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Translating Asymmetry – Rewriting Power

edited by
Ovidi Carbonell i Cortés
Esther Monzó-Nebot

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Translating Asymmetry – Rewriting Power

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Introduction

Translation and interpreting mediating asymmetries

Ovidi Carbonell i Cortés and Esther Monzó-Nebot

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Since the birth of translation and interpreting studies, asymmetry has shaped and spurred discussions on the nature, possibilities, and impact of translation and interpreting. Linguistic and cultural anisomorphism (Mounin 1963; Dagut 1976; Tymoczko 2007) for specific professional settings (Alcaraz Varó 2009; Stern 2011) and modalities (Wilss 1978; Seeber and Kerzel 2011), the bearing of institutionalized power asymmetries on translation and interpreting practices (Inghilleri 2004: 73; Vidal Claramonte 2010: 79), of geopolitical asymmetries on cultural canons shaped by translation (Niranjana 1992; Venuti 1998: 88; Neubert 2001; Tageldin 2011), and the impact of translation on the production and exchange of information (Bielsa 2009: 14) are just a few instances where the fundamentally unequal relationship between source and target texts and communities becomes apparent. In fact, any discussion of translation *is* a discussion of asymmetry of some sort.

The notion of asymmetry as appearing in the title of this volume is closely connected with that of power. It is also connected with that of performativity, in Searle's classic conception of linguistic representation not as depiction – what once seemed to underpin so-called equivalence – but as the power of language and translation to effect change in the world. Power is pervasive and diffuse, embodied by those forms of knowledge that are socially dominant and accepted as truth, that define normalcy. As Foucault claimed, power is everywhere (1976 [1998]: 48). It comes from everywhere. Only in different shapes and concentrations. Interactions necessarily entail an encounter of different positions in the network of distributed power that determines the possibilities of participants to make their will and interests prevail. In that context, the very opportunity to be interpreted or translated impacts on individuals' capacities to shape results, to create meaningful meaning, to play with the asymmetries of distribution. The acknowledgement of asymmetry in translation, far from being a novel idea or a new trend, is the acknowledgement of the role of translation as a key agent in the production of social meaning and social action. Revealing those asymmetries in translated and interpreted situations,

how they are articulated and productively manipulated, and the role of translators and interpreters in maintaining or challenging power differentials, is a prerequisite to fully understand translation and interpreting and their meaning.

In the last few decades, translation and interpreting studies has seen major changes caused by new developments and reconceptualizations. A particularly constructive transformation has been challenging the reproductive nature of translation. Based on the results of cognitive (Hönig 1997) or cultural (Chamberlain 1988) approaches, translation has been regarded as a productive activity, whereby the symmetry of communicative events and the actions and effects prompted by translated texts has been challenged. Indeed, translation is all about asymmetry. All situations involving translation and interpreting necessarily imply basic asymmetries, grounded on varying linguistic capital at the very least. Translation and interpreting mediate in relational but also structural asymmetries, between different stakeholders and with varying implications.

Seeing translation as productive in unbalanced exchanges has heralded a new perception of the translators' role, of subaltern and emerging practices that challenge basic tenets of the activity as regulated by professional, cultural, and political sources of legitimacy. In our globalized world where translation and interpreting are daily practices that become vital for the agents involved, translation and interpreting are scarce resources that are unequally distributed, giving rise to crucial questions such as who has greater access to translation and interpreting and who decides how interpreting and translation resources are circulated. Further, translation and interpreting practices are asymmetrically coded. Norms and expectations, even when locally negotiated, are developed and regulated based on a presumed normalcy of exchanges. This poses a fundamental query – whom does the field of interpreting and translation answer to? The practical answers to this question determines the asymmetries of our current world, the walls surrounding specific social and cultural groups and the avenues (and turnpikes) connecting others.

The global society we live in leads to clashes and asymmetry between cultures. As Vidal (2021) aptly observes, cultures are certainly intertwined with each other more than ever, but often suffer from geopolitical asymmetries imposed by global markets and the global politics of war based on transcultural clashes which cannot be overcome, despite the efforts of international organizations. In this context, translation plays a fundamental but also a very sensitive role. Thus, *Translating Asymmetry – Rewriting Power* aims, first of all, to offer a view of translation not as the mere representation of an original but as an activity involving manipulation and rewriting, as political engagement and as the production of heteroglossic texts in which the translator's voice must also be heard. Secondly, this book provides an account of the opportunities for transgression, for cooperation, and pro-social behavior that are mediated through translation and interpreting in actual contexts.

The contributions shed light on the empirical and symbolic facets of asymmetries mediated by translation and interpreting, structured around three main axes. The first one offers different interpretations of the asymmetries that are relevant to translation and interpreting studies. The second gathers studies which together aim at unveiling the power dynamics that underlie asymmetries in different translated contexts, involving different stakeholders. Finally, a third section includes contributions that offer alternative power dynamics where translation and interpreting succeed at reimagining power relations.

Esperança Bielsa's chapter addresses the significance of the "cosmopolitan stranger," drawing from notions developed by sociologists Simmel and Bauman, referring to the relationship to the stranger and strangeness in contemporary urban societies, be that as the migrant, the refugee, and their social and cultural significance, whose subjective, "privileged" experience of the foreign, could be "put to work politically towards cosmopolitan ends." Focusing on the ambivalent experience of "strangers" such as dog trainer César Millán or fake 9/11 survivor Tania Head, "cosmopolitan strangers are bearers of key forms of ethical and political learning of a cosmopolitan potential that can be generalised and transmitted to others."

Taking the asymmetry inherent in the relationship between humans and non-human animals, **Myriam Salama-Carr**'s chapter explores translation in the field of animal welfare and animal rights, exploring how animal welfare has emerged as a discipline and revealing the discursive narratives that frame and define that relationship, its tensions and complexities, drawing examples from European and other national and international institutions' material, including that of activist organizations. She analyses how (often contested) core concepts such as *welfare, animal sentience, animal rights* have evolved through disciplines and cultures, drawing examples from European and non-European texts from national and international institutions, including material from activist organizations. Seminal texts and documents in the discourse on animal rights are disseminated through translations. In this sense, translators often participate as volunteers and the translation of animal welfare and rights becomes a form of engagement, challenging "the asymmetry of power that underlies human interaction with other animal species."

In "Helpers, professional authority, and pathologized bodies: Ableism in interpretation and translation," **Naomi Sheneman** and **Octavian E. Robinson** argue how dominating conceptualizations of professionalism in sign language interpreting are pervaded with a notion of what it is to be normal and how requiring interpreting is seen as a deviance that requires "help." Invested with the role of helping, professional interpreting enacts violence with a mask of benevolence, resulting in toxic benevolence. The very processes of professionalization, granting legitimacy to specific individuals who fulfill the requirements established by the normal society, perpetuate the dominant visions. Characterizing interpreters as social gatekeepers,

the authors claim that professionalism enables the system to continue imposing its definitions of expertise closely linked to being nondisabled, its disability perceptions, and its asymmetries. The authors encourage the interpreting community to challenge the opposition between ability and disability (for which they embrace Annamma, Connor, and Ferri's "dis/ability," 2013) and advocate for a "crippling" paradigm where assumptions as to normalcy are debunked and difference as dis/ability is contested, acknowledging "dis/abled consumers as knowledge-holders and knowledge-producers." Sheneman and Robinson's critique of the current model of professionalism comes at the right time, when deontological views of interpreters' role are being questioned and reviewed against the background of a society that grows accustomed to diversity. Contributing to the ongoing discussion, the authors' claim that professionalization, professional authority, and perceptions of ability have the power to produce harm. They advocate for embracing contestation and disrupting ableism, as well as other interconnected networks of identity-based power, including racism and sexism.

Thomas A. Hanson and **Christopher D. Mellinger**, in their chapter entitled "An information asymmetry framework for strategic translation policy in multinational corporations," suggest an enticing agenda for translation and interpreting research that enhances current studies of cross-language communication in multinational corporations, expanding Steyaert and Janssens's seminal paper (1997). After reviewing existing research on the field, which started to develop barely three decades ago, they identify a shared perspective of language as a barrier and a notion of translation burdened by the concept of equivalence. Hanson and Mellinger reinterpret the role of translators and interpreters, and rejecting positivistic tenets, highlight their instrumental role in achieving corporate success. They reimagine translation and interpreting within a framework of information asymmetry, drawing on contributions that stress translation as transferring knowledge and spanning cultures, and further clarify its position as added value in strategic corporate decisions regarding communication within the firm and with external parties. The authors suggest a model to guide policy reactions to the need to communicate across languages which, being in line with the business and economics literature, incorporates knowledge from translation and interpreting studies to understand interlingual communication as complex, situated, and goal-directed. Their strategic translation policy framework conceives of translation as an asset that is operated within the framework of a company's strategy to level or sustain information asymmetries. They further nuance the elements that interact within the framework and trigger decisions on translation policies, such as the need to balance cost, quality, and timeliness, and invite revisions of the elements to be considered from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

Kobus Marais' chapter introduces the perspective of biosemiotics to put forward the idea that translation goes well beyond the realm of professionalism or, indeed, mere human activity, to broaden the object of translation and interpreting studies to non-human translation processes, arguing that all living organisms exchange information and elicit meaningful responses that may be considered forms of translation. Thus, translation and interpreting studies may be considered to have followed an "anthropocentric" and "linguicentric" bias, which becomes explicit in cultural relativism. Marais' challenging discussion in the light of biosemiotics brings forward the tenet that "humans are not the only organisms that translate" and proposes an extension of the field of study to offset epistemological asymmetries.

Kristina Gustafsson's chapter focuses on one of the major issues in translation and interpreting studies, child language brokering. Translation and interpreting as naturally occurring social experiences have been coming in focus of the telescope of our interdiscipline for the last two decades, and child language brokering offers an especially rich and urgent object of inquiry linked to family migration, where children are the first to learn the local language and start brokering for their families, translating official correspondence and interpreting in daily situations, including in interactions with authorities, social, or healthcare services. Gustafsson's chapter tackles a controversial question – how child brokers experience their role. Competing views have been advancing hypotheses and conducting case studies to determine whether, overall, brokering may have positive or negative consequences on children. The need to identify when brokering may have damaging consequences and how to address the causes has attracted the attention of psychology, education, and interpreting studies scholars. In her chapter, "Child language brokering in Swedish welfare institutions. A matter of structural complicity?," Gustafsson focuses on the institutional practice of failing to engage professional interpreters when situations are perceived to be of little importance. Based on group interviews with adults with a background as child brokers and public service workers who asked children to interpret in their professional role, Gustafsson analyzes the "structural complicity" of all the agents involved, focusing on the structural violence taking place because of the asymmetrical power positions and linguistic resources of service workers, children, and migrant parents and relatives.

Hanna Risku, Jelena Milošević, and **Regina Rogl**, in their chapter "Responsibility, powerlessness and conflict: An ethnographic case study of boundary management in translation," focus on interprofessional asymmetries in translation production networks. More specifically, the authors tackle how professional translators and corporate translation commissioners manage their boundaries when they realize their expectations as to other agents in the network are not met. They characterize translation as a "boundary spanning" activity that permeates

boundaries and enables contact between different entities. The cognitive and social spaces of those contacts are conflict laden, as differing experiences resulting in differing values, priorities, and definitions of how things should be and agents should behave emerge. In Risku, Milošević, and Rogl's study, expectations as to the distribution of responsibilities are made visible. A lack of explicit coordination between translators and translation commissioners may cause distorted perceptions of agents' motivations and competencies that have an impact on interpersonal trust and how collaboration is managed. The authors' case-study design makes the results of observations and interviews talk to each other to offer rich accounts of implicit negotiations, personal experiences with power asymmetries, and the strategies deployed. In the context under scrutiny, translation commissioners and translation service providers can avail themselves of different resources and have different possibilities of impacting the situation. The chapter deals with the emotional charge those structural conditions have on specific individuals, revealing fear and frustration as dominating feelings. By focusing on both translators and clients, and by contextualizing their views in their respective work environments and work-related experiences, the authors reveal unknown information as to how asymmetries are created and sustained, especially in cognitive spaces, and further suggest that proactively engaging in workflow design can foster interprofessional respect and cooperation.

Debbie Folaron's essay focuses on the asymmetries in power flows in a world that is rapidly changing and which is having a noticeable impact in translation and interpreting practices. Through the prism of digital world technologies and economies, Folaron examines two contexts of translation in relation to minoritized and endangered languages: the Indigenous territorial context of First Nations peoples in Canada and the Arctic Indigenous cross-territorial circumpolar groups of Inuit peoples in Canada. But her discussion goes well beyond local contexts to offer insightful reflections on social and cultural practices in an increasingly digitalized world. From the "network society" to the "digital society," a new global economy is emerging with deep implications for the translation economy, which is evolving into a "digital translation economy" that challenges received notions of translation agents (commissioners, beneficiaries, clients, consumers) and even the definition of translation itself.

In the chapter "Translating values: Policymakers interpreting interpretation in the 2018 Aquarius refugee ship crisis," **Esther Monzó-Nebot** examines the translation ingredient of institutional policies from the perspective of policymakers. Taking the management of the 2018 Aquarius refugee ship crisis as a case study, the author provides the account of the Director General for Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism responsible for the linguistic component of the

response, and analyzes his views on translation and interpreting. Monzó-Nebot first contextualizes ongoing discussions in translation and interpreting studies on the tensions between professional and non-professional and volunteer translators, the nuances developed in the case of relief translation and interpreting, the relevance of values in that specific situation, and the resources developed by translation and interpreting studies in the area of disaster preparedness. Further, the political context is provided by briefly reviewing European and Spanish migration policies, and highlighting the relevance of the decision taken by the Valencian government to offer a safe berth to the 630 migrants rescued at sea. The analysis shows how the issue of providing communication assistance in the crisis was framed from a linguistic point of view and how translation- and interpreting-specific structures and resources were excluded from the government's emergency plan. The Director General's account evinces a distance between the values protected by professional codes of practice and those required from translators and interpreters in crisis situations by policymakers. Monzó-Nebot suggests that the management of the Aquarius refugee crisis offers relevant information for interpreting and translation studies to make itself relevant to linguistic policymakers.

Łucja Biel, in "EU institutional websites: Targeting citizens, building asymmetries," conducts a genre-based analysis of the institution-to-citizen communication of the European Union (EU) focusing on the information conveyed on its websites. Based on the literature focusing on websites as communicative genres and the EU express policy to establish a closer communication with EU citizens and emphasize its relevance for all by clearly communicating its goals and actions, Biel argues that EU websites have a twofold purpose: to disseminate political information and to influence on EU citizens' attitudes and behaviors. In her study, Biel uses corpus methods to analyze the degree of specialization of the terminology used and the strategies aimed at positioning both the institutions and the citizens in relation to each other. The assumption is that, if the goal is to reach a wide audience of citizens, specialized terminology should be non-existent and discourse should deploy strategies to position citizens on equal footing with the institution. By comparing the translated Polish version of EU websites and Polish national institutional websites, the author finds relevant trends and differences between EU and domestic strategies. The first conclusion is that EU webpages resort to specialized terminology in both original and translated versions whereas domestic discourse experiments with everyday equivalences for specialized terms. As regards positioning strategies, the author shows how EU institutions use threat as a resource to create an in-group with EU citizens, with whom they keep a formal interpersonal distance. Meanwhile, national websites make avail of informality, directness, and personalization. Both approaches aim at downplaying power, while

showing different conceptualizations of the targeted citizens and their relationship to the state and the EU.

Paul Bandia's starting point in his contribution, "Translation, language and power differential in contemporary African literature," is the idea that contemporary African literature is, by its very nature, a fertile ground for elucidating the rather symbiotic relation between translation and power differential, given the inherent multilingualism and the implied language hierarchy characteristic of the African postcolonial context. Asymmetry here begins, he argues, with the unequal power relations between orality and literacy, between oral tradition and writing, between indigenous languages and the languages of colonization. This power differential is enhanced further by the ever-increasing gap between languages of officialdom and the evolving and rapidly assertive languages of creolization. To the extent that African literature is a window into life in contemporary African society, the aesthetic representation of Africanity in writing as well as in colonial or global languages involves translating asymmetry and negotiating, redressing or rewriting power inequalities. This underlying characteristic of African literature dovetails with literary practices in the diaspora whereby migration and identitarian politics draw heavily from the notion of translation as a mechanism for expressing discourses of resistance to oppression and asymmetrical power relations. This chapter seeks to lay bare the underpinnings of power differentials in contemporary African literature and to highlight the role of translation in resisting asymmetry and rewriting power.

In his chapter "Small yet powerful: The rise of small independent presses and translated fiction in the UK," **Richard Mansell** describes an unexpected development in the market for translated literature in the United Kingdom. Once dominated by big publishing companies operating in different markets that considered translated fiction an unappealing risk, small presses managed to succeed translating and publishing foreign fiction, gaining recognition and creating a market for novel and minor literary systems. Based on data from prestigious literary prizes of the last two decades, Mansell compares the markets for translated and non-translated literary fiction and identifies clear trends confirming the impressions voiced by the critics that translated fiction is becoming a powerful sector. Mansell confirms that the translated field is gaining autonomy and behaving in particular ways, showing a diverse distribution of power, with top positions being shared among different firms rather than concentrated in one particular publisher, as often happens with the market of non-translated literature. Mansell's discussion focuses particularly on the "activist" nature of the translated field, highlighting how the different agents involved share the mission of bringing attention to hidden "pearls," to works whose value they believe in. In a market that values diversity, an interesting trend towards gender equality is identified, as well as a prominence attributed to translators as

agents with decision-making powers and public prominence, key in the selection, dissemination, and success of translated works, and whose relevance is perceived by the rest of agents sharing the field.

Connecting history, literature, silenced voices, gender, and censorship, **Pilar Godayol**'s "Against the asymmetry of the post-Francoist canon: Feminist publishers and translators in Barcelona" explains how the extensive emergence of women's social and cultural movements after the death of Francisco Franco led to the appearance of remarkable feminist publishing houses and series in a search for foreign ideological mothers. In Madrid, the publishing house debate opened in 1977 with the series Tribuna Feminista (1977–1982). That same year the hybrid and multi-use café-bar laSal, a cultural and political locale, opened in Barcelona, and a year later laSal, edicions de dones (1978–1990) was founded, and was the first feminist publishing house in Spain. In this chapter Godayol will present two feminist publishing projects of the Transition period, which fought to combat the chronic lack of ideological mothers that the Franco regime had imposed. Aimed at restoring the historical memory of women and creating an identity debate, the importation of foreign feminist literature was crucial for the social transformations of the time. Translation became one of the elements of social change, a political act in favor of equality, thanks to the importation of texts that were vital for the defeat of the fascist model of femininity and for the creation of a new model in a frame of democratic freedom. This new equality was also textual because works and women writers were restored to the manifestly partial, androcentric and asymmetric canon that had been cultivated for so many years by the Franco regime.

Georgios Floros, in "Citizens as agents of translation versions: The polyphonic translation," reports on a citizen endeavor to resist social and cultural asymmetries through translation. The initiative to architecturally and socially develop the port city of Famagusta, a symbol of the Greek-Turkish "Cyprus conflict," entailed the creation of a trilingual website (English-Greek-Turkish) where the project initiators, architects and urban planners, cooperated with translators and citizens, who volunteered as readers. The author describes the project and its aim, the linguistic choices of the initiators, who chose English as a neutral language to distance themselves from the conflict but decided on translating the public information into both Greek and Turkish to reach out to the population. Floros' analysis and discussion focus on the linguistic production of the trilingual web platform, on the negotiations among agents, across linguistic versions. After translators produced their first version, group discussions were held with translators, project initiators, and voluntary readers. First, two separate sessions tackled the Greek and the Turkish versions separately. Then, a joint meeting continued the discussions in English. The author shows how the agents' priorities contested notions of equivalence and centripetal interests and negotiated discourse spaces for memory and amnesia. The

analysis relies on Bakhtin's notion of polyphony to conceptualize opportunities for conviviality in Famagusta's physical and virtual spaces, and for translation to defy consistency across language versions resorting to an "assented asymmetry" that is aimed at solving implicit asymmetries while rejecting assimilation.

Asymmetry is also taken up in **Rosario Martín Ruano**'s article entitled "(Re)locating translation within asymmetrical power dynamics: Translation as an instrument of resistant conviviality," where she proposes a model of theoretical-methodological analysis based on the recognition of pluralism and diversity as intrinsic characteristics of societies and source of ideological and cultural wealth, and, on the other hand, in a dialogical view of translation as negotiation. Her approach criticizes the recurrent metaphor of translation as a "bridge," in her view often a prop for institutionalized behavior, and follows on to situate translation as an ongoing, never fully successful process among social and cultural identities laden with power inequalities. Martín Ruano explores how translation often reinforces received ideologies and stereotypes about the foreign or plays an active role in processes of differentiation; yet translation also acts as an ambivalent constituent of culture and a political instrument that may integrate as well as exclude. From a critical stand, her essay proposes to take translation as a "category of analysis" from which to enact a rethinking of the frames that guide our understanding of social reality and thus provide an action that resists "the symmetrising pressures of a homogenising and uniformising model of globalisation."

In "Agency and social responsibility in the translation of the migration crisis," **Karen Bennett** asks in the context of the migration crisis, to what extent does the translator have the power and the right to intervene in texts for political or ideological purposes. Her paper deals with this question not in the fields of post-colonialism or feminism, where it has already been studied, but in an area where it has received much less attention, that of the world of professional translation, where the agents in question are constrained by market forces and the need to earn a living through their work, focusing on two concrete situations, one from the legal sphere and from news translation-reporting. The first discusses how irresponsible choices in the translation of legal documents can proliferate online, generating a kind of "lexicoprudence" that produces alarming consequences in the real world. The second concerns the reportage of speeches by foreign politicians in the British press concerning the problem of unaccompanied child migrants in the wake of the dismantling of the Calais Jungle.

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Revisiting the foundations of asymmetry

Translating strangers

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It has been argued that traditional notions of the stranger, as put forward in classical accounts by Simmel, Schütz and others, need to be re-examined in the light of widespread social developments that challenge the divisions between the self and the other that were once taken for granted. This chapter addresses the significance of the cosmopolitan stranger, whose skills are especially important under conditions of generalised societal strangeness. A consideration of the interrelated notions of distance and strangeness in the social experience of the stranger is offered and the specific features of the cosmopolitan stranger examined. After that, the cases of two cosmopolitan strangers ("dog whisperer" Cesar Millan and 9/11 impostor survivor Tania Head) who have played a prominent social role in societies that were not initially their own are discussed. A concluding section returns to the notions of distance and strangeness in order to generalise from these particular cases by relating them to different strategies for translating the foreign.

Keywords: strangeness, cosmopolitan stranger, distance, otherness, cosmopolitanism, Cesar Millan, Tania Head

1. Introducing the cosmopolitan stranger

In elaborating perspectives for engaging with the needs and views of others in heterogeneous societies, cosmopolitanism has contributed to specify the key social and political relevance of the stranger today. In this context, democracy has been defined as a politics among strangers (Honig 2001: 39–40, 72), while the rights of migrants (Benhabib 2004) and the "inclusion of the other" have led to rethinking the boundaries of a political community that is open to all (Habermas 1998). More generally, philosophical and psychoanalytical insights have been deployed to formulate an ethics shaped by otherness (Levinas 1991), to show how we all carry strangers within us (Kristeva 1991), and to describe how the trace of the other and the opacity of translation challenge the assumed stability of both individual and collective identities (Sakai 1997; Derrida 1998; Ivekovic 2005). Sociological approaches, on their part, have sought to reappraise classical definitions of the stranger as a key figure of

modernity in light of what has been approached as the cosmopolitanisation of reality, as well as the proliferation of social uncertainty and risk and the blurring of the once taken for granted boundaries of groups and communities.

The purpose of this chapter is to articulate a view of the cosmopolitan stranger as a particularly significant type of stranger from a cosmopolitical standpoint. To this end, an approach to the cosmopolitan stranger centred on the stranger's subjective experience of the foreign is proposed. Cosmopolitan strangers' particular biographical trajectories and existential conditions, particularly what Edward Said once described as a profound and painful "discontinuous state of being" that marks the experiences of all migrants (2002: 140), have led them to embrace a self-reflexivity towards their own views and most ingrained beliefs. In this understanding, although cosmopolitan strangers may not be convinced cosmopolitans because experiences of the foreign manifest themselves in highly contradictory ways, they can nevertheless be considered purposive agents of cosmopolitanism, as their experiences are communicated and influence many others. Such a notion of the cosmopolitan stranger actualises Simmel's prototypical stranger with a view to preserving Simmel's objective of capturing the modes of experiencing modern life (Frisby 1988, 2002: 27). However, it differs from accounts based on Simmel in that it emphasises openness, rather than non-belonging, as the basis of the stranger's experience of the foreign.

In this light, the following basic features of the cosmopolitan stranger can be distinguished:

1. The cosmopolitan stranger must be theorised somewhere in between the cosmopolitan, who is at home everywhere in the world, and the contemporary stranger as an eternal wanderer, "homeless always and everywhere, without hope of ever 'arriving'" (Bauman 1991: 79). I propose a focus on the cosmopolitan sociability of migrants that stresses simultaneous rootedness and openness, as well as cultural difference as the source of individual creativity for adapting and building a new home in a different environment (cf. Beck 2006: 104; Sennett 2009; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Agier 2016). In this approach, the stress falls on cultural hybridity rather than on homelessness or detachment, pointing not to the dissolution of local bonds and forms of belonging but rather to the existence of various, sometimes conflicting attachments and a certain degree of in-betweenness.[1]

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1.   On the in-between stranger see Marotta (2010); but see also Rumford's justified critique of the assumption that this leads to a privileged perspective. As Rumford argues, cosmopolitanism seeks to encourage multiperspectivalism rather than "high point" thinking (Rumford 2013: 116–118).

2. The cosmopolitan stranger is an excellent translator between cultures. This is a key aspect in order to consider the stranger as an active agent of cosmopolitanism from below that often tends to be either underestimated or simply forgotten. It is related to how the stranger adapts to a new cultural context in a way that is meaningful and relevant not only to him or herself but also to locals. The emphasis lies here not on what is lost in translation, but on what is gained, relying on an understanding of translation not as transfer or communication of meaning, but to a much wider notion of translation as an experience of the foreign that is intimately related to our self-identity. Although the sociological literature has paid little attention to this significant aspect, Alfred Schütz explicitly identified how, to the stranger, "the cultural pattern no longer functions as a system of tested recipes at hand" (1976: 96) as it does for the locals, so that strangers have to undertake a translation of the terms of the cultural pattern of the approached group into those of the home group. However, I propose to reverse Schütz's insights in considering this fact not a source of inadequacy that makes the stranger uncertain and socially handicapped, but mostly a source of creativity that can be used in a cosmopolitan direction – by successfully translating some elements from the cultural pattern of the home group into the terms of the approached group.

3. The cosmopolitan stranger is a mediated stranger, increasingly relevant not just with reference to face to face interaction with an approached group but to wide and heterogeneous mass publics that no longer belong to clearly defined communities with an inside/outside divide. Thus, a discussion of the cosmopolitan stranger needs to address the significance of the mediated public space, in which, as Roger Silverstone indicates, "the mediated images of strangers increasingly define what actually constitutes the world" (2007: 4). As we will see, successful cosmopolitan strangers can become relevant and inspiring to international audiences across linguistic and cultural divides. They are not just the ubiquitous face of the other that is made visible but seldom heard (or even less understood), but rather prominent characters who have been able to communicate through the media to different publics in remarkable ways.

4. The cosmopolitan stranger is not the only, or even the most prevalent kind of stranger today. Flawed consumers (Bauman 1997: 14) and refugees, whom Bauman sees as outcasts and outlaws of a novel kind who "lose their place on earth and are catapulted into a nowhere" (2007: 45; see also 2016), abound. Instead, I seek to identify a particularly relevant type of stranger, strangers whose survival skills are improved precisely because they have learned to communicate with strangers. These strangers not only manage to make themselves heard, but also challenge a world that has become second nature, leading to

self-reflexivity and change in light of the difference of the other. Precisely because of this, this type of stranger can make an important contribution in a cosmopolitan direction.

In the next two sections, a reconstruction of sociological theories of the stranger and a conceptualisation of the cosmopolitan stranger is offered. After that, a detailed analysis of two cases is undertaken. These refer to two cosmopolitan strangers who have succeeded in articulating a compelling, if somewhat peculiar, experience of the foreign, making visible and responding in exemplary ways to challenges and trends that are ubiquitous and with which all of those who live in heterogeneous societies are increasingly faced. They represent two opposed strategies for mediating the foreign, relating to what I have elsewhere approached as a politics of translation as an alternative to a politics of identity (Bielsa and Aguilera 2017). This dimension is briefly discussed in a concluding section with reference to the key notions of distance and strangeness as the two constitutive elements of the social experience of the stranger.

2.   Strangers in the midst of generalised strangeness

In 1908 Georg Simmel defined the "sociological form" of the stranger as the unity between wandering and fixation as its conceptual opposite, a potential wanderer whose presence in the social group is basically determined by the fact that he brings qualities into it that cannot stem from the group itself (1950: 402). In this classical essay, which is still very much the starting point for most contemporary formulations on the stranger, Simmel distinguishes between distance and strangeness as constitutive of the social experience of the stranger. Distance refers not to spatial but primarily to cultural distance: to the fact that "he, who is close by, is far" (1950: 402). More cryptically, strangeness "means that he, who is also far, is actually near" (1950: 402). According to Simmel, rather than the product of difference and incomprehensibility, strangeness is due to the generality that lurks even in the most singular relationships – for instance between lovers, as they realise that the feelings they profess and once believed unique can similarly be found in thousands of other couples. There is a kind of strangeness that disallows the stranger's specificity and humanity in the name of generality, thus signalling a non-relation: as a group member, the stranger "is near and far *at the same time*" (1950: 407). Even if strangers become meaningful to us when they enter our social circle, we are led to ignore their singularity and specificity by the general attributes that accentuate everything that differentiates them from ourselves. For Simmel, it is strangeness rather than distance that is the key to the stranger's ambivalence, because whereas cultural

distance can also be attributed to a world of dead objects, strangeness exclusively refers to relationships between subjects.[2]

Simmel lived in Berlin's city centre at the time of the capital's most accelerated period of growth. His stranger literally embodies the very qualities that were coming to define city life, above all, the social and political diversity that led to a fragmentation of narratives and challenged clarity of vision (Fritzsche 1996), as well as the fugitiveness and ephemerality that define metropolitan modernity more generally (Baudelaire 1964; Benjamin 2006). "An alien in his native land" and a "stranger in the academy" (Coser 1965, cited in Frisby 2002: 8, 9; see also Bauman 1991: 160–69, 185–90), Simmel emphasised freedom as a basic characteristic of the stranger, approaching it as both a freedom of movement and a freedom of thought, linked to the capacity for thinking outside the confines of the habits of social groups that become second nature.

Significantly, Simmel also remarked on the active fostering of a certain strangeness or reserve as a negative attitude towards self-preservation induced by the city's constant stimuli, perceived as an attack to the autonomy and individuality of their inhabitants. Thus, he maintains in his seminal essay on the metropolis that an attitude of reserve is characteristic of urbanites, often perceived by small-town people as cold and heartless, and that

> the inner aspect of this outer reserve is not only indifference but, more often than we are aware, it is a slight aversion, a mutual strangeness and repulsion, which will break into hatred and fight at the moment of a closer contact, however caused.
>
> (Simmel 1997: 179)

If the stranger is a social figure that combines nearness and remoteness, strangeness introduces social distance in an urban context of extreme physical closeness, while disassociation is for Simmel an elemental form of socialisation in the metropolis (1997: 180). Strangeness is both a form of guarding individuality in front of overwhelming social forces (in Simmel's view antipathy protects from both indifference and indiscriminate suggestibility) and a condition that makes it possible to live together by avoiding the conflicts that closer contact with others would generate.

It is Simmel's merit to have grasped the centrality of strangeness to social relations in modernity, even if he left his intuitive account of its role largely unexplored.

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2.   In its categorical distinction between subject and object, Simmel's approach can also be used to identify the key difference between a banal cosmopolitanism as the product of an ossified objective culture (e.g., Indian cuisine or world music) and the vitality of a subjective culture that is entrapped by the former, embodied in the lived experience of the cosmopolitan stranger, as will be elaborated in this essay.

Contemporary authors are faced with the challenge of reconceptualising the stranger in the context of what can be approached as the universalisation of strangeness, when the closed boundaries of the communities against which the stranger was traditionally defined can no longer be maintained.

The most sustained attempt to develop an analysis of contemporary strangeness is that of Chris Rumford. Strangeness already appears in his book *Cosmopolitan Spaces* (2008), but becomes the central reflection in *The Globalization of Strangeness* (2013). In his earlier work, Rumford argues that processes of globalisation have led to an increased sense of strangeness, particularly with reference to political spaces, in relation to the undermining of the familiar territoriality of a world of nation-states. Here, strangeness refers to social spaces or political domains "which have an unsettling, destabilising, or disorienting effect in the sense that they are difficult to comprehend or assimilate" (2008: 69). In this account, global connectivity generates not simply the idea of a smaller world, but also leads to realising its potential dangers, accounting for growing trends to the reinforcement of borders and to securitisation of everyday life. The author thus focuses on the proliferation of unfamiliar spaces in a world that is increasingly perceived as uncertain and threatening, and the blurring and reconfiguration of borders on a national as well as on a global scale.

The subject of Rumford's more recent book, *The Globalization of Strangeness*, is no longer the increasingly unfamiliar spatiality that emerges as a product of globalisation, but sociality itself. It approaches social theories of the stranger in the light of contemporary developments, while also centrally addressing current trends towards the universalisation of strangeness. The author argues that,

> Strangeness is encountered when there exists the realization that the social world is unrecognizable in many ways, and where familiar reference points no longer exist (or are far from reliable) … In other words, strangeness is a type of social disorientation (resulting from an experience of globalization) as a result of which we are no longer sure who 'we' are, and we find it difficult to say who belongs to 'our' group and who comes from outside.   (Rumford 2013: xi–xii)

In a context of mobile and increasingly ambiguous borders, Rumford highlights how it has become impossible to identify who the strangers are with reference to a clearly defined cohesive community, thus making the conventional sociological figure of the stranger impossible. Moreover, strangeness becomes unavoidable, but also a matter of perspective: "it is no longer possible to stand outside of societal strangeness; everyone is a stranger to someone else" (2013: 48). Strangeness is viewed essentially as a form of dis-connectivity as familiar reference points are eroded (2013: 34), pointing to a significant experience of globalisation that is often neglected in the literature. Therein also lies the fundamental link between

cosmopolitanism and strangeness: cosmopolitanism is a political strategy that mobilises subjective experience to open up new possibilities for human sociality under the constraints imposed by strangeness (2013: 107).

3. The significance of the cosmopolitan stranger

There are at least three important reasons for examining the significance of the stranger in relation to contemporary cosmopolitanism. These relate to the need to consider individual lived experience as a key aspect of cosmopolitanism, to the prominent role of the stranger – rather than the cosmopolitan – in the cosmopolitanism debate, and to the possibility of viewing strangers as a test for the degree of cosmopolitan openness in society. Each is briefly commented upon below.

