. Although CDA is also text-based, it lends itself to combinations with other approaches, such as ethnography (see 3.4.1), and this allows taking the social practices of discourse into account as well. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies the relationships between language, social conditions, ideology and power. It considers discourse as language in use. Similar to linguistic ethnography's approach to language, CDA considers language as social practice and advocates that studying the context of language use is crucial. CDA aims to form a bridge between linguistics and social sciences by combining linguistic and social analysis (Richardson 2007: 26). Its interdisciplinarity makes it an interesting framework to help understand social, economic, linguistic, and political issues in discourse.

A number of scholars have applied CDA in translation research, for example to identify ideological text elements in corpora. For political translation, this has been done by Baumgarten (2007); Calzada Pérez (2007); Gagnon (2006; 2009); and Schäffner (2008). For news translation, studies focusing on ideology that have used CDA include Kang (2007); Schäffner (2005); Valdeón (2005a, 2005b, 2008). CDA approaches have also been applied to uncover selection processes and translation strategies in news discourse (Hernández Guerrero 2010; Kang 2007; Schäffner 2005; Valdeón 2008; 2005b; 2005a).

What many of these studies lack, though, is a clear methodological approach that draws on CDA. Some theoretical concepts are taken up (e.g. recontextualization, framing), but in terms of textual analysis it is often difficult to identify the link between the procedures followed during analysis and the theoretical background of the CDA approach opted for. Indeed, as emphasised by Van Dijk (2013), CDA is *not* a method, but rather a “state of mind, an attitude, a way of dissenting, and many more things, but not an explicit method for the description of the structures or strategies of text and talk”. CDA is strongly based in theory, and methodologies depend on the particular research project and research questions. Therefore, “a completed list of linguistic devices relevant for CDA cannot be given” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 28). Transforming theoretical claims into instruments of methods and analysis is a particular issue that CDA analysts are faced with (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 23).

An additional difficulty lies in applying CDA to a corpus of translated texts, as CDA approaches were not designed to deal with translated material. Brook (2012) applied CDA to a corpus of news translation, but concluded that it was not very useful to apply to texts in which translation processes have been involved. He explains that in one of his case studies CDA seemed to be a suitable methodological tool because opposing political ideologies were at play in the text, but that in the end CDA was not useful for his goal, i.e. analysing the applicability of translation solutions in regard to the portrayal of that ideology. He concludes that applying Nord’s model of translation-oriented text analysis might have been more useful, even though it does not explicitly address issues of power and manipulation (Brook 2012: 205). He also emphasises the difficulty of generating a CDA methodological framework and the danger of applying a subjective CDA which might force results. He relates: “[I]n the early stages of my analysis of the discourse of the corpus of news reports, speculation was often ungrounded and initially led to my over-interpretation of data” (2012: 205).

In search of a more systematic way of applying CDA to translation, scholars such as Baumgarten (2007) and Gagnon (2009) have analysed translated political discourse by combining CDA with a corpus-based approach. These approaches aim to increase objectivity and to enable the generalisation of research results to a larger extent. Indeed, corpus-based approaches have been on the increase in Translation Studies and have also been encouraged in discourse analysis (Baker 2008; Mautner 2009). Yet to be able to conduct a comparative analysis on original texts and their respective translations, texts need to be aligned sentence by sentence. Such an approach can prove problematic

for particular corpora, such as translated news texts, in which information is often deleted, added, and rearranged.

To answer to the need of a clear methodological framework that is appropriate to analyse translations, Gagnon (2009) combines a CDA framework with Chesterman's classification of translation shifts. The current thesis recognises the difficulty of applying concepts from CDA to a corpus of translated texts, and agrees with Gagnon (2009) that Chesterman's classification of shifts can serve as a solution. Section 3.6.3 will explain the analytical approach of the current thesis in more detail.

3.6.3 Textual analysis approach to translation in the present research

3.6.2.1 A classification of shifts

In order to explore if differences in translation policy lead to differences in translation products, the research includes a comparative analysis of English source and French and Dutch target texts. As mentioned, textual analysis during the initial stages of the research showed that many Amnesty texts indicate changes, and these form the focus of the analysis in Chapter 5.

Changes in translation are often referred to as "shifts". Popovič (1970: 79) defines the concept as follows: "[a]ll that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift". This definition understands shifts as more than just linguistic differences. As Popovič points out, "[t]he differences in language are unavoidable and cannot be considered significant, as they are the result of disparity and asymmetry in the development of the two linguistic traditions" (1970: 79). Rather, shifts arise due to differences in "the differing social and literary situations" of the author and the translator (1970: 79). Popovič's definition of shift thus also encompasses stylistic, ideological and functional shifts apart from purely linguistic ones.

Shifts in translation may result from a misunderstanding or from a deliberate strategy on the translator's part (Chesterman 2005: 26). The term strategy is here understood as an overall plan that is implemented and that is adhered to during different phases in the translation process. As Chesterman (2005: 26) describes, strategies might include "the initial choice of source or target orientation, decisions about foreignisation or domesticating, search strategies, [or] revision strategies".

To describe translation products, a taxonomy of shifts in translation is needed. As mentioned in 3.6.1, many Translation Studies scholars have proposed such taxonomies, such as Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000), Catford (1965/2000), and Van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990). Some of these approaches are rather basic or linked to a particular language pair, whereas others are very detailed and extremely complex to apply in analysis, such as Van Leuven-Zwart's approach. Chesterman (1997) proposed a classification that represents "an attempt to structure various proposals made by other scholars into an overall framework" (1997: 93). Attempting to circumvent the difficulties in applying previous taxonomies, Chesterman's classification aims to find a balance between

differentiating enough and not being too “bogged down in ‘unportable’ detail” (1997: 93). His classification is therefore flexible and open-ended.

Chesterman (2005) comes back to some of the classification’s characteristics. For one, whereas Chesterman (1997) in fact referred to the classification as describing translation strategies, Chesterman (2005) uses the concept of shifts. Chesterman (1997) made a distinction between comprehension strategies, which have to do with the commission of the source text and the source text analysis, and production strategies, which are the results of the various comprehension strategies (1997: 92). Following this understanding, production strategies are text-based. In his later publication, Chesterman describes the problems surrounding the term “strategy”, the main one being the different meanings scholars have given to it (cf. Gambier 2010). He argues that his original use of the term strategy was not useful, mainly because of the ambiguity it created between cognitive and textual senses (2005: 22). Instead, he proposes to use strategy to refer to a plan that is implemented to solve a particular translation problem, whereas shift refers to the textual result of this (2005: 26).

As to the classification of shifts itself, Chesterman’s (2005) list does not go into detail, yet there is a difference in the number of larger categories he proposes. Chesterman (1997) divides shifts (in his 1997 publication still referred to as strategies) into three categories: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Syntactic shifts manipulate the form; semantic shifts manipulate the meaning; and pragmatic shifts manipulate the message. Chesterman (2005: 23) argues that “the pragmatic types I listed are a rather miscellaneous bunch, some applying more generally (to the text as a whole), and others more locally”. He therefore proposes a division into four types: syntactic, semantic, stylistic and pragmatic shifts. The stylistic shifts that Chesterman (2005) lists are “variation (e.g., of dialect)” and “foreignisation”, which would previously have been considered as pragmatic or semantic shifts.

In the current analysis, the main focus is on pragmatic and stylistic shifts. Interest in these categories is specifically linked to Amnesty’s aims as an organisation. As Amnesty aims to pressurize influential political players on human rights issues, it is essential that the organisation’s message is spread correctly and consistently. Amnesty’s translation policy is intended to contribute to this consistency of the Amnesty message (see Chapter 4). By focusing on pragmatic shifts, the analysis can pursue if consistency of message is indeed maintained in translation. Moreover, it is also essential to convey Amnesty’s voice in an appropriate way. As described in Amnesty’s *Guidelines for Amnesty International Journalists*, Amnesty’s voice is impartial and independent, and accuracy and ethics are central to Amnesty’s writing (ORG POL 30/001/2011). Analysing stylistic shifts in translation can provide insight into how Amnesty’s voice is transmitted in translation. Furthermore, although the focus of the analysis is on pragmatic and stylistic shifts, semantic and syntactic shifts are still touched upon, as the different categories of shifts overlap to some extent. Chesterman’s classification acknowledges that different shifts can take place at the same time, and that for example “pragmatic ones usually involve semantic and syntactic ones as well” (1997: 93).

Chesterman (1997) lists ten pragmatic shifts, with the last category as an open one, allowing for any other pragmatic changes that might not be included in his list. Not all of these are of use in the current analysis. In his later publication, Chesterman (2005: 26) lists addition, omission, explicitation and reduction as the main type of pragmatic shifts. These categories overlap with the types of transformations used to describe recontextualisation in discursive practices. As pointed out by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 96):

In the case of discursive practice, we represent (report, explain, analyse, teach, interpret, dramatize, critique, etc.) some other social practice(s), whether discursive or not, and this therefore always takes place outside the context of the represented practice. (...) Recontextualisation always involves transformation, and what exactly gets transformed depends on the interests, goals and values of the context into which the practice is recontextualised.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 96-97) list addition, deletion, rearrangement, and substitution as types of transformation. Previous research in CDA, which is focused on monolingual texts, has shown that recontextualisation often occurs in political and media discourse (Blackledge 2005; Van Dijk 1988; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). In Translation Studies, the concept has also been used to describe translations of political and media discourse (Hernández Guerrero 2010; Kang 2007; Schäffner 2008; Schäffner 2012). As set out in Amnesty's statute, the organisation aims to influence governments, intergovernmental organisations, armed political groups, companies and other non-state actors. Moreover, as many NGOs nowadays, Amnesty also often functions as an alternative news provider. Since Amnesty's discourse is thus related to both political and news discourse, the pragmatic shifts listed by Chesterman (2005: 26) are particularly helpful for the analysis of Amnesty's discourse in translation.

Initial textual analysis has helped in determining which shifts are common in Amnesty texts and influence the message and voice. Pragmatic shifts that will be used to describe the changes identified in the corpus under analysis include addition, omission, substitution, rearrangement, explicitation, and implicitation. Stylistic shifts taken into account are variation on the language level (e.g. archaic, popular, formal and informal, etc.), and specifically variation in the use of terminology. Furthermore, shifts concerning literal translation and calque are also included here. These shifts are classified by Chesterman (1997) as syntactic shifts. The category of literal translation refers to a translation which stays as close as possible to the source text without becoming ungrammatical. The category of calque or loan refers to the borrowing of individual items, and includes the word or phrase level. Although syntactic in nature, these shifts can have a considerable impact on the overall style of the message, and therefore they are included in the current study as stylistic shifts.

Differentiating between addition and explicitation, and deletion and implicitation can be confusing. According to Chesterman (1997: 109), explicitation refers to changes in which "translators add components explicitly in the TT which are only implicit in the ST". Implicitation is then seen as the opposite process, where some elements of the message become more implicit. The category of

addition, in contrast, refers to new information in the target text that cannot be deduced from the source text. This might be information relating to the local context, or information taken from Amnesty reports, for example. Deletion then means that information completely disappears in the target text (Chesterman 1997: 110).

3.6.2.2 *Focus of analysis*

The analytical approach for source and target texts is based on the practical analytical model proposed by the Descriptive Translation Studies scholars Lambert and Van Gorp (1985). This well-established approach suggests a systematic analysis starting at the level of preliminary data (title, title page, preface, footnotes, complete or partial translation), moving to the macro-level (division of the text, internal narrative structure), and ends at the micro-level (selection of words, dominant grammatical patterns, forms of speech reproduction, narrative, perspective, and point of view, modality, language levels e.g. dialect). Lambert and Van Gorp assume that “a translated text which is more or less ‘adequate’ on the macro-structural level will generally also be more or less adequate on the micro-structural level, but that it cannot be adequate on every specific level” (1985: 49). Therefore, analysis of the preliminary data should lead to hypotheses for further analysis on the macro- and micro-levels, and macro-level analysis in its turn should already give a rough idea of the findings on the micro-level.

The approach in the current thesis is based on the three levels of analysis that Lambert and Van Gorp (1985) suggest, yet there are some differences. One of these is the method of analysis: instead of analysing each text independently, the analysis in Chapter 5 will explore one level of analysis for all the texts of one text genre at the same time. For example, the analysis of press releases was conducted by first analysing the preliminary data of all the ten selected texts in their English source texts and the French and Dutch target texts. The next step was analysing the macro-level for all the selected texts, and finally the micro-level.

Furthermore, unlike Lambert and Van Gorp’s approach, the current analysis does not aim to provide a hypothesis after each level of analysis has been completed. This is mainly because of the nature of the texts. For example, headlines are a type of preliminary data, yet in the case of press releases and web news, it is in fact unclear if these features are translated (see for a more elaborate discussion 5.1.1). Headlines are a type of framing devices, designed to capture the reader’s attention, and in news translation they are often adapted to the new target audience. When the three levels of analysis of one particular text genre have been completed, a discussion will follow to see if the shifts found on the three levels are similar or not, and if and how these differences or similarities can be accounted for.

As stated by Lambert and Van Gorp, “it is impossible to summarize all relationships involved in the activity of translation”, and the scholar has to identify priorities for analysis (1985: 47). By using the model, at least, texts can be analysed in a systematic way. As was pointed out, data analysis

was an ongoing process in the present research. Particularly interesting textual features for analysis were identified during this process, and the discussion in Chapter 5 focuses on these features (see Chapter 5 for further details). The analysis of the shifts on all three levels will allow for a better understanding of how translation beliefs, practices and management impact on translation.

For preliminary data, these features were headlines, because of their function as framing devices. Press releases and Urgent Actions, the genres under analysis in the current research, are designed to capture the reader's attention and aim for a particular outcome. For press releases, the aim is to be reproduced in newspapers and to reach an audience as wide as possible, so that international public awareness of human right violations is maximised. For Urgent Actions, the aim is to reach and convince as many activists as possible to undertake action against the human rights abuse reported on. To reach these goals, authors can make use of a number of framing devices, which help to frame a story in a particular way. News always has to be framed in some way in order to be understood one way or another (Van Hout and Macgilchrist 2010: 173). Previous research on the translation of news discourse has demonstrated that frames may change in translation in order to adapt the text to the expectations of the target audience (see Hernández Guerrero 2010; Möckli 2012). The textual analysis in Chapter 5 will investigate if shifts can be found in the headlines of Amnesty texts.

The macro-level analysis focuses on text division, using the classifications of shifts described above (the pragmatic shifts addition, deletion, rearrangement, substitution, explicitation, and implicitation; and the stylistic shifts of foreignisation, domestication, and variation on the language level, e.g. archaic, popular, sociolect, dialect, etc.). The micro-level analysis focuses on the accurate rendition of facts and terminology, and specific attention will be paid to the rendition of quotations. Quotations are included in Lambert and Van Gorp's (1985: 52) model as part of describing forms of speech reproduction (direct, indirect, free indirect speech). Focusing the analysis on quotations will provide insight into how Amnesty's voice is represented through translation. Similar to headlines, quotations are framing devices used to present discourse from a particular angle.

Amnesty texts generally include two types of quotations that represent the movement: quotations by Amnesty staff members, representing the institution, and quotations from fieldwork, e.g., by victims who give an account of the human rights violations they suffer from. These quotations also often include threats that these victims have received. As argued by Bakhtin (1981: 340), the speech of another is "always subject to certain semantic changes", no matter how accurately it is transmitted. Voices are constantly recreated and transformed in new contexts. In his analysis of discriminatory discourse in Britain, Blackledge (2005) for example demonstrated that the prevalent and audible voices in textual chains rarely include those of all the social actors concerned. The recontextualisation of discourse that contains various voices often allows the more authoritative speaker or author to make use of these other voices "in a way that suits the speaker's own political direction", while at the same time other voices are completely deleted (Blackledge 2005: 155).

Quotations of other speakers are thus often framed in different ways than they were originally intended. As described by Bakhtin (1981):

Given the appropriate methods for framing, one may bring about fundamental changes even in another's utterance accurately quoted. Any sly and ill-disposed polemicist knows very well which dialogizing backdrop he should bring to bear on the accurately quoted words of his opponent in order to distort their sense. (Bakhtin, 1981: 340)

The analysis of quotations as framing devices will provide insight into how Amnesty's institutional voice, and the voices of its activists and its witnesses travel in translation. Analysis on this particular micro-level textual feature will further confirm or contradict the findings of the analysis of the other text levels.

Chapter 4 – Translation policies at Amnesty International

As described in Chapter 2, translation policy in the present thesis is considered as consisting of three components: translation management, translation practices, and translation beliefs. This chapter discusses all three components and draws on data from fieldwork collected at AILRC-FR, AILRC-ES and AIVL. It first presents a general introduction of Amnesty's organisational structure and its restructuring plans in light of globalisation, and then explores issues of translation management and practices on the global level. It describes the organisational structure for the translation services and it analyses policy documents on language policy and strategy. The importance of language and translation for organisational growth are discussed in light of Amnesty's restructuring plans.

After the bird's eye view of translation management and practices at Amnesty, the next part deals with translation management and practices on the local level. It describes how translation is organised on the work floor, and what guiding documents there are to regulate translation work in more practical terms. A contrastive analysis is made of the translation practices between the translation office AILRC-FR (including references to AILRC-ES) and the local section of AIVL. Links will be made between translation management, practices and beliefs. Staff's beliefs relating to translation as a professional or as a voluntary activity are discussed. It will be shown how translation beliefs impact on translation practices and management, but also how practices and management influence beliefs. The discussion of the three components of translation policy provides more insight into how translation is organised at Amnesty and how this impacts on the actual translation work that is carried out. Insights gained here will help in coming to a deeper understanding of the textual analysis of source and target texts that is presented in Chapter 5.

4.1 One global translation policy

4.1.1 Globalizing Amnesty

Chapter 1 has briefly described what kind of organisation Amnesty is, how it functions, and what issues previous research has investigated. The discussion provided initial insights into Amnesty's development over the years and its changes in relation to globalisation, an increasingly competitive field of humanitarian aid agencies, and the changing media landscape. This part of the chapter will explore these issues in greater depth in order to provide sufficient background for understanding language- and translation-related decisions.

Amnesty's work in fighting human rights abuses consists of two main elements: (1) to research facts of individual cases and patterns of human rights abuses; and (2) to address governments, international organisations, armed political groups, companies and other non-state actors to stop these abuses. Maintaining a high public profile is vital for Amnesty in order to raise awareness of human rights abuses and public pressure on governments, and to increase the organisation's number of activists, campaigners and donations. The larger the movement, the more pressure it is able to exert on governments and other organisations. It is therefore essential that Amnesty continues to grow.

For years, Amnesty has remained an overall Western organisation, with its beating heart in London. It has struggled to gain membership in the Global East and South (see Hopgood 2006: 115). In order to increase its impact in these geographical areas, Amnesty has started to review its organisational structure. A truly global organisation also needs a global internal structure, with a better power balance. As described in Chapter 1, Wong (2012) argues that Amnesty's success is due to its organisational structure, which balances centralisation and decentralisation of power. From the very beginning, Amnesty's International Secretariat (IS) has functioned as a centralised research centre, while action and campaigning take place at the local Amnesty sections. Alterations have been made to this structure over the years, and in light of globalisation it has been reviewed drastically from 2010 onwards.

The changes that have been and are being implemented reduce some of the centralising power of the IS and assign tasks to regional hub offices. These restructuring plans also impact on the use of language and translation within the organisation. In order to become a truly global organisation, Amnesty needs to implement a language policy that encompasses the use of many languages worldwide.

Although the large-scale restructuring of Amnesty's internal organisation only started around 2010, the need to decentralise part of the IS's tasks was already acknowledged long ago. A first attempt to deal with the continuous expansion of the organisation was already made in the 1970s (Hopgood 2006: 82). Amnesty recognised at this point that what the organisation did was decided and implemented largely by the permanent professional staff at the IS and was dominated by the research department. The number of cases on individual prisoners that Amnesty was working on kept on growing, and researchers were not able to meet the demand. Amnesty argued for a policy that would reduce the number of cases. Priorities were set so that the high level of research quality could be maintained. Furthermore, a Paris research outpost that could take on part of the work was created. A small portion of the research was thus already decentralised at that time.

Nevertheless, the IS kept on growing and organisational problems kept arising. An internal investigation in 1979 concluded that the rapid growth of the size of the IS staff brought with it a lack of clear decision-making processes and allocation of authority (Hopgood 2006: 85). The feeling of chaos remained a problem throughout the years at the IS. For example, in a 2003 stress audit carried out by the IS's Human Resource department, only 52% of the IS staff said they understood what was

expected of them (Hopgood 2006: 49). Such a working culture naturally influences the work carried out by the national sections, and eventually also influences Amnesty's impact on human rights changes.

Aware of these issues, Amnesty has urged for a strong global governance and leadership system for years, which would cast clarity on decision-making and accountability processes. For an organisation that counts millions of members around the world, it is essential that its vision and mission are clear. The organisation's main objectives and a common plan of action therefore needed to be identified and developed. To this end, Amnesty started implementing an Integrated Strategic Plan (ISP) from 1996 onwards, which describes Amnesty's priorities for a set period of time (four years for the first two ISPs, six years from 2004 onwards).

The first ISP, the Ljubljana Action Plan, built on a Global Trends seminar Amnesty organised in June 1994. The seminar provided an overview of the key political, social, economic, and human rights trends and helped to identify Amnesty's key challenges. In a world that is quickly becoming a smaller place due to globalisation and technological developments, one of Amnesty's main challenges was how to improve the organisation's coherence and effectiveness with limited capacity while encouraging strategic thinking and decentralisation (POL 50/007/1995: 8).

The issue of creating coherence and effectiveness finally gave rise to the idea of One Amnesty, which is central to the restructuring processes started in 2010. One Amnesty ensued from a 2005 discussion paper entitled "Globalizing Amnesty", which addressed ways to make Amnesty more effective as an international organisation. In its opening paragraphs the paper described the then current state of Amnesty as follows:

In many ways AI could now be described as an international collective of national entities: that is to say, sections of a global organization that favour independent activity at the level of the nation state. This is a long way from Peter Benenson's 1961 idea of a global campaign for Amnesty, where international cooperation between AI's first six sections was a fundamental part of how the organization worked. (ORG 30/011/2005: 1)

Not only is it far from what Benenson envisaged, such an organisation also runs the risk of becoming irrelevant in a world where power is shifting from the nation state to the international level. The need for Amnesty to develop its global identity and to emphasise the fact that it is one organisation is reflected in Decision 1 of the 2005 International Council Meeting (ICM), which strongly reaffirms, under the title of *One Global Amnesty*, "the global nature of Amnesty International" (ORG 52/001/2006: 101).¹¹ At the 2007 ICM, strengthening Amnesty's global planning was identified as an "urgent need" on a financial as well as an organisational level (ORG 52/001/2007: 9). The striving

¹¹ The ICM is Amnesty's highest regulating body, organised every two years and attended by about 500 members and delegates from national sections. Amnesty thus works with a democratic model, where all sections have the right to cast their vote on policy decisions. The International Board, formerly known as the International Executive Council (IEC) serves the role of executor between ICMs and is made up of nine ICM members. It meets regularly throughout the year. See www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/our-people, visited 14 October 2014.

towards a stronger collaboration and improved coordination was expressed under the motto “One Amnesty”, which recurs in Amnesty’s strategic planning repeatedly.

One Amnesty aims at breaking down borders between existing Amnesty entities in order to spread good practice and to increase effectiveness and global impact for human rights. By opting for One Amnesty and implementing one ISP for the whole organisation, Amnesty made a clear statement that it did not envisage being an NGO with domestic level groups where all that unites the movement is a common name. The ISP 2010-2016 further implemented this vision of One Amnesty. The starting idea was that Amnesty could align local actions to global objectives “to create powerful leverage for human rights change” (ORG 50/004/2009: 7). Amnesty produced a number of global strategies in order to improve coherence throughout the organisation: a global media strategy was produced, a new language strategy was developed, and on the financial level great efforts were made to integrate all levels of the organisation and to create a global model.

The development of this new global model assumes definite form in Amnesty’s restructuring of the IS, which includes a “move closer to the ground” and creates several regional IS hub offices around the world.¹² The regional hubs, opening in Johannesburg, Dakar, Nairobi, Hong Kong, Mexico City, and Bangkok, allow Amnesty to respond quickly to local developments, and to give local Amnesty offices and structures a faster and more qualitative support service.¹³ In addition, some centres of expertise are being created to be able to provide organisation-wide support in key areas. Among these centres is the Language Resource Centre (see 4.1.2.2), which was founded in 2010 to provide support in the areas of translation, interpreting and terminology throughout the organisation.

As described above, Amnesty aims to be a global organisation rather than a collective of national sections. Having one identity for the whole organisation is essential to reach this goal. As briefly addressed in Chapter 1, Stone (2011) described how Amnesty’s identity became a source of confusion over the years, and that there was a strong need for Amnesty to build one identity for the whole movement. The issue of identity goes hand in hand with Amnesty’s organisational structure, and it was already part of the debate in the 1970s. Central to the discussion was how Amnesty’s identity was to be maintained if posts were going to be decentralised. Policy documents from the 1970s already emphasised that a single Amnesty identity needed to be preserved, an identity which should be expressed in one voice, rather than in as many different voices as there are national sections (Hopgood 2006: 84).

¹² Amnesty International UK. 2011. Moving Closer to the Ground. www.amnesty.org.uk/uploads/documents/doc_22399.doc, visited 10 April 2013. Many of the reorganisation processes were ongoing during fieldwork, and some of the information was considered as sensitive. Therefore, information on the global model presented here stems from public documents and interviews conducted in the framework of the current research project instead of from the relevant internal documents, so that no confidential or sensitive information is disclosed.

¹³ www.amnesty.org.uk/uploads/documents/doc_22399.doc, visited 10 April 2013; and <http://www.amnesty.ie/sites/default/files/November%202012%20letter%20to%20Amnesty%20members%20from%20Pietro%20Antonioli.pdf>, visited 10 April 2013.

This principle of one single voice was implemented in various ways, e.g. already at the 1966 ICM there was a decision to “avoid emotive or abusive expressions”. Furthermore, there were strict approval systems for press releases, country entries for the Annual Report, newsletters, etc. (Hopgood 2006: 74, 89). In recent years Amnesty has produced many guiding documents for its writers, journalists, etc., all contributing to making Amnesty’s writing and publication style uniform. The principle of one voice, however, has become less central. The tight control system was not considered ideal. Amnesty concluded that defining the essential elements of an effective public image should not mean imposing a straitjacket on the organisation and prescribing how Amnesty’s principles and values should be communicated in each country and culture.

In a 1982 report on Amnesty’s international identity, it was set out that in fact creativity should become more important on the communication level. It was argued that Amnesty’s diverse membership should be respected and should be used as a positive force (Hopgood 2006: 103). Around this time, Amnesty’s previous slogan of “one movement, one voice” was replaced by “one movement, one message, many voices”. Such a slogan allows for more creativity, flexibility, and diversity. The slogan was also used as a building block for the One Amnesty approach. The International Executive Committee commented on the application of One Amnesty and the long-standing slogan in a 2007 report as follows:

On the eve of our preparations for the next Integrated Strategic Plan, we can see these challenges amount to a journey of becoming more truly One Amnesty. The notion that indeed we are the same movement has longstanding appeal of course. We are proud standard bearers for the ideal of “one message, many voices” (ORG 50/024/2007: 17).

The slogan expresses Amnesty’s global identity, in which people around the world carry out the same message to stop human rights abuses but are speaking with different voices. This idea of different voices will also be taken up in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. These chapters will explore if and how the idea of different voices is reflected in Amnesty’s texts.

A straightforward way in which Amnesty’s global identity is maintained is by its use of a uniform publication style, with an international logo and name. Amnesty sets out in its style documents that the colour combination of a specific yellow and black should be used, and the organisation also designed its own font type called “Amnesty Trade Gothic”. There are many guiding documents regulating the Amnesty house style. The IS’s *Little Book of Formats*, for example, provides an introduction to all the standard and approved publication formats and a short introduction to the internal Global Identity website Amnesty launched (DOC 50/002/2008). Furthermore, the lay-out of the Annual Report was unified throughout all the languages from 2008 onwards. Whereas the French edition for example used to design its own cover every year, all the Annual Reports in all the languages have the exact sober black and yellow lay-out from 2008 onwards. Smaller publications as well, such as research reports, have the same sober design and use of colour.

A strong global identity positively impacts on fundraising and communication, and thus also has an influence on Amnesty's success and visibility as an NGO. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the non-for-profit sector is becoming increasingly competitive, and thus organisational *branding* has become essential outside of corporate industries as well (Cottle and Nolan 2007: 864). Yet previous research has described how Amnesty has had difficulty to create a global identity and to introduce the corporate concept of *branding* in the organisation (see 1.3). Stone (2011) relates that local sections thought the implementation of One Amnesty would not help the work in their own countries. The overall feeling was it had to be the movement that defined itself, not the communications people (Stone 2011: 3). This is why around 2008 Amnesty's global identity project was shelved and diminished to just being a visual identity, as described above.

Yet Amnesty realised a visual identity in itself was not enough, and new attempts were made from 2009 onwards to define Amnesty's focus. A brand consultant was hired and a market research firm tested new ideas on Amnesty's identity on a global scale. The results were somewhat surprising. It was expected that the general public would identify Amnesty mainly as an authoritative organisation that published qualitative and trustworthy research reports. However, the results showed the people associated Amnesty with the idea of a movement for change and for empowering people (Stone 2011: 4). Thus, Amnesty's new position was designed as one of fighting together against injustice, and the organisation is clearly promoted as such. For example, in the "Who we are" section on the website, Amnesty uses the slogan "United against injustice".¹⁴

4.1.2 Global translation management

The previous section has provided some background information on Amnesty's development into a truly global organisation both in terms of structure and identity. The present section looks at how translation fits into these concerns by focusing on translation management on the global level. This mainly entails decisions taken by people in authority on translation practices (cf. Spolsky 2004). These decisions are recorded in policy documents, which frame and regulate translation. The following discussion first presents an overview of language and translation policy during Amnesty's early years, and then analyses policy documents that were compiled as part of Amnesty's new language policy and strategy around 2007.

4.1.2.1 Language and translation at Amnesty until 2007¹⁵

Amnesty grew immensely over the years, and the amount of communication and the number of languages it uses have increased with it. Amnesty is in essence a British organisation, founded by a

¹⁴ <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/about-amnesty-international>, visited 4 December 2013.

¹⁵ Parts of this section have previously been published in Tesseur (2014). "Amnesty International and official multilingualism". *Traduction et plurilinguisme officiel / Translation and Official Multilingualism*. Special issue of META 59 (3): 557-577. doi: 10.7202/1028657ar.

British lawyer with its headquarters in London. The use of English has always dominated Amnesty, and most of its documents are produced in English. However, already at a very early stage Amnesty was aware that language and multilingualism were important issues. This can be perceived for example in the composition of a five-man International Executive that was formed in 1963, where each of the members was selected to represent a particular language or language group (English, Scandinavian languages, German, Flemish-Dutch, and French), instead of a country (Hopgood 2006: 69).

By 1974, Amnesty decided to start regulating its communication into different languages more officially. The 1974 ICM decided to publish all important information in at least English, French and Spanish. One year later, the ICM adopted a major statement on development and multilingualism, identifying links between the two.¹⁶ These two initial decisions paved the road for more concrete developments of Amnesty's language and translation services. The choice to communicate in English, French and Spanish was based on the expectation that Amnesty would grow considerably in Latin America and Africa (Interview #2). The languages also covered many of the already existing Amnesty sections at the time, and they are among the top ten languages spoken in the world. However, with three European languages, Amnesty lost opportunities to grow on a worldwide scale.

Realising the limitations of such a language set, a core program for multilingualism was adopted at the 1977 ICM, which also allocated budgets for translation into other languages than Spanish and French. A budget for language-related work in South Asia and Africa was created, as well as a general IS translation fund. In 1985, the ICM voted to add Arabic to Amnesty's official languages. The same year, the translation services for French and Spanish at the IS were partly moved to two Decentralised Units (DUs) for French and Spanish translation, Editorial Amnistía Internacional (EDAI) in Madrid, and Editions Francophones d'Amnesty International (EFAI) in Paris. Finally, in 1997, the translation services for French and Spanish at the IS were disestablished and completely moved to the Decentralised Units.

By 1987 Amnesty documented its language policy for the first time, after the internal Committee of Long term Organization and Development (CLOD) called for "the development of AI's multilingual and multicultural character" (ORG 52/01/1993). The language policy identified English as the organisation's working language, with English, French, Spanish and Arabic as official languages. The focus on multilingualism and multiculturalism has remained pertinent throughout the years. The 1989 ICM identified development and multilingualism as super-priorities, which led to the decision to establish regional language programs for Portuguese and for Asian languages, and to allocate the Arabic translation service ARABAI its own budget. ARABAI was set up as a Decentralised Unit in 1991 (first in Egypt, later in Cyprus), although it was relocated to the IS in 2000,

¹⁶ The information on Amnesty's early language-related decisions and policies mainly stems from the more recent AI internal document with reference number ORG 33/001/2005. Additional data was acquired from reports and decisions of Amnesty ICMs from 1993 onwards, and from interview data.

mainly because of high operating costs (Interview #12). The Arabic language service is nowadays still based at the IS in London, although discussions on whether ARABAI should be re-established have continued for years.

Despite the efforts made in terms of multilingualism, a feeling remained throughout Amnesty that a new international language policy needed to be developed. The existing language programs were reviewed several times over the years, and ICM language-related decisions and other documents frequently called for an overall language strategy. The report of the 1993 ICM, for example, included in its objectives for the next six years the need to implement “a new international language policy (...) particularly bearing in mind the needs of countries and regions not currently covered by existing language programs” (ORG 52/01/1993: 3).

Discussion papers reviewing the existing language program pointed out that the existing conceptual framework of the language policy was often unclear or inadequate in relation to the needs of Amnesty, and argued that clearer definitions of the roles of official languages, working languages and decentralised units were needed (ORG 33/01/1994). One of the changes implemented as a consequence was the replacement of the concept of “official language” by that of “core language”. The use of “official language” gave the impression that Amnesty was committed and responsible to produce most of its external and internal material in all its official languages. Instead, Amnesty proposed the use of “core language”, i.e. “a major international language shared by several countries and used by Amnesty for communication with governments, and interpretation and documentation of international meetings” (ORG 33/01/1994: 6). The concept fitted Amnesty’s needs and capacity better, and it recognised the need to communicate in more languages than the official ones.

Despite the frequent calls during ICM meetings for the need for an overall language strategy and the identification of areas of improvement, Amnesty’s approach to language and translation did not change significantly until the ISP 2004-2010 was launched. In light of globalisation, the ISP 2004-2010 directed growth in the Global South and East and aimed to engage a greater number of activists. In order to become a more locally relevant and at the same time a truly global movement, Amnesty attached greater importance to the role of communication, language and translation. The ISP stated that communication was central to action and considered it as a strategic priority in itself (POL 50/007/2004: 19). In light of the ISP 2004-2010, the 2003 ICM included in its decisions a request to the International Executive Committee (IEC) to “provide adequate resources and establish an appropriate, flexible and efficient mechanism before the next ICM, to support and complement the translation and production of AI’s internal and external materials, in order to support expansion and activism in the context of the ISP” (ORG 52/001/2004). Following this request, a proposal for a review of Amnesty’s approach to multilingualism was prepared. The Secretary General advised and identified the steps that needed to be taken to develop a new language strategy (ORG 33/001/2004), and Amnesty appointed an independent consultant to carry out the review (findings are presented in

ORG 33/001/2005). On the basis of this review, a working group started to develop a new language policy and strategy, which was eventually presented for approval at the 2007 ICM.

The above overview of Amnesty's take on official multilingualism and language policy through the years shows that although initially founded as a British organisation, Amnesty has always been highly aware of the importance of language and translation to increase its impact and success. As can be noted from the discussion, the policy documents refer to Amnesty's "language policy", without taking note of a translation policy. However, as pointed out by Meylaerts (2010: 229), "there is no language policy without a translation policy". Translation policy arises as a consequence of decisions taken on language policy. Thus, Amnesty's decision to communicate in Arabic, French and Spanish as core languages next to English entails that translation services for these three languages needed to be founded. These decisions also brought with it that certain guidelines needed to be created for translation into these languages, which is another form of translation management (see chapter 4.2.2.4 for a detailed discussion of these guidelines).

Choosing *not* to translate into other particular, often smaller languages, also brings with it particular consequences. It creates a large gap between the degree of regulating translation practices into the core languages versus the non-core languages, and this discrepancy in its turn has consequences for Amnesty's impact worldwide. Especially over the last few years, Amnesty has stressed the importance of increasing the organisation's capacity to work with multiple languages. How this awareness of language as a strategic tool has affected Amnesty's language policy is described in the next section.

4.1.2.2 Amnesty's 2007 language policy and strategy

Amnesty aims to increase its pressure on offenders of human rights, and it therefore needs to reach an audience as wide as possible. In this light, Amnesty defined a new language policy and strategy, which was documented in 2007 in a document entitled *Amnesty International Language Policy and Strategy: 'The Language of Human Rights'* (ORG 50/007/2007). The main challenge of the new language policy and strategy is described as "to strengthen Amnesty's impact in a multilingual world alongside finite human and financial resources". The document first describes Amnesty's language policy, and then moves on to its language strategy. The language policy sets out seven general principles of language use that serve as a framework for the language strategy and Amnesty's long-term use of language:

1. Principle of accessibility
2. Principle of internationalization
3. Principle of relevance and sensitivity
4. Principle of impact and accountability
5. Principle of coherence
6. Principle of multimedia communication

7. Principle of strategic language

Following these principles, the language strategy strives to make improvements in three areas: (1) content, (2) coordination, and (3) resources. The strategy was developed as a response to the organisation's need for adequate tools to communicate and to maximise the impact of its message and thus on human rights changes.

On the topic of (1) content, the language strategy stipulates that materials should be clearer, shorter and more targeted. Furthermore, materials should be produced in the “most appropriate language” to achieve maximum impact. This decision implies another change in Amnesty's terminology to refer to the languages it uses. The concept of core language, which had been in place since the 1990s, is replaced by that of “strategic language”, and an additional difference is made between strategic and tactical languages. The new language strategy points out that “under the core language structure historically important languages absorb the majority of AI's language resources” (ORG 50/007/2007: 5). Resources should be made available for translation into more languages. Target languages should be determined on the basis of a list of criteria and identified as strategic or tactical. The language strategy states that a language is considered as strategic when investing in that language for a considerable period of time (for example six years) would substantially contribute to the “AI aims of growth, diversity, participation and increased activism” (ORG 50/007/2007: 5). A language is tactical when investing in that language would maximise the impact of a specific human rights or growth project, and the tactical language would be used for the duration of the project only (ORG 50/007/2007: 8).

The proposed changes in terms of content production require resources and better coordination on a global scale. In terms of area (2) coordination, more collaboration and coordination on a global scale are needed between different Amnesty bodies, sections and structures, in order to share best practices and materials, and to reduce duplication. In terms of area (3), resources, the strategy recognises that the use of appropriate translation technology should be increased; and that a common and complete picture should be established of translation needs, existing resources and required support, so that available resources can be used in the most effective way.

The goals described in the 2007 language strategy remain relatively theoretical and vague. The strategy was a first step towards creating better collaboration and cooperation on the level of language and translation. A Language Strategy Implementation Task Force (LSTF), which was established in May 2007, worked on implementing the new language strategy after it was documented and approved. By 2008, the LSTF came with a number of proposals in order to improve the management of Amnesty's language work. These included a proposal to make English, French and Spanish the strategic languages for 2008-2010, while Arabic would be a tactical language for this period. The third proposal involved the creation of a single Amnesty “Language Centre”, which would replace all the existing language units and projects. The Centre was officially established in 2011 as Amnesty's

“Language Resource Centre” (AILRC). Its foundation implied the gradual restructuring of the language services, which is discussed in more detail in 4.1.2.3.

The 2007 language policy and strategy again speaks first and foremost of language, not of translation. Interestingly, a newsletter from the AILRC from February 2009 states explicitly that the new language strategy is *not* a translation strategy:

This Strategy emphasizes that effectiveness gains will be found if we pursue a more integrated approach to languages and it challenges AI to overcome its operational fragmentation which is preventing AI from making more strategic use of its language capacity and resources. Critically AI’s Language Strategy is not a translation strategy. It addresses all languages (including English) and challenges AI to put the final users – the audience - at the heart of its communications. This move from an author-centred to an audience-centred approach requires more than a change in organizational structure. (ORG 33/003/2009)

The emphasis on the new language strategy *not* being a translation strategy can be explained exactly in the light of reaching a wider audience. One of the goals is described in the language strategy as to increase Amnesty’s impact and accessibility in the Global South and East through the provision of materials in the appropriate language and medium. Thus, the language strategy states as one of its objectives: “Originate and approve AI material in more languages than English to reduce time and cost” (ORG 50/007/2007: 7).

The idea of originating and approving material in other languages is linked to Amnesty’s decision to decentralise part of the IS’s power and to found regional hub-offices around the world. This allows to interpret Amnesty’s slogan “one message, many voices” in a new way. The decision to generate content in other languages has an impact on the tight control system that the IS has in place for any material Amnesty produces. Because not all materials would be produced in English, the IS would not be able to approve all of them directly, and thus its central position as a controlling and decision-making entity would be undermined. There is an on-going discussion within Amnesty how to deal with this tension. Some documents may be approved in French, Spanish or Arabic by the IS, yet for documents in most other languages, the IS does not have the language capacity to approve them. One of the proposals is to translate these documents into English to facilitate the approval process. New voices in new languages would indeed arise, but the IS still aims to control the “one Amnesty message” that these voices spread.

It is worthwhile to note how explicitly stating there is *no* translation policy also impacts on the organisation’s controlling system. As pointed out, there is a large discrepancy between translation management and practices for core, or strategic, versus non-core, or non-strategic, languages. The descriptions of translation policy at AILRC-FR in 4.2 versus translation policy at AIVL in 4.3 will provide more insight into how these managerial decisions impact on the work floor. Gradually narrowing down the birds’ eye view, the internal structure of the AILRC will first be discussed, as well as the content types that Amnesty produces and translates.

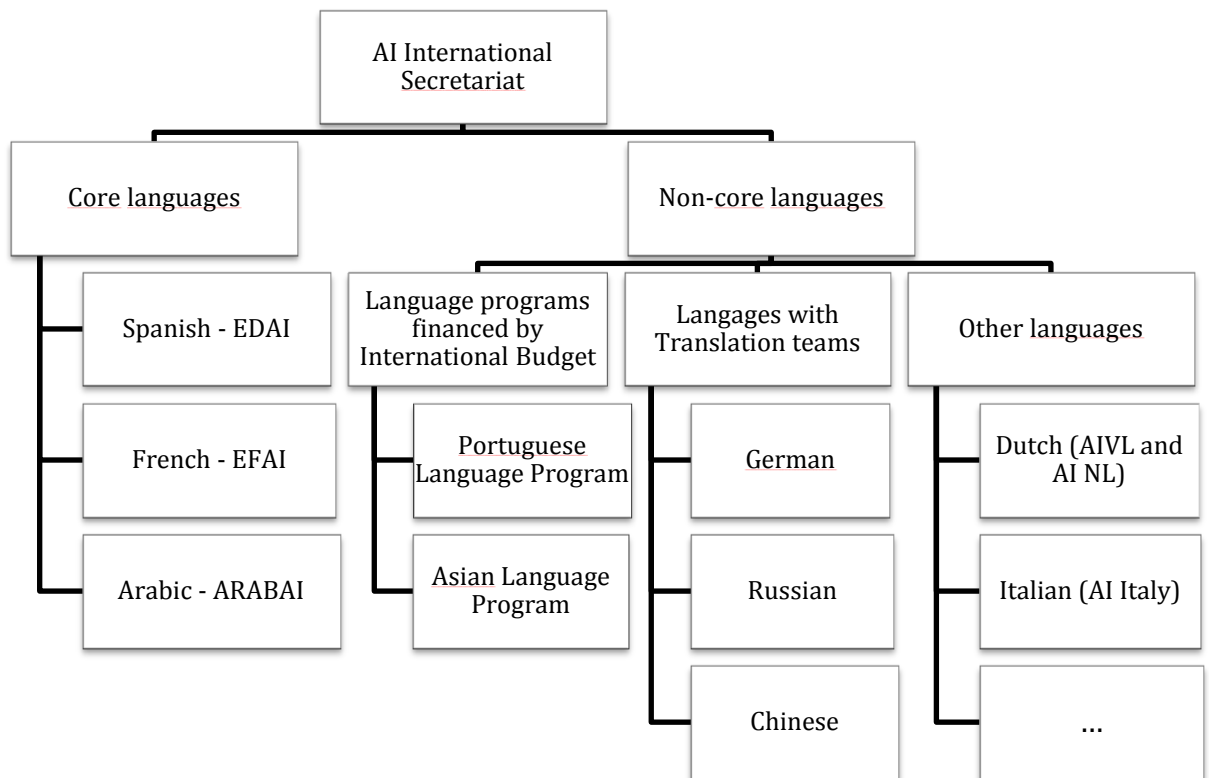
4.1.2.3 Organisational structure of the language services

Internal policy documents that contain decisions on language and translation services form the basis for the organisational structure Amnesty developed for its language services. An organisational structure helps a business, movement or other type of organisation to become more effective. It implements hierarchical lines of authority and communication, and it sets out rights and duties within the organisation. Through organisational structure, the different roles and responsibilities are assigned, controlled, and coordinated. It also impacts on how information flows between the different levels of management and of the organisation.¹⁷ Organisational structure thus also impacts on translation practices, on what is translated by whom, and who can take which decisions at which point.

Intertwined with the language policy and strategy, Amnesty's organisational structure of the language services developed quite organically over the years, answering to the organisation's needs over time. New language programs were added, and the Decentralised Units of translation were only established after Amnesty had existed for about ten years, when it was decided at the ICM that these Units were needed. Up until the creation of the AILRC, Amnesty had not implemented a global language service, and thus its creation led to a quite heavy restructuring. Figure 3 presents an organisational chart of how the various language services were organised before the creation of the AILRC.

¹⁷ <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/organizational-structure.html>, visited 14 November 2013.

Figure 3: Organisation of translation until 2011



As described in section 4.1.2.2, Amnesty made a distinction between core and non-core languages before the implementation of the 2007 language policy and strategy. This distinction was also reflected in the organisational structure and financing. The Decentralised Units (DUs) EFAI and EDAI were established as separate legal structures that operated under their own Executive Committees. The DUs were largely self-funded and gained income from the sections they carried out translation work for, or from other additional activities, such as EDAI’s production and sale of an Amnesty diary (Interview #2). In this respect, EDAI and EFAI functioned more or less as translation agencies, which translate documents at the client’s request.¹⁸

This way of working already fitted Amnesty’s idea of “moving closer to the ground” a long time before the creation of the IS hubs, even though neither of the DUs was really based in the midst of their main clients, i.e. Francophone Africa for EFAI and Latin America for EDAI (ORG 33/001/2005: 5). The IS had no editorial input in the DUs’ work, and the DUs’ only accountability was to the IEC. For the Arabic translation unit the situation was different. Even though Arabic was

¹⁸ Some nuance is in order here as EDAI and EFAI still applied a selection process. It is not because a particular translation was requested that it was automatically carried out. For details on the translation request system see 4.2.1.2. Furthermore, the funding system is different to that of translation agencies, where a client pays for a particular translation it requests. EDAI and EFAI received funds from various sources, not just its “clients”. Moreover, not every section that used the translation service, especially smaller ones that had limited funding available, contributed to funding the DUs (Interview #02).

also a core language, the translation team was smaller and there was also less translation into Arabic. As described in 4.1.2.1, a DU called ARABAI was established for a while, but it was moved back to the IS after a few years. At the IS, the Arabic translation team was part of the IS Publications Program, and was thus also funded by the IS. The team translated all major documents into Arabic, and decisions on other materials to translate were made by the IS's Middle East and North Africa (MENA) program (ORG 33/001/2005: 6). The above description shows that even though all three languages were considered as core languages in the policy documents, different decisions were taken in terms of implementation and organisational structure.