First, by putting individual experience at the centre (in addition to Rumford 2013, see also Agier 2016), the notion of the stranger allows for a concretisation of cosmopolitan themes in the lives of individuals who, because of their particular circumstances and not without many contradictions, can be said to have embraced cosmopolitan openness to the world and to others. Perhaps more significantly, the relevance of lived experience in responding to generalised societal strangeness should also be emphasised, as the latter is precisely characterised by the fact that it increasingly jeopardises meaningful individual experience. The experiences, learning processes and skills of the cosmopolitan stranger can be used as an antidote or a protection against social conditions that put in danger the individual's capacity for meaningful experience itself, much in the same way as Walter Benjamin sought to describe in Baudelaire's experience of shock a combative response to the atrophy of experience in modernity (Benjamin 2006).

Second, it is the stranger, rather than the cosmopolitan, that is at the centre of contemporary debates about cosmopolitanism. The main reason for this is that the concept of the cosmopolitan has remained rather narrow and linked to traditional definitions that alluded to the perspective of an upper-class (mostly male) individual who travelled frequently and possessed as a result a personal knowledge and experience of the diversity of the world. Even if this notion of the cosmopolitan is questioned and an alternative definition that contemplates not just knowledge but especially engagement with diversity and otherness is proposed, the concept remains far too restricted to refer to all of those who are today living cosmopolitan lives.[3] Arguably, an openness that is primarily conceived in aesthetic terms is

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3. This was the path followed by Ulf Hannerz, who underlined "intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experience" (Hannerz 1996: 103). More recently, it can also be found in Skrbiš and Woodward's approach (Skrbiš and Woodward 2013).

in our society not available to all, but only to those who are freed from necessity, thus excluding the majority of the population (Bourdieu 1986). If the figure of the cosmopolitan cannot get rid of an elitist cosmopolitanism primarily based on the aesthetic attitude, the stranger speaks to us about the lived experience of foreignness in our daily, ordinary lives. Here, we are attending not just to those of privileged backgrounds who have learnt to appreciate and live with cultural difference, but also to the vast numbers of migrants who become skilled cosmopolitans (Sennett 2009), who may not be fully convinced cosmopolitans but perhaps unwilling or unconscious ones, but whose complex, creative and often contradictory experience of the foreign can nevertheless be used in a cosmopolitan direction.

A third reason for paying attention to the stranger is that strangers are a test for the degree of cosmopolitan openness in society. The significance of this aspect is clearly perceivable in Jacques Derrida's approach to cosmopolitan openness as unconditional hospitality to the foreigner, an absolute hospitality that does not ask for reciprocity or even for the stranger's name (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 25). Absolute hospitality may be unattainable, or even undesirable because it can recklessly put our life-world in danger (Bielsa and Aguilera 2017), but it points in a very different direction than approaches based on recognition (Taylor 1994; Honneth 1995), often at the centre of multiculturalist debates. Recognition always implies a degree of previous comprehension, an apprehension of others in terms of their relation to ourselves, which is inevitably a reduction. Hospitality is a more radical practice, preserving an existence of and creating an involvement with something we still do not understand. Recognition is not the key to the cosmopolitan challenge posed by the stranger, but rather hospitality and respect in the face of incomprehensible, unrecognisable difference (Aguilera 2015). Strangeness, very much in Simmel's sense of a rejection of the stranger's specificity and humanity in the name of generality, of the fostering of a non-relationship in an increasingly small world, is at the centre of Europe's current refusal of solidarity with refugees or of growing authoritarian responses to migration flows, most visible in Trump and Brexit. Strangers, chosen to epitomise strangeness, offer a scapegoat to the anxieties provoked by rising uncertainty, unfamiliarity and opacity (Bauman 2007: 85). However, the incapacity to acknowledge and deal with strangeness can only lead to its further proliferation. Cosmopolitan strangers represent an alternative strategy that finds in an experience of the foreign the resources to productively engage with the constraints imposed by strangeness.

What are the features of the cosmopolitan stranger? In which ways does he or she differ from the prototypical stranger, once described by Simmel as "the person who comes today and stays tomorrow" (1950: 402), a *potential* wanderer who retains the freedom to come and go, a person who "is near and far *at the same time*" (1950: 407)? Simmel's essay was written at a time when strangers elicited a reaction

they no longer produce today, when they were still felt as an extraordinary presence, and in part derives its penetrating force from this fact. The stranger confronted a group with well-defined boundaries by being at a distance from it, and it is this aspect of Simmel's approach that most requires rethinking in the contemporary context, even if we preserve a notion of cultural distance as fundamental for a definition of the cosmopolitan stranger.

As Zygmunt Bauman maintained, "all societies produce strangers; but each kind of society produces its own kind of strangers, and produces them in its own inimitable way" (Bauman 1997: 17). On these grounds alone, an exploration of the figure of the cosmopolitan stranger is already justified. However, this chapter seeks to articulate a stronger claim for the social and cultural significance of cosmopolitan strangers concerning their privileged experience of the foreign, which can be put to work politically towards cosmopolitan ends. In this approach, the cosmopolitan stranger's self-reflexive journey can serve as an exemplary instance of the cosmopolitan imagination, of a cosmopolitan openness concerning "shifts in self-understanding and self-problematisation in light of the encounter with the Other" (Delanty 2009: 83). Thus, cosmopolitan strangers are bearers of key forms of ethical and political learning of a cosmopolitan potential that can be generalised and transmitted to others.

Bauman himself, who conceived strangerhood as a central aspect of his sociology of modernity, identified key social developments that directly contribute to a characterisation of the stranger in the contemporary context. Bauman's stranger is fundamentally defined by ambivalence, rather than distance, expressing both the inherent contradictions of assimilatory attempts in the liberal tradition, where strangers are called to individually resolve a strangeness that is always collectively defined, and the experience of the holocaust as the most sustained attempt to eliminate ambivalence from social life. Thus, Bauman approached strangers as "the true hybrids, the monsters – not just *unclassified*, but *unclassifiable*" (1991: 58, emphasis in original), representing "an incongruous and hence resented 'synthesis of nearness and remoteness'" (1991: 60). He also crucially pointed to the universalisation of the social experience of strangerhood from the Jews as prototypical strangers to the rest of society. This has to be taken not only in the sense that we must now all be confronted with the ambiguity and relativism that once marked the social experience of the Jews, but also as putting in doubt that coherent, well-defined home group that classical authors such as Simmel and Schutz could still take for granted.

Ulrich Beck has noted that strangers are "neighbours of whom it is said that they are not like 'us'" (Beck 1998: 127), particularly referring to second-generation migrants. Beck, who shares Bauman's view of the stranger as ambivalence personified, places the emphasis on the effects of cosmopolitanisation of reality on individual lives. He also explicitly breaks away from traditional views of the stranger

that assume the relative clarity of the local world against which the stranger is defined, particularly by pointing to generalised mobile individual existence and to the universalisation of the place polygamy that was once characteristic of the stranger. Thus, he approaches processes of globalisation of biography (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 25) and of cosmopolitanisation of biography in the context of an experiential space in which local, national and global influences interpenetrate (Beck 2006: 43) and where cultural difference and the coexistence of rival lifestyles are internalised. He also explicitly refers to the average migrant, who becomes "an acrobat in the manipulation of boundaries," and who can be approached as "the model of an experimental cosmopolitanism of the powerless in which the capacity to change perspectives, dialogical imagination and creative handling of contradictions are indispensable survival skills" (2006: 104).

For Rumford, as I have already indicated, a conceptualisation of the cosmopolitan stranger must attend not only to the universalisation of the social experience of strangerhood, but also to the generalisation of societal strangeness in the contemporary context. In the midst of generalised strangeness, it is more appropriate to see the stranger as one who can pop-out anywhere, anytime, not previously observed arriving (Rumford 2013: 43). Thus, the cosmopolitan stranger is approached as the paradigmatic stranger figure of the global age and defined as a person who is "here today and gone tomorrow" – in opposition to Simmel's stranger, who "comes today and stays tomorrow." The cosmopolitan stranger is made possible by modern technology, which offers the capability to connect globally without leaving home: "whereas the cosmopolitan is a figure considered … to be at home everywhere, the cosmopolitan stranger is 'everywhere, at home'" (2013: 121). Rumford's examples of cosmopolitan strangers (which include the superhero Phoenix Jones, public artists, as well as collective actors such as the flash mob, 2013: 124–135) underline their role in generating new forms of social solidarity through connecting people with distant others, thus opening up possibilities under the restrictive conditions of strangeness.

Rather than focusing on the role of the cosmopolitan stranger in connecting people with distant others, this article articulates a notion of the cosmopolitan stranger centred on the stranger's subjective experience of the foreign, an aspect which is left largely unexamined in Rumford's account (for a critique of Rumford's approach to the cosmopolitan stranger see Bielsa 2016). Here, the means by which strangers relate to new environments and make this experience also meaningful to others are investigated. It is precisely when the universalisation of strangerhood would seem to indicate that strangers have lost the social distinctiveness they once possessed because, as Bauman observed, "if everyone is a stranger, no one is" (1991: 97), that the social experience and skills of the cosmopolitan stranger become more relevant to us all in the conduct of our ordinary lives in conditions

of generalised strangeness. This is what makes the cosmopolitan stranger the paradigmatic stranger figure of the current age. The two cases analysed below provide singular instances of how this social significance can be achieved.

4.   The interpreting stranger: Cesar Millan

Cesar Millan's television series, *Dog Whisperer*, became hugely successful first in the US and other English-speaking countries, later also in other linguistic regions. It is in fact, episode after episode, a programme about a stranger telling Americans how they have to change in order to treat their dogs properly. In Millan's show we do not see a foreigner trying to adjust[4] and become as little distinguishable, as little marked by foreignness as possible, but one who makes use of his strangerhood to effectively explain what is wrong in an over-civilised America that has lost touch with basic facts of nature and offer recipes for improvement. To this end, he not only uses his Mexican background but also what I view as Millan's most extraordinary cosmopolitan communication skills. He diagnoses American dogs and their owners making unashamed use of a heavily accented, sometimes ungrammatical English and of a peculiar vocabulary and expression (in the way he uses terms like "human" and "dog," "right" and "wrong energy," "following pack leaders," etc.). He even seems able to speak dog! Very conscious of what his body language communicates to dogs, Millan not only manages to obtain obedience from them even in the most extreme cases. In fact, he often comes across as an interpreter between human and dog, mimicking dogs in order to make their canine point of view understood to their human owners.

The basic conviction underpinning Millan's practice comes from the realisation that the cause of many (if not all) of American dogs' recurrent problems are due to their owners' ingrained practice of humanising dogs, which comes at the price of ignoring their particular animal needs. According to Millan, only an effort to understand and fulfil the dog's natural needs can produce a happy and stable connection between humans and dogs. Millan does not adopt the role of detached observer, whose objectivity of thought is projected onto a critical, but ultimately sterile vision, but actively seeks to intervene. He purposely goes against deep-seated attitudes and practices, so that the dog psychologist's task is understood as concerning and changing humans as much as dogs. It implies persuading owners to look inside themselves and re-examine their habits and ingrained beliefs so that they can learn to behave differently and become good pack leaders to their dogs. Therein comes Millan's famously repeated motto: "I rehabilitate dogs, I train people."

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4.   For a critique of the notion of adjustment in relation to his own personal experience of exile see Adorno (1998).

This is also clearly articulated in his first book, *Cesar's Way* (2006), although in a somewhat less strange manner, as Millan's English has been polished and, to a great extent, domesticated by contributor Melissa Jo Peltier. The volume is a peculiar type of self-help guide to understanding dogs needs and behaviour, where narrating the personal history and background of the author is placed on an equal footing with giving relevant advice to dog owners. Indeed, the weight of the autobiographical dimension is not accidental, as it is precisely Millan's strangerhood, his childhood experience of living with Mexican farm dogs, and even the culture shock that he suffers when he first witnesses how dogs are treated in America, that place him in a unique position to articulate his point of view.

Millan illegally entered the country in pursuit of his childhood dream of becoming the world's greatest trainer of famous movie dogs like Lassie and Rin Tin Tin (2006: 56, 2). But it is not after a substantial exposure to life in the US and a relatively long period of learning that he is able to conceive his mission and put his Mexican background and knowledge to use towards cosmopolitan ends. Significantly, this entails both its successful articulation in English, his adopted tongue, and a reformulation of the old dream of becoming a dog trainer into a pledge to help troubled American dogs to become happier and healthier. Dogs need, in Millan's own words, to "unlearn" the ways of life taught to them by "humans who love too much" in order to be able to relearn how to be dogs. This is as much a task for dogs as it is for their owners, who have to be convinced of a different, more natural way to love and care for their dogs, "a way that promises you the kind of deep connection you always dreamed of having with a nonhuman animal" (2006: 23). Millan pleas with his readers to "please, open your mind to the possibility that your dog may be missing some of the things *she* needs in *her* life to be happy and fulfilled *as a dog*" (Millan 2006: 57, emphasis in original). He also urges them to learn to interpret their dogs' body language, significantly comparing this task to mastering English for a non-native speaker. Thus, Millan describes his mediating role as follows: "by teaching my clients how to 'speak' their dog's language – the language of the pack – I open up a whole new world for *them*" (Millan 2006: 3, emphasis in original).

In fact, it could be argued that Millan adopts what could be characterised as a form of interspecies cosmopolitanism[5] that is articulated around three key points: understanding, respect and hospitality. Understanding how dogs are different from us and learning to see the world through their eyes: "I want you to learn a deeper

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5.   The invisibility of nonhuman animals in the cosmopolitanism debate is the product of a wider silencing that prevails within sociology (Irvine 2008; Wilkie 2015; Carter and Charles 2018). Yet this is arguably a dimension that needs to be urgently incorporated into a revised notion of critical cosmopolitanism.

understanding of how your dog sees the world … after applying my techniques, you may even begin to understand yourself better" (Millan 2006: 4). Respect in terms of recognising dogs' different needs and committing to their fulfilment, even if it sometimes means having to hold back our human need for affection, because what might be "incredibly therapeutic for the human … can be psychologically damaging for the animal" (2006: 70). According to Millan, "when we humanize dogs … we're never going to achieve a deep communion with them. We're never really going to learn to love them for who and what they truly are" (2006: 85). By contrast, "you are offering another living creature the highest form of *respect*, by letting that creature be what she is supposed to be" (2006: 85, emphasis in original). Last, Millan's hospitality, this time argued by advocating the prevalence of an exclusively human understanding that explicitly rejects the natural law of survival of the fittest, is enacted through the large pack of residents at his Dog Psychology Center ("they are a motley crew – a ragtag mix of injured, rejected, thrown-away rescued dogs" [2006: 10]), where no aggression is tolerated towards the handicapped and the weak, who are given another chance at a full, happy life.

Millan's popular success has in part been driven by the celebrities, including Jada Pinkett and Oprah Winfrey, who quickly realised the beneficial effects of this stranger's intervention on their dogs and on themselves. Of course, his remarkable story as an illegal immigrant who made it from rags to riches is in fact not so foreign in the US. However, it is built on the effective translation of foreign knowledge to US dog owners and audiences without attempting to disguise its strangeness, and the peculiarity of this should not be underestimated. This is a translation that has changed Millan himself as much as it is designed to change the lives of many adept dog owners, providing him with critical, self-reflexive thought and a new way to articulate his views in a language that became his own. It is this what makes him, in my view, an extremely successful cosmopolitan stranger, able to offer American dog owners an account of themselves in light of the difference of the other, and to communicate this process to mass audiences across linguistic and cultural borders.

5.   The stranger as ventriloquist: Tania Head

Tania Head became a remarkable popular figure whose recognition is also intricately associated with her cosmopolitan skills. However, unlike Cesar Millan's, her status was short-lived. Her trajectory reveals a more tragic, contradictory, even sinister aspect, which is in fact not uncommon to female heroines in the Western tradition, from Medea to Hedda Gabler.

Head acquired notoriety as a survivor of the 9/11 attacks who then went on to tell about her experience of loss and survival, eventually becoming the public voice

of the living victims as president of the World Trade Center Survivors Network. She first appeared in a meeting of the then recently created group in early 2004, having slowly revealed in an online support group during the previous months the harrowing details of her story, which combined her own miraculous escape from the 78th floor of the south tower and the simultaneous loss of her fiancé in the north tower. In the months that followed, she would dedicate increasing amounts of her time and energy to further the public cause of survivors, who had been marginalised and made invisible, becoming widely admired for her tenacity and dedication, and for the passion with which she fought so that their stories would be heard. A first battle was that of obtaining private access to ground zero, which had been granted to family members of the deceased but denied to survivors, succeeding where others had failed and securing a visit in May 2004. Then came emerging press coverage of the ordeal survivors still faced three years after the attacks, and initiatives for the production of a book and a documentary with survivors' stories. In 2005, survivors' increasing recognition was mirrored in their very successful campaign for saving what became known as the Survivors' Stairway during the rebuilding of the World Trade Center. Tania Head became that year their most visible face when she led the New York authorities in the inaugural walking tour around the site for the Tribute WTC Visitor Center just before the fourth anniversary of the attacks.

Only two years later her story came to an abrupt end when *The New York Times*, which had been seeking to interview her for a feature story to mark the 6th anniversary of the attacks without success, published a front-page article where it was revealed that none of its details could be verified (in a piece entitled "In a 9/11 Survival Tale, the Pieces Just Don't Fit," published on 27 September 2007). Two days later, another piece appeared in Barcelona's newspaper *La Vanguardia* with further details on this "impostor's transatlantic fraud" that revealed Tania Head's real identity as Alicia Esteve Head, a Spanish citizen who, at the time of the attacks, resided in Barcelona (Forn 2007). While *The New York Times* article (Dunlap 2007) insisted that Head had not financially profited from her claimed status as victim or from her position in the Survivors' Network, *La Vanguardia* disclosed that she was known by childhood friends and former colleagues in Spain by her formidable fantasy and her habit of making up incredible tales about her life.

Tania Head's implausible deceit has also become the object of several documentaries, a film and a book, *The Woman Who Wasn't There* (Fisher and Guglielmo 2012), by filmmaker and former friend Angelo Guglielmo. These accounts describe the enormous appeal of her heart-gripping tale and the widespread admiration everyone felt for an inspiring figure who "had suffered a constellation of misfortune that would have shattered most people. Yet rather than submitting to her heartbreak, she had turned it into a crusade to help everyone else who was suffering" (2012: 72). As Fisher and Guglielmo state,

> Tania didn't just talk the talk. That's one of the things the others admired about her. She lived the philosophy. There didn't seem to be anything she wouldn't do for the survivors or the network. She gave and gave of herself and asked nothing in return but a little appreciation and a commitment from the others that they follow her lead.
>
> (2012: 103)

However, these accounts also reveal how the person who had become "America's most famous survivor" was suddenly turned into a total stranger and quickly redefined into what Bonnie Honig aptly describes as the "taking foreigner" (2001). Significantly, Honig argues for a reconceptualisation of this figure in a cosmopolitical direction that approaches taking not as the criminal activity of an outsider but rather as an honorific democratic practice. As she convincingly shows:

> The iconic taking foreigner puts foreignness to work on behalf of democracy by modelling forms of agency that are transgressive, but (or therefore) possessed of potentially inaugural powers. Carried by the agencies of foreignness, this revalued "taking" stretches the boundaries of citizenship and seems to imply or call for a rethinking of democracy as also a cosmopolitan and not just a nation-centered set of solidarities, practices and institutions.
>
> (Honig 2001: 8)

Head's tale was larger than life, but it expressed the suffering of thousands. Her courage widely inspired survivors, the family members of victims and many others, contributing to their healing process and to the public memorialisation of the event. Even the 9/11 survivors who had been close to Head and felt personally betrayed by her deceit found it hard to deny what she had left behind as a gift, and it is in this gift that the cosmopolitan value of her contribution is contained. The determination and resilience for which Tania had been so admired were the product of an illusion that she had embraced as more real than reality itself. It is precisely the fact that Tania was a stranger and the fabricated nature of her imaginary tale that hide the secret of how she succeeded in providing a heroic story of survival that helped many people to come to terms with the tragedy that had befallen them.

This is just one of the many paradoxes that this highly contradictory stranger reveals. Moved in part by her love and admiration for America (a childhood friend describes that Head displayed a large American flag in her bedroom) she also poignantly illustrates the real power of the media in making possible not only to know about events that take place at the other side of the world, but actually to experience them as if you had been there yourself, thanks to the media's fabricated appearance of immediacy. The notion of cosmopolitan empathy (Beck 2006) falls very short in adequately capturing this puzzling phenomenon.

Tania Head's figure is in many ways opposed to Cesar Millan's. She is of upper-class background and practically accentless – until her fraud was discovered people believed her to be American. Instead of from rags to riches, her story is a strange

replication of her Spanish family's social descent a decade earlier, when a financial scandal was uncovered and her father and older brother were charged with prison sentences. Unlike Millan's obvious strangeness, Head succeeded in giving Americans the tale they wanted to hear exactly in the language they wanted to hear it: like a ventriloquist who offered the mirror in which people wanted to see themselves, she became the most inspiring of Americans. She was, however, the stranger lurking within, and the discovery of the Spanish nationality of this chameleonic stranger became one more disturbing element of her deception. Perhaps another source of cosmopolitan learning can be found precisely in these more troubling aspects of her story that lay bare the paradoxes of assimilation and the dissolution of foreignness, the constructed nature of Americanness, and reveal, at the same time, that the stranger is always already within.

6.   Conclusion: Strangeness and the mediation of distance

Contemporary globalisation has witnessed the apparent overcoming of distance and a concomitant generalisation of strangeness, which calls for a reappraisal of the figure of the stranger as a peculiar unity of nearness and remoteness. This chapter has presented the cosmopolitan stranger as the paradigmatic stranger figure of our age and elaborated an account that places individual lived experience at the centre: the stranger's experience of the foreign. It is cosmopolitan openness, rather than non-belonging, that distinguishes the cosmopolitan stranger from other stranger figures, both past and present, and that is also the key to an experience of the foreign that can be transmitted to others and put to use towards cosmopolitan ends.

Such an approximation does not renounce a focus on cultural distance, which has not disappeared as a consequence of the significant transcendence of spatial distance. Like all strangers, cosmopolitan strangers face multiple conflicts and inadequacies that are precisely a product of distance – of the fact that, in spite of being close, they are far – and find original and creative ways of dealing with their often conflicting attachments. As Sennett memorably put it with reference to the Russian exile Alexander Herzen, he had to learn to be Russian somewhere else (Sennett 2011: 76–92), and it is this uncertain confrontation with and displacement of what since childhood has sedimented in our most inner self that is the key element of the stranger's freedom. Herein lies the source of the cosmopolitan stranger's emblematic character and also of the stranger's objectivity, celebrated by Simmel as a mixture of indifference and involvement, as a freedom from prejudice and from habit that can be put to use at the service of locals. This is also why the cosmopolitan stranger belies the assumptions underlying notions of an abstract universal citizen, or of a cosmopolitan who feels at home in the world, or of a global

elite of frequent travellers as phantasmagoric presences of unattached individuals; "individuals without an anchorage, without borders, colorless, stateless, rootless, a body of angels" (Fanon 2004: 155).

Simmel also identified the significance of strangeness in social relationships with strangers and in modern urban life. Since Simmel's time, strangeness has been generalised, destabilising a familiar world of nation states and challenging human sociality itself. We have all been turned into strangers, who need to relate to one another in an increasingly unfamiliar world. As Simmel clearly perceived, distance and strangeness are unavoidably related, and it is here that a consideration of the central significance of translation can offer one of its most revealing contributions. This chapter has portrayed the cosmopolitan stranger as an excellent translator between cultures. Translation is, in fact, a way of mediating distance, of communicating across linguistic and cultural divides. Yet, there are different strategies for achieving this according to the way in which strangeness is approached. Cesar Millan and Tania Head represent opposed manners of translating the foreign. Whereas Cesar Millan underscores the strangeness of his translation by placing his own foreignness at the centre, Tania Head denies strangeness and the very fact that translation has taken place, offering an image of herself as the most inspiring of Americans.[6] If cosmopolitanism is conceived as "a strategy for living under conditions of strangeness" (Rumford 2013: 107) only Millan's strategy is orientated towards cosmopolitan ends. Head's ultimate failure is not principally related to her deceit or not even only to herself, but mainly to the circumstances that led her and all the people who were inspired by her to fall into the trap of identity and to deny the healing powers of foreignness, thus finally obscuring the strangeness that is all around us, and which requires us to mobilise the qualities of human experience and sociality that are increasingly threatened by it in new meaningful ways.

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6. I have extensively dealt elsewhere with the relevance of foreignising translation for an understanding of contemporary cosmopolitanism (Bielsa 2016).

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Negotiating asymmetry

The language of animal rights and animal welfare

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Growing public concern about animal welfare, notably in the context of wide-spread industry-led exploitation of animals and abusive breeding and slaughter-ing practices, is increasingly politicised and the shift of focus from the concept of animal welfare to that of animal rights, from compassion to ethics, is framed in an increasingly vocal political discourse. Described as "the fastest social move-ment" (Gaarder 2011), animal activism has achieved a global dimension where translation plays a significant albeit under-researched role in constructing and disseminating a discourse of animal welfare and contributing to "the social con-struction of animals" (Stibbe 2001). Drawing on Schicktanz's (2006) discussion of asymmetry and ambivalence in the context of the human-animal relationship, the paper will explore how, with a backdrop of greater convergence between philo-sophical and scientific perspectives, concepts such as sentience, welfare and rights are evolving with reference to non-human animals. Examples will be drawn from European and international institutions' material and from activist organisations.

Keywords: animal rights, animal welfare, asymmetry, translation

1. Introduction

The notion of asymmetry, when applied in the field of translation studies, has tended to be associated mainly with contrastive studies of texts in a translational context. This has been clearly articulated around issues of explicitation and im-plicitation, for instance, in Klaudy and Károly's exploration of the asymmetry hy-pothesis (Klaudy and Károly 2005). Interlingual asymmetry has also underpinned the discussion of conceptual metaphors (see, e.g., Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow 2017). Nevertheless, it is the growing interest in the cultural and social aspects of translation, and a more holistic view of the act of translation itself, which has led to further attention being paid to power differentials between languages, trans-lation flows, translation modes and translation traditions. It is at this juncture

of the asymmetry of power dynamics that a discussion of the language and the translation of animal rights and animal welfare issues can take place. This paper will take as a starting point the language of animal rights and animal welfare as a site of encounters, and possible clashes, between cultures and disciplines in both theoretical and practical terms. I will sketch the context in which the discourse of animal rights and animal welfare is developing. The increased visibility of animal welfare issues, at a global level and more specifically within the framework of climate change and climate emergency debates, is underwritten by translation to a large extent. International cooperation in the field is not new, as is shown by Linzey (2013), with reference to the collaboration that was taking place between European societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals in the 19th century. Language holds the key to our understanding and construction of the world. However, the interlingual and intercultural mediation that underpins the work of campaigners and activists in the field of animal protection and advocacy, and contributes to the construction and dissemination of a discourse of animal welfare and rights and to the "social construction of animals" (Stibbe 2001), remains under-researched and largely unaccounted in translation studies. One notable exception is Cronin (2017), whose discussion of animal communication and human-animal communication is framed with reference to the interconnectedness of species and the need for an eco-translation which "covers all forms of translation thinking and practice that knowingly engage with the challenges of human-induced environmental change" (Cronin 2017: 11). One chapter, "Translating animals," discusses the need for translation studies to address human-animal communication.

Drawing on Schicktanz's (2006) discussion of asymmetry and ambivalence in the context of the human-animal relationship, the paper will explore how, against a backdrop of greater convergence between philosophical and scientific perspectives, core concepts such as *sentience, welfare* and *rights*, as negotiated across disciplines and cultures, and embedded in particular contexts, are evolving with reference to non-human animals.[1] Examples will be drawn from European and other national and international institutions' material, including that of activist organisations.

2.   Articulating the human/non-human animal relationship

In an article which explores the ethical dimension of the human-animal relationship, Schicktanz (2006) takes as starting points the conditions of asymmetry and ambivalence. She suggests that the condition of asymmetry here captures the dependence of animals and animal lives on human will, "where animals are intensively

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1.   The term *non-human animals* has been increasingly used in debates revolving around animal rights and can be found, for example, in Turner and D'Silva (2006).

used – as in farms, zoos, and laboratories, or as companion animals" (8), and serves as "a conceptual description for this imbalanced distribution of power between human and animal" (8). She writes,

> Modern societies have made efforts to compensate for this imbalance by, for instance, stressing animal protection laws. Asymmetry is also stabilized by the discourse on the distinction between humans and animals based on different cognitive, mental or sentient capacities. (Schicktanz 2006: 8–9)

The second condition identified in her essay is "ambivalence" which characterizes much of past and present discourse on animal welfare and animal rights and underpins the increasingly contested construct of speciesism. Schicktanz (with reference to Wiedenmann 1998) argues that ambivalence "can be found in all our habits and various emotions towards different animal species" (2006: 9). As for the human-animal relationship itself, three models are suggested by Schicktanz which she defines as the "patronage-model" in which "humans are prudent and wise masters of animals," the "friendship-model" when humans "have formed friendships with particular animals" and the "partnership-model" whereby animals are respected as equal partners. Whilst these are proposed towards a re-evaluation and expansion of the human-animal relationship they certainly reflect the tensions and contradictions of the animal rights discourse, and can help sketch the various narratives which frame the way texts in the field are translated. In the same way as there is asymmetry between the actions of the activists who visit abattoirs to document the horrors of animal slaughter and transport practices, and the largely indifferent public response to their documentaries, there is asymmetry between the rather lenient response of the authorities to identified infractions, and the way the activists often fall foul of the law when accused of trespass or invasion of privacy, as evidenced by recent high-profile cases in France (see L214 éthique & animaux 2019a).

3. Politics and the discourse on animal welfare and animal rights

Growing public concern about animal welfare, notably in the context of widespread industry-led exploitation of animals and abusive and brutal breeding and slaughtering practices, is increasingly politicised and the shift of focus from the concept of animal welfare to that of animal rights, from compassion to ethics, as exemplified by the concept of "ethical veganism,"[2] is framed in an increasingly vocal political discourse. The animal issue is a political issue. Described as "the fastest growing

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2. Ethical veganism is a philosophical belief which qualifies as a protected belief within the meaning of Section 10 of the UK Equality Act 2010 (see Mr J Casamitjana Costa v The League Against Cruel Sports 2018).

social movement" (Gaarder 2011) the animal welfare movement has civil activism at its core, itself highly varied and complex, and can also be embodied in political organisations such as the Party for the Animals which is present in a number of European countries, also in Turkey and in Australia, and aims to ban cruel sports such as hunting and bullfighting, and to reduce the consumption of animal products, in order to build a global movement against cruelty. In the 2019 European elections Animal Politics EU gained 3 seats and a number of gains were also noted at regional and national parliaments (Euronews 2019). At the European level, one instance of the progress made towards greater protection of animals can be found in the establishment in Spain of a General Directorate for Animal Protection (DG de Derechos de los Animales, see Real Decreto 452/2020 2020), which is tasked with the integration of European Directives on animal abuse into national legislation and with the implementation of a law on animal welfare. But the asymmetry remains for all to see. Whilst the EU institutions, for instance, can boast progressive animal welfare legislation and practices which compare favourably with other regions, notwithstanding national variations as shown by the Animal Protection Index which ranks countries according to a number of indicators which include, amongst others, the presence of animal welfare legislation and the recognition of animal sentience (World Animal Protection n.d.), they are also complicit in the huge trade in live animal transport from its member countries and its associated animal welfare violations.

Gaarder (2011) shows how a paradigm shift is taking place within the animal liberation movement. There is now a call for a more integrated vision of animal rights that connects to other issues such as gender, race, economics and the environment, and positions animal welfare and rights within larger global struggles. Gaarder points out that many women activists recognise and are motivated by the connection between the oppression of animals and other social injustices. Jones (2015) situates the animal rights movement within the wider framework of social justice.

The protests that followed a parliamentary vote on animal welfare and sentience in the UK demonstrate the political dimension of the animal welfare debate. These protests were illustrative of both the strength of public feelings with regard to the treatment of animals, and of the power of news packaging. As part of the debate on the 2018 EU Withdrawal Bill, the UK Parliament voted against the inclusion of article 2, clause 13 of the Treaty of Lisbon. This article recognises the sentiency of non-human animals.

> In formulating and implementing the Union's agriculture, fisheries, transport, internal market, research and technological development and space policies, the Union and the Member States shall, *since animals are sentient beings*, pay full regard to the welfare requirements of animals … .
>
> > (Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union
> > and the Treaty establishing the European Community 2009)

The UK position was later defended with the argument that the UK Animal Welfare Act of 2006 already provides for the protection of animals as sentient beings, and that the government was committed to high animal welfare standards post-Brexit, but without committing to bring in an animal sentience law before January 2021. In fact, the Act itself does not explicitly refer to sentience, except as in an explanatory note, but acknowledges that animals can experience suffering and pain (see Animal Welfare Act 2006). The Act also seems to lag behind existing European legislation in that it seems to focus on the individual owner of an animal in terms of responsibility and not on that of the state and does not provide a satisfactory platform for extending the legislation. However, the initial decision not to include the sentience provision was soon overturned by a later Government announcement that legal recognition of animal sentience would be enshrined in future British Law.

Animal welfare issues can also be used to manipulate public opinion and stigmatise certain communities, and the visibility and foregrounding of some issues is underscored by specific political agendas. For instance, the issue of ritual slaughter has figured prominently in the Islamophobic discourse of the far-right French *Rassemblement National*, and in that of the UK fringe party of *Britain First* in a discourse which, by focusing on specific and controversial cultural and religious practices, can distract attention from the reality of the meat industry where standard practices are not necessarily humane themselves, as a number of recent scandals have shown (see, e.g., Le Monde and France-Presse 2020).

4.   Welfare, sentience and rights – cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues

The concept of animal welfare, which is not found in the key Universal Declaration of Animal Rights (UNESCO 1978), figures in the revised draft versions of the Universal Declaration on Animal Welfare (World Society for the Protection of Animals 2014) which engage more closely with the discourse of science to call for the protection of animals. According to recent surveys carried out at EU level, animal welfare is seen as an important issue by the majority of EU citizens (European Commission 2007).

Studies have shown that attitudes towards the animal welfare issue are underpinned by cultural differences in farming practices and contexts. Farmers can define animal welfare in terms of animal health and animal performance, or rather, as would be the case in organic production contexts, would want to promote the animals' opportunity to live more naturally. This is where the now established concept of the five freedoms in animal welfare can have an impact. The Five Freedoms were originally defined by the UK's Farm Animal Welfare Council, now the Animal Welfare Committee, in the 1960s, and were subsequently updated (see Animal

Welfare Committee n.d.). These standards have now been extended to all animals, not just livestock, and include:

- Freedom from hunger and thirst, by ready access to water and a diet to maintain health and vigour.
- Freedom from discomfort, by providing an appropriate environment.
- Freedom from pain, injury and disease, by prevention or rapid diagnosis and treatment.
- Freedom to express normal behaviour, by providing sufficient space, proper facilities and appropriate company of the animal's own kind.
- Freedom from fear and distress, by ensuring conditions and treatment which avoid mental suffering.

In the same vein, the cultural and social context in which animal protection organisations operate is highly relevant for understanding individual or organisational actions. Their online presence can be underpinned by cross-linguistic engagement, for instance language-specific webpages. Clark stresses the importance of engagement with the local context: "… it is important that those who campaign for international change should find the appropriate seeds of ecological and humanitarian change within the customs of the relevant country" (Clark 1999: 5). An example is provided by the need for campaign materials to be "tailored to the approach taken in France" stressed in the International Fund for Animal Welfare's 2020 call for proposals for a contractor for the IFAW's Wildlife Cyber-spotter program (IFAW 2020), in which deliverables include the "adaptation and translation [from English into French] of training materials." The need for cultural awareness is clearly illustrated by the approach of a number of organisations in the Muslim world, for instance, which justify kindness to animals by referring to religious texts and principles, or foreground the need for compassion and mercy, the notion of "*rifk*" ('رفق') rather than the notion of rights. The well-established Egyptian animal protection charity, Society for the Protection of Animal Rights in Egypt (SPARE 2010) provides an example of this, together with the Palestinian Animal League (PAL n.d.), which includes the notion of compassion, رفق ('rifq') in its name. A comparison of the Arabic and English versions of the organisations' websites (the PAL website is in five languages Arabic, English, French, Italian and Spanish) shows a shift a focus, from the notion of justice, through the reference to "rights," to the notion of care and compassion, with a view to achieving greater impact and acceptance. This organisation provides an interesting perspective on the interconnectedness of different struggles. The Palestinian Animal League tackles the problem of animal abuse and neglect as part of the wider context of the occupation of Palestine and the brutalisation it entails, and focuses on educating citizens, particularly children.

It is also working towards the development of legislative policy regarding animal protection. Article 45 of the 2014 Egyptian constitution (Egyptian Government 2014), which covers the protection of the environment, refers to the state's commitment to the prevention of cruelty to animals (الرفق بالحيوان), translated as 'the humane treatment of animals' on the unofficial English translation provided on the government site (www.sis.gov.rg/Newvr/dustor.en), and "the prevention of cruelty to animals" on the English version found on the Constitute Project website (www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014.pdf). The Egyptian Parliament has recently discussed a possible legislative amendment to the 1937 Penal Code which would criminalise animal abuse and penalise further animal abuse.

Palmer (2008) argues that whilst cruelty is a well-defined legal concept, a traditional focus which may have been now outgrown, animal welfare is a much more recent scientific discipline, and that the concept needs to be understood with reference to scientific literature, not the law. Animal welfare science integrates expertise from different disciplines such as veterinary science, biology, physiology, neurology but also ethics and ethology and is considered an important tool to challenge animal cruelty because of its reliance on rigorous scientific methods. It is interesting to note that the Arabic term رفق ('rifq') is not only used in the context of animal protection and advocacy, as shown with reference to the Palestinian Animal League and the Egyptian SPARE organisation discussed above, but it is also found in key texts such as the 2014 Egyptian Constitution as indicated earlier.[3] The term can also be found in the Arabic language reports of the *FAO*, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, an organisation focused on animal production and agriculture, not on animal welfare. The term "rifq" is used to refer to "animal welfare" as follows, although the notion of "protection" (رعاية'') is also found to refer to the portal itself:

(1)   إطلاق موقع شَبَكيّ مُتخصِّص لرعاية الحيوان
المنظمة تُتيح أداةً مُقَنَّنة لصُنّاع السياسات والمُزارعين والعلماء وهيئات الرفق بالحيوان
Animal welfare portal launched.
One-stop shop for policy makers, farmers, scientists and *animal welfare organisations*.
Lancement d'un portail sur *le bien-être animal*
Il est destiné aux décideurs, agriculteurs, scientifiques et *organisations de défense du bien-être animal*.
Nuevo portal de Internet sobre *bienestar animal*
Reúne toda la información para responsables políticos, agricultores, científicos y organizaciones para el bienestar animal.

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3.   For an enlightening discussion of the legislative developments of animal protection in Egypt, see Stilt (2017).

The notion of "protection" and "compassion" still prevails in the Arabic wording, and it seems that different terms are used depending on whether the reference is to "animal welfare" in the FAO perspective of good husbandry, or in line with the objectives and positioning of animal advocacy organisations such as SPARE and PAL. Meanwhile, the term "welfare" seems to encompass both the state of well-being for animals (*bien-être* in the French text) and that of protection (*défense du bien-être*). This instance of linguistic asymmetry could certainly be explained by a lack of standardisation but it can be suggested that it may also reflect different perspectives with regard to what constitutes animal welfare and shows that the increasingly scientific definition of welfare with reference to the five freedoms is yet to be taken into account.

There is asymmetry between science insights and the philosophical debate on animal rights, on one side, and the arbitrariness and slow pace of legal developments. The Common Agricultural Policy observes how animal rights and welfare issues are debated but social expectations are not met with sufficient legislative progress and implementation, as discussed in the special report 31 on Animal Welfare in the EU: Closing the gap between ambitious goals and practical implementation (European Court of Auditors 2018).

4.1   Animal sentience

The concept of sentience when applied to animals is based on a genealogy of philosophical reflections and scientific observations with far-reaching legal implications impacting welfare issues. In a survey of the scientific literature on animal sentience, Proctor et al. show that the concept of animal sentience remains contested particularly in terms of how it can be scientifically measured, but that "descriptions of animal sentience, albeit in various forms, exist throughout the scientific literature" (Proctor, Carder, and Cornish 2013: 882). Research findings legitimise the call for animal rights, or at the very least for better animal protection and tighter animal welfare regulations. Although research tends to focus on negative experiences of animals, for instance "pain," the authors contend that "in more recent years, scientists have slowly begun to recognise that positive emotions and experiences are also a fundamental area of animal welfare science and key to ensuring a good state of animal welfare" (ibid). Kirkwood stresses that "sentience is the fundamentally, morally important basis upon which concern for animals rests" (2006: 24). Duncan (2006) reminds us that the concept of sentience, at least in mammals and birds, "was accepted by lay people by the time of the Renaissance and before it was acknowledged by philosophers" (2006: 1), who started to accept the notion later in the 18th century. Behaviourism in the 20th century is shown to have inhibited an

examination of animal sentience until animal welfare scientists started focusing on the understanding of how animals feel in order to tackle animal welfare problems, and Cooke (2019: 183) stresses the "moral salience of sentience."

In 2015 the French Parliament adopted a White Paper which modified the legal status of animals in the Civil Code by acknowledging them to be living and sentient beings ("êtres vivants doués de sensibilité"). Article 515–14 of the Code is thus aligned with the provisions of the Penal and Rural codes (see L214 éthique & animaux 2019b). In 2014 the French Parliament passed a law ending the definition of animals as 'goods' ("biens"). However, activists are campaigning for the inclusion of animal welfare in the French constitution, as one of its core principles. Sentience is making its way into national legislations. For instance, the Danish Parliament has recently consolidated its Animal Welfare Law which now recognises all animals as sentient beings (Denmark 2007).

As mentioned earlier, the concept of sentience or sentiency (i.e., being capable of feeling pleasure and pain) is now formally recognised in the European Treaty of Lisbon, following a campaign by the Compassion in World Farming Organisation (CiWF) going back to the 1990s. A *Guardian* article on food safety post-Brexit, reports, however, that, in the United States, "there is a general resistance to even acknowledging the existence of sentience in farm animals, which is quite extraordinary" (Mason 2019). With regard to UK law, CiWF is fighting "to make sure UK law acknowledges animals as sentient beings" (Compassion in World Farming 2017).

In *Sentience and Animal Welfare*, Broome (2014) describes the various components of animal sentience, including brain complexity and cognitive ability; the ability to discriminate and recognise; the capacity for metacognition and the capacity for innovation; the capacity to experience feelings and emotion; and the capability of feeling pain. In terms of concepts crossing languages, there is still some work to do. The term "sentience" is still contested by some when applied to non-human animals. Although the term (of Latin origin) exists in French, it tended to be used by philosophers in relation to *reason*. Animal welfare organisations in France are calling for the term to be used with reference to animals as per in English, arguing that *sensibilité* does not cover the whole semantic spectrum of "sentience" and does not account for the awareness animals have of their own feelings and suffering.[4] As early as 2005, a whole issue of the *Cahiers antispécistes* (2005) was dedicated to a discussion of the concept of "sentience" as used in English by CiWF. One of the articles offers a linguistic critique of the term "sentience" and its possible corresponding terms in French, calling for a progressive introduction of the French

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4.   See also Guillaume (2014) who argues that the translation of "sentient being" as "*être sensible*" is reductive as "sentience" covers both sensitivity and consciousness.

term *sentience* (Reus 2005). In 2015 the French National Council for the defence of animals (*Conseil national de la protection animale*) wrote to the French Academy to request that the term *sentience* be enshrined in the Academy dictionary. The term, together with that of *antispécisme*, is now included in the 2020 edition of the Larousse dictionary but is yet to find its way into official texts, although it is used in advocacy material (for instance, on the French language material of the Animal Ethics website, see Animal Ethics 2020).

It is clear that the efforts made in support of animal rights, or at the very least animal welfare, are intertwined with language and, as Cochrane argues "in language, theory and practice, human rights should be reconceptualised as sentient rights" (Cochrane 2013: 655).

4.2   Animal rights

Although the expression "animal rights" is used widely in academic and public discourse to refer to protection of animals against abuse, cruelty or unnecessary suffering, there is of course a distinction between the concept of animal welfare and that of animal rights, a distinction which informs the perspectives adopted by different organisations committed to the protection and defence of animals. And, indeed, the struggle for animal rights is often articulated around the traditional opposition between welfarism, which does not reject speciesism, and abolitionism which is linked with anti-speciesism. Although the concept of rights for animals, i.e., rights that cannot be violated for the benefits of others, is still debated together with the subject/agent dichotomy, this is an issue which is underpinned by a long and diverse philosophical tradition and arguments which were often articulated around the concept of "reason" which was denied to animals but did not necessarily entail a denial of rights. An illuminating exploration of the debate, at least in its Western context, is provided by Sorabji's *Animal Minds and Human Morals. The Origins of the Western Debate* (1993) which tells us how "In the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer conceded that animals lacked reason but deplored our denying them rights on that account" (Sorabji 1993: 210). Ancient treatises of veterinary medicine, for instance, address issues of animal suffering: surgeons were required to lessen the pain and the suffering of the animals under their care. There is evidence on debate about animal rights and about vegetarianism in the medieval Arabic and Persian traditions as suggested by Mikhail in *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt* (2014). In today's debate, the defense of animals draws on two main approaches, the position of Peter Singer (1975), itself elaborated on the basis of Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism, and the theory of animal rights put forward by Tom Regan (1983), the natural rights doctrine. When connecting the philosophical background to the

facts on the ground, it is worth mentioning that the following claim was made in a letter to the journal *Science* in 1984 that "there are now large and growing professional associations of lawyers, veterinarians, psychologists, scientists, physicians and others, all based on and supporting the animal rights philosophy" (McArdle 1984: 114). And it should be noted that the Universal Declaration of Animal Rights, mentioned earlier, was proclaimed as far back as 1978 (UNESCO 1978), and that the second-class status of animals in law is increasingly challenged.

A similar shift can be observed in the move away from a perspective couched in seemingly neutral, scientific language to a more inclusive designation (for example the former Office international des épizooties has made way for the Organisation mondiale de la santé animale) or in the development of animal welfare science (Broom 2014). Animal welfare science is itself embedded in a wider discourse of natural and social sciences which can contest speciesism and challenge the ambivalence of the "religious" take on animal welfare which can promote compassion whilst legitimizing the use and exploitation of animals under the premise of the hierarchy of species and the centrality of human animals, together with man's dominion over animals. Corey Lee Wrenn refers to the institution of religion "as one of the most powerful perpetuators of discrimination and exploitation" (Wrenn 2016: 7). Examples can be found, however, of radical stands which challenge man's dominion over animals from a faith perspective.[5]

Given the global dimension of animal welfare issues, translation plays a significant role in constructing and disseminating a discourse of animal welfare and contributing to "the social construction of animals" (Stibbe 2001). Using critical discourse analysis and arguing that "the role of discourse in the domination by humans of other species has been almost completely neglected," Stibbe (2001: 146) unpacks the social construction of animals through language which takes place through idioms linking animals to negative aspects, or the use of mass nouns which removes the individuality of animals and the choice of neutral pronouns, at least in the English language, which objectifies animals. A number of scholars have examined how the claim of scientific objectivity is propped up by the use of neutral terms and detached style. Garner (1998) argues that "Agribusiness interests often disguise the grim realities of factory farming and proclaim their concern for animal welfare" (1998: 463), and Stibbe refers to "hidden ideological assumptions that make animal oppression seem inevitable, natural and benign" (2001: 153, citing Garner 1998). Joan Dunayer, in her article on English and speciesism, concludes

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5.   See, for instance, the *Vegan Muslim Initiative* (The Vegan Muslim Initiative n.d.) or the *All Creatures Organisation* (All-Creatures.org 1998–2020), which frames its advocacy with reference to "Judeo-Christian Ethics."

as follows: "currently, misleading language legitimises and conceals the institutionalised abuse of non-human animals. With honest, unbiased words, we can grant them the freedom and respect that are rightfully theirs" (2003: 62). Terminology within legislative texts is constantly reworked to account for changes of perception, as shown by the shift in article L427-8 of the French rural code from the adjectives "*malfaisants et nuisibles*" ('pests and harmful animals') to the qualifier "*susceptibles d'occasionner des dégâts*" ('likely to cause damage').

The disconnect between the reality of animal use and exploitation and the language that normally describes it is also pointed out with reference to translation by Cronin (2017). Cronin suggests that "There is a sense, of course, in which translation is already being used not so much to give voice to as to silence the suffering the animals. This is notably, through a form of intralingual translation where the reality of the treatment of animals is mediated through a highly abstract, instrumentalised, technocratic language" (Cronin 2017: 86). When reflecting on my own past experience of translating scientific reports for the pharmaceutical industry, which described toxicity tests carried out on animal subjects, I remember the use of euphemisms such as "discomfort" for instance to refer to the levels of pain that were inflicted and the expectations that the same type of normative language would be used in the translations. Examples of euphemisms abound in the meat industry, for instance the occasional use of *alimentation assistée* ('assisted feeding') to refer to the practice of *gavage* ('force-feeding'), or *soins aux porcelets* ('piglet care') to include castration, grinding of teeth and tail docking carried out without anaesthesia.

Focusing on corporate responsibility, Beschorner and Hajduk (2017: 636) argue that "Modern theories in the social sciences (including economics and management) regard the cultural and social context in which actions take place as highly relevant for understanding individual or organisational actions." By the same token the animal rights movement uses the power of language and animal activists have been blamed for appropriating terms normally applied to humans. The biologist Allen Greer goes as far as referring to a "corruption of language" (2013). In contrast, Butterfield, Hill, and Lord (2012) discuss whether anthropomorphism can be used to promote animal welfare through linguistic cues, one example being the possible use of "pet guardians" to replace "pet owners." Such lexical choices would correspond to a shift from the "patronage-model" suggested by Schicktanz as one of the ideal relationships where "humans are prudent and wise masters of animals" to the friendship-model whereby "humans have formed friendships with particular animals" (Schicktanz 2006: 11).

5.   Translation as engagement, translators as activists

Much of the dissemination work of animal protection organisations, which engage in grassroots political campaigning, consists of translation work, often carried out by volunteer translators, themselves activists within the organisation, so translation work becomes part and parcel of their contribution to the work of the organisation, and translation constitutes here a "speech act that rouses, inspires, witnesses, mobilizes, incites to rebellion" (Tymoczko 2000: 26), even if the relationship between the translators' work and social change and shifting perspectives is difficult to account for.

Information retrieved from the websites of various animal advocacy organisations and in the form of personal communications shows how translation, as rewriting, is a critical part of their work and visibility. The Eurogroup for Animals (n.d.), the main animal welfare group covering Europe, stresses the importance of translation for their organisation, an umbrella organisation which has campaign material and reports translated to increase dissemination. Part of the translation work is done in-house, particularly in the case of shorter pieces or social media material. Taking the example of Compassion in World Farming (CiWF), larger pieces are professionally translated and paid for, whilst smaller pieces, for instance webcopy, are dealt with by the CiWF staff in various countries who may also adapt them for local needs. L-214, the highly mediatised French activist organisation, relies on volunteers for translation work which involves mainly English into French, and occasionally Spanish into French. One Voice, another France-based animal protection group, offers both French and English versions of its website and the translation work is carried out in-house or through external support (One Voice n.d.). The All Creatures organisation, mentioned earlier, stresses that "all over the world our volunteers have translated our Why? section into their native languages … to help us spread love, compassion, freedom and justice" (All-Creatures.org 1998–2020).

The key texts of animal rights have been translated into a number of languages, although with some considerable delay. In the case of the French translations of key thinkers in the field, Peter Singer and Tom Regan, we had to wait until 2012 and 2013 respectively for the publication of *La Libération animale* and *Les droits des animaux*. The faster rate at which texts dealing with animal rights have been translated more recently, albeit mainly from English into other languages,[6] may well be explained by the increasing globalisation of the animal welfare and rights movement.

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6.   An example is provided by the French introduction and presentation by Estiva Reus of Donaldson and Kymlicka's *Zoopolis. A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (2011), translated into French by Madelin (2016).

Writing in the antispeciesist journal *Les Cahiers antispécistes*, first published in 1991 and printed until 2016, Olivier comments that much of the journal's editorial time is taken up by the translation of texts, particularly of English language texts, which is more challenging than some might think (Olivier 1992a). In a subsequent issue, Olivier (1992b) reiterates the reliance of the journal on the good will of translators. The development of a discourse on animal rights is underpinned by the circulation, through translation, of seminal texts, and activists and advocacy campaigns stress the importance of translation in work on the ground, and can be explored from the perspective of communication studies (Freeman 2014). The dialogue that is taking place between international bodies, which address animal welfare issues in the broad context of agricultural and trade practices, and the advocacy organisations and grassroot activists who adopt an animal welfare or even animal rights perspective is critical, as shown for example by the CiWF campaign which succeeded in the concept of sentience being included in European legislation. Animal Ethics (2020), a charity which "was formed **to provide information and promote discussion** and debate about issues in animal ethics, and **to provide resources** for animal advocates" (emphasis in the original) has webpages in seven languages in addition to English: Chinese, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish, and includes translation work as a mode of volunteer activities.

Translation and activism has been the focus of research in translation studies in recent years (see, for instance, Tymoczko 2010; Boéri 2012, amongst others) to the extent that an "activist turn" has been suggested (Wolf 2012) and is foregrounded in the *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Activism* (Gould and Tahmasebian 2020). But animal rights activism translation remains largely unexplored, and not particularly foregrounded within the organisations themselves, despite the increasingly vocal and coordinated claims of animal protection and advocacy movements for political and social action and the undeniable, albeit slow-paced, change of attitudes towards animals, from viewing them as commodities to the acceptance of their sentiency. It is clear that translation work underpins the communication and dissemination work of animal protection organisations. For instance, the World Animal Net (n.d.) includes, in its objectives, the translation from English into Spanish of its 2018 Model Welfare Act. The translation work is carried out largely by activists, be they professional or ad hoc translators, who can be said to be part of a transnational activism as "forms of activism and struggles that operate within, across, and beyond the state" (Ilcan and Lacey 2013: 1).

With regard to animal protection, the transnational investigative campaigning led by the Australian animal movement provides a clear example of transnational activism (Villanueva 2018). However, the prevalence of English, its widespread use as a lingua franca, combined with the interconnectedness of translation and multilingualism in practice, if not in conceptualisation, make it often difficult to

distinguish clearly direct interlingual translation from other multifaceted language mediation practices in the communication strategies of the relevant organisations. Most animal welfare information is available in European languages, usually in English. Eyes on Animals offers training to road inspectors, police and slaughter-house inspectors and its website is available in English, Dutch and German (Eyes on Animals 2020). The translation work is carried out by freelancers and regular volunteers and the organisation stresses the huge impact of language on animal welfare and the need[7] for local communities to be up to date with latest animal welfare studies or technologies.

Understandably, outreach is a key aspect of these organisations' work but translation can also take place in response to growing interest in a particular country or linguistic constituency. One organisation, Animal Ethics (see 2020), raises the issue of translator availability and/or reliability with regard to some languages.[8] What is worth noting is that the translation into a particular language can also be initiated by volunteers working with specific languages, which confirms the pro-active part played by translators in the animal advocacy movement.

6.   Concluding remarks

With reference to the field of translation studies, the discourse of animal rights and animal welfare can provide information on the way key concepts are negotiated across time and space. The debate of animal rights and welfare is a global discourse that relies on translation and, as such, it offers rich material on established areas of research in translation studies, such as scientific translation, terminological creation and standardisation and localisation in order to take into account practices on the ground and cultural environments. I would also argue that it also offers avenues of research in terms of translation activism, a burgeoning area of interest to translation studies researchers.

But, more importantly, translating issues of animal welfare, sentience and, increasingly, rights, whether in the context of agricultural systems and environmental challenges or as part of advocacy campaigns, is a form of engagement. New conceptions of animals are emerging. This paper is completed at a time when the Covid-19 crisis, a truly global crisis, brings to the fore the reality of our interconnectedness,

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7.   "It would be terrific if such information was made available in Arabic, Turkish, Mandarin…," personal communication, when referring to Temple Grandin's design on humane handling systems for cattle-processing facilities in the USA. Incidentally Grandin's website includes a number of German and Spanish translations of selected articles (Grandin n.d.).

8.   One of the translation projects that Animal Ethics is engaged in is translation into Hindi.

not only cross borders but crucially across species. Wise (1993), arguing for legal rights for animals, contends that "it should now be obvious that the Ancient Great Wall that has for so long divided humans from every other animal is biased, irrational, unfair, and unjust. It is time to knock it down" (Wise 1993: 270). As discussed earlier, language and thus translation plays a part in the reconfiguration of power relations and translation studies has paid increasing attention to relations of power and asymmetry as evidenced in post-colonial and feminist translation studies, and translation can help to both silence and amplify voices. By engaging with a global discourse that reflects and shapes our relationship with non-human animals, we, as translators and translation researchers, can also help ground animal rights in the wider debate and give a voice to the voiceless and extend to other species, as Cronin suggests, our ethical discussions of translation. In challenging the asymmetry of power that underlies human interaction with other animal species, translators can help promote the "partnership-model" suggested by Schicktankz as one of the possible models for human-non-human animal relationship.

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Helpers, professional authority, and pathologized bodies

Ableism in interpretation and translation

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In this paper, we examine how ableism, undergirded by interlocking systems of oppression mediated by our social locations, exists in this profession with interpreters and translators acting as professional authorities-cum-helpers for pathologized bodyminds. The intersections of the nature of interpretation, professional authority, and inherent powers of influence granted to nondisabled people result in violence masked by a veneer of benevolence (Kent 2007; Mole 2018; Robinson, Sheneman, and Henner 2020). In this chapter, we highlight how Chapman and Withers' (2019) concept of toxic benevolence in social work can be applied to interpretation. We explore and suggest *cripping* as a means of mediating power relations in interpretation work through a critical disability framework.

Keywords: disability justice, interpretation, professionalization, toxic benevolence, ableism, *cripping*

1. Introduction

Addressing the global phenomenon of asymmetry in a world that thinks of itself as globalized becomes challenging as the concept and practices of asymmetry are hidden in plain sight. As a site of practice, scholarship, and education, Interpreting and Translation Studies (ITS) enacts asymmetries in different ways, as explored in this volume. Based on the notion of ableism, this paper will consider how conceptualizations and pathologization of bodymind[1] differences contribute to power asymmetries in interpretation and translation.

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1. The term bodymind emerges from the intellectual work of scholars Eli Clare (2017) and Sami Schalk (2018) to resist the white and Western impulse to conceive of the body and mind as distinct systems. The term bodymind reinforces the interaction between our bodies and our minds, our inner and material worlds, locating the problems of injustice (pathologization and "cure") in the world that surrounds us rather than in our bodies.

Ableism has been defined as the "social biases against people whose bodies [or bodyminds] function differently to those … considered to be normal, and beliefs and practices resulting from and interacting with these biases to serve discrimination" (Goodley 2017: 13). We argue that ableism is one of the driving forces in the field of ITS and its professionalization movement. To understand this force, this paper uses dis/ability (Annamma, Connor, and Ferri 2013) as a theoretical approach, where the "/" is used to disrupt "misleading understandings of disability" (ibid.: footnote 1). As Annamma, Connor, and Ferri (2013) claim, "dis/ability" as a term "overwhelmingly signals a specific inability to perform culturally-defined expected tasks (such as learning or walking) that come to define the individual as primarily and generally 'unable' to navigate society," (ibid.: footnote 1). Adding the slash "simultaneously conveys the mixture of ability and disability" (ibid.: footnote 1). As in their work, the expression "disability" will still be employed to signal its institutionalized use, especially in normative texts.

The academic and community-based dialogues about signed languages and deaf people offer a natural entry point for considering the relationship among interpretation, translation, and dis/ability. The 2006 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) recognized access to signed language interpretation as a cornerstone of deaf people's human rights and thus imagined interpreting as a potent site of mediating power asymmetries (Murray 2015). The CRPD received global support, representing a paradigm shift from perceiving disabled people as objects of charity to human subjects with rights that include interpretation and translation. Those rights raised issues about power dynamics within the interpretation and translation processes. Power relations in signed language interpretation have long been contested among deaf people and signed language interpreters (Fant 1990; Cokely 2005; Kent 2007; Wilson 2011; Forestal 2015; Mole 2018). Baker-Shenk (1986) identified two types of interpreters who used their power to harm deaf people, "Deaf people have been systematically deprived of power by hearing people who either thought they were acting in the interests of Deaf people, or by hearing people who simply exploited Deaf people for their own benefit" (ibid.: 2). Those contestations and existing conversations urge us to reach beyond signed languages and deaf people in theorizing dis/ability as a power asymmetry in the broader profession of interpretation and translation (studies).

Attitudes about disabled people, beliefs about normative productivity or normative bodymind behaviors and performances, the inclination to pathologize bodyminds, and the historical uses of pathology as a means of justifying racism, sexism, and other structural power imbalances intersect to mediate power and asymmetries in interpreted contexts. Those power imbalances and asymmetries pose the following questions to encourage dialogue in this profession about dis/ability: How do interpreters, translators, and scholars of interpretation and translation

studies mediate the asymmetries of our world when dis/ability enters the picture? How does the current discourse on dis/abled people within the community of translation and interpreting (studies) impact human rights? What does it mean for interpreters and translators (or scholars) to understand their work as a site of human rights on a global scale through the lens of dis/ability? How might discussing the intersections of interpretation, translation, dis/ability, and pathology reshape our conversations? In this paper, we extend the conversation beyond signed language interpretation and translation (studies) to broader attitudes about dis/ability and pathology, as well as *cripping*, that is, committing to anti-ableism in the field of interpretation and translation (studies).

2.   Dis/ability as a framework

Dis/ability, as a category at the heart of ableism and its contestation, cuts across innumerable other social locations, interlocks with multiple other systems of oppression, is undergirded by said systems of oppression, and is used as a means of subjugating pathologized bodyminds (Erevelles and Minear 2010; Annamma, Connor, and Ferri 2013; Samuels 2014; Baynton 2016; Goodley 2017). Not all dis/abilities are recognized or classified (Kafer 2013; Schalk 2017). Dis/ability is dynamic and fluid because it is not always visible, apparent, or static. For some people, dis/ability changes from day to day – ill one day, not ill the next; ambulatory at times, wheelchair using at others (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2019). Because disability as a phenomenon is complex and varies across cultural and geographical contexts, in this chapter, we address dis/ability from an Anglo North American understanding of power relations within interpreted and translated contexts.[2]

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines disabled people as those with impairments that substantially impact their daily activities (World Health Organization 2011). Within this definition, WHO has identified about 15% of people on Earth as disabled. However, the definition in this chapter reaches beyond a pathology of the bodymind. Instead of locating the problem in an impairment of the body, dis/ability is understood as a social and cultural response to perceived differences in bodyminds (Shakespeare 2010). Dis/ability is constructed by power that mediates ideas about "normate" bodyminds. Garland-Thomson (1997) coined the term *normate*, defining this neologism as an identity held by those who are not marked by stigma and thus granted a great deal of power. The normate is narrowly defined by the absence of markers of stigma, as socially and historically

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2.   For an introductory overview of the various models of dis/ability as well as the varying meanings of disability across the globe, see Chapter 1 of Goodley (2017).

contextualized, and does not represent the majority of actual people. Instead of locating dis/ability as a problem in an individual's bodymind, anti-ableism locates dis/ability in social expectations and responses to bodyminds that either deviate from socially constructed norms or from what would be considered normatively productive (Clare 2017; Pimentel and Monteleone 2019). A critical disability framework also considers how bodies are pathologized on the basis of race, sex, or other social locations as a means to justify othering[3] people (Annamma, Connor, and Ferri 2013), e.g., how women are constructed as weaker and thus lesser able, or how black bodies are constructed as mentally ill to justify and uphold racism, sexism, and other systems of social power and oppression (Annamma, Connor, and Ferri 2013; Price 2013). Non-normative bodies are deemed dangerous (Shakespeare 2010). As such, to deviate from white, abled, masculine bodies is in itself rife with potential for disablement (Samuels 2014).

Dis/ability, as a deviance from the norm, often carries stigma which makes coming out risky (Samuels 2003). Coming out, however, is often required to obtain accommodations such as signed language interpreting. Dis/ability entails an understanding of human interdependence, where we all work together to meet each other's needs. However, dis/ability is antithetical in capitalistic western societies where independence is valued, revered, and tied to worth. This means that requesting accommodations (i.e., access) can be difficult (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2019).

When focusing dis/ability on languages, social attitudes can also be mediated by perceptions of dis/ability and pathology of the bodymind. What do we assume about a person's ability to understand from the language they use? The ways people express themselves through language and accents are tied to judgments about intellect and ability. Linguicism is the intersection of racism and language where a language has lesser legitimacy and encounters negative attitudes (Phillipson 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas 2016). Racism intersects with attitudes about languages where languages spoken or signed by non-white minorities result in the interlocutor being judged as less intelligent. Non-white bodies, through language, are pathologized as "less smart" or "less capable" because their language does not sound how the dominant majority speaks the language or because we do not look like the language we speak (Lippi-Green 1994; Ramjattan 2019). For example, people who use African American Vernacular English or Black American Sign Language (Black ASL) are perceived as less intelligent than those who use prestige English or ASL (Hill 2012). Intelligence is often tied with ability. As Clare (2017) claims, "intelligence and verbal

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3.   Othering is the process of differentiating those who do not match specific, preferred, or elite demographics. In the case of dis/ability, "Disabled people are cast as broken individuals (perhaps not individuals at all): as the denigrated Others of able-bodied, white, male, monied, straight citizenry" (Goodley 2017: 94).

communication are entrenched markers of personhood" (2017). Perceptions of intellect and personhood shaped by race and dis/ability influence decisions made in interpretation and translation. Those decisions can have great bearing on outcomes for the people involved in the interpreted/translated context. The convergences between ableism and linguicism or standard language ideologies pose a number of issues that require scrutiny from both a theoretical and an applied discussion of practices in interpretation and translation.

How might dis/ability be rendered evident when scholars, interpreters, and translators work with or theorize about dis/ability? What barriers to access are created by practices in interpretation and translation (studies)? Ableism often assumes things about a person's agency. Ableism in both practice and in research is capable of committing epistemic violence by assuming disabled people do not know things, are not experts on their own lived experiences, and denying them agency through linguistic and/or cultural decisions.

3.   The imbalance of power within helping professions

Within helping professions,[4] the veneers of respectability, benevolence, of helping the *Other*, allow various forms of ableist violence to be enacted in othering people, limiting access and human rights, and depriving agency. Those veneers allow such ableist (and racist, sexist, etc.) behaviors and rhetoric to pass unchecked in various helping professions. Professionalization, cloaked by altruism, sows the seeds for interlocking systems of oppression to take root. Chapman and Withers (2019) focused on the profession of social work and their reflections offer many parallels with the interpretation profession. Friedner (2018) characterizes interpreting as a "disability social service provision" (heading 3, para. 5). Health and human services work are perceived as helping professions; social work, mental health counseling, nursing, and interpretation are service-based professions that fall within the scope of health and human services work. Indeed, interpreting has been described as a helping profession (Frishberg 1986; Pöchhacker 2004). However, the concept of helping stems from paternalism. Kushalnagar and Rashid (2008) provide a description of the potency of interpreting as a helping profession, "interpreters may have an unconscious skew toward paternalism and may, based on previous experience, develop

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4.   The term "helping professions" is a well-established term that describes "professionals – mentors, support workers, paramedics, teachers and social workers, for example – who are not necessarily engaged in therapeutic interventions, but are working alongside others (patients, pupils, clients) in a supportive and helping context" (Westergaard 2016: Part 4, Section 1, subheading "The helping professions," para. 1).

the perception of interpreting as a helping profession" (ibid: 48). Benevolence was listed as one of the top three reasons why signed language interpreters enter the profession (Ramirez-Loudenback 2015). Ramirez-Loudenback's (2015) study revealed data in which interpreters expressed they liked or wanted to help people. The work of helping professionals have become part of organized efforts to demonstrate charitable benevolence which in turn supports disablement of people on the margins (Chapman and Withers 2019). Helping professionals are often oppressive to the people that they strive to serve (Chapman and Withers 2019; Robinson, Sheneman, and Henner 2020). Oppressive practices among helping professionals are manifested by either being unable to recognize the status quo received through their work or being aware of the power imbalances but being at a loss of how to respond (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2005).

In their history of social work as a profession dominated by white women, Chapman and Withers (2019) describe the social work profession as colonialist, racist, capitalist, and cisheteropatriarchal.[5] The nature of social work results in the systems of colonialism, racism, capitalism, sexism, heterosexism, and cissexism[6] to be perpetuated. Kent (2007), like Chapman and Withers, describes professionalization as "a raced, gendered, and classed endeavor" (ibid.: 200) citing the dominance of white middle-class women in social work and signed language interpreting. As collegiate training and credentials became available for social work and signed language interpreting, social workers and interpreters could designate themselves as professionals (Kent 2007; Chapman and Withers 2019). Chapman and Withers (2019) point out that having this designation makes it easier to attain ruling class status. The determination of who are included and excluded in a profession in defining legitimate professional work is performed through devices of institutional violence (Chapman and Withers 2019). The assertion and valuation of the professional status is a way for helping professionals to uphold white abled supremacy. "Racialized social workers occupy a role bestowed with moral authority at the very same time that white supremacy denigrates their bodies and capacities, and calls their ability to help others into question" (Chapman and Withers 2019: 6).

In the social work profession, a great deal of work goes into policing the boundaries of who is and is not a social work professional (Chapman and Withers 2019). Helping professionals assign themselves with the power to decide for the individuals that they serve rather than letting those individuals communicate their needs

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5. Cisheteropatriarchy is understood as the supremacy and dominance of cisheterosexual men through the exploitation and oppression of women and LGBTQ+ individuals.

6. Activist and scholar Julia Serano (n.d.) defines cissexism as "the belief or assumption that cis people's gender identities, expressions, and embodiments are more natural and legitimate than those of trans people."

or preferences (Freidson 1986). Similarly, in the interpretation profession, possession of actual credentials and expertise leads interpreters to believe they possess superior decision-making authority within the profession without consumer[7] input (Mikkelson 2004; MRID Update 2019). On the organizational level, there are agencies and organizations that deny consumers the right to choose their interpreters because they are not financially responsible for said services. Burke (2017) argues that because of this, actual payers of interpreting services often hold the ultimate power of deciding accommodation choices rather than relinquish such choices to deaf consumers.