As arrangements for the core languages were already inconsistent, it is unsurprising that the framework for translation into non-core languages was even less coherent. The Asia Language Program (ALP) was largely funded by the IS budget. Sections needed to submit an application that would meet specific criteria in order to qualify for money. Next to this, the IS Publications Program also undertook some translation work into Asian languages on a random basis. Although most of the translation work at Amnesty is done *from* English, translation of local materials *into* English was also encouraged under the ALP. The most important guideline for the ALP was that the translation that was undertaken reflected Amnesty's commitment to grow in reach and impact. This meant that those requests would be supported that came from countries where no Amnesty sections were based, but that were considered high priority for research, action and growth (ORG 33/001/2005: 6). For the Portuguese Language Program (PLP), the situation was different. Funding came from an International Budget for translation, and decisions on what was to be translated were taken by Amnesty Portugal, Amnesty Brazil (until the section closed in 2000), and the IS. There was no coherent system for translation into Portuguese and priorities were different for the relevant sections.

Next to ALP and PLP, there were also arrangements for translation into Chinese, Russian and German. German-speaking countries for example had joined forces to organise a translation service, which was based in Munich (Interview #3). Translation into Russian for Russia, but also for Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus, was dealt with by the IS's Russia office (ORG 33/001/2005: 6). There was no harmonisation between these various structures for translation in terms of funding, selection criteria, or translation resources.

For smaller non-core languages, there was even less coherence. The IS sometimes commissioned translations for specific reports or issues, e.g. a report on Haiti was likely to be translated into French and into Creole (ORG 33/001/2005: 6). All other translation into small non-core languages was the responsibility of local sections and structures, which either paid for translation from their own budget or which were subsidised by the international budget for translation. Frequently there were no funds or distribution plans available, and translation in such cases was a key activity for staff and volunteers, like at Amnesty International Vlaanderen (AIVL). What this means in practical terms will be discussed in 4.3.

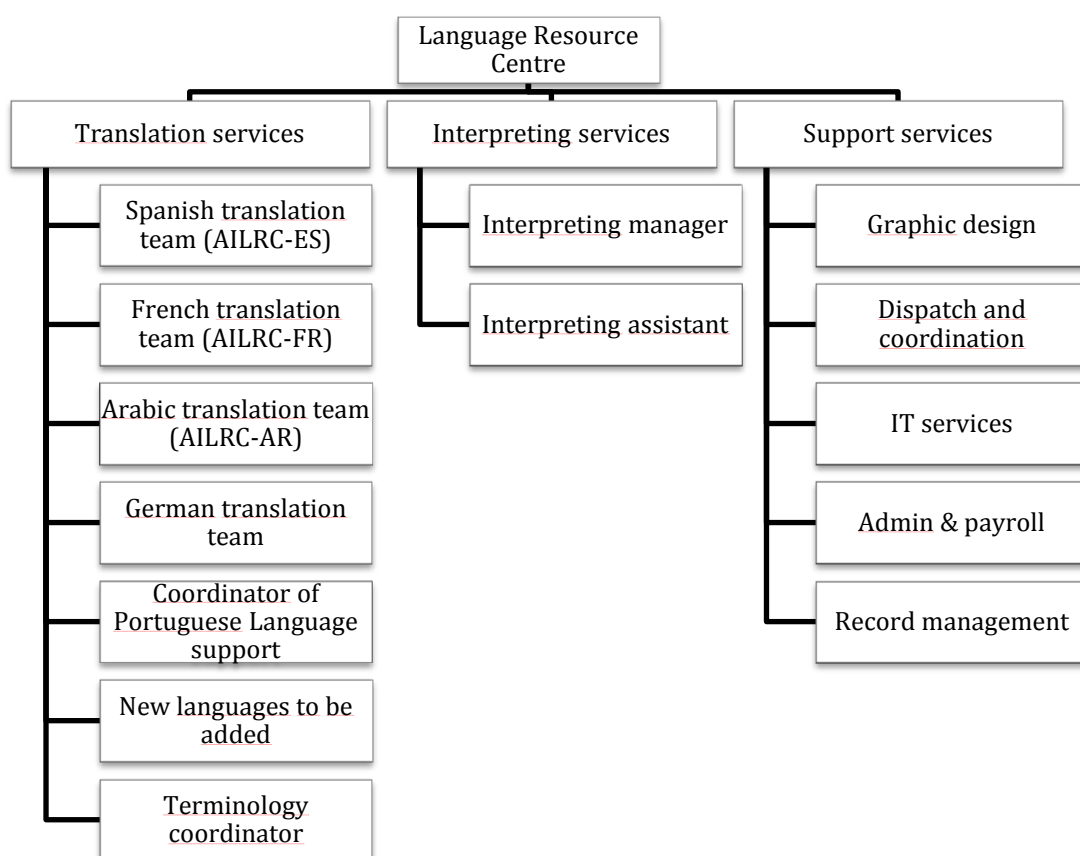
Overall, the variety of organisational structures and funding for translation services meant that different languages and sections set different selection criteria for translation, used different translation resources and had different interpretations of quality control needs. Moreover, the abundance of structures also meant that the IS did not have an overall picture of what sections were doing in terms of translation. For an organisation whose message and voice is so important, this was identified as a problem, especially in a globalised context, where people and media across the world increasingly interact. The AILRC was founded in order to provide organisation-wide support and to increase coherence across the various language services.

The AILRC was officially established in January 2011. The term *Centre* can be somewhat misleading. The structure of the AILRC should rather be understood as a virtual network operated from different locations. The AILRC Director is located at the EDAI premises, which also functions as the AILRC's head office. Rooted in the One Amnesty approach, the Centre aims to integrate all of the existing language teams and to create a single, tangible team of specialists, grouping language functions together under the same umbrella and coordinating their activities throughout the organisation. Thus, the Centre's structure is based on functions rather than on geographical locations (Interview #03).

The Centre faces a number of challenges, amongst them the demands to expand the language services on a tight budget and to invest less in the traditional languages in order to fund the One Amnesty priorities, and to embed the language strategy in the new structure of decentralised hub offices. Of key importance to implement the language strategy as part of One Amnesty in a successful way is to liaise working procedures and to increase cooperation between the various sections and translation teams (Interview #03).

A first step in the restructuring was to integrate the existing language programs in the AILRC. The DUs EDAI and EFAI were renamed AILRC-ES for EDAI and AILRC-FR for EFAI as part of this process. Other existing language programs were also integrated, such as the Arabic translation team at the IS (now referred to as AILRC-AR), the Portuguese translation team, the Japanese translation team, and the German team, although not all of them had the same statute from the very beginning and integrating language programs budget-wise was complicated (Interview #3). For example, the integration of the German and Portuguese translation team should rather be seen as a first step: ties with these offices were established and best practices are being shared, but there is no formal employment relationship as of yet. The process of integrating existing language services is still ongoing. Figure 4 presents an overview of what the AILRC structure looked like during fieldwork in 2012 and 2013.

Figure 4: Organisation structure of the AILRC (2012-2013)



As can be noted from Figure 4, the AILRC organises language and translation services differently than before. There is less emphasis on the separate languages. Instead, general support services were added, such as terminology support. The AILRC is still in a transitory phase and in practice many of the translation services are still organised in the same way as before. The AILRC does not yet include any language support for smaller, non-core languages, such as Dutch. However, the new structure gives a clear idea of the direction Amnesty wants to take with its language and translation support, and how it aims to coordinate translation work in a more coherent way across a large number of languages.

4.1.3 Global translation practices: what does Amnesty translate?

The previous section described several aspects of translation management at Amnesty on a global, organisation-wide level. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 will provide a more practical angle of translation policy by focusing on two offices, namely AILRC-FR and AIVL, who translate materials from English into French and Dutch respectively. This section discusses what kind of texts Amnesty produces and thus what materials are available for offices to translate. Table 2 presents a simplified overview of the various documents and audio-visual materials Amnesty produces, including both internal and external documents. It is based on a taxonomy drawn up by the AILRC, and thus uses Amnesty's own terms to

refer to the specific genres. The taxonomy is divided into four main categories: documents for media, campaigning, position and governance.

Table 2: Taxonomy of Amnesty documents

Category	Genre	Description
Media	Press release Articles/Opinion Editorials Web News	All news items and content produced by the Media and Audiovisual Programme (MAV) at the IS
Campaigning	Urgent Action (UA) / Medical Action Campaigning materials International magazine (e.g. The Wire) Web campaign content (posts, blogs) Action Circular (Internal) Newsletter (Internal)	Documents or content that are designed to instigate action or to provide information about campaigning activities. Action Circular provides background information to sections/networks.
Position	Annual Report Report Public statement Questions & Answers (Public or internal) Open letter (Public) Official correspondence (Internal)	Documents or content produced to inform, as opposed to campaign or action materials. Usually public but some are internal.
Governance	Policy document (Internal) Strategy/planning (Internal) Internal communications (Internal)	Material relating to international management and governance. Mostly internal.

As the present thesis focuses on how Amnesty as a worldwide NGO spreads its message across language borders, the interest here is in external communication. This type of communication encompasses the categories media, campaigning and position. Some genres within these categories reach a wider audience than others, or are produced more frequently than others.

For example, for media materials, several press releases are produced every day, whereas opinion editorials are produced less frequently. The target audience for the genres is also different. Press releases are both intended for journalists and for the general audience. They are placed on Amnesty's international website, sent to the local Amnesty sections, and to a list of media contacts by both the IS and by the local sections. A web news item, on the other hand, is only intended for visitors of Amnesty's website. This group consists of Amnesty supporters, journalists looking for background information on particular news stories, or other random visitors. Web news pieces do not aim for explicit media coverage or do not seek Amnesty supporters to take actions for a particular case. The same is true for public statements. These are short statements on less newsworthy events, which are produced outside of Amnesty's Media and Audiovisual Program. For some news events, it is important for Amnesty to have a public statement to explain its point of view, but it may be an item Amnesty is not prioritising or is not campaigning on.

Within campaigning material, Urgent Actions (UAs) are of extreme importance for Amnesty. UAs are short documents of approximately two pages. They treat the situation of individuals at risk and urge Amnesty members to write letters, send text messages or tweets to political institutions or politicians to demand a fair treatment of the person at risk. Amnesty's first UA was issued in 1973.

The method of issuing these documents and asking people to take action proved very effective, and the number of UAs has increased over the years. The UAs are defining for Amnesty and characterise how the organisation involves its members in the fight against human rights abuses. Amnesty issues between 600 and 800 UAs per year. Naturally, for UAs to be effective, they need to be spread as quickly and widely as possible among Amnesty's network of activists. They are one of the most translated genres that Amnesty produces.

Next to Urgent Actions there are a number of other genres that define Amnesty as an organisation: its research reports, and especially Amnesty's Annual Report, which has been published since 1962. As pointed out by Ron, Ramos, & Rodgers (2005: 559), Amnesty's reports provide the raw material for many cross-national studies and are considered as reliable sources of information by academics, feature journalists and human rights professionals. For very extensive research reports, Amnesty also often produces a report summary. These summaries are useful tools for journalists, for example, who can then easily pick up the elements that interest them when writing their news story. Amnesty's Annual Report, along with the US State Department's Country Reports, are the most widely distributed and read sources of information on human rights practices around the world (Poe, Vazquez, & Carey, 2001: 653). For Amnesty, the Annual Report is a major publication, and it is important that it is read as widely as possible. As such, it is translated into a variety of languages.

4.2 Translation policies at AILRC-FR

The foregoing discussion has aimed to provide an overview of translation policy in terms of translation management on the global level. This section and section 4.3 zoom in and explore translation policy on the local level. These discussions show how management decisions that were implemented on the global level affect the local level. Local management issues will be discussed, as well as translation practices and translation beliefs among the staff.

AILRC-FR was founded in the 1980s in Paris as EFAI, one of the Decentralised Units for translation. The office is now part of the AILRC, just as AILRC-ES, formerly EDAI. The present case study focuses on AILRC-FR. However, in order to fully understand the present context of the AILRC and the changes that are implemented at AILRC-FR, comparisons with AILRC-ES are made. The offices operate similarly in terms of translation management and translation practices, but there are surprisingly many differences as well. Since both offices now form part of the overarching Language Resource Centre, their organisational structure and working procedures are being aligned. A description of the similarities and differences helps to understand some of the reactions and opinions expressed by AILRC-FR translators in the interviews. However, it should be stressed that these views are specific to the AILRC-FR office, and they do not represent the whole LRC.

The analysis includes a description of all three components of translation policy: management, practices and beliefs. Because it is difficult to split the three components completely from one another,

the discussion of the three elements overlaps in several places. The first part of the discussion will mostly focus on translation management and practices, and the second part on translation beliefs, yet elements of all three components of translation policy are included in both discussions. The case study of AILRC-FR will conclude by discussing the specific situation of this office under the new One Amnesty approach.

4.2.1 Translation management and practices: organisational structure, workflows, and interaction

4.2.1.1 Organisational structure, agents and their interaction

AILRC-FR is a small translation office that consisted of twelve internal staff in 2012-2013. Half of the staff function as internal translators/revisers, whereas other staff offer support services. The office works with a pool of approximately twenty freelance translators. The internal structure of AILRC-FR shows considerable differences to that of AILRC-ES. When EFAI and EDAI were founded in the 1980s, cooperation and interaction between the two offices were limited. The organisational structures also developed separately from one another, and both offices employ a different number of staff for different jobs. At the time of fieldwork, the French translation office had two staff members in its service that worked as “documentalists”, who were responsible for the local archives. They also assisted the translators by preparing information packages with essential information for translation, including for example previous versions of a text, legal documents containing the official translations of laws, acts, etc. AILRC-ES did not have any staff with a similar function. As part of the changes implemented under the AILRC, it was decided to make the two documentalists redundant.

Similarly, AILRC-ES employed one staff member who was in charge of Dispatch and Coordination, a function that did not exist at AILRC-FR. The post at AILRC-ES was also abolished in order to liaise working procedures throughout the AILRC and to reduce costs. Both offices also had a graphic designer among their staff, and discussions were ongoing in 2013 whether only one graphic designer would remain in service and provide support for both of the offices. Figure 5 presents the organisational structure of the offices in 2013, the period when staff members had just received the news that they would be made redundant. It should be noted that Figure 5 is only focused on these two offices, and does not represent the overarching structure and internal relationships between LRC offices. More specifically, the Director of AILRC-ES is the overall LRC Director, with the Paris Director reporting to them.

Figure 5: Organisational structure of AILRC-FR and AILRC-ES/AILRC in 2013

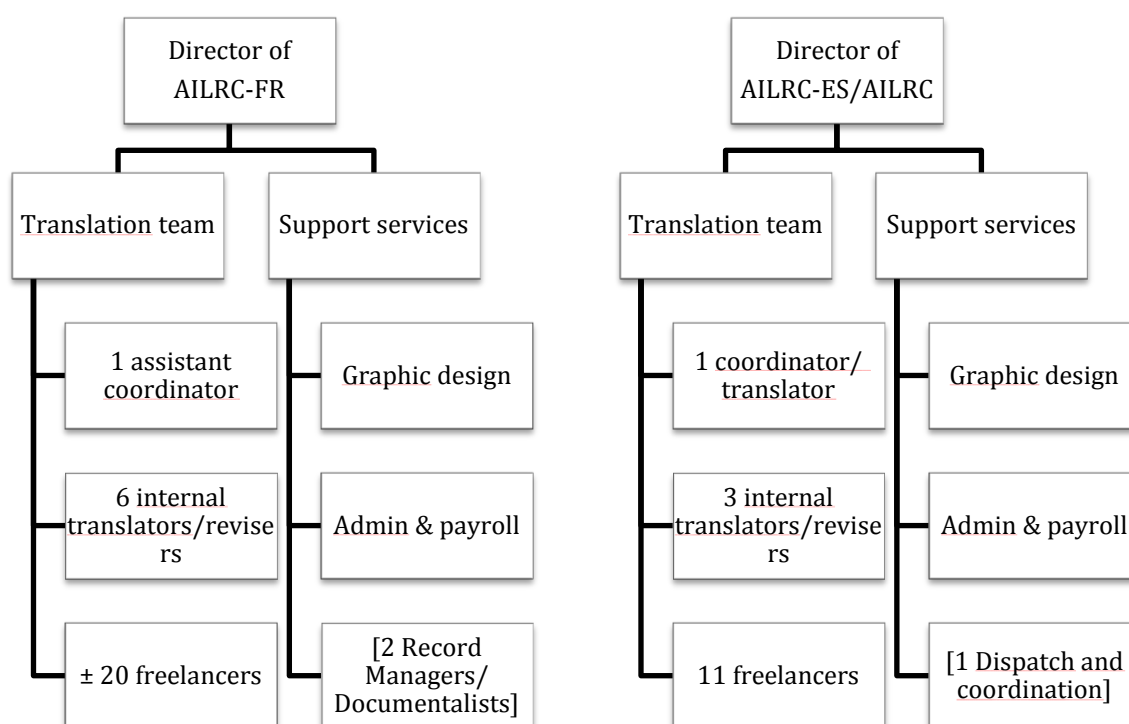
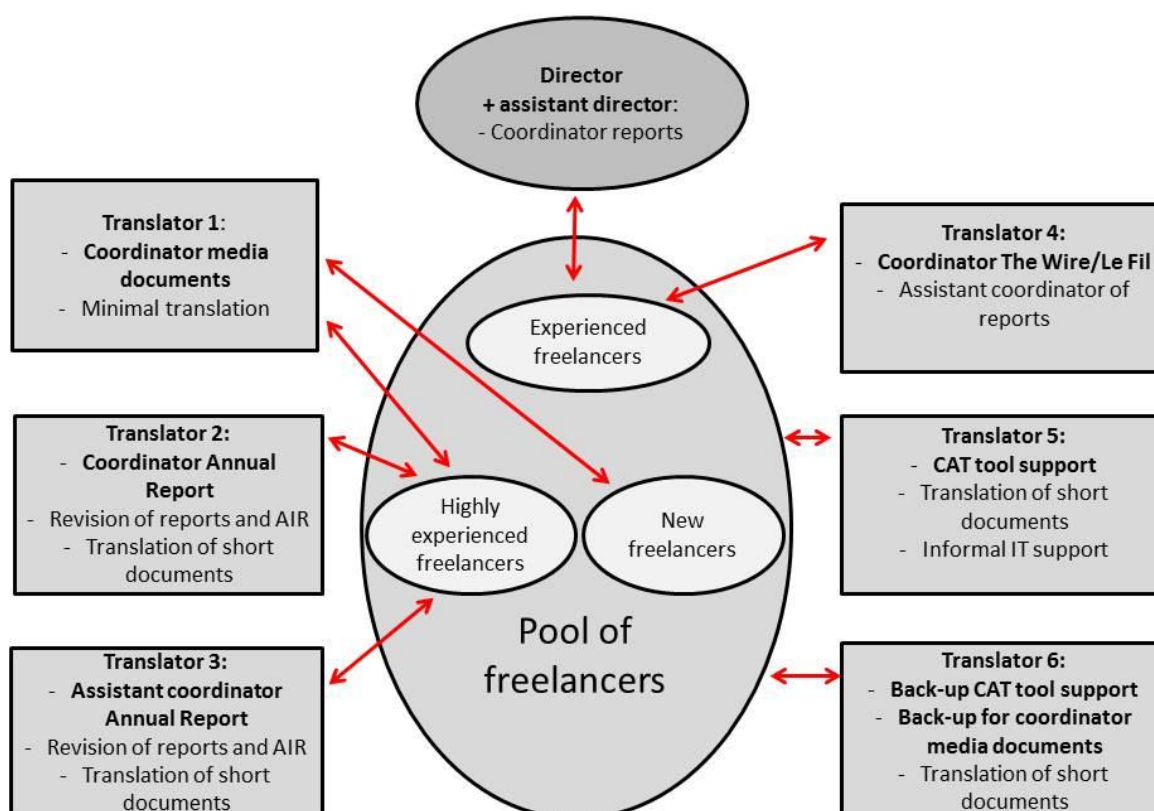


Figure 5 shows that AILRC-FR has a larger staff of internal translator/revisers and that it works with a pool of freelancers that is about twice as large as AILRC-ES's. There are two reasons for this. First of all, the office of AILRC-FR tends to translate more documents, because the sections it translates for are spread out more across the globe than AILRC-ES's clients. AILRC-FR translates for the Francophone sections of AI Canada, Amnesty groups and sections in Africa, and Francophone European sections such as AI Switzerland, AI Belgique Francophone, and AI France. AILRC-ES, on the other hand, translates for AI Spain and sections and groups in Latin America, which tend to focus on the same campaigns and have the same interests, although AI Spain is in a separate position here. A second reason is that whereas part of the Spanish freelancers work for AILRC-ES full-time, this is forbidden by French law, and so none of AILRC-FR's translators work for the office full-time.

The redundancies at the AILRC imply that the Centre chooses to focus on its core business of language support. For AILRC-FR, the majority of the internal staff are translators by training. However, many of them carry out other tasks apart from translating and revising. Internal translators have an additional, often coordinating role on top of translation. These responsibilities include coordinating the translation of the Annual Report (AIR), coordinating the translation of the Amnesty magazine *The Wire* (translated into French as *Le Fil*), coordinating the translation of media documents, updating the website, and managing the use of CAT-tools. The coordination of the translation of research reports and other planned work is done by the director of AILRC-FR and an assistant coordinator. The advice of one of the internal translators/revisers is also often asked in planning this translation work. Figure 6 presents the work division and the main cooperation patterns between the different agents.

Figure 6: Work division and cooperation at AILRC-FR



The internal translators, each with their own responsibility, function as agents who are each in touch with a pool of freelance translators. These pools of freelancers partly overlap with each other. For example, Translators 2 and 3 who coordinate the translation of the Annual Report work with a small team of four to five very experienced freelancers. Translator 2, who has been doing the coordination of the Annual Report for many years, selects the translators herself out of the pool of twenty freelancers that work for AILRC-FR. For the translation of the Annual Report that was ongoing during fieldwork, all the freelancers working on the report apart from one had more than twenty years of working experience for Amnesty. Usually, these translators are also given the same country reports to translate, so that they can develop their expertise and can keep track of the developments in those countries. The translation of the Annual Report starts in December and runs until April-May, including extensive periods of proofreading and editing. The freelancers who translate the Annual Report as well as the two coordinators all work on the translation of different document types during the rest of the year. This means that during this period, they receive their translation tasks from the other translators/revisers, who coordinate the translation of these other text genres. Thus, the interaction and cooperation between the agents changes during this period.

Furthermore, not each internal translator carries out the same amount of translation work. For example, for Translator 1, who deals with the translation of media documents, coordination takes up

the largest part of her job. For the other translators, the amount of translation work they carry out depends on how busy they are with their other tasks. For translators 5 and 6, less translation is done when many hours are needed for the management of CAT-tools. For translators 2, 3 and 4, the amount of translation work depends on how much coordination and revision is needed for the translation of the reports and of *The Wire*.

The work division for the freelancers is closely related to their translation experience with Amnesty. The translators of the Annual Report have many years of working experience and are considered as having developed a high level of expertise. Similarly, freelancers who translate press releases are considered by the internal translators as having developed in-depth knowledge and skills. Relying on highly experienced freelancers for this genre is needed because the translation of press releases is urgent and there is no time for revision. Experienced translators are worked with in order to minimise the chance of sending these translations out containing errors, and to make sure the translation process is completed as soon as possible. New freelancers are often asked to translate short documents such as Urgent Actions. Their translations are revised thoroughly, and they receive feedback from the revisers as part of their training (see 4.2.2.2). Freelancers who have been working for Amnesty for a few years and are moderately experienced are involved in the translation of research reports, *The Wire*, and internal documents.

4.2.1.2 Workflows for planned and unplanned work

The arrows in Figure 6 above represent the most common and regulated cooperation patterns between the agents involved in translation at AILRC-FR. Apart from this, there are many flexible and ad hoc-cooperation processes. The unpredictability and changeability of these processes is due to the nature of the translation work and AILRC-FR's cooperation with the IS. Planned translation work includes the translation of research reports, the Annual Report, *The Wire*, and any other (also internal) documents for which the translation is requested and included in AILRC-FR's planning a few weeks or months in advance. For research reports, the research project will involve months of preparation and fieldwork, and the production and translation of the research reports come towards the end of the project. Unplanned or reactive work refers mainly to the translation of media documents (such press releases), web documents, and Urgent Actions.

For planned work, AILRC-FR developed a specific workflow over the years in cooperation with AILRC-ES. Both offices noted that when they received a document for translation from the IS, they needed additional information, and they both needed the same kind of information. Therefore, they introduced the Translation Request Form (TRF), which the requester of the translation needs to complete. The form includes the title of the document that needs to be translated, Amnesty's internal index number of the source document, the name of the requester and of the originator, the deadline by which the translation is needed and the reason for this deadline, and any extra information that can be of help to the translator. The translation request needs to be made in advance, so that the work can be

included in the planning of the translation offices. However, this does not always happen, and thus problems arise for the production process of the translation. An additional problem is that when a translation *has* been requested, the production of the original document is often delayed at the IS. As the director of AILRC-FR explained:

Here the problem is that planned work is always delayed, so you plan the work, you schedule, you know that at this date you will have-, you will receive 10.000 words for instance, and then nothing happens, and two months later you have an update and you know that at this date you will receive-, and nothing happens, and two months later-, well-, so it's really complicated because even planned work can turn reactive, and, uh, when it's late, of course, it becomes URGENT. (Interview #11)¹⁹

The planning and workflows are especially strained during winter and spring, when the Annual Report is being translated. During this period it happens that all translators are busy. Deadlines need to be negotiated and priorities adapted according to the schedules. Sometimes alternative solutions are found: several translators are asked to work on the translation of one document, or only a summary of a report is translated by the date the report is officially being launched.

Distributing the translation of reactive work on top of this tight schedule is a complicated task that entails taking into account many details on Amnesty's work and text genres, and of the freelancers' working schedules (on invisible working knowledge, see 4.2.2.1.). For the translation of Urgent Actions and web documents, Amnesty often relies on more inexperienced translators whose texts are then revised (see 4.2.2.2 on training). Press releases, however, are translated by highly experienced freelancers. The translation of these documents is urgent, as they often deal with a human rights crisis that needs to be reported on as soon as possible. The coordinator of media documents explains the workflow for press releases as follows:

We reduced the steps, so that it goes -, we did everything so that it goes as fast as possible, that's also why I receive directly the press release, they don't go to the administration, I send them directly, so sometimes when I receive it at three, I can send it at three and two minutes, IF the translator is available, or sometimes I say: okay, you stop what you're doing and you translate it, so everything has been organised to be as fast as possible. (Interview #06)

A small team of about five freelancers who have been translating for Amnesty for a long time deal with the press releases, and they send their translations directly to a mailing list. The mailing list contains the e-mail addresses of all French-speaking media workers of Amnesty, i.e. staff in Quebec, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and all French-speaking African sections. Furthermore, the translations are sent to the IS and other staff members and sections who have specifically asked to be added to the mailing list. The AILRC-FR does not send the press releases to any media contacts directly, as it functions as a translation office and only focuses on its core business. Freelancers sending their translations directly to the mailing list instead of sending them back first to the internal

¹⁹The interviews with the French translators were conducted in English. To represent the speech of the translators as accurately as possible, unidiomatic expressions have not been corrected but have been transcribed as they were uttered, just as pauses, overlaps, interruptions, and emphasis. See Appendix 4 for transcription conventions.

translators/revisers is a special way of working that is only implemented for press releases. It should be noted here that local sections often still make changes to the translations before uploading the texts onto their own local website and spreading them to the local media.

The above discussion has shown that workflow processes depend on the text genre, and that translators are assigned specific text genres in accordance with their expertise. These workflow processes are related to beliefs on translation as a professional activity and on what translating for Amnesty entails.

4.2.2 Translation beliefs: views on translating for Amnesty as a professional activity

Translation beliefs is the third component that comprises translation policy. As described in Chapter 2, translation beliefs both impact on and are influenced by translation practices and translation management. Besides exploring beliefs on translation as a professional activity, this section investigates if translation specifically for Amnesty is perceived of as a type of translation for which special skills are required. These topics are discussed from the point of view of the translators. They comment on their own beliefs relating to translation, and on the interaction they have with their clients, mostly IS staff. The comments relating to IS staff indirectly present beliefs that IS staff hold on translation. The discussion is linked to issues of translation management and translation practices, such as specific tools that have been developed for the training of translators, or efforts that have been made to raise awareness of translation.

4.2.2.1 Beliefs on translation as a professional activity by AILRC-FR translators

All translators working for AILRC-FR, whether experienced in translation or not, receive training when they first start translating for Amnesty. The training is tailored around the specific skills that Amnesty translators need. During interviewing, the internal translators were asked about expertise and training, and issues such as what translating specifically for Amnesty involved were discussed. Many interviewees presented a view of translating for Amnesty as a specialist field, for which a particular set of skills and a particular mind-set are needed.

Some translators pointed out that it is often difficult for Amnesty to find reliable and committed translators, and to keep them motivated to work for Amnesty. The difficulty is not in finding translators who are ready to work for Amnesty, but who are ready to invest a lot of time in looking up correct terminology, etc., as the following interviewee points out.

When you start translating for Amnesty, you really need to invest time. Because many of the texts, they contain official quotations from, you know, UN documents, or, decisions by courts, so, you need a lot of time devoted to document yourself. To find the official translation in Spanish. You cannot, you cannot, choose a translation. So that means, that, sometimes, when you begin, 1000 words may take you... many hours. And not many people are happy about that. Because technical, I mean, when I speak about technical translation I refer to, for example, uh, software translation. Uh, people that are, uh, translating uh, uh, Microsoft documents, for example, Microsoft databases, or, that you call usually technical translation. Most of the translators in Spain do that type of uh, translation. Which is quite

boring in many senses. Or translating instructions for, uh, washing machines, or things like that, very technical. They are not happy about the texts, because it's not very literary, but the-there's not freedom, you know that. But at the same time, they translate, uh, at a much quicker pace, so they make more money. And that is a satisfaction, yeah, because rate, translation rates in Spain are quite low, as compared to the ones in Europe, yeah, in other countries. (Interview #1)

The quotation shows how finding translators for Amnesty involves finding translators who are willing to invest a lot of time with lower return in terms of pay. This entails that it is helpful when translators who work for Amnesty identify with the organisation and the values it stands for. Many Amnesty translators take an activist attitude to their work, and the prestige they receive by working for Amnesty is a strong motivation for them.

This ethical position of translators shows that the traditional understanding of the translator's ethics consisting of fidelity towards the original text and author is insufficient. For Amnesty translators, fidelity towards the target audience and culture, but also towards the institution they work for is essential. When asked about the self-image and work satisfaction of translators at Amnesty in e-mail correspondence, translators stated these issues clearly. The following extracts are from a discussion via e-mail between the researcher, an internal translator at AILRC-FR, and an internal translator at AILRC-ES.

- (a) As an Amnesty translator, I have always considered I sacrificed some material elements like the money I could earn in profit-making sectors. Re. the image, it was a compromise between my material comfort and the values I could trust and support (compared to my previous jobs, esp. [xxx name of previous translation company xxx]). (E-mail correspondence with AILRC-FR translator, 09/10/2012)
- (b)
 - Self-image of translators: Translation in Amnesty is a form of activism, otherwise it cannot be understood how highly qualified professionals endure such working conditions
 - Translators work satisfaction: Somewhat related to the previous point --there is a permanent dilemma between the material and unmaterial rewards one gets. In the long run, the latter makes it worth the while, but not everybody --at a certain professional level-- can afford working for Amnesty and at the same time making a living. In this sense I must say I consider myself a privileged professional. (E-mail correspondence with AILRC-ES translator, 10/10/2012)

The topic of activism was here spontaneously brought up by the translators, showing how important this aspect of their job is to them. Many Amnesty translators perceive of their choice to work for Amnesty as sacrificing economic capital in order to acquire more symbolic capital (cf. Pym 2012: 4). They feel morally rewarded for contributing to fighting human rights abuses. One of the internal translators, who is often in touch with the freelancers, commented on this topic:

In my personal view, all the translators I work with are -, do agree, you have to agree with what Amnesty does, if you're not sensitive to the, if it's not part of your, uh, personal conviction then... I -, it might not work, so, and Amnesty has quite a good, uh, image, so people are proud to, uh, to work for Amnesty, this is, uh, most, uh, ALL of them, they do, uh, sometimes, they make comments ABOUT that "I'm so glad Amnesty is acting like this", so this I think it's a good engine, it's a good "enforce", uh, in MY point of view it's not necessary that people are. (Interview #6)

The translator's citations of freelancers who work for Amnesty illustrate that also for freelance translators, who do not work full time for AILRC-FR, working for a human rights NGO gives translators access to increased social capital. However, not all Amnesty translators take up this activist attitude to such an extent. Even though translators for Amnesty are paid less than many translators who work for translation companies, the interviewed translators also point out that they are not *that* badly paid, and that translating for Amnesty is not always about activism. For some, what is important is translating interesting content. The following extract illustrates this position.

- I: As you told me before, Amnesty doesn't pay a huge amount of money to translators, so do you think that for many of those translators it's, uh, a sort of activist attitude to work for Amnesty?
- R: Partially, partially, not totally, because I do think that we pay correctly, it's not, uh, exploitation (laughs), but, uh, as I said sometimes the conditions are demanding, and if they accept it, if they don't revolt (laughs), it is also because they KNOW that it's put to some good uses, it just doesn't go into someone's pocket (laughs)".
- I: Is that the same for you? was it a conscious choice?
- R: Uh, yes, yes, yes, I wouldn't call it activism, but, uh, ... before I worked for Amnesty I worked for [xxx name of not-for-profit organisation xxx], and so, it wasn't activism, but it was people who did an interesting job within the world where we live, like protecting the ocean, and, uh, marine resources, and so on, and it was interesting to work with them, uh, it's, it's, it is not so commercial, even if it can have commercial aspects, it's not overly commercial [=sic], and uh, I was happy to find a job with Amnesty, because uh, yes, it was, it's values which I believe in.
- I: So it would be, you could make more money working for a translation company, but the texts might not be that interesting to translate? and then it's about commerce
- R: I wouldn't be personally involved in what I translate, uh, I would do it just like a job, uh, not uh, not stay up late to get the translation done, or... (laughs). (Interview #8)²⁰

In the above citation, the translator makes clear that for her there should always be a distinction between work and personal involvement. Although she believes in Amnesty's values, for her the main attraction to work for the organisation lies in translating non-commercial texts.

These diverse positions of translators towards activism are also reflected in the translators' volunteering activities: half of the translators and staff interviewed at AILRC-FR is also active as a volunteer for Amnesty, the other half is not. Thus, it is not the idea of activism as such that is appealing to all Amnesty translators. Their ethical position is most clearly reflected in their motivation to translate Amnesty texts, i.e. to translate documents that require a lot of time and dedication, as was indicated by the respondent in interview #1.

Translating for Amnesty often entails checking a large amount of legal terminology. Giving complicated texts to freelance translators can be problematic, because freelancers are paid by the word and not by the hour. One internal translator at AILRC-FR related how she spent eight hours on the translation of a 600-word document that week. The text was extremely complicated as it contained

²⁰ R= respondent; I=Interviewer. For a full list of transcription conventions, see Appendix 4.

references to French, international and European law. The translator needed to find the documents containing the original text, and then the exact lines and paragraphs in these documents that were referred to in the source text. She commented:

I could do it because I get a wage, I get a salary every month, and so I can afford sometimes when there is a difficult and important document to translate to do this research, whereas, uh, it's a bit difficult to ask someone who is paid by the word, to, to, to spend, uh, maybe two hours or three hours researching the world wide web. (Interview #8)

Correct translation of legal terminology is an important factor in Amnesty translations to maintain quality. Yet it is not just terminology that makes translation for Amnesty a job of expertise. When asked about Amnesty's message in translation and the importance of revision, one of the translators attempted to describe what makes translating for Amnesty a job of high expertise.

It's not style, it's not that it has to be written in a specific style, it's just that AI texts are very special, you have to, to -, they are in a very narrow window, you have to be very conscious, very careful, the style has to be very precise, a special tone, you don't have to add like "horrific", or "atrocities", you have to keep a very sober, and factual tone, that's more efficient, you don't, uh, you have to -, so that's why, sometimes I worked with a journalist, like we say he had a, "une bonne plume", he wrote a journalistic style, that didn't work for us, because you, you don't have to add anything, it's boring, it's really boring, but the way it has to be for -, because it's too important, even an Urgent Action, if you say more than what's in the text then you change the purpose, and you change the message. (Interview #6)

According to this translator, Amnesty maintains a specific writing style, which needs to be mastered by translators to be able to deliver high-quality translations. She continues by explaining that not all texts require the same sober style, but that translating facts correctly is essential for every type of document, even if the document may *seem* not important. She explains:

Public statements for example, they are used by groups that work on a special country, like in France there are 280 groups, they -, sometimes, public statement might be the only document they have on a situation in Myanmar, for example, or in uh -, and so they will work on the information they have there, and write to the authorities or something, so they have to be, to trust exactly what is, uh, and if you say 'arrested' instead of something else, then you, you -, every word is important, every -, you cannot, cannot play with that. (Interview #6)

This emphasis on accuracy up to the level of the word is an important characteristic for translating for Amnesty in the translators' view. Moreover, accuracy is not only important for the translations, but also for the source texts. The translation process often contributes to increasing the quality of the source text. Sometimes serious errors are spotted through translation, as one respondent relates:

Like in the beginning of the document it says: "they detained five people", and then in another area of the document they say: "the four detained", but there were five before, so there is an inconsistency, so you keep back the information, saying "hey, what happened?", even for you, you can see it is inconsistent. (Interview #2)

Improving the source text is in fact an important aspect of translation at Amnesty, as errors of this kind can severely harm the reputation of Amnesty and it can have serious political consequences, as already

illustrated by the Russian example in Chapter 1. As interviewee #2 concludes, “we are not producing something that is there just for reference. We are not an academic organisation”.

For the interviewees, expertise in translation in general and for Amnesty in particular is thus a combination of the use of a sober style, adequate skills to look up reference documents, knowledge of legal and specific human rights terminology, and an eye for factual detail and accuracy. Yet one element still seems to be missing, i.e. knowledge acquired throughout the years about Amnesty’s work, about human rights around the world, and about which working processes work best for which documents. Again, interviewee #6 attempted to describe this invisible type of knowledge:

Over the years I KNOW why, uh, such type of document on Ivory Coast has to be treated THAT way, because I have the, the, the, the background, I have, and I KNOW what's going on at Cote d'Ivoire at the moment, and, uh, that's why during the day also I check the news, because that, THAT helps me to decide, it's a, it's a whole, uh, function, and uh, I am a little, uh, suspicious about the fact of, uh, cutting things into tasks. (Interview #6)

In this citation, the interviewee is talking about a new system that the AILRC wants to introduce to distribute the source texts to freelancers largely automatically (see 4.2.3.2). The problem with this system according to interviewee #6 is that if the system is automated, it will not take into account such aspects as which colleague prefers to work when or prefers to work on which region, and what is happening where in the world and which documents should be prioritised for translation. This knowledge can be described as invisible working knowledge that is acquired on the job and through many years of experience. That a lot of knowledge and skills are acquired on the job is also expressed by interviewee #8 in the following citation. The translator was asked if translation, especially for Amnesty, is an expert function.

I think it is an expert function, but that training can be acquired in many different ways (...) you can learn, uh, through doing, also, but you HAVE TO learn, I mean, it IS a technique, it IS an art, it is many things together, translating ... but it IS, uh, a specialised job, yes. (Interview #8)

All these elements constitute a picture of translating for Amnesty as a job that requires a particular set of skills and training. These beliefs of the translators gave rise to the development of particular tools to train translators and to develop their skills.

4.2.2.2 Tools for training Amnesty translators

The translation beliefs about what translating for Amnesty involves influence the practices of translator training. All new Amnesty translators receive training, despite the fact that the majority of them have a university degree in translation, and some of them already have professional experience. The training largely comes in the form of revision and is provided by the internal translators, who generally have many years of translating experience.²¹ New translators receive feedback on their translations for one to two years. By this time, they will be familiarised with essential human rights

²¹ The years of service of AILRC-FR’s internal translators are 3, 9, 15, 17, 20, and 24 years.

terminology, use the AILRC-FR's CAT-tools, and translate in an appropriate writing style for Amnesty. To speed up the training process, AILRC-FR tends to select newly graduated translators that have done a one or two month internship at the office as part of their degree. When these translators start working as freelancers, they will already have a good basic knowledge of Amnesty's work and of the AILRC-FR's working procedures. This sometimes happens when selecting new internal translators as well, as is the case of Translator 6 in Figure 6 (see 4.2.1.1).

When new freelancers start working for Amnesty, or when new interns are taken on, they are provided with two Word files containing basic information and guidelines. The first document is a typographic guide that contains general rules on French writing. A professional proofreader compiled the original guide, and it was then adapted to the needs of AILRC-FR. It is not a document specifically for translation. It discusses topics such as punctuation, citation, bibliographic referencing, transcription of foreign proper names, etc.

The second document is a bilingual glossary that was last updated in 2007. The document was not updated anymore after this, as AILRC-FR started working with an electronic terminology database. However, the document is still useful because of the basic glossary that is included in the first few pages. This first part, called "L'ABC du traducteur d'Amnesty International" ("The ABC of the Amnesty International translator"), consists of a table of four pages with four columns. Column 1 contains the English term, column 2 contains an example sentence, column 3 contains the French translation(s), and column 4 any relevant comments. The list contains terms related to human rights abuses, such as "death penalty", "torture", and "violations". It also contains more general terms or phrases that are regularly used in Amnesty documents and that are challenging to translate, such as "reportedly", or "killings". The first part of this document is concluded by a list of false friends that often occur in Amnesty documents. For a correct translation, translators are referred to the second part of the document that contains the actual English-French glossary. This glossary is 200 pages long and contains a wide variety of terms and expressions. The glossary is concluded by an annex titled "Terminologie de la torture". This 13-page annex contains the terms that relate to specific types of human torture, a translation, and a comment column that contains the countries where such practices have been reported between brackets, and a description when necessary. Even though the glossary is outdated and being replaced by an electronic termbase (see 4.2.3.1), it is still used as a first and basic source of information for new freelancers and interns.

More experienced translators also still often rely on tools that have been used for years and were in place before CAT-tools were being introduced at the office. One of these tools is the system of classifying key terms according to country in the so-called "fiches pays". All translators have access to these files. Each file, saved under the country's name, contains basic information, such as the country's population, the capital, a brief history, the contact details of the local embassies, and a contact person from Amnesty's IS. The main body of the "fiche pays" consists of a list of key terminology classified by topic. These can include: government/administration, geography, religion,

population and languages, political parties and groups, law and legislation, army and police, prisons, torture, and media. At the end of the document a brief overview is presented of key moments in politics.

A lot of the basic information included in the fiches pays can nowadays easily be found online, and the listed terminology is by now included in the AILRC-FR's Wordfast glossaries. As a result, the files are no longer essential. However, the translators are so used to the system that the files were still used and updated when fieldwork was carried out. Over time, the system will be used less and less, and the termbase will become increasingly important.

4.2.2.3 Through the eyes of translators: clients' beliefs on translation

The previous sections have described the beliefs translators have on what translating for Amnesty entails, and the specific training tools that were devised accordingly. Yet to deliver a quality translation, a translator often needs more than just a good training. He or she needs particular background information, and it is important that the source text is also of good quality. Whether these conditions are fulfilled or not largely depends on the view of translation held by the translation clients. This section reports on AILRC translators' collaboration with their clients at the IS. It explores clients' beliefs on translation through the eyes of the translators.

For AILRC, the translation requests come from different departments at the IS, for example from the campaigning and research teams. The interaction between the IS staff and the translators varies from case to case, yet some regularities can be observed. When the translators were asked during interviewing if they felt appreciated for their expertise by their non-translating colleagues at the IS, a two-sided picture arose. A distinction was noted between translators who work on the translation of the Annual Report (AIR) or other large and important reports, and translators who translate smaller documents. Short documents often need to be translated in a short time frame, and there is no time for interaction. Translators for the Annual Report can interact quite easily with the originators of the document when there are problems with the source text. The comments of the last group of translators indicated increased visibility. They often felt more respected for their expertise than their colleagues. One of the translators commented on the interaction with the AIR researchers:

I think that, uh, most of the time when the researchers they answer your question, they say, "oh waw, very good question", or "congratulations on spotting this!", "the translator is a genius", sometimes it's out of proportion (laughs) but it's just because they are happy that we spotted uh errors, so in that sense, yes I think that maybe the work of translators is more appreciated, is uh, than uh for most of the rest of the texts, with the exception of big reports, when we can have some uh, contacts with the researcher or researchers, especially when they're francophones, most of the time it's very easy to ask them questions and they answer really quickly. (Interview #9)

This point of view was shared by other translators who work on the Annual Report or large reports as well. An article from 2009 written by one of the Spanish translators for *Puntoycoma*, the bulletin of EU Spanish translators, also commented on the AIR phenomenon and related that it seems Amnesty is starting to grasp the added value of translation:

[...] la traducción es la prueba de fuego de la consistencia de un enunciado. Si el traductor es a la vez destinatario y emisor de un mismo mensaje —que primero descodifica en una lengua (o código) y luego codifica en otra—, nadie como él para detectar y eliminar cualquier «ruido» que distorsione la buena comunicación. Amnistía Internacional parece empezar a captar la existencia de este valor añadido. Sin ir más lejos, las consultas enviadas por traductores y editores del equipo multilingüe que traduce a una veintena de lenguas su Informe Anual reciben un trato editorial exquisito, ya que generan correcciones que mejoran muy ostensiblemente la calidad del original. En otras palabras, la traducción puede ser una herramienta imprescindible para reforzar la eficacia de acción de una ONG. (Turrau 2009: 14-15)

([...] translation is the ultimate tool to test the consistency of a statement. If the translator is both the recipient and sender of a message, who first decodes it in a language (or code) and then encodes into another – than he or she should be able to detect and remove any "noise" that distorts good communication. Amnesty International seems to begin to grasp the existence of this added value. To take a case in point, the queries sent by translators and editors of the multilingual team that translate the Annual Report into a variety of languages receive exquisite editorial treatment, because they generate corrections that significantly improve the quality of the original. In other words, translation can be an essential tool for enhancing the effectiveness of NGO action.)²²

Yet the awareness of the important role that translation can play does not always lead to an increased professional status of the translator. The quotation below is from a translator working on smaller documents. When asked if the translators' expertise is respected by IS colleagues, she responded:

That depends on the people (laughs), mainly, they don't know us, otherwise, there are people who are really respectful and who really abide by what we say, and when we say "no it's not French", they really do that, and there are some that just don't understand and they think they are better, or they know someone that speaks French and that he or she will be better and that will know better, it depends. (Interview #10)

This feeling of lack of respect for expertise that translators sometimes note relates to a conception of translation as mere copy that can be done by anyone (see also Chapter 6). However, this issue did not seem to be the most pressing for the translators that were interviewed. A bigger problem for them was the lack of quality and translatability of many source texts. Translators indicated that the reasons for difficulties in these areas are the unawareness of non-translators of the complexity and the importance of translation. Furthermore, some translators indicated that the staff who produce the documents are often not aware that their documents will be translated. Or, if they are aware, originators do not comprehend what writing clearly for translation entails. As one of the translators said:

I think it's very important that the people who originate the text are aware that it is going to be translated, which means that it has to be perfectly understandable, because apparently the only people who really read, I hope I'm wrong, but usually what one says is that the only people who read a document from beginning to the end is the translator and the reviser, and of course we have to understand exactly what is meant, and sometimes a sentence can be ambiguous, and then the translator doesn't know what has to be done with the sentence: does it have to be translated in an ambiguous way, which is not very satisfactory? Or if the translator really can't guess, and shouldn't guess, and can't find out what the meaning is, he has to ask, so he has to send a message to the originator, or to a team, and say, what's happened here? What does this mean? (Interview #7)

Another translator responded to the question if the IS staff is aware that their documents are going to be translated with the following comments:

²² Translation into English is mine.