Professionalization granted interpreters the power to determine what their consumers need rather letting their consumers communicate what they need or want (Tseng 1992). When deaf consumers attempt to participate in discourses aimed at improving the quality of interpreting services, they are disregarded primarily because they are not interpreting professionals and perhaps because of underlying attitudes about ability, intelligence, and agency. Some interpreters proclaim deaf people know nothing about interpreting and should not be able to express their perspectives (MRID Update 2019). However, deaf people and some interpreters have pushed back against this perspective. Deaf scholar Maartje De Meulder and her collaborators Jemina Napier and Christopher Stone (2018) have argued interpreters should actively collaborate with consumers in ensuring optimal communication access.

Interpreters, translators, and scholars sometimes find themselves on one side of the professional boundary and communities of users on the other side. Some people traverse this boundary through kinship ties or community-grounded activism. When interpreters are on one side of the boundary, separated from others through the structures of professionalism, professional ethics and rules, the ivory towers of academia, the often-unmarked structures of capitalism, whiteness, and ability, then how do they act in ways that enact violence upon others? Like Chapman and Withers, this essay urges readers to "consider how each of us is uniquely implicated in social and political relations that are harmful, marginalizing, oppressive, and violent" (Chapman and Withers 2019: 3). Here, dis/ability is examined as a nexus of power asymmetries as embodied in interpretation and translation praxis. Dis/ability is shaped by colonialism, imperialism, violence, poverty, wealth disparities, racism, ethnocentrism, and cissexism. As such, interrogating dis/ability and ableism in interpretation and translation allows for a more complete critique of multiple interlocking systems of oppression.

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7. The term "consumers" is commonly used in signed language interpretation literature to describe deaf individuals who are receiving interpreting services. Burke (2017) discusses how this is contradictory as deaf consumers are usually not the actual payors of said services.

Interpretation and translation are a potent site for those systems of oppression to manifest. Much of this power comes from the perception of interpretation and translation as a helping profession. Interpreters are placed in a position of power with their expertise as well as the knowledge of at least two languages to manage the interactions between two parties who do not share a mutual language. Interpretation is a helping profession primarily because of the high number of women in this field (Pöchhacker 2004). Helping professions, often characterized as care work, are often feminized because care work is viewed as women's work (Blackwelder 1997). Women's work, because of sexism, is considered less prestigious and less valued (Crawley 2014). This results in lower pay as well as increased potential for abuse and power dynamic issues (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2019). Feminization of the interpretation profession also makes the profession seem less prestigious to men which reinforces the perspective of spoken and signed language interpretation as a helping profession (Pöchhacker 2004). This is contributed to the previous belief that women are better suited to work with languages and can bear the inconsistent work hours (Frishberg 1986).

Helping professions are devoted to *helping* others who may be deemed as being in need of help. Professionals hold power in making determinations about who is in such need of help and thus make decisions on who is worthy of belonging and who is not (Edelman 1974). Those who get help are considered worthy, those who do not get help are not considered worthy. Worth is determined by social status, which is in turn determined by ability, race, gender, class, and other social locations. Dis/ability is often shaped by the politics of the worthy vs. unworthy of life, of belonging, of presence, of dignity, of agency. Even as recently as 2020, prominent author Richard Dawkins advocated for the racist and ableist practice of eugenics, which is the genetic breeding of humans to weed out "the unworthy" (Dawkins 2020). Helping professions, framed as benevolent acts of aiding people portrayed as in need of help, such as immigrants, refugees, and disabled people, has resulted in toxic benevolence. In short, toxic benevolence occurs when helpfulness is offered that is at odds with the lived experiences of those on the receiving end of that help. And that help turns into harm (Chapman and Withers 2019). In discourses about interpreting ethics, there is a general recommendation to follow the metaethical principle of doing no harm (Dean and Pollard Jr. 2018). Brick (2020) claims that the "do no harm" principle preserves discrimination of deaf people. As Brick illustrated in his point, deaf and non-deaf interpreters do have different perspectives on what makes specific interpretation decisions harmful. Interpreters who do not share lived experiences with their consumers and have not critically interrogated their social locations are less aware of what constitutes harm to others. In a pilot study about how white, able-bodied women align themselves with deaf people, one interpreter claimed, "this profession is dominated by white women. That is dangerous as they

often make decisions based on their own lived experiences [while ignoring experiences of marginalization]" (Sheneman 2019). Essentially, interpreters occupying positions of social power make decisions based on their own lived experiences which may not include exposure to lived experiences of marginalized individuals. Some actions that interpreters believe are benevolent attempts to do no harm usually have the opposite effect. Such benevolence, aided by the epistemic authority of professional skill and ethics, then becomes a means of furthering structural and systemic inequities.

Helping professions are scaffolded by epistemic authority. Bestowing professionals with the mantle of knowledge and expertise, particularly through a degree training program or other gatekeeping institutions, grants individuals with greater authority. Interlocutors are more likely to defer to the interpreter's authority than to the persons being interpreted or translated primarily because of power differentials; interpreters are more likely able to align with those in positions of power (Baker-Shenk 1986). This authority is claimed when experts of a particular profession assert that the work they do is of social importance and requires specialized knowledge and skills (Adams 2013), thereby claiming privileges over others. Interpreters work with a wide variety of immigrants, refugees, and disabled people. The interpreting profession casts interpreters in the role of hero/helper/benevolent (Pöchhacker 2004; Robinson, Sheneman, and Henner 2020). Traditionally, this role may have been played by family members, friends, neighbors, teachers, and advocates. As such conceptions were formed about interpreters and the social role that they occupy comes with the danger of slipping into a role with tremendous unchecked power (Baker-Shenk 1986; Dahlvik 2018). This is an issue because of how this authority is assumed. This authority is rooted in recognized expertise such as formal training or schooling, perceptions of dis/ability, and perceptions of intelligence and status which is shaped by status, class, race, poverty, gender, Global North status, and other privilege-granting social locations. Granted, relatives may have been tasked to act as interpreters (Pöchhacker 2004); however, able-bodied relatives are still treated as experts because they are perceived as spokespersons for their disabled relatives (Friedman 2019). In this case, disabled people represent the Other – and signed languages, because of their association with dis/ability and nondominant languages, become symbolic for all the Others that might emerge in this volume (immigrants, refugees, women, etc.).

In the interpretation profession, inequities are fueled by social constructs of expertise and professionalism. Epistemic authority has often been used to reinforce structural inequities, e.g., heteropatriarchy, Western colonialism, and legitimate knowledges (Foucault 1980; Spivak 1988; Dotson 2011; Fricker 2013). Fricker (2013) explains testimonial injustice as a form of epistemic violence. Testimonial injustice takes place when the listener's internalized prejudices discredit information being

heard or seen. The language, and the information it contains, is filtered through the listener's judgment of the interlocutor's credibility. Fricker's example involves racial prejudice where a law enforcement officer's biases toward nonwhite people immediately reduces the suspect's credibility. Through the dis/ability framework, disabled people or those perceived as disabled are often assumed as having reduced credibility by virtue of being perceived as less capable, less intelligent (Hughes 2012).

4.   The interpretation profession

A form of auxiliary aid or accommodation is required when two parties are unable to communicate in a mutual language. In that case, an interpreter is called in to mediate the communication between those two parties. Knowledge of more than one language meant interpreters are often treated as an expert as a result. The two parties are compelled to offer a form of blind trust in the interpreter that they are conveying accurate information in that interpretation. Those interpreted encounters can involve highly intimate moments like weddings, births, deaths, legal and medical situations. Interpreters can become unwelcome guests in consumers' private lives. Burke (2017) portrays this concept as an access provision with an expense incurred on deaf people's part, "This is the cost of having uninvited guests with front row seats to your life" (ibid: 282). As such, Pöchhacker (2019) emphasizes that interpreters are needed, not wanted. The need for interpretation services gives interpreters systemic power over their consumers primarily because their interpretation decisions, shaped by internalized attitudes and beliefs, represent a consumers' personhood, intelligence, and capacity. Verbal communication has a significant impact on the perception of an individual's intelligence. An interpreter's skill level can also portray a consumer's intelligence and capacities. Skill or lack thereof can encompass discomfort in working with disabled people and how that discomfort affects interpretation. Beyond the individual critique, supply and demand can insist on lesser-skilled interpreters taking on work beyond the scope of their skill and training. In such circumstances, limited skill and training can shape the perception of a consumer to be lesser-intelligent, lesser-capable – and this is compounded by the perception of a consumer's social locations (race, gender, etc.).

This is to suggest that interpretation and translation are never neutral acts (and neither is research). For a long time, the belief was that interpreters remained neutral as they merely transmit utterances between two parties. This has long been disproved; interpreters are active participants in the interactions (Roy 1989; Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999). The presence of interpreters alone has a significant impact on the outcome of interpreted interactions. Interpreters are not mere conduits but active actors in the communication taking place. With this, we ask about research

in interpretation and translation studies. How often does whiteness, ability, and other social locations of power go unmarked in research methodologies and data analysis? How has this active participation as interpreters and translators been analyzed while erasing the influences of whiteness, ability, or other structures of power and privilege?

Interpreters grapple with power imbalances within interpreted interactions. In signed language interpretation, models of interpreting included the helper model, which meant the interpreter was overly involved in the interaction with the expectation that they were helping the interlocutors communicate. Helping, however, was harmful because of the interference of personal biases, opinions, and the potential to deprive the deaf person of their agency. In recent years, the signed language interpreting profession has attempted to move away from the helper model by proposing the conduit model. That is, interpreters serve as neutral conduits between interlocutors. This model evolved into the ally model as interpreters realized that such neutrality was false. Some have interpreted this as a pivot away from interpretation as a helping profession (Humphrey and Alcorn 2007; Gallon 2018). However, the rhetorical shifts in models of interpretation belies the nature of interpreting itself as a helping profession. Interpretation is still and will always be a helping profession by the nature of the work itself. And in fact, benevolence is one of the leading reasons why people enter the interpreting profession (Ramirez-Loudenback 2015). In fact, one synonym for ally is helper. Simply because the word changes does not mean the underlying meaning has changed nor the dynamics involved.

The field transitioned to a conduit model from the helper model, which significantly reduced the level of involvement of the interpreter (Janzen and Korpinski 2005; Wilcox and Shaffer 2005; Humphrey and Alcorn 2007). The conduit model implies that the interpreter is an invisible person who acts as a machine merely transmitting utterances from one language to another (Wilcox and Shaffer 2005; Humphrey and Alcorn 2007). The conduit model disempowered deaf consumers because interpreters did not acknowledge the amount of power they held in interpreted interactions (Baker-Shenk 1986).

Claims of neutrality only add more power to one side of the equation. As Freire once said, "washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with powerful, not to be neutral" (2000: 12). For example, one legal signed language interpreter, interpreting a rape forensic examination had to use cultural intervention to maintain the deaf black woman's dignity. The police collected every item that was on her body for evidence, but she did not want to give up her do-rag (hair covering). The police ignored the deaf black woman's insistence on keeping her do-rag, failing to understand the significance of this piece of clothing. The interpreter, as a mother to biracial children and deeply familiar with black people's experiences, intervened by requesting the police buy the deaf black woman a

new do-rag before she left the rape clinic. The interpreter used cultural mediation to diffuse a racialized situation in which a black woman was already at a disadvantage within a racist legal system; this scenario highlights the importance of incorporating cultural mediation in interpretation. In another situation, interpreters had dismissed one person as unintelligent and constantly unresponsive thereby making interpretation an ineffective accommodation for that person. One day, a different interpreter assigned to the task recognized the person was deaf and possibly blind as well. Collaboration quickly revealed the so-called "unintelligent and unresponsive" person was DeafBlind[8] and could understand an interpreter only if they were sitting at a specific distance and position. Those adjustments resulted in effective communication and access for the remainder of that ongoing interpreted situation. The interpreters who had earlier worked with this person were ableist by not considering that the person might have dis/abilities that required adjustments for access. Dis/ability and knowledges shaped by lived experiences that diverge from the normate sometimes means another interpreter with a different set of translingual skills and semiotic repository can achieve communication access where one cannot. Those two anecdotes emphasize the importance of active engagement on the interpreter's part in the interpretation process, rather than assume their presence is inherently or even possibly neutral or be too quick to make conclusions about their dis/abilities.

Clouet (2008) underscores the essence of cultural mediation in conjunction with language in successful intercultural communication. Circumstances like this suggest the value of interpreters to have both intercultural competence as well as active awareness of power, privilege, and the operational frameworks of structural inequities in order to render equitable communication. For interpreters and translators, generally, what assumptions are made about consumers' intellect and abilities as collaborators in the communication process? How do forces of structural ableism place consumers in a disadvantaged position? Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2013) propose that interpreters recognize that their levels of involvement (from alignment with the participants to managing the interaction to presentation of interpreter's self) vary from situation to situation. Interpreters' insistence on maintaining the same approach for each situation, namely remaining invisible/machine-like, is counterproductive as it "further de-normalizes and, hence, inhibits the interaction" (ibid.: 56).

Therefore, interpreters need to have intercultural competence to be actively engaged in the interpretation, incorporating linguistic and cultural mediations. In addition, interpreters and translators should have dis/ability cultural competence as well. Garland-Thomson (2017) builds on Metzl and Hansen's (2014) idea of

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8.   The use of capitalizations in the phrase "DeafBlind" signifies cultural and linguistic pride. The hyphen is not used as it implies a problem that needs to be fixed (Conway 2017).

structural competency, which takes attention to the influences of social and cultural structures on health outcomes as well as personhood within interactions. Beyond this, dis/ability cultural competence refers to the understanding that disabled people have developed "competencies for using the world effectively, maintaining our dignity, exercising self-determination, cultivating resilience, recognizing and requesting accommodations, using accessible technology, finding community, maintaining successful relationships" (R. Garland-Thomson 2017: 331). Understanding disabled people that we work with as interpreters and translators as competent people who live within ableist systems urges us to navigate questions of agency, knowledge, and linguistic and ethical decision making in interpreters' work.

5.   Professionalism in interpreting as power *over* dis/abled

In the context of dis/ability, one potent specter of power is professionalism. People in possession of credentials, education, and training related to access and care work are granted professional authority over disabled people. Power and credibility, and thus authority, are granted to those who possess academic and professional credentials, as a form of objectified capital (Bourdieu 1986). Questions about who knows what and who commands what authority in which contexts influence interpretations, and this can either entrench or be influenced by ableist attitudes. Interpreters, translators, and scholars of interpretation and translation studies occupy sites of power as knowledge-producers and knowledge-holders, which essentially position them as expert practitioners. Social distributions of power place more weight on the authority of expertise which displaces people with lived experience and situated knowledges (Ardener 1975; Smith 1989). Ableist social attitudes about the intellect, knowledge, and agency of disabled people produce power asymmetries in which disabled people are silenced or ignored (Hughes 2019). Professionalization of interpreters has driven a wedge between interpreters and the consumers they serve in which interpreters assert their expertise and credentials, holding more value over the consumers' lived experiences, which make the former experts on the latter's own linguistic and communication needs (Fant 1990; Tseng 1992; Mikkelson 2004; Cokely 2005; Kent 2007; Wilson 2011; Forestal 2015; Mole 2018; Robinson, Sheneman, and Henner 2020).

Goodley (2017) explains that "disabled people are treated as objects, not authors of their own lives; person-fixing measures are preferred over context-changing interventions; the power of health and social care professionals is increased and the tyranny of normality is accentuated" (ibid.: 9). The professionalization of interpreting resulted in violence toward disabled people because interpreters, translators, and scholars were given more power as educated experts with the authority inherent

in being nondisabled, who were perceived, by the nature of interpretation as a "helper" profession, to naturally act in favor of disabled people (Goodley 2017). Hence, this professionalization placed interpreters into helper roles, "Charged with enabling communication in a situation of inherent inequality, between representatives of mainstream institutions on the one hand and underprivileged, 'disabled' individuals on the other, interpreters were naturally cast in a helper role which extended to whatever needed to be done" (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002: 339). Interpretation and translation, in the context of deaf people, has been dominated by white, nondisabled people (Kent 2007; Mole 2018; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) 2019), especially women (Pöchhacker 2004).

Systems of power continue to exist in which participants continue to believe that disabled individuals are helpless and require charitable acts from nondisabled individuals. The United Nations (2015) aims to accomplish a vision, *Transform the World*, by the year 2030, which urges for the reduction of violence in making progress toward greater inclusion and equity. This vision inspires interpreting and translation as a profession to consider how to disrupt and dismantle ableism as a tool of power in pathologizing, othering, and subjugation. Ableism underlies acts of discrimination against those considered disabled in this society on structural, institutional, and individual levels, privileging the value of specific abilities (Wolbring 2008). Ableism is the attitude that people should be assumed to function within normative parameters:

> The term normal designates the subject position of the supposedly (or temporarily) able-bodied individual. The word also converts the idea of normalcy into an active process – norms *are* but they also *act*: we live in a culture in which norms are enforced, a normative society. (Dolmage 2014: 23)

Dolmage (2014) argued that normativity meant aspiration to an ideal of being human determined by how a person compared and strove to fit within the ideals of what it meant to be an average human being. This average was measured by both an absolute mean where humans are compared to other human beings and a relative mean where a person works to fit within those ideals. Dis/ability becomes a social construct leveraged to *other* people. "We cannot comprehend ableism without grasping its interrelations with heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, and capitalism" (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2019: 21). Ableism incorporates the practice of pathologizing othered bodies to justify racism and other forms of structural oppression. Those structural systems of oppression interlock in critical ways.[9] By adopting

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9.   For a further exploration of how dis/ability is used to justify structural power asymmetries on the basis of race, gender, and other social locations, see Annamma, Connor, and Ferri (2013) and Samuels (2014)

a critical dis/ability framework, we shed light on ableist violence and theorize ways to mediate ability and perceptions of normativity in interpretation and translation including scholarly and teaching praxis.

6.   Concluding remarks

Professionals make decisions that enact violence toward the people they serve; such violence works toward marginalizing people which in turn upholds white supremacy (Chapman and Withers 2019).

> Real power relations between helping professionals and service users come into being only as they interlock with both the specific stratification and the violence opened up for that particular service user in receiving that particular service user in receiving that particular service, and the service provider's experiences of racism, colonialism, disables mood, cissexism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy, sexism, and ageism.   (Chapman and Withers 2019: 7)

Like social workers, interpreters and translators make multiple decisions in their work that serve to uphold power asymmetries.

Critical dis/ability studies disrupt ideas about normalcy, disorient expectations about belonging and worth, and suggest ways of dismantling such power asymmetries. Hope lies in Chapman and Withers' (2019) reminder, "Oppressions are historically co-constructed and interlocked. This fact does not mean they are permanent and invariable – or that we can do nothing about them" (ibid.: 11). Dis/ability is always present, with the potential to construct a body as pathologized and thus as lesser deserving of access, epistemic justice, and quality care. Disabled activist and writer Piepzna-Samarsinha (2019) reminds us to never assume anything. *Cripping*, in its strictest definition, suggests creating a more welcoming space for dis/ability and disabled people. This includes making no assumptions about dis/ability and taking care to read a person through a dis/ability lens.

Adding a critical dis/ability orientation to interpretation and translation (studies) *crips* the profession by reminding us that ideas of normalcy, impairment, pathology, helplessness, worth, and belonging should always be contested. Beyond contesting those ideas, adopting a *crip* framework allows interpreters and translators to understand how professionalization, professional authority, and perceptions of ability have the power to produce harm. Intentional *cripping* is a means of actively mediating power asymmetries to create a space for all parties in the interpreted interaction to function as equals or closer to that aim. Kushalnagar and Rashid (2008) argue that interpreters need to develop an awareness of their own attitudes and behaviors around deaf people, which includes monitoring and minimizing helping

behaviors. Education programs and scholarship in interpretation and translation studies should also recognize that like social work, whiteness works in tandem with professionalization to grant gatekeeping power to white abled people (Kent 2007; Mole 2018; Chapman and Withers 2019; Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf [RID] 2019).

Teaching or conducting research about interpretation and translation studies while leaving whiteness and abledness unmarked means transmitting and reproducing white abled approaches, assumptions, and practices. Through the lens of Disability Critical Race Studies, DisCrit (Annamma, Connor, and Ferri 2013), those conceptualizations and pathologizations are also very much shaped by race and other social locations. This means the exclusion of multiple voices in interpretation research, practice, and education. Such exclusion has led to a profession whose boundaries, norms, and ethics are defined by white abled ethos. As a result, this process creates racial, gendered, and ability-based barriers for minoritized individuals and groups. A reading of the access provided by interpreters and translators through a critical dis/ability lens encourages the profession to redefine access from "service begrudgingly offered to disabled people by non-disabled people who feel grumpy about it" to "access as a collective joy and offering we can give to each other" (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2019: 16–17).

The infusion of the critical dis/ability lens in this profession insists upon two paradigm shifts in the interpretation profession: (1) assumptions should be avoided altogether about dis/abilities – dis/abilities are not visible nor static, and (2) dis/abled individuals are experts on their access needs and scholars should acknowledge a basic precept of disability studies which embraces disabled people as valid sources of knowledge and knowledge-producers (Charlton 2000). Competence in working with disabled people demand that interpreters and translators embrace humility by recognizing dis/abled consumers as knowledge-holders and knowledge-producers. Also valuable is the understanding that interpretation alone may not always suffice for access (De Meulder and Haualand 2019). For us to dismantle power asymmetries, the field must engage in a critical interrogation of constructs of epistemic authority, expertise, and professionalism that is shaped by dis/ability. Doing so allows us to work toward increased inclusion in creating a more equitable and less violent world. Part of this process is working towards accountability towards liberation of self and others (Mingus 2019). Such accountability is consequential because many interpreters work at the intersections of human rights – such as the human right to (access) health care, the human right to (access) education, and the human right to (access) culture and language (United Nations General Assembly 2006).

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An information asymmetry framework for strategic translation policy in multinational corporations

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The size and scope of multinational corporations in the globalized and interconnected modern economy has increased the need for language services to facilitate a broad range of cross-language communication. Much of the prior research on language in international business has emphasized a metaphorical language barrier and the concept of equivalence in translation, while failing to recognize the strategic importance of translation and interpreting. By contrast, this chapter emphasizes the role of language service professionals in achieving corporate communication goals. A framework is offered that links a firm's response to information asymmetry (to mitigate or maintain) and whether the communication is internal to the firm or with an external party. This two-dimensional approach implies four types of communication goals, and we offer examples of how firms might achieve these goals. The framework recognizes the value of translation and interpreting in adopting strategic translation policies for operating in a multilingual environment.

Keywords: information asymmetry, strategic translation policy, international business, knowledge management

1. Introduction

The global economy, as a connected and integrated network, implies that a considerable portion of business communication crosses borders, cultures, and/or languages. Geographically dispersed multinational corporations have perhaps the most obvious needs for interaction in multiple languages, given the various constituencies that work in languages that differ from either their home country or the primary working language of headquarters. However, labor mobility, the global nature of the supply chain, and the ability to interact with customers in an

online setting all suggest that even a putatively and primarily domestic firm will, at times, require the ability to operate in more than one language (Brannen, Piekkari, and Tietze 2014). Moreover, growth in global demand for international goods and services alters the movement of people and capital, consequently expanding the number of languages that may be required due to increased contact among customers and businesses (Hogan-Brun 2017). These multilingual encounters, which in the past might have been solely within the purview of senior management, can now be found at almost every level of a firm's structure (Feely and Harzing 2003; Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014).

Despite the clear need for firms to operate in multilingual environments, consideration of language in international business research was conspicuous by its near absence until approximately the last decade of the twentieth century (Holden 1987; SanAntonio 1987; Marschan, Welch, and Welch 1997). Prior to these initial works that drew attention to language in international business contexts, language could justifiably be described as the most neglected issue in international management (Reeves and Wright 1996). Since then, the rise of the knowledge economy, coupled with an increased need for multilingual communication stemming from economic globalization, has spurred a growing interest in language as a factor in the research agenda of international business scholars.

In much of the research, language has been employed primarily as an independent variable based on a conceptual framework of language differences as a barrier to communication (Feely and Harzing 2003). This metaphor of language as barrier has influenced the understanding and treatment of language in management and business scholarship insofar as language differences are generally found to have a negative impact on such constructs as communication flows (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 1999; Piekkari, Oxelheim, and Randøy 2015), knowledge transfer (Welch and Welch 2008), and headquarter-subsidiary relationships (Harzing and Feely 2008). Furthermore, language skills of employees are regularly described as assets or resources while assuming that cross-language communication can be fully addressed without taking into account professional language services (Dhir 2005; Welch and Welch 2018), and the firm's management is tasked with selecting an appropriate firm-specific language policy to minimize the perceived language barrier problem (Feely and Harzing 2003).[1]

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1. This approach is in stark contrast to research conducted by language industry professionals and researchers, who often view multilingual resources as linguistic or content assets that can be leveraged and re-used in language projects. See Lynch (2006) and Sikes (2011) for more on these topics.

Despite a growing body of research that now recognizes the role of *language* in international business, the importance and value of *translation*[2] has yet to be as broadly acknowledged. Steyaert and Janssens (1997) were among the first to raise and address important questions about translation, language learning, and management, but that research agenda was not immediately embraced by international business scholars. While the reason for a lack of uptake is difficult to determine, it may in part be due to the rise of English as a lingua franca that minimized or alleviated the perceived need for translation at the time for many corporate managers (Firth 1996; Dovring 1997). Though some authors continued to propose a translation-oriented research agenda (e.g., Janssens, Lambert, and Steyaert 2004), until recently the international business literature has generally been dominated by a positivistic understanding of translation (Karhunen et al. 2018). As a result, this perspective has hindered a more complete exploration of the role of translation and interpreting in international business. As a case in point, much of the international business research relies heavily on simplistic notions of equivalence such that back translation is often touted as a potential approach to ensuring translation quality (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki, and Welch 2014).[3]

Recently, the value of translation as a strategic competence of a firm has gained recognition in specific research areas. For instance, the role and agency of translators in knowledge management practices have been discussed in important theoretical work (Piekkari, Tietze, and Koskinen 2020), textual analysis (Holden and Michailova 2014), and case studies (Tan and Gartland 2014; Chan 2018; Westney and Piekkari 2020). A broader perspective on translation may prove useful in applying these insights from the knowledge management literature to other areas of international business research. Toward that end, the challenge of intrafirm knowledge management in a multilingual environment can be viewed not as the existence of a language barrier *per se* but rather as one particular example of a cross-language communication failure in an environment of asymmetric information.

Therefore, a reassessment of the role of translation and interpreting in multinational corporations and international business scholarship could be achieved by

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2.   In many instances, the cited scholarship drawn from the disciplines of international business and finance only refer to translation, but their arguments, in large part can be extended to interpreting as well. For the purposes of this chapter, *translation* and *translation policy* will be used to encompass both translation and interpreting, although efforts have been made to signal interpreting as being an important addition to this scholarship that has been typically overlooked.

3.   The prevalence of back translation persists in the literature on international business, despite this practice being criticized by translation studies scholars. Even Brislin (1970), a well-cited article in the international business literature, provided comment that back translation was not a fully adequate method, yet this advice has gone unheeded.

recognizing their impact on information asymmetry, which is inherent to some extent in almost any business communication and likely heightened when language differences are present. Rather than understanding language as a static signifier of meaning, research could describe the dynamic, contextualized process of translation as an aide to shared understanding and situated, co-construction of meaning, thereby bringing research in this area closer in line with post-structuralist views of translation and interpreting. Furthermore, modeling translation and interpreting as a means to manage information asymmetry aligns translation and interpreting studies with information asymmetry, which is a ubiquitous construct in business and economics. This reconceptualization transcends the recent applications in knowledge management to encompass disparate communication channels that can be internal or external to the firm, such as marketing, human resource management and employee recruitment, contract negotiation, mergers, and financial reporting.

Building on a model of information asymmetry, this chapter makes two contentions related to translation in multinational firms. First, given the need for multilingual communication, international business theories, research, and practice should emphasize the translation and interpreting process and the role that language professionals play in adding value to the firm through strategic choices related to the management of information asymmetry. This recommendation is theoretically grounded in a knowledge-based view of the firm that encompasses both internal and external stakeholders. Therefore, this chapter argues that the metaphor of language as barrier does not accurately represent multilingual communication when viewed through the lens of information asymmetry. Second, as a consequence of the need to manage information asymmetry through translation and interpreting, firms need to extend beyond the formulation of a corporate language policy to develop a strategic translation policy that recognizes the purpose and context of communication when selecting an appropriate response to language differences.

In supporting these two contentions, the chapter briefly outlines the theory and implications of information asymmetry. Then, we present previous conceptions of the challenge of language differences within the firm and the associated language policy solutions. Following a discussion of the central role of the translator in corporate communications, we propose a new two-variable framework for strategic translation policy based on the strategic response to the existing information asymmetry and identification of the target audience. The chapter closes with a discussion of potential further complications to the model and suggestions for a future research agenda.

2.   Multinational firms and information asymmetry

Modern multinational firms operate in an economy that can be characterized as informational, global, and networked (Castells 2010). While the value of information for firms and the macroeconomy has long been known and analyzed (e.g., Hayek 1945),[4] the global economy is now characterized by an increase in service- and knowledge-related industries along with relative ease of communication and travel. As a result, a fundamental revolution has occurred in the transformation to an economy in which information and knowledge are primary resources (Drucker 1993; Kahin and Foray 2006). In this setting, asymmetric information can arise or be intensified as a result of increased specialization and value.

This shift has led to new theorizing of the firm as an entity centered on the creation, transmission, and integration of knowledge as a source of value (Grant 1996; Nonaka, Toyama, and Nagata 2000). In this knowledge-based theory of the firm, information sharing and knowledge management are primary concerns to maximize firm value, and differential performance among firms is caused, in part, by information asymmetry (Conner and Prahalad 1996). Firms operate in a complex environment in which information asymmetry encompasses both internal factors, such as knowledge sharing and human resource management, and external factors, such as regulation and contracting with suppliers. All of these factors can be exacerbated for a multinational firm facing a challenge in communication due to language differences. International business scholars have largely neglected the opportunity to engage with translation and interpreting studies research to conceptualize the role and value of language professionals in cultural brokering, communication, and the strategic decision to maintain or mitigate information asymmetry.

Before proceeding with the implications of translation and interpreting for situations of information asymmetry, a definition of the latter construct is necessary. Simply described, information asymmetry is a situation in which two parties have different amounts of information, which may also be accompanied by power imbalances. These power differentials can take many forms, and in the present context, are perhaps most notably epistemic in nature. The concept of economic agents with different levels of access to information originated in economic models of buyers

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4.   Throughout this chapter, the term *information* represents an intangible asset that carries economic value; we favor this term in part to align with the concept of information asymmetry. We do not differentiate the transmission of the alternative and related constructs of data, knowledge, or wisdom (Ackhoff 1989) because any sharing of ideas in a multilingual setting can require translation, regardless of the level of complexity. Ignoring the distinction between information and knowledge (and occasionally using the terms interchangeably) allows us to focus the argument on the translation process and the related management issues.

and sellers, and information asymmetry represents a violation of the assumption of perfect information in market models (Akerlof 1970; see Rosser 2003, for an overview of related research). The classic example of the used car market (and the prevalence of so-called lemons) is often used to illustrate how information asymmetry can decrease the quality and price of goods that trade in a given market, in some cases to an extent that causes market failure.[5]

Viewing communication from a paradigm of information asymmetry reveals the potentially wide-ranging implications for the effects of translation and interpreting on various areas of the firm, including public relations (van Ruler and Verčič 2005), human resource management (van den Born and Petlokorpi 2010), management of teams (Cohen and Kassis-Henderson 2017), foreign direct investment (Ly, Esperança, and Davcik 2018), strategic board communication (Piekkari, Oxelheim, and Randøy 2015), accounting (Evans and Kamla 2018), and equity ownership (Jiang and Kim 2004). Refocusing attention on how both translation and interpreting function as a component of multilingual firm communication provides insight on how they can be a dynamic, strategic, and value-adding activity for a firm, particularly when tailored to the nature and goals of the communication.

A formal model of asymmetric information can guide policy reactions; Bergh et al. (2019) describe asymmetric information as comprising four aspects: antecedents, theoretical conceptualization, resolution, and intent of the parties involved. In international business research, the primary antecedent of information asymmetry is the lack of shared linguistic resources, which creates a structural challenge for information sharing. However, the information asymmetry can be exacerbated by the additional challenges of cross-cultural communication as well as the potentially-mediated nature of this communication due to geographic separation and time zones differences.

The framework developed in this chapter builds upon the assumption that asymmetric information exists between the relevant parties, and the information itself is conceptualized as private, hidden, or different. Bergh et al. (2019) note that a firm can choose either to reduce or exploit existing information asymmetry. In some cases, the firm's goal will be to allow, encourage, and facilitate information sharing across languages. However, in other situations a firm may desire to impede and compartmentalize information sharing, for instance to protect trade secrets or

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5. Akerlof's (1970) seminal article explored the negative impacts of information asymmetry in markets. By modeling the market for used cars, in which low-quality vehicles are sometimes referred to as *lemons*, he illustrated how quality uncertainty can provide perverse incentives for high quality sellers to withdraw from the market. These insights on markets and the implications of this type of behavior were the basis for awarding Akerlof the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2001 (shared with Joseph Stiglitz and Michael Spence for related work).

maintain a strong position in negotiations. Therefore, a firm's intention regarding the way in which information asymmetry is managed in various situations will shape its decisions about resolution strategy.

Several authors have discussed the implications of information asymmetry within the language industry. For instance, Dunne (2012) describes the negative effects on language service providers (LSPs), particularly the downward pressure on the wages of freelance translators resulting from information asymmetry between LSPs and their clients (see also Chan 2005). Meanwhile, Jemliety (2019) provides a more sanguine view on the ability of translators to build relationships and over-come the challenge of weak signaling to increase earnings for high-quality work. However, the focus of the present chapter is not the information asymmetry that exists between a firm and a translator, interpreter, or LSP; rather, the theoretical development conceives the processes and products of translation and interpreting as a means to overcome information asymmetry both within the firm and between the firm and other external parties. While we recognize that translators and inter-preters work in an environment of information asymmetry, the goal of this chapter is to center the role of these language professionals as agents of communication who can strategically alter the level of information asymmetry in these various contexts.

3. Language policy in multinational firms

While international business scholars have now spent several decades examining the role of language within multinational firms, much of the work has relied on outdated notions of translation and interpreting. In a review of four major interna-tional business journals over a 10-year period, Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki, and Welch (2014) found that most authors viewed translation through the lens of equivalence while failing to account for macro-level contextual considerations that shape, con-strain, or influence the act of translation. Similarly, Karhunen et al. (2018) describe how most scholarship makes assumptions about translation as a technical process that presents a problem to be solved by managerial decisions rather than as a com-plex decision-making task. In doing so, researchers tend to describe language skills as characteristics of employees, and very few papers recognize language as a social practice that is embedded within a larger communicative context. This paradigm has emphasized a quest for universal, technical language policy responses rather than context-based, situated, and nuanced translation policy or strategy.