We have been asking this question for several years and trying to install procedures, and to, to, which include that awareness of the necessity of translatability, and it is not, we haven't been victorious (laughs) the battle is still being fought, it's not a battle of course, we have excellent relationships with our colleagues in the IS, but it's, it's very hard, there is a very high turn-over in the IS, so that we are not always speaking with the same people, and well, no, I could tell you a lot about it and go into a lot of detail, but really the main idea is that we have tried to enhance this aspect of the process and, it's not done, people still create documents which are difficult to translate, I have a pet grievance which is about slogans, that is so simple, we are sent translation requests stating that we just have three words to translate, well it's a bit of a caricature, but sometimes it's really this bad, so simple, but it's the hardest to do, and I don't know how to work around this really. (Interview #8)

The example of the difficulty of translating slogans illustrates that people who are not translators often lack insight into the complexity of translation. In a traditional conceptualisation of translation as word-for-word reproduction, translating a slogan would indeed be a matter of merely a few minutes, or even seconds.

The impact of the high turn-over in terms of staff at the IS complicates translation especially because there are so many agents involved in the whole production and translation process. This was described by the director of AILRC-FR as follows.

The problem is that you have so many actors, because you have the originators, and then you have the editorial team, and you have the approvals, because people, there are different levels of approval, and then you have the production stage, the lay-out, and the corrections, and so there are so many people involved in a project that very often, it's delayed, even if people make efforts and really try to, well, to respect the deadlines, no, I'm afraid I haven't seen much improvement over the years, no. (Interview #11)

One small project, even the production of a press release, will involve many agents at the IS who all interact and exercise their various power roles. The strict approval system in place at the IS means that sometimes a one-page document will need to be read by ten different people, who will then all add some modifications and try to deliver the message in the way they find most appropriate. This document may then be sent to the AILRC for translation, and a week later a second version with modifications might follow. This makes the translation process extremely complicated and it slows down production.

A related problem is that the agents involved at the IS often do not realise how much work translating these revisions or second versions might entail. This problem again can be linked to their conceptualisation of translation as a straightforward task (see also Chapter 6). This citation from the AILRC-FR director provides more details.

Sometimes we have a document that we have already translated, until there is an update, so, uh, the requester will write a nice word saying: "well it has already been translated and there are minor changes", and then when you look at the document, WAW, the minor changes are really very big changes and it takes a lot of time and quite often you have to retranslate the document, because it's not changes, it's a new document, so it's really a problem because... people do not know what translation is, some of them know, of course, because they have worked with, uh, with us for a long time, but when you have new colleagues, you have to start it all over again and explain, uh, "well to do this volume of work you need this time, if we want to do good work, good quality", and then it's a question of educating people as well. (Interview #11)

In sum, the difficulties the AILRC-FR and the AILRC in general are facing in terms of organising translation workflows and producing translations in a limited time span are related to the place of translation in the production line, and on a deeper, more theoretical level, to the various agents' conceptualisation of translation. To raise awareness of the process of translation, the IS has developed a number of guidelines, as described below.

4.2.2.4 Raising awareness on translation for clients through guidelines

In order for Amnesty translators to deliver high quality target texts within an often limited time-span, it is important that the producers of the source texts at the IS are aware that their texts will be translated. Furthermore, it is important that they receive general guidelines for writing, so that the texts the translators receive are consistent in their writing style, use the correct terminology, etc. These considerations are much along the same lines as in Emma Wagner's "Fight the Fog" campaign for clear writing at the European Commission. She and her colleagues produced a booklet with clear writing tips, and organised several lectures and seminars for staff.²³ Wagner started this campaign after becoming increasingly aware that a major difficulty for translation was the quality of the English source texts that had to be translated. Furthermore, she pointed out that the bad quality of the source texts "were also giving our organisation an incompetent and unfriendly image" (Wagner 2006).

The awareness of how texts impact on the image of an organisation is also present at Amnesty. The organisation aims to create a global identity through its publications, as discussed in 4.1.1. Apart from the lay-out, the writing style of Amnesty documents also needs to be consistent. To ensure consistency and high quality in translation, the IS's Editorial and Publishing Programme produced a number of practical guidelines for Amnesty writers. These documents include *Guidelines for Writers*, *Guidelines for Amnesty International Journalists*, *Use language your audience understands*, and *Amnesty International Report 2012: Guidelines for Country Entries*. The analysis here focuses on *Guidelines for Writers*, as this document contains the most relevant information and instructions on translation and is also referred to by other documents. For example, in the document *Amnesty International Report 2012: Guidelines for Country Entries*, a section on translation is included that states the Annual Report is the most translated publication of Amnesty.²⁴ It contains a few brief tips for translation which are also included in the *Guidelines for Writers*, and refers to this document for more information. Hence the focus here is on the latter document.

Two different versions of the *Guidelines for Writers* were looked at: a version of 2006 and a version of 2008. The 2006-document counts 91 pages and contains chapters amongst others on "house style", "terminology", "writing tips", "non-discriminatory language", "copyright issues", "production and distribution of documents", "writing for the web", and "how to write a press release". Among the

²³ The booklet is available online at http://www.eurosfairer.prdd.fr/bibliotheque/pdf/Write_EN_Fight-the-fog.pdf, visited 10 April 2014.

²⁴ As the Annual Report is not translated into Dutch, it is not part of the corpus for textual analysis in the present thesis.

issues addressed is also “writing for translation”. The chapter on translation opens by referring to the 1995 ICM meeting and its decision on multilingualism:

The 1995 International Council Meeting reaffirmed “AI’s decision to be a multicultural and consequently a multilingual movement”. The needs of translators, therefore, are a priority consideration for all writers. (DOC 60/001/2006: 59)

What follows is a list of practical tips for translation, e.g. keep your documents and sentences short, add [f], [m], or [f/m] if it is unclear whether a person or group is female or male, etc. It is noteworthy that the opening of the chapter refers to a 1995 ICM decision, even though the document is from 2006. The reference is used as a way to justify the attention paid to translation. Comparing this to the 2008 version, this need for justifying attention to translation by referring to a policy decision has disappeared. The 2008 version opens with a quotation from interpreters working at the ICM, and then makes reference to the One Amnesty approach:

“Translation can often serve as an acid test of cogency. We see that texts that look good when originally drafted can easily fall apart when they cross the language barrier; they sink to the ground with the pathetic whine of a punctured party balloon.”

Phil Smith and Phillip Hill, speaking on behalf of ICM interpreters, 15 December 2003

Amnesty International is a multilingual organization. Almost everything that is produced is translated into several languages. A consistent message and voice needs to survive this process.

We are One Amnesty. Considering the needs of translators and other language audiences is, therefore, a priority.

The effective use of language to achieve the desired impact is now a strategic issue for the movement. Translation must therefore be an integral part of planning processes and any communications strategy.

(DOC 60/001/2008: 11)

Instead of referring to a policy decision, the 2008 *Guidelines for Writers* first of all cites the interpreters to make clear how important writing high-quality source texts is. Then, the text refers to the One Amnesty approach and the strategic use of language and translation. What is also notable is that the chapter on translation has been moved to the front in the 2008 *Guidelines for Writers*: whereas it was Chapter 7 in the 2006 edition, it is Chapter 2 in the 2008 edition and it comes right after the chapter on “good writing”. This shows that translation under the One Amnesty approach has indeed become a strategic tool for the movement and more attention is being paid to it.

The tips for writing for translation have also been elaborated in the 2008 version. The 2006 version includes eight practical tips, whereas there are fourteen in the 2008 edition. Additions include using short titles and short footnotes (in addition to writing short documents and short sentences, as stated in the 2006 version), adding the meaning of abbreviations, avoiding references to seasons because these depend on the region, discussing the translation of slogans with the translators, and add the phrasing of criminal charges in the original language. The instruction to provide a phrasing in the original language was included in the 2006 edition for quotations, but not for criminal charges.

Moreover, the instruction for quotations has been slightly modified. The 2006 edition states that providing quotations in the original language is “particularly important if you are using personal testimonies in Arabic, French or Spanish”. This reference to the core or strategic languages has been omitted in the 2008 edition, thus indicating a wider approach that includes translation into more languages, as Amnesty’s 2007 language strategy sets out to do. Interestingly, quite elaborate attention is paid to the new language strategy in the 2008 edition: a page has been added describing the seven principles of the language strategy.

Greater attention to translation also comes with greater attention to translators. The 2008 edition of the guidelines attempts to make translators and their work more visible. The section “Requesting translations” is included in both the 2006 and 2008 editions, yet the 2008 edition draws more attention to including relevant information in a translation request for the translator’s sake. A “fact” is included at the bottom of the page, making IS staff aware of how much work translators can handle:

Translators can work to an average of 1,600 words per day with material that is complete. However, the job takes longer and costs more to complete without the necessary background information. (DOC 60/001/2008: 13)

The tips on how to request a translation in the 2006 version are opened by the statement: “The following information in a Translation Request Form helps translators” (DOC 60/001/2006: 59). The 2008 edition states: “When making a request for translations, the following information helps translators and, out of courtesy, should be provided whenever possible” (DOC 60/001/2008: 14). These changes to the chapter on “writing for translation” demonstrate how Amnesty’s 2007 language policy and strategy is being put into practice by the IS. It shows how greater attention is paid to both translation and translators.

Besides these instances of explicit policy, the IS has implemented some other measures that increase the visibility and importance of translation. These changes in translation management were implemented in the context of the Annual Report, as one of the translators relates:

There’s been improvement since we’ve had debriefing sessions at the IS, uh, after the Annual Report, we’ve had, uh, two or three of them, with several translators, from EDAI and, uh, myself, and we have been able to say what we thought and what we needed. (pause) It has been after -, usually in June or in fall we have met at the IS with those who coordinate the Annual Report, and, at the IS, and, uh, those who coordinate the French, or German or Spanish versions, and we’ve met and we’ve talked about how difficult it is as translators, and they have been able to listen to us, and to say their difficulties too, so that has been VERY good, very constructive. (Interview #7)

The debriefing sessions have been organised after the translators complained about the difficulties they encountered in translating the Annual Report. The fact that the translators’ complaint was heard and the sessions are being organised illustrates that the IS and management are paying more attention to translation as a strategic tool, and that the translators are gaining more visibility. This finding is also

supported by the article cited above by Turrau (2009: 14) who stated that Amnesty seems to begin to grasp (“parece empezar a captar”) the added value of translation.

The tools described above mainly serve to increase translation awareness of non-translating Amnesty staff. A number of additional changes are implemented as a way to increase the use of translation as a strategic tool. These are discussed in the next section.

4.2.3 The One Amnesty approach: new tools for translation management

As described in section 4.1., the One Amnesty approach entails striving to stronger collaboration and improved coordination. As part of this aim, the AILRC was founded and working procedures between the different language services are being aligned. The use of CAT-tools and common guidelines is increased. These resources are used to manage translation work across the services. As concrete ways of managing translation globally, they stand in stark contrast to the abstract policy descriptions in the language policy and strategy documents. This section explores how these tools impact on the work floor and on translators’ agency. In addition, beliefs on translation held by people in management functions are also explored, in order to better understand how these are related to the recent changes in translation management at Amnesty.

4.2.3.1 Tools for managing translation: CAT-tools and revision guidelines

One of the AILRC’s first steps to increase cooperation and knowledge exchange is to create a multilingual termbase. In a first phase, the aim is to build a database that will include a set of ten key languages for Amnesty: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Italian, Portuguese (Portuguese and Brazilian), Russian and Spanish. Compiling a terminology database with this amount of languages is a huge task.

Because translation practices were never streamlined before the founding of the AILRC, EDAI and EFAI started using different CAT-tools at different periods of time. EDAI started compiling its terminology database in SDL MultiTerm in 2000, and started using a translation memory fairly recently, in 2011. EFAI started to use a translation memory first, because the internal translators felt that this tool would be of most use to them. The office started working with Wordfast in 2006. The choice for Wordfast was financial. Wordfast is more affordable than many other CAT-tools, and the tool provider also decided to offer a number of free licences given the nature of Amnesty’s work. The Wordfast glossary format is compatible with SDL MultiTerm, yet merging the databases of EDAI and EFAI is a huge task. In May 2012, Amnesty’s multilingual AI-term base that is being compiled in SDL MultiTerm contained over 18,500 terms in English, 18,500 in Spanish, and over 1,600 terms in French. Besides just listing the terms, the database contains definitions, context, links, cross references, and images that are relevant to the terminology.

Compiling a large multilingual database requires good coordination and maintenance, and the cooperation of many language experts in the organisation. The *AI-Term Reference Manual*, which was

composed at AILRC-ES, provides guidelines for everyone involved in the building of AI-term. The database is maintained by the AILRC office in Madrid, but language-specific content is managed by the different language units themselves. New terminology can be extracted from Amnesty documents, from UN standards and other legal and academic texts. Translators are encouraged to indicate or to provide relevant terminology in their language; and revisers and terminologists will then check the relevance of these terms. The Manual provides guidelines on what information to include in each new entry, and what kind of terms qualify. The relevance and accuracy of AI-Term is thus controlled by giving reader and writer rights to a limited number of people, and by providing these people with strict guidelines. The Manual allows for the creation of a database that will increase correct language use, standardisation and harmonisation across Amnesty publications, and it will offer a wealth of reliable knowledge.

Next to a termbase, translation memories are becoming more important to support translation at Amnesty. As already indicated, AILRC-FR started working with a translation memory in 2006; AILRC-ES followed in 2011. Using a translation memory is helpful and beneficial in a number of ways: it increases consistency of terminology and style, its input can be used to extract terms for the term base, and it allows translators to translate faster and to share their work with each other.

Working with translation memories is typically beneficial for texts that are highly repetitive or similar to others already translated, such as instruction manuals. Even though Amnesty texts do not typically fit this description, translators at AILRC-FR noted over the years that some texts *were* repetitive. After having started to use a translation memory, the benefits became already clear after one year, which was sooner than expected. The CAT-tools manager at AILRC-FR found that the translation memory was of particular help for the translation of documents that all deal with one specific campaign or topic. It was also of considerable help for the translation of UA updates. An UA can be followed by a second or a third call, or an update is spread that communicates the positive outcome of the UA. These follow-up UAs are quite repetitive in nature: they use the same vocabulary, and a translation memory in this case gives a high number of fuzzy matches (parts of sentences that are identical). The translation memory was found to be less useful for research reports and press releases, but the translations of these texts might be of use for later publications, such as web actions related to a report. AILRC-FR also found that the memory made it easier to look for translation solutions, and the memory helped to increase common procedures and workflows.

Increasing similarities in procedures and workflows also implies restricting some of the freedom of translators. When using a translation memory, translators are restricted to working sentence-by-sentence. Considering a complete paragraph and reordering sentences is still possible, but it becomes extremely difficult and requires more operations. The use of a translation memory changes the translator's relationship with the text. This restriction on the translator's freedom and creativity is often seen as the main drawback of using translation memories (see Leblanc 2013: 7). However, the factor that really determines the translator's freedom or constraints is the way in which a company or

organisation requires its translators to use the translation memory. Companies often instruct their translators to accept any full matches the translation memory offers, and that fuzzy matches should only be modified minimally (Leblanc 2013: 5). AILRC-FR does not place such constraints on its translators: they are required to use the translation memory for nearly all texts, but they are not obliged to accept any matches.

Translators at Amnesty use CAT-tools to relieve themselves from repetitive tasks such as looking up terminology. The memory is also considered as extremely useful for new freelancers, who can benefit from the experience of the other translators in this way. At Amnesty, the translation memory is used as a quality-enhancing tool only. Many companies use a memory as a productivity-enhancing tool as well, by asking greater speed of translators while lowering pay (Leblanc 2013: 10). This is not the case at Amnesty, where translators are not expected to blindly accept what the translation memory offers as a translation solution. Instead, translators are expected to use their knowledge and creativity to question these solutions and come up with alternatives when needed.²⁵

Freedom in decision-making is also present on the level of revision. Yet there is a difficult balance here between accuracy and freedom. Revision at AILRC-FR is taken care of internally. In contrast, AILRC-ES mostly outsources its revision work to experienced freelancers. In this case, the freedom that translators enjoy is challenging, as described by one of the internal translators at AILRC-ES:

The revisers, only a limited group of translators, they revise texts, we DO revise texts here, we do exchange a lot of input on “what do you think about this, what do you think about that?”, uh, revisers at home they sometimes feel very lonely about taking-, you know, you have to take a lot of decisions to say: this is not correct, well this is not exactly-, (pause) it’s a different job, revising, and it’s complicated, because you KNOW there are many possible and correct translations. (Interview #1)

Outsourcing revision is another change to the workflows that the AILRC-FR will gradually be facing as part of the ongoing restructuring. At the moment of fieldwork, AILRC-FR did not have strict guidelines for revision. This is likely to change when more revision work is outsourced. Providing external revisers with clear instructions is necessary to guide them through the abundance of corrections they could opt for.

For this purpose, AILRC-ES, at the time still EDAI, developed a three-level grading system for quality control and revision: (1) working quality, (2) standard quality, and (3) publication quality. The lowest level, working quality, entails that the target text transmits the message faithfully and accurately, i.e. there are no omissions, additions, oppositions, or misleading/lacking senses. This level is often applied to internal documents. For the next level, which is that of standard quality, the target text needs to meet all the previous criteria, and more emphasis is placed on accurate terminology. Both Amnesty terminology and legal terminology need to be translated adequately. Standard quality is the

²⁵ This information stems from e-mail correspondence in November 2012 and April 2013 with the terminology managers at AILRC-FR and AILRC-ES.

level of quality control that is applied to most documents. For the highest level, which is publication quality, the target text must fulfil all previous requirements, and the text needs to fulfil all style criteria as described in Amnesty manuals and guidelines. Fitting in with Amnesty's "brand image" is also a must on this level. The highest level applies to major publications such as Amnesty's Annual Report or large research reports that aim at a wide diffusion. The lay-out as part of the Amnesty brand is also considered very important.

Apart from the description of the three quality levels, EDAI's revision guidelines also contain a list of all the criteria a text needs to be checked against, and a list of additional instructions, titled "Decalogue of EDAI's revisers". The guidelines contain some practical advice from Brian Mossop's book *Revising and Editing for Translators* (2001), presented as "commandments" for the translators to keep in mind.²⁶ These additional comments indicate that the guidelines have been composed because the translators felt a need for such a document. Revisers often struggle with taking decisions on how much revision a document needs, or what kind of and how many corrections are justifiable (Interview #01).

At AILRC-FR, where revision is still done internally, a document with guidelines for revision does not exist. AILRC-ES shared its document with the Paris office, but AILRC-FR itself does not implement such a strict quality-control system. In the following quotations, an AILRC-FR translator was asked about revision processes.

I: And then when you get back the document you revise it?

R: Not always, we try to define, uh -, [xxx colleague in Madrid xxx] did an enormous work on this, and asked us to do it too (laughs), we try to define a range of documents, which don't have, which don't deserve, if I may say so, an attentive revision, perhaps just a very quick review, or perhaps even nothing at all, if it is a very easy to translate document, uh, which has no-, uh, little value, if I may use this phrase (laughs), a very short-shelf life also, it's to be used really on the spot, and uh, then it can go, if the translators, if the translator has a problem, uh, he or she says: "oh I didn't understand this", then we will just check that phrase, and then it will go.

I: Okay, good to know, and this system, is there a document that describes it?

R: Probably, probably, but it might be in Spanish, I don't know, I have to check, but now it's more or less integrated all, so-, but it's a bit, uh, (laughs), intuitive, you look at the document and you say: "oh", uh, "this is quite easy, this is very standard", but I think there is a document, I will check. (Interview #8)

Indeed, the only document at AILRC-FR on revision is the one written by AILRC-ES. The fact that such a document does not exist for AILRC-FR was explained by the translators as a consequence of a difference in working culture. Things are "done" differently at their office. At AILRC-FR, working procedures develop very organically, and translation practices are not formalised by writing them

²⁶ It should be noted here that the guidelines were drawn up in English. There are two additional files that contain information in Spanish, yet the bulk of the revision document was drawn up in English. This way, it could also be shared with translation services for other languages.

down in documents that all the colleagues need to adhere to. As indicated in the citation, internal translators follow their personal judgement and intuition for deciding the degree of revision a text requires. When another translator was asked about the revision guidelines, she responded she knew such a document existed, but she was not aware of its contents. This again indicates the more intuitive and organic working processes prevalent at AILRC-FR. To illustrate the office's more organic way of working, the translator related:

[xxx office colleague xxx] gave me the other day a document, well, it's something she has written for herself, for, uh, you know, a checklist what not to forget when you check, uh, a lay-out document, and well this is the kind of things we have, some things that people do for themselves and sometimes they spread it. (Interview #10)

These citations from staff members show how the organic working culture of AILRC-FR is considerably different from the new working procedures that are being implemented as part of the One Amnesty approach. One of the translators related that there is an increased demand by management from the AILRC and the IS to document working procedures: "we are more and more asked to describe our work because they need information, they need information from us to see how things can go" (Interview #6). This demand again previews a new way of working in which the whole production and translation process is structured more rigorously, and even automated to a certain extent, as discussed below.

4.2.3.2 Translation as a strategic tool: changes to the workflow

The previous section has described how CAT-tools and guidelines are used as tools in managing translation and translation workflow. It described how identical or nearly-identical workflows are being created at AILRC-ES and AILRC-FR. Previously invisible or implicit working knowledge is turned into explicit policy by documenting the current translation practices, so that they are available for other language services in the organisation. Yet these changes only present a part of the picture. As part of the One Amnesty approach in which language and translation are being treated as strategic tools, Amnesty is implementing changes to the translation workflow in a much more fundamental way. The organisation of the whole production process of documents, in their original language and in translation, is revisited. Translation at Amnesty has always been an afterthought and came at the end of the production process. Under the One Amnesty approach, translation becomes part of the planning from the very start. This fits in with the new strategic use of language and translation. As explained by AILRC-FR's director:

The restructure process is meant to integrate the language issue from the start, from the beginning of a project, because actually what happens is that there is a project, an originator is going to write a report on death penalty for instance, and, well, the report is written, it's approved, and then, at the end of the process, the people say, "ah, we need the report in French, Spanish, Arabic", and it's not a good thing, because, when you start a project, you must think in what languages do we need this project? and you must also think of the rest of the material, because you have the report, but you also have the news release, for instance, and you will have maybe some material around the report, postcards, or even pens, or, or, what can we have, calendar, or posters, we can have different things, and so, the idea is to

integrate all these elements from the beginning, and then when you start a project, the language people are integrated and they can attend the meetings and give their input and say if this is feasible or not and really if the, if moving closer to the ground in the restructuring process at the LRC level is positive, it will be because it's really integrated, because when you're integrated from the start, you can say if things are feasible or not, if you're at the end of the process, you do not control anything, what you can do is try to do a miracle. (Interview #11)

The director of AILRC-FR indicates why treating language and translation as strategic tools for Amnesty is so essential: translation involves a lot more than translating a press release or a report. Not only do all related documents need to be translated, but also campaigning materials, such as postcards, slogans and pens. If all of these small translation tasks are not treated as part of one big project, the coherence of the project might be lost, and Amnesty would not achieve the large impact it is aiming for. It needs to be thought through which documents and materials need to be translated, into which languages, and which resources will be needed for that.

Apart from including AILRC staff into the planning of major publications from the very start, a software to support the translation requests for smaller or additional translations is being developed. The system will be used for both planned and unplanned work. As part of the One Amnesty approach, the Translation Request Form system is being revisited. Amnesty is constructing a platform that will ensure that all translation requests come through a Single Point of Contact (SPOC). SPOC should be visualised as a customer counter behind which a range of centralised processes and decision mechanisms will enable all resources to be used in the most effective way. The request will be assessed and distributed to the appropriate language teams through SPOC. This team will then first make an estimation of the costs and the required time. When the requester accepts these conditions, the work will start.

The SPOC system will be beneficial both for the AILRC and its clients. The AILRC will be able to gain detailed insight into the translation needs of the movement and the resources spent on translation, while the clients (the IS and local sections) will gain clear insight into the budget they spend on translation.²⁷ As described in 4.1.2, the AILRC and Amnesty in general often do not have a clear idea of what resources are spent on translation and what translation needs the movement has exactly. Many sections, which need to cater for their own translation services, do not have a detailed overview of the budget they spend on translation. The system thus aims to be a single commission root for all languages (not just the strategic ones), and will help in creating better financial management (Interview #03).

The AILRC and Amnesty in general will need to make a considerable investment in IT services to develop the SPOC system in a concrete manner. Next to this, considerable IT investment is also needed in CAT tools, so that the volume of translation and consistency of terminology can increase.

²⁷ The budget can come from several sources, i.e. local budgets with funds gained from donors and local campaigning, or specific translation budgets that have been allocated by the IS. See 4.1.2.

The need for IT investments shows an increased role for technology in terms of workflow and a decreased role for the agents themselves, i.e. the translators and coordinators. All of these changes are being implemented to increase translation quality and coherence. The benefits of these changes can be summarised as stated in the manual of the AI-termbase with reference to the termbase itself:

In the case of Amnesty International they relate to coherence, branding and keeping one concept in multiple languages for “One Amnesty”.

Translation as a strategic tool entails using it in order to create one international organisation, to create coherence, also on the level of terminology, and to stimulate the Amnesty brand. Such a vision of Amnesty contains several concepts from corporate terminology in which companies need to market themselves well in order to compete with other companies with similar interests, as touched upon in sections 1.4 and 4.1. The next section will describe how translators feel about these changes and their interaction with management, who are introducing these changes.

4.2.3.3 Beliefs on translation as a professional activity by management

In the conducted interviews, many internal translators expressed their doubts and fears about the ongoing restructuring for the AILRC and of Amnesty in general under the One Amnesty approach. One of the doubts expressed was whether the new and much more “formal” structure that was being implemented would work at the Paris office. Translation practices were becoming increasingly more managed by turning them into explicit policy. Translators perceived the new highly managed structure as going against their working culture. One of the translators related how she felt that people were being put into boxes under the new structure. The following quotations illustrate the doubts and fears expressed during the interviews. The quotations also show that the translators did not feel respected by management while the restructuring was taking place (see Appendix 7 for additional quotations).

- (a) I would say lack of respect for words in general, I would say, because it’s more I guess they just don’t understand how important in terms of image it is to have a good communication, and communication is not only, for me, in the brand, the Amnesty brand, it’s also in the documents that we still publish. (Interview #5)
- (b) I would think that higher managers are in charge of observing and trying to understand how things are going in the field, in order to find solutions to organise the work more efficiently, or..., but they actually don’t have a clue about the work we do, and they tell us that well we should try to imagine how we could work more efficiently, or, I think it’s a totally reversed way of working. (Interview #9)
- (c) Management, they may show some respect but not in their act, they don’t respect what has been built here, or in EDAI, because there are things that work, and there are people with knowledge, and with skills, and they are just trying to, to put people in like, boxes, without taking into account that these boxes don’t match the people, and so it’s not, it’s not going to work. (Interview #10)

Part of my job is to resolve problems, and that I don’t know how software, workflow software, can work on this, everybody will tell you in any kind of job that there are jobs that nobody sees, but when nobody does it then things won’t go. For a document to go from the IS or from even the event to the users or to... there are a lot of people that do work that no one sees, but that’s how it works. (Interview #6)

The translators' perception of the lack of respect by management relates to a number of different aspects: (a) a perceived lack of respect for words, (b) unawareness of what is actually happening on the work floor, and (c) disrespect for the translator's working knowledge that has been built up over the years. The first quotation in (c) sums up the position of the translators and the relationship between translators and management quite well. On the one hand, translators have gained more visibility through projects such as the debriefing sessions at the IS, where they are able to talk about their expertise. Yet on the other hand, they feel disrespected by management for some of the changes that are implemented, because they feel or fear that part of their expertise will be lost.

These issues could be summarised as an increased status for translation, with more attention being paid to the quality of source texts, for example, while at the same time translators feel disrespected in their professional occupation and feel that the complexity of their job is not fully recognised. These paradoxical findings of an increased status of translation versus a decreased status of the translator could be seen in terms of power-roles. The translators are losing a large part of their decision-making power and freedom through the increased use of CAT-tools, guidelines, and liaising of working procedures. The translation practices that have been in use for years, the tools they have heavily relied on, are all changing.

Relating these changes to Wong's distinction between three mechanisms of agenda setting provides more insight (Wong 2012). For the language services, proposal power and enforcement power have for years been centralised for the core or strategic languages: proposals are discussed and decisions are taken during ICMs and IECs. Implementation power was for all languages highly decentralised: all local sections could take their own decisions on what they translated and on who translated it. This was also highly applicable to the core or strategic languages: before the foundation of the AILRC and the implementation of the One Amnesty approach, EFAI, EDAI, and other languages services all worked with their own translation guidelines, decided on their own organisational structure, on how they trained translators and revised their documents, etc.

Since the foundation of the AILRC and the integration with AILRC-ES, workflows are being liaised to a high degree, and freedom on the level of implementation power is faltering. There is an increased demand from management for AILRC-FR to document its working practices, so that implicit policy can be made explicit and can be shared with other language services. Furthermore, translators are losing power in terms of translation quality control. Technology has become a prominent actor in ensuring translation accuracy and consistency. On top of this, revision will be outsourced more and more often to external freelancers.

Instead of being able to focus on the actual texts and to control the final products by revising them, the internal translators are increasingly functioning as project managers, each with their own responsibilities. They fear a lot of their expertise, which is often invisible to outsiders, will be lost in the new structure, and that the quality of the products they are delivering will decrease along with it. The structure of the language services is becoming highly corporate, and translators in many cases

expressed their doubts about such a set-up for Amnesty. These issues will be further addressed in Chapter 6.

4.2.4 Summary

The discussion of translation policy at AILRC-FR has shown how translation management has started to play a more prominent role in translation at Amnesty. Taking a top-down approach to translation policy, it was shown that the place of translation is changing in the production process as a consequence of several managerial decisions. Language needs and translation are taken into account from the very start of the production of a new project, instead of being an afterthought. This is an important change in considering translation as a strategic tool. As argued by Turrau (2009), herself a translator at AILRC-ES, Amnesty is becoming increasingly aware of the added value of translation. Thus, the status of translation at Amnesty has increased over the last couple of years. Translators are positive about the increased attention that is paid to translation.

The increased status of translation can also be perceived in the initiatives taken by the IS in order to facilitate the work of translators: the IS has produced several guidelines for writing in which attention is paid to translation, and meetings have started to be organised with IS staff and translators to discuss the translation of the AIR. Thus, both translation and translators have gained in visibility under the One Amnesty approach. Although AILRC-FR translators and IS staff are based at different locations, communication between these agents in the complex nexus has increased and efforts have been made so that translation issues can be discussed in person. The translators can be said to have increased agency in the production process, as they can now have their say from the moment a project is being planned, rather than having to handle translation requests as the final step in a project.

However, AILRC-FR translators expressed severe concerns about the changes implemented to the organisation of translation under One Amnesty. The concerns seem to come from a contradiction between the conceptualisation of translation as a professional activity by translators and non-translating staff at the IS (both management and researchers). Whereas AILRC-FR translators conceive of translation as a professional activity for which in-depth training is needed, they reported that they felt management did not have a full understanding of the degree of professionalism and expertise that their job entails. Management is using translation as a strategic tool to increase the impact of the organisation, but translators feel they do not have a full understanding of the importance of good communication and how it impacts on the Amnesty “brand”.

Moreover, translators expressed concern about the loss of agency they experience through the increased use of technology and outsourcing. Although translators are more involved in the planning process, they now have less power over the translation work itself. In-house translators increasingly function as project managers, with both translation and revision being outsourced more frequently. Translators expressed concern about the possibility that their expertise, built up through many years of

experience, might be lost because of these changes. The fact that their agency is being restricted gives rise to many doubts and fears on what will happen to Amnesty's message and voice in translation, and an overall concern about Amnesty's ethical values as a human rights organisation. The translators' social capital in terms of the pride they take in working for Amnesty is particularly clear in this context. These concerns will be further addressed in Chapter 6.

The discussion of translation policy at AILRC-FR has provided insight into the different actors involved in the network of translation work into French within Amnesty. It showed how beliefs on translation impact on translation practices and management, e.g. beliefs on translation as a professional activity give rise to implementing in-depth training. This stands in contrast to beliefs on translation as mere copy, which give rise to the expectation that translation can be dealt with quickly. Amnesty and the IS have developed guidelines for writing to raise awareness of translation as a professional activity and to counter these beliefs, thus attempting to impact on translation work from the top to the bottom. Nevertheless, AILRC-FR translators feel their expertise is not fully recognised. Thus, whereas the status of translation as a strategic tool for communication and increased impact has been raised, the status of translation as a professional activity still seems to be rather low.

4.3 Translation policies at AIVL

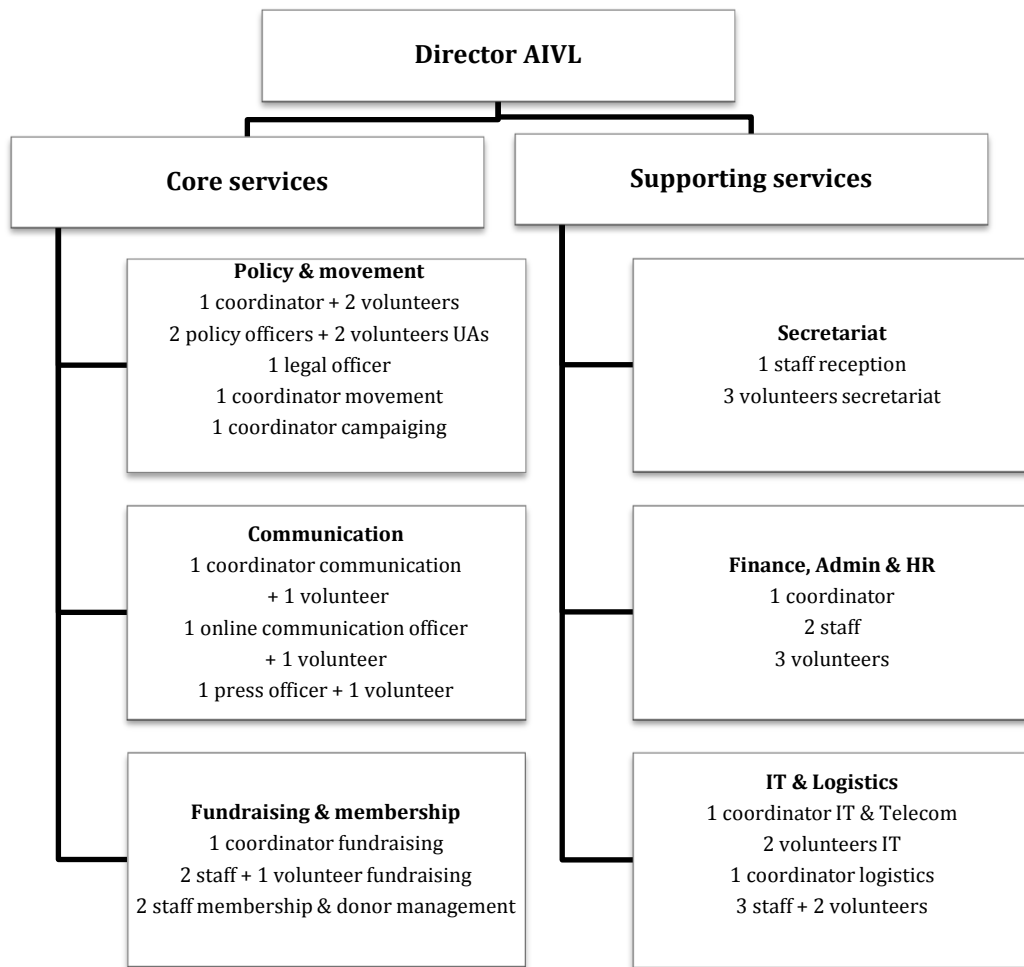
As described in Chapter 3, fieldwork at AIVL was carried out both as part of research and as part of training. Thus, the researcher presented herself in the field as both an intern and a researcher. At AIVL, the researcher's presence had a considerable impact on all three levels of translation policy. The first part of the discussion below will focus on the translation practices as observed by the researcher when she arrived in the field. The translation beliefs as described in 4.3.2 will include a discussion of how the researcher impacted on local beliefs and practice. This part of the discussion is highly reflexive, and will be written in the first person, as it is impossible here to split personal involvement from observation. The discussion will also describe the tools for volunteer translators that were developed during fieldwork by the researcher, in accordance with local staff.

4.3.1 Translation management and practices at AIVL

4.3.1.1 Organisational structure

AIVL is a rather small Amnesty section and employs twenty paid staff approximately. On top of this, there are about twenty volunteers and a few interns who come into the office on a regular basis. Figure 7 presents an organisational chart of the staff and volunteers who work at the AIVL office. Many of the staff and volunteers do not work full-time. Even though the total number of people involved runs up to about forty, the number of hours they spend on the job is thus limited.

Figure 7: Organisational chart of AIVL



As can be noted in the chart, no translators are employed at AIVL. However, this does not mean that no translation takes place. Three languages are used on a regular basis at AIVL: Dutch, English, and French. The institutional language of AIVL is Dutch, more specifically the regional variant called Flemish. Dutch is the only official language in Flanders, the region where the office is based. English is used for communication with the IS. It is sometimes also used for external communication, for example with journalists. French is used in lobby work, for example to interact with French-speaking politicians, and when cooperating with the French-speaking section of Amnesty Belgium, called Amnesty International Belgique Francophone (AIBF).

The two Belgian sections AIVL and AIBF developed separately from one another. Although there is a legally overarching structure called Amnesty Belgium, founded in 1973, cooperation between the two offices is limited. When Amnesty Belgium was founded, two separate departments were established within Amnesty Belgium: a Dutch-speaking one and a French-speaking one. These departments worked with local Amnesty groups in Antwerp and in Brussels respectively, each in their own language. AIVL and AIBF were founded as two separate non-profit organisations forming part of Amnesty Belgium in 1978. Cooperation processes were discussed at the time, and they are still similar nowadays. The sections decide on their own priorities and set up their own campaigns. Regular

meetings are organised to discuss their planning and decide on joint campaigns. The sections organise joint events especially when campaigning activities are planned in Brussels, the bilingual capital.

4.3.1.2 Organisation of translation: what is translated and by whom

On the level of translation, AIVL works completely differently than AIBF, which can rely on translations done by AILRC-FR. AIVL needs to cater for its own translation work, as Dutch is a non-strategic and non-tactical language for Amnesty. As pointed out in 4.1.2., this often entails that there are no funds available and that there is no distribution plan for funds that are spent on translation. At AIVL, translation is therefore a key activity for staff and volunteers, and many documents are not translated at all. AIVL does not have any policy documents that manage translation work, but there are implicit policies: for some text genres there are specific working procedures in place. For example, translations of Urgent Actions are always done by volunteers, who work from home, and all Urgent Actions are translated. For other genres, the practices are often not as structured and decisions are made on a more ad-hoc basis. Even though these practices have not been turned into explicit policy by documenting them, everyone at the section is familiar with them.

As described in 4.1.3, the genres produced by Amnesty can be divided into four main categories: media texts, campaigning materials, position documents, and governance documents. Media and campaigning materials are the categories that are most often translated at AIVL. Governance documents are never translated. This is because all staff members are able to read these documents in the English original. Position documents, such as open letters and official correspondence, are generally not translated, although there are exceptions. Large reports that are important to the local context or their summary might be translated. When these translations are needed they are outsourced to a translation agency. This was for example the case with a report published on 24 April 2012 on the discrimination against Muslims in Europe. As both Belgium and the Netherlands were countries the report focused on, the summary of the report was translated into Dutch.

The bulk of translation work undertaken at AIVL thus consists of media and campaigning materials. Media materials comprise press releases, web news and articles or opinion editorials by staff. This last genre is rarely translated at AIVL, as staff members prefer to write their own editorial pieces and try to publish these. These articles can then relate to human rights issues that are highly relevant to the local context, or they can present a more local view on an international topic, discussed by a local staff member. Press releases and web news are translated on a daily basis. The local press officer sends out two to three press releases per week to a list of media contacts. Not all of these press releases are translations. The press officer also produces local press releases that report on local campaigns or actions. The majority of the press releases by the IS are in fact not translated into Dutch at all. In 2011, the press officer translated and sent out 25 out of the 189 press releases that the IS produced. This means that only 13% of the IS's press releases were translated and spread directly

through AIVL's media contacts. The selection criteria for these press releases are (a) if the press release is related to a country, topic or campaign that AIVL is focusing on, or (b) if the press release is on a topic that has already received media attention, or that is very likely to. On these selection criteria, the press officer explained during interviewing:

We have an internal operational plan, and all the staff here are expected to work around the priorities set out in this plan, uh, but yeah, the media, of course, they have their own priorities, and if all of a sudden, uh, a crisis breaks out, in Sudan, for example, uh, well, yeah in fact there's a crisis there now too, uh, yeah, that's not really a priority for us, you see, we have to limit ourselves, we can't do everything, but in a week or in two weeks there is a report from our head office about, uh, about the conflict now in the south of Sudan, uh, yes, I strongly consider to prepare that, yeah because then of course I need to read and study those reports, so that I can speak about them on the radio or on television, so for example to launch the report anyway, even though we don't really work around that in house. (Interview #4, Quotation 1)²⁸

Translating a press release that accompanies such a report is thus part of being prepared for media inquiries. Many of these reports and their accompanying international press releases produced by the IS reach the Flemish media through news agencies, so there is not really a need for AIVL to send out its own press release. Yet this might lead to embarrassing situations, as the press officer explains:

There are also reports that I don't send out, I don't do translations, nothing, but they are-, through our head office, they reach international news agencies, and then they reach Belga. Belga then makes a news item of this, and this is how it does reach De Standaard or De Morgen. In fact for very strong reports, I could say, yeah okay, it will go its own way. Of course then if the radio calls me, "oh this is interesting, De Standaard says this and De Morgen says that about your report", and yeah if I then didn't read it, then it is difficult to do an interview about it (laughs). (Interview #4, Quotation 2)²⁹

Interacting with the media and making sure the local section is prepared to answer questions, give information and share its point of view is essential for Amnesty to remain visible as a human rights defender. This is also why next to the press releases that are translated by the press officer, an additional number of press releases are translated and uploaded onto the website by the online media desk. This process is rather one of "reactive" translation work instead of proactive. The press officer explained this process as follows:

Usually the moment when they are posted on our website, that's because [xxx name of colleague online media xxx] saw in the morning that they were in the newspaper, and when, yeah when something is taken up, like I said, from our international office, to an international news agency, to Belga, and like that into the newspaper, without us working on it, but it IS reported on in two newspapers or the like, or on news websites, then it is important that there is something on this on our Flemish website, so usually it's the other way around, that [xxx name of colleague online media xxx] sees: "oh, they are working on this theme", or something like that, "I am going to put this on our website". (Interview #4, Quotation 3)

The translations of press releases for the website and other web news items are done by either the online media officer, by a volunteer who works at the online media desk two to three days per week,

²⁸ As pointed out, interviews with AIVL's press officer were conducted in Dutch; translations were provided by myself. The original transcriptions can be found in Appendix 7.

²⁹ Belga is the largest Belgian press agency. De Standaard and De Morgen are two of the most important Flemish quality newspapers.

or by anyone else of the staff that has time to do some translation work. There is also cooperation with Amnesty the Netherlands (AINL) for the translations of online news. The section of AINL is much larger than AIVL, with approximately 130 paid staff and fifty volunteers. AIVL and AINL have an agreement that they can use texts from each other's website. Thus, when seeking to translate a press release for the website or another online news item, AIVL's online media officer will first check if the text has already been translated by AINL. The online media officer does point out though that AINL has a different way of working, and that they summarise a lot more than AIVL. Therefore, cooperation processes with AINL are minimal.

Campaigning materials are translated regularly at AIVL, yet they are mostly dealt with on an ad-hoc basis. For posters and postcards, a publicity agency is usually called on to suggest appropriate translations of slogans for a campaign. Other campaigning materials, such as articles from the international magazine or fragments from the newsletter, are translated by staff members according to the needs. For example, an article from *The Wire* might be translated for AIVL's own magazine, called *Amnesty in Actie*. This quarterly magazine contains mostly articles written by local staff, activists, and groups, but translations are sometimes included as well.

An exception to these ad-hoc translation practices for campaigning materials are the translations of Urgent Actions. In contrast to press releases, nearly all Urgent Actions Amnesty produces are translated by AIVL. Since Amnesty publishes about 700 Urgent Actions per year, this entails a lot of translation work. There is no cooperation for translation with AINL, since AINL does not translate any Urgent Actions. Instead, the section uploads the original English documents on its website. At AIVL, the translations of UAs are done by a pool of approximately eighty volunteer translators, who translate as a maximum one Urgent Action per month from home. Translators are also asked to add an original piece of writing to the translation: for every Urgent Action they translate, they are asked to write a sample letter that Amnesty members can use when they decide to respond to Amnesty's request and to write to the authorities of a particular country. Thus, volunteer translators do not only need to be able to translate from English into Dutch, they are also asked to write a sample letter in English or in another foreign language. For example, when the Urgent Action is about a case in Colombia, a volunteer translator who is also proficient in Spanish will be asked to do the translation and write an accompanying sample letter in Spanish.

AIVL's translation work of UAs is managed by two internal volunteers, who work at the AIVL's office a few days per week. One of these volunteers has a degree in translation, but has not worked as a translator for years. The second volunteer has a degree in Applied Economics, and has never done any translation work. Both volunteers have been active in their coordinative role at AIVL for years. They recruit new translators, send the source texts and receive the translations, and spread these to the network of AIVL's letter writers.

The whole process from receiving the original UA to sending out the translation is done within five days' time. This is quite slow in comparison to other Amnesty sections, especially with sections

that can rely on professional translators. An internal survey on UAs in 2011 collected data on the duration of the dissemination process at 41 Amnesty sections. The majority of the sections distribute the UAs to their members within one to three days, and fourteen sections even distribute them to their network within 24 hours. Yet there are also sections where dissemination takes considerably longer. Translation is the main factor that causes delay, especially when the section cannot rely on professional translators. At AI Japan, translation can take up to seven days. However, most sections manage to translate and distribute the UAs in less time than AIVL. At AI Slovenia, for example, translation takes one to three days (ACT 60/052/2011). The speed with which the UAs can be spread is of critical importance. The human rights violation should be addressed by the relevant authorities as soon as possible. In order to speed up the process, UAs at AIVL are not subjected to an in-depth revision process. The two internal volunteers who receive the translation will briefly check if the translation does not contain any linguistic errors, but no in-depth revision of writing style, legal terminology or fact-checking is done.

The translation practices at AIVL indicate that the target audience of the text genres is a decisive factor for how translation is organised. When translations are intended for a wide audience that includes the media, academics, potential new Amnesty members or donors, quality-control for translation is considerably high and will be taken care of by professionals, i.e. either a translation agency (in the case of research reports), a publicity agency (for campaigning materials such as slogans and posters), or an internal member of staff (in the case of press releases for media). When the target audience consists of mainly Amnesty members, quality-control is considered less important and translation will mainly be taken care of by volunteers. For web items, other possible agents that provide translations are in-house staff and the communication department of AINL. For web items there is a higher level of quality-control than for Urgent Actions, yet as stated above revision is only done when there is sufficient time. How this choice for limited revision is related to translation beliefs is discussed in 4.3.2.

4.3.1.3 Selection, training and tools for volunteer translators

The selection process of new translators is straightforward. Since it is voluntary work, anyone who knows English can offer his or her services and translate for Amnesty. New translators are asked to do a sample translation, but in fact there is no real selection process: as long as the candidate proves he or she understands the source text and is able to communicate the message in Dutch, he or she will be accepted as a translator. As a consequence, the pool of volunteer translators is extremely diverse. Some translators are translation students who want to increase their experience, others are pensioners who want to contribute something to Amnesty and who have the spare time. There are also some professional translators who do these translations pro-bono, yet the majority of translators do not have much previous translation experience.

Prior to fieldwork, volunteer translators never received any training from AIVL. New translators did receive some documents with basic information, such as a style guide for writing, a document with translation tips for UAs, a document with tips for letter writers, and a document with sample sentences in Dutch, English and Spanish. These last two documents do not support the translation work itself, but help translators in writing their sample letter to accompany their translation, as described above. AIVL's style guide for writing (*Schrijfstijlhandboek*) was created by the online media officer, who is also in charge of managing AIVL's house style. The style book is based on Amnesty's *Guidelines for Writers* (see 4.2.2.4). AIVL's local version includes tips for writing fluent texts, and some tips on using English texts as source material, such as paying attention to the use of false friends. In contrast to the English style guide, the Flemish style guide does not include a chapter on translation. Instead, a chapter has been added that contains the translations in Dutch of common human rights treaties and other legal terminology. The guide is not primarily intended for the volunteer translators. That the document still contains such a list of treaties and legal terminology in English and Dutch indicates the heavy reliance on English source material when local Amnesty staff and activists create Dutch documents.

Apart from the terminology list included in the local guidelines for writers, there is also a short terminology list in Excel which was composed and is used by the press officer. The list is more of a personal aid tool, and it is based on her previous translations and writings. It only contains translations and no definitions or references on the source of terminology.

The two-page document with translation tips for UAs contains some practical tips for translation, but the overall focus of the file is on lay-out and practical information. The document describes how the addresses of the authorities should be presented in the translated document, and that translators need to add information on the postal rates for the relevant country to the end of the UA. For translation itself, the document refers to the list of common legal terms, as included in AIVL's style guide, and comments briefly on appropriate sentence structures.

Unlike AILRC-FR, AIVL does not have an elaborated list of stylistic and typographical issues that translators need to keep in mind. Furthermore, AIVL does not use any CAT-tools. Its efforts to diminish the chance of translation errors or inconsistencies on the level of terminology are restricted to a few terms mentioned in the two-page file with translator tips, and to the terminology in the style guide. There are no tools to increase accuracy, standardisation and harmonisation across the texts. Translators do not receive any training on where they can find the correct translations of legal terminology or treaties. The combination of a diverse pool of translators and a minimum set of guidelines could lead to diverse output, e.g. in terms of writing style and use of terminology. The next section will discuss how AIVL's translation practices relate to translation beliefs of the local staff.

4.3.2 Beliefs about translation as a voluntary and a professional activity

4.3.2.1 The dilemma of the participant observer's: researching beliefs and practices

As described above, translation at AIVL is largely a voluntary activity. To gain insight into why these translation practices are in place at this local Amnesty section, it is important to understand how the local staff perceive of translation, in what way they consider translation as important for their local section, and if and how they conceptualise translation as a professional or as a voluntary activity. It is at this level of analysis that reflexivity is extremely important, as my presence as a researcher influenced the participants' views on translation. Because of the questions I, as a researcher and an intern, was asking about their use of translation, staff members started to think through what translation actually entailed. They actively engaged in discussions about how translation could be organised or managed differently and what low-cost tools could be offered to their volunteer translators to improve productivity and translation quality. New tools and opportunities for volunteer translators were eventually created on the basis of my presence and my work.

The discussion here is split into two parts: the first part explores beliefs that relate to translation as a voluntary activity, as expressed by the majority of staff members spoken to. The second part discusses beliefs related to translation as a professional activity, as expressed by the press officer and the online media officer. The views expressed by these staff members relate to the translation of press releases, the genre AIVL translates most often. The views expressed by other staff members relate to their own limited translation work, which includes translating (parts of) different genres, and especially to the translation of UAs, as part of my work as an intern. By way of conclusion, I discuss what tools were developed to help volunteer translators as part of my internship at AIVL.

4.3.2.2 Beliefs on translation as a voluntary activity

Informal discussions with staff members on the topic of translation took place on a one-to-one basis from the second week of fieldwork onwards, after I had presented my work as a researcher and as an intern on one of the staff meetings.³⁰ The staff spoken to includes staff members from various teams within AIVL, who mainly form part of the core services teams of Policy and movement, and Communication. Staff members were first of all asked what text genres they translate and how frequently, in order to gain insight into how much translation work they actually dealt with on a daily basis.

A lot of the translation work at AIVL is relatively invisible. When first asked about translation, many of the staff members said that they did not translate. Yet when they described their daily activities in more detail, many of them realised that they *were* translating, or that they were

³⁰ As the majority of the data here was collected through informal discussions and were not recorded, no direct citations are used. The data used were the field notes taken during fieldwork. Two interviews with the local press officer were recorded, thus for these conversations citations are used.

confronted with the need for translation every day. For example, one staff member who worked on marketing and advertising claimed at the start of the discussion that she did not translate. When she started describing her job in more detail, her view became more nuanced. She explained that there was structurally little translation, but that indeed English and French campaigning materials were often used as a source of inspiration for Dutch language material. Translation as part of her job was dealt with on an ad-hoc basis. Anyone available could be asked to do the translation, including in-house staff, an UA volunteer translator, or other volunteers who sometimes do translation jobs. In this staff member's opinion, the fact that there is no training, no glossary, no revision, and a lack of structure in dealing with translation leads to divergent results in terms of translation quality.

Yet despite several staff members pointing out that the ad-hoc structure affected translation quality, the majority of them believed that professionalization for translation was not needed. This belief was explicitly expressed by several staff members in the context of the UA translations: quality was indeed poor, but this issue was not a priority for the section. The coordinator of Policy and Movement explained that since these documents are intended primarily for Amnesty members, and not for the general public, the quality of the translations did not matter as much. UAs are translated with a particular goal in mind. They need to inform Amnesty's letter writers about what happened and what they are writing for. That the language and the writing style are not always up to standards is of less importance. The Policy and Movement coordinator explicitly stated that no big changes were needed, and that there was certainly no need for professionalization, as this would cost both time and money. However, when discussing possible tools to help translators in their work, she confirmed that a basic tool such as a terminology list in a Word or Excel file would be of great help in improving translation quality. Such a list would also be useful for in-house staff and interns. During our discussion, she came back to the importance of using correct translations for treaties and agreements a few times. The coordinator's point of view can be interpreted as one in which translation in itself is seen as a rather simple task, for which not that much expertise is needed, yet that translating for Amnesty specifically is difficult because of human rights terminology.

The importance of using correct terminology was also expressed by another legal expert of the local section. This local policy officer explained that although it would save translation work if the sections of AIVL and AINL could cooperate for translation more often, this is nearly impossible due to differences in legal terminology. These differences might be quite subtle. For example, a *forced eviction* is called *uithuiszetting* in the Flemish variant of Dutch and in Belgian law, but is called *huissuitzetting* in the Netherlands. Other language differences and the fact that the two Amnesty sections prioritise different campaigns impede further cooperation for translation. The difficulties in dealing with legal terminology are especially prevalent for research reports and documents intended for politicians that contain a lot of legal terminology. UAs contain less legal terminology, but as already indicated in 4.3.1.2, AINL does not translate these. Thus, other solutions are in place, i.e. working with volunteer translators.

The local guidelines for translation that AIVL provides support the view of translation as a rather straightforward activity. As described, this two-page document contains very little practical advice on translation itself. One issue that is discussed is sentence construction. The document states:

Maybe pay attention that you keep the Dutch sentences short. We all know that you can make sentences in English that are nearly one page long. In Dutch we rather prefer short and powerful sentences that are easy to read.³¹

The comment presents a view of English as the language that everyone knows and understands. It is considered as common knowledge that eloquent sentences are common in English. An understanding of translation as a relatively simple task seems to lie at the basis of the document. With just a few basic tips, a volunteer translator can complete translation work.

Yet AIVL's proposal that I as a translation researcher and as their intern would propose and develop tools for volunteer translators indicates that the section does recognise that translation is a complicated matter for which appropriate skills are needed. The fact that no time was previously spent on developing tools, on training, or on revision comes down to a lack of time and money. Translation is not a priority, yet when there are opportunities, AIVL gladly accepts these. The next section will discuss how the beliefs related to translation and the translation of Urgent Actions influence the tools that are in place for helping volunteer translators in their translation work.

4.3.2.3 New tools for the (in)visible volunteer translator

As explained in Chapter 3, my role during fieldwork at AIVL was not only to observe practices as a researcher, but also to participate as an intern by proposing and designing low-cost tools for volunteer translators. Options for tools were discussed as part of the informal interviews with members of staff, and two main ideas for tools were developed: a webpage dedicated to volunteer translators where they could find links and useful information on translation, including a detailed brochure that focused on translating for Amnesty; and a workshop where the brochure would be introduced and translators would do exercises and could meet one another. The tools were developed on the basis of two main ideas: the volunteer translators should become more involved in Amnesty activities; and they should feel appreciated for the work they did and be able to see that Amnesty was aiming to improve their experiences with translating for Amnesty.

The brochure that I developed as an intern was based on AIVL's style guide, on the previous documents with tips for translators, and on the staff's comments on what they thought should be included.³² The brochure includes information on the following aspects:

³¹ Original Dutch extract in Appendix 7. English translation provided by myself.

³² The document is available on http://www.aivl.be/sites/default/files/bijlagen/Brochurevertalers_juni2013.pdf.

- characteristics of Amnesty's writing style;
- typical problems and possible solutions for English into Dutch translation (e.g. how to deal with long and complicated sentence constructions, legal terminology, abbreviations, anglicisms, false friends, and -ing forms);
- advice on writing sample letters for UAs;
- information on lay-out and instructions on the representation of addresses and postal rates;
- a list of websites and books for translation, grammar, spelling and writing style.

All the information included in the brochure is also included on AIVL's website on a separate webpage for volunteer translators.³³ The creation of this webpage was not only suggested as a way to make the brochure easily accessible to the translators, it also aimed to make AIVL's volunteer translators more visible and to increase their involvement with Amnesty. One of the topics that arose during interviewing was that the volunteer translators were an extremely invisible group of AIVL activists. No one apart from the two volunteers who coordinate the UA network was in touch with them. The group of translators were the only volunteers that had never been invited to any Amnesty activities, such as the annual Amnesty Day. This event is organised every year and consists of several workshops Amnesty volunteers can attend. It also offers the volunteers an opportunity to meet each other and network with the local staff. Yet the translators, many of whom had been providing translations for several years, had never been invited to this event. Because of my presence in the field, the fact that these translators had been overlooked as Amnesty volunteers became clear. The issue of how to engage volunteers to keep on working for Amnesty and to keep them motivated was discussed thoroughly in the informal interviews, but staff members also started discussing it amongst themselves. One opportunity that staff members identified next to creating a web page was to invite the volunteer translators to AIVL's annual Amnesty Day in October. In autumn 2012, a workshop was organised during the Amnesty Day for volunteer translators and letter writers on writing style by an external consultant, a first attempt to include the volunteer translators as Amnesty activists. In autumn 2013, a workshop was organised again during the Amnesty Day, this time specifically for volunteer translators. At the request of Amnesty, I provided this training session using the material I had developed during my internship. In this particular case, my presence on the work floor also clearly impacted on working practices and on increasing the translators' visibility. Furthermore, it also changed the staff members' perception of translation. The belief that translation can be done by anyone who has sufficient command of the source and target languages decreased. Because of my presence, my questions, and the material I created, staff members became conscious of many translation difficulties, and of the fact that in order to produce good quality, training mechanisms and tools are needed. These changed beliefs relating to translation for UAs come close to the ones for press releases, as discussed below.

³³ See <http://www.aivl.be/doe-mee/meld-je-aan/spoedvertaler/tips-voor-spoedvertalers>.

4.3.2.4 Beliefs about translation as a professional activity: translating press releases

As discussed above, beliefs on translation in the context of Urgent Actions entail that translation is an easy task, only complicated by the use of much legal terminology. For the translation of press releases, quite a different picture arose. On this topic, the main discussants were the press officer and the online media officer, the two internal staff members who provide translations of these texts on a regular basis.

For the genre of the press release, more specifically those that are produced by the press officer and sent out to local media contacts, translation quality is considered very important, especially in terms of the use of correct terminology and fluent writing style. Finding a balance between these two elements is difficult, as described by the press officer:

So it's always finding a compromise between people who are legally qualified, and who, when I, here, internally, let some of the colleagues read it, "yes okay but this is not quite right", but if you want things clearly communicated, and also, if it needs to be appealing to journalists, if they have to pick it up, well then, then you do need to find a middle ground somehow. (Interview #4, Quotation 5)

Dealing with translation several days per week, the press officer acknowledged the complexity of translation. She recognised that a certain level of expertise is needed to deliver qualitative target texts. The press officer works with interns regularly. Translation at other departments in the section was considered as an ideal task to pass on to interns, yet the press officer explained that passing on translation work for media does not actually help in saving time and making the staff's work load lighter.

Especially in the initial phase of the internship you do notice that those press releases are first and foremost translated very literally, they are not Dutch language texts, if you hand them back and say: "Hey, read what you wrote here", like, "Is this really how you would write this if you were simply writing a text in Dutch?" "No, but well...", so I really do notice that that is very, very difficult, to make a real text out of it, so there is still a lot of work for me to do afterwards, for them, ... I consider this primarily as, yes, a chance for them to learn something about Amnesty, about writing press releases and so on, but it's not like they arrive here and I immediately think "ha ha ha" (laughs), I am going to forward some more press releases to that intern, so I can take up some speed on my own work, or something like that, that's totally not the case, if towards the end of their internship, and that is usually after ten to twelve weeks, if they then can write a somewhat decent press release, then it's mission accomplished. (Interview #4, Quotation 6)

These citations show that the press officer's conceptualisation of translation is one of translation as a highly complex process, for which particular skills and expertise are required. However, the press officer does not have a university degree in translation or languages, but has a background in political sciences. When asked if she considered her knowledge of English as sufficient to be able to produce qualitative translations for Amnesty, she replied:

I hope so, I hope so! But it is not easy, it really isn't, even now it still isn't, to write a press release in clear Dutch is difficult, it shouldn't be too literal and too technical, but you cannot translate too freely either. (Interview #14, Quotation 7)

The opinion of the press officer, her opinions and the examples she presented underlie an understanding of translation as an expert activity. She often checks with colleagues who have a legal background to make sure the terminology she uses is correct.

A relevant question is how exactly translation as a concept is understood in the current context. Both the press officer and the online media officer pointed out that it is difficult to find a balance between being accurate and using an appropriate style. Yet even though accuracy is important, the vision of translation that emerged during discussions also allowed for considerable freedom when translating. The online media officer explained that both she and the press officer consider it as their job to turn the press releases into readable and appealing texts in their Flemish version. For example, elements that relate to the local context can be added, or, for translations for the website, translations can be shortened due to time constraints. The online media officer pointed out that translating blogs is actually more challenging in terms of finding the balance between accuracy and fluency. This is because blogs are written by one particular person and are signed in this person's name, so it is more difficult to make changes. The contrast between press releases and blogs confirms the idea that press releases are public texts, to which changes can easily be made. Journalists will pick the elements from the press release that they are interested in and incorporate these into their own text (cf. Jacobs 1999). Although one might expect this process only to take place once a press release has left the institution it was produced in and when it has reached the media, the opinions expressed by the press officer and the online media officer at AIVL contradict this. Chapter 5 will provide more insight into how these beliefs are reflected in the actual translations. Textual analysis of press releases will show if AIVL staff members indeed conceptualise translation in this context as a process in which great liberties can be taken.

4.3.3 Concluding remarks

The discussion of translation policy at AIVL has described elements of translation management, such as guidelines for translators, translation practices for different text genres, and translation beliefs. It has provided insight into how translation beliefs have led AIVL to implement particular translation practices, especially for the translation of Urgent Actions. Because the majority of the staff does not consider translation as a professional activity for which a large set of skills and expertise are needed, a lot of the translation work is taken care of by volunteers and is hardly revised. As described in Chapter 3, the three components of translation policy influence one another. The relationship between beliefs on the one hand and practices and management on the other hand is often expressed as one of causality, yet the actual scenario is more complicated. As pointed out by Spolsky (2004: 41), "it is wiser to think of it as a probable association or constructive interaction". For Amnesty, the fact that the translation of UAs has been organised in this particular way for years probably has also impacted on the staff's translation beliefs. As has been addressed, many of the staff are aware that some of the

translations are problematic. However, because these translation practices have been in place for years and no one had time to change them, they have become accepted in the institution and are considered as normal. Yet as reflected in AIVL's request to develop tools for volunteer translators, improvement is welcomed when the section itself does not need to invest time and money. This analysis shows that the translation policy should not be considered as a top-down process only, in which rules, practices and beliefs influence the organizational form of translation. As shown here, influence also is exerted in the other direction: translation itself and how it is executed influences agents' beliefs and practices, and eventually management (cf. Scott 2005: 467).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide insights into translation policy at Amnesty International. It has described the presence of the three components at different levels and sections of the organisation, i.e. at the global organisational level, at a translation office that provides services to several Amnesty sections, and at a small, local section that caters for its own translation needs. The chapter also analysed how the three components of translation policy interact and impact on each other. Furthermore, the analysis provided insight into the actors involved in the complex nexus of translation processes. It described which actors are involved for which translation processes in what languages. The interaction between the IS and the AILRC-FR was analysed, as was the relationship between AIVL staff and its volunteer translators. The analysis showed that translation policy is very much dependent on the language into which translation takes place, and that translation beliefs vary according to job function.

Overall, the chapter has demonstrated that translation policy at Amnesty is changing considerably under the influence of One Amnesty. Translation will be managed in an increasingly centralised way. Whereas the implications of the One Amnesty approach were already visible at AILRC-FR during fieldwork, they were still absent on the local level at AIVL. Different mechanisms are in place in terms of power-roles on the various levels of the movement (cf. Wong 2012). For translation at AILRC-FR, and accordingly at AILRC-ES, proposal and enforcement power are highly centralised, and implementation power as well is becoming more centralised as a consequence of One Amnesty. For the local sections, as is the case for AIVL, all three levels are still decentralised, and all decision-making relating to translation is done on the local level. The presence of the researcher, however, has had an impact on translation policy at AIVL. New translation management tools were developed, such as a brochure for volunteer translators. Furthermore, her presence increased the visibility of the volunteer translators and the status of translation through discussions with the local staff in which their awareness of translation and its importance were raised.

In terms of the status of translation, it was described how this has increased under the One Amnesty approach, where translation is considered as a strategic tool to increase the organisation's

impact. Translators involved with AILRC enjoy an increased status, more visibility, and more agency through their involvement in research projects and campaigns from the very start. Translation is no longer an afterthought, but part of the whole planning process. In contrast to this, AILRC-FR translators are losing part of their decision-making power in the actual translation process, due to the outsourcing of translation and revision work and the increased use of technology. They felt their expertise was not fully appreciated by Amnesty management, and it was described how this is related to the different beliefs that both groups hold on translation as a professional activity. In terms of social capital and translator ethics, it was discussed that many AILRC-FR translators perceive of their work with Amnesty as activist, or at least identify with Amnesty's values. Many AILRC-FR translators expressed concerns about how the changes as part of One Amnesty will reflect on Amnesty's reputation, a topic that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The analysis of translation policy at AIVL showed a different picture. Hardly any form of translation management is in place, with minimal translation guidelines and no use of CAT-tools. Different text genres, with varying target audiences, are translated by different agents, ranging from internal staff to volunteers who work from home. The different practices go hand in hand with different beliefs on translation. When discussing the translation of the UAs, translation was presented as a simplistic act, of which the only difficult part is the legal terminology. For press releases, however, a picture of translation arose as a more complicated activity in which accuracy and fluency need to go hand in hand, a balance that is not always easily found. Paradoxically, the need for accuracy does not seem to imply that all information of the source text also needs to be included in the target text. How these practices are reflected in the texts themselves will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 – Textual Analysis

This chapter aims to provide an answer to the question if differences in translation policy across the Amnesty offices also result in differences in the translations. Chapter 4 has demonstrated that translation policy can differ significantly from section to section, and that at AIVL, different translation practices are in place for the translation of different text genres. Based on these findings, the textual analysis in this chapter aims to answer the questions (a) if differences can be observed between translations produced by AILRC-FR and AIVL; and (b) if the different institutional arrangements for translation of UAs and press releases at AIVL are reflected in the translations as products. The method used to answer this question is an in-depth comparative analysis of English source texts and their French and Dutch target texts.

Chapter 4 described how AIVL only translates a few text genres on a regular basis: Urgent Actions and press releases, either for the website or directly for the media. Consequently, these genres were selected for the corpus. AIVL's translations for the web are treated as a separate genre, as the target audience is different. Three corpora were compiled, for the genres Urgent Actions, press releases and web news.

The chapter discusses each genre separately. Each analysis starts with a brief description of the characteristics of the genre under discussion, and then moves from the discussion of headlines over the macro-level to the micro-level and ends with a focus on quotations (for details on the analytical approach, see 3.6.3). The majority of text extracts with examples of shifts that are referred to throughout the chapter can be found in Appendix 9; and some examples will be presented in the chapter itself.

5.1 Press releases

The press release is a genre that many institutions produce. It was developed as a means to inform the media about an institution's actions. Next to its informative function, the press release also has a persuasive function. It aims to create a positive corporate image, or in case of political institutions, to convince the public of the necessity and importance of the institution's actions (Lindholm 2008; Pander Maat 2008; Lassen 2006).

The *raison d'être* of the press release is to be picked up and reproduced by newspapers (Jacobs 1999a: xi). In order to increase the chance on newspaper reporting, press releases tend to be "preformulated" to a great extent, and they generally include contact details for the institution's spokesperson at the end of the text. To fit the newspaper style and to facilitate the journalists' work, press releases for example are usually neutral in time and place, have a newspaper-like heading and a lead-paragraph, and they tend to be written in the third person and contain quotations and pseudo-

quotations (Jacobs 1999b). As pointed out by Bell (1991: 60), quotations in press releases “were almost certainly not verbalized by the named source. They were written by a press officer and merely approved by the source (sometimes not even that)”. These quotations, usually attributed to a representative of the organisation, are thus pseudo-quotations (Sleurs, Jacobs, and Van Waes 2003: 197). The speaker in this case does not speak as an “I” who represents him- or herself, but he or she represents the organisation, in a public role. Thus, the speaker has a dual role, speaking unavoidably as an individual, but representing the institutional voice. If and how these characteristics are applicable to Amnesty’s press releases will be explored below.

Since the emergence of the Internet, the press release has a double audience. Next to journalists, press releases are now also often directed to the general audience, and are used as a way to inform the public of newsworthy items by placing the texts directly on an institution’s website, spreading news e-mails, etc. Amnesty also uses press releases in this way. The specific characteristics of the genre of web news are discussed in 5.2.

In 2011, AIVL translated 25 press releases that were then sent to journalists. In total, the IS issued 189 press releases, which were all translated by AILRC-FR. The discussion below focuses on the analysis of ten English press releases with their translations into French and Dutch that were selected from the control corpus (see 3.6.1 for details on corpus compilation). A list of the ten press releases can be found in Appendix 8. The control corpus, which was mainly used to compare the length of the source and target texts and to identify patterns of deletion and addition, will be referred to in order to verify the findings.

5.1.1 Preliminary data: headlines

The headline of an article is one of the many framing devices authors can use to frame their story in a particular way (see 3.6). It is the first element of a text that the reader encounters, and it sets the scene for the rest of the article. When exploring headlines from the angle of news translation, it is important to note that headlines are not necessarily the product of translation. The headline of an original text can be replaced by a new headline, or it can be the result of a mixture of translation and editing. Valdeón (2007) for example discusses a corpus of English source and Spanish target texts, and notes that the Spanish news articles were “literal renderings of the source items” for the most part, but that the headlines “were often adapted for the Spanish readers” (p. 160). Valdeón (2007) described that this was done to such an extent that it was at first sight hard to identify source and target texts. Keeping these issues in mind, the following analysis describes shifts that were noted between the English headlines and their French and Dutch counterparts.

Shifts that were found in the headlines of press releases are mainly of the **pragmatic** type. Overall, the analysis revealed that AILRC-FR’s headlines were longer than the English ones. One of

the reasons for this is the use of articles and determiners, which is a common feature of French headlines. In contrast, articles are usually omitted in English and in Dutch headlines.

These linguistic features have been reported on before in pragmatic studies of headlines in press releases and news reports. For Dutch headlines, Bernaers, Jacobs, and Van Waes (1996) analysed the transformation of headlines from press releases to headlines of news reports. They found that the headlines of press releases have typical features of newspaper headlines, one of which is the omission of articles and possessive pronouns. English headlines have a very concise style, referred to by Mårdh (1980) as “headlinese”. Mårdh (1980) analysed a corpus of 1281 headlines in total from *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror*, and came up with a list of characteristics of English headlines, one of which is the omission of articles. In French headlines, however, the use of determiners is common. Omitting determiners such as *le, un, ce, mon* in French is often considered as a serious grammatical error (Thogmartin 1987: 256). In the 270 headlines of French news reports that Thogmartin (1987) analysed, undetermined nouns are only found in specific cases and in particular places of the headline, e.g. at the very start to introduce a new topic.

The longer French headlines in the current corpus are also caused by **explicitation**. In many cases, the French headlines contain constructions that add clarity and specificity. In comparison, AIVL’s headlines often contain **additions** rather than explicitation, i.e. new information that cannot be deduced from the source text has been added. Extracts 5-1 and 5-2 (Appendix 9) illustrate these practices. Overall, AIVL’s headlines contain a larger variety of shifts. There are not only instances of addition and explicitation, but also opposing shifts can be found, such as **implication** (Extract 5-2) and **omission** (Extract 5-3).

Looking at headlines specifically as framing devices, the analysis revealed that some of the shifts in AIVL’s headlines change the frame in which the story is presented. In Extract 5-4 (Appendix 9), the phrase “1 jaar na de aardbeving” (“1 year after the earthquake”) was added to the original headline. The press release introduces a report on sexual violence in camps in Haiti that were set up after the earthquake in 2010. AIVL’s headline slightly changes the frame of the original headline by drawing attention to the fact that it had been one year and that the situation of women in the camps was not improving. Extracts 5-5 below and 5-6 (Appendix 9) contain further examples of shifts in framing. Both of AIVL’s headlines omit the use of the imperative. As a result, the sense of urgency with which Amnesty’s message was originally presented is lost.

Extract 5-5		
<u>AIS</u>		Stop forced evictions and consult slum-dwellers to resolve housing crisis (Press release 7, Egypt, 23 August 2011)
<u>AIVL</u>	Omission imperative / change in frame	Sloppen worden ontruimd zonder respect voor arme Egyptenaar [Slums are cleared without respect for poor Egyptian]
<u>AILRC- FR</u>	Omission imperative / change in frame	Crise du logement: Non aux expulsions forcées, oui à la consultation des habitants des bidonvilles [Housing crisis: No to forced evictions, yes to consulting slum-dwellers]

The findings that AILRC-FR's headlines mostly contain explicitations and AIVL's headlines contain a larger variety of shifts were confirmed when checked against the control corpus (see footnote 2 in Appendix 9 for additional examples). These shifts are pragmatic, and no stylistic shifts were noted. The analysis of the macro- and micro-level will render insight into whether these types of shifts are typical for just headlines, or for the rest of the texts as well.

5.1.2 Macro-level

The analysis revealed that the overall textual structure of the French translations is similar to that of the original press releases. Source and target text can be aligned sentence by sentence, and there are no omissions, additions, rearrangements, or substitutions above the sentence level.

Pragmatic shifts on the macro-level are relatively common in AIVL's translations. It is useful to think of translation shifts in AIVL's target texts on a scale, where the number of shifts goes from low to high, and the source text is changed considerably. A translation that can be placed on the lower end of the scale is that of press release 5. The translation can be aligned with its source text sentence by sentence. Sometimes sentences are combined or split up, but their order is not changed. On the other end of the scale, there are extreme cases such as press releases 8, 9 and 10, which mainly contain **omissions**. The target texts of press releases 8, 9 and 10 range from 100 to 300 words. They are introductory summaries to which the English original text was attached, and they were sent to journalists in this way. The texts were described by the press officer herself as translations, because she used the English texts as a basis. For this reason, they have been included in the corpus.

The strategy of providing these summary translations instead of a fully translated text is often a consequence of time pressure. Even though a lot of Amnesty's work is planned in advance, press releases and research reports are often only finished shortly before the embargo deadline, which does not leave much time for translation. Press releases 9 and 10 accompany the launch of new research reports, and were received by AIVL shortly before the embargo was lifted. In these cases, the section had decided weeks in advance to do press work around these reports, and to provide a translation of the press release to the local media. Press work is discussed at AIVL's weekly staff meeting, during which the press officer informs the rest of the staff on the press work that the IS has planned and proposes priorities for AIVL. When the press release is then received close to the embargo deadline, the press officer may decide to send out a short translation only, depending on her workload, the availability of other staff to do the translation, the time available, etc.

Press release 9, for example, contains information about Belgium as one of the arms suppliers to the Middle East and North Africa. The content of the press release and the research report it introduces are of particular interest for the local audience, thus AIVL decided to do media work around the launch of the report. Because the press release reached AIVL shortly before the embargo deadline, only a brief translation of the press release was provided. For press release 9, information

that is relevant to the local context was added to the Dutch summary. The English press release issued by the IS usually reaches journalists via international news agencies. By sending out the English press release with added information on the local context, AIVL increases the chance of local media reporting.

In the case of press release 8, quick dissemination of the press release was even more vital. The Dutch text is only 138 words (compared with press release 9, which is 373 words, and press release 10, which is 372 words). The press release deals with Troy Davis' appeal for clemency. Davis was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a police officer in Georgia in 1989. His execution was finally planned for 21 September 2011, and clemency was denied on 20 September. Amnesty issued a press release on the 20th, as it wanted the State Board of Pardons and Paroles in Georgia to reconsider its decision. Disseminating the press release was extremely urgent. Because of the time constraints, only a brief translation was done and added to the international press release before sending it to journalists.

For the remaining 7 press releases, there is no large difference in length between the source and target texts. Press releases 1 and 2 are shorter by 5% and 16%; the other press releases are on average 3% longer. In these press releases, omissions are less frequent, yet there are many other shifts, as illustrated below.

Rearrangements on the macro-level are quite common in the seven remaining texts. Paragraphs are often combined, resulting in fewer paragraphs in the target text. For example, press release 1 on Haiti has 19 paragraphs in the original, but only 14 in the translation. Yet there is only a small difference in the total number of words: the source text contains 691 words, and the target text 662. Paragraphs are often moved around, and these changes contribute to the readability of the text. Extract 5-7 below shows that the paragraphs in AIVL's translation of press release 3 were rearranged, so that the events are described in chronological order.

<i>Extract 5-7: rearrangement</i>	
AI IS	AIVL
Egypt: Investigate security forces crimes now (Press release 3, Egypt, 20 April 2011)	Egypte: Misdaden veiligheidsdiensten moeten onderzocht worden
(¶7) On 15 March (...)	(¶7) In mei 2010 (...)
(¶10) In recent weeks (...)	(¶8) (...) in juli 2010 (...)
(¶20) In May 2010 (...)	(¶9) (...) op 12 maart (...)
(¶21) (...) in July 2010 (...)	(¶10) Op 15 maart 2011 (...)
(¶22) (...) on 12 March 2011 (...)	(¶11) (...) De afgelopen weken (...)

Omissions often go hand in hand with **additions** in AIVL's translations. There are two main types of additions. Either the addition gives more background information on Amnesty's research or actions, or the addition relates to the local context. Extra information is often taken from the research report that

the press release introduces. Adding more background information can increase the chance that the story will be picked up by a newspaper. The Amnesty report itself is usually not available in Dutch, and journalists are sent the English report as a reference. Thus, translating and adding information from the report in the Dutch translation saves the journalist time and effort to turn Amnesty's research report and its press release into a coherent news story. Extract 5-8 below contains an example of this practice, again taken from press release 3. As already described above, press release 3 also contains many rearrangements on the paragraph level. Extract 5-8 shows that the research report served as an additional source of information for AIVL's press officer when producing the target text.

<i>Extract 5-8: addition from research report</i>	
<u>Research report</u>	<u>This report is largely based on three fact-finding trips to Egypt by Amnesty International delegates in January/February 2009, February/March 2010 and November/December 2010. An Amnesty International delegation was also in Egypt between January and March 2011. It further draws on discussions with lawyers, human rights activists, academics and journalists who report on abuses of administrative detainees as well as the many interviews conducted by Amnesty International delegates with relatives of detainees and former detainees.</u> Amnesty International is extremely grateful to all these people who generously and often bravely shared their experiences and explained the impact administrative detention has had on them. Requests for anonymity by relatives and former detainees have been respected. (<i>"Egypt: Time for justice: Egypt's corrosive system of detention"</i> , 20 April 2011, MDE 12/029/2011, p12, ¶3)
<u>AIVL Press release</u>	<p>Dit rapport is grotendeels gebaseerd op drie onderzoeksmisssies van Amnesty International naar Egypte in januari/februari 2009, februari/maart 2010 en november/december 2010. Er was ook een onderzoeksteam van Amnesty in Egypte aanwezig van januari tot maart 2011. Het rapport is gebaseerd op gesprekken met advocaten, mensenrechtenactivisten, academici en journalisten die verslag uitbrengen over het misbruik van administratieve detentie. Er werd ook gesproken met familie van gevangenen en ex-gedetineerden. (<i>Press release 3, Egypt, 20 April 2011, ¶18</i>)</p> <p>[This report is largely based on three fact-finding missions of Amnesty International to Egypt in January/February 2009, February/March 2010 and November/December 2010. There was also a research team of Amnesty present in Egypt from January until March 2011. The report is based on discussions with lawyers, human rights activists, academics and journalists who report about abuse of administrative detention. There was also spoken to relatives of detainees and ex-detainees.]</p>

Three sentences from the English research report have been translated and added to the Dutch press release. The target text reads as a coherent text, but when analysing the shifts it becomes clear that the translation is a cut-and-paste patchwork of various source material. Translation not only entails translating information from the press release, but also translating material from other source texts and incorporating these in the translation. These strategies come close to strategies of journalistic writing, in which journalists rely on several sources for the production of their news story (cf. Van Hout and Macgilchrist 2010). Translating press releases at AIVL is thus a complex process which can involve the use of more than one source text, and entails a large variety of translation strategies applied in one text, which result in various types of shifts.

The other type of addition in AIVL's texts, namely that of adding information relating to the local context, is also common in journalistic writing. Examples of these additions can be found mainly

in two texts in the corpus: in the summary translation of press release 9, and in press release 4. Both texts are related to the Belgian context (see Extracts 5-9 and 5-10).

Extract 5-10, which is taken from press release 4, contains both **additions** and **deletions**. Additions are relevant to the local context. The press release deals with a Benelux agreement to enforce the removal of Roma to Kosovo, and thus Belgium is one of the countries discussed in the text. Press release 4 is in fact an example of a text where it is difficult to align source and target sentences. There is an abundance of pragmatic shifts. The underlying reason is that this particular press release was produced in collaboration with a local expert, because of its relevance to the local context. The quotations of the original spokesperson in the press release are replaced by quotations by the local expert, which will be addressed in 5.1.3.

In general, the analysis of the macro-level showed that there is a greater variety of shifts in AIVL's translations, with omissions, additions, and rearrangements all frequently occurring. The result often is a target text that is very different from its source text, to the extent that the applicability of the concept of translation becomes questionable. This conceptual issue will be further addressed in Chapter 7. In AILRC-FR's translations, a smaller number of shifts were found, which rather concern the micro-level, as will be discussed in 5.1.3 below.

5.1.3 Micro-level: shifts to words and sentences

The analysis of the macro-level showed that both omissions and additions are common in AIVL's target texts. In contrast, shifts in AILRC-FR's translations rather concern the micro-level. Recurring shifts include explicitation and rearrangement, often resulting in longer sentences. AIVL's texts contain implications rather than explicitations on the micro-level. Details are omitted, which can lead to improved readability of the target text. These shifts are illustrated in Extract 5-11 below, and in Extracts 5-12 to 5-14 in the Appendix 9.

<i>Extract 5-11</i>		
<u>AIS</u>		Women and girls living in Haiti's makeshift camps (<i>Press release 1, Haiti, 5 January 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	rearrangement	<u>Meisjes en vrouwen</u> in Haiti's noodkampen [Girls and women in Haiti's makeshift camps.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	Les femmes, les jeunes filles et <u>les fillettes</u> qui vivent dans les camps de fortune en Haïti [Women, girls and young girls who live in makeshift camps in Haiti]

Omissions on the micro-level in AIVL's translations typically concern expressions such as "the report stated", or "the organisation said". These statements are still present implicitly, because the press release is issued by Amnesty as an organisation, and because the publication of the report itself is still mentioned.

Thus, shifts on the micro-level in press releases concern **implication** and **omission** in AIVL's translations, and **explicitation** and sometimes **rearrangements** in AILRC-FR's texts. Most shifts

concern the pragmatic level, and no stylistic shifts were found. Taking the findings for the macro-and micro-level together, the analysis found that AIVL's texts contain a larger variety of shifts, especially on the macro-level, whereas shifts in AILRC-FR's translations are limited to the micro-level. These tendencies were confirmed when checked against the control corpus (see footnote 44 in Appendix 9). They are also in accordance with those of the analysis of headlines. It was pointed out that headlines in news translation are not necessarily the process of the same translation strategies, or they may not be translations at all, but rather replacements. However, the shifts found in the target texts in the current analysis are the same for both headlines and the macro- and micro-level. The section below will focus on quotations as one particularly interesting element of the micro-level, and will reveal if the same shifts can be found for these features.

5.1.4 Micro-level: quotations

Amnesty texts contain two types of quotations: quotations by Amnesty staff members, representing Amnesty as an institution, and quotations by witnesses, representing individual voices of people whose human rights are violated or at risk of being violated (see 3.6.2.2). In press releases, quotations by staff members are much more common than quotations by witnesses, yet some comments can be made on the translation of these witness quotes. They usually contain few shifts, both in AIVL's and AILRC-FR's translations. Because they represent the voice of an individual at risk, great care is taken with the translation of these quotations. Often the English quotation (with English not always being the original language in which the quotation was uttered) needs to be approved by IS researchers before it can be used. When English is not the original language of the quotation, AILRC-FR translators usually ask for the original quotation before translating it into French. For example, when a quotation was recorded for research purposes, the translators will ask for the recording so that the exact words and intonation can be taken into account when translating (Interview #07). At AIVL as well, care is taken when translating these types of quotations. This is reflected for example in Extract 5-15, where AIVL's translation maintained the use of brackets, making the proximity to the original quotation visible. In both AILRC-FR's and AIVL's translation, the sentence structure of the original quotation is maintained.

In contrast, many **pragmatic shifts** were found in AIVL's translations of quotations by staff members. In the summary translations of press releases 8, 9 and 10, all quotations were omitted. As the English press release is attached to the Dutch text, the reader will still be able to access the original quotations. It could be argued that two different institutional voices are represented. On the one hand, the voice of the Flemish section is represented, in the short summary, signed by a local staff member and written in the local language, and sometimes including information on the local context (as was discussed above for press release 9). On the other hand, the voice of Amnesty as an international organisation is represented through the international press release, which includes quotations from IS

researchers and staff members. Readers here gain access to a double source, with AIVL acting as an intermediary and spreading the message of Amnesty's head office to the local audience.

In the remaining seven press releases, the original spokesperson of the source text is only quoted in one of AIVL's translations. Four strategies were identified for dealing with quotations:

- 1) Quotation is retained
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → "Translated quotation", said IS staff member
 - See Extract 5-16
- 2) Quotation is reattributed
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → "Translated quotation", said AIVL staff member
 - See Extract 5-17
- 3) Quotation is replaced
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → "New quotation", said AIVL staff member
 - See Extract 5-18
- 4) Quotation is omitted
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → No quotation

Strategy 1 was only found in press release 5 of the corpus. This means that this is the only press releases in which the original speaker was retained. In the other press releases, a mixture of the remaining strategies was applied. Quotations are often reattributed to local speakers (strategy 2, found for example in press releases 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7). New quotations that replace the originals (strategy 3) often contain some of the ideas of the original ones, but they are reformulated and new elements might be added to them. Omission (strategy 4) also occurs regularly. For example, in press release 7, two out of five quotations are omitted. The three remaining quotations are reattributed to a local staff member. Thus, the same strategy is not necessarily applied to all the quotations within one press release. Moreover, in some cases several shifts can be found in just one quotation. In AIVL's translation of press release 2, for example, one of the quotations contains information taken from various places in the text: from sentences elsewhere in the press release, from the section with additional information provided at the end of the source text, and from a quotation in the source text by a different speaker. On top of this, some new elements are added as well.

Shifts in quotations are common in AIVL's press releases. When checked against the control corpus, it was found that the original spokesperson was not quoted in any of the press releases. The remaining three strategies were applied on several occasions. These findings confirm both Bell's (1991) claim that quotations are pseudo-quotations, and the idea that they represent the voice of the institution (cf. Jacobs 1999). Yet, in contrast, in AILRC-FR's translations no shifts in quoted persona were found. Chapter 6 will investigate the reasons for AIVL's translation strategies for quotations in more detail.

5.1.5 Summary

The analyses of headlines and the macro- and micro-level largely generate the same results. Pragmatic shifts in headlines are more common in translations by AIVL and include different types. If headlines by AILRC-FR contain any shifts, these are usually explicitations. These findings were confirmed by the analysis of the macro-level. Translation by AIVL often contain pragmatic shifts on the paragraph level and on the sentence level, and these shifts can include rather thorough changes such as omission, addition, and rearrangements of sentences and paragraphs, often contributing to readability. Information is sometimes added from additional sources. These profound shifts were not found in AILRC-FR's translations, where recurring shifts rather concern the micro-level and are limited to explicitation and rearrangement. When looking at the quotations specifically as one element of the micro-level, these tendencies are confirmed. AILRC-FR's translations of quotations remain close to the source text in terms of structure, content, and speaker attribution. For AIVL, however, different translation strategies were found for quotations by witnesses and by staff. In quotations by witnesses, hardly any shifts were noted. In translations by staff, however, various pragmatic shifts take place. Most notably, quotations are often reattributed to a local member of staff in the translation. The shifts described in this analysis are mainly pragmatic shifts, and no stylistic shifts were noted. If this is also applicable to the genres of web news and Urgent Actions will be explored below.

5.2 Web news

AIVL posted 144 translations of press releases on its website in 2011. As was pointed out, these press releases are primarily intended for website visitors, and they are not sent to journalists. AIVL staff refers to these texts as web news instead of as press releases. At AILRC-FR, however, this distinction does not exist and the texts are still translated as press releases, even though they are also uploaded onto the international Amnesty website. The texts are also sent to all the French-speaking Amnesty sections, and these then decide whether to make any changes to the texts in order to adapt them to the local target audience, and whether to send the press releases to journalists, to place them on their own local Amnesty website, etc. (see 4.2.1.2). Thus, the target audience of AILRC-FR's translations consists of Amnesty staff, website visitors, and it can also include journalists. The different audiences and functions of these translations may also result in the application of different translation strategies, and consequently differences in the texts may arise. It will be explored below if this is indeed the case. The analysis focuses on ten web news texts that were selected for detailed analysis from the larger corpus (see 3.6.1). A list of these ten web news texts can be found in Appendix 8.

5.2.1 Preliminary data: headlines

The analysis of headlines for web news revealed that headlines from both AIVL and AILRC-FR do not contain major shifts, yet some tendencies were identified. **Pragmatic shifts** were found to be similar to those of press release headlines. AILRC-FR's headlines tend to be longer and contain explicitations. AIVL's headlines are often shorter, and sometimes omit some of the original information. These issues are illustrated in Extracts 5-19 (below) to 5-22 (Appendix 9).

In terms of **stylistic shifts**, headlines by AIVL in some cases show a lack of idiomaticity. For example, in Extract 5-19 the Dutch headline maintains the English phrase “shoot to kill”. Because of the omission of the term “policy”, it becomes unclear what this phrase refers to and why the English has been maintained.

<i>Extract 5-19</i>		
<u>AIS</u>		Syria video points to ‘shoot to kill’ policy of security forces (<i>Web news 6, Syria, 26 May 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	omission (quotation marks; “policy”)	Video wijst op <u>shoot to kill</u> van Syrische veiligheidstroepen [Video points to shoot to kill of Syrian security forces]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	Une vidéo filmée en Syrie montre la politique des forces de sécurité <u>consistant à «tirer pour tuer»</u> [A video filmed in Syria shows the security forces’ policy consisting of a « shoot to kill »]

Another example is the use of the definite article in the headline of web text 2, which does not answer to the genre conventions for headlines (“de Egyptische activisten”). The French headlines that were analysed use determiners, in accordance with the linguistic features of headlines discussed in 5.1.1. The use of articles was checked against the control corpus. In fifteen of the 144 AIVL headlines, articles are used. Although this is a limited number of cases, it is notable that they appear in 15% of the web news headlines and not in those of press releases. The treatment of these features at macro- and micro-level is illustrated below.

5.2.2 Macro-level

For the ten texts that were analysed in detail, AIVL's target texts are up to 60% shorter than their source texts. Only one text has the same length as the original, and none of the translations are longer than their source texts. In contrast, translations by AILRC-FR are on average 20% longer than their source texts. When checking these findings against the control corpus, it was confirmed that AIVL's translations tend to be much shorter, whereas AILRC-FR's are usually slightly longer. The differences in length give an indication of the **pragmatic shifts** that occur in translation, i.e. **omission** frequently occurs in AIVL's texts, whereas AILRC-FR's rather tend to include **explicitations** on the micro-level (see 5.2.3).

Additions hardly occur in the French and the Dutch texts.³⁴ An example of additions on the macro-level are the subtitles that were added in two of AIVL's web texts, giving the texts a more newspaper-like structure. This is part of what Jacobs (1999) has described as preformulation strategies, i.e. to prepare the text in such a way that journalists can simply copy from it without having to change the structure. However, the primary audience of web news texts are not journalists. The preformulation strategies are thus rather aimed at giving the press release a web news lay-out, with Amnesty itself functioning as an alternative news provider.

AIVL's translations reveal an extensive number of **omissions** and **rearrangements**. In some cases, such as for web news texts 7 and 9, the texts contain so many of these shifts that the information is presented in quite a different way. It should be noted though that for both texts 7 and 9 a link is included at the bottom of the webpage to the English source text on the International Amnesty website. In this way, the reader can gain access to the original text.

Extract 5-23 illustrates macro-level shifts in web news text 7, a web text which includes a high number of shifts. The extract contains AIVL's complete target text with the corresponding paragraphs from the source text and the French translation. AIVL's translation consists of five paragraphs only, yet the source text and AILRC-FR's translation both contain 11 paragraphs. AILRC-FR's translation follows the source text closely both in terms of paragraph and sentence structure. In contrast, AIVL's translation contains many shifts, some of which affect the framing of the story and present the event details differently. The text deals with the arrest of Goran Hadžić, who was the last Serbian suspect to be arrested by the UN international criminal tribunal in its quest for justice for the victims of crimes against humanity and war crimes in Croatia. In AIVL's translation of paragraph 1, the fact that the arrest of Hadžić is an important step closer towards justice has been omitted. This omission changes the frame of the text. Web news text 7 also contains many shifts on the micro-level, which will be discussed in 5.2.3.

5.2.3 Micro-level: shifts to words and sentences

Both AIVL and AILRC-FR's texts contain shifts on the micro-level. **Additions** are sparse in both cases, but a recurrent strategy for both offices is the addition of a date in the first paragraph, or the substitution of "today" or "yesterday" by a specific date. These items are known in pragmatics as "shifters", i.e. "they constantly change in reference, depending on who is speaking or writing" (Jacobs 1999a: 113). The replacement of these shifters is part of preformulating strategies, as described in 5.1 above. If shifters would be copied directly by a journalist in a newspaper article, their reference might be wrong, e.g., "today" would probably refer to a different day. By changing these references in the

³⁴ One exception to this was found in the control corpus, i.e. a web news text on the death of Osama Bin Laden from 6 May 2011. More background information was added in AIVL's translation.

press release, it becomes easier for the journalist to copy from the text when writing a news report (cf. Jacobs 1999).

No other information is added to the web texts at any point in either AIVL's or AILRC-FR's target texts. Rather, AILRC-FR's longer target texts are due to explicitations. The different translation strategies applied by AIVL and AILRC-FR become especially clear in Extracts 5-24 to 5-26, which illustrate **omission** in AIVL's texts and **explicitation** in AILRC-FR's translations.

AIVL's texts not only contain omissions on the micro-level, but also other shifts such as rearrangements, substitutions and additions. Extract 5-23, already briefly discussed in 5.2.2 above, also contains many shifts on the micro-level, which in this case affect the accurate rendition of the facts as set out in the source text, as illustrated below.