Scholars provide multiple, competing definitions of language policy with the terms language policy, planning, management, and strategy all denoting variations on a "mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of lan-guage" (Johnson 2013: 9). In the context of a multinational firm, language policy is

often viewed as formalizing the status of a corporation's official language(s) along with any associated support for language learning or strategic hiring (Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014). Language strategy is typically a broader term that includes information gathering through a language audit (Reeves and Wright 1996), monitoring and feedback of the policy implementation, and a consideration of how the firm's language policy aligns with its international presence and planning (Piekkari, Welch, and Welch 2014). When it is considered at all in language strategy, translation often appears as a technical solution that can be informally accessed through a variety of responses, including computer-assisted or machine translation or the use of internal and external language service providers, either professional or non-professional.

In the daily operations of a firm, though, translation and interpreting are necessary for cross-cultural knowledge transfer (Holden and Michailova 2014), and multinational firms have a number of choices available when responding to language diversity. Harzing, Köster, and Magner (2011) and Feely and Harzing (2003) outline a combined total of 14 solutions to the language barrier with an emphasis on how language differences slow down communication and increase the cost of decision-making. These solutions include informal solutions (e.g., redundancy in communication, adjusting the mode of communication), structural solutions at the organizational level (e.g., lingua franca, use of LSPs), and the use of bridge individuals within the firm (e.g., bilingual employees, expatriation). Other papers that ascribe to this classification scheme often present the solutions as almost mutually exclusive decisions to be made by upper management (e.g., Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta 2012).

Due to the hegemonic status of English in international business, a number of firms have adopted English as a corporate lingua franca (Neeley 2017). This policy has been criticized for a number of reasons, including issues of resistance and effects on power and career trajectories within the firm (Hinds, Neeley, and Cramton 2014; Lønsmann 2017; Sanden 2018). The policy can create a surface appearance of harmony from a top-down perspective, while employees still struggle with the daily challenge of cross-language communication. Moreover, this policy contradicts research that suggests that multilingualism can provide economic benefits (Grin and Vaillancourt 1997).

Recognizing the challenges of a lingua franca policy, some firms incentivize language learning and temporary assignments in different parts of the world (i.e., expatriation and inpatriation) with a goal of building linguistic and cultural capital. However, that does not imply that language learning always carries benefits for individuals or corporations; language training as a strategy can also fail the firm in multiple ways. First, language learning comes with a direct cost, both in terms of money for training and in terms of reallocated time from other tasks. Second, unless

the curriculum is tailored to the working environment and industry, any introductory language training may not be adequate to provide the technical language skills necessary for information sharing and knowledge transfer in the workplace. Finally, a traditional language classroom might emphasize the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking, while devoting limited time to translation, which is arguably the most vital skill for overcoming information asymmetry. Language-sensitive recruitment can also be counterproductive for encouraging knowledge transfer (Peltokorpi and Vaara 2014). Therefore, even merging a lingua franca with language training and selective recruitment is unlikely to provide sufficient translation benefits for a multinational firm.

The necessary solution is not alterations to *language policy* but the formulation of strategic *translation policy*, which we posit should be viewed as encompassing, or at least co-equal to, language policy. In this perspective, language skills are no longer perceived as an asset to be accumulated and managed. Instead, translation and interpreting are viewed as strategic skills for investment to improve and facilitate communication. Once their role is recognized in overcoming information asymmetry in a culturally sensitive, context-bound manner, a multinational firm can develop an appropriate set of value-adding responses.

4.   The central role of translators and interpreters

Much of the literature on language in international business has operated with a paradigm of languages that are conceived of as independent, self-contained systems separated by a barrier. For instance, Steyaert and Janssens (1997) pioneered the conception of translation and language learning within a management-language-culture triangle. Their article contrasts the metaphor of language as action and culture as metaphor with the view of language as representation and culture as a variable, while proposing the need for systematic policies related to translation and language learning. In a similar way, Janssens, Lambert, and Steyaert (2004) attempt to shift the paradigm to one of mutual construction of meaning through translation and to identify the value of translation studies for research in international business and cross-cultural management. They describe mechanical, cultural, and political language strategies and propose that multinational firms are shaped as uniform, culturally sensitive, or hybrid in their language orientation, based on their chosen language and translation policies. This perspective highlights the value of translation and the agency and role of the translator in a way that clarifies the value of translation in international business.

Some ensuing scholarship employed sociolinguistics to conceive new models of multilingualism in international business (e.g., Steyaert and Janssens 2015).

Similarly, researchers have described how translators are more than transmitters of fixed meaning and play an important social role in spanning cultures (Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014; Westney and Piekkari 2020). Additional research aligns with knowledge management to stress the translator's agency in transferring knowledge (Holden and Michailova 2014; Tietze, Tansley, and Helienek 2017), and the value of this role only increases as the markets shift further toward the knowledge and sharing economy (Chan 2018).

An important theme of this research on multilingual workplaces is recognition of how an individual's voice draws on a range of linguistic resources and is situated in time, place, and manner. Steyaert and Janssens (2015) describe the implications that translation, in this view, is a more complicated extension of a source message and that the translator plays a difficult role in providing voice to that message. Therefore, language management practices and international business research should create a new paradigm that de-emphasizes language boundaries in favor of individuals striving to express themselves using their linguistic repertoire. Knowledge transfer across languages creates new opportunities for translator agency to be acknowledged as a valuable contribution to the operations of multinational firms (Piekkari, Tietze, and Koskinen 2020). The framework proposed in this chapter similarly recognizes how translation and the translator's agency contribute and align with corporate communication goals. The two key variables in the model are the firm's intention regarding information asymmetry and whether the communication is directed internally or externally.

Previous research has also developed frameworks for the selection and evaluation of language policy. Examining language policy after multilingual mergers, Malik and Bebenroth (2018) propose two key factors of strategic independence and need for organizational autonomy when selecting between a policy of a shared corporate language and the continued use of a local language. Gazzola and Grin (2013) offer a more comprehensive framework for evaluating efficiency and fairness in language policy; their scheme utilizes two dimensions, the first being internal and external communication and the second being three types of communication, namely informatory, cooperative, and strategic. Their framework was also employed by Vermandere, Vangehuchten, and Van Herck (2019) in analyzing several case studies of language policy at multinational firms.

The framework developed in the following section differs from these previous schemes in two significant ways. First, it employs information asymmetry as a primary theoretical motivation, situating the model squarely within the business and economics literature. Information asymmetry requires management and strategic choices either to exploit value, when possible, or to minimize financial loss in other cases. While communication can be used for multiple purposes, in the context of a multinational firm, all cross-language communication involves a level

of information asymmetry between the parties, which contrasts with Gazzola and Grin's (2013) consideration of informatory communication as a single type, separate from cooperative and strategic communication. Second, the model emphasizes the role of translation in achieving communication goals. Much of the language policy literature amounts to a search for the best uniform policy. By contrast, this chapter suggests that translation needs are complex, situated, and directed toward preferred communication outcomes. Because of its strategic importance in this scheme, translation, interpreting, and language abilities become a key strategic asset of a firm (cf. Tan and Gartland 2014).

5.   A framework for strategic translation policy

Here, we offer a framework as a way to examine the multi-faceted nature of information asymmetry and its relationship with multilingual communication and as a tool to guide management in determining a strategic response. The framework is based on two variables: the intended resolution of existing information asymmetry and whether the communication is with parties internal or external to the firm. The first dimension has two levels: the firm may choose to mitigate or maintain the information asymmetry (Bergh et al. 2019). Meanwhile, the distinction between internal and external communication channels is both intuitive and typical in both organizational communication (Stuart, Sarow, and Stuart 2007) and business research (Malik and Bebenroth 2018). Every communicative event in the firm can be categorized on these two dimensions, and when the communication occurs in a multilingual setting, decisions will be necessary regarding whether and how best to address linguistic differences among the various parties.

These two dimensions interact to determine four goals that firms might have when responding to information asymmetry related to language differences. The quadrants in Table 1 display the principal goal of a strategic translation policy in each situation, followed by several examples of corporate communication in each category. These examples are by no means exhaustive; they depend on a range of firm-specific variables and illustrate how specific communicative contexts can be examined through the lens of information asymmetry. Additionally, the matrix offers possible language service responses that would be appropriate in supporting the goal. The purpose of the table is to consider how the two dimensions help reveal the underlying goal for dealing with information asymmetry; the specific strategy will subsequently be chosen based on additional factors, some of which are discussed in subsequent sections. What follows is an analysis of each quadrant to describe the examples and the motivation for the suggested strategic translation policies.

Table 1. Strategic translation policy framework

	Internal communication	External communication
Mitigate the information asymmetry	*Goal:* Build mutual understanding within the firm	*Goal:* Ensure high-quality, culturally-appropriate information
	Examples: Boardroom communication Team coordination Knowledge management	*Examples:* Trade and customer relations Advertising and branding Financial markets
	Strategic responses: In-house language services Functional multilingualism Language training Expatriation and inpatriation	*Strategic responses:* Hire LSPs with local expertise Recruit multilingual employees
Maintain the information asymmetry	*Goal:* Control the flow of information within the firm	*Goal:* Share information selectively with external parties
	Examples: Protection of trade secrets Intellectual property Knowledge segmentation	*Examples:* Negotiations Contracts Financial markets
	Strategic responses: Lingua franca Controlled language	*Strategic responses:* Specialized translation and interpreting Customized machine translation Non-translation

The upper left quadrant comprises situations in which communication is internal to the firm and the intention is to mitigate information asymmetry. In this case, the goal is to ensure mutual understanding, thereby encouraging knowledge transfer. This objective is especially important in the context of teams (Cohen and Kassis-Henderson 2017) and strategic boardroom conversations (Piekkari, Oxelheim, and Randøy 2015). The knowledge-based theory of the firm (Grant 1996) also suggests that translation and interpreting within the firm can increase value by allowing for sharing information and ideas, including from management and headquarters to subsidiaries or vice versa (Harzing, Köster, and Magner 2011; Peltokorpi 2015).

Language service providers play a prominent role in the success of a firm's internal communication (Tietze, Tansley, and Helienek 2017), and hiring these specialized language personnel is a recommendable strategy for communication in this quadrant. The benefits of in-house, staff positions are varied and detailed below, yet as Dunne (2012) notes, the belief of firms that translation and interpreting services

were not core competencies has led to significant outsourcing of these services. However, full-time, internal staff are more likely to possess the technical, social, systemic, and strategic knowledge that allows for optimal, efficient communication, while avoiding concerns regarding leakage of sensitive information (Hong and Nguyen 2009; Liyange, Elhag, Ballal, and Li 2009). Another potential advantage of hiring in-house translators and interpreters for internal firm communication is long-term cost effectiveness over external LSPs through the use of technology, terminology management, and general familiarity with the working environment. Finally, in-house staff can assist with drafting new documents with a view toward translation, thereby participating in multilingual co-creation of important texts, such as a firm's mission statement (Steyaert and Janssens 1997). Therefore, while firms may ultimately choose to outsource some language services, a unilateral approach to translation policy that fails to account for multiple communicative needs within the firm may ultimately hinder effective internal communication.

Because internal firm communication is likely to involve repeated interactions and social conversation in addition to more formal exchanges, firms may need to provide additional methods to overcoming linguistic differences in the multilingual interaction of international business (Luo and Shenkar 2006). Language training, movement of staff through expatriation and inpatriation, and recruitment and development of language skills through human resource management are also important tools to improve mutual understanding in a functionally multilingual environment (Feely and Harzing 2003; Peltokorpi and Vaara 2014). These measures can help promote the flow of information within the firm.

Some firms have chosen to adopt a common corporate language, hoping that it would streamline intrafirm communication (Neeley 2017). However, the imposition of a lingua franca can have negative effects on communication and intrafirm dynamics (Hinds, Neeley, and Cramton 2014). In some cases, employees resist or resent the new policy (Lønsmann 2017), and the use of a lingua franca has also been criticized in terms of its effectiveness and fairness (Gazzola and Grin 2013). While business English is widely spoken globally and its use can provide benefits to a multinational firm (Nickerson 2005), the challenges with this official policy suggest that it may not be the best choice when the goal is to maximize mutual understanding within a firm.

This discussion of the first quadrant – i.e., intrafirm communication and a desire to mitigate information asymmetry – demonstrates the complexity of strategic translation policy and that there is not a one-size-fits-all approach that is appropriate for every firm. Instead, the framework aims to foreground the role of various language services in the firm and to emphasize the communication perspective. From there, additional factors such as direct financial costs and long-term business strategy should be considered when developing a firm's strategic translation policy.

Emphasizing the communication goal in each quadrant should provide a useful way to frame the conversation when examining decisions surrounding language and translation policies in conjunction with additional factors.

The upper right quadrant represents situations that also aim to mitigate information asymmetry, but in this case the communication is with a party external to the firm. This situation can imply a unidirectional focus on overcoming information asymmetry, in which case the primary purpose of the communication alters from mutual understanding to the provision of an acceptable, culturally-appropriate version of the message that the firm is trying to convey. Communication with customers is a strong motivation for any businessperson to learn a new language, and the practice has been documented for small and informal business around the world (e.g., Spolsky and Cooper 1991). For the multinational firm, advertising can be viewed through the lens of asymmetric information since economic models imply that consumers can experience an increase in utility when they become informed about the existence of products as well as prices and differentiation among firms (Butters 1977; Mishra, Heide, and Cort 1998). Advertising and public relations are relatively undertheorized and unexplored in a multilingual, global context in the international business literature (Louhiala-Salminem and Kankaanranta 2012) with the most common discussion relating to blunders in the translation of advertising slogans (Ricks 1993; Freitag and Stokes 2009). In translation studies, the intersection of translation and advertising has been explored more explicitly; however, these studies primarily center on specific language and cultural issues rather than their role in multilingual business communication (e.g., Adab and Valdés 2004).

These negative examples of communication failures suggest the importance of a firm's strategic response. Hiring language service providers with local expertise and experience, be they in-house or outsourced, is one method for avoiding these mistakes (Feely and Harzing 2003). Potentially, local hiring in foreign subsidiaries could also increase language knowledge to further enhance local communication skills and cultural knowledge. One challenge in this quadrant is that hiring external resources has an obvious cost, while any losses due to errors are less evident opportunity costs that are difficult to quantify. Consequently, a debate solely around measurable costs will likely fail to consider the multi-faceted nature of multilingual firm communication and the role of various language services that is afforded by the present framework.

Additionally, the mitigate/external quadrant includes trade relationships and customer relations, which are more likely to involve bi-directional information flows. In this case, multilingual employees and local staff are valuable resources for building goodwill and brokering effective communication. Ease of communication has shown to increase trade relationships to a greater extent than shared ethnicity and trust (Melitz and Toubal 2014), which reinforces the value of local

communication experts. A translation studies perspective could be said to argue forcefully against some policies – such as corporate lingua franca – and in favor of others – such as hiring translation services and multilingual employees in order to effectively mitigate existing information asymmetry.

The lower left quadrant involves situations internal to the firm in which management's goal is to maintain information asymmetry. While knowledge management often supports information sharing, there are situations such as the protection of trade secrets and intellectual property in which communication is discouraged and language services may be less of a priority. Management might also want to maintain control over information flows as a response to political risk or to preserve an arm's length relationship in a joint venture or wholly owned subsidiary. In these cases, Neeley (2017) contends that lingua franca and controlled language can be an appropriate language policy. While the argument for implementing a lingua franca or controlled language is in the service of transparency and clarity, the top-down imposition of a language policy that includes these approaches can be seen as a means to limit and control how information is shared and the extent to which specific ideas can circulate. In these instances, controlled language is not necessarily in the service of mitigating information sharing, but rather as a means to restrict or influence information flows throughout the firm.

The selection and promotion of a lingua franca does not obviate the need for strategic translation policy, however. Firms still need to invest in language training and to provide language services to avoid miscommunication. The means by which the firm accomplishes this goal might take different forms, such as professional language services during training and strategic meetings or non-professional or technological solutions for lower risk interactions. Senior management might select and impose a lingua franca as a goal to streamline and unify internal corporate messaging, but the firm must also then be aware of the career and organizational effects of employees who are not fluent in the official corporate language (Piekkari 2009). Consequently, human resource management must take into account talented individuals who may not have the linguistic skills imposed by the firm's decision and manage potential resistance to its implementation.

Finally, the lower right quadrant considers external communications with an intention of maintaining an existing information asymmetry. Merger negotiations, contracting with suppliers, and associations with competitors are three examples that require communication in a competitive environment in which private information can be a valuable advantage. Furthermore, these situations are often technically complicated. Relationships with regulators also involve selective disclosure to comply with requirements but not reveal strategically valuable information.

The technical details inherent in much of the communication in this category represent a need for specialized language services, including domain-specific

translation and interpreting (Sandrini 2006). Depending on the scope of the firm's international operations, the argument could be made for hiring full-time employees for strategic languages or markets that can provide these types of specialized language services. For some routine reporting, customized machine translation systems coupled with controlled language authoring and terminology management might also be a viable strategy to automate some of the repetitive language tasks. A final solution would be not to provide language services at all, such that the onus of overcoming the information asymmetry that is exacerbated by cross-language communication falls to the external party.

Finally, while the matrix provides a means by which to examine multilingual communication and its relationship with information asymmetry as well as a framework to classify communication activity, some communication can fall into more than one quadrant, depending on the situation. To give one example, firms communicate regularly with investors, lenders, and financial institutions, which could collectively be referred to as communication with financial markets. Economics and finance scholars have extensively studied the impacts of information asymmetry (e.g., Bebczuk 2003) and have shown that firms can have incentives to communicate more or less openly. For instance, firms with good news about earnings are more likely to share that information, while firms with anticipated bad news would generally prefer to minimize their communication (Hong, Lim, and Stein 2000). Therefore, the intention to mitigate or maintain the information asymmetry can differ with the same external communication recipient. This example is just one way that strategic translation response can vary depending on additional factors, which are the topic of the next section.

6. Additional factors

Any simple framework for strategic management is unable to capture the full complexity of business decisions. Information asymmetry and the intended recipient are useful dimensions because they help identify the primary goal of the communication. In addition, understanding the intention of the communication allows a firm to respond strategically with the appropriate language services that align with and facilitate attaining that overarching purpose. Several other factors will also influence the firm's approach, and this section examines additional considerations that should be considered complementary to the previously-presented framework.

Three prevalent factors are the elements of the iron triangle of project management: cost, quality, and timeliness (Dunne 2011). A profit-maximizing firm must consider expenses balanced against the expected importance in terms of quality

and timeliness. For example, multilingual customer relations are vital for firms with a small number of large international clients, such as a corporate law firm, so that the return would likely be significant for investments in related language services. However, an online retailer might not find it financially beneficial to create localized versions of its website in more than a few common languages. The financial impact and the size and scope of a firm's international operations need to be taken into account; however, they should still be considered after the primary communication goal has been identified.

Another influential factor is the level of formality of the communication (Charles 2007). For instance, internal communication with a goal of mitigating information asymmetry includes team member interactions, which could be brainstorming sessions, casual lunchtime conversations, or technical discussions of a job task. While mutual understanding remains the goal in all these cases, the relative importance of the information sharing varies. In casual situations, redundancy in communication and other ad hoc strategies are likely sufficient, while technical job requirements might demand the services of a translator or an interpreter; these interactions may even require language training to promote functional multilingualism. In these situations, firms with clearly articulated strategic translation policies can supply the necessary resources to enable interlingual communication, while providing guidance to their employees and empowering them to select optimal responses (Sanden and Lønsmann 2018). Still other factors related to language policies that may have a bearing on strategic translation policy are the mode by which the policy is enacted, as well as the participants involved and its location (Spolsky 2009).

Further situational influences include the need for confidentiality and the criticality of the task. For example, planned international expansion or cross-border mergers would encourage strategic investment, development, and utilization of linguistic and translation resources and might require a multi-faceted translation policy. Whereas the framework ultimately presents a goal-oriented approach toward multilingual communication, these situational variables represent potential constraints that impact firm decisions. Moreover, decisions on language and strategic language policy are ultimately embedded in larger discussions of firm strategy, and the resulting policy will ultimately be influenced by a range of variables. Still other factors, such as the motivation of the other party in the communication require consideration (Bergh et al. 2019). A final consideration that firms must take into account is temporal in nature. Much like any strategic decision, these policies must be revisited over time as firms react to changing conditions in the economic and their operating environment. Revisiting strategic translation policy in light of short-term and long-term goals allows firms to adjust their approach as needed in light of shifting priorities or variables.

7.   Conclusion

International business research is making important progress toward recognizing the challenge and the value of language services. Despite a history of emphasizing an equivalence paradigm (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki, and Welch 2014), a growing body of research in knowledge management has been exploring the potential for translation, interpreting, and language services to play a vital and creative role within multinational firms. Other business disciplines, such as accounting and finance (e.g., Evans and Kamla 2018), are also beginning to recognize their value in relation to questions that typically arise in these respective areas. Moreover, international business and translation scholars are now collaborating with greater frequency to demonstrate how and why language should no longer be perceived and modeled as a barrier to communication or an asset to be accumulated and managed in a static understanding of language. Instead, language services should be viewed as a dynamic, strategic set of skills for investment to improve and facilitate communication.

The framework offered in this chapter is intended to shape discussion regarding strategic translation policies within firms, joining a number of scholars who call for alignment of language and translation policies with business strategy (Steyaert and Janssens 1997; Janssens, Lambert, and Steyaert 2004; Luo and Shenkar 2006). Moreover, the framework represents an attempt to spur discussion on the role of language services more generally in the context of international business and firm communication as a means to refine how these services are discussed in relation to multilingual communication. This discussion is needed not only within the international business research community, but also within the translation and interpreting studies community, since both provide complementary theoretical grounding to discuss the complex nature of multilingual business communication. The proposed two-dimensional framework, which examines information asymmetry from the perspective of communication direction (i.e., internal vs. external) and asymmetry response (i.e., maintain or mitigate), provides a starting point for these discussions. The firm's communication goals may vary from those indicated in the chapter; however, these goals serve as an example of how the framework can be applied. Moreover, the matrix can be a point of departure for both scholars and stakeholders to discuss multilingual communication in a range of contexts. As with any framework, there are additional factors that must be considered, and those briefly discussed in this chapter are by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, the suggested approach to examine information asymmetry from this perspective in multinational corporations shows how strategic translation policy is necessary and should, at the very least, be considered co-equal to a firm's language policy. In doing so, language services may be better tailored to a firm's communication goals and better aligned with its overarching goals.

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Tom, Dick and Harry as well as Fido and Puss in boots are translators

The implications of biosemiotics for translation studies

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As a field, translation studies arose from the practice of interlingual, mostly written translation. Though not an invalid point of departure, this assumption, which had not really been investigated critically despite lip service to Jakobson's categories of intralinguistic, interlinguistic and intersemiotic translation, has meant that translation studies has limited its field of interest to, mainly, written, literary, professional translation as instantiated by Western practices. This linguistic bias has an anthropocentric bias as its logical implication. The limited conceptualization of translation has become untenable for a number of reasons, not least of which is the growth in multimodal communication made possible by information-technology developments as well as the growth in posthumanist thinking. Lastly, semiotic conceptualizations of translation clearly pose theoretical challenges to a translation studies that is conceptualized on the basis of interlinguistic translation only or that is based on a linguicentric and thus anthropocentric bias.

This chapter investigates the Peircean definition of meaning as "the translation of a sign into another system of signs" (Peirce 1931–1966: 4.127), in particular the ways in which this kind of thinking has evolved in the modern field of biosemiotics. If all meaning creation is, per definition, translation, it means that every living organism is a translator. It further means that one needs to consider translational actions by animals and plants at both intraspecific and interspecific levels. The chapter addresses the asymmetry both in the relationships between human and non-human animals and in the attention that translation studies pays to this power dynamic.

Keywords: anthropocentric bias, biosemiotics, non-professional interpreting and translation (NPIT), linguicentrism

1. Introduction

In 2006, Maria Tymoczko (2006: 18) argued that one of the things that translation studies seems sure of, falsely in her view, is that translation is something done by professionals. In the meantime, some publications as well as four conferences on non-professional interpreting and translation (NPIT1-4) have proven her right. In all societies and cultures, it seems, non-professional language users perform a variety of practices that could be called (interlingual) translation or interpreting. Therefore, every Tom, Dick and Harry is a translator or interpreter, indeed.

What neither Tymoczko nor the NPIT movement has considered is that it is not only humans that communicate and that therefore translate or interpret. The field of biosemiotics has made it clear that communication is co-existent with life and that life itself is the lower threshold of semiosis. This means that, apart from Tom, Dick and Harry, Fido and Puss in Boots also communicate, but so do bacteria, cells, plants and all animals. In fact, when prokaryote cells gave up their individuality in order to live in organisms, endosemiosis (communication between cells in an organism) started. Furthermore, individual organisms communicate with others in their species but also with others from other species.

In the context of the above, translation studies itself displays an asymmetry. This asymmetry regarding biology has two implications. On the one hand, translation studies does not consider translation in animal communication, thus remaining a fully anthropocentric field of study. On the other hand, the cultural studies influence in translation studies biases translation studies to assume that ideas originate from thin air because it does not have a solid biosemiotic account of the origin and nature of meaning. Apart from expanding the notion of translation and interpreting beyond professionalism in human beings, the NPIT movement can also expand it to include an ecological view (Cronin 2017) of translation and interpreting. By recognising the communicative abilities of all living organisms, it could tie humanity into the ecology of life. The advantage of a biosemiotics approach is that it does not suppose the crises of the Anthropocene, posthumanism or earth warming, as Cronin (2017) does. Once the crisis has been averted, if at all, the biosemiotic point of view will still hold.

I structure this chapter as follows. Firstly, I provide a succinct overview of the NPIT movement and argument. Secondly, I present a (less brief) overview of biosemiotic thinking as it has emerged over the last half a century or more. Lastly, I suggest ways in which translation studies could expand its interests to include interspecific communication in various forms within its ambit.

2.   Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation (NPIT)

The origins of the movement in translation studies that is now known as NPIT (based on the conferences with this acronym) is not easy to determine. In their insightful overview, Antonini et al. (2017b) refer to Harris (1973) coining the term "natural translation" in the 1970s and to notions of language brokering that originated in the 1980s. Obviously, the four NPIT conferences serve as one fixed point of reference. Apart from that, I refer to three edited volumes and a special edition of *The Translator* journal as some kind of canon for thinking about NPIT.

The first is Angelelli's (2004) work on interpreting. In this work, she breaks radically with the one role set for interpreters by conference interpreting. Taking a radically social approach to interpreting, she argued that the role of an interpreter is determined by the social context in which the interpreting takes place. This means that different social contexts call for different interpreting roles. This work opened up the possibility of looking at non-professional interpreting.

The second is Wadensjö, Dimitrova and Nilsson's (2007) edited volume on community interpreting. They brought together a number of chapters concerning the notion of professionalism in interpreting. They reject Parsons' definition of the characteristics of professionalism, namely universalism, functional specificity and achieved competence, and prefer Sarfati-Larsson's view that professionalism entails struggles between various interest groups (2007: 2). In their view (2007: 3), the numerous terms used for community and non-professional interpreting reflect this struggle between various interest groups in society. Raising issues of professionalism is thus a further step in making it possible to think about non-professional interpreting and translation.

The third is the special edition of *The Translator*, edited by Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva, in which they situate non-professional translation and interpreting in the context of recent, globalizing trends in the world (2012: 152–156). They convincingly argue that professional translation needs to be regarded as a sub-category of translation, not the other way around (2012: 157). While I agree with their analysis, data from, at least, the African context seem to point to other driving forces behind non-professional translation and interpreting, namely the inherent multilingualism, not because of migration, but because it is a fact of life. Furthermore, Africa does not have a lack of translation services because of increased migration or global economic crisis but because of its development status (Marais and Delgado Luchner 2018). Lastly, like all the other authors reviewed here, Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva (2012: 158) mainly see translation as an interlingual activity, which excludes communication with non-human animals.

The fourth is the recent edited volume on NPIT by Antonini et al. (2017b). Referring to the NPIT conferences and the work by Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva, they argue that there is an increase of attention to non-professional translation and interpreting because of, mainly, globalization and advances in technology (Antonini et al. 2017a: 1–2). While this might be true, I should note again that, in multilingual contexts like Africa, non-professionals have forever been translating and interpreting (Molefe and Marais 2013; Marais 2014).

In their introduction, they review the technical terminology and history of the field and, by criticising some of the existing terms, motivate why they prefer the term "non-professional." They also motivate their interest in non-professional translation and interpreting by responding to criticism against this interest from professional organizations and practitioners (Antonini et al. 2017a: 8–11). They correctly argue, following Harris, that this phenomenon exists, which alone is reason enough to study it. They also argue that studying this phenomenon might, through education and training, allow the non-professionals to become professionals. While their arguments might be true for the European context, one has to ask whether the professionalization of non-professional translation and interpreting is the only way forward. In an article on translation/interpreting and development, Carmen Delgado Luchner and I (2018) suggest that this might not be feasible or viable in some contexts and that it might not even be advisable. At least, the debate on NPIT should take note of the different social-economic conditions (Angelelli 2004) in African contexts when considering advocating for professionalization *tout court*.

As far as the NPIT conferences themselves are concerned, the calls for the first two conferences (Antonini et al. 2011; Meyer 2013) both argue that NPIT is both ubiquitous and under-researched. The call for the third conference (Massey et al. 2015) acknowledges that NPIT research is gaining traction, but it is in the call for the fourth conference (Lesch et al. 2017) that a significant shift in perspective is perceivable. While the first three conferences were held on European soil, the fourth was held in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The African perspective of multilingual contexts clearly shines through. In the European context, NPIT became relevant to translation and interpreting studies in the context of "abnormal" societal situations such as migration, war, or asylum-seeking, and in particular contexts like the church and the media (Antonini et al. 2011; Meyer 2013). In the African academic context, NPIT is a problem of everyday life as is evident from the NPIT4 call (Lesch et al. 2017). Obviously, the African context also have many cases of "abnormal" situations, but the normal, everyday translation and interpreting is required because of the thousands of languages spoken on the continent, often across national borders and mostly in the same country.

In general, I thus think that the movement towards studying NPIT is a worthwhile endeavour because the phenomenon exists. I argued elsewhere (Marais 2014)

that the bias in translation studies of focussing on the formal economy to the exclusion of the informal economy means that a large part of NPIT reality remains unexamined. The movement to acknowledge that every Tom, Dick and Harry is a translator is thus in line with findings in the field of translation studies, given the one or two provisos mentioned above.

As indicated in the introduction, what remains a limitation in this movement is that it deals with Tom, Dick and Harry only, ignoring Fido and Puss in Boots. I argue below that this excludes at least three important sets of communication from the debate, namely intra- and inter-specific communication in animals and plants as well as animal-human communication.

3.   Biosemiotics

For the sake of the discussion here, I distinguish between theoretical and applied biosemiotics, though the reader has to note that this distinction is not made in the field itself. I make it purely to be able to make particular arguments for the relevance and implications of biosemiotics for translation studies. The reader should be aware that this representation of biosemiotics is biased by my aim in this chapter, namely to argue the relevance of non-human translation processes for NPIT. Readers interested in the history of the development of biosemiotics for its own sake should rather read some of the work recommended below.

3.1   Theoretical biosemiotics

3.1.1   *Overview*
Though opinions might differ, in my view, biosemiotics has its origins in the work of Von Uexküll (1926) in the early 20th century. While his work was not well known during his lifetime, it became known through the work of his son, Thure von Uexküll, and Sebeok (2001a). Sebeok played a major role in institutionalising biosemiotics as a field of study, and his work was supported and significantly expanded by the ground-breaking work of Hoffmeyer (Hoffmeyer 2008, 2015; Hoffmeyer and Stjernfelt 2015; Hoffmeyer 2018), a theoretical biologist. Subsequently, scholars from all over the world, notably those of the Tartu School in Estonia and those surrounding Barbieri in Italy took up and developed these ideas. The formation of the International Society for Biosemiotic Studies (Biosemiotics n.d.), with its annual gatherings and its journal, *Biosemiotics*, provided further impetus to the movement. Favareau's (2007) and Kull's (2007, 2012) overviews of the history of the field, as well as books by Barbieri (2006, 2007), Henning and Scarfe (2013), Hoffmeyer (2008), and Sebeok (2001b, 2001c) provide good introductory reading for novices. Biosemiotics is also used by physicists, such as Kauffman (1993, 1995, 2000, 2008,

2013), neuro-anthropologists, such as Deacon (2013), and literary scholars, such as Wheeler (2006).

Favareau (2007: 1), Kull (2007), and Henning and Scarfe (2013) point out that biosemiotics entails a discussion within theoretical biology about overcoming the mechanistic assumptions underlying much of biology thought (see also Sebeok 2001a; Barbieri 2007; Kull 2007; Cobley 2010; Kauffman 2013). Favareau (2007: 2) is of the opinion that biosemiotics is interested in the "relation between mental experience, biological organization, and the law-like processes of inanimate matter." It aims to deal with the ubiquity of intentionality and communication in all living organisms (Juarrero 1999; Hoffmeyer 2008: xiii). In the biosemiotic view, all living organisms participate in semiotic processes, and this means that sign processes are constitutive for life (Hoffmeyer 2008: 4) and that life and semiosis are co-existing. In fact, Brier and Joslyn (2013: 2) claim that the big divide is not between nature and culture but between non-living and living.

Biosemioticians question both popular and scientific claims that non-human animals do not engage in meaning-making (Brier and Joslyn 2013). It is thus about the interface through which all living organisms deal with the relationship between their own internal organization and the demands of the environment on which they depend (Favareau 2007: 24). Cobley (2010) points out that this biosemiotic thesis holds for human beings too, and it is on this basis that he can argue that "semiotics is the study of the difference between illusion and reality." Because biosemiotics is interested in meaning-making and meaning-taking in all living organisms, this interest led to biosemioticians drawing on theories of meaning. This interest in meaning brought them into contact with scholars in the humanities, in particular semiotics. In turn, findings in biosemiotics caused semioticians and other humanities scholars to rethink some of their own assumptions such as anthropocentrism.

One of the key – and perhaps controversial – arguments in biosemiotics is that semiotics does not require a brain (Hoffmeyer and Stjernfelt 2015: 8) because there is biological proof that, for instance, even brainless rats could respond semiotically. This extends semiosis not only to plants but also to fungi, bacteria and single cells.

In summary, then, biosemiotics argues that all living organisms respond to stimuli from their environment (and from inside their systems – endosemiotics), and these responses entail meaning-making with the aim of surviving or even, if all goes well, thriving. The, obvious, point is that all of this holds for human beings, too.

3.1.2   *The evolution of semiosis*

While biosemioticians claim that all living organisms are semiotically active, they do not argue that all organisms are semiotically equal. The argument is rather that semiosis itself shows an evolution from basic responses to chemical stimuli in bacteria to complex symbolic human abilities (Deacon 1997). In this regard,

different categorizations have been suggested. One distinction would be between biotranslation (translation between animals that does not include language) and eutranslation (translation that includes language) (Marais and Kull 2016: 175). This is similar to Sebeok's (1976) distinction between anthroposemiotics, zoosemiotics and endosemiotics. In other work, Sebeok (2001b, 2001c) draws a distinction between semiosis in plant life (phytosemiotics), semiosis in non-human animal life (biosemiotics) and semiosis in human life (anthroposemiotics) (Sebeok 1976). In other contexts, the terms "zoosemiotics", and even "mycosemiotics", are used (Sebeok 1976: 164). For my argument, it does not really matter how one draws these distinctions. The important point is that biosemiotics challenges translation studies as far as its anthropocentric bias, in general, and its linguicentric bias, in particular, are concerned.

Obviously, the more developed the nervous system (and brain), the more complex the semiosis (although one must heed Deacon's 1997 argument that bigger brains are not necessarily to be regarded as more developed). In this vein, Hoffmeyer and Stjernfelt (2015) suggest a "chain" of development in semiosis, arguing that it started with molecular recognition and then evolved through prokaryote-eukaryote transformation, division of labour in multicellular organisms, from irritability to phenotype plasticity, sense perception, behavioural choice, active information gathering, collaboration/deception, learning and social intelligence, sentience and consciousness. Not only does this explanation, which would obviously be debatable, provide a sense of the evolution of semiosis, but it also makes it clear that the "higher-order" semiosis found in humans have evolved from and are based in the evolutionary process. The implications of this thinking is that human semiosis is to be conceptualized and understood in a continuum with all other forms of semiosis. It is not absolutely novel, and it did not appear from nowhere. In fact, it shares numerous features of less developed forms of semiosis.

Apart from studying the evolution of semiosis, scholars in biosemiotics also study the most basic notions of the sign process, i.e., the fact that a sign is something that suggests something else, some other, and that something that is not necessarily directly observable is to be deduced from something observable (Favareau 2007: 5–7). They are thus interested in the most primitive origins of semiosis and in the way semiosis evolved. Semiosis is seen as the ability of an organism to take information from its environment and "interpret" it as – most basically – either good, bad or neutral for the organism, i.e., the organism relates information from the environment to its own agenda such as survival (Recchia-Luciani 2012). This semiotic agency (Juarrero 1999: 1; Rodríguez 2016) is based on phylogenetic, ontogenetic and social recurrences, which are the prerequisites for semiotic action. Kull (2015, 2017) further explores the conditions for semiosis and semiotic agency and argues that an organism needs to be presented with an incompatibility to which

it needs to react. This incompatibility means that there should be more than one possible response. He conceptualises possibility in this regard as more than one option that exist simultaneously and to which the organism has to respond in a single moment (Kull 2017: 16).

This complex process of both constructing and being constructed is as relevant for human beings as for other animals and plants because, if a living organism's interpretation of the sensory information from the environment is wrong, its survival is threatened. In my view, biosemiotics challenges strong constructivist views that are popular in translation studies. No organism will survive if its knowledge of its environment does not somehow relate to or correlate with that environment. While it is true that human beings have the ability to construct or change their environment, this is not an absolute ability (Vehkavaara and Sharov 2017: 147). At this point in the history of knowledge, I do not think anyone wants to claim that knowledge is not constructed. It is. However, it is constructed relationally, which is why it is relative. It is constructed in relationship with an Other, be that Other a physical, or material, or biological, or social, or cultural other. Life is as much constructed as it is constructing.

One of the – disturbing – findings of biosemiotics is that the more we know about biology the more we understand that the supposedly higher functions of humans (creativity, faith, understanding, language) are (also) biological in nature. We could thus ask: If this is true, could the converse not also be true? Could "lower" life forms not also have consciousness-type capacities? Are our cognitive capacities so unique? Is the kind of self-reflective knowledge that we claim to have the only form of knowledge? If ours is not without biological constraints, someone (thing) else's may, perhaps, not be as physically-chemically-biologically determined (instinctive) as we think. The question then becomes: How do we think about these things without falling into the trap of anthropomorphism? How do we relate to our fellow living organisms?

The development of a central nervous system in animals provided them with more developed semiotic abilities than organisms without central nervous systems. Their sensory apparatus also provides them with more (species-specific) information about their environment. Further proof of animals' semiotic ability is their ability to deceive, an ability that Eco (1979: 58) describes as the litmus test for semiosis and about which Sebeok (1986: 128) says,

> … lying, that is, intentional deception, must be distinguished from other patterns of falsehood rampant in the animal world. Such behaviour is variously referred to in the literature as sign forgery, mimicry, misdirection, misinformation, prevarications, protean displays, and the like.

Thus, chameleons can deceive by means of colour. Birds deceive by acting injured, in order to lead hunters away from their nests or little ones. Animals, thus also have the ability to communicate with others in their species and across species, for instance, with humans. It becomes clear that, as Sebeok (1986, for instance) has argued, one needs to rethink the notion of instinct. In particular, the notion that animals act on instinct and humans on reason needs to be reconceptualised to allow for "instinct" in humans and "reason" in non-human living organism.

Trying to unite natural and human sciences by means of semiotics, Favareau (2007: 23) formulates the following central research question in biosemiotics:

> What particular relations in the naturally occurring world does human symbolic understanding exploit differently, say, than primate indexical understanding does, or that the iconic relation chemotaxis affords for the amoeba?

This cryptic overview of biosemiotics within this chapter about semiotics serves to challenge translation studies to an ecological awareness.

3.1.3   *The unity of life*

One of the key tenets of biosemiotic thinking is the unity of life. This does not mean that biosemioticians do not acknowledge an evolution in semiotic ability, as the previous subsection made clear. However, it does mean that biosemioticians realise that all of life has a common ancestor and no living organism, no matter how far evolved (like humans), stops being a biological entity. As Deacon (2012: 26) puts it eloquently: "Minds were not in some way grafted onto biological systems; mentality emerged from and grew out of organisms during their evolution." From another angle, Cronin (2017: 9) argues that the crisis of the Anthropocene means that human beings can no longer be seen as a species apart from other species. So, from both historical and futuristic perspectives, it has become inevitable to acknowledge and practice the unity of life.

Wheeler and Westling (2015: 216) argue that biosemiotics is necessary "to restore non-reductively our whole cultural experience to the biotic matrix from which it emerged." In other words, the argument is that the unity of life, i.e., an ecological perspective, motivates the interest in biosemiotics in the humanities. This biosemiotic interest has two legs, namely a biological one and a semiotic one. All life forms share a genetic heritage but also the ability to respond to an environment and to adapt to such an environment, i.e., a semiotic ability. These adaptations and responses constrain further responses, creating a web of meaning in which organisms live (Wheeler 2014). Conolly (2013: 509) likewise argues that the creativity that one finds in humans could not have erupted in them de novo. Rather, there are variable degrees of creativity in all living organisms. It is this unity of life and meaning that

allows us to look for links between phenomenology and neuroscience, which forces us to look at embodied experience. I agree with Conolly (2013: 510) when he argues that humanities is detrimentally constrained by "cultural internalism" and that a biosemiotic approach could amend this.

When I discuss applied biosemiotics below, I return to the issue of ecology. Suffice it here to note biosemiotics' argument about the unity of life, about the co-existence of living organisms and about the biological substrate of culture.

3.1.4   *Questioning cultural and linguistic relativism*

Translation studies has founded itself on linguistic and cultural relativism, based on the work by Sapir and Whorf. Some form of cultural relativism, or at least cultural pluralism, has become accepted dogma in translation studies. Stronger forms of this argument, linked to linguistic relativism, claim that translation is impossible. While proponents of both weaker and stronger cultural relativism will never call it such, the implications of especially strong cultural relativism are to turn cultural groups into the equivalent of different species. People from different cultures are presented as so different that they have nothing in common, and they are different because of the absolute difference in languages.

However, a biosemiotic approach would require some kind of correction to this position. As Deacon (1997) shows, studies on the perception of colour across cultural and language groups show a universalism based on the human perceptual system. Thus, while linguistic and cultural relativism has come close to turning people from different language groups into different species, with communication between them impossible, biosemiotics argues for a less radical relativism and at least some recognition that the human species is one, living in one *Umwelt*. In fact, Deacon (1997) would argue that human brains are adaptation of ape brains, sharing some of the features of those organisms from which they evolved. This means that communications between humans and non-humans could be conceived based on shared brain evolution. Considering that humans share the same brain features across language and cultural groups, culture and language would obviously have relativizing influences, but not in absolute terms.

As biosemiotics point out, the problem with linguistic and cultural relativism is that they see language as the only way of obtaining and constructing knowledge, ignoring the complexity of senses and the complexity of meaning-making. Deacon (1997) has shown convincingly that iconicity and indexicality are prerequisites for symbolic meaning and that symbolic meaning always also entail some form of iconicity and indexicality.

3.1.5   *Meaning is grounded*

Biosemiotics argue that meaning-making is not a purely logical system of differences at play, but part of the tools that have evolved to assist organisms to survive and adapt. Even in human beings, meaning-making is not primarily about logical play but about grounded responses to the "Other," the environment. This does not mean that there is no play, just that there is more than play.

Hoffmeyer (2015: 153) points out that living organisms are endowed with two sets of tools, namely tools for direct material interaction (tooth and claw) and tools for anticipation (meaning-making). He is of the opinion that the latter is dominant in all living organisms because, even for non-human animals, "sensing, interpreting, coordinating and social co-operation" are crucial for survival and thriving (2015: 154). In his view, "[s]ign processes painlessly cross the borders between those domains of reality that in the Cartesian understanding are unbridgeable separate orders, science and the humanities, body and mind, nature and culture" (2015: 156). Semiosis links matter and mind, giving preference to neither, which means that, even in humans, mind is never divulged of matter. In fact, Hoffmeyer elsewhere suggests that mind is the interface between sets of matter, i.e., the organism and its environment.

Hoffmeyer and other biosemioticians have also explored the notion of semiotic scaffolding in a special edition of *Biosemiotics Journal* in 2015. Emmeche (2014: 295) conceptualises semiotic scaffolding as "enabling processes of sign action unfolding at several levels of organization, focusing energy flow and agency of the system or subsystem upon a constrained repertoire of possibilities, thus guiding the system's behaviour to follow a more definite sequence of events." In other words, living organisms use signs and sign relations to help them cope with reality. This semiotic scaffolding becomes a constraint or bias that enable semiotic pathways to develop and grow (Favareau 2015).

In somewhat of a reversal of foreground and background, Cobley and Stjernfelt (2015) argue that the relevance of the humanities is that it operates as semiotic scaffolding to the whole of the human project. Basing their argument on the extended-mind hypothesis (2015: 296), they argue that art and culture function as semiotic scaffolding by which human beings interpret and value, through modelling the implications of options, the developments in human actions (see also Cobley 2010, 2016 for detailed arguments about the link between biosemiotics and the humanities). Thus, art and culture are not merely play, but the exploration or modelling of options for the human future, i.e., semiotic scaffolding.

3.1.6   *The adjacent possible*

One of the rich concepts originating from physics and biology is the notion of the adjacent possible. Kauffman (2000: 142–144) explored this notion first in physics and then extended it to biology and semiotics (2012). The idea is that if one were able to freeze any physical-chemical state at a given moment in time, one would be able to imagine a number of possible next states into which that state could develop. The adjacent possible would be the very next state into which a given state would develop. The adjacent possible is then, in Kauffman's (2000: 142) words "one reaction step away from the actual."

In biological reality, however, there are no exact laws that can predict the adjacent possible. Rather, the adjacent possible is that which is being enabled by the current actual (Kauffman 2012: 41). In his example, once a swim bladder has evolved it becomes a new adjacent possible, an opportunity for, let us say a bacterium or worm, to utilise. In Kauffman's (2012: 41; see also Giorgi 2017) view,

> evolving life is not only a web of cause and effect, but of empty niche opportunities, that enable new evolutionary radical emergence. The same is true in the evolving econosphere, cultural life and history. We live in both a web of cause and effect and a web of enabling opportunities that enable new directions of becoming.

The implications of this kind of thinking for human development and an understanding about cultural growth and decline are legion, but I shall explore these more fully elsewhere.

Biosemioticians rally against reducing living organisms to physics or chemistry and against reducing the meaning-making actions of living organisms to computation (Brier 2010; Hoffmeyer 2018: 2). It raises new questions about mind (Gómez-Moreno 2014: 423), it points out that theoretical biology needs a theory of hermeneutics (Gilbert 2016: 52) because at the very smallest level DNA can be interpreted differently in different cells, and it argues that one should think in terms of a "holobiome" where all living organisms and their survival are entangled (Anderson 2012: 32).

3.2   Applied biosemiotics

The reader might justifiably think that the previous section was very theoretical and might justifiably want to know whether there is any application for this knowledge. While, with Cobley and Stjernfelt (2015), I caution against crass utilitarianism, biosemiotics does offer a significant number of applied studies that could be of interested to scholars of translation. In particular, these studies show examples of communication that does not include language. It would not have been possible

for me to discuss all studies that have ever been performed, so I consulted the last 10 years of the journal *Biosemiotics* to present a number of these studies.

Turner's (2016) work on the semiotics of a superorganism shows how a termite mound requires semiotic ability that is distributed throughout the termites that constitute the nest. The question then is about the relevance of what he calls "swarm cognition" (2016: 89) for understanding human societies. I am not aware of studies comparing insect and human societies in this regard, although complexity thinking has made use of findings in social animal behaviour to discuss human social behaviour, including the economy, traffic, etc. However, biosemiotics might offer insight in how communication allows societies to function.

Sueur and Farina (2015) use ecoacoustics to infer information about "the ecology of populations, communities and landscapes." In particular, they look at sound interference to consider the species that co-habitate an environment and sound degradation that causes problems in communication in an ecosystem (496). Sound then becomes an index of the health of an ecosystem. Farina and Pieretti (2013) further explore landscape ecology as a way of establishing a link between ecology, biosemiotics and cognitive sciences.

Rafieian (2011: 86) wrote a fascinating article in which he argues that the personality is "a group of interconnected psychological and bodily systems of signs which function together for a certain period of time, and the processes of translational semiosis play a key role in bringing about this integration." Agency in human beings would then entail the ability in people to exert authority over various streams of semiosis (2011: 92). This study, which analyses personality from the perspective of internal communication, raises questions of translation in the brain and psyche but also in society.

A number of biosemiotic studies have been devoted to communication in domesticated animals and between these animals and humans. Magnus (2015: 268) explores the semiotic challenges that guide-dog teams, i.e., the dog and the person guided, explore because of the specificities of interspecific communication. For instance, signage in streets are at the level of sight of humans, not dogs, which means that guide dogs may not be able to observe them as needed for making decisions. The built environment thus constructs an ecology that is not conducive to guide-dog teams and actually further marginalises them.

Jaroš (2016) investigates the epistemology of studying domesticated animals, in particular cats. He argues that domestication causes "morphological and behavioural similarities between man and the domestic animal" (288). These mutual influences mean that humans cannot study domesticated animals objectively, from the outside, because they are part of the social system that has been influenced by the animals. Reviewing classical studies on social structure in cat colonies, he

points out that the ontological commitment of the researcher plays a crucial role in the findings of the study. He argues that the accepted bi-constructivist approach to studying domestic animals is not sufficient. In this approach to ethological studies, both the position of the animal and the position of the researcher is acknowledged and brought into the equation. To this should be added the ontological commitment of the researcher (296). An example of such commitment would be "contemporary Western environmental ethics, i.e., friendship, peaceful cohabitation of different species, and a safe life without hurt" (304).

Also interested in the relationship between humans and domesticated animals, Affifi (2014: 74) argues that semiotic influences on what he calls "semioregions" are as influential as influences on bioregions. He uses this argument to suggest a biological pedagogy in which educators facilitate awareness of and interaction with the organisms that surround human beings. Pedagogy should thus always entail the organisms around us and, in particular, our interaction with them. A semiotic pedagogy would thus focus not only on what these organisms are but also on how we relate to them (84). Delving in to phytosemiotics in another article, Affifi (2013: 547) derives a theory of learning, namely changes in sign activity, from plant neurobiology.

Biosemioticians have also been interested in zoos for a long time. Kull (2016) distinguishes two senses to the word "zoosemiotics." On the one hand, it refers to the study of semiosis in animals, and on the other hand, it refers to a study of animals in zoos. In his view, translating between different animal species is one of the key tasks of a zoo (460). The challenge of a zoo is thus to create an environment with signs similar to the natural environment to stimulate the animal in the zoo, what Kull (459) calls "the need to be impressed by changing signals."

In another study on animals in zoos, Maekivi (2018: 8) distinguishes between denotative and connotative meaning in our understanding of animals. Denotative meaning refers to knowledge built on biology, what we know about the animal. Connotative meaning refers to human representations of our relationship with the animal. She points out how our own *Umwelt* dominates our perception and representation of animals and how this can be to the detriment of animals in zoos (9).

In a fascinating study about mimicking octopuses, Gómez-Moreno (2014: 405) is of the opinion that a consensus is growing in cognitive ethology that there is a "continuity between cognition and communication in humans and other animals." By providing fascinating data about how the mimic octopus impersonates flatfish and even sea snakes, Gómez-Moreno argues that the octopus must be using an image schema, meaning that the octopus displays similar (though surely not identical) cognitive abilities to humans.

Bielecka and Marcinow (2017) study mentally ill non-human minds, in particular the possibility that exists in all minds that they can misrepresent their

environment. They refer to data that indicate that captive animals, in particular, suffer from compulsive behaviour (199). They argue that the delusions upon which the compulsive behaviour is based persist because the brain has lost the ability to correct the wrong representation.

Cerrone (2018) considers the history of research and experiments on ape language. The argument is usually that ape language is mostly iconic (see Deacon's 1997 arguments that it is also strongly indexical), but the point Cerrone makes, based on *Umwelt* theory, is that iconicity in one *Umwelt* may not be identical to iconicity in another. Whether this is true or not, this work raises similar questions to those in traditional translation studies, namely the ability to translate between systems of meanings. In this case, the systems would be those of different species.

4.   Implications

So, why is biosemiotics relevant for translation studies? Firstly, because humans are not the only organisms that translate. If, semioticians are correct in arguing that language is not the only way through which to convey meaning and if, as I have argued elsewhere (Marais and Kull 2016; Marais 2019), translation is the semiotic work that constrains meaning to make it understandable for a receiver, all communication, from endosemiotics through biosemiotics to eusemiotics, entail translation processes. Currently, translation studies cannot claim the name "translation studies" because it does not study all forms of translation, only human ones. It is in essence "anthropological translation studies."

Secondly, in order to be truly ecological, translation studies needs biosemiotics. As indicated above, scholars like Cronin (2017) are trying to position translation studies in an ecological framework. In Cronin's (67–96) case, this includes work on animal communication.

Thirdly, translation studies can contribute to understanding the Other – animals. One of the key contributions that translation studies is able to make is that of understanding the Other. Translation studies itself is based on notions of difference and mediating difference – and the extents to which this is possible or not. By including animal communication, translation studies could expand its views and contributions on the Other. If Brier and Joslyn (2013) are correct to argue that the great conceptual divide is not between nature and culture but between non-living and living, it means that humans share life with millions of others on the planet – and that translation studies could contribute to understanding these others.

Fourthly, the idealist assumptions underlying much of the linguistic and cultural theories upon which translation studies bases itself are amended by biology (Stjernfelt 2001). A disembodied translation studies is an impoverished translation

studies. Paying lip service to embodiment will not save translation studies. The only way to escape the idealist bias in translation studies is to amend it with some kind of moderate realism, such as semiotic realism (Deely 2009), which entails a complexity perspective on ideas and reality (Marais 2019: 149–154, 182–186). Culture is not disembodied ideas. Culture is the body's way of adapting and relating to a material environment, to material others, to material space and to time.

Fifthly, as Pym (2016) somewhat ungainly reminds us, we need to check our interpretations against reality. Biosemiotics makes it clear that we can never fully detach our conceptual work from our survival work. Sure, we can dream and fantasise about much more than reality provides, but this dreaming and fantasising are done in bodies which need to survive and procreate. We are not brains in vats spewing out ideas irrespective of our materiality.

Sixthly, translation studies could learn about translation processes from other species. At least, if we assume an evolutionary line from the simplest to the most complex organisms, the most complex share DNA with the most simplest – the unity of life.

Seventhly, biosemiotics offers a bridge over the Cartesian schism (Favareau et al. 2017). All living organisms need semiotic ability of some kind to relate their internal survival requirements to the external environment from which they require energy, from which they need to protect themselves in cases where others in the environment regard them as energy and from which they obtain mates (in many but not all cases) with which to procreate. This interface between the biological-material self and the material-biological environment is semiosis, relating, interpreting, and making decisions in order to survive and to thrive. This interface in humans is called "mind." In this biosemiotic view, non-living and living are interconnected through semiosis, the meaning-making interface, to the extent that, as Deely (2009) says, it is virtually impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. Alternatively, as Deacon (1997: 454) says, "[w]e live in a world that is both entirely physical and virtual."

5.   Conclusion

This book is about asymmetry. This chapter is about two asymmetries in translation studies. Firstly, the literature on NPIT points out that translation studies is asymmetrically skewed towards professional translation and interpreting. Secondly, the literature on biosemiotics points out that translation studies is asymmetrically skewed towards anthropocentric translation.

These asymmetries do not only cause bias in the field of translation studies, but it feeds back into existing asymmetries in socio-political life in which human

animals are seen as having the right to dominate and exploit non-human animals and other forms of life. While it is true that many living organisms kill to live (humans are not the exception here), the asymmetry between human and non-human animals (and other forms of life) is sustained by the asymmetry in fields of study that educate future practitioners and even leaders in translation studies.

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Unveiling the structure

Child language brokering in Swedish welfare institutions

A matter of structural complicity?

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This chapter investigates the asymmetries associated to child language brokering in Swedish welfare institutions. Group interviews with (a) people who have experiences of language brokering as children and (b) public service professionals who have used children as brokers in encounters with non-Swedish speaking service users are analyzed. Results show that both groups consider that resorting to child language brokering is wrong but at the same time they reproduce this social practice and see benefits in it. This ambiguity leads interviewees to lay responsibility on several levels: the parents who place unreasonable demands on their children; the public service professionals who allow children to take on responsibility in precarious situations, and society at large that may be accomplice to structural discrimination of non-Swedish speaking service users. The responsibilities identified by interviewees in their narratives are critically discussed in relation to the concept of "structural complicity" showing how power relations and social structures create situations where individuals act with complicity even when they do something that they consider to be a good solution for an imperative problem and for which they do not see any alternatives.

Keywords: child language brokering, health and medical care, interpreting, public service, public service professionals, social services, social work, structural complicity, structural discrimination, Swedish welfare institutions

1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the role and use of child language brokering in Swedish welfare institutions and its impact on social asymmetries. Antonini (2017: 316) characterizes child language brokering as an act of translating or interpreting languages "exerting agency" and "handling complex technical, legal and administrative

problems and making decisions on behalf of and for the benefit of the family." Language brokering in general and child language brokering in particular have been a part of global migration through history and have sometimes been framed as the world's oldest profession (ibid.). Tizmann and Michel (2017) have underlined that the child language broker becoming the family's expert in the new country is a phenomenon occurring in almost all first-generation migrant families where heritage- and host-country languages differ. Oznobishin and Kurman (2017) describe how child language brokering is experienced differently depending on whether brokering for parents is socially accepted and encouraged by the society or not. This in turn is determined by the receiving countries' expectations on integration and aspects of exclusion and marginalization.

Although child language brokering is considered as a normal part of global migration and every-day life of migrant families, research has revealed drawbacks especially when it takes place in official settings such as public services and in interaction with public authorities. Chand (2005) reviews studies of child language brokering in social services and suggests that it is dangerous to underestimate how inappropriate it is to let children mediate in welfare institutions. Particularly, he discusses evidence about public service professionals who uphold pejorative and stereotypical ideas about languages as well as racist assumptions of linguistic supremacy (Chand 2005: 808). Chand concludes that to continue to use child language brokering in welfare institutions contributes to and consolidates insufficient public service for people who do not master the majority language (cf. Gustafsson, Norström, and Höglund 2019).

The aim of this chapter is to describe and analyze concurrent and sometimes divergent experiences and perspectives on child language brokering in welfare institutions and to assess them under a different light. The analysis is based on group interviews conducted with professionals working in public services and people who had been language brokers as children. In relation to the ambiguity described above where child language brokering is considered to be common, widespread but sometimes wrong, this chapter will identify the problems it creates, for whom and in what situations, and find a rationale from a structural viewpoint.

The complexity of the phenomenon should be understood in relation to the overall topic of this volume, namely translation and asymmetries in today's globalized world. Child language brokering is an effect of international migration embedded in unequal relations between the global north and the global south, hierarchies between languages rooted in a colonial legacy, and asymmetries between child/ adult, minority/majority, service user/service provider, etc. The concept of structural complicity will be used to investigate such asymmetries and discrepancies further, and to analyze situations where people produce, reproduce, and uphold structures that might have harmful and even fatal effects (Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu 2017).

First, previous research in the area of child language brokering in welfare institutions will be presented, followed by a theoretical discussion and introduction to the concept of complicity. Then the material and methods of this study will be described and results of the analysis will be structured in two sections: one focusing on the interviews with persons who have been child language brokers and one exploring the interviews with professionals. Whether complicity can explain the ambiguous position of participants in child language brokering in modern societies will be discussed in the final section.

2.   Perspectives on child language brokering

In order to contextualize and further establish an understanding of the topic of child language brokering in welfare institutions, three research areas will be reviewed: interpreting and translation studies (ITS); research in the field of child development psychology and childhood sociology, and research within social work and health care services.

In a recent volume on non-professional interpreting (Antonini et al. 2017) several chapters focus on child language brokering and point out that the benefits and competences that are part of child language brokering have been overlooked by researchers in the field of ITS. Studies on professional interpreting and training, focusing on linguistic issues, skills, and ethics dominate the contributions on this topic in ITS. Hence, there is a lack of knowledge about the effects of language brokering even though it is a common kind of interpreting. However, the call for language brokering and non-professional interpreting to be investigated and valued as an asset for individuals and for society has been gaining supporters (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012). It has also been stated that this kind of research should especially focus on child language brokering that otherwise becomes an invisible area of childhood (Antonini 2010).

Similarly, researchers in the fields of child development psychology and childhood sociology have contributed further knowledge in the area. Based on development psychology, the volume edited by Weisskirch (2017b) discusses and compares effects of language brokering in different ages, among younger children, tweens, and adolescents. Besides drawbacks such as the fact that the brokering role takes time from other things and puts huge and sometimes unbearable responsibilities on the shoulders of the children, most results point in positive directions when it comes to integration and cognitive development. Children who take the position of brokers learn about the society and about languages and often score high when it comes to academic studies and employment (Weisskirch 2017a). The volume concludes that researchers and policy makers need to be aware of the risk of taking a pathological

perspective of the phenomenon focusing on the risk of role reversal in the family and parentification (Weisskirch 2017a). The editor of the volume concludes that child language brokering should be seen as a normal part of migration and crucial for maintaining "a sense of coherence and hope, which is necessary for family resilience" (Weisskirch 2017a: 303).

Some chapters in Weisskirch's volume also suggest the idea that child language brokering might include elements that seem to contradict a westernized idea about a "good childhood" and, therefore, a rejection of this kind of brokering would be ethnocentric (cf. Humphreys, Atkar, and Baldwin 1999: 285). This approach may be understood as a response to previous research dealing solely with the downsides and problems with child language brokering, as was also the case in the field of ITS. A commonly referred problem is that child language brokers are burdened with more extensive caregiving including taking care of younger siblings and the household (Tizmann and Michel 2017: 77).

Child care givers is an area of studies dominated by medicine, psychology, and social work perspectives (cf. Becker and Leu 2014). Results from child care givers research show quite discouraging findings. Although positive effects exist, the negative consequences are more salient. For example, decreased possibilities to build social networks, relations, and to participate in leisure activities have been pointed out. There is evidence of difficulties in the transformation from adolescence to adulthood due to problems with leaving the home and searching for employment or studying in other cities or remote places. The child care givers have difficulties going to school and following up schoolwork, they suffer from high rates of non-attendance and experiences of bullying, to mention just a few of the drawbacks identified (Nordenfors and Melander 2016).

A rather negative picture of child language brokering dominates also in research in health care and social services (Gerrish et al. 2004; Chand 2005; Kale and Hammad 2010; Lucas 2015; Westlake and Jones 2017; Gustafsson, Norström, and Höglund 2019). Studies conducted within these disciplines focus on the welfare institutions and the professionals who meet clients who do not speak the majority language and their focus is on the negative effects of child language brokering. In interviews with professionals in health care, these talk about "stolen childhoods," of putting unbearable responsibilities on children, and about the fact that children should not take part of and know everything about their parents. They find it uncomfortable to rely on children in their work and can see how it also might affect the hierarchies within the families in negative ways (Chand 2005; Lucas 2015).

A missing point in the previously cited research is the perspective of the parents. Nash (2017) and Lee and Corella (2017) discuss how the lack of studies from the perspective of parents leads to a risk that research actually reinforces the

stereotypical and pejorative perception that the parents are insufficient in relation to their children and that they are lacking language abilities. Their research shows how parents also function as brokers for their children in their communication with relatives in the home country, in following the news and social media in their mother tongue, etc.

To conclude, previous research opens up many questions and one of them is about how child language brokering should be perceived and handled within welfare institutions. Welfare institutions are one of many settings were child language brokering takes place but they are especially significant. In comparison with every-day brokering at, for example, the grocery store, welfare institutions open a window onto affirmation and sanctions from professionals and authorities. Therefore, analyzing child language brokering in relation to legislation and practices within the Swedish welfare state may provide insights into receiving countries, attitudes and expectations on integration, assimilation, and aspects of exclusion and marginalization (Oznobishin and Kurman 2017: 100). In this sense, the concept of structural complicity may show interesting avenues.

3.   Structural complicity: A broader definition for a closer look

The concept of complicity was explored and discussed by Hannah Arendt in her theory of totalitarianism regarding those complicit in the final solution genocide (Arendt 2003). It has also been used by Mark Sanders in relation to the position of intellectuals in the Truth and Reconciliation Tribunal in post-apartheid South Africa (Sanders 2002). In a volume edited by Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu (2017), the meaning of the concept is extended in a way that renders it applicable to every-day settings that are not evidently amoral, evil, or illegal. This broader definition could be significant for studying child language brokering as it allows to scrutinize the Swedish welfare state and public service in its role as a support to vulnerable groups in society, rather than as a risk and threat.

Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu (2017) describe different forms of complicity. *Atomistic complicity* refers to the complicity of an individual acting wrong or creating conditions that enable wrongdoing. This can be deliberate, and in such cases the responsibility for the wrongdoing rests with the individual (act) rather than towards collectives or structures. Complicity can also refer to *indirect* participation of an agent or groups of agents in any wrongdoing. A crucial question in cases of individual or collective complicity is what counts as wrongdoing. What if the actor/s do not know or fail to make sense of relevant facts? These authors problematize the issue as follows:

> … the question of whether or not one's knowledge of being involved in wrong-doing, or one's being culpably ignorant about the involvement, is a necessary condition of one's being complicit. Someone's potential to become complicit in wrongdoing appears to require at least *some* ability to do otherwise, individually and/or collectively. A necessary precondition of that ability is knowledge. But people often lack this.   (Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu 2017: 5)

To use the concept of complicity in the analysis entails the risk of implying that child language brokering is always something wrong when it takes place in welfare institutions. It may also indicate that the purpose is to identify who is doing wrong, be it the child, the parents, the professionals, the welfare society, or anyone else. In this vein, Laidman (2017: 69) suggests that it is not fruitful to presuppose a linear relation between complicity and wrongdoings. Looking at health care institutions in the UK, she writes that in most every-day situations complicity takes place within social structures and causes dilemmas for those involved since they cannot always choose how to act. She further argues that sometimes being complicit could be doing something responsibly and "good" although going against rules and legislation.

From this perspective, complicity can be used to investigate and analyze situations where people produce, reproduce, and uphold *structures* that might have harmful and even fatal effects. In this chapter, where the use of child language brokering in welfare institutions is investigated, complicity will be understood in this broader sense.

This definition of complicity provides the analysis with the power to investigate and unfold the complexity involved in child language brokering in welfare institutions and to find out when and why this practice does wrong rather than who is to blame on the grounds that it is wrong. Such an analysis is useful for many reasons, not least to bring clarity to a complex phenomenon on which there are many and divergent opinions. An advantage of such an analysis is that, as soon as people become aware of structural complicity, they can start to take responsibility for what they are doing and also engage in resistance practices (Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu 2017: 27–29).

4.   Material and methods

In 2017 the National Board for Health Care in Sweden commissioned a study about the use of children as interpreters within health and medical care and social services. Three fellow colleagues and I conducted a quantitative survey among respondents working in public and private health care, in financial assistance and in functional impairment in three regions in the north, mid- and south of Sweden. An outstanding result was that all 311 respondents met non-Swedish speaking service

users or patients in their work and all of them had sometimes used children as interpreters (Gustafsson et al. 2018; Gustafsson, Norström, and Höglund 2019). To get a more comprehensive understanding of the question, group interviews were conducted with the target groups, i.e., two groups with health care professionals and three groups with social service professionals. There were between four and six participants in each group. Professionals in social services worked at the same place while the health care staff came from different organizations. The research team also arranged two group interviews with adults who had experienced child language brokering. In one group, four persons (three women and one man) participated. Three of them were in their fifties and one was a 24-year-old man. Except for him, the other three had known each other before. In the other group, three young men aged 19 to 29 participated. They had never met before and it was the first time they talked about their experiences of child language brokering. Hence, the latter group had more recent memories and described contemporary situations while the former mostly looked back on the situation in the early 70s. Anyhow, we noticed that many of the narrated experiences show similarities with previous research and may be generalized (cf. Gustafsson, Fioretos, and Norström 2012).

Open-ended questions were used in order to encourage the participants to narrate their experiences of child language brokering, as practitioners or users. The questions to both professionals and previous child language brokers were more or less the same: What do you think of using children as interpreters? Can you please tell us about your experience of child language brokering? Can you please further describe when, in what settings, how, and why you used child language brokering/took the role as a child language broker? What advice would you like to give on the use of child language brokers in general and in welfare institutions in particular? Two researchers led each group. One managed the conversation and one took notes and filled in occasionally. The researcher who led the interview distributed turns and let each participant talk one at a time and ensured no one was neglected or silenced. The interviews lasted for around two hours, and five of them were recorded and transcribed. Two group interviews were documented only with note taking.

Several scholars have stated that people often use stories to frame their experiences and create meaning, which makes narrative analysis a fruitful way to understand both individual and social life (Riessman 2008). The stories people tell are never merely personal, but emanate from specific historical-societal contexts and relate to dominating narratives that enter the social world of the individual (Riessman 2008). By analyzing personal narratives as they are presented in the group interviews, it is possible to learn something about society, current norms, and in particular, historical events. Riessman argues that this makes narratives "appropriate for research concerning social movements, political change, and macro-level phenomena" (2003: 332). One example is the spontaneous criticism all participants

launched as soon as the topic was introduced. They all rejected the use of child language brokering in public service institutions. This standpoint is indicative of the political climate in Sweden surrounding the issue. It also contradicts actual practice, since all participants had experiences of either being the child language broker or using child language brokering in their contacts with patients and service users. In the following sections the interviews are analyzed and organized as narratives about the experiences of child language brokering in relation to different positions and actors. Thus, a wide range of perspectives are captured, from individual experiences to political debates and macro-level phenomena.