¶2 of Extract 5-23 (see Appendix 9 for full extract)	
<u>AIS</u>	(¶2) Goran Hadžić is accused of joint criminal responsibility for the murder, imprisonment and forced labour of Croat and other civilians from 1991 to 1993.
<u>AIVL</u>	Hij word gezocht wegens <u>de moord op honderden Kroaten en andere niet-Serviërs</u> in het omstreden gebied tussen de Serviërs en de Kroaten in de periode 1991-1995, <u>tijdens het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië</u> . [He is being sought for the murder of hundreds of Croat and other non-Serbs in the disputed territory between the Serbs and the Croat in the period 1991-1995, during the breakup of Yugoslavia.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	(¶2) Goran Hadžić est accusé d'être conjointement responsable du meurtre, de l'emprisonnement et de l'asservissement au travail forcé de Croates et d'autres civiles entre 1991 et 1993. [Goran Hadžić is accused of being jointly responsible for the murder, imprisonment and forced labour of Croat and other civilians between 1991 and 1993.]

AIVL's second paragraph in Extract 5-23 states that Hadžić is accused of being responsible for events that took place between 1991 and 1995. However, the source text states that the events took place between 1991 and 1993. The phrase "tijdens het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië" ("during the breakup of Yugoslavia") was added to the dates in the Dutch text. The breakup of Yugoslavia happened over several years during the 1990s, following a series of political upheavals.³⁵ It is unclear why the general reference to the breakup of Yugoslavia is added or why specific reference is made to 1995. In the French translation, the original dates have been retained. Another shift in paragraph 2 is related to the number of people Hadžić was accused of having murdered. The source text does not make any reference to the number of people involved. In contrast, AIVL's text states that hundreds of people were murdered ("de moord op honderden Kroaten en andere niet-Serviërs").

Similarly, in paragraph 4 (see Extract 5-23 in Appendix 9), AIVL's text mentions that Hadžić is accused of the forcible removal and murder of thousands of citizens, whereas the source text states his alleged involvement in "the forcible removal of Croats and others". The source text does not

³⁵ For a timeline of the Break-up of Yugoslavia, see <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4997380.stm>, visited 10 June 2014.

mention murder and does not give a specific number of citizens that was affected by Hadžić's crimes. These facts in AIVL's text could have been taken from paragraph 9 in the source text, which described how Hadžić's name has been linked with a specific incident in November 1991 involving the torture and murder of more than 250 Croats and others. However, there is no mention of *thousands* of victims in the source text. Another shift concerns the introduction of Hadžić as a Serbian Croat in AIVL's text, whereas he is referred to as a Serbian in both the source text and AILRC-FR's translation.

Several **stylistic shifts** were also noted in this particular translation. For example, the diacritic marks in Goran Hadžić's name are omitted in the Dutch translation. In contrast, the marks have been retained in the French text. The omission of these marks is not an error, but it shows the distance between the source and the Dutch target text, while their use in the French text increases the proximity of AILRC-FR's translation to the source text.

There are also shifts on the grammatical level, such as the tense and the conjugation of the auxiliary verb "worden" in the Dutch translation. The use of the present tense in "hij wordt gezocht" ("he is being sought", "he is wanted") in both paragraphs 1 and 2 of AIVL's translation is contradictory to the fact that Hadžić has in fact already been arrested. Moreover, the phrasing "hij word" in paragraph 2 contains a grammatical error. The verb "word" is not conjugated correctly and misses a "t", which is needed in the present tense for a third person singular. The non-compliance with the Dutch "d/t"-conjugation rules and the improper use of the present tense give the impression that the target text has not been well revised or proofread.

In the corpus that was analysed, web text 7 stands out with its large variety of both pragmatic and stylistic shifts, and its related problems and inaccuracies. It is an excellent example illustrating how profound some of the shifts in AIVL's texts can be. However, this does not mean that all AIVL's translations contain such a high number of shifts that change the text considerably. AIVL's translations of web texts 1 and 5, for example, are consistent in style and they do not contain any grammatical or linguistic errors. Even though both texts contain many omissions and rearrangements, in these cases the shifts in fact improve the consistency and fluency of the target text, because they omit many of the repetitions from the source text. The extent to which shifts affect the overall message of the text can be represented on a scale ranging from shifts that have limited influence, with texts 1 and 5 as prime examples, to shifts that change the message considerably, both in terms of content and style, with web texts 7 and 2 at the end of the scale.

Taken together, the analysis of the macro- and micro-level of web news has largely confirmed the conclusions from the analysis of the headlines. AILRC-FR's translations hardly contain omissions or rearrangements. There is rather a tendency for explication on the micro-level, which leads to longer target texts. It was shown that AIVL's translations sometimes contain stylistic issues, which were noted for the headlines as well. Furthermore, AIVL's texts include many omissions and rearrangements on both the macro- and micro-level, leading to overall shorter target texts.

5.2.4 Micro-level: quotations

As stated before, texts by Amnesty can contain either quotations by witnesses or by staff members to present the institution (see 5.1.4). In press releases, and thus also in web news, quotations by witnesses do not occur that often. In the ten texts under analysis for web news, no quotations by witnesses were included. A few more were included in the control corpus, but no significant shifts were found. Both AIVL and AILRC-FR keep close to the original quotation, so that the voice of the witness is accurately represented.

Strategies used by AIVL in web news for the translation of quotations by staff members are different from those used in press releases. Quotations are not reattributed to local staff members or replaced by new quotations. Half of AIVL's translations under analysis (target texts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6) retain all of the quotations and attribute them to the original speaker.

As described above, AIVL's translations contain many omissions on the macro-level. Quotations as well are often entirely omitted. For example, web text 10 had four quotations in the original text, yet it only has two in AIVL's translation. In AILRC-FR's translations, no changes are made to any quotations and original speakers are retained. Three other types of **pragmatic shifts** are noted for quotations in AIVL's web news, as listed below.

- 1) Quotation is turned into running text
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → Translated quotation as running text
 - Extract 5-23, ¶5; Extract 5-28
- 2) Running text is turned into quotation
 - Running text → "Quotation", said AIVL staff member/said Amnesty
 - Extract 5-27
- 3) Quotations is reattributed to Amnesty as an organisation
 - "Original quotation", said IS staff member → "Translated quotations", says Amnesty.
 - Extract 5-23, ¶3
- 4) Quotation is omitted
 - "Original quotation" said IS staff member → No quotation, information deleted.

Shifts (2) and (3) were both only found once in AIVL's translations of web news. Shift (1) was encountered several times. The strategy was also often combined with the omission of quotations. Web text 9, for example, originally contained four quotations, yet AIVL's translation only has one. However, as can be seen in Extract 5-28, one of the original quotations is turned into running text, and in this way the original information is retained. The quotation has become part of the narrative, and it no longer represents the words or the point of view of a specific person.

The three types of pragmatic shifts that were found in AIVL's translations of quotations support the idea of quotations as pseudo-quotations and of the institutional voice (see 5.1). If quotations were never really uttered by the spokesperson, but are fabricated as part of preformulating

strategies, then they might as well be changed into running text. The opposing strategy can also be explained in this context. New quotations are created on the basis of running text, so that a local spokesperson is represented and the chance of press releases being picked up by journalists is increased. Similarly, if a speaker represents the institutional voice, it should be acceptable to attribute a quotation to the institution instead of to a particular speaker.

Next to shifts in the attribution of quotations, other shifts can be noted as well. Omissions occur quite frequently. For example, in Extract 5-28, the actor “the Lithuanian authorities” is changed into Lithuania as a country in the target text. The fact that the US officials who were responsible for complicity in all abuses should be “held accountable” is omitted in translation. In some quotations, the content or the frame used changes slightly in AIVL’s translation. In Extract 5-27, AIVL’s text omits the fact that Amnesty staff “fear” that the security forces might unleash their full ferocity. AIVL’s translation implies that this is what will happen, or is very likely to happen, and does not explicitly include Amnesty’s voiced opinion on the issue.

In Extract 5-29, the source text expresses a theoretical possibility by stating that the families “could” be forced into inadequate accommodation if the evictions continue. AIVL’s target text, however, implies that if the families are evicted, it is a sure fact that they will be forced into inadequate accommodation (“worden deze gezinnen gedwongen”/, meaning “these families are forced”). These slight shifts in the translations of quotations by AIVL thus affect Amnesty’s message and voice.

The shifts discussed above impact on Amnesty’s message and mainly concern the pragmatic level. **Stylistic shifts** can also be noted in AIVL’s translations of quotations. These mainly concern a lack of idiomaticity and mixing different language varieties. This is the case in Extract 5-30, where formal and informal language use is mixed in the speaker’s quotations. The phrase “omwille van de vrijlating van onze medewerkers en de anderen” in AIVL’s translation is very formal and not fluent. The use of nominalisations (the noun “de vrijlating” instead of the verb “vrijlaten”) in Dutch gives rise to formal and archaic constructions. They make the text more abstract, because they describe concepts rather than actions, and they often lead to constructions with preposition chains. For these reasons, the use of nominalisations is discouraged in style manuals for the Dutch language.³⁶ AIVL’s own *Schrijfstijlhandboek* also advises to avoid these constructions, as they make the text “abstract, heavy, boring and longer than necessary” (“abstract, zwaar, saai en langer dan nodig”, p.8). In Extract 5-30, “de vrijlating” is combined with “omwille van”, creating a prepositional chain. “Omwille van” (“because of”) is a formal expression which tends to be used in formal and legal documents. Whereas the first sentence of the quotation is formal and does not sound like spoken language, the second sentence is much more colloquial, through the use of the expression “gewoon schandalig” (“just

³⁶ For example, the language advice service of the Flemish government advises to use nominalisations sparingly for the reasons mentioned. Source: <http://taaltelefoon.vlaanderen.be/nlapps/docs/default.asp?id=1678&order=/>, visited 10 June 2014.

scandalous”). The second part of the quotation also contains a linguistic error. Two prepositions are used where only one is needed: “voor om ze te blijven” (“for to continue”). This may indicate a lack of in-depth revision.

Stylistic shifts and linguistic errors are uncommon in the French translations. In Extract 5-30, a slight change of meaning can be detected in the final paragraph, where the translation states that the Egyptian activists should be “able to” (“pouvoir”) return to their families safely, whereas the source text states that they should be “returned” to their families. Yet the change in meaning is subtle, and it does not impact on the overall meaning of the text.

In sum, the analysis of quotations has shown that AIVL’s translations contain more shifts than AILRC-FR’s translations. Shifts mostly concern omissions or representing quotations as part of the text. It was also illustrated that the message and voice of Amnesty sometimes changes in AIVL’s translations. Their quotations also contain stylistic shifts, which mostly concern idiomaticity and mixed formal and informal language use. In contrast to quotations in press releases, quotations in web news texts are not typically reattributed to different speakers or replaced by new quotations. These results were confirmed when they were checked against the control corpus (see footnote 45 in Appendix 9).

5.2.5 Summary

The analysis of web news has shown that there are large differences in the translation strategies applied by AIVL and by AILRC-FR. AILRC-FR’s translations are consistently close to the source text and do not contain major pragmatic or stylistic shifts. Consequently, there are no changes to the representation of Amnesty’s message and voice in these translations. In contrast, the analysis has shown that AIVL’s translations contain a large variety of shifts. AIVL’s translations are often shortened considerably, and omissions concern all levels of the text. Quotations are frequently omitted or represented as running text. The only types of additions on the micro-level that were occasionally found in these texts are subtitles. These shifts adapt the texts to the target audience, i.e. the website visitors, and they emphasise Amnesty’s role as an alternative news provider.

The shifts in AIVL’s translations vary from text to text. Some texts remain rather close to the source text, whereas others, such as web news text 7, contain shifts on all levels of the text. In such cases, the shifts influence the way in which Amnesty’s voice and message are represented in translation.

5.3 Urgent Actions

Amnesty’s Urgent Actions are short documents of one to two pages that describe the situation of an individual at risk and call on Amnesty’s activists to take action (see also 4.1.3). Every Urgent Action has the same structure:

- UA number, date and country the UA treats
- Headline and lead
- A few paragraphs describing the situation of the person at risk
- Call to Amnesty activists to send their appeals
- List of bullet points with aspects letter writers should address in their appeals
- Contact details for relevant political institutions and politicians
- Date by which the appeals should be sent
- Additional information, up to three paragraphs

Both AILRC-FR and AIVL aim to translate all Urgent Actions that the IS issues. UAs are often followed by updates on the case, sometimes again asking activists to send appeals, or at other times reporting good news about action being taken and stating that no more appeals are needed. One UA can be followed by several updates. These updates are not always translated, especially not by AIVL. A selection is made based on the availability of the translators and on the necessity of the translation. This is also why the number of texts collected for the corpus is different in each language (see 3.6.1 for the exact numbers).³⁷ As with the press releases and the web news texts, ten texts were selected for in-depth analysis and discussion in this chapter, and the findings from this analysis was then checked against the control corpus. Some examples from the control corpus will be provided as well. A list with the details of these ten texts can be found in Appendix 9.

5.3.1 Preliminary data: headlines

As was the case with headlines of press releases, **pragmatic shifts** were again found in AILRC-FR's translations and mainly concern explicitations, as illustrated in Extract 5-31 and 5-32. Several examples were also found in the control corpus (see footnote 46 in Appendix 9). In AIVL's translations, pragmatic shifts in the headlines are uncommon. As discussed in 5.1.1, shifts in headlines can include changes in the use of articles. No shifts were noted for this particular feature in the French or Dutch headlines. However, the findings from the control corpus call for a more nuanced view, as articles were found here in 10% of the Dutch headlines.

AIVL's headlines contain several other **stylistic shifts**, many of which are related to unidiomatic and sometimes incorrect language use. This is illustrated in Extract 5-33 below, where "gefrabriceerde klachten" is a calque of the English construction. These types of shifts were occasionally found in the control corpus for AIVL (see footnote 47 in the control corpus). Even though issues like these are rare, they show the consequences that AIVL's restricted revision process of these texts can have on the conveyance of Amnesty's message.

³⁷ As explained in Chapter 4, translators at AIVL are also asked to attach a sample letter to the translation that activists can use. These have not been incorporated in the corpus.

<i>Extract 5-33</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		Man faces trial under fabricated charges (Text 3, UA 70-11, Iraq)
<u>AIVL</u>	stylistic shift: calque	Man riskeert proces onder <u>gefabriceerde aanklachten</u> [Man risks trial under fabricated charges]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Un homme va être jugé pour des charges controuvées [A man is going to be tried under concocted charges]

Other stylistic shifts concern variation in the use of human rights terminology. This was noted when analysing the larger number of headlines included in the control corpus. The use of a number of terms was checked in the English, French and Dutch texts. The terminology of UA headlines is in general rather restricted, as the situations described by UAs are often similar. Headlines typically set out how a particular person is detained, arrested (sometimes without charges), threatened, sentenced, etc. The people at risk are often human rights activists, protesters or asylum-seekers, and headlines communicate Amnesty’s fear for these people’s safety and they demand that action is undertaken. In AIVL’s headlines, different terms are often used for the translation of one specific term in the source texts. Terminology in AILRC-FR’s headlines was found to be more consistent.

For example, for the terms “forced eviction” and its related expression “forcibly evicted”, the French headlines consistently use “expulsion forcée” and “expulsé de force”. In the Dutch headlines, however, various terms are used: “gedwongen terugkeer” (“forced return”), “gewelddadige terugkeer” (“violent return”), and expressions such as “onder dwang gerepatrieerd” (“forcibly repatriated”), “onder dwang uitgewezen” (“forcibly expelled”), and “onder dwang teruggestuurd” (“forcibly returned”). Similar variation can be found for the related terms “forcible eviction” and “forcible deportation”. Although the official term for “forcible eviction” is “gedwongen uithuiszetting” in Flemish Dutch (see 4.3.2.2), and this is the term that AIVL would use when writing an original text in Dutch, in the analysed UA headlines at least four other terms can be found, such as “gewelddadige onteigining” (“violent expropriation”), “gedwongen onteigining” (“forced expropriation”), “gedwongen uitwijzing” (“forced expulsion”), “gedwongen ontruiming” (“forced eviction”).

Variation in terminology was also found in UAs with related updates, which treat the same cases. Extract 5-34 contains the headlines of UA 34 and its two updates, and shows how AIVL’s headlines contain variations for the terms “forced deportation” and “trade unionist”. Even for terms of which the correct use is stipulated in AIVL’s document with guidelines for translators (see also 4.3.1.3), the translations are not always consistent. For the term “incommunicado”, which refers to a situation in which it is impossible to communicate with other people, the document states that “incommunicado” should also be used in Dutch. However, in Extract 5-35 the term is not used.

In sum, the analysis of the ten selected UAs indicated that AILRC-FR’s headlines contain explicitations, and that stylistic shifts occur in AIVL’s headlines. Checking these results against the control corpus, a number of additional patterns emerged. It was found that terminology is less

consistent in AIVL's headlines than in AILRC-FR's headlines, and that although rather exceptional, some of AIVL's headlines contain stylistic and linguistic errors.

5.3.2 Micro-level: shifts to words and sentences

The ten Urgent Actions analysed stay close to the source text in terms of structure, and do not contain pragmatic shifts on the macro-level. These findings were confirmed when checked against the control corpus. Paragraphs are not omitted, added or moved around. Thus, the focus of the discussion here is on shifts on the micro-level.

On this level, several pragmatic shifts were found in AIVL's translations, including rearrangements of the sentence structure, implicitation and explicitation, addition, omission and substitution of words or phrases. Sometimes these shifts have a positive impact on the fluency and readability of the target text, but there are also several counterexamples. AILRC-FR's translations typically contain instances of rearrangement and explicitation.

Many of AIVL's translations include **stylistic shifts**. They often follow the source text closely both in terms of sentence structure (literal translation) and vocabulary (calque), in many cases leading to unidiomatic translations. Extracts 5-36 and 5-37 contain examples of **literal translations** in terms of sentence structure. Both AIVL sentences contain what is known in Dutch as a "tangconstructie" (a "forceps construction"), where two parts of a sentence that belong together are far apart, making the sentence difficult to read.³⁸

In a number of cases the structure of the English text is also copied on the word level in AIVL's texts, thus creating **a calque**. These types of shifts were found for example in UA 1-11, where a victim is ordered to come to a "local shrine" in River State carrying a sum of money. "Local shrine" is translated into Dutch as "locaal heiligdom" [sic], an unidiomatic expression in Dutch. Moreover, the correct spelling of "locaal" in Dutch is "lokaal". In the French translation, on the other hand, the reference to the local shrine is translated as "un point de rendez-vous", which is less specific than local shrine. In UA 363-11, the expression "as a matter of urgency" is translated into Dutch as "als een hoogdringende zaak" ("as an extremely urgent matter"). The elements "as" and "matter" were copied from the English expression, but the expression in Dutch is unidiomatic.³⁹ In the French translation, the French equivalent expression "de toute urgence" is used.

The stylistic shifts in AIVL's UAs are not limited to one particular type, which would then point to one particular translation strategy. The literal translation shifts described above occur in texts where opposing shifts can be found as well, i.e., sentences that are rearranged in such a way that they

³⁸ The language advice service of the Flemish government explains what "tangconstructies" are, and advises to avoid constructions with a large distance between two parts of a sentence that belong together. <http://taaltelefoon.vlaanderen.be/nlapps/docs/default.asp?id=2750>, visited 7 August 2014.

³⁹ In Dutch the correct expression is "hoogdringend" or "spoedeisend", as explained by the Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union) on http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/vraag/394/hoogdringend_spoedeisend/, visited 6 August 2014.

improve readability. Extract 5-38 is taken from the same text as was Extract 5-36 (literal translation), and contains an example of a shift that improves readability in the Dutch translation. The source sentence has a quite complex structure with a long noun phrase that functions as the subject. In AIVL's translation, the noun phrase is turned into a separate sentence. Similarly, Extract 5-39 is taken from the same text as Extract 5-37 (literal translation), and contains an extract in which the complex source sentence is split into two subordinate clauses in AIVL's translation, thus improving readability.

Other stylistic shifts than literal translation or calque were also noted especially in AIVL's translations in terms of **variation of human rights terminology**, as was already touched upon in 5.3.1 for the discussion of UA headlines. Extract 5-35 in 5.3.1 showed that the term "incomunicado" is not always used in headlines, even though AIVL's guidelines for translation state that it should be used. The UA under discussion in Extract 5-35 was the first update of UA 224 on Syria, which was then followed by a second one. In both the original UA 224 and in its second update, the term *incomunicado* is used throughout the text. In update 1, however, the term is not consistently used. In the headline it was substituted by a description (see Extract 5-35). In the first sentence of paragraph 1, the same shift is noted: "George Sabra has been detained *incomunicado* at an undisclosed location" is translated as "George Sabra blijft vastgehouden in een geheime locatie en mag geen contact hebben met de buitenwereld" ("George Sabra remains detained in a secret location and is not allowed to be in touch with the outside world"). In contrast, on two occasions further on in the translation, the term "*incomunicado*" is used.

Moreover, the spelling is also incorrect in UA 224, update 1 ("*incomunicado*" instead of "*incomunicado*"). AIVL's translations of UAs on some other occasions as well reflect linguistic issues. For example, in UA 150-11, the name of the person whose human rights are violated is spelled incorrectly throughout the text as "Ana Morena" instead of "Ana Moreno". In the sentence "Op 18 juli worden op zij berecht" (literally "On 18 July on they are tried") from UA 55-11.2, the second "op" is superfluous.

The inconsistency of terminology in AIVL's translations is also visible when comparing the translation of one particular sentence that is repeated in all the source texts. After the description of the person in need, there is a sentence that introduces the list of bullet points describing the issues writers should address in their letters. In the English UAs, the sentence states "Please write immediately", followed by the specific languages writers can use (e.g. "Please write immediately in Spanish, English or your own language"). In the Dutch translations, the sentence is rendered in a number of ways, e.g., "Gelieve uw oproepen onmiddellijk te versturen" ("Please send your calls immediately") in UA 1-11, "Schrijf a.u.b. zo snel mogelijk" ("Please write as soon as possible") in UA 25-11, "Stuur uw oproepen onmiddellijk" ("Send your appeals immediately") in UA 138-11, and other variations to this.

The lower degree of consistency between AIVL's translations is also visible in the mix of formal and informal language use. While UA 1-11, 70-11, 138-11 address the reader with the formal singular second person pronoun "u", UA 25-11, 150-11 and 228-11 respectively use the informal "je".

The remaining UAs only use the imperative mood to address the reader and no pronoun is used. In UA 315-11, the use of “je” and “u” is mixed within the text. The UA first states: “Stuur je oproepen voor 6 december 2011” (“Send your appeals before 6 December 2011”; emphasis mine), and a few lines later on it says: “Neem contact op met het Secretariaat in Antwerpen als u nog oproepen na 6 december wilt sturen.” (“Please contact the Secretariat in Antwerp if you still wish to send appeals after 6 December”; emphasis mine).

In contrast, in the French translations, the sentence that introduces the bullet point list is in each case: “Dans les appels que vous ferez parvenir le plus vite possible aux destinataires mentionnés ci-après” (“In the appeals that you will send as soon as possible to the recipients mentioned below” – then followed by particular instructions in bullet point list). The fact that the sentence is the same in each case shows the high degree of consistency in the French translations. Furthermore, this sentence is another example of **explicitation** in AILRC-FR’s translations. It emphasises the need of urgency, and it already refers to the addresses that are listed below. As with the translations of press releases, explicitation is the shift most frequently found in AILRC-FR’s texts. Several cases were already discussed in the examples above.

AIVL’s translations also include several **pragmatic shifts** that have an influence on the meaning of the target text, either by not rendering it completely or by rendering it differently, as shown in Extracts 5-41 and 5-42.

Extract 5-42, 43 and 44 are taken from UA 70-11, illustrating several shifts in AIVL’s translation that influence the meaning and the style of the message. In Extract 5-42, AIVL’s translation states that the subject, Walid Yunis Ahmad, has been held without trial or charge for “more than 11 years”, instead of for “nearly 11 years”, as the source text states. Contradictorily, AIVL’s translation later on says that Walid Yunis Ahmad had been in detention for ten years, as illustrated in Extract 5-43 below. The phrase “for the ten years” in AIVL’s text substitutes the source text’s “for his long detention”. Moreover, AIVL’s translation in Extract 5-43 adds that reparation should be offered to Walid Yunis Ahmad and his family “for the torture and other ill-treatment he underwent”, details that are not present in the source text.

<i>Extract 5-43: pragmatic shifts/ change in meaning in UA 70</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		Calling on the Kurdish government to afford reparation to Walid Yunis Ahmad and his family <u>for his long detention</u> without charge or trial. (UA 70-11, Iraq)
<u>AIVL</u>	Substitution; addition	Roep op om Walid Yunis Ahmad en zijn familie een schadevergoeding aan te bieden voor de 10 jaren dat hij werd vastgehouden zonder aanklacht of proces en voor de foltering en andere mishandelingen die hij onderging; [Calling to offer Walid Yunis Ahmad and his family reparation <u>for the ten years</u> that he was detained without charge or trial <u>and for the torture and other ill-treatment he underwent.</u>]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Appelez le gouvernement du Kurdistan à accorder réparation à cet homme et à sa famille pour sa détention prolongée sans inculpation ni jugement. [Call on the Kurdish government to afford reparation to this man and to his family for his prolonged detention without charge or trial.]

Extract 5-44 shows instances of rearrangement with information taken from various source text paragraphs and substitutions. The final sentence of the source text in this extract has been substituted in AIVL's translation with a completely different sentence. In fact, this sentence is included in the source text as the final sentence of the next paragraph. In AIVL's text, there is thus a repetition: it is included as the final sentence of both paragraphs 3 and 4.

Yet not all shifts in AIVL's translation of UA 70 can be accounted for by looking at other passages of the source text. In the first sentence of Extract 5-44, AIVL's translation does not say Walid Yunis Ahmed has been charged, as is the case in the source text, but that he has been convicted ("veroordeeld"). Furthermore, a time reference has been added to the actual charges: "in 2009", a date that is mentioned further on in the source text, but that is not in fact part of the charge. Another source of confusion is the use of the present and past tenses in relation to the secret informants, and a change in the subject of the sentence. AIVL's text states the informants have not been identified, whereas the source text states the authorities have not disclosed the identities, meaning two different things. AIVL's text also states that the informants have not appeared before court, using a past tense, whereas the future tense is used in the source text ("he will not be able to examine them in court"). The action seems to have already taken place when reading AIVL's target text.

Overall, it should be emphasised that the amount of shifts in AIVL's translations of UAs and how they affect the message and voice varies from text to text. UA 70-11 (Extracts 5-42, 5-43 and 44) can be placed at the extreme end of the scale, as a translation that contains a large amount and variety of shifts that influence the style and the message of the text considerably. Furthermore, contradictory shifts often occur in one and the same text, and it is thus difficult to uncover one underlying translation strategy.

In comparison, AILRC-FR's translations of Urgent Actions contain only a small variety of shifts, and again mostly include explicitation and rearrangement on the micro-level. There is only a small number of shifts, which generally aim to increase clarity and readability.

5.3.3 Micro-level: quotations

Urgent Actions do not contain quotations by Amnesty staff, but they do sometimes contain quotations from fieldwork. These usually refer to threats that victims have received. In the ten UAs that were analysed in-depth, these types of quotations were found in three texts: UA 25-11, UA 150-11 and UA 315-11. The analysis of quotations by staff in press releases and web news in AIVL's texts showed that these text genres often contain shifts in terms of reattribution, e.g., some are attributed to different speakers, or they are represented as running text in the translation. For quotations related to threats that victims received, these types of shifts were not found.

Shifts that can be noted in quotations in UAs are **stylistic shifts** related to idiomatic language use, and explicitation and implicitation on the **pragmatic** level. For example, in the Dutch translation

in Extract 5-45, the phrase “moeten we wat drugs in je stoppen?” (“Do we need to put some drugs into you?”) is unidiomatic, and implies that drugs would be put in the victim’s body, rather than on it. Its meaning is rather unclear in the Dutch translation. In contrast, in the French translation its meaning is explicitated. The phrase “pour t’incriminer” (“to incriminate you”) is added, making clear that the drugs would be used to make the victim guilty of a crime. Using this threat, the victim’s assailants aim to persuade her to give them the information they want.

Extract 5-46 also contains stylistic and pragmatic shifts. It contains a quotation from an e-mail in which a “you” is being threatened. AIVL’s translation alternates the use of the second person singular form “je” with that of the second person plural form “jullie”. The French translation uses the second person plural form “vous” throughout the quotation. The fact that in the second part of the quotation, three different people are being addressed (“Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklin Torres, guerrillas disguised as human rights defenders, the order has been given to kill you”) indicates that AIVL’s use of the singular form “je” in “we hebben je gewaarschuwd” (“we warned you”) is inappropriate. Indeed, this is confirmed when checked against the original Spanish quotation, which uses the plural politeness form and thus addresses several subjects (“se los advertimos”).

Yet even though AIVL’s translation contains an inconsistency in its translation of “you”, the fact that the original Spanish quotation (also part of the source text) is also provided after the Dutch translation shows that great care is being taken with quotations by witnesses. AILRC-FR’s text does not provide the original quotation in Spanish. Yet as described in 4.2.2.3, when Amnesty staff write texts that will be translated and that contain quotations, the original quotations should always be provided to the AILRC translators. The translators consult these original quotations when producing their own translation.

AIVL and AILRC-FR have different strategies in dealing with the original voice of the speaker, i.e. the Dutch translations always include the original Spanish quotations; the French translations do not, as can be seen in Extract 5-46. When checked against the control corpus, these shifts were found to be consistent. Original Spanish quotations in the English source texts were found in twenty four UAs of the control corpus. In the French translations, all the original Spanish quotations are omitted and only the French translation is retained. In AIVL’s translations, the Spanish originals were retained next to the translation into Dutch in twenty two of the texts. The large consistency in these shifts shows differing translation strategies for AIVL and AILRC-FR.

5.3.4 Summary

The analysis of headlines showed that there were no changes in framing in headlines for UAs, in contrast to headlines for press releases. A number of additional patterns emerged when the control

corpus was checked, which indicated that AIVL's headlines contained less consistency in terms of terminology compared to AILRC-FR's headlines.

The varying degree of consistency was confirmed by the analysis of the macro-level. AIVL's translations are less consistent not only for terminology, but also for stylistic features such as formal versus informal language use. Its translations also included various pragmatic shifts, some of which affect the meaning of the message. However, as already emphasised above, shifts that affect meaning are not typical, and the amount of shifts in translation and their effect on the message and voice can rather be represented on a scale from minimal shifts and minimal effect to a large amount with a profound influence. Furthermore, in UAs these shifts occur on the micro-level.

The analysis of quotations revealed different patterns for the two sections. When original Spanish quotations are included in the English source text, these are retained in the Dutch translation, but are omitted in the French ones. Furthermore, for AIVL, this type of shift is very different from shifts in press release quotations. Whereas these quotations were often reattributed to new speakers, greater care is taken with quotations related to victims of human rights violations.

Overall, the analysis indicates that in the translations of UAs, no major shifts occur on the macro-level. AIVL's translations contain many stylistic and micro-level pragmatic shifts, which sometimes do change the meaning of the message. In AILRC-FR's translations, shifts were limited to the micro-level as well and included rearrangements and explicitations. Thus, they were similar to shifts in press releases and web news.

5.4 Summary and conclusion

The foregoing analysis described shifts in translation. The focus was mainly on pragmatic and stylistic shifts, which influence the message of a text. The overall aim in the context of the thesis was to pursue the question if any differences could be observed between translations produced by the two Amnesty offices AILRC-FR and AIVL. Secondly, the aim was to see if within one office, differences could be observed between the translations of different text genres, i.e. press releases, web news, and Urgent Actions. The analysis has shown that the answer to both of these questions is affirmative. It was found that shifts in AILRC-FR's translations for all three text types are limited to the micro-level; and that shifts that occur on a regular basis include explicitation and sentence rearrangement. The effect that these shifts have on the overall message is small, but it was noted that in many cases they increase the clarity and readability of the target text. For AIVL's translations, the findings are more complex. Some overall tendencies were identified per genre, as presented in Table 3.

What was frequently noted in the analysis of AIVL's texts is that not every text necessarily contains the same shifts. AIVL's translations should rather be conceptualised on a scale from texts containing few to many shifts and in a large variety. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the occurrence of one particular shift does not tend to point towards one particular translation strategy:

very often, opposing shifts were found in one and the same text. For example, one sentence will copy the structure of the original and be hard to read in Dutch, whereas the next one might be the outcome of some major rearrangements and will provide more clarity than its original. This also applies to quotations in press releases, e.g. one quotation might be reattributed to a local staff member, while the next quotation in the very same text might be replaced or omitted entirely.

Table 3: Recurring shifts in AIVL's translations

	Press releases	Web news	Urgent Actions
Headlines	- pragmatic shifts (omission, addition, explicitation and implicitation) often leading to changes in framing	- pragmatic shifts (omission) - stylistic shifts (use of determiners, unidiomatic)	- stylistic shifts (unidiomatic, incorrect language use, inconsistency in terminology)
Macro-level	- pragmatic shifts (omission, addition, rearrangement, substitution)	- pragmatic shifts, especially omission and rearrangement	- in exceptional cases pragmatic shifts (e.g. UA 70)
Micro-level	- pragmatic shifts (omission, addition, rearrangement, substitution)	- pragmatic shifts (omission, addition, rearrangement, substitution) - stylistic shifts (mixing formal and informal language; linguistic and grammatical errors)	- pragmatic shifts, often with impact on the message (substitution, omission and addition of key information) - stylistic shifts (inconsistency in human rights terminology; linguistic errors; literal translation; calque)
Quotations	by staff: 4 types of pragmatic shifts, i.e. (1) original quotation and speaker retained; (2) original quotation replaced by new quotation from local staff member; (3) original quotation reattributed to a local staff member (4) omission	by staff: 4 types of pragmatic shifts, i.e. (1) quotation is turned into running text; (2) running text is turned into a quotation (3) quotation is reattributed to Amnesty as an organisation (4) omission	by witnesses: - stylistic shifts (idiomatic language use); - pragmatic shifts (implicitation and explicitation) (do not contain quotations by staff)

Nevertheless, Table 3 summarises the shifts which typically occur in the three text genres. These shifts lead to changes per genre in the way that Amnesty's message and voice is represented. In translated press releases, the voice that represents the institution is often coming from a different individual. In web news texts, the voice of the institution is often present in an indirect way, when direct quotations are changed into regular text. Although it is evident that the text is produced by Amnesty, it is not "preformulated" in such a way that journalists could easily copy parts of it into their news report. This is in accordance with the intended audience of these texts, which consists primarily of website visitors. In Urgent Actions, translation shifts mostly impact on the style of the message and not so much on the content. However, in some cases shifts were noted that change the meaning of some of the original statements.

The textual analysis presented here did not aim to provide an exhaustive list of shifts occurring in these translations, but rather aimed to illustrate the wide variety of shifts that these texts include for the selected features. Although the questions this chapter took as a starting point were rather formulated on the basis of a causal model (if X, then Y), the analysis has shown that the Amnesty texts under analysis contain a large variety of shifts, and that it is important to have information about the context in which these texts are translated to understand where this large variety of shifts comes from. Chapter 6 will aim to link the findings from the textual analysis and to explain the tendencies that were identified.

Chapter 6 – Nexus results: links between translation products and translation policy

This chapter attempts to explore links between the findings of the textual analysis in Chapter 5 and the description of the institutional context and translation policy in Chapter 4. Drawing on further information collected during fieldwork, the chapter provides more context for some of the shifts that were found. One of the issues discussed is that the different staff members of Amnesty conceptualise translation in different ways. It also discusses some of the concerns that AILRC-FR translators noted on the topic of transmitting Amnesty's message and voice in the context of One Amnesty.

Chapter 4 discussed translation management, practices and beliefs for AILRC-FR and AIVL, and translations of these offices were analysed in Chapter 5. When linking the findings from these chapters, some initial insights can be gained. From the perspective of the causal model, the following links could be noted:

- (a) Translations are done by a large pool of volunteers, without the support of CAT-tools and without revision. (Based on the analysis of UAs at AIVL)
↓
Large amount and variety of shifts that influence style and meaning (e.g. UA 70-11; 5.3.2), both on macro- and micro-level. Not just one particular translation strategy is implemented.
- (b) Translations are done by one staff member without the support of CAT-tools but with revision. (Based on the analysis of press releases at AIVL)
↓
No shifts in style or terminology. Pragmatic shifts may occur on both macro- and micro level.
- (c) Translations by professionals, supported by CAT-tools and revised. (Based on the analysis of translations by AILRC-FR)
↓
Small amount and variety of shifts, small influence on style and meaning, shifts take place especially on the micro-level; consistency in terminology. Shifts include explication and rearrangement, indicating an overall translation strategy that focuses on readability.

Most of these shifts are rather straightforward to explain by taking the institutional context into account. However, it is more complex to provide clarity in the underlying reasons for the many pragmatic shifts on the macro-level in press releases and in web news and for the various translation shifts found in AIVL's press releases for attributing quotations. Using a causal model to account for these differences does not provide enough insight. Chapter 4 has largely focused on the institutional level of the nexus, i.e. which actors are involved within Amnesty itself, which management decisions are taken, how do Amnesty staff perceive of translation as a professional activity. By taking these factors into account, and by expanding the view to the wider sociocultural context in which and for which the translations are being produced, additional insights can be provided (see the nexus model in Figure 2, 2.4.3).

6.1 Explaining shifts in translation by using the nexus model⁴⁰

The nexus model applied in the current thesis conceptualises translation as a complex process, in which the three components of translation policy in the institutional context and the wider sociocultural context impact on translations. In their turn, translations impact on translation policy, and have a certain effect in the sociocultural context. In the case of Amnesty, translation can be considered as a social act that influences the institution's visibility, power and relevance. Amnesty's message and voice is represented in a particular way through translation, and this will eventually have an impact on human rights.

The discussion here explores issues relating to the representation of Amnesty as an organisation through press releases, and more particularly to its message and voice in translation. It aims to account for the reasons underlying AIVL's translation strategies for quotations in press releases. More context will be provided on translation and adaptation strategies by other Amnesty offices. Next, the wider sociocultural context is taken into account, more particularly AIVL's relationship with the local media.

Section 4.2.1.2 described how AILRC-FR largely functions as a translation agency, which translates documents for its clients.⁴¹ For press releases, this means that the translations are distributed to other Amnesty sections and staff members, but not necessarily to media contacts. In fact, there are two target audiences: in a first instance, the local Amnesty sections, and in a second instance, the local general audience and media in the geographical areas where the local sections are based. In order to serve this final target audience, local sections often still make changes to the translations they receive from AILRC-FR before uploading them to their local websites, and sometimes spreading them to local media.

In Tesseur (2013) this was illustrated by analysing a number of target texts from various Amnesty offices that are based on one particular Amnesty press release from 2012 on the discrimination of Muslims in Europe. The analysis demonstrated that for this particular press release, AI France and AIBF had uploaded the exact same target text onto their websites under the header "news". This text was considerably shorter than AILRC-FR's translation (from 908 words to 655), although the web news item was clearly based on this translation. Several of the sentences were identical, but the majority of quotations had been deleted or were no longer represented as quotations. These shifts are thus very similar to the shifts that were noted in AIVL's web news items, although stylistic shifts were not found. The fact that many of AIVL's translations contain pragmatic shifts should thus be put into context: whereas these shifts were not found in AILRC-FR's translations, they can be found in the target texts produced by the local offices.

⁴⁰ Some parts of this discussion have been taken up as part of Tesseur (2015). *Amnesty International as a worldwide news provider: the role of culture in adapting Amnesty materials*. [under peer-review]

⁴¹ Although it was pointed out that the funding system is different. See section 4.2.1.2 and footnote 18.

Translation of press releases for strategic languages, more particularly into French, can thus be described as occurring in two phases: actual translation is done by the translation offices, and the local offices then adapt the translation to the local context (Tesseur 2013: 8). At AIVL, these two processes take place at the same time.

The local target texts by AI France and AIBF analysed in Tesseur (2013) contained several omissions, but no shifts were found that concerned the reattribution of quotations, as those found in AIVL's translations of press releases both in Tesseur (2013) and in the current research. More context relating to the local media landscape can provide more insight into the reasons behind these shifts.

The *raison d'être* of the press release is to be picked up by the media. One way of increasing the chance of media reporting is to cite a local representative of the organisation, which is particularly of interest for radio and television news. This was argued by AIVL's press officer when discussing the "institutional voice".

Everyone who works here should be able to say those quotations. We all defend the same point of view And in the end, the original person to which that quote is attributed has usually never said that anyway, it is rather a press officer who writes such a quotation and then adds the name, so what does it matter? (Interview #14, Quotation 8)

Indeed, this quotation confirms Jacobs' idea of the "institutional voice" (1999: 86), of the staff member who always has a double role, speaking as an individual, yet at the same time speaking for the institution and delivering the institution's message. It also confirms the use of "pseudo-quotations" in news discourse, an issue that has previously been addressed in sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies (Bell 1991; Sleurs, Jacobs, and Van Waes 2003; Jacobs 1999b).

In the two interviews that were carried out with AIVL's press officer, there was a strong emphasis on the importance of delivering Amnesty's message accurately, which was contrasted with the (un)importance of maintaining the same voice. She said:

In the end, the most important thing is that Amnesty's position is presented accurately. If that would be changed, that would be disastrous. Sometimes, for example, it happens that a local director of an Amnesty section writes an opinion piece, with his own opinion, but in his function of director of that section. If that point of view is not fully consistent with that of Amnesty, this is disastrous. In fact something like that is not allowed. (Interview #14, Quotation 9)

To illustrate the importance of transmitting Amnesty's message accurately, the press officer recounted a situation in which Amnesty's point of view was not conveyed accurately in the media. The incident related to the whistleblower Edward Snowden, who exposed large-scale surveillance programmes in the USA and worldwide.

Recently, for example, the Head of Amnesty's Moscow office met Snowden at the airport in Moscow. The position of Amnesty on Snowden is that everyone has the right to claim asylum in any country, and every country then should decide for itself what to do with this, whether it agrees or not. Amnesty defends the right to freedom of expression, and the deprivation of Snowden's rights is our main concern. He SHOULD NOT be prosecuted. He has reported human rights violations and has thus done his duty to society and other people. But in the German media, the Head of Amnesty's Moscow office was quoted as having said that he feared that Snowden would be sentenced to the death penalty. Sergei

would never have said this! This then came up in a conference call, “Does anyone know where this comes from?”, but that is impossible to find out, one journalist makes that mistake and everyone starts copying it. Maybe there was confusion with an earlier case that we worked on, that of Bradley Manning, who indeed did risk the death penalty, but with Snowden this was never the case. (Interview #14, Quotation 10)

The importance for Amnesty of transmitting its message accurately is clear from the fact that the incident was discussed in a conference call with several media officers. In this case, the mistake was probably made by a journalist, and does not go back to Amnesty itself, yet the incident illustrates how important it is for Amnesty that every nuance and detail is transmitted correctly. The press officer continued by saying that it seems journalists make mistakes because they do not have time to check their sources, and that this also concerns the use of incorrect terminology.

Just recently, I gave an interview to [xxx a weekly news magazine xxx] over the phone (pause) and the journalist had then written the interview completely in her own words, and it was full of mistakes, especially in the legal terminology. For example, she had written International Court of Justice instead of International Criminal Court. Maybe that is the same for a layman, but this is really something different, and this article has my name at the bottom! If people read that, they will say, oh my God, that [name press officer] from Amnesty, she doesn’t know what she is talking about! That is so unprofessional from my side. Or IDP, I had explained thoroughly to her what that means. These are Internally Displaced People. For example, there are 6 million Syrian people that have fled their homes now, of which 4 million are still in their own country. And she had written these are stateless people, but they are not stateless at all! (Interview #14, Quotation 11)

The incident and the press officer’s vehement reaction to the use of incorrect legal terminology emphasise the importance for Amnesty of correct translation. However, the central importance of translation quality only seems to apply to press releases, and not to UAs. As illustrated in 4.3.2.2, UAs texts are translated by volunteers, and staff at AIVL were generally of the opinion that professionalization was not needed. The fact that no revision is in place sometimes leads to target texts that not only include stylistic shifts, but also pragmatic shifts that impact on the meaning of the message (see 5.3.2 for UA 70-11). AIVL staff members did recognise that certain tools, such as a terminology list, would be useful, and any training that could be provided was much appreciated. Yet because of the different target audience of the two text genres (Amnesty activists vs. media), the analysis found that there are different translation practices and beliefs according to genre. Transmitting every detail and nuance accurately was not deemed that important for UAs, because the target audience consisted of people who were already convinced of Amnesty’s aims and vision.

The quotations from the press officer and the relationship between AIVL and the local media provide better insight into the use of AIVL’s translation strategies. Yet this does not mean it is a widespread practice within Amnesty. As was discovered during fieldwork, AILRC-FR and IS staff members were not aware of the fact that AIVL reattributes many of the original quotations, and when confronted with these methods, many of them reacted surprised. One AILRC-FR translator said: “Oh really? That surprises me, that astonishes me, yes, because if it’s a quote by Salil Shetty or whoever, it should be said, by so-and-so” (Interview #7). AIVL’s press officer herself recounted the surprised reactions of media colleagues at the IS when she explained to them how she attributed quotations to

local speakers. The IS does not provide guidelines for the translation of press releases, but, as the press officer related:

The IS does assume that everything, especially the quotations, are taken over literally. When I visited the IS, I saw people nearly falling of their chairs when I said I attributed quotations to different speakers. The reactions were first full of astonishment, and shock. But if you then explain, they do understand, and after a few minutes everyone was nodding in agreement and understanding. (pause) The London press officers I was speaking to when I was there, they clearly had never thought about this, that quotations may be adapted on a local level. Every section has its own way of working, and there are sections that would definitely not do it, I heard that as well while I was at the IS. They also said they found it strange. (Interview #14, Quotation 12)

The fact that other staff members had never even considered the possibility of changing the quoted person points to a different underlying conceptualisation of what translation is and what it involves, issues that are addressed in more detail in 6.3. The quotation also illustrates the difficulty of the One Amnesty approach. Even if budget lines and terminology support for translation are liaised and coordinated better by the IS, what is actually done in terms of translation still largely depends on the sections themselves. AIVL's case illustrates that translation practices and strategies can profoundly differ from section to section, because they depend on the local organisational culture, the sociocultural context with its local media landscape, and the beliefs that all of the people involved hold about translation as a professional activity and translation in general. Specifically for Amnesty staff, AIVL's case shows that even people working for the same organisation hold different beliefs and assumptions on how to deal with translating Amnesty texts, how to tailor them to the local target audience, and how to present the organisation's message and voice. The above analysis has shown that although the arguments of the AIVL press officer are well understood by other Amnesty staff when explained, this does not mean that they necessarily agree and would do the same. It cannot be taken for granted that every local section deals with translation in the same way. Some of these issues are taken to heart by the AILRC-FR translators, who are worried about the implications of the One Amnesty approach, as will be discussed in 6.2 below.

6.2 Questions for the future: Amnesty's message and voice under One Amnesty

The One Amnesty approach envisages undertaking more translation from more languages into more languages. Moreover, materials will be produced in languages other than English. These decisions entail consequences for the way in which Amnesty's message and voice are represented around the globe. Chapter 4 described how Amnesty's slogan has evolved over the years to include more "voices" and allow for more variety. Local sections want and need to have the freedom to tailor campaigns according to their own needs. A too narrow Amnesty identity would not allow for such freedom; but too much freedom would lead to an unclear identity and missed funding opportunities. The difficulty of the One Amnesty approach and what it entails in terms of transmitting Amnesty's message and voice were a main concern of the AILRC-FR staff during interviewing. AILRC-FR's

director commented about the impossibility of being truly One Amnesty, using translating slogans as an illustration.