5.   Analysis and results

5.1   Child language brokers

As described above, previous research shows divergent and sometimes contradictory results about the experiences among child language brokers as well as measured effects of the brokering role. On the one hand there are benefits and on the other hand drawbacks (Orellana 2009; Antonini 2017; Weisskirch 2017b). In order to find out more about these divergent and concurrent experiences, this section is divided into four parts where the significance of different positions and actors is analyzed. The analysis starts with narratives about being the child language broker and ends with narratives about how the participants talk about and discuss the responsibilities of the Swedish welfare state.[1]

5.1.1   *The position of the child*

> I remember my childhood, pictures from after school. I came home and there was this pile of letters in the hallway. No one else would open and read them. So, I would stop there and open one after another. Initially I was not confident in Swedish so I read all letters several times in order to grasp the content. … They took a lot of time to read, I got headache and was frightened. If I did not get the message right, it would be my fault if something was misinterpreted.

The other two in the group interview laugh and recognize the situation. One of them adds that he was sometimes angry. He had to read everything, even commercial letters, since he could not tell the difference. Also, the older persons in the other group have similar memories of translating letters. One woman, now in her 50s,

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1.   All quotes from the group interviews have been translated from Swedish to English by the author.

had an illiterate mother and she therefore became responsible for all paperwork, including tax returns. Her husband, who also participated in the group, recalls how he was responsible for the yearly returns of his uncle's housing enterprise. He states that "I must have done well because his company flourished."

In both groups the immediate answer to the question "what is your opinion of child language brokering" was: "It is wrong." They argue and exemplify with both their own experiences and situations they have seen as adults. The participants describe how they learned Swedish before their parents did and how they took on the role of the language broker soon after their arrival in Sweden. It was not clear if it was something voluntary or something they were forced to do. Most often it was a bit of both. One young man explains that he was the oldest brother in his family, and according to their culture, he was "the crown prince," the one that should take care of the family when the "king," the father, could not. This position was evident and filled with pride of "being the chosen one." One of the older participants explains that he got respect and status in the whole neighborhood. "I could enter a room filled with people, and they stood up when I came in in order to show their respect." Despite this, the overall feeling is that they were robbed of something. One of the older participants explains:

> I feel that I have been adult my whole life. That's it. I do not remember my child-hood. Even back in Turkey, when my mother first emigrated, I took care of the household, of my father, my sister, and my brother who were left behind. Since I was nine, I have perceived myself as an adult.

Her experience is reflected in one of the young men's narrative about how he was taken to be a member of staff when he started at a new school. The position of the child is complex and filled with mixed feelings of pride and responsibility, but also a feeling of "stolen childhoods."

5.1.2   *The relation to the parents*
If the feelings about one's own position is mixed, the relation to the parents is even more complex. As described above "to take on the role" was in most cases a normal thing to do. Three of the participants expound that their parents were pioneers, i.e., the first migrants of their nationality or ethnic group in the new country.

> My mother was always the one who tried to support everybody. We became the tool. We always had to come with her and we really could not say no. It was not for us to decide, we should help some remote relatives and we did not have a choice. It was something good, though, I felt.

One of the younger men explains that it was a difficult situation also for the parents and his mother wanted him to translate since she did not trust the only professional

interpreter that was available in the small town where they lived when they first came to Sweden. He explains:

> In this small town, when we moved in here, there lived four or five Somali families. And this man, he was the only interpreter in Somali in this town. Can you imagine how much he knew about everybody? My mother often used him as an argument in order to convince me to translate. She said, No, I do not want him to know about this. … This was effective; I was young and could not say no. I wanted to appear useful to my parents, take on responsibility and show that I was a grown-up. But it was certainly a challenge and I have feelings that I have to live with for the rest of my life.

Another of the younger men captured the whole dilemma of being chosen, asked to, or even forced with violence to take on the brokering role. He narrates that he was the one who learned Swedish first in the family and he quickly became indispensable to his parents. He helped and supported them in all their contacts with Swedish authorities and welfare institutions. One day when he told them, "now it is enough, I am not going to interpret for you anymore," they answered, "you are no longer our son." The young man describes this difficult situation as a turning point. As long as he supported his parents, he thought that they were appeased. When he stopped brokering, they were forced to find other solutions. Although he was later forgiven by his parents, he considers the decision to first help and then stop as a sacrifice he had to do that harmed their relation. He adds that the use of child language brokering also had negative effects on the perception of his parents in society. His parents were educated and experienced, but they did not know the Swedish language. He concludes that this was their biggest and indeed only "fault." It does not mean that they were not capable in other areas of life.

The narrative is an example of the complexity involved in child language brokering and the relation to the parents. In addition, most participants have kept these experiences to themselves:

> I have never talked to my parents about it, but I still feel that our relation is imbalanced. … I grew up in a home where neither my father nor my mother had a job for twelve years. Every day I came home from school, the whole period of the upper secondary school, there was no job, no job, no job. I was ashamed.

None of the participants lays responsibility on their parents for wrongdoing. They all agree that despite their demand and sometimes force, it was a normal thing to do and that there were really no other options.

5.1.3 Contacts with public service professionals

Their contacts with professionals and welfare institutions are more problematic to understand for the participants. One of the older women recalls how she once had to translate for a psychotic woman, who had received a decision from the migration agency about deportation. The participant remembers sitting in a waiting room with this desperate woman who suddenly opened the window and cried that she was going to end her life. She continues her narrative:

> I wanted to rescue her and translate everything so that the doctors would understand how severe the situation was. Sometimes I overestimated and added things. I had been around several times before and new what kind of information and words would make the doctors react. One learns about this as a broker, especially in the asylum cases where it is about life and death. If this woman was deported, she would not see her children again. They would suffer and the family would be separated and all I could do was trying to solve it. Suddenly I was responsible to do it.

As she recalls the particular situation but also the role and responsibility that she took on, she seems almost surprised as she concludes, "No one ever said, 'but here is a child translating'." One of the younger men confirms the experience that no one said no:

> Exactly, I remember one day in school. My mother called me. She said, "you have to come and translate for me." I said, "Yes, I will do that." I told the teacher, "I have to go and translate for my mother at the social services." The teacher confirmed, "okay, but come back to school afterwards."

Among all participants in both groups, only one person had been prevented from translating for her mother. She is now in her 50s and found herself in that situation only five years ago when her mother met with social services in care for older people. With a bit of bitterness, another participant commented on her story. She reflects upon the fact that in that situation it would have been normal to act as a broker for the mother who had some memory problems. The adult child knows most about her mother's needs. She states:

> And suddenly, it is not because they care about us or about our mother, the person in need – no, it becomes a way to show power. The staff wanted to show their power and to make us shut up. It is always about power.

The woman puts the situation into a wider context of experiences of discrimination. Several other participants endorse her, but they are also empathetic with and understand the situation of the professionals. One of the young men explains that they are also "victims" since they have to constantly think of cuts and narrow budgets. They have unbearable workloads and to take the time to call for a professional interpreter is not possible in all situations. This leads to some final reflections on the responsibility of the Swedish welfare state.

5.1.4   *The responsibility of the welfare state*

> I know how it is to be that child standing on the other side of the desk with your parents. Therefore, as soon as I hear about children who translate I get… I don't know, perhaps I am projecting my own experiences, but no, I have to tell my colleagues to never let a child translate in these situations.

Another person recalls a situation from work where the social services came to a family's home. They were about to tell the family that they could not stay in their apartment anymore. The participant explains that the parents did not speak any Swedish and since it was such a brief message – "it took only five minutes" –, they asked the nine-year-old son to translate. Afterwards the boy was devastated when he understood that they had to leave the apartment.

Above, one of the participants talked about the power of the welfare institutions. In the situation when she was denied to translate for her mother at the services for seniors, she felt discriminated and even oppressed. In this statement lies disappointment. Her whole life she had been allowed to take on the responsibility in the most difficult settings such as at the psychiatric clinic, and now as an adult she was denied the possibility to do it. Her statement opens up for reflections about the responsibility of the Swedish welfare state and its authorities to say no to child language brokering. Another participant adds that all welfare institutions should be clear that child language brokering is not allowed. In school teachers should tell the children and in adult education teachers should tell the parents. This advice leads to the next section where the interviews with professionals are analyzed.

5.2   Public service professionals

The professionals' spontaneous answer was also that to use children as brokers was wrong. They were not completely sure in what sense, i.e., if it is against the law or only immoral. The researchers asked the question quite frankly, "do you have experience of using children as interpreters in your work?" And, "can you talk about it?, in what kind of situations?" Although all but one participant had had these kinds of experiences, they were reluctant to talk about it. Rather, they talked about it being wrong. In order to get more substantial information, the researchers therefore asked: "Why should you not use children?" The first answer was that children should not have that kind of responsibility, the second answer was that they as professionals needed someone impartial, and not a relative or child, in order to make sure that they took legally secure decisions.

5.2.1   *The position of the child*

A social secretary reflects upon the situation of the child and she concludes:

> I think of the heavy responsibility. These parents, they do often have expectations that the child shall achieve "this and that" in the contact with us at financial assistance. And they do not always get what they want from us.

Another social secretary fills in and takes the Social Insurance Agency as an example. He states that children should not be involved and have responsibilities for the family's economy.

> Economy is the responsibility of the adult, not the child. And then, although the topic is economy, often we talk about other parts of life. We demand that the client is prepared to take a job and, if they are not, we need to know why. In such situations, we can ask about health and other more sensitive issues that the child should not know about nor be the one that delivers a negative and unwished decision.

In addition, the participants working in health care discuss the position of the child and agree on the statement that children should not take responsibility for adult "stuff." They should not have to listen to or obtain knowledge about their parent's health or other more delicate issues. Some nurses working in maternity welfare give examples of the kind of sensitive questions they have to ask to all women when they first enroll mothers in health and medical care during their pregnancy. They ask questions about abortions, previous pregnancies, genital diseases, family situation, and domestic violence. A doctor adds that even less dramatic questions could be sensitive, for example, when a woman had her last period.

The professionals consider it not only inappropriate to put such responsibilities on the children, it might also be traumatizing for them. One example is a young boy who interpreted for his father at a memory test. The nurse recalls how sad he became when he realized how sick his father was. In the end, the son also needed support by a therapist. Social secretaries in social child care discuss the situation of the child when their mother has been beaten and raped by the father. One of them explains:

> When an abused woman arrives at the crisis center together with her child, it is important that one talks to the child. That one asks the child what has happened and that he/she talks about it in their own words. One cannot think of the child as an interpreter, but as someone who is also a client with experience of the situation that brought them to the center. The child has his/her own narrative.

A special topic that was discussed was children who had come as unaccompanied minors, i.e., arrived as migrants and asylum seekers in Sweden without legal guardians. When their parents and siblings arrive through family reunion, they often get

the role of language brokers. In order to protect the children who come with their parents to the social services, one social secretary declares that she is very clear about her opinion that children should not translate for their parents:

> When they turn up in the reception, I meet them and explain with support from our employed mediators [bilingual persons who are employed by the institution not as interpreters but as support] that we will make an appointment with a professional interpreter. I explain that it is not the responsibility of the child to be the advocate and speak for their parents about economy or else. I explain that we have school attendance duty and that it is the parent's responsibility to make sure that the children are in school and my responsibility to make sure that we can understand each other. … And especially among the unaccompanied minors I have sensed relief when I am clear about this. It is comforting to hear from an authority that "it is not your responsibility to interpret."

Her example shows how she sides with the child and relieves him/her from the role. At the same time, she condemns the act of the parents. In most of the accounts about parents, the public service professionals are more accepting.

5.2.2   *The relation to the parents*

"The parents should be met with respect" is a common argument. The participants describe that the parents are in a subordinated situation in relation to the professionals and it is understandable that they prepare their visit by bringing with them someone who can interpret. This argument leads to a common opinion among the participants. It would be disrespectful not to listen to the wishes of the parents. A doctor describes: "It is something cultural as well you know. In other cultures, you do not go to the doctor alone. You always bring someone with you, a friend, a child, a mother or else." A social secretary adds:

> It is different between cultures. You have to keep that in mind also. Here I think it is a difficult act of balancing. There are expectations on children and on the relation between child and parent that are different from how we live here. I think that you have to consider that, that such expectations do not disappear that easily, but they might remain.

The conclusion is that professionals have to show respect for the choice of the parents. Showing respect is a tool for building trust. Several of the interviewed explain that there is often a low trust in professional interpreters among their service users and patients. This mistrust could be a consequence of actual experiences of bad interpreting and even espionage, but it more often refers to a widespread idea that interpreters are not impartial, nor following the principle of secrecy. A nurse declares:

> Well, I have heard that comment often. That "no, I do not want an interpreter. You cannot find an interpreter in this area that is not involved or know about us, hence it is better that whatever we are going to talk about stays in the family."

The nurse then asks the others in the group interview whether it is her responsibility to decide that a family member or child should not interpret. She gets back to this question several times and seems quite sure that it is not her responsibility.

5.2.3   The perspective of professionals and institutions

The role and duty of the professional is to identify the needs of the service user or patient, to find accurate treatments or interventions, and to take legally secure decisions. This fact leads to two main arguments about why they sometime use children as interpreters in their work. The first one is that they have "service duty." In social services this implies that a person who arrives at the service desk should be offered an appointment. It is then problematic to ask users to come back in one or two weeks so that an interpreter can be booked. Hence, the professionals have to evaluate the situation and decide whether the need is urgent or if a later appointment may be possible. If it is urgent, they have to use the alternative at hand, and that might be to use child language brokering.

The second argument relates to this. Although all professionals share a sense of discomfort and bad feelings about using child language brokering, they sometimes do resort to child brokering because other issues take priority. They argue for their choice to use the child language broker based on due respect (as discussed above) but more often based on work-related hardships. They have to work in stressful situations and when service users and patients turn up unplanned and in urgent situations, they cannot take into account the negative effects of child language brokering. This is a common opinion although they also understand that they cannot trust the interpreting of the child, neither their impartiality nor their language skills. Hence, a result is that child language brokering is continuously performed within the welfare institutions and legitimized by professionals.

5.2.4   The responsibility of the welfare state

Most of the professionals talked about rejecting child language brokering as if it was an individual option. One question asked in the group interviews was if there was a policy for not using non-professionals as interpreters in the social services. One of the social clerks answered: "No, I do not think so, but it must be quite evident that we should not use relatives or children as interpreters. Especially not children. I think that is a gut feeling." One of the nurses in maternity health care further says:

> I think it is awkward when children or other relatives or even neighbors come with the patient to interpret. I can see that they want to help, but I think it is awkward. Perhaps I am wrong, perhaps they find it helpful and not awkward as I do.

When it comes to the responsibility of the welfare state, the participants discuss the overall situation, their working conditions that are marked by stress, constricted budgets, and shortage of time for each service user or patient. They also discuss that the whole welfare system is changing in a way that increases difficulties, especially for the most vulnerable groups such as non-Swedish speaking service users and older people. New technology and digitalization may be difficult to master and will probably place even bigger demands on the child language brokers in the future. The professionals also discussed the possibilities of enacting law to prohibit the use of children in public service institutions. Such law would have an impact. At the same time, all interviewees realize that they would not have the possibility to obey the law completely. Urgent situations will always appear where they have to balance the damage caused by not helping the service user immediately while sparing the child with that caused by helping the service user while possibly damaging the child's welfare.

Another problem raised in the interviews is that more and more politicians in Sweden talk about limiting the right to have an interpreter in the contacts with public services. One doctor compares this situation with Denmark, where such limitations were implemented a few years back. There, children are more often used as language brokers. The professionals can see that non-Swedish speaking service users and patients are in a subordinated position in society. Firstly, as clients at social and healthcare services they are most often part of the most vulnerable groups in society. Secondly, they have immigrant backgrounds and do not speak the majority language. It is a group in society who rarely raise their voices.

6.   Concluding discussion

In the two previous sections, concurrent and sometimes divergent experiences and perspectives on child language brokering in welfare institutions were analyzed. In sum, the persons with experience of child language brokering expressed ambiguity between feelings of pride, responsibility, and unbearable demands that have harmed their relationship with their parents and the trust in welfare institutions. The professionals expressed insecurity about why they should not allow children as language brokers, although they stated that resorting to child language brokering filled them with feelings of discomfort. Based on the analysis conducted, I will now return to the main research questions and discuss when child language brokering is a problem, for whom, and in what situations, and why is this practice reproduced.

The concept of complicity is used as a lens in order to critically analyze and discuss these questions.

It can be stated that all participants had been involved in making the decision to take on the role or to use child language brokering in welfare institutions (cf. Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu 2017). In line with the definition of atomistic complicity, the relevant acts were individual, practiced by all and therefore legitimized by all and at all levels. It is legitimized by the children as something *normal*; by their parents as a necessary *help*, and by the professionals as *showing respect*. The professionals also argue about the necessity to give priority to the needs of the service user rather than prioritizing the risk of damage for the child. Finally, it is legitimized by the welfare state, which creates difficult working conditions for professionals in welfare institutions and for not enacting explicit laws or principles that reject or prohibit the use of child language brokering. A possible conclusion would subsequently be that all participants are complicit and individually responsible within the chain of decision-making and legitimization of child language brokering.

Additionally, this "chain" of legitimization can be analyzed in terms of structural complicity. The use of child language brokering, then, is dependent on and authorized by structural conditions that leave each individual with no choice to act differently. If structural complicity is in place, the question is if an individual can only be complicit if he/she is aware of wrongdoing or if he/she has other options (Afxentiou, Dunford, and Neu 2017: 5). One answer is that no one is obviously doing wrong since there is no law prohibiting the use of child language brokering. The professionals are not so sure and argue that to use child language brokering is also a question of respect, trust building, and giving priority to urgent needs. Simultaneously the interviewed child language brokers are clear. Besides the positive effects of child language brokering that have been pointed out in both the section of previous research (cf. Orellana 2009; Antonini 2010, 2017; Weisskirch 2017b) and among the participants in the group interviews in this study, and the fact that it should not be rejected for ethnocentric reasons, it is nonetheless considered as wrong. From the interviews, we learn that the experience among all participants is that, although considered as normal and related to positive effects, it also deprives the children of their childhood and has harmful effects in their relation to the parents. And it makes the services of the welfare institutions legally insecure (cf. Gerrish et al. 2004; Chand 2005; Kale and Hammad 2010; Lucas 2015; Westlake and Jones 2017; Gustafsson, Norström, and Höglund 2019). Taken together, there are several arguments that explain why it is wrong to use child language brokering in welfare institutions.

Hence, in the answer to the question about *why* it is wrong, it is also embedded the answer to *when* it is wrong. There is a noteworthy difference between the child language brokers, their parents, and the professionals. The latter have more

responsibility since they have to follow legislation and rules in their position as professionals and representatives of public service institutions. They have the duty to provide service users with equal opportunities and the power to investigate and take decisions that have an impact on the service users and patients' lives. In so doing, they cannot rely on non-professional brokers. Even if such brokers are ever so skilled (Antonini et al. 2017), they are not obliged to follow any ethical rules, to be impartial, or to follow the law of secrecy (Gustafsson, Norström, and Höglund 2019).

On shorthand notice, to use child language brokering might help solving urgent needs and problems, but in the long run and from a structural perspective, every individual decision becomes part of structural complicity which leads to structural discrimination. Structural discrimination is defined as: rules, norms, routines, taken for granted perceptions, and behavior in institutions and other kind of societal structures which create obstacles for certain groups to obtain equal conditions and rights as the majority of the population (Ministry of Culture (Sweden) 2005: 75). The use of child language brokering is a form of structural discrimination since it deprives service users from equity and their right to legally secure services. In comparison to other every-day life areas, child language brokering is wrong when used in welfare institutions where legal security and equity should be practiced. It is a problem for the child, the parent, the public service servant, and for the welfare state. The analysis shows that if the use of child language brokering in welfare institutions is not investigated and becomes knowledgeable and visible (cf. Antonini 2010), the welfare state risks reproducing discriminatory practices that are legitimized and accepted at all levels in society, even though all parts involved agree that it is wrong.

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Responsibility, powerlessness, and conflict

An ethnographic case study of boundary management in translation

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A growing body of research shows the existence of tensions, frictions, and conflicts in translation production networks, pointing to the key role therein of agency, trust, communication, and technology. However, there are few empirical investigations that include the different actors in one and the same network and analyse the perspectives and practices of both clients and vendors. This paper draws on an ethnographic field study in which participant observation and qualitative interviews were used to study translation clients in a major international corporation as well as a translation agency with which they collaborate. The research looks at conflicts in their areas of contact, how these are handled and their consequences. The analysis yields rich, emotional narratives on how the different actors perceive each other and deal with power asymmetries. It reveals conflicting and ambiguous expectations regarding mutual responsibilities that lead to mistrust, power plays, fear, and frustration.

Keywords: conflict, translation network, field research, translation project management, boundary management, boundary spanner

1.   Introduction: When something feels amiss in the field

This paper draws on an ethnographic field study that used participant observation and qualitative interviews to study corporate translation clients and the translation agencies with whom they work. To better explain the purpose and goals of this research, we will first reflect on the events at the start of our empirical inquiry.

We were looking for a large enterprise that would be willing to provide us with insights into its translation management activities. After some very positive preliminary talks with a major technology company in Austria – henceforth referred to as "TechCo" – a meeting was arranged to discuss the planned study with our contact

(a mid-level manager) and the technical writers (who also manage translation projects). The meeting went well, and we were given the go-ahead for the project.

However, the atmosphere in a second meeting proved rather strained: while the manager was still positive about the project, the technical writers (TW) were clearly averse to it. Despite our conscious efforts to present the project in appreciative terms and assure the potential participants of their expert role, we increasingly sensed that the TWs were reluctant participants.

This hostile attitude was confirmed in the first interview after the start of the data collection. Although this was to have been a one-to-one session, actually two TWs participated. We gained the impression that they considered our questions to be simplistic and laughable. They sat opposite each other and appeared to be having a conversation with themselves rather than answering our questions. It was clearly evident that they wanted to maintain a distance from us.

As it later transpired, the two TWs were averse to participatory observation because they felt that we – as researchers – would not be able to understand their work processes using this approach. They preferred instead to explain how they handled their translation projects using a completed project as an example. They stressed that a translation/interpreting degree (like ours) did not suffice to do their work: it also required technical insight and interest, "which not everyone has."

While we were initially unnerved by these frictions, the deeper we penetrated into the situation at TechCo, the more we came to suspect that the purported issues with us were merely the side effect of a very different problem: we had entered a conflict-ridden context and were now experiencing first-hand the effects of this conflict between decision-makers, intermediaries, and the people doing the actual work. When we decided to look at the data from this new angle, we realised we had hit on a very important topic, namely potential points of conflict in a translation management context.

We thus decided to focus on precisely these points of conflict in this paper. To do so, we will first provide some definitions of conflict that seem best suited to our case study. We will examine previous perspectives on conflicts in translation studies (TS) research and discuss actual examples in our data that deliver corresponding insights from the standpoints of (1) the technical writers at TechCo and (2) the staff at the translation agency they outsource their translations to (henceforth referred to as "TransAg"). In our discussion of these examples, we will also introduce the concept of boundary spanning, which helps to understand the problems in this particular case.

2. Exploring conflicts

2.1 Defining conflict

Conflicts have been studied in many disciplines. Accordingly, different theoretical, methodological, and epistemological positions all have their own notions of what actually constitutes a conflict. The various definitions reflect the needs of different empirical studies and are derived from the context in which the conflicts occur (e.g., Barki and Hartwick 2004; Mikkelsen and Clegg 2019). Accordingly, conflicts have been varyingly described as "all relations between sets of individuals that involve an incompatible difference of objectives" (Dahrendorf 1959: 135), "[a]ny social situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked to at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation or … antagonistic interaction" (Fink 1968: 456), or "the presence of *any* one of disagreement, negative emotion or inter-ference" (Barki and Hartwick 2004: 227). Barki and Hartwick contend that different types of conflict arise from different combinations of these general properties, a broad definition that we adopted as a basis for our own study.

Studies on conflicts in work environments accord them high relevance for individual and organisational processes and their outcomes (Barki and Hartwick 2004: 217). In their overview of organisational conflict research, Mikkelsen and Clegg (2019) point to the importance and persuasiveness of conflicts in organisations and their complex, dynamic nature. Different attitudes to conflicts range from regarding them as dysfunctional and to be avoided as far as possible (e.g., Mack and Snyder 1957), observable behavioural phenomena that happen due to the "collision of actors" (Katz and Kahn 1978) to functional, as an engine for change and development (e.g., Pondy 1992).

2.2 Studies on conflicts in translation research

Since the cultural turn, translation scholars have increasingly studied societal, cultural, political, or social asymmetries in translation networks. The origins of such research lie in the recognition that translation and interpreting are embedded in a concrete framework for action that is (inevitably) influenced by various power elements (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Niranjana 1992; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Strowe 2015, and others). Although conflict was not initially a primary focus of such research, the term itself is nevertheless closely tied to these asymmetries and depicts their consequences on different levels of the translation or interpreting process. In translation studies, the notion of conflict is usually encountered in research into translation and interpreting in crisis situations and armed conflict

(Baker 2006; Salama-Carr 2007; Inghilleri and Harding 2010; Ruiz Rosendo and Persaud 2016). However, action and actor-based approaches have also shown that frictions can arise in any translation or interpreting work context – regardless of whether it initially appears conflict-ridden (cf. research on role conflicts in interpreting; e.g., Kaufert and Koolage 1984; Wadensjö 1998; Hsieh 2006; Dickinson and Turner 2008).

The growing interest in translation network, organisation, and workplace research has prompted scholars to examine the concrete work of and production demands on translators in modern, frequently diverse production networks more closely (e.g., Abdallah and Koskinen 2007; Abdallah 2012). Prior research reveals a particularly high potential for conflict in the growing use of industrial production and management models to handle translation projects. Translations are increasingly being subcontracted and completed in ever-longer production chains via large agencies, who often draw on a heterogeneous, global network of translators and at times spread projects across very large "teams" (Gouadec 2007). The individual actors in these production networks have less and less influence on – and frequently also insight into – the process as a whole, while key decisions are made by non-specialist project managers, who are frequently underpaid and hired by agencies chiefly as sales staff (Dong and Turner 2016). The situation is exacerbated by tight deadlines and economic pressure, lack of personal contact between the people involved, and high use of technology in communication and work processes (cf. Rodríguez-Castro 2013; Alonso 2016; Foedisch 2017).

More recent workplace studies clearly demonstrate that all these factors often lead to a lack of transparency, additional work, frustration, and conflicts regarding expectations or roles (Abdallah 2012; Alonso 2016). Accordingly, researchers are also increasingly examining the issue of trust in such networks (Abdallah and Koskinen 2007; Abdallah 2012; Olohan and Davitti 2017). As Abdallah and Koskinen (2007) and Abdallah (2012) show, shared goals and a transparent information policy that involves all actors to an equal extent are crucial in facilitating a relationship of trust between them. In contrast, they describe lack of trust as the "Achilles' heel of the production networks" (Abdallah and Koskinen 2007: 677). Indeed, translators can find themselves in situations where the work and production requirements conflict with their professional ethics and they are forced to ignore their own ideas of quality (Abdallah 2012: 39–40). As Alonso (2016) also shows, broken agreements may result in translators feeling "cheated by clients-managers, because, apparently, changing volume, deadlines, translation tools and even the texts to be translated are common practices" (2016: 19), and the resulting communication conflicts frequently lead to "a loop of continuous negotiation and renegotiation … in a manner resembling a *bazaar*" (ibid.: 27).

Alonso also stresses the risks of the increasing reliance on technology for communication in translation production networks, demonstrating thereby how

information gaps or non-communication lead to incomprehension and unfulfilled expectations and thus trigger emotional conflicts:

> Interactions among professionals (between translators and clients and/or project managers) seem to be ruled by lack of trust and prejudice. In this sense, translators may perceive in many cases that clients (even direct clients) are not aware of their own needs and that project managers are inexperienced, unscrupulous, and even irresponsible and unsupportive to them.   (Alonso 2016: 27)

Increasing focus is also being placed on the technologies used by translators as a source of conflict in translation networks (cf. research into translator-computer interaction, e.g., O'Brien 2012; Bundgaard, Christensen, and Schjoldager 2016; Bundgaard 2017). Alonso (2016: 26) shows, for instance, that conflicts arise more frequently in projects placed via online platforms (such as ProZ.com) due to the lack of information shared and the much reduced interaction with project managers or customers, which is perceived by translators in many cases to be "impolite, too direct and dehumanising" (Alonso 2016: 26–27). Olohan (2011) and Ruokonen and Koskinen (2017) studied translators' attitudes to CAT tools and showed that while technology has a positive, labour-saving side, it is also often a source of frustration in translation work.

Prior research therefore shows that insights into the backgrounds to and effects of conflicts in translation networks are best gained when these are viewed from a holistic perspective, that is when economic, organisational, network, team, and individual aspects are all considered, and their reciprocal effects can be retraced. However, only a few studies to date have examined the perspectives and expectations of the different participants in a translation project or specifically investigated the possible sources of frustration in concrete translation work settings. While more studies on the central role of project managers in translation processes are being published (e.g., Dong and Turner 2016; Risku 2016; Olohan and Davitti 2017), they rarely observe larger translation networks and incorporate the client perspective (and the decision process in their organisations).

Potential sources of conflict in concrete work environments and the daily working lives of translators and translation project managers also need to be researched. This requires field studies that deliver authentic (unelicited) data and facilitate an analysis of translators' interactions with other actors, technologies, and further influencing factors on their work.

Our project therefore seeks to combine these aspects by looking at the contacts between the multiple actors in a translation production network. We investigate how any arising conflicts are handled and examine their consequences. The excerpts from our data discussed thereby constitute rich, emotional narratives on how the actors perceive each other, deal with power asymmetries, and handle the perceived uncertainty of translation solutions.

3.   Case study and methods

3.1   An ethnography of multiple sites: TechCo and TransAg

Our study was set in two particular sites and settings: a technology company and the translation agency with which it collaborates.

TechCo is a major Austrian corporate group in the technical production sector with a large number of production facilities and offices around the world. Our study was carried out at the parent company's site, which outsources the translation of its technical documentation. Translation activities are managed by three in-house technical writers, who were interviewed for our study. They carry out their translation management tasks alongside their main task of technical writing and estimate that the former makes up around 10% of their work. They describe translation management first and foremost as the placing of translations with translation service providers and forwarding/clarification of questions from translators to/with their internal clients (e.g., developers or project managers). TechCo outsources its translation projects to two agencies and one freelance translator.

TransAg is a well-established translation services provider in Austria. Their management responded positively to our request to participate in the study, promptly agreed to do so, and accepted our proposed dates for the field observations. During the data collection period, TransAg had five members of staff: a CEO, two technical editors, one project manager (PM), and one intern. The PM was the primary contact for all translations commissioned by TechCo. She was supported in these tasks by the intern and also by the CEO.

3.2   Method

To study the situation from the actors' perspectives, we opted for an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic methods lend themselves nicely to the investigation of translation at the workplace and its systematic analysis in authentic, naturally occurring situations. Typical of this approach is the attempt to understand and describe the emic, insider perspective on the activities and background (cf. Risku 2017). To approach this emic perspective as closely as possible, our project uses an ethnographic case study research design with a deep, multi-faceted analysis of a translation production network. We examine not only how the participants act but also how they see, describe, and explain their own actions. Data was collected using qualitative, semi-structured interviews at TechCo, and qualitative, semi-structured interviews and participant observation at TransAg. In the first part of our interviews, we asked our interviewees to walk us through a typical translation process,

from the moment a need for translation arises right through to when the resulting translation is billed. In the second part of the interview, we asked in-depth questions regarding (1) standard and non-standard work processes, (2) communication, interaction, and possible conflicts between the actors in the translation network, (3) physical and digital artefacts used in the workplace, and (4) job satisfaction. Since the interviews were semi-structured in nature, both the interviewers and the interviewees had space to address specific topics that they felt were of interest, while the interviewees had adequate time and opportunity to speak at length. A condensed version of our interview guide can be found in Appendix 1.

At TechCo, the participants did not allow us to observe them at work. They justified this by explaining that their translation-related work is not ideal for observation: the processes are fragmented, and the tasks (like sending an inquiry to the agency or forwarding documents by email) are mostly ad-hoc and only take them a couple of minutes each day. They were also of the opinion that since we were remote from practice, we would better understand what they do if they provided retrospective descriptions of completed translation projects. Overall, two researchers spent 11 hours at TechCo, where they interviewed three different translation project managers.

At TransAg, we were given permission both to observe the PM and conduct interviews with her and the CEO. These interviews (3.25 hours in total) were also used to reconstruct a complete translation process. On four different days, two researchers conducted 12.5 hours of participant observation, taking notes by hand and on a laptop to document the processes observed.

In the observations, we focused on the actions and interactions of the PMs at their individual workplaces. We observed what they did and what happened on their screens, documented their explanations to us as we observed them, and took notes on how they interacted with their colleagues, vendors, and clients as well as with their physical environment and tools. The ergonomics of the working spaces (e.g., furniture, working materials, technological equipment, light, sounds) were likewise captured in the observation notes, with the researchers making sketches of the participants' offices and office structures by hand, since we were not permitted to take photographs.

The handwritten observation notes were dictated into a recording device straight after the session and subsequently transcribed. The interviews and observation notes were transcribed using a simplified version of the GAT conventions (see Selting et al. 2011) and analysed using the qualitative content analysis method proposed by Gläser and Laudel (2010). Topics and categories were derived from the data. Three researchers carried out the data coding independently.

4.   Results

The interviewees and observation candidates referred to different conflicts and conflict management strategies depending on their role in this translation production network.

4.1   The customer perspective

In our interviews with the TWs who manage outsourced translations at TechCo (TW1, TW2, and TW3), three factors that led to frictions, irritations, and conflicts in this work emerged: (1) lack of time, money, and recognition for translation projects, (2) discord regarding accountabilities and responsibilities, and (3) complex social and technical network structures.

4.1.1   *Lack of time, money, and recognition*
It is important to note that there are already at least two different customer perspectives at play within TechCo itself: that of the internal clients (e.g., engineers, developers, project managers) for whom the TWs commission translations and that of the TWs themselves. When asked about any potential frictions in the translation management process, the TWs said that questions from translators and corrections by the internal clients were the main sources of friction. According to TW3, conflicts arise because the internal clients do not appreciate how long a translation takes and thus set tight deadlines. This puts translators under pressure and leaves them no time to ask questions. While the internal clients do not understand that translators might have questions, TW3 emphasises their importance:[1]

> The better they [the translators] are, the more questions they ask, unless they know the product so well that they don't have many questions.
>
> We want them to ask questions – they can't translate otherwise.
>
> [I] get a translation [without questions] and it's probably ready in two weeks. "No questions" means less work for me, but the translation then ends up being wrong (..) and that's no use to me.

The TWs are sceptical about the low prices quoted by translation agencies. They find it alarming that the translators only receive "a fraction" of the amount paid to the agency. In their opinion, this explains the poor quality of translations "because good translators don't do that. They know their market and don't sell themselves below their worth" (TW3).

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1.   All quotations were translated by the authors.

TW3 shares his colleagues' scepticism towards translation agencies, who they feel are (forced to be) too "cheap." The "constant pressure to be cost efficient – but only in the sense of lower costs" causes unnecessary extra work because it forces translators to work too fast at the cost of quality:

> So I'm (..) investing in (…) cheap labour, who then have to take on more projects in order just to live. I think the value attached to the translation and original document are similar: they're just a nuisance that costs money.

TW3 feels that translation "is not really valued as much as it should be" at TechCo and that "quality is not seen thereby as a necessary criterion." He laments the fact that in price negotiations no one ever says "No, we can't do it. We can't deliver the quality expected for that price." Quite the contrary: "It's always possible, and then someone else comes along and offers to do it even cheaper."