When I arrived in Amnesty years ago we had a slogan and it was, well I can't remember really what it was, but in substance it meant: "One Amnesty but several voices", and now we have One Amnesty, full stop (laughs). But I think it's difficult, because of course we need one Amnesty, but at the same time, culturally, we are all different, and you cannot have the same message everywhere. A good example is slogans. Very often in the IS, they are trying to create a good slogan, so they invite people from different sections, from different languages, so people work together, and then you have a slogan in English, and you have to translate it. And quite often, with the slogan, you have a visual, so you have a slogan in a kind of picture and you have the lay-out. And it doesn't work. It does not work in French, it does not work in Spanish, and I cannot imagine how it would work in Chinese, but it works in English! (laughs), so I think it's a reality you cannot avoid... One Amnesty, yes, but you cannot have just one thing for everybody, it's no good, it does not work. (Interview #11)

Several other staff members also expressed their concerns about maintaining Amnesty's message in translation, both for translation into French and into other languages.⁴² Budget cuts were implemented for translation into French (e.g. by making staff redundant, as explained in 4.2.1.1) in order to provide a budget for translation into more languages. Translators noted they felt translation quality had decreased because of the budget cuts, and they expressed their doubts on how translation quality could be maintained in the new languages, if it was already hard to maintain it in one of the old core languages. For example, one of the translators said:

when I see when we translate documents here how we are careful about every term, and maybe putting here a conditional verb and not future, and that kind of stuff, I'm thinking that then if you just let people take any document, translate it, without any check or something, what's happening? I mean... I guess people already here maybe can produce texts, it's true, we do produce texts in our own language, and each section is careful about checking the message, and being in the terms of Amnesty and that kind of things, but if we start to produce texts in a language and translate it to English, and then translate it into another language, and then re-translate it to... well, where is the message in all that? I mean I guess it's possible to have this vision of the world and try to do this way, but if you are Amnesty International, I think you have to be very careful about the way you organise it and the way you control it at the highest level. (Interview #5)

Another interviewee related how she had asked what was going to happen with Amnesty's message in a meeting.

- I: What about Amnesty's message? If it's going global and it wants to translate into more languages at the same time, it's creating hubs, what's going to happen to that message? -
- R: (overlapping) I asked, I asked that question already in a meeting, with top people, and, I didn't get any clear answer
- I: no
- R: uh, I do believe that they told me it was a problem (laughs) -
- I: okay (laughs)

⁴² It should be emphasised, as already pointed out in Chapter 4.2, that these views and opinions relate specifically to the AILRC-FR translators and do not represent the whole LRC.

R: but of course the solutions were going to be found (laughs) (Interview #8)

This particular interviewee explained that the practical implementation of One Amnesty involves controlling all the hubs centrally. The hubs are supposed to work according to the principle of One Amnesty, in which everyone conveys the same message. Yet how control on this level would be achieved remains unclear. She related:

so I think that it is going to be very difficult, to ensure that, uh, everybody DOES, uh, carry the same message, it's going to, to -, I was going (laughs) -, I was thinking that, we're going to need an Amnesty police (laughs), no, this is (laughs) going a bit too far, but you see what I mean (laughs). (Interview #8)

There was a lot of laughter in the interviewee's response, a coping strategy and a way to express criticism on people in authority positions (Holmes 2000: 180). Although the interviewee takes back the idea of an "Amnesty police" immediately and she expressed the idea with a laugh, it indicates her fears relating to what will happen to the organisation and its message under One Amnesty. In general, the fears translators harbour concerning the accurate transmission of Amnesty's message is closely related to an overall concern about Amnesty's growth plans, and more particularly about the possibility that Amnesty would lose its good reputation and its credibility by expanding too much. These concerns go much further than just the structural reorganisation. For example, the following translator expressed a concern about the idea of applying an "economic model" to Amnesty as an NGO:

Amnesty is, I think, I don't know if it's the only one, but it's an organisation that's uh, based on membership, on volunteers, on people who do stuff on the ground, and if you take that from Amnesty it's not the same organisation, it's really, it's like we're trying to put in place a model, an economic model or a working model that's been taken from others and oh yes it's great and it's the fashion and it works and... you can't do that when you've been working 50 years long in a way that's specific to you, it's, yeah, it's, I think that's why I don't like it, it's because the managers now are taking something that existed to change it, change it completely into something else, well in that case just build up another organisation, or just, do what you want, or, if you take something that's existing, respect its structure, that's just it. (Interview #10)

These concerns are in fact not specific to the translators. They are shared by many other staff members. The following extract shows how an Amnesty director who was interviewed harboured largely the same concerns:

I: So what is your personal view on the recent developments with the hub-platforms Amnesty is creating around the world, do you think it's a good development for research and for translation?

R: I think it has a severe structure of pitfalls.

I: Pitfalls?

R: Yeah, in terms of, uh, political drive, of who is going to... identify what are the issues we should be researching on, this is the most important thing, it's not the quality of the research, the issue is: is Amnesty working on Snowden or not? uh, or: are we really working on Freedom of Expression in Russia or not? because if you start doing other issues that are a bit irrelevant, you might have a good quality research on that irrelevant issue, uh, so that's, that's where, by decentralising, uh, I

have a fear that certain, uh, politically incorrect themes will not be researched upon. (Interview #13)

The director worries that Amnesty will lose its focus by expanding. The fact that many other staff members share similar concerns becomes particularly clear from the strong reactions that Amnesty management received after having revealed that several jobs at the IS and at AI UK would be affected by the restructuring plans. In autumn 2012, IS and UK staff went on strike, and picket lines formed outside many Amnesty offices around the world as well. Media described the staff's anger as "not focused on human rights abuse, but on their own management" and going much deeper than the restructuring and the redundancies (Topping 2012; see also Cole 2012; Daly 2013; London Evening Standard 2012; Vallely 2012). *The Independent* reported that the problem had been characterised "as a 'struggle for the soul' of the human rights movement" (Vallely 2012). There was an overall concern that Amnesty was losing its focus and was overemphasising the importance of its brand, much to the loss of its actual human rights work and its in-depth research. *The Guardian* quoted one staff member saying: "There is a fear that the hubs are more about media and communications than about campaigning for human rights. Are we there to publicise Amnesty, or fight for those rights?" (Topping 2012).

The concern of Amnesty staff members about the organisation losing its credibility had already been described in Hopgood's study *Keepers of the Flame* (2006). As described in 1.3, Hopgood distinguished between the "keepers of the flame", mostly IS researchers, and "reformers" or "modernisers", mostly campaigners and senior managers. Even though Hopgood's fieldwork was carried out ten years before the present research and focused solely on the IS, his findings are also applicable to the views expressed by staff members as part of the current research. The majority of translators working at the AILRC can be considered as "keepers of the flame". The views translators expressed about high-ranking managers depict these as modernisers who want Amnesty to grow and gain more public attention, in order to raise more funds and carry out more work. Some of the translators recognise the importance of growth so that Amnesty can help more people; while others disagree and feel the organisation would work better on a smaller scale. Yet the overall feeling expressed was a sense of fear for Amnesty destroying its own work and reputation by wanting too much at the same time.

According to Hopgood (2006), these two strains of thought have always been present in Amnesty, already in the motivation of Peter Benenson himself. Hopgood (2006: 12) argues:

They are not merely tactical differences. They imply distinctions in attitudes toward the justification for, and practice of, moral action. Most obviously, if the world is not listening, do you try to shout louder or do you change what is being said? Moral philosophers characterize this as roughly a difference between deontology (what's right is right) and consequentialism (if it's not working, try something else). Keepers of the flame tend to be deontologists; reformers tend to be consequentialists.

The tension between these two attitudes has become stronger over the years, especially in the context of the more market-oriented world of globalisation and increased competition with other NGOs.

The views expressed by the translators show a concern on Amnesty's moral authority and its reputation, which could be damaged if not enough care is taken of translation procedures. Yet their views on the importance of maintaining Amnesty's message and voice is rather limited to the process of translation itself, and does for example not take into account tailoring materials to local target audiences. As discussed above, many local sections in fact still adapt the translated press releases they receive from AILRC-FR to their local target audience, and thus the texts delivered by AILRC-FR are not necessarily the ones that reach the final target audience. Local sections have been encouraged for years to tailor materials to their own local needs. For example, in the language review that was carried out in 1994, some questions were listed on how to help smaller sections carry out "adaptation rather than translation":

- Translation and adaptation skills: how to help the small sections/groups acquire or improve these skills in order to enable them to work in their own languages?
- Adaptation rather than translation: how to encourage groups/sections to adapt materials to their own needs and cultural environments rather than to carry out straightforward translation? (ORG 33/01/1994)

As discussed in Chapter 4, under One Amnesty the organisation's identity has been defined as one of empowering people and a social movement for change (Stone 2011: 4). This kind of identity specifically includes giving power to the people, to the Amnesty activists, who for example have the freedom to take their own initiatives in terms of online presence. This can also be linked to Wong's (2012) argument that Amnesty's success lies in its well-balanced division of de/centralisation of decision-making and agenda setting. Allowing local sections to adapt materials to their local context increases the chance of attracting local media attention, donations and new members. On the topic of giving local groups sufficient freedom, Stone (2011: 6) cites Amnesty's director of digital communication, Owen Pringle, who comments:

There are lots of Facebook groups out there that have nothing to do with Amnesty, but speak for Amnesty. We can't stop them. As an organization, we have to learn to lose control...There is not an unauthorized and an authorized voice, but a gradation of voices. It's not a free-for-all, but there's a need for us to be more permeable and let people in."

It should also be kept in mind that Amnesty's approach to language and translation is specifically called a "language policy", and not a translation policy, which supports the idea of producing materials in more languages, and the IS losing part of its controlling power. Relating to press releases, AIVL's press officer said that she believes allowing sections a certain amount of freedom is necessary:

The communication is very much dependent on the local media landscape. It wouldn't be a healthy situation either if everything was imposed from above. Because every local context is different. (Interview #14, Quotation 13)

Although tailoring materials is part of the One Amnesty approach, it was described above that AIVL's translation strategies for quotations were in fact received with much surprise by many other staff

members. The fact that materials can and should be tailored to local needs seems to apply in the first instance to campaigning materials. As to press releases, changes to the local level would not typically include replacing Amnesty's spokesperson by a more local voice. Many of the differences in local practices can be explained not only by the local context, but also by different staff members' conceptualisation of translation and their assumptions relating to the translation of particular Amnesty genres.

6.3 Conceptualising translation

The analysis of Amnesty's translation policy and translation products has demonstrated that translation is organised in different ways at different Amnesty sections, leading to differences in translation output. Some of these differences arise from staff members' different conceptualisation of what translation and translating for Amnesty entail. Indeed, translation is a concept that is difficult to grasp and that means different things to different people. How to define it remains a central issue of the academic discipline of Translation Studies. Chesterman and Arrojo (2000: 152) argued that a total objective definition is simply impossible:

Any definition of anything is theory-bound, so there is no such thing as a totally objective definition of "translation" that we can take for granted before we start studying it, as there will never be any definition of translation that will be all-inclusive. We start with a preliminary working definition, and refine it as we go along. Different scholars, with different research aims, tend to start (and end up) with different definitions. We should aim to be as aware as possible of why we choose or accept a particular definition and/or conception of translation. (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000: 152)

Differing conceptualisations of what constitutes translation are not only problematic within Translation Studies, but also outside of the discipline. Scholars, translators, journalists and other non-translation professionals can be expected to hold different views. It is one of the research goals of Translation Studies "to study the discourse on translation in a particular culture at a particular time", as a way of exploring how translation is perceived (Chesterman & Arrojo, 2000: 153). The following overview aims to contribute to this goal by providing a summary of the terms that were encountered during fieldwork and how they are understood and used by Amnesty staff. This not only concerns the term of translation itself, but also the related concepts of adaptation and localisation.

- **Translation**

Both the textual analysis and the analysis of the staff's beliefs at AILRC-FR and AIVL indicated that different staff members have different conceptualisations of translation, and more specifically of translating particular Amnesty genres. For the genres of web news and press releases, the textual analysis revealed that AIVL's translations often contain pragmatic shifts on the macro- and micro-level. These hardly occur in AILRC-FR's translations, which can easily be aligned sentence by sentence. When AILRC-FR translators were confronted with

AIVL's translation strategy of reattributing quotations, they reacted surprised and stated that this type of strategy would not be applied in AILRC-FR translations. The findings indicate that AILRC-FR translators' conceptualisation of translation is close to a traditional understanding of translation where great importance is attached to appropriate linguistic and stylistic transmission, but no information is omitted or added in translation.

At AIVL, however, translating press releases for the media and for the web was considered as a process that includes omissions and additions, so that the target texts would be readable and appealing Flemish texts. Interestingly, this process was described by AIVL's press officer and online media officer as "more than translation". For example, when the press officer was asked about her translations of press releases, she said:

Most press releases come from our international office in London, so those are English press releases, and they need to be translated. Often I make, uh, well, it's more than translation, it really is like making a Dutch press release of it. (Interview #4, Quotation 14)

Even though she considers her texts as translations, in this citation she describes the process is more "like making a Dutch press release of it". Her description in fact acknowledges she also holds a more traditional conceptualisation of translation as mere copy, but that for the translation of the genre of press releases, she considers it appropriate to do "more". The confusion and surprise from AILRC-FR staff members relating to AIVL's translation strategies for quotations could thus be said to stem from different beliefs on what translation entails and on how press releases specifically should be translated.

These findings can be related to Bielsa and Bassnett's (2009) study of translation in news agencies, where press releases are translated frequently. Bielsa and Bassnett found that "[t]he fact that part of the journalist's job is to investigate and add new data when needed, which is vital in translating news for different audiences, is seen to distinguish it from the translator, who is viewed as a more passive conveyer of information which is already there" (2009: 83). The findings of the present thesis confirm their conclusion:

Although we may use the word 'translation' when referring to news translation, it is clear that what happens during the process of transfer is not translation as generally understood. (2009: 132)

These observations raise questions about how to use the term translation and its related term adaptation. What does it mean to "adapt" material so that is it suitable for the local context? Where does one draw the line between the two concepts?

- **Adaptation**

The term adaptation was used in some Amnesty policy documents, for example in the extract from the 1994 language review illustrated above. In the language review, the concept is used to describe processes that make materials suitable to the local language and culture, and thus

go further than “straightforward translation” (ORG 33/01/94; see 6.2 above). Yet it remains difficult to clearly distinguish between translation and adaptation, especially for sections like AIVL who produce their own translations. This is highlighted by the data that was collected by Amnesty in a 2007 survey on translation practices at various local offices. Sections were asked if they were translating, and if so, how much money they were spending on it. Some of the answers clearly illustrate that people hold different ideas on what translation is. For example, asked “Does your section/structure translate written materials? (YES/NO)”, one of the sections responded:

Yes, but rarely. We usually produce our own versions rather than produce exact translations.

The reply highlights the thin line between translation, adaptation, and producing original documents. Further on in the questionnaire, when asked what human resources the section allocates to translation, the same section replies:

We have not made that calculation. We expect our staff to work in English and [in the local language of section] and if they write a [local language] version of an English document, we would not consider that “translation”. Thus, we haven’t “allocated” resources in time or money to translations.

This quotation shows that again a narrow conceptualisation of translation as mere copy is present in this particular Amnesty office. With this in mind, a comment like the one below then raises questions about what “production” exactly entails. Replying to the same question about what human resources the section allocates to translation, another Amnesty section commented:

None – unless we look at the cost of publication of materials in [local language] (i.e. we cannot use campaign materials produced by the IS and are required to produce our own).

This “producing our own” could indeed mean starting from scratch, but it could also refer to writing a document based on English sources. The answers from these different sections show the difficulty of collecting data on translation practices, especially by means of a questionnaire. They point out the necessity for the AILRC and for Amnesty in general to describe clearly what is meant by “translation” or “adaptation” in order for relevant information to be exchanged.

- **Localisation**

Localisation is another concept associated with translation. It is generally used in the translation industry and in Translation Studies in the context of software, video games and websites, and has been defined as “the linguistic and cultural adaptation of digital content to the requirements and the *locale* of a foreign market” (Schäler 2010: 209). Within Amnesty, the concept has only been used in fairly recent policy documents in the context of the new

language policy and strategy and the establishment of the AILRC. A definition is included in the first draft of the language policy and strategy (ORG 33/002/2006):

Localization: Adapting materials for a specific country or region. It can imply translating them into different languages, adapting the language, etc.

This definition provided by Amnesty only encompasses the linguistic level, and does not include tailoring materials to the local culture, by for example adding information of particular relevance for the local target audience. The concept is especially used in the context of providing localised websites and building a stronger Amnesty Internet presence.

Policy documents in which the concept has been used, have been drafted in collaboration with Amnesty language professionals. When several AIVL staff members were asked in the context of the present research how they approach content localisation in the section, they responded they had never heard the term localisation and did not know what was being referred to. The question initially had come from the AILRC, which wished to gain more insight into the translation practices of AIVL. The fact that the AILRC's question was not understood by AIVL staff members highlights the need for clear and increased communication on translation practices and its related areas of adaptation and localisation.

6.4 Concluding remarks

The above discussion of the terms translation, adaptation and localisation has shown that their meaning should not be taken for granted. Translation as a concept is not understood by everyone in the same way, and staff's beliefs and assumptions may differ depending on what local context or language they are working in, or on what genres they are translating. Considering these findings from the perspective of the nexus model, it is clear that what constitutes translation policy is indeed dependent on the three components of beliefs, practices and management. Different agents involved in translation at Amnesty hold different beliefs and assumptions, which impact on translation practices and management. As explained in 2.2.3, these different levels in their turn also influence each other.

The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 and in the present chapter has provided insight into if and how differences in translation policy can give rise to differences in translation products. The present chapter has taken the discussion a step further by linking translation to the One Amnesty approach and wider organisational issues. It has reflected on the concerns expressed by AILRC-FR translators specifically, which mainly relate to how the One Amnesty approach may affect translation and the transmission of Amnesty's message and voice. It has shown that these concerns are similar to those of Amnesty staff worldwide, as described in the media and in previous studies. Indeed, starting to use language and translation as strategic tools has profound consequences for Amnesty, as the organisation owes its success and its excellent reputation largely to the information it communicates

through a variety of platforms and languages. It is language that impacts on the institution's visibility, power and relevance, and that determines Amnesty's impact on human rights.

Chapter 7 – Results and conclusions

7.1 Findings

The aim of the thesis was to gain better insight into translation policies at Amnesty International, into how it is institutionalised, how it is formulated in policy documents, how it is manifested on the work floor, and how it is constituted by and constitutes agents' beliefs about translation. An overall ethnographic approach was used to gain insight in these issues, using a nexus research model that could account for the different agents and factors that all influence translation, and for translation in its turn influencing the context in which it is produced. The approach was discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. The research aimed to answer three research questions. The insights that were gained are summarised below.

1) What translation policies, including translation management, translation practices, and translation beliefs, are in place at Amnesty International?

This question was addressed in Chapter 4, and further insights were provided in Chapter 6. The discussion was based on the analysis of data collected in the field, consisting of observations, semi-structured interviews, informal talks, and policy documents. The analysis of translation policy at Amnesty revealed that although there are organisation-wide management decisions for translation, for many languages a lot of the decision-making is done on the local level, in the concrete institution. The fieldwork was extremely useful to gain insight into actual translation practices and beliefs on the local level. It was found that many local sections decide on their own translation needs and how to cater for these. Even for the core or strategic languages, the analysis revealed that there can be significant differences between how translation into French and Spanish specifically are dealt with.

The analysis also revealed that translation practices and management are influenced by translation beliefs relating to translation in general and to translation as a professional activity. At AILRC-FR, translation is considered as an activity for which great expertise is needed, and thus professional training is very important. Tools to increase translation consistency and accuracy are indispensable, and training of new translators by in-depth revision and feedback is seen as essential. At AIVL, however, translation is seen as an activity that can be carried out by anyone who has sufficient knowledge of the source language. However, the importance of correct legal terminology was recognised. Tools to improve consistency and accuracy were deemed as relevant, yet they were not a priority given the limited budget available. Translations intended for Amnesty activists were dealt with by

volunteers who received hardly any translation guidelines or tools, and revision processes were superficial. For press releases and web news, which are intended for media and for a general audience, the situation was different. Especially for press releases great importance was attached to correct terminology and fluency.

Furthermore, the concepts of visibility, status, capital and agency were used to gain a better understanding of the translators' position in the nexus that makes up translation at Amnesty. It was described how on a global level, translation itself is becoming increasingly important. It has gained in visibility, and this is consequently also true for translators, who are now also involved in the planning of campaigns and research from the very start. Translation is part of the planning process instead of an afterthought, and it is considered as a strategic tool to increase impact. Although on the level of the formal institution, translators' visibility, agency and status have increased, this was not the case on the local and concrete institutional level. At AILRC-FR, translators felt that part of their agency and power was being restricted when it comes to the actual translation process and decisions on the end product, because they now increasingly act as project managers instead of using their actual translation expertise. At AIVL, the implications of the One Amnesty approach were not visible yet and no change had taken place to any translation practices before the arrival of the researcher. Due to the researcher's presence, the visibility of the volunteer translators who work from home increased, as well as the status of translation as a professional activity and as a tool to increase impact.

2) Do differing translation policies cause differences in the translations?

Chapter 5 presented the results of the textual analysis of a corpus of English source texts and Dutch and French target texts of three genres. The analysis described recurrent shifts and identified a number of tendencies for the translations of press releases, web news, and Urgent Actions. For AILRC-FR, the results were consistent for all three genres. Shifts were only found on the micro-level, and mostly concerned explicitations and rearrangements, which generally improved fluency. For AIVL, different tendencies were found for the three genres. In UAs, stylistic shifts were found, and in some cases there were pragmatic shifts that influenced the message of the text. For web texts, there were some stylistic shifts, and pragmatic shifts mostly included deletions on the macro-level. For press releases, there were many pragmatic shifts on the macro-level. One of the main findings was that quotations are often replaced by new quotations from local staff members, or they are translated and reattributed to local speakers. The findings from Chapter 5 show that there are major differences between the translations produced by AILRC-FR and by AIVL; and that there are also large differences between the three genres as translated by AIVL. In some cases, this also

impacts on the way Amnesty's message and voice is represented in translation, especially for the translation of quotations in press releases.

3) How does translation and translation policy impact on the organisation's message and voice as it is spread around the world?

Chapter 6 combined results from the institutional and textual analysis and provided more insight into how translation policy causes differences in the translation products. The chapter pointed out that this kind of reasoning underlies a causal research model, but that such a model in fact falls short of accounting for the large variety of shifts described in Chapter 5. Instead, the nexus model was used to provide further insights.

The reasons underlying AIVL's translation strategies for quotations in press releases were explored in greater depth by analysing the sociocultural context, i.e. the local media landscape, and the beliefs that AIVL staff hold on translation. The chapter argued that although AIVL's translation strategies were understood by staff members at other Amnesty offices when explained, this does not entail that everyone approves of them and would work in the same way. The findings demonstrate that it cannot be taken for granted that everyone deals the same way with translation.

The chapter then reflected on the implications of the One Amnesty approach, in which translation would be done from and into more languages. It illustrated the concerns expressed specifically by AILRC-FR translators on the accurate transmission of Amnesty's message and voice, and linked these to concerns on Amnesty's restructuring plans that have been expressed by Amnesty staff members around the world. It was demonstrated that it is difficult for Amnesty as a worldwide organisation to find a balance between allowing Amnesty sections and members enough freedom to tailor materials to their own local needs and preserving the Amnesty message and voice. The difficulty of drawing boundaries and defining clearly what translation, adaptation and localisation entail were addressed.

The analysis shed light on the complexity of translation in this particular institutional context and illustrated how various factors and agents involved in the nexus impact on the outcome. It was shown that the way in which the organisation's message and voice are represented in different countries depends on local translation policy, and on what translation strategies are eventually applied in the texts. It was argued that it is essential to reflect on what translation entails for whom, and what the expectations are in terms of translation, adaptation and localisation, rather than taking the meaning of these concepts for granted.

Overall, the thesis has raised awareness of the consequences of varying translation policies. The analysis demonstrated that translation management influences practices and beliefs (top-down). For

example, because the translation of Urgent Actions at AIVL has been organised in this particular way for years, staff members believed translation was indeed an activity volunteers could easily carry out, and that further professionalization was not needed. Vice versa, translation beliefs also influence translation practices and management (bottom-up). At AILRC-FR, for example, translation was believed to be an expert activity for which extensive training is needed, and for this reason new translators are trained and have their texts revised for up to two years. All of the components of translation policy impact on the final translation product, and on how Amnesty's message and voice is represented across language borders.

7.2 Contributions of the present research

- *Contributions to Translation Studies*

The thesis aimed to contribute to Translation Studies, and specifically to the investigation of institutional translation. By analysing a different type of institutional context, namely that of an international NGO, new insights have been gained on what institutional translation can involve. It was demonstrated that different local translation policies are in place at different Amnesty offices, and that this also results in differences in the translation products. These findings entail consequences for our understanding of institutional translation. As outlined in Chapter 2, institutional translation has been defined by Koskinen (2008: 22) as follows:

[W]e are dealing with *institutional translation* in those cases when an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of “speaking” to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated.

Furthermore, institutional translation has been characterised as being collective, anonymous and standardised (Koskinen 2011: 58). These definitions and characteristics are largely based on intergovernmental organisations, such as the EU and the UN. When applying them to the case of Amnesty as a worldwide NGO, not all of them apply.

One possibility to explain these differences would be to argue that many NGOs share little in common but their name, but as the present analysis has illustrated, Amnesty has put considerable efforts in place to be one global organisation, especially under the One Amnesty initiative. Yet the initiative is subject to many challenges. As discussed, it is difficult for Amnesty to find a balance between allowing sections enough freedom to adapt materials to their local campaigns, and preserving the global Amnesty identity. The fact that local sections are allowed considerable freedom has consequences for the way in which translation is organised, differing from section to section, and gives rise to differences in the translation products.

These findings entail that the characteristics of collective, anonymous and standardised do not apply to translation at all Amnesty sections or to all text genres. Whereas the characteristics do largely apply to translation at AILRC-FR, they do not for AIVL. Translation is not anonymous in the case of press releases translated by the press officer. The voice of the individual speaker is regularly changed in translation, and often the voice is that of the translator, i.e. the press officer, or from another local member of staff. Because these staff members are speaking as representatives of the institution, the *institutional* voice is maintained. Furthermore, translations by AIVL are not standardised. Textual analysis has shown that UA translations often contain stylistic and pragmatic shifts on the micro-level. For web news and press releases, the analysis revealed that some of the translations contain a large amount of shifts on the macro-level, whereas others did not. The characteristic of collective does not apply to the same degree to all translations either. There are no revision processes for the UAs, thus there is only one person working on a specific translation. Press releases are generally translated by just two people (i.e. the press officer, and the online media officer for press releases for the web), although there is some collaboration for legal terminology with staff who are legal experts. The three characteristics identified by Koskinen (2011) can thus not be seen as applying to all types of institutional translation.

However, Koskinen's (2008) definition of institutional translation is applicable to Amnesty, although it should be noted that it is possible that the actual person who is representing the "institutional" voice can change in translation. Furthermore, Kang's (2008: 141) general definition that institutional translation is used to refer to "translating *in* or *for* specific organisations [...] or to institutionalized social systems" also applies to Amnesty. These findings uncover a need for further research into other types of institutional settings to see what similarities and differences this may generate, and to "render new insights about different forms of translation practice and provide more systematic explanations" (Kang, 2008: 144). For example, it might be useful to distinguish between different types of institutional translation (IGOs vs. NGOs), or to explore other characteristics and their impact on translation products, e.g. would institutional translation typically be produced and/or revised by internal translators? The case of AIVL has shown that if it is not, the characteristics of collective, anonymous and standardised identified by Koskinen (2011) do not necessarily apply.

The need for more systematic case studies of different types of institutions has also been argued in Schäffner, Tcaciuc, and Tesseur (2014), where the translating institutions Amnesty International, the European Central Bank (ECB) and the German Foreign Ministry are the object of analysis. The study argues that out of these three institutions, collectivity, anonymity and standardisation of translation apply to the highest degree to the ECB, although even there some variation in translation strategies occurs. When looking at the German Foreign Ministry, the characteristics still apply, but the focus is on the voice of the individual politician in translation rather than that of the institution itself, like it is in Amnesty. These findings show that the three characteristics of institutional translation identified by Koskinen (2011) do not necessarily apply to all

translating institutions, or not to the same degree, and that more case studies of different institutional contexts are needed.

Next to the concept of institutional translation, the present study also relied on sociological concepts such as agency, status and capital. The findings of this study show some similarities with other studies on institutional translation that have drawn on these concepts. As pointed out in Chapter 2.2.2, studies by Dam and Zethsen (2010) and Koskinen (2008) showed that EU translators generally have low status, which was linked to their lack of visibility, and implied that their level of expertise was rarely recognised. The findings of the current study confirm the idea that a general lack of awareness of the level of expertise required to translate gives rise to lower status. For example, at AIVL, translation was considered as a straightforward activity, and volunteer translators were highly invisible. They hardly received any guidance in their work. Due to the presence of the researcher, staff became more aware of the complexity of translation, and more tools were provided to guide translators in their work. Furthermore, the initial ideas relating to translation and the status of translators at AIVL were similar to the findings of Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Davier (2014) for news translation, which described how journalists object to being called translators. As was discussed for AILRC-FR, many translators felt the level of expertise needed for translation was not recognised by management and other non-translating staff, although it was also shown that translation itself has become more important at Amnesty as part of the new language strategy, and that considerable improvements have been made in terms of communication especially for the translation of the Annual Report.

Even though these findings show that translators at Amnesty often have quite a low status, like the EU translators in the research conducted by Dam and Zethsen (2010) and Koskinen (2008), Amnesty translators were generally motivated to translate for an organisation like Amnesty. This aspect was described as increased social capital for the translators. By translating for a non-profit organisation, translators have the feeling that they are contributing and doing something useful. In contrast to this, previous studies on translation at the EU (Koskinen 2008) and the Canadian government (Mossop 2014) reported that translators often feel demotivated because they do not know if their translations will be read at all, which is a consequence of these organisations' implementation of symbolic multilingualism.

In some respects, the situation of Amnesty as a translating institution, with its implementation of strategic multilingualism, is more comparable to that of translation agencies than that of political institutions that implement symbolic multilingualism. Previous ethnographic research that focused on the translation industry (Risku 2004, Abdallah 2012) has described how translation agencies outsource their target text production and that company staff focus on project management, co-ordination and quality assurance. As described in Chapters 4 and 6 of the present study, this is the kind of model that AILRC-FR and AILRC-ES are evolving to. Indeed, Abdallah describes that the findings of her study and those of Risku (2004) together “emphasise the fact that translating is not considered a core

competence in translation companies. Instead, the work of translation companies focuses on project management activities” (2012: 42). This is exactly the kind of model many AILRC-FR translators feel Amnesty is evolving to.

Whereas Abdallah’s (2012) and Risku’s (2004) studies focus on translation networks and especially on the agents involved in the translation industry, such as project managers and freelancers, the current study has used the nexus model and the concept of translation policy as its starting point. Koskinen (2008) has also applied a nexus model in an overall ethnographic approach, but her focus was different from that of the present thesis. Like Abdallah (2012) and Risku (2004), Koskinen’s (2008) main focus is on the agents involved, and more particularly on the EU translators and their organisational culture. Although she does analyse actual translations, her corpus is limited and follows the production process of one text only. In the present research, more attention has been given to the actual outcome of the organisational “culture”, and to how these texts themselves function in the sociocultural context, i.e. how they represent Amnesty’s message and voice around the world.

As such, the present research also contributes to Translation Studies through its development and application of the nexus model, based on linguistic ethnography and Spolsky’s definition of language policy. The model that was developed includes the three components of translation policy, and also adds translation products as situated discourse, a level of analysis that was missing in linguistic ethnographic approaches.

The basis of the three components of translation policy and translation products as the outcome of these three provides a framework for in-depth analysis, in which different aspects can be focused on. The framework is easily adaptable to use in other linguistic ethnographic studies. As pointed out in Chapter 2, linguistic ethnography does not allow for the analysis of translation. Yet by using the nexus model developed in the current thesis, linguistic ethnographic studies could take into account translation, interpreting, or other aspects of language use. The current study was focused on translation within an institutional setting, and more specifically within three concrete institutions (AIVL, AILRC-FR and AILRC-ES). In future research, the model could be used outside of the NGO context, e.g. to study translation and interpreting in schools, churches, newspapers and other media institutions, political parties, governments, etc. The model could also be applied to focus on different aspects of language use within NGOs, for example on how language, translation and interpreting are dealt with during the fieldwork of NGOs, either development work or research fieldwork.

Next to offering a research model that can be applied outside the discipline of Translation Studies, the present study has also provided some new insights to the field of news translation by analysing press releases. NGOs nowadays often function as alternative news providers. By exploring how they deal with the translation of press releases within the organisation, a different angle of news production and international news flows was presented.

- *Benefits for Amnesty and other NGOs*

Apart from its academic contribution, the present study is of use for Amnesty itself, or for other NGOs interested in translation policy. Most importantly, the study could generate professional awareness about translation policy. It could be considered as a first step to developing tools to measure the impact of communication and translation, a need identified by Amnesty in its Language Policy and Strategy in Principle 4 on Impact and Accountability, which calls for:

a transparent, systematic and regular means of measuring the impact of communication in different languages, tracking costs and establishing responsibility for the implementation of the language strategy, to ensure that AI maximizes the effectiveness of resources devoted to language. (ORG 50/007/2007).

To be able to develop such a tool, knowledge about translation practices throughout Amnesty first needs to be gained. Similarly, as described in 1.1, the present thesis forms part of TIME, which aims to investigate what new expert profiles are needed for translators. In order to gain insight into these issues, knowledge first needs to be gained of what kind of translation practices can be found in institutions, and what kind of environments translators would be working in.

The present research has increased insight into what kind of translation practices, management and beliefs can be found at one particular institution. It has shown that translation products are the result of various factors, all involved and interconnected in a nexus, of which translation management and practices only constitute a small part. One of the major findings is that different people hold different ideas and beliefs about what translation entails (also depending on the genre that is translated), even in the same institution, and that a raised awareness of this fact would help facilitating communication about translation needs and practices. It could help Amnesty, or whatever institution, to organise its resources for translation more effectively, to increase collaboration and the exchange of best-practices between different offices, and to eventually achieve its organisational mission and vision.

Based on the analysis conducted in the present research project, a few suggestions can be made. Steps to increase the organisation and the impact of translation could include creating more opportunities for sections to exchange ideas about translation and language use, to open up the discussion about what translation and adaptation entail at joint meetings and online platforms, and by organising more training activities and workshops for all people involved in translation, including internal translators, freelancers, volunteer translators, and especially staff who are not trained in translation but do carry out translation work. First steps on this path have already been taken during and after fieldwork through the involvement of the researcher. First of all, the researcher has increased the AILRC's knowledge of translation policy at AIVL, by collecting data on these issues during the first phase of fieldwork and reporting extensively on the findings during the fieldwork at AILRC. On the basis of these findings, the researcher designed a questionnaire for the AILRC in order to collect more data from Amnesty sections on their translation practices. Furthermore, the fieldwork at AIVL

has led to concrete outcomes through the creation of a brochure and webpage with information for the volunteer translators, and by providing a workshop to forty volunteer translators at AIVL in October 2013. Moreover, the staff's perceptions about translation changed considerably and more attention to translation issues is being paid. Even though the fieldwork was completed in 2013, the researcher remains in touch with both AIVL and AILRC to exchange ideas on translation-related activities.

7.3 Limitations of the present research

The aim of the thesis was to gain insight into translation at a type of institution that has previously been largely overlooked in Translation Studies. The thesis focused on one particular NGO, and narrowed the scope further down to two offices (AILRC-FR and AIVL), two language pairs (English-French and English-Dutch), and three text genres (press releases, web news texts and Urgent Actions). The limitations of such a data set need to be recognised. As mentioned in Chapter 3, data collection is dependent on the researcher and the access he or she is able to negotiate with the institution in question. The current thesis has emphasised that especially for the research conducted at AIVL, the researcher's presence has had an impact on the translation practices at this institution, and thus at some points it was difficult to avoid working with biased data. Translations from 2011 were collected and analysed partly to avoid this problem. However, it would have been interesting to compare this data set with texts that were translated during 2012 or later, so that it could be tested if the researcher's presence has indeed had a visible impact. Furthermore, it also needs to be emphasised that a large part of the analysis of AILRC-FR is based on a snapshot of translators' views expressed at a certain moment in time, when many changes were taking place in the LRC that gave rise to a certain level of stress and concern among the employees. The data collected are specific to AILRC-FR, and it is one of the limitations of the thesis that other offices or teams from the LRC are not represented thoroughly. The thesis has aimed to make clear that translation policies within Amnesty greatly differ, and that thus, the policies, and with them the beliefs, at these offices only represent the top of the iceberg (also see 7.4 below for scope for future research).

The concepts and methods used for the analysis proved useful, yet there were some drawbacks and limitations. One of these is the application of Spolsky's concept of language policy to translation and to the very concrete case of Amnesty. Writing up the analysis in Chapter 4 was problematic because it is impossible to distinguish between the three components of translation policy entirely. There were several overlaps and it was difficult to determine where for example translation management stops and translation practice begins. However, the concept of translation policy with its three components was useful to attempt to understand what processes take place at Amnesty and to gain insight into the various factors that impact on translation.

Next to the concept of translation policy, the textual analysis that was based on Van Gorp and Lambert (1985) and Chesterman's classification of shifts was also problematic at times. First of all,

Van Gorp and Lambert's (1985) model was developed to analyse literary texts, and was not designed to analyse several texts at the same time (rather than one by one) of a politically-oriented nature. While applying the model, it was found that formulating hypotheses at the end of each analytical level did not work, especially because the first level was focused on analysing headlines, and for the genres under study it was possible that these were not translated but rather replaced entirely in the target texts. Thus, the application of the model was adapted to account to fit the research purposes and the corpus better. Secondly, some of the categories in Chesterman's (1997) classification of shifts were not useful or problematic in the context of the present research. For example, one of Chesterman's pragmatic shifts is transediting. In news translation, this concept is rather used to describe an overall translation strategy for news texts in which translation and editing strategies are mixed. The category was thus confusing and therefore not applied in the present research. Overall, Chesterman's strategies in his (1997) classification provided a too detailed analytical tool for the analysis, which aimed to investigate whether there were differences in the translation and not so much to identify every individual shift. It proved more useful to work with broader categories as set out in Chesterman (2005), although some of these are still problematic, e.g. it is difficult to draw the line between addition and explicitation, or omission and implicitation.

Furthermore, the size of the corpus for textual analysis was limited. The type of research carried out was mainly qualitative and was focused on investigating whether translation policy has an impact on a text's overall message. Using corpus analysis software was not helpful to pursue this question, especially since aligning source and target texts was as good as impossible with the corpus at hand. Two of the genres under analysis, i.e. press releases and web news texts, contained too many pragmatic shifts on the macro-level to be suitable for source and target text alignment. Yet corpus analysis software might be able to provide more insights into, for example, the consistency of terminology in Urgent Actions, for which source and target text could be aligned more easily.

7.4 Scope for future research

The present thesis should be considered as a case study that aims to make a start at exploring new contexts of institutional translation. Further research could explore many more such contexts. First of all, it could extend the view within Amnesty: on different languages and offices (e.g. major non-European languages such as Arabic, Japanese, or Chinese), other text genres (campaigning materials, or online materials such as Facebook and Twitter posts, blogs, etc.), or other stages of the information flow (e.g. Amnesty's own data collection in the field by using interpreters, producing research reports, actual reporting on these facts in the media). A different approach in which the overall, far-reaching policy of Amnesty would be used as a starting point and in which several LRC teams would be the focus of analysis could be conducted as well.

Besides research focused on Amnesty, studies similar to the present research focusing on other NGOs would further enhance our understanding of institutional translation, and would enable some generalisations about institutional translation at NGOs. As argued by Koskinen (2011), different institutional settings regulate translation in different ways, and their degree of institutionalisation varies. The present study has illustrated how different translation policies can be between just two offices of the same organisation. Broadening up the research scope to a whole range of NGOs would provide rich and diverse contexts for further research.

As discussed in Chapter 2, not much research has been conducted on translation at NGOs, but some initial research findings from related disciplines and from research conducted by NGOs themselves are a good starting point. For example, in preparation of its new Language Strategy, Amnesty appointed an independent consultant who collected data not only about Amnesty, but also about translation trends and technologies at international organisations (UNICEF, UNESCO, the World Bank), international NGOs (Greenpeace International, Oxfam, the Red Cross) and multinational corporations (Microsoft and General Electric). Although the subsequent report is very basic and published some years ago (ORG 33/001/2005), its statements remain relevant and valid. The report describes how both Oxfam and Greenpeace used English as a working language, and translated materials mainly into Spanish, French and Arabic. Furthermore, whereas there was no consistent rationale for translation at Greenpeace, Oxfam was at the time developing a communications strategic framework. At the Red Cross, materials as well were mainly produced in English and translated at least into one other language (French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic; and for the web sometimes into Portuguese and Chinese). Even though it is clear from the report that all three NGOs have their own way of dealing with translation, it also shows interesting similarities, e.g. in the selection of languages, and the seemingly ad-hoc way translation was organised, answering to the specific needs of the organisation at that point in time. A study from the field of International Business Communication gives further insight into Oxfam's internal language use specifically. It reports on an over-dominance of English in the organisation and describes how employees felt "there was a lack of structure and guidelines to the use of languages and that the quality and timeliness of translations needed to be improved" (Lehtovaara 2009: 1). Although the study does not look at translation specifically, the results give an indication that its translation policies might be similar to Amnesty's.

The findings from both Lehtovaara (2009) and Amnesty's report (ORG 33/001/2005) show that some of the results from the present study might be generalisable to other NGOs. However, they also show that each NGO has its own way of dealing with languages and translation, and that more in-depth case studies are needed to gain a better understanding of these organisations' translation policies.

When pursuing such further research, an effort could be made to design research projects that are of particular interest to both academia and NGOs. Further needs and interests for research on translation at NGOs have been identified in discussions with Amnesty in the context of the present

research, and also outside of the present research at the workshop “Do NGOs Need a Languages Policy”, organised in January 2014 by INTRAC and the University of Reading.⁴³ For example, projects could be developed on increasing communication and sharing best-practices between NGOs or between various offices within one NGO, so that funds can be used in a more cost-effective way and translation quality and production can be increased. Such research could apply an Action Research approach and be conducted fully in collaboration with NGOs.

Secondly, NGOs would benefit from reception-oriented research in which the impact of their communication efforts in various languages could be measured, e.g. by studying how much of their communication is picked up by the media, or by carrying out research on how the target audience understands the texts that they receive (e.g. Is everything formulated in clear and accessible language?). This type of research would not only contribute to Translation Studies by investigating the effects of texts translated by different agents using different translation strategies, but it could also bring insights to journalism studies, e.g. on global newsflows, and to political science, e.g. on NGOs’ impact and accountability. NGOs themselves are increasingly asked to account for how they spend the funds they receive from stakeholders and donors. For Amnesty, increasing importance is attached to developing a tool to measure the impact of communication, as illustrated above by Principle 4 of the Language Policy and Strategy. Yet the important role that effective communication and translation play in an NGO’s impact is not yet fully recognised. A research report on humanitarian feedback mechanisms published in 2014 described what is required for NGOs in terms of accountability, yet language and translation are not mentioned at all (see Bonino, Knox Clarke, and Jean 2014). Further research into the impact of translation could raise awareness on the importance of effective communication across languages.

Lastly, research could also be conducted on the training and skills that are needed for translators and interpreters working for NGOs and how these could be provided effectively. These findings would also be of interest for academia and could be taken into account in translator training programmes. Such a research project would fit in with the overall goals of TIME and with TIME subproject 4, of which the current research project is part, which set out to investigate what kind of new expert profiles are needed in translation and multilingual/multimedia communication as part of the globalisation of trade and technologies.⁴⁴ Collaborating closely with NGOs to study institutional translation thus offers a wide array of issues that can be investigated.

⁴³ For the report of this workshop, see http://www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/789/FINAL-DO-NGOs-Need-a-Languages-Policy_Workshop-Report_Feb-2014.pdf, visited 14 October 2014.

⁴⁴ See <http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time/Statement-objectives>, visited 14 October 2014.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: References to Amnesty's internal policy documents

DOC 50/002/2008. *Little book of formats.*

DOC 60/001/2006. *Guidelines for writers.*

DOC 60/001/2008. *Guidelines for Writers.*

ORG 30/011/2005. *27th International Council Meeting: Circular 56. Globalizing Amnesty: A discussion paper on ways to make AI more effective as an international organization.*

ORG 33/001/2004. *Reviewing and Developing AI's Language Strategy.*

ORG 33/001/2005. *27th International Council Meeting: Circular 44. Towards a language strategy for AI.*

ORG 33/002/2006. *Amnesty International Language Policy and Strategy: "The Language of Human Rights". First Draft for Consultation.*

ORG 33/003/2009. *Language Resource Centre Newsletter February 2009.*

ORG 33/01/94. *Review of AI's Language Programs: Discussion Paper.*

ORG 50/004/2009. *Reviewing AI's Global Governance. Phase I: Summarising the Present Situation and Challenges.*

ORG 50/007/2007. *28th International Council Meeting: Circular 18. Amnesty International Language Policy and Strategy: "The Language of Human Rights."*

ORG 50/024/2007. *28th International Council Meeting: Circular 36. International Executive Committee Report.*

ORG 52/001/2004. *Report and Decisions of the 26th International Council of Amnesty International.*

ORG 52/001/2006. *Report and Decisions of the 27th International Council of Amnesty International.*

ORG 52/001/2007. *28th International Council Meeting: Circular 59. Decisions of the 2007 ICM.*

ORG 52/01/93. *The Decisions of the 1993 ICM.*

POL 50/007/2004. *Globalizing Justice! Amnesty International Integrated Strategic Plan.*

POL 50/07/1995. *Amnesty International's Ljubljana Action Plan For 1996-1999.*

Appendix 2: Ethics forms

A. Informed consent form for the institutional representative

Translation Research Training
An integrated and intersectoral model for Europe

TIME

FP7 - PEOPLE - 2007 - TN

Informed consent form
(For Institutional Representative Consent)

I, _____ as a representative of _____, agree to participate in the project being conducted by Wine Tesseur, Marie Curie research fellow in the TIME project and PhD student at Aston University, supervised by Christina Schäffner.

I understand the purpose of the project and the benefits this project may contribute to our institution.

I understand that participation will involve the researcher collecting data while doing a placement at our institution. This data may consist out of original political and media discourse, translated political and media discourse, interviews with members of staff, and any other data that the researcher finds of worth and that we agree to share.

I understand that there are no further purposes of the project about which I have not been informed.

I understand that participation is voluntary and that members of staff can refuse to be interviewed for the purposes of the research.

I understand that names of members of staff will not be revealed in any reports or presentations, unless they explicitly agree to share this information.

I understand that any data collected at the institution that does not belong to the public domain (interview data, confidential documents collected at the institution) will be stored in a secured place, with the researcher being the only person to gain access to it.

I HAVE CAREFULLY READ THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THE INFORMATION.

ON BEHALF OF _____, I APPROVE THE PROJECT UNDER THE CONDITIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Coordinator: Reine Meylaerts (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
Partners: Yves Gambier (Turun Yliopisto), Anthony Pym (Universitat Rovira i Virgili),
Christina Schaeffner (Aston University)
<http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time>

Translation Research Training
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FP7 - PEOPLE - 2013 - ITN

**Interview Consent Form
for
*Transformation through translation: translation practices in
political institutions***

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the research project named above.
 2. The purpose and nature of the interview has been explained to me, and I have read the information sheet as provided by the researcher.
 3. I agree that the interview may be electronically recorded.
 4. Any questions that I asked about the purpose and nature of the interview have been answered to my satisfaction.
 5. Choose a) or b)
a) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the research project.
- OR
- b) I understand that the researcher may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name may be used.

Name of interviewee: _____

Signature of interviewee: _____

Date: _____

Coordinator: Reine Meylaerts (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
Partners: Yves Gambier (Turun Yliopisto), Anthony Pym (Universitat Rovira i Virgili),
Christina Schaeffner (Aston University)
<http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time>



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FP7 - PEOPLE - 2010 - ITN

6. I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Wine Tesseur

Marie Curie Research Fellow
TIME FP7-PEOPLE-2010-ITN
School of Languages and Social Sciences
Aston University
Aston Triangle
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UK
tesseurw@aston.ac.uk

Signature _____

Date _____

Coordinator: Reine Meylaerts (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
Partners: Yves Gambier (Turun Yliopisto), Anthony Pym (Universitat Rovira i Virgili),
Christina Schaeffner (Aston University)
<http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time>



This form was spread by e-mail to AIVL and AILRC-ES upon arrival, and presented in print to interviewees before the interview.

Translation Research Training

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Information sheet

FP7 - PEOPLE - 2000 - ITN

Transformation through translation: media representation of political discourse

Wine Tesseur's research project is part of the Marie Curie actions project TIME (Translation Research Training: An Integrated and Intersectoral Model for Europe) funded by the European Commission. The purpose of her placement is twofold: to train in complementary skills (management, IT, etc.) and to gather data for her own research project, one of the 4 sub-projects of TIME.

The subproject's title is *Transformation through translation: media representation of political discourse* and deals with translation practices and policies in political institutions and NGOs when it comes to the translation of political media discourse. To gain insight into these translation practices and policies, Wine Tesseur will spend a total of four months at Amnesty International offices (two months with Amnesty International Flanders in Antwerp, and two months with Amnesty International Language Resource Centre in Madrid). After this, she will also conduct interviews with Embassies and Foreign Affairs offices, mainly in the UK and in Belgium. As for textual analysis, Wine Tesseur will conduct an analysis of a sample of text and translations collected at the institutions, and compare them to reports in the mass media.

During her placement, Wine Tesseur wants to gain better insight in these processes and policies by being part of the daily workflow, and by collecting data. The data will consist out of political media texts and translations produced at the institutions (these may be: press releases, transcripts of speeches and press conferences, interviews, etc.). Next to this, she also plans to interview some members of staff about these matters. Participating in interviews is voluntary.

Contact Details

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Christina Schaeffner (Aston University)



This updated information sheet was spread by e-mail to AILRC-FR upon arrival, and presented in print to interviewees before the interview.

Translation Research Training

An integrated and intersectoral model for Europe



Information sheet

Transformation through translation: translation practices in political institutions

FP7 - PEOPLE - 2000 - TN

My research project is part of the Marie Curie actions project TIME (Translation Research Training: An Integrated and Intersectoral Model for Europe), a partnership between Aston University (UK), KU Leuven (Belgium), Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Spain), and the University of Turku (Finland), funded by the European Commission. The TIME network trains researchers in a number of different areas of Translation Studies, in line with the academic partners' research specialisations. Next to the academic partners, TIME also works with six associated partners from the private and public sector, amongst them Amnesty International. All of them are specialists and players in the field of communication, guaranteeing the relevance and topicality of the research and training of the fellows and providing practice, feedback, training and discussion. The purpose of the fellow's placements, and thus for my placement at Amnesty International, is twofold: to train in complementary skills (management, IT, translation skills, etc.) and to gather data for my PhD project, part of TIME's subproject 4.

This subproject, carried out at Aston University, specifically focuses on media representation of political discourse, the area of expertise of my supervisor, Prof Christina Schaeffner. My research explores Amnesty's translation policies and practices, and looks at how Amnesty's strategic use of language contributes to the organisation's visibility. In order to gain insight into these issues, I work with a combination of a text corpus (originals, translations, news reports) and data collected during my placements at Amnesty, such as interviews, questionnaires, and other relevant documents.

In 2012 I carried out placements at Amnesty International Vlaanderen in Antwerp and at Amnesty International Language Resource Centre, Head Office in Madrid, both for two months. By exploring different Amnesty offices, I am able to present and compare translation work at Amnesty from different perspectives. During my placement, I aim to gain better insight into translation processes and policies by observing the daily workflow (how is translation work done?) and by interviewing members of staff about their experience and ideas about translation and working for Amnesty. Participation in the interviews is voluntary.

Contact Details: Wine Tesseur, Marie Curie Research Fellow, School of Languages and Social Sciences
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Coordinator: Reine Meylaerts (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
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Appendix 3: Interview questions and pre-interview questionnaire

Workflows and daily tasks (all interviews)

1. What does your average working day look like?

Sub-guiding questions:

- What are your daily tasks?
- What percentage of your daily tasks consists of translation work?
- From and into what languages do you translate?
- Who are the people you interact with? Who takes translation decisions?
- What kind of texts (genres) do you translate? Does a selection of texts take place and what are the criteria?
- Do you use translation software? Is this helpful/needed?
- Do you have translation guidelines at the office? Is this helpful/needed?
- What kind of revision processes are in place? Are these helpful/needed?
- What kind of training is provided to new translators? In your opinion, is this adequate?
- What is the target audience for the texts and how are the translations circulated?

Translator status (interviews AILRC-FR + IS staff from their perspective)

2. In your opinion, is being a translator an expert function? And translating for Amnesty specifically?
3. Do you feel respected by colleagues from the IS and local sections? Do you feel like your working knowledge is recognised?
4. Are people at the IS sufficiently aware of the fact that their texts will be translated?
5. Do you have the feeling that the status of translation and the importance attached to it has changed as part of the new language strategy? In what way?

Activism (interviews AILRC-FR + IS staff from their perspective)

6. Does translating for Amnesty in your case imply having an activist attitude to work?
7. Are you volunteering for Amnesty outside of your job?

Amnesty's language strategy (interviews AILRC-FR + IS staff from their perspective)

8. What is your opinion on the expansion of the language strategy? Do you think it is necessary for Amnesty to translate from and into more languages?
9. How do you think Amnesty should tackle the extra work load? (E.g. working with volunteers, more financial resources for translation, more strategic selection of texts to translate, etc.)
10. Do you think the changes as part of One Amnesty and the new language strategy will have consequences for Amnesty's message and voice in translation? If so, in what way?
11. Do these changes have a concrete impact on your work? Can you give examples?
12. Do you feel that your knowledge and expertise is taken into account with the changes that Amnesty is implementing as part of One Amnesty and the new language strategy?

Pre-interview Questionnaire

In order to gain a better idea of who does what at AI LRC Paris and who I would like to interview for my research, I have put together a list of some basic questions. Thank you for taking the time to reply to these and send/give them back to me.

1. Your name: _____

2. Age:

- ☐ 18-30
- ☐ 31-40
- ☐ 41-50
- ☐ 50+

3. Job Title: _____

4. Job Description (what does an average working day look like for you?):

5. Is your job full time? Yes / No

6. Name of highest degree: _____

7. Years of professional experience with Amnesty: _____ years

If your job title at Amnesty has changed during the years, please indicate what other position you had with Amnesty and for how many years.

8. Years of professional experience before Amnesty: _____ years

If you obtained professional experience before joining Amnesty, please indicate what kind of work you did.

9. Are you active with Amnesty as a volunteer/member as well? Please explain (how long, what kind of voluntary work do you do, etc.)

Appendix 4: Transcription conventions

Transcriptions were made in a literal, verbatim style, including repetitions and hesitations, rather than in a formal, written style. The following table with conventions is based on Poland (2002: 639).

<i>Speakers/persons</i> I R [xxx]	Interviewer Respondent When names of colleagues are mentioned during the interview, these are anonymised by using [xxx]
<i>Garbled speech</i> xxx [Came? Went?]	Inaudible Square brackets with question mark denote guesses of what was said
<i>Laughing, coughing, etc.</i> (laughs)	Indications in parenthesis are for laughs, coughs, sneezes, intakes of breath, etc.
<i>Pauses</i> ... (pause)	For pauses shorter than 3 seconds For pauses longer than 4 seconds
<i>Interruption</i> R: They can't -, they don't know everything	A hyphen indicates when a speaker interrupts his or her speech midsentence.
<i>Overlapping speech</i> R: So they work full-time for Am- I: (overlapping) No, they're not supposed to.	Hyphen for when one speaker is interrupted by the other, Speech of the other is started with (overlapping)
<i>Emphasis</i> It was REALLY strange	Capital letters indicate strong emphasis.
<i>Paraphrasing others</i> So she said: "This is it".	Quotations marks are used when an interviewee quotes someone else.
<i>Clarifications</i> [= ...]	When a quotation is taken out of the context and inserted in the thesis, clarification is sometimes needed of the original context. This was added between square brackets by the researcher.

Appendix 5: Codes used in Nvivo for interview analysis

1. Translation beliefs

- Beliefs relating to translation
 - Beliefs on translation as a professional activity
 - Volunteer translation
 - Translator's visibility
 - Translator's power and influence
 - Translator's expertise, experience, knowledge
 - Beliefs on the concept of translation
 - Target text quality issues
 - Source text quality issues
 - Place of translation in the production chain / proactive-reactive translation work
 - Conceptualisation of translation
 - Best practices for translation services
- Beliefs relating to AI and its use of translation
 - Organisation's impact
 - Organisational structure
 - Restructuring AI and IS
 - Decentralisation/ Closer to the ground
 - Centralisation/ Power of the IS
 - AILRC and structure of the translation services
 - AI IS and AI management
 - AI growth/ growth in Global South
 - Competitive NGO field
 - Time pressure
 - Finance, budget, and budget costs
 - Ethics of NGOs and human rights work
 - Competitive NGO field
 - AI brand and marketing
 - Communication
 - Media attention
 - Language as a strategic tool
 - AI's voice and message
 - AI's language and translation policy and strategy
 - Ethical attitudes to translating for AI
 - Translators' confidentiality
 - Translators' commitment, activism
 - Translators identifying with AI
 - Agents' attitudes and emotional responses
 - Scepticism
 - Positive attitude
 - Lack of trust / lack of research on translation needs
 - Disappointment
 - Concern

2. Translation practices

- Workflows within office
- Workflows outside office / cooperation
- Texts
- Resources
- Office specific practice
- Languages
- Agents

Appendix 7: Additional quotations and original Dutch quotations

A. Additional quotations to 4.2.3.3 Beliefs on translation as a professional activity

The following quotations from AILRC-FR translators allow more insight into translators' and IS staff's beliefs on translation as a professional activity. Some of the quotations were presented in a shorter format in Chapter 4.

I think not aware [=of the importance of translation], certainly, they [=management] are not aware because, I think basically almost everyone except translators know what it is, and all the importance of terminology and all those things you cannot see when you are just reading a translation which you know if you are in it, so I guess they are not aware of a big part of it, and I think, well, lack of respect I wouldn't say directly for translators, I would say lack of respect for words in general, I would say, because it's more I guess they just don't understand how important in terms of image it is to have a good communication, and communication is not only, for me, in the brand, the Amnesty brand, it's also in the documents that we still publish, because, (pause) we still do this work of research and of publishing reports and publishing documents, and the image of our research for me is not in the general image that we give for the collecting, but more the images in the reports, in what you can read, and I think that they're just, well, they're not aware of the importance of that, in my opinion, and that's, that's quite bad. (Interview #5, 12 April 2013)

The translators I work with, we built up a relationship that is very fragile, and subtle, but it works. That's how it can work. It means that I send them what they want, and they do what I want. But so, like, I, I know, that, some persons they don't like to work on Wednesdays, because they have their kids, so, if I have no choice then I send the text, but if I have the choice, I don't do it. And they know I do that, and that's how we... and if I, if I have a rush and I could ask somebody could you translate this this evening, I have no other choice, then the person, because I have been kind, no, not kind, respectful, she will do it. That's what I have taken a long time to take up, and it works. That's part of my job and what I like. (pause) A mix of respect, I think that's quite important. In fact I think respect, it's quite, how do you say, "rentable", you get back what you put in. If you, if you, because that's the tendency now, to speak about the market, about money, but being respectful and conscientious is a good way to be efficient. That's my approach. (pause) I hope, I am a little, suspicious of, they have spoken about SPOC, a Single Point of Contact, where it would be treated, where documents will be treated with a software almost, and this I am a little bit worried because it doesn't take into account the fact that a press release, it would be difficult to have in mind who is available, why this person is not available on this day, and what's the subject, and this person is much better on this project, and, because I do have this in my mind, and I know people that are, there are some subjects where I think this person would be better and this has been built up over time, and it's quite difficult to introduce this in a workflow process and to combine with software, but I, I don't know. (pause) Part of my job is to resolve problems, and that I don't know how software, workflow software, can work on this, everybody will tell you in any kind of job that there are jobs that nobody sees, but when nobody does it then things won't go. For a document to go from the IS or from even the event to the users or to... there are a lot of people that do work that no one sees, but that's how it works. (Interview #6, 15 April 2013)

If the tendency for the restructuring is that we won't have documentalists anymore, they put documents online, among other things, then, I do sometimes upload documents, but it takes a long time, (pause) but if the website changes, then I am lost, so I can follow a procedure, but if I have to create something, I feel ridiculous and I feel handicapped, (pause) it's not my area of work, and the more time you spend on those, then you come to translation, and you don't have time to check the spelling of words, you don't have time to reread what you... and plus with all work that might come on our shoulders, we won't have time to translate anymore, and if you don't translate for a few months, you do lose, you do have to practice, you have to know what the problems are, and the best way to know what the problems are, is to limit yourself to translate and then you know that this type of text is very difficult, but if you, you lose contact with the reality of the work, that's one point, and plus, you are asked to do things you are not an expert on, that's both frustrating because you don't do what your real job is, and plus it's frustrating because you're not good at it. (Interview #6, 15 April 2013)

I think it is a great pity that the documentalists are going to be dismissed, because they do a great job. One, if you have the documentation, if you have the resolutions, the UN resolutions, if you have the decree of what was done by this and this country, it makes us gain an enormous amount of time... and I also have a feeling that what is to be expected, what is going to be expected of us is to do less and less linguistic work and more and more organisational work, like to manage a big translation project, send it out and check that the corrections are introduced, and not to do what we are really trained to do, translation and revision. (Interview #7, 15 April 2013)

When we did our presentation [=at a general meeting about an aspect of translation] we were very frank, because we thought we were working with people who needed to have this information in order to help us, to improve the service, and also we were a bit tired, a bit... angry is a bit too much, but yes, annoyed, so yes we were very frank, and it was very badly received, because some higher level people say that you cannot say this kind of thing, particularly when there are so many people, and, you cannot in fact criticise what is being done and say that you do not have, you cannot have, you do not receive the help you need in order to do a proper job. So now that I know how it works, that there are two types of people, those who do things and those who command and give general ideas and know how to do nice presentations, because they have had training about it, and they know how to use a very bright way of PowerPoint, and those who can say things, and those who cannot say things. That was the first time I have had this feeling, after this meeting, and then, because it was also the first time that I was meeting so many people, and so many higher level people in Amnesty, and I had the feeling that... we were belonging to different casts. (Interview #9, 26 April 2013)

Oh, no, I don't have the feeling that the people who are taking the decisions know what is happening on the floor, not at all (laughs), no it's very disappointing actually (pause) this is an opinion that has been strengthened also by the feedback we got from persons who went to London or to Madrid, who can, who were able to realise that the people who are taking the decisions on how people are going to be, are not aware of what is being done in the field in a very practical way, and, and my feeling is that, well, probably they don't have the time, because they are overwhelmed with, all the meetings, ... and for instance, [xxx a senior manager xxx], well he's been coming here for six months, but he still doesn't know, we are not so many here, and he doesn't know what [xxx a colleague xxx] does exactly, or what I do, I'm sure he doesn't have a clue about what I do, because it's not his problem, his problem is, his job is not to know what we are doing, his job is (pause) to shrink the service and to find solutions for the financial issues. I also have the feeling that high level managers do not know at all what we are doing, and, what's a bit weird is that they are asking us to find solutions for the

problems that we have, I should say that higher managers are in charge of, I would think that higher managers are in charge of observing and trying to understand how things are going in the field, in order to find solutions to organise the work more efficiently, or (pause), but they actually don't have a clue about the work we do, and they tell us that well we should try to imagine how we could work more efficiently, or, I think it's a totally reversed way of working. Well that's my feeling, but I'm not sure I'm WRONG (laughs) (Interview #9, 26 April 2013)

B. Original Dutch quotations to 4.3.1.1 Organisation of translation

Quotation 1 (Interview #4)

We hebben hier natuurlijk een operationeel plan met de prioriteiten in, en iedereen in huis wordt verondersteld daar rond te werken, euh, maar ja, de media, die hebben natuurlijk ook hun eigen prioriteiten, en als er plots ergens, euh, een crisis uitbreekt in Soedan, bijvoorbeeld hè, allez, het is daar nu ook crisis, euh, ja dat is niet echt een prioriteit van ons, hè, wij moeten ons beperken, wij kunnen helaas niet alles doen, maar binnen een week of binnen twee weken is er een rapport van ons hoofdkantoor over, euh, over het conflict nu in het zuiden van Sudan, euh, ja, ik overweeg sterk om dat voor te bereiden, hè want ik moet die rapporten dan natuurlijk ook lezen en instuderen, zodanig dat ik er iets kan over vertellen voor radio of televisie of zo, dus om dat rapport bijvoorbeeld wel te lanceren, terwijl dat eigenlijk er verder hier niet zo veel over gedaan wordt.

Quotation 2 (Interview #4)

Dus je hebt ook rapporten die ik niet uitstuur, ik doe geen vertalingen, niks, maar die worden-, die komen terecht via ons hoofdkantoor bij internationale persagentschappen, dat komt zo terecht bij Belga. Belga die maakt daar een bericht van en zo komt dat toch in De Standaard of in De Morgen terecht. Bij eigenlijk heel straffe rapporten zou ik zelfs kunnen zeggen van ja, het zal wel, het zal wel zijn gang gaan en zo. Natuurlijk als de radio dan belt, "Ah dat is interessant, de Standaard dit en De Morgen over jullie rapport", ja en als ik het dan natuurlijk niet gelezen heb, dan is dat moeilijk om daar een interview over te doen hè (lacht).

Quotation 3 (Interview #4)

Meestal het moment dat ze bij ons op de website komen, dat is omdat [xxx naam collega online media xxx] gezien heeft dat ze 's morgens in de krant stonden, en dan, dan ja, als er iets opgepikt wordt, gelijk dat ik zei, van ons internationaal kantoor, naar een internationaal persagentschap, naar Belga, en zo in een krant, zonder dat wij errond werken, maar dat staat wel in twee kranten of zo, of online op kranten of, dat is het wel belangrijk dat er op onze Nederlandstalige website daar ook iets van staat, dus meestal is het omgekeerd eerder dat [xxx naam collega online media xxx] ziet van: "Ah, tiens, ze zijn bezig met dat thema" of zo, "ik ga dat op de website zetten".

Quotation 4 (From guidelines)

Misschien erop letten dat je de Nederlandstalige zinnen kort houdt. We weten allemaal dat je in het Engels een zin kan maken van bijna een bladzijde lang. In het Nederlands houden wij eerder van korte en krachtige zinnen, die gemakkelijk lezen.

Quotation 5 (Interview #4)

Dus dat is altijd wat schipperen tussen mensen die jurist zijn, en die dat, als ik dat hier, intern, bij sommige collega's laat lezen: "ja maar ja dat is toch niet helemaal juist", maar als je het helder

gecommuniceerd wilt krijgen, en ook, als ‘het aantrekkelijk moet zijn voor journalisten, als ze het moeten oppikken, ja dan, dan moet je zo toch wel ergens een middenweg vinden hè.

Quotation 6 (Interview #4)

Zeker in de beginfase van de stage merk je dat die persberichten eerst en vooral heel letterlijk vertaald worden, dat zijn geen Nederlandstalige teksten, als je die dan teruggeeft en je zegt “Hé lees nu eens wat je geschreven hebt”, van ja... “Zou je dat nu zelf schrijven als je gewoon een Nederlandstalige tekst zou schrijven?” “Nee maar ja...”. Dus ik merk echt wel dat dat heel, heel moeilijk is om daar een echte tekst van te maken. Dus daar is nog altijd heel veel werk aan voor mij. Voor hen... ik zie dat vooral als, ja, als een kans voor hen om iets te leren over Amnesty, over het schrijven van persberichten en zo, maar het is niet dat die hier toekomen en dat ik direct van “hé, hé, hé, hé (lacht) ik ga hier nog wat persberichtjes doorsturen naar die stagiaire en ik ga hier nog een versnelling hoger schakelen” of zo, dat is totaal niet het geval. Als ze tegen het einde van hun stage, en dat is meestal tien à twaalf weken, kunnen een iets of wat degelijk persbericht schrijven, dan is het “mission accomplished”.

Quotation 7 (Interview #4)

Ik hoop het he, ik hoop het! Maar het is niet evident, echt niet, zelfs nu nog altijd niet, om in helder Nederlands een perstekst te schrijven is moeilijk, het mag niet te letterlijk en te technisch zijn, maar je mag het ook niet te los vertalen.

C. Original Dutch quotations to Chapter 6

Quotation 8 (Interview #14)

Iedereen die hier werkt zou die quote moeten kunnen zeggen, we verdedigen allemaal hetzelfde standpunt. En uiteindelijk, de oorspronkelijke persoon waar aan die quote is toegekend heeft dat meestal zelf nooit echt gezegd, dat is eerder een persverantwoordelijke die die quote schrijft en daar die naam bijzet, dus wat maakt het dan uit?

Quotation 9 (Interview #14)

Het belangrijkste is uiteindelijk dat het Amnesty standpunt hetzelfde blijft. Moest dat veranderd worden, dat zou rampzalig zijn. Soms gebeurt het bijvoorbeeld wel dat een lokale directeur van een sectie een opiniestuk schrijft, met zijn eigen mening maar wel als directeur van die sectie. Als dat standpunt dan niet volledig overeenstemt met Amnesty, dat is rampzalig. Zoiets mag eigenlijk niet.

Quotation 10 (Interview #14)

Onlangs nog bijvoorbeeld ontmoette de directeur van Amnesty Moskou Snowden op de luchthaven van Moskou. Het standpunt van Amnesty over Snowden is dat iedereen recht heeft om asiel aan te vragen in eender welk land, en elk land moet dan op zich bekijken wat het daarmee doet, of het ermee instemt of niet. Amnesty verdedigt het recht op vrije meningsuiting en de vrijheidsberoving van Snowden is onze "main concern". Hij MAG niet vervolgd worden. Hij heeft mensenrechtenschendingen gemeld en heeft dus zijn plicht gedaan tegenover de maatschappij en de andere mensen. Maar in de Duitse media werd de Amnesty directeur van Rusland gequote als zou hij gezegd hebben dat hij schrik had dat Snowden de doodstraf zou krijgen. Dat zou Sergei nooit gezegd hebben! Dat kwam dan ter sprake in een conference call van ja: “Weet iemand van waar dat komt?”, maar dat is onmogelijk te achterhalen, één journalist maakt die fout en iedereen begint dat over te nemen. Misschien was er verwarring met een eerdere case waarrond we gewerkt hebben, die van

Brian Medding, die toen inderdaad wel de doodstraf riskeerde, maar voor Snowden was dat nooit het geval.

Quotation 11 (Interview #14)

Onlangs nog gaf ik een interview aan [xxx een wekelijks nieuwsmagazine xxx], via de telefoon (pause) en die journalist had dat uitgeschreven in volledig eigen woorden, en dat stond vol fouten, vooral in de rechtsterminologie. Bijvoorbeeld, ze had internationaal gerechtshof geschreven, in plaats van internationaal strafhof. Voor een leek is dat inderdaad misschien hetzelfde, maar dat is echt wel iets anders, en mijn naam staat daar dan wel bij he! Als mensen dat lezen, die zullen ook zeggen, amai die Lore Van Welden van Amnesty, die weet niet waarover ze praat! Dat komt wel heel onprofessioneel over van mijn kant. Of IDP, ik had haar dat helemaal uitgelegd wat dat wilt zeggen. Dat zijn interne ontheemden, bijvoorbeeld nu zijn er 6 miljoen Syrische vluchtelingen, waarvan er 4 miljoen op de vlucht zijn in eigen land. En zij schreef "staatlozen", maar dat zijn helemaal geen staatlozen!

Quotation 12 (Interview #14)

Het IS gaat er wel van uit dat alles, zeker de quotes, letterlijk wordt overgenomen. Ik heb, toen ik op bezoek was op het IS, mensen van hun stoel zien vallen toen ik zei dat ik de quotes aan andere mensen toekende. De reacties waren eerst vol verbazing, en gechoqueerd. Maar als je het dan uitlegt, begrijpen ze het wel, en na een paar minuten knikte iedereen instemmend en begrijpend. (pause) De press officers van Londen waar ik toen mee sprak, die hadden daar duidelijk nog nooit over nagedacht, dat dat op lokaal niveau wel eens zou kunnen aangepast worden. Elke sectie heeft wel zijn eigen manier, en sommigen zullen het ook zeker niet doen, dat heb ik toen ook gehoord. Die zeiden ook dat ze dat heel raar vonden.

Quotation 13 (Interview #14)

De communicatie hangt heel erg af van het lokale medialandschap. Het zou ook niet goed zijn als het van bovenaf was opgelegd. Want elke lokale context is anders.

Quotation 14 (Interview #4)

De meeste persberichten komen van ons internationaal kantoor in Londen, dus dat zijn Engelstalige persberichten, en die moeten dan vertaald worden. Vaak maak ik daar dan ook echt wel, euh, ja, 't is meer dan vertalen, 't is zo echt wel er een Nederlandstalig persbericht van maken.

D. Additional quotations to 6.2 Questions for the future

The following quotations from AILRC-FR translators allow more insight into their beliefs relating to the One Amnesty approach, the new language policy and strategy, and the impact of these issues on translation quality and Amnesty's message and voice in translation.

If the revision is not done correctly then each translator may have, uh, their own way of, uh, expressing things, which may not be, the, one Amnesty language. The idea of translating to more languages is good in itself, now it depends on how it is implemented. If a text meant for people in Tanzania is translated into Swahili, yes, why not, that's a good idea, it has to be accessible to them, to the people concerned, but the problem is with the resources. I also have a fear, I'm afraid that... because of the budget Amnesty will try to recruit translators in other countries which are not sufficiently aware of the evolution of the language and of the real French language. And that can be a handicap. If you don't live in the French speaking country or in France, if you don't check regularly

with the newspapers and the reports and documents that are written, you may not have, you may lose a bit of the feeling of the language. (Interview #7, 16 April 2013)

Yes, yes, it cannot be otherwise [=than that the quality of the translations is effected], I mean it's, it will, it will have of course an impact on the quality, of course, because I think that the vision of the for instance the French speaking unit, for the French speaking unit is that, me and [xxx a colleague xxx] and [xxx a colleague xxx] we won't translate or revise, but we will only receive the texts and send it to translators outside, and, get it back and send it to the producers [=sic; users], without being able to exert, to use our expertise, and, our expertise that has been built for so many years that's being spoiled and uh destroyed actually, of course we have translators that have a very good level, and are very good but they need to be revised and, what's probably being planned for the future is that these people won't be revised anymore, and that they, because they are the best translators, will revise the work of the others. (pause) The problem is that, the discourse of the higher level management is 'let's protect and keep quality', and, 'quality is very important, it's essential', but we also have to work faster, and with less people, and I mean, it's just words, that's why I do not like it's, saying things that in the deep in your heart you don't believe, because I'm sure that they know you can't keep the same level of quality when you're firing half the people here and, also, paying translations less and less, because the freelancers have not had a raise for a long time, and well, some people are very keen to work for Amnesty, but not all of them, and, and they have taxes to pay so (pause) I don't know how they will succeed in keeping the One Amnesty, and the One Amnesty message while, creating particular hubs everywhere in the world, and uh, and also because they are destroying the, some services that are ensuring the homogeneity of the translations, the message in French or in Spanish or, but, I think that the discourse and what's, what will eventually be produced once all these changes have taken place, and even now actually, because even now in London or here we have, we already have difficulties, and we don't have as much time as before for the revisions, so sometimes we do a very, very quick revision, and we cannot ensure that the terminology is very strictly respected or that the text or, or that if several translators have translated a big report that homogeneity is achieved, that the terminology and phraseology has been, well phraseology is not that important, but that terminology has been harmonised, and also that, even the best translators do mistakes, so it should be checked, but this is not what is being build. (Interview #9, 26 April 2013)

I don't understand the One Amnesty thing, because even if you want to deliver the same message everywhere, which is, I understand that and it's perfectly normal, you can't do it the same way because people in France or in Britain or in Afghanistan don't see the same things, they don't think in the same way, they're just different, so making things exactly the same everywhere... I don't understand why. Well maybe because it's more efficient or more recognisable, maybe it costs less, but well, (pause) it's already difficult to do it in like three or four languages, so in even more languages it's going to be... oh (pause) they will manage, they always do, but they are going to plug their hair from their head. (Interview #10, 26 April 2013)

I'm a bit worried [=about Amnesty wanting to translating into and from more languages], actually, I'm worried because for the language integrity of Amnesty, because I think it's, we've been putting the stress on the importance of our research, which is very serious, which is, we are just respected all over the world because of that, and I think, research is one thing, but the way you just present it is another, and if you don't have the control on language things, well I don't know, and more and more languages, okay, but if the LRC is not reinforced for that, I don't see how we're going to do it, and obviously it's not going to be reinforced even if, of course, they are cutting things here and in Madrid just to have more resources for other languages, but, I don't really see it, I mean, I'm quite worried

because I don't see a, from what I know, I don't see a global policy for language or something, quite, I don't know, something quite a, concrete, I think it looks more like, we're going, it's great, because we are moving closer to the ground, so closer to languages and all that, but, who is going to check? I mean, we don't have one person who can understand all these languages and check out if the message of Amnesty is really delivered, and which way it is delivered, and all that. Maybe they've got a big solution which I am not aware of, but from what I know now, I don't really see how it's going to be done, and I think also cutting budget in the existing languages is also of course not good, because it's not just a question of volume which is going to be translated, we've seen that, if documentalists are to go away, and it's all, well, the strength of translation, which is just, it's just going to be undermined, that's what I don't like about this. Because I think, it's not what they're doing is actually very useful, and having documentalists is essential, and saying translators are going to take care of more administrative stuff, then they are not going to work on language and I think it's, it's quite tricky, because if we lose that language integrity in the existing languages of Amnesty, well then, what's happening in all the new languages? I mean, it's worrying, I think it's quite worrying. (Interview #5, 12 April 2013)

Yes, I think it's necessary [=to translate into more languages], but I think where the danger is to think that we... Amnesty will be able to do that with the same amount resources or money, and plus, in fact, with less, I think it's (pause) I would say just give more resources, if you think, I think language, Amnesty is in language, most of what Amnesty does is say things, write things, so the language is the core of the action, so if you want to, to act in more languages then, there is no alternative, you cannot imagine that you will be able to do more with less. (Interview #6, 15 April 2013)

I think that we don't know enough [=about the necessity to translate into more languages], when I say we I speak about my colleagues and me, as far as we know, we have never heard of an in-depth study about the actual demand of translations, so, we have to believe what we are told, that it is very important, and I'm quite ready to believe that in a lot of cases, for instance it is interesting to have some documents translated into Chinese, and, that the former hierarchy between core languages and non-core languages was probably obsolete, so I think it's, in a way it's a good thing to get more translations done into other languages, but I'd like to know more about what fieldwork has been done to know exactly about the needs, because what I know is that, about nearly 400 million people in the world speak or understand or can read currently French, so this is a very important consistency, and we are working for them, we have always been working for them, that's an important part of our work that we don't work only for France or for French speaking people in France but for all French-speaking countries, and, I'm not sure that this has been taken into account with enough care and awareness by our current management. (Interview #8, 19 April 2013)

Yes I do think Amnesty is seeing it too big (laughs) but this is an opinion, this is an opinion I don't have a total command of what is happening everywhere, but it's a belief for me that the best NGOs are not necessarily the biggest. I know about, I know of some NGOs, not, for instance development NGOs, in France there is, originally a Christian Catholic NGO, which is a development NGO and which has no people of its own working as expatriates abroad, although it does do a lot of work in places such as Haiti for instance, or, or, South East Asia, but they rely a lot on local contacts, and they just send delegates to, to start an action or a project, and I think this is a very interesting way of acting, and I am a bit, sorry, that Amnesty couldn't envision this and instead mainly thought of being present in a permanent way with hubs, I, this is an opinion again, personal (laughs), I think it's very costly and uh, not secure, it's not certain that it will be to so much advantage, because it will be very hard to control in the long run. (Interview #8, 19 April 2013)

I don't know actually, maybe it's not that necessary to have translations into so many languages, because it's a huge amount of work to organise, and well, up until now, small sections have been able to manage to get their own translations, and, of course I understand that it is easier if they have official translations that comes from, the corner of the organisation, but, my feeling is that Amnesty is seeing it too big, compared with what it can do, and compared with its capacities, no, resources, and, what's a bit frightening is that in order to expand its translations, it's, the, the SLT [=LRC] has decided to reduce the size of its services, well, it's a bit strange, and I think that, maybe it's not what they intended to do some years ago, but, well it's because they want to redeploy Amnesty to so many countries, and, and build big units in Africa and so on that, well it's very expensive! How can we find the money?, and well, it's easy, we can reduce the translation service, because it's very fashionable to externalise everything, and translation has been externalised in many, many companies for during the late I'd say thirty years, and Amnesty is trying to function to work like a big corporate, commercial company so it's, it's adopting the ways and means of bigger companies. (Interview #9, 26 April 2013)

We are supposed to harmonise but EDAI and EFAI really work really differently, and so to find a mutual way to harmonise, it's going to be, we're going to be cut in half, and we're going to, well, put into boxes, and it's going to be really hard, and I don't even know if it will be any more efficient than we are now, because even if the work flow is reduced, the people will be less numerous, so we won't be able to do the same amount of work, and it's going to be, you know, changes that consider themselves, and if we have to, above that, on top of that, change our ways of working at the same time, that's going to be... that's going to be really difficult, I don't know if it's going to work, I don't think so, it's just a feeling that things are going to be a real mess, and it's not going to be better, and then some day someone will wake up, like in two or three years, and say: 'Oh yes, it was a mistake, maybe we should do something else'. (pause) Even if I think that the base, the basis is good, the ideas of the basis are okay, the way things are done, are tried and like the moving closer to the ground thing, it could be very good, but not if it means making enough people into cash flows, and just work on the south, because there are things that happen in the north and people want to be, want to, to do something, not just send cash and okay do what you want with it, and plus, Amnesty is, I think, I don't know if it's the only one, but it's an organisation that's uh, based on membership, on volunteers, on people who do stuff on the ground, and if you take that from Amnesty it's not the same organisation, it's really, it's like we're trying to put in place a model, an economic model or a working model that's been taken from others and oh yes it's great and it's the fashion and it works and... you can't do that when you've been working 50 years long in a way that's specific to you, it's, yeah, it's, I think that's why I don't like it, it's because the managers now are taking something that existed to change it, change it completely into something else, well in that case just build up another organisation, or just, do what you want, or, if you take something that's existing, respect its structure, that's just it. (pause) I'm not a volunteer, I don't, I'm not part of the, you know people on the ground, but working here I have developed a feeling of more or less, I worry about the organisation, because I think the work that's done by Amnesty is really necessary and it's a good work, and I don't see how it's going to be done if everything is going to be thrown away. (Interview #10, 26 April 2013)

Appendix 8: List of analysed texts in Chapter 5

A. Press releases

<u>Nr</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>Headline</u>
1	06/01/2011	699	E	Haiti: Sexual violence against women increasing
		886	F	Haïti. Les violences sexuelles contre les femmes augmentent
		662	D	1 jaar na de aardbeving: seksueel geweld tegen vrouwen neemt verder toe
2	28/03/2011	948	E	Death Penalty in 2010: Executing countries left isolated after decade of progress
		1170	F	La peine de mort en 2010 – Après 10 ans d'avancées, les pays qui procèdent à des exécutions sont de plus en plus isolés
		796	D	Doodstrafcijfers 2012: executerende landen raken steeds meer geïsoleerd
3	20/04/2011	763	E	Investigate security forces crimes now
		1013	F	Il faut immédiatement enquêter sur les crimes imputés aux forces de sécurité
		779	D	Misdaden veiligheidsdiensten moeten onderzocht worden
4	13/05/2011	496	E	Benelux agreement leaves Roma at risk of persecution in Kosovo
		581	F	L'accord du Benelux expose les Roms au risque d'être victimes de persécutions au Kosovo
		527	D	Benelux-landen stellen Roma bloot aan vervolging door gedwongen terugkeer naar Kosovo
5	06/07/2011	834	E	Report reveals crimes against humanity in Syrian town
		1002	F	Un rapport révèle les crimes contre l'humanité commis dans une ville syrienne
		849	D	Rapport onthult mensenrechtenschendingen in de stad Tell Kalakh
6	28/07/2011	711	E	Climate of fear stopping return of displaced people
		858	F	Un climat de peur empêche le retour des personnes déplacées
		733	D	Klimaat van angst houdt honderdduizenden mensen op de vlucht
7	23/08/2011	912	E	Stop forced evictions and consult slum-dwellers to resolve housing crisis
		1180	F	Crise du logement : Non aux expulsions forcées, oui à la consultation des habitants des bidonvilles
		917	D	Sloppen worden ontruimd zonder respect voor arme Egyptenaar
8	20/09/2011	469	E	Clemency for US death row prisoner Troy Davis denied
		591	F	La demande de grâce en faveur du condamné à mort Troy Davis a été rejetée
		610	D	Gratieverzoek Troy Davis afgewezen
9	19/10/2011	825	E	Arms trade to Middle East and North Africa shows failure of export controls
		1021	F	Les exportations d'armes vers des pays du Moyen-Orient et d'Afrique du Nord illustrent l'insuffisance des contrôles
		1362	D	Wapentransfers naar het Midden-Oosten en Noord-Afrika leggen gebrekkige exportcontroles bloot
10	22/11/2011	1019	E	Military rulers have 'crushed' hopes of 25 January protesters
		1356	F	Les dirigeants militaires ont « anéanti » les espoirs des manifestants de la Révolution du 25 janvier
		1418	D	Militaire machthebbers verpletteren de hoop van de Januarirevolutie

B. Web news

<u>Nr</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>Headline</u>
1	26/01/2011	450	E	Egypt must stop crackdown on protesters
		602	F	L'Égypte doit cesser de sévir contre les manifestants
		343	D	Hardhandig neerslaan van demonstraties in Egypte moet stoppen
2	05/02/2011	170	E	Amnesty International staff released but Egyptian activists still detained
		214	F	Les membres du personnel d'Amnesty International ont été libérés, mais les militants égyptiens sont toujours détenus
		161	D	Amnesty International medewerkers vrijgelaten, maar de Egyptische activisten blijven aangehouden
3	14/02/2011	415	E	Yemen must rein in security forces as protests are violently repressed
		516	F	Le Yémen doit maîtriser ses forces de sécurité, alors qu'elles répriment avec violence les manifestations
		415	D	Jemen: gewelddadig neerslaan van protesten
4	17/02/2011	332	E	Libyan protester shot dead by security forces
		382	F	Un manifestant libyen abattu par les forces de sécurité
		318	D	Libië: demonstrant gedood door veiligheidsdiensten
5	10/03/2011	419	E	Illinois abolishes the death penalty
		517	F	L'Illinois abolit la peine de mort
		441	D	Illinois schaft doodstraf af
6	26/05/2011	485	E	Syria video points to 'shoot to kill' policy of security forces
		600	F	Une vidéo filmée en Syrie montre la politique des forces de sécurité consistant à «tirer pour tuer»
		199	D	Video wijst op shoot to kill van Syrische veiligheidstroepen
7	20/07/2011	339	E	Serbia: Final Hague war crimes suspect arrested
		417	F	Ex-Yougoslavie : arrestation du dernier fugitif soupçonné de crimes de guerre
		155	D	Laatste verdachte Joegoslavië-tribunaal Hadzic opgepakt
8	26/07/2011	251	E	Italy fails to adopt measures to tackle hate crimes
		334	F	L'Italie manque une occasion d'adopter des mesures visant à remédier aux crimes à caractère haineux
		265	D	Italië: gemiste kans om haatmisdrijven aan te pakken
9	29/09/2011	635	E	Lithuania: Re-open secret prison investigation now
		856	F	Lituanie : l'enquête sur les prisons secrètes doit être rouverte
		249	D	Litouwen: heropen onderzoek naar geheime gevangenen
10	25/11/2011	453	E	Serbia must stop evicting Roma
		544	F	La Serbie doit mettre un terme aux expulsions de Roms
		385	D	Servië: stop uithuiszettingen van Roma

C. Urgent Actions

<u>Nr</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>UA nr</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>Headline</u>
1	06/01/2011	624	UA 1-11 (Nigeria)	E	Human rights defender receives death threat
	06/01/2011	744		F	Un défenseur des droits humains menacé de mort
	06/01/2011	714		D	Mensenrechtenverdediger krijgt doodsbedreigingen
2	09/02/2011	590	UA 25-11 (Venezuela)	E	Father and daughter beaten by police
		676		F	Un père et sa fille battus par la police
	09/02/2011	658		D	Vader en dochter mishandeld door de politie
3	14/03/2011	890	UA 70-11 (Iraq)	E	Man faces trial under fabricated charges
		990		F	Un homme va être jugé pour des charges controuvées
	14/03/2011	837		D	Man riskeert proces onder gefabriceerde aanklachten
4	12/05/2011	852	UA 138-11 (Dominic. Rep.)	E	Police shot man and intimidate his family
		947		F	La police a tué un homme et intimide désormais sa famille
	12/05/2011	789		D	Politie schoot man dood en bedreigt nu familie
5	15/06/2011	418	UA 55-11.2 (Zimbabwe3)	E	Activists face twenty years in jail for lecture
		518		F	Des militants ayant assisté à une conférence risquent 20 ans de prison
	15/06/2011	469		D	Activisten riskeren twintig jaar celstraf voor lezing
6	17/06/2011	964	UA 150-11 (Colombia2)	E	Demand protection for human rights activists
		1061		F	Réclamez la protection de défenseurs des droits humains
	17/06/2011	1031		D	Bescherming gevraagd voor mensenrechtenactivisten
7	08/08/2011	497	UA 228-11 (Ecuador2)	E	Demand protection for activist's family
		624		F	Demandez une protection pour la famille d'un militant
	08/08/2011	546		D	Vraag bescherming voor familie van activisten
8	25/10/2011	565	UA 315-11 (Mexico)	E	Community threatened by wind farm staff
		639		F	Une communauté menacée par le personnel d'une entreprise d'éoliennes
	25/10/2011	603		D	Gemeenschap bedreigd door personeel van bouwbedrijf windmolenpark
9	02/11/2011	628	UA 316-11 (Bangladesh2)	E	Minister must protect human rights defender
		788		F	Il faut qu'une ministre veille à la protection d'une défenseure des droits humains
	02/11/2011	681		D	Minister moet mensenrechtenactiviste beschermen
10	15/12/2011	742	UA 363-11 (Saudi-Arabia)	E	Saudi men sentenced to amputation
		918		F	Condamnation à l'amputation pour six Saoudiens
	15/12/2011	786		D	Saoedische mannen veroordeeld tot amputatie

Appendix 9: Text extracts to chapter 5⁴⁵

5.1 Press releases

5.1.1 Preliminary data: headlines⁴⁶

<i>Extract 5-1</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		Benelux agreement leaves Roma at risk of persecution in Kosovo (<i>Press release 4, Benelux, 13 May 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	addition	Benelux-landen stellen Roma bloot aan vervolging <u>door gedwongen terugkeer naar Kosovo</u> [Benelux-countries expose Roma to persecution by forced return to Kosovo]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	L'accord du Benelux expose les Roms au risque <u>d'être victimes</u> de persécutions au Kosovo [The agreement of the Benelux exposes the Roma to the risk of becoming victims of persecutions in Kosovo]

<i>Extract 5-2</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		Report reveals crimes against humanity in Syrian town (<i>Press release 5, Syria, 6 July 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	implication ⁴⁷ addition	Rapport onthult <u>mensenrechtenschendingen</u> in de stad <u>Tell Kalakh</u> [Report reveals human rights violations in the town Tell Kalakh]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	Un rapport révèle les crimes contre l'humanité <u>commis</u> dans une ville syrienne [A report reveals the crimes against humanity committed in a Syrian town]

<i>Extract 5-3</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		Death Penalty in 2010: Executing countries left isolated <u>after decade of progress</u> (<i>Press release 2, Death penalty, 28 March 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	omission	Doodstrafcijfers 2010: executerende landen raken steeds meer geïsoleerd [Death Penalty numbers 2010: executing countries become increasingly isolated]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	La peine de mort en 2010 – Après 10 ans d'avancées, les pays <u>qui procèdent à</u> des exécutions sont <u>de plus en plus</u> isolés

⁴⁵ The back-translations seek to keep as close as possible to the sentence structures of the target text, rather than aiming at a fluent English translation.

⁴⁶ Explication in AILRC-FR's headlines was noted in several of the headlines in the control corpus, e.g. "Report 2011: Amnesty International at 50 says historic change on knife-edge" (13 May 2011) becomes "Rapport 2011 : les changements historiques ne tiennent qu'à un fil, déclare Amnesty International 50 ans après sa naissance" (explication "50 years after its birth"); "Syria's surge of deaths in detention revealed" (30 August 2011) becomes "Révélation concernant la forte augmentation du nombre de morts en détention en Syrie" (explication "the number of death in detention in Syria"); "Campaign to silence Syrian protesters overseas revealed" (3 October 2011) becomes "Le scandale de la campagne visant à réduire au silence les manifestants à l'étranger" (explication: "The scandal of the campaign"). In AIVL's headlines, various shifts were noted, e.g. "Chad must end the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict" (9 February 2011) becomes "Stop gebruik van kindsoldaten in Tsjaad" ("Stop the use of child soldiers in Chad"), where the headline has been turned into an order (change in framing), and the reference to armed conflict is now conveyed through "child soldiers"; "recruitments and use" is conveyed only as "use" (implication). "Slovenia urged to provide housing and water for Roma" (16 March 2011) becomes "Roma in Slovenië hebben recht op fatsoenlijke huisvesting en zuiver water", where Roma is the subject instead of Slovenia, and the need for water becomes more explicit by referring to "clean" water. "Evidence of Bahraini security forces' brutality revealed" (17 March 2011) becomes "Veiligheidstroepen moeten rekenschap afleggen voor dode demonstranten" (Security forces must account for dead protesters), where the reference to evidence has become implicit, and the frame used instead focuses on the security forces and the need for them to account for their actions.

⁴⁷ "Crimes against humanity" is a particular type of human rights violation. See Langley, 1999. *Encyclopedia of Human Rights Issues since 1945*. Westport: Greenwood Press. p. 76, entry "Crimes against humanity".

		[The death penalty in 2010 – After 10 years of progress, the countries who continue to execute are more and more isolated]
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Extract 5-4		
<u>AIIS</u>		Haiti: Sexual violence against women increasing (<i>Press release 1, Haiti, 6 January 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	Addition/ change in frame	<u>1 jaar na de aardbeving</u> : seksueel geweld tegen vrouwen neemt verder toe [1 year after the earthquake: sexual violence against women continues to increase]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Haïti. Les violences sexuelles contre les femmes augmentent [Haiti. Sexual violence against women increasing]

Extract 5-6		
<u>AIIS</u>		Investigate security forces crimes now (<i>Press release 3, Egypt, 20 April 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	Omission ("now")	Misdaden veiligheidsdiensten moeten onderzocht worden [Crimes security forces must be investigated]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Il faut immédiatement enquêter sur les crimes imputés aux forces de sécurité [The crimes attributed to security forces must immediately be investigated]

5.1.2 Macro-level⁴⁸

Extract 5-9: addition on local context	
<u>AIVL</u>	<p>Het toekennen van licenties voor wapenexport is in België gewestelijke bevoegdheid. De gewesten bepalen dus zelf het beleid. Totnogtoe wordt dit wettelijk geregeld door de oude federale wetgeving. Zowel Vlaanderen als het Waals Gewest bereiden nieuwe decreten voor om die te vervangen. Een zorgvuldige risicoanalyse moet ook in die regelgeving verzekerd worden. Uit het Amnesty-rapport blijkt immers duidelijk dat de uitvoering van de oude wetgeving tot onverantwoorde leveringen heeft geleid. (<i>Press release 9, MENA, 19 October 2011</i>)</p> <p>[The granting of licenses for arms exports is a regional competence in Belgium. Thus the regions themselves decide on policy. So far this has been legally regulated by the old federal law. Both Flanders and the Walloon Region are preparing new decrees to replace it. An accurate risk assessment should also be ensured in these regulations. It is clear from the Amnesty report that the implementation of the old legislation has resulted in unwarranted conveyance.]</p>

Extract 5-10: addition to local context + other pragmatic shifts	
<u>AIIS</u>	At least 196 people from minority communities have already been forcibly returned to Kosovo in 2011, including 62 Roma and 120 Ashkali and Egyptians, as well as Serbs, and Albanians being returned to areas in which they are a minority. (<i>Press release 4, Benelux, 13 May 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	<u>Volgens de VN-Vluchtelingenorganisatie (UNHCR)</u> , werden dit jaar al minstens 196 leden van minderheidsgroepen gedwongen teruggestuurd naar Kosovo. <u>Minstens 30 anderen vertrokken zagezegd "vrijwillig"</u> . In werkelijkheid werden ze aangemaand om te vertrekken en werd hen een geldsom aangeboden. Sommigen werden bedreigd met een gedwongen terugkeer als ze niet "vrijwillig" zouden vertrekken.

⁴⁸ The confirmation is easiest to demonstrate on the basis of the length of the translations. AILRC-FR's target texts included in the corpus are on average 23% longer than the source texts. For AIVL's texts, the case is more complex: some target texts are longer, others are shorter. On closer look, it was found that six out of the twenty-five texts are summary translations. One other target text presents yet another type of translation strategy (a press release from 21 June 2011 on Turkey). The main part of the press release is translated, but the paragraphs at the end that contain information on reported cases is represented in English. This press release again shows the variety of shifts found in AIVL's translations.

	[According to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), this year already at least 196 members of minority groups have been forcibly returned to Kosovo. <u>At least 30 others allegedly left “voluntarily”</u> . In reality, they were told to leave and they were offered a sum of money. Some were threatened with forced repatriation if they did not leave “voluntarily”.]
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5.1.3 Micro-level: shifts to words and sentences

Extract 5-12		
<u>AI IS</u>		Those responsible are predominately armed men who roam the camps after dark. (Press release 1, Haiti, 5 January 2011)
<u>AI VL</u>		De daders zijn voornamelijk gewapende mannen die 's nachts in de kampen ronddwalen. [The perpetrators are mainly armed men at night wandering in the camps.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	Les responsables <u>de ces violences</u> sont principalement des hommes armés qui traînent dans les camps une fois la nuit tombée. [Those responsible for the violence are mainly armed men who roam the camps after dark.]

Extract 5-13		
<u>AI IS</u>		One year on, rape survivors continue to arrive at the office of a local women's support group almost every other day. (Press release 1, Haiti, 5 January 2011)
<u>AI VL</u>	implication	Eén jaar later blijven slachtoffers van verkrachting zich <u>dagelijks</u> aanmelden bij <u>de lokale vrouwenorganisaties</u> . [One year later rape victims keep on presenting themselves <u>daily at local women organisations</u> .]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	Depuis un an, presque tous les deux jours, des victimes de viol se présentent au bureau d'un groupe local de soutien aux femmes <u>pour chercher de l'aide</u> . [One year later, nearly every two days, rape victims present themselves at the office of local women support groups <u>to look for help</u> .]

Extract 5-14		
<u>AI IS</u>		One woman, Suzie, recounted how she was living in a makeshift shelter with her two sons and a friend when they were attacked around 1am on 8 May. Suzie and her friend were both blindfolded and raped in front of their children by a gang of men who forced their way into their shelter. (Press release 1, Haiti, 5 January 2011)
<u>AI VL</u>		Suzie vertelt hoe ze met haar twee zonen en een vriendin in een kamp woonde wanneer op 8 mei om 1 uur 's nachts verschillende mannen hun schuilplaats binnendrongen. Suzie en haar vriendin werden geblinddoekt en verkracht door de mannen, voor de ogen van haar kinderen. [Suzie recounts how she was living with her sons and a friend in a camp when on 8 May at 1 o'clock in the morning several men penetrated their shelter. Suzie and her friend were blindfolded and raped by the men, in front of their children.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Rearrangement (sentences split, chronological order)	Suzie a raconté qu'elle vivait dans un abri de fortune avec ses deux fils et une <u>amie</u> . <u>Elles</u> ont été attaquées vers 1 heure du matin, le 8 mai. <u>Une bande d'hommes</u> s'est introduite par effraction dans leur abri. Ils ont bandé les yeux de Suzie et de son amie et les ont violées devant leurs enfants. [Suzie recounted how she lived in a makeshift shelter with her two sons and a <u>friend</u> . <u>They</u> were attacked around 1 o'clock in the morning on 8 May. <u>A gang of men</u> broke into their shelter. They blindfolded Suzie and her friend and raped them in front of their children.]

5.1.4 Micro-level: quotations

<i>Extract 5-15: quotation of witness: no major shifts</i>	
<u>AIIS</u>	<p>Twenty year-old “Mahmoud”, who was arrested on 16 May and released after nearly a month in detention, was held for around five days at the Military Security detention facility in Homs:</p> <p>“Each day [was] the same story. They tied me up in the shabah position and applied electricity to my body and testicles. Sometimes I screamed very loudly and begged the interrogator to stop. He didn’t care.”</p> <p><i>(Press release 5, Syria, 6 July 2011)</i></p>
<u>AIVL</u>	<p>De twintigjarige “Mahmoud”, die werd gearresteerd op 16 mei en vrijgelaten na bijna een maand detentie, werd voor ongeveer vijf dagen in het detentiecentrum van de Militaire Veiligheid in Homs vastgehouden:</p> <p>“Elke dag [was] het hetzelfde verhaal. Ze bonden me in de Shabah-positie en plaatsten mijn lichaam en testikels onder stroom. Soms schreeuwde ik heel hard en smeekte mijn ondervrager om te stoppen. Het kon hem niets schelen.”</p> <p>[Twenty-year old “Mahmoud”, who was arrested on 16 May and released after almost a month in detention, was held for around five days at the detention centre of the Military Security in Homs:</p> <p>“Each day [was] the same story. They tied me up in the Shabah-position and applied electric current to my body and my testicles. Sometimes I screamed very hard and begged my interrogator to stop. He didn’t care.”]</p>
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	<p>« Mahmoud », 20 ans, a été arrêté le 16 mai et relâché au bout de près d'un mois de détention ; il a notamment passé près de cinq jours au centre de détention de la Sécurité militaire à Homs.</p> <p>« Chaque jour c'était la même histoire. Ils m'attachaient dans la position du <i>shabah</i> et m'envoyaient des décharges électriques sur le corps et les testicules. Parfois je hurlais et suppliais celui qui menait l'interrogatoire d'arrêter. Ça lui était égal. »</p> <p>[“Mahmoud”, 20 years old, was arrested on 16 May and released after nearly a month in detention; he notably spent almost five days in the detention centre of the Military Security in Homs.</p> <p>“Every day was the same story. They tied me up in the <i>shabah</i> position and they sent electric shocks to my body and my testicles. Sometimes I screamed and begged my interrogator to stop. He didn’t care.”]</p>

<i>Extract 5-16: Translated quotation by IS staff (retained)</i>	
<u>AIIS</u>	<p>“The accounts we have heard from witnesses to events in Tell Kalakh paint a deeply disturbing picture of systematic, targeted abuses to crush dissent,” said Philip Luther, Amnesty International’s Middle East and North Africa Deputy Director.</p> <p><i>(Press release 5, Syria, 6 July 2011)</i></p>
<u>AIVL</u>	<p>“De getuigenissen die wij hebben gehoord over de gebeurtenissen in Tell Kalakh vormen een zeer verontrustend beeld van systematische, gerichte misdaden om afwijkende meningen in de kiem te smoren,” aldus Philip Luther, Amnesty International adjunct-directeur voor het Midden-Oosten en Noord-Afrika.</p> <p>[“The accounts that we heard about the events in Tell Kalakh form a very disturbing picture of systematic, targeted crimes to stifle dissent in the bud”, said Philip Luther, Amnesty International’s Deputy Director for the Middle East and North Africa.]</p>
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	<p>« Les informations dont nous ont fait part des témoins des événements à Tell Kalakh brossent un tableau alarmant fait d'abus systématiques et ciblés visant à étouffer la contestation », a déclaré Philip Luther.</p> <p>[“The information that we have heard from witnesses about events in Tell Kalakh paint an alarming picture of the systematic and targeted abuse to stifle dissent”, declared Philip Luther.]</p>

Extract 5-17: Quotation by local staff (reattributed)	
<u>AIIS</u>	<p>“The stalemate that is keeping more than half a million people from their homes cannot be allowed to continue,” said <u>Gaëtan Mootoo, Amnesty International’s West Africa researcher</u>. “The authorities must act to establish a clear chain of command and disband militia groups who, despite the end of the conflict, continue to spread fear among the population.” (Press release 6, Ivory Coast, 28 July 2014)</p>
<u>AIVL</u>	<p>“Deze wurggreep die meer dan een half miljoen mensen weg houdt van hun huizen kan echt niet blijven duren,” zegt <u>Karen Moeskops, directeur van Amnesty International</u>. “De autoriteiten moeten hun troepen weer onder controle krijgen en de milities ontbinden die, ondanks het einde van het conflict, angst en terreur blijven zaaien onder de bevolking.”</p> <p>[“This stranglehold which is keeping more than half a million people away from their homes can really not continue”, says Karen Moeskops, director of Amnesty International. “The authorities need to regain control of their troops and disband the militia who, despite the end of the conflict, continue to spread fear and terror among the population.”]</p>
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	<p>« Cette impasse qui empêche plus d'un demi-million de personnes de regagner leurs foyers ne peut plus être tolérée » a déclaré <u>Gaëtan Mootoo, chercheur d'Amnesty International sur l'Afrique de l'ouest</u>.</p> <p>« Les autorités doivent mettre en place une chaîne de commandement bien établie et démanteler les milices qui, malgré la fin du conflit, continuent de propager la peur parmi les populations ».</p> <p>[“This impasse that prevents more than half a million people to return to their homes can no longer be tolerated”, declared Gaëtan Mootoo, Amnesty International’s researcher on West Africa. “The authorities must put in place a well-established chain of command and dismantle the militia who, despite the end of the conflict, continue to spread fear among the population”.]</p>

Extract 5-18: New quotation by local staff (replacement)	
<u>AIIS</u>	<p>“Kosovo has so far shown absolutely no willingness to make sure that members of minority communities who are forcibly returned, are properly reintegrated in the community,” said Sian Jones, Amnesty International’s Balkan researcher. (Press release 4, BeNeLux, 13 May 2011)</p>
<u>AIVL</u>	<p>“Ondanks de aannname van wetgeving en een actieplan bijna aan jaar geleden, beschikken de autoriteiten nog steeds niet over de nodige fondsen, middelen of politieke wil om te voorzien in een duurzame terugkeer”, aldus Carmen Dupont, beleidsverantwoordelijke bij Amnesty International Vlaanderen.</p> <p>[Despite the adoption of legislation and an action plan almost a year ago, the authorities still do not possess the necessary funds, resources or political will to provide in a sustainable return”, said Carmen Dupont, policy officer at Amnesty International Flanders.</p>
<u>AILR-FR</u>	<p>« Jusqu'à présent, le Kosovo n'a montré aucune volonté d'assurer la réelle réintégration au sein de la société des membres de communautés minoritaires qui sont renvoyés de force, a indiqué Sian Jones, chercheur sur les Balkans à Amnesty International.</p> <p>[“Up until now, Kosovo has not shown any willingness to ensure the actual reintegration into society of members of minority communities who are forcibly returned”, said Sian Jones, Balkan researcher at Amnesty International]</p>

5.2 Web news

5.2.1 Preliminary data: headlines

Extract 5-20		
<u>AIIS</u>		Yemen must rein in security forces as protests are violently repressed (Web news 3, Yemen, 14 February 2011)
<u>AIVL</u>	omission (“must”;	Jemen: gewelddadig neerslaan van protesten [Yemen: violent repression of protests]

	“security forces”)	
AILRC-FR	explicitation	Le Yémen doit maîtriser ses forces de sécurité, <u>alors qu’elles répriment</u> avec violence les manifestations [Yemen must control its security forces, <u>while they suppress the protests</u> with violence]

Extract 5-21		
AIIS		Serbia: Final Hague war crimes suspect arrested (Web news 7, 20 July 2011)
AIVL	explicitation; addition	Laatste verdachte Joegoslavië-tribunaal Hadzic opgepakt [Last suspect Yugoslavia-tribunal Hadzic arrested]
AILRC-FR	replacement ; explicitation	Ex-Yougoslavie: arrestation du dernier <u>fugitif</u> soupçonné de crimes de guerre [Former Yugoslavia: arrest of final <u>fugitive</u> suspected of war crimes]

Extract 5-22		
AIIS		Italy fails to adopt measures to tackle hate crimes (Web news 8, 26 July 2011)
AIVL		Italië: gemiste kans om haatmisdriven aan te pakken [Italy: missed opportunity to address hate crimes]
AILRC-FR	explicitation	L'Italie <u>manque une occasion</u> d'adopter des mesures <u>visant à</u> remédier aux crimes à <u>caractère</u> haineux [Italy <u>misses an opportunity</u> to adopt measures <u>to address</u> crimes with a hateful <u>character</u>]

5.2.2 Macro level

Extract 5-23			
AIIS		AIVL	
Serbia: Final Hague war crimes suspect arrested		Laatste verdachte Joegoslavië-tribunaal Hadzic opgepakt	
(¶1) The arrest today of the last Serbian suspect wanted by a UN international criminal tribunal is a further step towards justice for the victims of crimes against humanity and war crimes in Croatia, Amnesty International said today.		(¶1) De Servische Kroaat Goran Hadzic, de laatste voortvluchtige die gezocht wordt door het Joegoslavië-tribunaal is gearresteerd. [The Serbian Croat Goran Hadzic, the last fugitive that is sought by the Yugoslavia-tribunal has been arrested.]	
(¶2) Goran Hadžić is accused of joint criminal responsibility for the murder, imprisonment and forced labour of Croat and other civilians from 1991 to 1993.		(¶2) Hij word gezocht wegens de moord op honderden Kroaten en andere niet-Serviërs in het omstreden gebied tussen de Serviërs en de Kroaten in de periode 1991-1995, tijdens het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië. [He is being sought for the murder of hundreds of Croat and other non-Serbs in the disputed territory between the	
		Ex-Yougoslavie: arrestation du dernier fugitif soupçonné de crimes de guerre	
		(¶1) L'arrestation mercredi 20 juillet du dernier suspect serbe recherché par un tribunal pénal international de l'ONU fait franchir un pas en avant à la quête de justice pour les personnes victimes de crimes contre l'humanité et de crimes de guerre en Croatie, a déclaré Amnesty International. [The arrest on Wednesday 20 July of the last Serbian suspect wanted by an international criminal tribunal of the UN is one step forward in the quest for justice for the people who were victims of crimes against humanity and crimes of war in Croatia, Amnesty International declared.]	
		(¶2) Goran Hadžić est accusé d'être conjointement responsable du meurtre, de l'emprisonnement et de l'asservissement au travail forcé de Croates et d'autres civiles entre 1991 et 1993. [Goran Hadžić is accused of being jointly responsible for the murder, imprisonment and forced labour of Croats and other civilians between	

	Serbs and the Croat in the period 1991-1995, during the breakup of Yugoslavia.]	1991 and 1993.]
(¶3) He had been on the run since the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia indicted him in 2004.	(Rearrangement: added at the end of ¶4 of the target text)	(¶3) Il vivait dans la clandestinité depuis son inculpation par le Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie en 2004. [He lived in hiding since his indictment by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 2004.]
(¶4) "This long overdue arrest will bring justice at last to the victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Croatia," said Sian Jones, Amnesty International's Serbia researcher.	(¶3) Amnesty reageert verheugd op het nieuws: "Deze arrestatie brengt eindelijk gerechtigheid voor de slachtoffers van oorlogsmisdaden en misdaden tegen de menselijkheid in Kroatië". [Amnesty is pleased with the news: "This arrest finally brings justice for the victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Croatia".]	(¶4) « Grâce à cette arrestation, qui n'a que trop tardé, les victimes de crimes de guerre et de crimes contre l'humanité en Croatie pourront enfin obtenir justice, a déclaré Sian Jones, responsable des recherches sur la Serbie à Amnesty International. [“With this arrest, which is long overdue, the victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Croatia can finally obtain justice”, declared Sian Jones, researcher on Serbia at Amnesty International.]
(¶5) “Goran Hadžić’s arrest underscores the continuing and urgent need for authorities in countries of the former Yugoslavia to investigate and, where there is sufficient admissible evidence, to prosecute those suspected of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.”	[¶ 5-7 deleted by AIVL]	(¶5) « L'arrestation de Goran Hadžić met en relief la nécessité pour les autorités des pays de l'ex-Yougoslavie de continuer d'enquêter sur les personnes soupçonnées de crimes de guerre, de crimes contre l'humanité et de génocide et, lorsqu'il existe suffisamment de preuves recevables, d'engager des poursuites à leur rencontre. »
(¶6) “There are tens of thousands of such suspects where national authorities have failed to open any investigation.”		(¶6) « Il y a des dizaines de milliers de tels suspects pour lesquels les autorités de ces pays n'ont engagé aucune enquête à ce jour.”
(¶7) “They must show political will and perseverance, while the international community should monitor the progress of domestic courts in bringing the perpetrators to justice for the horrific crimes committed by all sides to the conflicts and provide financial and other assistance where needed.”		(¶7) « Les autorités nationales doivent faire montre de volonté politique et de persévérance. La communauté internationale a la responsabilité, quant à elle, de vérifier que la justice de chacun de ces pays poursuit bien les auteurs des crimes odieux commis par toutes les parties au conflit, et de fournir une aide financière ou autre quand cela est nécessaire. »
(¶8) As President of the self-declared Croatian Serb Republic of Krajina, Hadžić allegedly ordered the forcible removal of Croats and others from the territory between 1991 and 1993.	(¶4) Hadzic, voormalig president van de door Kroatische Serviërs uitgeroepen ‘Republiek Krajina’ in Kroatië, wordt beschuldigd van betrokkenheid bij de gedwongen verwijdering en moord op duizenden burgers in Kroatië tussen 1991 en 1993. Hij werd in 2004 aangeklaagd, en was sindsdien voortvluchtig. [Hadzic, former president of the “Republic of Krajina” in Croatia, proclaimed by the Croatian Serbs, is	(¶8) Goran Hadžić aurait, en tant que « président » de la république serbo-croate autoproclamée de Krajina, donné l'ordre de déplacer de force de ce territoire les Croates et d'autres entre 1991 et 1993. [Goran Hadžić, as « president » of the self-proclaimed Serbo-Croatian republic of Krajina, allegedly gave the order to forcibly remove Croats and others from the territory between 1991 and 1993.]

	accused of involvement in the forcible removal and murder of thousands of citizens in Croatia between 1991 and 1993. He was indicted in 2004, and has since then been a fugitive.] [¶ 9-10 deleted by AIVL]	(¶9) Parmi les crimes auxquels est associé Goran Hadžić figure la torture et le meurtre de 250 Croates et autres personnes qui avaient été transférés de force de l'hôpital de Vukovar à la ferme d'Ovcara par des membres de l'Armée fédérale yougoslave (JNA) et les membres de groupes paramilitaires.
(¶9) Among the war crimes Hadžić has been linked with is the November 1991 torture and murder of more than 250 Croats and others who were taken from the Vukovar hospital to Ovčara farm by members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and paramilitary groups.		(¶10) L'arrestation de Goran Hadžić intervient moins de deux mois après celle de l'ancien général bosno-serbe Ratko Mladić.
(¶10) Hadžić's arrest comes less than two months after the arrest of the Bosnian Serb former general Ratko Mladić.		
(¶11) "The Security Council must now ensure that the Tribunal has the time and resources to conduct the trial of both Goran Hadžić and Ratko Mladić in accordance with the highest standards of international justice," said Sian Jones.	(¶5) Amnesty International roept de Veiligheidsraad op ervoor zorgen dat het Tribunaal de tijd en de middelen heeft om het proces van zowel Goran Hadzic en Ratko Mladic in overeenstemming met de hoogste normen van het internationaal recht te voeren.	(¶11) « Le Conseil de sécurité doit veiller maintenant à ce que le Tribunal dispose du temps et des ressources nécessaires pour juger Goran Hadžić et Ratko Mladić dans le respect des normes les plus strictes en matière de justice internationale », a conclu Sian Jones.
	[Amnesty International calls on the Security Council to ensure that the Tribunal has the time and resources to carry out the trial of both Goran Hadzic and Ratko Mladic in accordance with the highest standards of international law.]	["The Security Council must now ensure that the Tribunal has the necessary time and resources to try Goran Hadžić and Ratko Mladić in accordance with the highest standards of international justice", concluded Sian Jones.]

5.2.3 Micro-level: shifts to words and sentences

<i>Extract 5-24</i>		
<u>AI IS</u>		Two members of an Amnesty International fact-finding team were among five human rights workers and journalists freed by Egyptian military police late on Friday night after a day and half in detention. (From: Web news 2, 5 February 2011, Egypt)
<u>AIVL</u>	omission ("fact-finding team"; "late", "Egyptian")	<u>Vijf journalisten en mensenrechtenactivisten</u> werden <u>vrijdagavond</u> na 1,5 dag detentie <u>vrijgelaten door de militaire</u> politie. Onder hen ook de 2 Amnesty medewerkers die waren opgepakt. [<u>Five journalists and human rights activists</u> were released by the military police <u>Friday evening</u> after 1.5 day detention. Among them were also two Amnesty staff members that had been arrested.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation; addition	Deux membres d'Amnesty International <u>qui s'étaient rendus en Égypte pour mener des recherches</u> , ainsi que trois autres défenseurs des droits humains et journalistes, ont été libérés par la police militaire égyptienne tard dans la soirée du <u>vendredi 4 février</u> , après avoir passé un jour et demi en détention. [Two members of Amnesty International <u>who travelled to Egypt to conduct research</u> , as well as three other human right activists and journalists, were released by the Egyptian military police late in the evening on <u>Friday 4 February</u> , after having spent a day and half in detention.]

Extract 5-25		
<u>AIIS</u>		Journalist Samia al-Ghabari told Amnesty International she was knocked unconscious after being shoved to the ground by a plain-clothes member of the security forces who had tried to take her away as the demonstration was repressed. (<i>From: Web news 3, 14 February 2011, Yemen</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	omission (“unconscious”; who had tried to...)”))	Journalist Samia al-Ghabari vertelde Amnesty International dat ze door een veiligheidsagent in burgerkledij op de grond werd geduwd toen men probeerde de demonstratie te stoppen. [Journalist Samia al-Ghabari told Amnesty International that she was pushed to the ground by a security officer in plain clothes when they tried to stop the demonstration.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	<u>Selon son témoignage recueilli par</u> Amnesty International, la journaliste Samia al Ghabari a perdu connaissance après avoir été plaquée au sol par un agent en civil qui tentait de l’appréhender sur fond de répression de la manifestation. [According to her testimony received by Amnesty International, the journalist Samia al Ghabari lost consciousness after being shoved to the ground by an officer in plain clothes who was trying to stop her amid the repression of the demonstration.]

Extract 5-26		
<u>AIIS</u>		Citing the need to protect state secrets, the Lithuanian Prosecutor General closed the criminal investigation into secret CIA detention sites on Lithuanian territory in January 2011 without making any information regarding the investigation public. (<i>From: Web news 9, 29 September 2011, Lithuania</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	Omissions (“citing the need”; “into secret CIA detention...”)	De Litouwse Procureur-generaal heeft het strafrechtelijk onderzoek beëindigd om zo “staatsgeheimen te beschermen”. [The Lithuanian Prosecutor General closed the criminal investigation in order to “protect state secrets”.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Au nom du secret d’État, le procureur général de la Lituanie a classé en janvier 2011 l’enquête sur les centres de détention secrets de la CIA en territoire lituanien. Aucune information sur les investigations n’a été rendue publique. [In the name of state secrets, the Lithuanian Prosecutor General in January 2011 classified the investigation of CIA secret detention centres on Lithuanian territory. None of the information on the investigations has been made public.]

5.2.4 Micro-level: quotations⁴⁹

Extract 5-27: running text -> quotation		
<u>AIIS</u>	“We fear that the Ministry’s warning signals the authorities’ readiness to unleash the full ferocity of the security forces with their track record of abuses” said Hassiba Hady Sahraoui. Instead of threatening demonstrators, Amnesty International is urging the Egyptian authorities to open a proper investigation into the killings of protestors and hold accountable anyone found responsible. (<i>From: Web news 1, Egypt, 26 January 2011</i>)	
<u>AIVL</u>	“Deze waarschuwing van het ministerie geeft een vrijgeleide voor geweld aan de veiligheidstroepen. Ze hebben nochtans al een bijzonder gewelddadige reputatie”, aldus Hassiba Hady Sahraoui. “In plaats van de demonstranten te bedreigen, zou de overheid een degelijk onderzoek moeten	

⁴⁹ Analysis of the control corpus showed that when quotations are included in the target text, they are translations of the original quotations and they are attributed to the original speaker. One exception was found in the 144 texts, i.e. in the web news text on the death of Osama Bin Laden (6 May 2011). The quoted person, a senior Amnesty director, is replaced by the local director of AIVL. This particular web news item is also atypical on the macro-level: it is the only target text that is longer than the source text.

	voeren naar de dood van de demonstranten en de daders ter verantwoording te roepen.” [“This warning from the Ministry provides a safe passage for violence to the security forces. Yet they already have a particularly violent reputation”, said Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui. “Instead of threatening the demonstrators, the authorities should carry out a proper investigation into the killings of the demonstrators, and the perpetrators should be held responsible.”]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	« Nous craignons que l'avertissement du ministère ne soit le signe de l'empressement des autorités à laisser se déchaîner toute la férocité des forces de sécurité, qui sont connues pour leurs abus », a ajouté Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui. Au lieu de menacer les manifestants, les autorités égyptiennes devraient selon Amnesty International ouvrir une véritable enquête sur les homicides de manifestants et obliger les auteurs de ceux-ci à rendre des comptes. [“We fear that the Ministry’s warning signals the authorities’ readiness to unleash all the ferocity of the security forces, who are known for their abuse”, said Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui. Instead of threatening demonstrators, the Egyptian authorities should according to Amnesty International open a genuine investigation into the killings of demonstrators and hold the ones responsible accountable.]

Extract 5-28: quotation -> running text

<u>AI IS</u>	“The Lithuanian authorities must reopen their investigation into these operations, including the activities of US officials, and hold accountable those responsible for complicity in all abuses that have taken place.” (From: <i>Web news 9, Lithuania, 29 September 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	Litouwen moet onmiddellijk het onderzoek naar de geheime detentiecentra heropenen, inclusief het onderzoek naar Amerikaanse functionarissen die destijds verantwoordelijk waren voor de vermeende mensenrechtenschendingen. [Lithuania must immediately reopen the investigation on the secret detention centres, including the examination of U.S. officials who were at the time responsible for the alleged human rights violations.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	« Les autorités lituaniennes doivent rouvrir l'enquête sur ces opérations, y compris sur les activités d'agents américains, et obliger toutes les personnes qui se sont rendues complices des violations commises à rendre compte de leurs actes. » [“The Lithuanian authorities should reopen the investigation into these operations, including the activities of U.S. agents, and oblige all persons who were complicit in committed violations accountable for their actions.”]

Extract 5-29

<u>AI IS</u>		“If these evictions go ahead on schedule, these families <u>could</u> be forced into inadequate accommodation in freezing temperatures” said Nicola Duckworth. (From: <i>Web news 10, Serbia, 29 November 2011</i>)
<u>AIVL</u>	replacement	“Als deze ontruimingen doorgaan zoals gepland, <u>worden</u> deze gezinnen gedwongen tot ontoereikende accommodatie in de vrieskou.” [If these evictions continue as planned, these families <u>are</u> forced into inadequate accommodation in the freezing cold.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		« Si ces expulsions ont lieu comme prévu, ces Roms pourraient être contraints d'accepter des logements inadéquats, à une saison où les températures sont glaciales, a estimé Nicola Duckworth. [If these evictions take place as planned, these Roma could be forced to accept inadequate housing, in a season when the temperatures are freezing, said Nicola Duckworth.]

Extract 5-30

<u>AI IS</u>		“We are greatly relieved by the release of our staff members and those freed with them,” said Salil Shetty, Secretary General of Amnesty International. “But it is simply outrageous that the Egyptian activists arrested with them have not also been freed.” “There can be no justification for continuing to detain them,” said Salil Shetty. “They must be released immediately, unconditionally, and returned in safety to their families.”
<u>AIVL</u>	Stylistic	“We zijn enorm opgelucht <u>omwille van</u> de vrijlating <u>van</u> onze medewerkers en

	shift: mixing formal and informal language use; incorrect language use	<p>de anderen”, zegt Salil Shetty, secretaris-generaal van Amnesty International. “Maar het is <u>gewoon schandalig</u> dat de gearresteerde Egyptische activisten niet samen met hen zijn bevrijd.”</p> <p>“Er kan geen rechtvaardiging bestaan <u>voor om</u> ze te blijven vasthouden,” zei Salil Shetty. “Ze moeten onmiddellijk worden vrijgelaten, onvoorwaardelijk, en in veiligheid terugkeren naar hun families.</p> <p>[“We are greatly relieved with the release of our staff members and the others”, said Salil Shetty, Secretary General of Amnesty International. “But it is <u>just outrageous</u> that the Egyptian activists have not been released with them.”</p> <p>“There can be no justification <u>for to</u> continue to keep them detained”, said Salil Shetty. “They must be released immediately, unconditionally, and returned to their families in safety.”]</p>
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		<p>« Nous sommes profondément soulagés d’apprendre la libération de nos collègues et des personnes relâchées avec eux, a déclaré Salil Shetty, secrétaire général d’Amnesty International. Toutefois, il est totalement scandaleux que les militants égyptiens arrêtés au même moment n’aient pas été remis en liberté.</p> <p>« Aucune justification ne saurait étayer leur maintien en détention. Ils doivent être libérés immédiatement et sans condition, et doivent pouvoir retourner auprès de leur famille en toute sécurité.»</p> <p>[“We are deeply relieved hearing about the liberation of our colleagues and the other people released with them”, declared Salil Shetty, Secretary General of Amnesty International. “However, it is totally scandalous that the Egyptian military arrested at the same time have not been released”.</p> <p>“No justification can support their continued detention. They must be released immediately and unconditionally, and must be able to return to their families safely.”</p>

5.3 Urgent Actions

5.3.1 Preliminary data: headlines^{50,51}

<i>Extract 5-31</i>		
<u>AIJS</u>		Activists face twenty years in jail for lecture (Text 1, UA 55-11.2, Zimbabwe)
<u>AIVL</u>		Activisten riskeren twintig jaar celstraf voor lezing [Activists risk twenty years in prison for lecture]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	Des militants <u>ayant assisté</u> à une conférence risquent 20 ans de prison [Activists who attended a conference risk 20 years in prison]

⁵⁰ Other examples of explicitation in AILRC-FR headlines: the source text headline of UA 16-11 on Mexico is “Fears for staff and migrants at shelter”. The French headline reads “Craines pour le personnel d’un refuge et les migrants qui s’y trouvent” (“Fears for staff of shelter and the migrants who are there”) and explicitates that the staff that is mentioned works at the shelter. The source text headline of UA 34-11 is “Trade unionist at risk of forced deportation”. The French headline explicitates that the trade unionist would be sent back to his home country: “Un syndicaliste risque d’être renvoyé de force dans son pays d’origine” (“A trade unionist risks to be forcibly returned to his country of origin”).

⁵¹ Unidiomatic and incorrect language use for AIVL in the control corpus for example include the conjunction “en” (“and”) which has been omitted in the headline of UA 174-11 (“Dreigende executie van een man een vrouw”, back-translation: “risk of execution of a man a woman”). The headline of UA 200-11 contains a serious error: the country the UA refers to was changed from Serbia to Syria.

Extract 5-32		
<u>AIIS</u>		Saudi men sentenced to amputation (Text 10, UA 363-11, Saudi-Arabia)
<u>AIVL</u>		Saoedische mannen veroordeeld tot amputatie [Saudi men sentenced to amputation]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	Condamnation a l'amputation pour <u>six</u> saoudiens [Sentence of amputation for six Saudi men]

Extract 5-34: inconsistency in AIVL terminology		
<u>AIIS</u>	Trade unionist at risk of forced deportation (UA 34-11, South Korea)	
<u>AIVL</u>	<u>Lid van de vakbond</u> riskeert <u>verplichte verbanning</u> [Member of the trade union risks mandatory expulsion]	
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Un syndicaliste risque d'être renvoyé de force dans son pays d'origine [A trade unionist risks to be forcibly returned to his home country]	
<u>AIIS</u>	Trade unionist still at risk of forced deportation (UA 34/11, update 1, South Korea)	
<u>AIVL</u>	<u>Vakbondsvoorzitter</u> riskeert nog steeds <u>gedepoteerd</u> te worden [Trade union president still risks to be deported]	
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Un syndicaliste risque d'être renvoyé de force dans son pays d'origine [A trade unionist risks to be forcibly returned to his home country]	
<u>AIIS</u>	Trade unionist risks forced deportation (UA 34/11, update 2, South Korea)	
<u>AIVL</u>	<u>Vakbondsvoorzitter</u> loopt risico op <u>gedwongen terugkeer</u> [Trade union president is at risk of forced return]	
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Un syndicaliste menacé d'expulsion [A trade unionist threatened with eviction]	

Extract 5-35: inconsistency in AIVL terminology		
<u>AIIS</u>	Activist continues to be held <u>incommunicado</u> (UA 224-11, update 1, Syria)	
<u>AIVL</u>	Activist blijft aangehouden en <u>mag geen contact met de buitenwereld hebben</u> [Activist remains detained and is not allowed contact with the outside world]	
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Un militant maintenu en détention au secret [An activist maintains in incommunicado detention]	

5.3.2 Macro-level

Extract 5-36: Literal translation AIVL		
<u>AIIS</u>		The organization <u>has documented and exposed</u> many cases of killings and enforced disappearance carried out by the security forces and paramilitary groups in Sucre department. (Text 6, UA 150-11, Colombia)
<u>AIVL</u>	literal translation ("tangconstr uctie")	De organisatie <u>heeft</u> vele gevallen van moord en gedwongen verdwijning, uitgevoerd door de veiligheidstroepen en paramilitaire groepen in het departement Sucre, <u>gedocumenteerd en aan het licht gebracht</u> . [The organisation <u>has documented and brought to light</u> many cases of murder and forced disappearance, carried out by the security forces and paramilitary groups in the department in Sucre.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explication	L'organisation <u>a révélé</u> bon nombre d'affaires sur lesquelles elle avait rassemblé des informations, au sujet d'homicides et de disparitions forcées commis par les forces de sécurité et des groupes paramilitaires dans le département de Sucre. [The organisation <u>has revealed</u> a number of cases on which it had collected information, about killings and forced disappearances committed by the security forces and paramilitary groups in the department of Sucre]

Extract 5-37: Literal translation AIVL		
<u>AIIS</u>		Although the state dropped the charges of treason, which can carry the death penalty under Zimbabwe's penal code, the six activists are now due to stand trial on 18 July for the lesser charge of attempting to subvert a constitutionally elected government. (Text 5, UA 55-11 update 2, Zimbabwe)
<u>AIVL</u>	literal translation ("tangconstr uctie")	Hoewel <u>de staat</u> de aanklacht van hoogverraad, waarop in Zimbabwe de doodstraf staat, <u>liet vallen</u> , moeten de zes activisten op 18 juli voor de rechtbank verschijnen voor de minder zware beschuldiging een constitutioneel verkozen regering omver te willen werpen. [Although the state dropped the charges of treason, which carries the death penalty in Zimbabwe, the six activists must now appear before the court on July 18 for the lesser charge of wanting to subvert a constitutionally elected government.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explotation	Bien que les autorités aient abandonné les poursuites pour trahison, crime passible de la peine de mort aux termes du Code pénal zimbabwéen, <u>Eddson Chakuma, Antonater Choto, Hopewell Gumbo, Munyaradzi Gwisai, Tatenda Mombeyarara et Welcome Zimuto</u> doivent être jugés le 18 juin pour tentative de renversement d'un gouvernement constitutionnellement élu, ce qui représente une charge moins grave. [Although the authorities have dropped the charges of treason, punishable by death under the Zimbabwean Criminal Code, Eddson Chakuma, Antonater Choto, Hopewell Gumbo, Munyaradzi Gwisai, Tatenda Mombeyarara and Welcome Zimuto must now appear on 18 June for the attempt to overthrow a constitutionally elected government.]

Extract 5-38: Rearrangement AIVL		
<u>AIIS</u>		Activists campaigning for the return of lands stolen mainly by paramilitary groups operating alone or in collusion with the armed forces over the course of the conflict have been particularly vulnerable to threats and killings in recent years. (Text 6, UA 150-11, Colombia)
<u>AIVL</u>	Rearrangem ent (split sentence)	In de afgelopen jaren hebben <u>activisten vaak campagne gevoerd voor teruggave van gronden die werden gestolen door paramilitairen die alleen opereren, of in geheime verstandhouding met het leger</u> . In de loop van het conflict zijn <u>deze activisten</u> bijzonder kwetsbaar gebleken: zij worden vaak bedreigd en gedood. [In recent years <u>activists have often campaigned for the return of lands that were stolen by paramilitaries operating alone or in collusion with the army</u> . In the course of the conflict, <u>these activists</u> proved particularly vulnerable: they are often threatened and killed.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Rearrangem ent (fronting)	<u>Depuis quelques années</u> , les militants qui font campagne pour la restitution de terres volées principalement par des groupes paramilitaires, agissant seuls ou avec la complicité des forces armées, au cours du conflit <u>colombien</u> risquent particulièrement d'être victimes de menaces et d'assassinats. [In recent years <u>activists campaigning for the return of stolen lands mainly by paramilitary groups, acting alone or in collusion with the armed forces over the course of the Colombian conflict</u> are particularly likely to be the victim of threats and killings.]

Extract 5-39: Rearrangement AIVL		
<u>AIIS</u>		The remaining six, who either spoke at the lecture or work with the Zimbabwean chapter of the International Socialist Organisation, which organised the lecture, were held in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day until they were released on bail on 16 March. (Text 5, UA 55-11 update 2, Zimbabwe)
<u>AIVL</u>	Rearrangem ent (split sentence)	De overige zes werden 23 uur per dag vastgehouden in een isoleercel tot ze op 16 maart tegen borgstelling vrijgelaten <u>werden</u> . <u>Zij</u> voerden het woord tijdens de lezing of werken samen met de Zimbabwaanse afdeling van de

		Internationale Socialistische Organisatie, die de lezing organiseerde. [The other six were held in solitary confinement 23 hours per day until 16 March when they were released <u>on bail</u> . They spoke at the lecture or are collaborating with the Zimbabwean section of the International Socialist Organisation, which organised the lecture]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Les six autres, qui ont pris la parole lors de la conférence ou travaillent avec la section zimbabwéenne de l'Organisation socialiste internationale, organisatrice de cette conférence, ont été maintenus à l'isolement 23 heures par jour jusqu'à leur libération le 16 mars. [The six others, who spoke during the lecture or who work with the Zimbabwean section of the International Socialist Organisation, which organised the lecture, were held in solitary confinement 23 hours per day until their release on 16 March.]

Extract 5-41: pragmatic shifts/ change in meaning

<u>AIIS</u>		calling on the authorities <u>to ensure</u> all police officers identified as <u>being involved</u> in the killing are <u>immediately</u> suspended from duties until the judicial investigation is satisfactorily concluded; (UA 4, AI nr. 138-11, Dominican Republic)
<u>AIVL</u>	Omission; substitution	Vraag de autoriteiten om alle agenten <u>aanwezig</u> bij de incidenten <u>tijdelijk</u> te schorsen totdat het onderzoek is afgerond. [Ask the authorities to <u>temporarily</u> suspend all the police officers that <u>were present</u> at the incidents until the investigation has been concluded.]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		engagez-les à faire le nécessaire pour que tous les policiers soupçonnés d'être impliqués dans cet homicide soient immédiatement suspendus, et ce jusqu'à ce que l'enquête judiciaire ait été menée à terme de façon satisfaisante ; [Urge the authorities to undertake steps to immediately suspend all police officers who are suspected of being involved in this killing, and this until the judicial investigation has been completed satisfactorily.]

Extract 5-42: pragmatic shifts/ change in meaning in UA 70

<u>AIIS</u>		He has been held without charge or trial in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq <u>for nearly 11 years</u> . (UA 70-11, Iraq)
<u>AIVL</u>	substitution	Hij werd vastgehouden zonder aanklacht of proces gedurende <u>meer dan 11 jaar</u> . [He has been held without charge or trial <u>for more than 11 years</u> .]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>		Il est détenu dans cette région, sans inculpation ni jugement, depuis près de 11 ans. [He has been detained in this region, without charge or trial, for nearly 11 years.]

Extract 5-44: pragmatic shifts/ change in meaning in UA 70

<u>AIIS:</u>		He is charged under the 2006 anti-terrorism law for allegedly “sending orders and instructions from prison to his followers in Kirkuk and Mosul to carry out terrorist attacks in Dohuk”. The charges are said to be based on information that an investigative judge received from “secret informants” in connection with the discovery of explosives, on two occasions in 2009 in Dohuk; no one else has been arrested or charged in connection with these discoveries. The authorities have not disclosed the identities of the “secret informants” to the defence lawyer of Walid Yunis Ahmed and he will not be able to examine them in court. <u>Those who reported the discovery of the explosives told investigators that they had never heard of Walid Yunis Ahmad</u> . (From: UA 70-11 Iraq, paragraph 3)
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<u>AIVL:</u>	addition/ rearrangement (taken from paragraph 5); substitution	Hij werd veroordeeld voor “het sturen van bevelen en instructies vanuit de gevangenis naar zijn volgelingen in Kirkuk en Mosul om terroristische aanslagen te plegen in Dohuk <u>in 2009</u> ”, waarvan Amnesty International gelooft <u>dat het gefabriceerde aanklachten zijn in een poging om zijn langdurige en onwettige aanhouding zonder proces te rechtvaardigen</u> . De aanklacht was gebaseerd op informatie die zou zijn verkregen door “geheime informanten” die niet zijn geïdentificeerd noch zijn verschenen voor het gerecht om bewijzen te leveren of te worden ondervraagd door de verdediging van Walid Yunus Ahmad. <u>Er zijn geen bewijzen van de brieven die Walid Yunis Ahmad zou hebben gestuurd vanuit de gevangenis</u> . [He was convicted for “the sending of orders and instructions from prison to his followers in Kirkuk and Mosu to carry out terrorist attacks in Dohuk <u>in 2009</u> ”, of which Amnesty International believes that <u>these are fabricated accusations attempting to justify his long and unlawful detention without trial</u> . The charges were based on information that was allegedly obtained through “secret informants” <u>who have not been identified nor have they appeared before court to deliver proof or to be interrogated by the defence of Walig Yunus Ahmad</u> . There is no evidence of the letters that Walid Yunis Ahmad <u>would allegedly have sent from prison</u> .]
<u>AILRC-FR:</u>		Il a été inculpé, en vertu de la Loi antiterroriste de 2006, d'« avoir donné des ordres et des instructions depuis la prison à ses partisans à Kirkouk et Mossoul pour qu'ils mènent des attaques terroristes à Dohouk ». Ces charges seraient fondées sur des éléments qu'un juge d'instruction aurait reçus d'« informateurs secrets » en lien avec la découverte d'explosifs à deux reprises en 2009, à Dohouk. Personne d'autre n'a été arrêté ou inculpé dans le cadre de cette affaire. Les autorités n'ont pas révélé l'identité de ces « informateurs secrets » à l'avocat de Walid Yunis Ahmad, qui ne pourra donc pas interroger cette personne au tribunal. Ceux qui ont signalé la découverte d'explosifs ont indiqué aux enquêteurs qu'ils n'avaient jamais entendu parler de Walid Yunis Ahmad. [He was charged according to the anti-terrorism law of 2006, for “sending orders and instructions from prison to his followers in Kirkuk and Mosul for them to carry out terrorist attacks in Dohuk”. The charges would be based on elements that an investigative judge received from “secret informants” in connection with the discovery of explosives on two occasions in 2009, in Dohuk. No one else has been arrested or charged in connection with this case. The authorities have not disclosed the identity of these “secret informants” to the lawyer of Walid Yunis Ahmed, who will thus not be able to examine them in court. Those who reported the discovery of the explosives told investigators that they had never heard of Walid Yunis Ahmad.]

5.3.3 Micro-level: quotations

<i>Extract 5-45</i>		
<u>AIIS</u>		When she said she had not seen anything, she was told: “So, what do we have to do for you to help us ... Are we going to have to plant some drug on you? I am going to smash your face in”. (UA 2, AI nr. 25-11, Venezuela)
<u>AIVL</u>	Stylistic shift: unidiomatic language use	Toen ze zei dat ze niets gezien had, kreeg ze te horen: “Hoe krijgen we je zo ver dat je ons helpt... <u>Moeten we wat drugs in je stoppen?</u> Ik sla je gezicht kapot.” [When she said she had not seen anything, she was told: “How do we get you that far that you help us... <u>Do we need to put some drugs into you?</u> I am going to smash up your face.”]
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	explicitation	« Alors, qu'est-ce qu'il faut qu'on fasse pour que tu nous aides ? [...] On va être obligé de planquer de la drogue sur toi <u>pour t'incriminer</u> ? Je vais te défoncer la tête. » [“So, what do we need to do to make you help us? [...] Will we need to plant some drugs on you <u>to incriminate you</u> ? I will smash your head in.”]

Extract 5-46

<u>AIIS</u>		<p>The email was also sent to MOVICE staff in Bogotá, who are in charge of the security and protection of MOVICE members. The email said: “We warned you... today you have to accept the consequences... our campaign, be patriotic kill a guerrilla, continues... We did not want more blood, but you force us... Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklin Torres, guerrillas disguised as human rights defenders, the order has been given to kill you” (Se los advertimos.. hoy se tendran[sic] que acoger a las consecuencias... nuestra campaña haga patria mate a un guerrillero continua no queriamos[sic] mas sangre pero nos obligan... Candelaria Barrios Acosta Pedro Geney Arrieta Franklin Torres guerrilleros, disfrazados de defensores de derechos humanos esta dada la orden de darles la baja).</p>
<u>AIVL</u>	Stylistic/pragmatic shifts: “you” translated as “je” (single) and “jullie” (plural)	<p>De e-mail werd ook gestuurd naar beveiligingspersoneel van MOVICE in Bogotá, dat instaat voor de veiligheid en bescherming van MOVICE-leden. In de mail stond: ‘<u>Je</u> was gewaarschuid...nu zul <u>je</u> de gevolgen voelen...onze strijd, wees een patriot, vermoord een guerrillastrijder, gaat door...Wij wilden niet meer bloed vergieten, maar <u>jullie</u> dwingen ons...Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklin Torres, guerrillastrijders vermomd als mensenrechtenactivisten, het bevel om jullie te doden is gegeven.’ (Se los advertimos.. hoy se tendran[sic] que acoger a las consecuencias... nuestra campaña haga patria mate a un guerrillero continua no queriamos[sic] mas sangre pero nos obligan... Candelaria Barrios Acosta Pedro Geney Arrieta Franklin Torres guerrilleros, disfrazados de defensores de derechos humanos esta dada la orden de darles la baja).</p> <p>[The e-mail was also sent to security staff of MOVICE in Bogotá, that is responsible for the security and protection of MOVICE-members. In the e-mail it said: “<u>You</u> were warned... now <u>you</u> will have to feel the consequences... our struggle, be a patriot, kill a guerilla, continues... We did not want to spill more blood, but <u>you</u> force us... Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklin Torres, guerillas disguised as human rights activists, the order to kill you has been given.”]</p>
<u>AILRC-FR</u>	Omission (Spanish quotation)	<p>Le message, qui a également été envoyé au personnel du MOVICE à Bogotá chargé de la sécurité et de la protection des membres de l'organisation, indiquait : « Nous vous avons prévenus... aujourd'hui vous devez accepter les conséquences... notre campagne "Soyez patriotes, tuez un guérilléro" continue...nous ne voulions pas verser plus de sang mais vous nous y obligez... Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklín Torres, guérilléros déguisés en défenseurs des droits humains, nous avons reçu l'ordre de vous tuer. »</p> <p>[The message, which was also sent to MOVICE staff in Bogotá who are responsible for the security and the protection of the members of the organisation, said: “We have warned you... today you have to accept the consequences... our campaign “be a patriot, kill a guerrilla” continues... we did not want to shed moor blood, but you oblige us... Candelaria Barrios Acosta, Pedro Geney Arrieta, Franklín Torres, guerrillas disguised as human right activists, we have received the order to kill you.”]</p>