These quotes show that the TWs are aware of translators' needs but nonetheless feel obliged in their role as (representatives of the) customer to enforce the demands of their internal TechCo clients. If the quality of the translations produced under pressure and at great expense does not meet expectations, conflicts arise between the TWs and TransAg. Against their better judgment, the TWs demand good quality translations, rapid turnaround, and low prices. They might battle with the lack of understanding in their own organisation, but they still pass on the pressure they receive to TransAg.

This situation is even worse for terminology work, which should basically cost nothing at all and always has to be "hidden" in the other costs. When asked about a group at TechCo that frequently discusses terminology, TW3 says that you cannot place too much emphasis on terminology in an organisation because it then sounds like too much work. The best thing to do is to just incorporate it into the costs (e.g., of software localisation), and then there is no discussion.

In short, the TWs pass on the tight deadlines and cost pressures imposed by their internal clients directly to the translation service providers, leading to conflicts when the quality of the "cheap" translations is not up to par.

4.1.2 *Discord regarding accountabilities and responsibilities*

From the TWs' perspective, conflicts arise when translators "think they're cleverer than they are, view their solution as correct and discount everything else" (TW3). They also occur when translators do not ask questions even though they "can't possibly understand" everything in a very technical text. Both scenarios lead to "tedious, unnecessary discussions." The TWs note that authors also make mistakes and do not always use the best formulations, so in their opinion questions are necessary.

The TWs insist that translators should not question any corrections made by TechCo. In one instance, they stopped working with an agency because it was not willing to correct translations using the terminology provided by TechCo. Such corrections are necessitated both by company terminology stipulations that the translators are not always aware of and by the ambiguity of its highly technical source texts. TW3 accepts that this terminology might not always be the best but he is adamant that translators have to use it nevertheless. He also notes that TechCo's "highly technical handbooks" are also always "written by people" and thus "certainly contain plenty of inconsistent formulations."

The TWs spot-check translations but feel that it should not be their job to do so in an ISO-compliant translation process. All the agencies and translators they work with are ISO certified and thus responsible for having translations reviewed by a third party. However, bad experiences have led TechCo to incorporate an internal review step ("by a native speaker expert") into its translation management process, but these reviews "are not always actually done and not always possible." TW3 also laments the fact that translators do not keep to the agreed process and that he thus has to "constantly repeat himself":

> By the third time, everyone really should know, especially since agencies issue translation guidelines to their translators. But it's not the case, or at least not to the extent that they should.

Yet TechCo currently has no unified translation process and no consensus on who is responsible for terminology work. A company-wide terminology database is being developed but is not made available to translators and translation agencies. Correct terminology is only supplied to the translators via the translation memory or retrospectively (TW2).

TW2 considers terminology management to be the responsibility of the service provider. TW1, in contrast, thinks that the translators should be given terminology lists in advance.

TW3 estimates that he spends "perhaps 10–15%" of his time on translation management but that "it feels … more like 70–80%." He says that it "quickly makes emotions run high" and that "nothing ever really works." Even the translations delivered by certified agencies are "not ready-to-use" and cannot be passed on "without going through another loop" or requiring "further corrections and extra work" on his part, a situation he considers "tedious." While it is "nice when it does work", this is generally the exception not the rule, and only applies for about 10% of translation projects. TW3 describes such an "exception" as follows:

> Send out the text. Two questions, five questions, it doesn't really matter, then it's delivered, and you get the OK from the engineer and product manager. The final document is produced and that's that.

Additional internal proofreading organised by the agency is seen as a necessity:

> Of course, you can make it easier for yourself and forgo the proofreading … but then it comes back from the developer or internal client with even more force. So, I can choose who I let slap me in the face. Personally, I prefer to be the one who finds something. I also prefer to be the one who passes it on.

In TW3's opinion, the final decision on a translation lies clearly and firmly with the customer. In cases of doubt, the internal proofreader is always right and "the translator strictly speaking just has to accept it." He (the TW) is the customer and is ultimately responsible for the translation because that is how his internal clients see it: "I can't afford to have the [internal] client send it back to us. Because he naturally blames us." But the TW does understand that "the agencies have more faith in their translators because they are, after all, their experts."

For TW3, the power relations between him and the translation agencies are clear: "In projects in which we are closely involved, … we naturally have to pull the strings a bit tighter." In problematic cases, a meeting with the PM and possibly also the translation agency's CEO is called at TechCo:

> I'm quasi the first escalation level; if there's a problem, I call a meeting with the agency, and we [my colleague and I] play good cop and bad cop again.

TW3 considers it his responsibility to educate the agencies and translators TechCo works with because "they have plenty still to learn." He puts a lot of time and emotion into asserting his wishes to ensure the translations meet his quality requirements. In his opinion, "big agencies have a particular perception of themselves that is not always valid."

To avoid power struggles between translators and internal TechCo proofreaders, they are made known and introduced to each other. However, if such "power games" arise, the TWs intercede, as in the following case:

> *Dear Service Provider, we are the customer, we pay the bill, and it will be done the way we want.…* The agency just has to accept that. You can put it on record that you are only doing so under duress, that's entirely up to you. But the ultimate responsibility lies with us. If the proofreader says that, he is off the hook.

TW3 thus assumes sole responsibility for the final translation in problem cases. But he does not do so voluntarily because he is convinced that this responsibility really lies with the agency:

> I get the feeling with some – many – agencies that they want to delegate as much responsibility to the customer as possible. They might not say so, but they think the customer should absolutely be in the loop for proofreading, error correction, etc. My previous understanding was: the translator is certified, I might get a few questions during the translation process but I'll ultimately get a finished handbook, and it'll be fine…. But that's not the way it works. You're permanently on call, permanently chasing things up.

While the balance of power here is unambiguous, and the TWs assert the strength of their position on their translation vendors, they see themselves nonetheless as subordinate service providers vis-à-vis their "powerful" internal clients. It is their job to keep these clients satisfied, and they have introduced processes to ensure this is the case.

However, there is currently no company-wide translation process in place at TechCo – the process differs for each department. As a result, everyone covers their own backs by stipulating agreements and responsibilities in detail in e-mails:

> What's obvious is that everything is communicated in great, great detail in the e-mails. The agencies also want to make sure they have everything in writing. And we have also learned that we have to do that – both internally and externally.
> (TW3)

In short, there is discord about accountabilities and responsibilities, particularly with regard to terminology and proofreading work. While the TWs try to avoid having to actively contribute to translation projects by working with certified translation agencies, they have been disappointed in this regard. Inconsistent processes within TechCo create a high need for continuous information on the agreed processes. The TWs welcome information exchange (e.g., questions from translators), but their internal clients do not. While the TWs are aware of the value of paying well for high quality translations, their acceptance of their role as representatives of their company and protectors of its financial resources gains the upper hand.

4.1.3   *Complex social and technical network structures*

The TWs criticise the handling of translation management in their company. They are not happy that all translations are outsourced, but take this with a pinch of irony: "Oh well. It is a bit like playing Chinese whispers (laughs)" (TW1), referring to the children's game in which the original message is often lost due to the long chain of whisperers.

The complexity of the network frequently becomes evident when translators ask questions, for instance, when a developer (as internal client) cannot understand the questions or "doesn't quite know what the translator is getting at" (TW2). When it

comes to handling questions, "having three parties involved is not ideal" (TW2). In such cases, the developer talks directly to the translator.

TW3 sees the network complexity as a feeding ground for conflicts. At TechCo, internal clients, project managers, developers, proofreaders, and translation managers have to clarify questions with the agency's PM and translators: "The more people involved, the harder it is to filter relevant information."

TW2, in turn, views the complexity of translation technologies and multiple file conversions as a further source of conflict between agencies, freelance translators, and the TWs. TW2 stresses the advantages of in-house translation:

> Because you then realise what can be formulated better – also in the original text. And, naturally, you know the material and don't have to ask questions (…) because you know the products.

To avoid conflicts, the TWs make sure that TechCo's translations are always done by the same translators. They also frequently emphasise the importance of familiarity with the company's products and technology.

TW2 feels it would be sensible to replace the decentralised translation management process with an in-house translation manager, since the quantity of documents to be translated and number of "exotic" languages involved are continuing to rise. Managing the latter is especially time consuming. Ideally, she would like TechCo to have two in-house translators who know its products and could contact the authors directly with any questions. She rejects platform-based translation management: "You would then basically just send the order into the void, and one of the 25 translators in the platform would do it."

TW3 also sees having at least one full-time translation project manager (TPM) as an "absolute necessity" to avoid him having to "play the firefighter to some extent but never really manage to put out all the fires." The TPM could work with all TechCo units around the globe that "straighten out" terminology in all languages, communicate with translators, and "bring global translation service providers up to scratch." However, so far it has not been possible to achieve this goal of employing a dedicated TPM.

In short, information flows between multiple intertwining groups and stakeholders have to be managed in the cooperation between TechCo and its translation vendors. The respective information and process requirements differ and are not always known to the other party. The complex, decentralised information flows cause conflicts and prevent the cooperation from working well.

4.2   The translation agency perspective

TransAg serves in this production network as supplier for TechCo and commissioning agency for the translators. It was obvious during our observation sessions and interviews that TechCo differs from the agency's other customers in several aspects. Given its size and order volumes, TechCo is an important customer for TransAg. The agency strives to retain its custom and keep it satisfied. But as the PM told us, the fact that TechCo is different is also evident in the way the agency communicates with this customer:

> You have to be ultra-precise and stay very professional. You have to watch how you talk to them…. For instance, one customer [not TechCo] called me yesterday, and I explained to him that I can replace all the numbers [in the text] and said: *I feel like a total idiot because that's such a weird job – you feel so useless just replacing numbers for 5 whole hours (laughs).* And then we both laughed. I would never ever say something like that to someone from TechCo, you would never allow yourself to talk to them that way.

Indeed, we were able to observe how the PM drafted e-mails for TechCo, then re-wrote them several times, read them out to herself, and even discussed them with the CEO. The content and tone of an e-mail has to be considered carefully, especially in conflict-ridden situations.

When asked explicitly if or when differences of opinion and frictions arise in their work with TechCo, the PM and CEO mentioned several factors that had previously led to conflicts: (1) technical problems, (2) lack of trust, and (3) the quality of the interfaces between the two companies. We also identified some compromises the agency makes and strategies they use to minimise or avoid (potential) conflicts.

4.2.1   *Technical problems*

TechCo uses different software than TransAg's other customers to manage translation projects. It is the agency's only customer which uses software that is incompatible with current standard tools. Purchasing this software would have been expensive for TransAg and of little use in its work for other customers. To avoid losing TechCo's custom, the PM had worked long and hard to find a combination of different tools and steps that would convert its projects into a format that was largely compatible with other software programs and thus allow the agency to commission translations for TechCo without having to purchase the aforementioned software.

According to TransAg's CEO, this software – or the solution the agency had devised – was the reason TechCo chose to work with them in the first place: it had found it increasingly difficult to find good translators who used or were prepared to procure this (no longer commonplace) software.

The use of various software tools when converting the projects necessitates multiple file conversions, which can be prone to errors. The PM described one instance in which the different tools (at TechCo and TransAg) had segmented a text differently – a difference that was not immediately apparent to the other side. When it did become apparent, it led to an unpleasant confrontation:

> She [the TW] called me up and screamed at me for about half an hour about something I can do nothing about. Something had gone wrong again due to a technical problem…. I eventually almost began to weep in desperation … and she said to me: *Sorry, but I've got so much work, I simply can't do it myself…. You've got no reason to complain – you get more than enough work from us.*   (PM, TransAg)

In short, the error-prone, multiple conversions of source and target texts lead to conflicts, since TechCo expects a flawless solution from TransAg despite its own software tool. The pressure on the agency is increased by the reference to – and its awareness of – the large volumes of work.

4.2.2   *Lack of trust*

Trust, or lack thereof, can be either the cause or the effect of conflicts. Conflicts can weaken (or strengthen) trust between partners or bring existing (lack of) trust to the fore. The PM described one case that is indicative of TechCo's lack of trust in the agency. In this particular instance, TransAg was asked to deliver a translation of one chapter of a technical document. The PM told us she had been unaware that the TW had already sent her this specific text as part of another order. Consequently, she created a new translation project and, since the agency's software identified new (and thus to be translated) segments, sent the TW a corresponding quotation. In response, she received a message from TW3 saying it was "an absolute disgrace" that TransAg was going to charge TechCo again for a translation that had already been ordered.

> That was a really awkward situation. So then I sent a really long note. I felt so compelled to do so that I wrote: *I am so sorry. The system found no matches because of the formatting….* That was a very delicate situation where I thought, well to put it bluntly, I really thought I had burned my boats with him this time.
>
> (PM, TransAg)

In short, TransAg clearly senses TechCo's lack of trust. In problem cases, TechCo becomes confrontational, forcing the PM at TransAg to explain herself.

4.2.3   *Quality of the interfaces*

When asked if TechCo appreciated the agency's work, the CEO's answer was ambivalent:

> Translating on the whole is always a balancing act, and this applies to our other customers too. Your quality should be as high as possible, but you should also be neither seen nor heard. They stress the importance of quality and tell us to ask questions. But if we ask too many or perhaps even really get down to the nitty gritty, things quickly change – the acceptance level drops, and all we get are terse answers…. All of a sudden, the customer is not quite so willing to help with the translation.

The CEO hopes that the new norm that was due to come into force soon after our data collection period will improve the situation because it "should place more onus on the customer."

Both TechCo and TransAg emphasise on multiple occasions that TechCo places great importance on questions and information exchange. TransAg informs TechCo about inconsistencies and inconsistent terminology in source texts. Yet they often receive no response.

Prior to founding TransAg, the CEO worked as a PM in another translation agency. She describes one of her goals with her own agency as follows:

> So I founded … TransAg and have worked for myself ever since. And I have these two "babies" – translation and technical writing – both of which are equally important to me because that's the only way the texts can work.

In her opinion, this goal of establishing better exchange between authors and translators is not always achieved because:

> [T]he customers often don't play the game and neither do the translators. Because even if you do get the information from the customer, the translator ignores it because they "are translating it."… Or vice versa, the translator asks for more information, but doesn't get it. So it is still hard, even if you know exactly what you want – and what is important, to really make optimal use of this approach.

TransAg also notes that conflicts can arise when TechCo has a translation proofread by an internal expert and then complains even though it had not supplied any specific information regarding the text. According to the CEO such conflicts are the result of expectations regarding the translations that cannot even be met:

> So they [the proofreaders] then say: Yes, but the address [target country] has to be on it. And you can't make them comprehend that the translator can't know the [target country] address and says: That has to go in there…. And then [they say] *what a nerve, I don't believe this.*

Instead of receiving information on specific wishes for the content and language of the translation in advance, the agency gets a list of complaints after the event. In this regard, the translation service provider is placing its hope in an external requirement (i.e., the new norm) for transparency and information sharing since

these do not seem to be a priority for this customer from the perspective of the translation service provider.

4.2.4   *Compromises and conflict avoidance*

To prevent mistakes and omissions in project management processes, TransAg has a workflow sheet which defines all relevant processes for TechCo projects. This sheet is updated "when something new happens or processes are extended, and is also useful when new people are being trained" or "so everything is clear when someone takes over a project" (PM, TransAg).

But TechCo is not only different from the agency's other customers on the software and communication levels. It also has other specific requirements that *do not* lead to conflicts because TransAg simply accepts them (e.g., special payment conditions like their price calculation unit or payment terms).

Other conflict-avoidance strategies include the use of regular translators. TechCo is the agency's only customer that receives the details of "its" translators and their qualifications. When asked how TechCo had justified this demand, TransAg's CEO explained: "It was a bit like … the '*we-are-so-big*' argument." She also noted that she had accommodated the request because she wanted to work with them "on a partnership basis."

In situations that could cause conflicts, the PM generally consults the CEO on how best to proceed. To maintain their relationship, TransAg arranges an annual meeting with TechCo's TWs. The CEO and PM prepare for this meeting together by documenting projects that had received positive or negative feedback, looking for problems in the workflow, and proposing an agenda. The meeting is then used to discuss both the agency's issues and those raised by TechCo. It is an important measure that allows TransAg to strengthen its relationship with the customer. The CEO wants this to be a partnership in which responsibility for translation quality is shared.

To avoid problems, the PM makes sure that TechCo's stipulations are clearly communicated to the translators and also looks for other ways to avoid frictions with this customer. This includes, for example, locking source text elements that should not be changed by translators or should not be translated.

The PM also explains that instructions to some translators have to be very precise indeed. Two conflicts had arisen in the past because Chinese and Japanese translators are "too precise": telling them that the delivery date is Monday, for instance, is not precise enough because it doesn't specify which Monday. She had been particularly annoyed in one particular instance when she had informed a Chinese translator that the deadline was "sometime during the day"; "I don't know, by 16.00 hours CET." The translator did not deliver until the following day, stating that the PM "had not given her a clear deadline."

> This means more stress for me. You're always the go-between. No matter how annoyed the translator or customer is, you're still the intermediary. Between two fronts. Although the customer hears nothing from the translator, and vice versa, you hear it all.

To ensure the quality of translations, the agency uses the four-eyes approach: a completed translation is proofread by another translator. According to the CEO, while proofreading is seen as an important step in the norm they follow, "there are plenty of people who are against it, and rightly so, because too many cooks really do spoil the broth."

In short, information exchange between TechCo and TransAg does not always work and can lead to conflicts. TransAg tries to prevent these by making concessions and sees TechCo's approach as problematic: it lays the blame on the agency without seeking long-term solutions. TransAg hopes the personal meetings between the two companies will help to create a certain sense of community.

5.   Discussion: Insights from organisational studies and reconceptualisation

In our quest to better understand the reasons for the frequently conflict-laden relationship in the instances of translation collaboration we observed and the resulting "loop of constant negotiation and renegotiation" (Alonso 2016: 27), we turn to the field of organisational studies. The translation service provider and customer we interviewed both emphasise the importance of cooperating with regular customers and translators and seek, to that end, to maintain sustainable interprofessional, multi-organisational customer-supplier relationships. Their communicative exchanges and activities in the translation project context can be described as interorganisational, with different actors in the respective organisations acting as intermediate agents.

Accordingly, we would now like to explore the usefulness of the concept of "boundary spanning." This was originally developed in organisational studies (Wenger 1998; Williams 2010; Søderberg and Romani 2017) and has so far been mainly applied to studies that investigate the cross-cultural activities of multinational corporations and explore, for example, how customer organisations build trust and share knowledge with their vendors. Since building trust and sharing knowledge seem to be at issue in the settings we studied, this framework could prove helpful in explaining the background dynamics that lead to conflicts in this translation network.

Boundary spanning is described as "a set of activities, processes, and practices that connect entities separated by boundaries" (Søderberg and Romani 2017: 241). Boundary spanners, in this context, are understood to be actors "whose primary job responsibilities involve managing within multi-organisational and multi-sectoral arenas" (Williams 2010: 2). In this sense, translation agency PMs and customer organisation TWs all engage in activities that span organisational boundaries. According to Palus, Chrobot-Mason, and Cullen (2014: 222), such boundaries between different collaborating groups can be *vertical* (e.g., hierarchical levels and ranks), *horizontal* (e.g., functions, units, disciplines), *demographic* (e.g., gender, age, culture, ethnicity, education, ideology) or *geographic* (locations, regions, languages, markets). They can – and this is the type that is relevant for our study – also be *stakeholder* boundaries that are experienced as invisible barriers between partners, suppliers, customers, etc.

Organisational researchers have studied the demands on people who mediate information, tasks, and processes in multiorganisational or multisectoral projects. However, it is their role in such networks that appears more interesting in our context. This role has been described, for example, as that of "broker," "bridge builder," "cultural liaison," "(transnational) intermediary," "partner," or even "translator." The actors who assume such roles deploy different strategies in their dealings with one another. Since our study primarily investigates how actors behave in concrete situations and their attitudes to and perceptions of their cooperation, this focus on strategies of action seems best suited to our case study.

Palus, Chrobot-Mason, and Cullen (2014) bring together three boundary spanning strategies in one framework, suggesting a progression from a "transactional" relationship between separate groups to a "transformative" close new unity of allies with a shared perspective (Levina and Vaast 2014). While this progression is strongly idealised in the original model given its normative perspective, we will use the individual strategies as tools to describe the actions of the individual actors and groups.

The first strategy, "managing boundaries," includes *buffering* strategies that clarify within-group identities. This mostly includes actions aimed at "monitoring and protecting the flow of information and resources across groups," with the different stakeholder groups defining their boundaries and constructing a certain level of "intergroup safety" (Søderberg and Romani 2017: 258). Such buffering strategies also include actions aimed at *reflecting* on the similarities and differences between the groups. Verbalising different perspectives on each other's work can, for instance, be conducive to greater knowledge exchange across the groups, which can, in turn, contribute to a better understanding of boundaries and a more respectful attitude towards each other.

In our case study, we observed that the information flows were rather one-sided, unclear, and incomplete. Despite the shared understanding of what constitutes optimal knowledge exchange, the customer clearly buffers in order to protect its financial and time resources. Knowledge exchange is replaced by a dictated process and tool. Accordingly, the relationship between the two parties is more one of caution and distance than respect.

The second strategy, which comprises all activities aimed at "forging common ground," is mostly realised through connecting strategies (where people actively work towards creating interpersonal, trustful relationships) or mobilising strategies (where actions are taken to develop shared goals, purpose, and identities). In our case, the agency actually describes the joint meetings as a targeted connecting strategy, while the customer views them as a forum for escalating problems, "educating" the agency, and "pulling the strings tighter." The translation services norm also appears to fulfil divergent functions for each of the two parties: while TransAg hopes it will tighten their cooperation and strengthen knowledge exchange, TechCo links it with the hope of not having to contribute to the translation projects.

Finally, the third set of strategies ("discovering new frontiers") includes actions aimed at *weaving* the interdependent groups and the larger organisational unit together as well as any *transformative* actions that help to reinvent common practices and generate new, shared directions. In the original framework, this strategy is regarded as the ideal "transformative" relationship in which new, deeply engaged, and close groups are created as alliances between partners with joint practices.

Søderberg and Romani (2017: 239) criticise this idealistic view of collaboration, emphasising that although "transformative" relationships are regarded as optimal partnerships, boundary-spanning activities depend on the vendor's status and the customer's position. They conclude that powerful customers might not be willing to see vendors as partners or allies, but aim instead to remain separate in order to be able to "choose their vendors, set agendas, transfer knowledge, and assess the work provided by vendor companies" (ibid.), that is, to be able to set the terms of the collaboration.

A similar trend can be seen in our empirical analysis: the customer only uses "transactive" modes of collaboration, including *buffering* that clarifies group identities and occasional *reflecting* that sensitises each group to the other's values. However, the interdependencies do not lead to a perceived community of partners or allies, even though the agency has attempted to create interpersonal links and build trust (i.e., to imply the collaborative mode of "connecting") and reports that it has closer relationships with other clients. Instead, buffering is used "to define boundaries and build intergroup safety" (Søderberg and Romani 2017: 258), for instance, when the TransAg PM protects the agency's resources against customer demands or the TW at TechCo insists that corrections by his proofreader are to be

accepted without discussion. Occasional reflecting "to foster intergroup respect" (ibid.) is demonstrated, for example by a TechCo TW who signals acknowledgement of the agency's need to communicate in writing in order to guard against subsequent claims.

From a boundary spanning perspective, we can conclude that the network structure in this case study makes it difficult to build bridges because these would have to span multiple intertwined groups and stakeholders. Since the two parties have different perceptions of information sharing and processes – and do not communicate these to each other – fundamental elements like reflecting on the similarities and differences between the groups are not possible. A certain level of transparency and information exchange is required in a well-functioning cooperation and network and would contribute, in turn, to establishing mutual respect.

According to Søderberg and Romani (2017: 244), "a microanalysis of collaborative practices must not only reflect inherent tensions between teams, it must also explore how power asymmetries are perceived and cognitively addressed by those involved." The forms of pressure and control demonstrated by the customer organisation appear to stem from a multi-dimensional power asymmetry. The TWs act from a (perceived) position of powerlessness in their company and thus feel the need to control suppliers and tighten the strings on the agency's PM in order to safeguard themselves against their internal clients, who they perceive to have more power. Our study thus offers an account of a "vendor's ambition to reach a transformative mode of collaboration" and "the client's forms of resistance" (Søderberg and Romani 2017: 273).

6.   Conclusions

As our research shows, conflicts can be a strong factor of influence. They can (re)structure power relations in translation networks, and the parties affected need to actively work on their cooperation in order to develop common processes and a shared sense of community. Nonetheless, to fully grasp the dynamics of translation production networks and understand how to strengthen the actors' capacities to develop trusting and sustainable customer-supplier relationships in a translation (net)work context, further research is needed into the respective collaboration practices. To provide analyses that would be helpful for practice when it comes to avoiding similar conflicts in future, we must first go (in)to the various settings in which they occur and comprehend the views of those who are actively involved in the conflicts. It is only once they are acquainted with the practitioners' perceptions and actions that translation scholars, who may or may not at some point have been practitioners themselves, can grasp and understand the resulting interactions.

Further research should also include longitudinal research designs: unlike one-off analyses, longitudinal research can compare effects over time and thus capture the social dynamics of the translation field.

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Appendix 1.   Interview guideline

Initial topics: career history, length of time in the company, responsibilities

1. **Processes**
   – The interviewee's own tasks: How would you describe the work you do? (e.g. translation, reviewing, copyediting, etc.) → What things have you had to do in the course of your work/as part of your job?
   – Ratio: What do you do the most? What do you do less often?
   – How would you describe a normal working day for you?
   – Process: Describe how you complete a project from start to finish.
2. **Contacts and Relationships**
   – Who are you in regular contact with (contact persons, clients, etc.)?
   – Can you describe what happens when you are contacted by or contact a client/vendor? What can cause friction?
3. **Artefacts**
   – What do you need to do your work? What are your most important tools?
   – What could you not work without?
   – How important are the tools that you use?
   – Software: Which software tools do you consider to be very/less useful?
4. **Job satisfaction**
   – How do you feel at work? What do you like a lot? What do you like less?
   – Which tasks do you like doing more than others?
   – If you could change something, what would it be?
   – Are there tools/software programmes that support you well and/or make your work easier? Are there any that make your work more difficult?

Of places, spaces, and faces

Asymmetrical power flows in contemporary economies of translation and technologies

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The contemporary translation economy of our globalizing digital world is deeply intertwined with information and communication technologies and the Internet, with the once separate sphere of machine translation lately converging more tangibly and impactfully with translation and interpreting practices as we have traditionally understood them. The decisions on what to translate, and by whom, why, where, and when, have always been conditioned by ideology, politics, economies, and the diverse power structures and dynamics at play in society. The Internet has brought with it the growth of a "parallel" world of human social and cultural practices in digital form, one where the display and dissemination of knowledge are intimately linked to the presence, visibility, and representation on the Web of one's language and culture, both through native language use in communication and through practices of translation and localization. Analogous to material and physical territorial geographic spaces, virtual spaces reflect tensions and asymmetries of power. In this chapter we discuss these linguistic and translational relationships of asymmetry through the prism of digital world technologies and economies, and their implications for lesser-used and low- or no-resourced language groups. This discussion is followed by examples from two contexts: firstly, the broader Indigenous territorial context of First Nations peoples in Canada; and secondly, the Arctic Indigenous cross-territorial circumpolar groups of Inuit peoples in Canada.

Keywords: digital economies, network society, indigenous peoples, inuit peoples, Canada, technologies, translation

1. Introduction

With the passing of time, it is clear that information and communication technologies (ICTs), most notably the Internet, are increasingly playing a fundamental role in the ways we communicate globally. It is also clear that translation, including

machine translation (MT), is increasingly carving a vital niche for itself in these communications worldwide. With regard to the Internet, the latest statistics show that as of December 2019, there were an estimated 4,574,150,134 Internet users out of a world population of 7,796,615,710 inhabitants, with a 58.6% penetration rate and a 1,167% growth rate since 2000 (Internet World Stats 2020a, 2020b). Concerning translation, statistics show that the global volume of translation and interpretation work commissioned continues to increase at a projected compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 11% per year (Market Research Future 2019), with the global MT market projected at a CAGR of 14.6% per year (Grand View Research 2018a, 2018b), until 2022. In both the online and translation domains, languages traditionally considered as minority or representing a low portion and share of the overall world economy, are slowly being integrated into international flows and the circulation of information as regions of the world move online. Concurrently, languages deemed endangered by linguists and researchers have become a recent focus of projects whose goal is to document, preserve, and revitalize them in some form of digital format, be it audio, visual, or textual. Almost 30 years have passed since the World Wide Web of the Internet was released into the public domain. Since that time its platform and usage have undergone a series of significant transformations, from the posting of simple digitized text content on a static Web to the dynamic engagement of its prosumer users through automated and more sophisticated interactional interfaces that enable them to communicate around the world in real time. The breathless speed at which these changes have occurred have only recently allowed scholars to reflect, retrospectively, on the social, political, and cultural consequences of the powerful medium that is the Internet. This reflection has led to more complex questions being formulated around ethics, governance, and debates on the collective, common social good in terms of humanity at large. Within the translation and interpretation sectors, this introduction and proliferation of computers, ICTs, and the Internet during the latter half of the 20th century have altered, complexified, and provoked new iterations of asymmetrical power relations in these millennia-old practices. This chapter presents a discussion and examples of these relationships of asymmetry through an economics-informed prism of digital technologies, with a focus on the implications for lesser-used and resourced languages. The extent to which languages are visibly represented and active in the digital world today is contingent not only on technical and technological infrastructure and the technologies themselves, but also on the social, cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts within which users are engaging with them.

A number of complexities and intertwined questions emerge when considering the dynamics and situations of minoritized, low-resourced, and endangered languages – a majority of the world's 7000 languages – in relation to both the upsurge in translation demand and the use of current mainstream technologies as

vital support systems to communicate and stay informed in the multiple domains of our everyday lives. Attempting to pinpoint the loci of power in microlevel and macrolevel social, political, and economic structures and the symbiotic or dialectical relationships transpiring along vertical and horizontal continuums within the network of networks that constitutes the Internet can often result in transient assessments. Yet, given the incessant drive to now conduct many of our activities online (voluntarily or imposed), whether in our role as citizens of a nation-state or for commercial, educational, or social reasons, the need to critically observe and evaluate digital practices in order to better understand their trends and push forward in the direction of a more just social inclusivity, outweighs any reluctance to take on some of the more complex and undervalued issues that accompany diverse linguistic, cultural sectors. Following the discussion on digital world technologies and economies, two examples of low-resourced language situations are presented here. The first focuses on the broader Indigenous territorial context of First Nations peoples in Canada. As explained by Gregory Younging,

> [the term "First Nations"] was originally coined by Indigenous peoples in the late 1970s, partly as an alternative to inappropriate terms such as *Native* and *Indian*…, then adopted by the national political organization the Assembly of First Nations in the early 1980s… [before being] gradually adopted by the general Canadian population in the 1990s. (Younging 2018: 63)

There are currently over 600 different First Nations groups in Canada with approximately 60 languages spoken among them; these groups include, for example, the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa), Atikamekw (Cree), and Kanien'kéhaka (Mohawk) (Statistics Canada 2017). The second context focuses on the Arctic Indigenous cross-territorial circumpolar groups of Inuit peoples, primarily located in Canada. The Inuit comprise several Arctic populations living between the 56° and 76° Northern latitudes, from the Bering Strait in the west to the Denmark Strait (between Greenland and Iceland) in the east, including Alaska, Greenland, and Canada. They speak various dialects of Inuktitut (in syllabics, ᐃ ᓄ ᒃ ᑎ ᑐ ᑦ).

2.   Economy and power in a digital world

2.1   The digital economy

2.1.1   *The "economy" and the "digital"*
Power and status are intimately linked to economies. Simply put, an economy comprises the various interrelated systems and networks involved in allocating and distributing resources for the production, circulation, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. Their many levels and spheres of interactions materialize

through a wide range of entities, agencies, institutions, and organizations. An economy reveals more than a nexus of commercial transactions, however; it is also culturally conditioned. As put forth by the economist Ray Hudson:

> By 'the economy' I refer to those processes and practices of production, distribution and consumption which are simultaneously discursive and material constructions through which people seek to create wealth, prosperity and well-being and so construct economies; to circuits of production, circulation, realization, appropriation and distribution of value. Value is *always* culturally constituted and defined. What counts as 'the economy' is, therefore, always cultural, constituted in places and distributed over space, linked by flows of values, monies, things and people that conjoin a diverse heterogeneity of people and things.   (Hudson 2004: 448)

The multifarious relations that ensue from these interactions reflect the actions of very diverse heterogeneous groups competing at all levels for resources and power according to their own vested interests in locally, regionally, and globally configured economic spheres. These dynamics have manifested in different iterations over time, such as in the transitions from agricultural to industrial manufacturing economies, to the globalized, networked information and digital economies of the 21st century.

The economic processes and practices to which Hudson refers are increasingly conducted or mediated through some form of digital means, with the resulting goods and services digitally defined as well. The word "digital," however, exhibits considerable semantic fluidity and does not denote a singular or monolithic concept. As Ash, Kitchin, and Leszczynski (2019) point out, its usage as a term or concept varies in meaning across diverse bodies of literature (e.g., media, communication, cultural studies, software studies, geography, etc.). Furthermore, they note, its assignation is ontic *and* material, both of which engage with each other. The ontic

> designates the ways that digital systems 'translate all inputs and outputs into binary structures of 0s and 1s which can be stored, transferred, or manipulated at the level of numbers, or digits (Lunenfeld 2000, xv) [while the] material digital objects of hardware, software, devices, content, code, and algorithms underwrite access to digital phenomena and mediations, comprise the artefacts of our digital praxes, and structure our experience of digitality.
>
> (Ash, Kitchin, and Leszczynski 2019: 3)

It is by means of this dual-natured representation that we propose understanding our reformulated definition of Hudson's "economy" to "digital economy": The digital economy comprises digital processes and practices created and used for the production, distribution, circulation, and consumption of goods and services by means of a wide range of digital technologies and digital media, all of which act as digital objects formed within globally and locally configured digital ecosystems,

with the goal of creating value and wealth as economically, socially, culturally, and politically defined.

A concrete definition of "digital economy" in *quantifiable* terms, however, still remains somewhat elusive. As noted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in its 2018 report "Measuring the Digital Economy" (IMF 2018), there is still no agreed-on consensus of the term. Given that "digitalization has penetrated many activities … almost the entire economy," it ostensibly includes a wide assortment of practices: the online platform-enabled activities of the peer-to-peer sharing economy (e.g., Uber); the crowdsourcing of the gig economy; and the free digital services self-produced, volunteer-produced, or produced by platforms that sell advertising and collect user data (IMF 2018: 2, 7). Likewise, digital trade can be factored in, thus subsuming cross-border transactions that are digitally ordered, platform-enabled, and digitally paid for or delivered through e-commerce, as digital downloads, Web streaming, or through new "native digital" channels like e-money and Bitcoin (IMF 2018: 27–31).

Similar to the economies of the pre-digital age, the digital economy is not circumscribed solely by commercial transactions. As the world continues to globalize, economic activities and flows of money also become more tightly linked to socially and culturally guided digital policies associated with the various actors of Internet governance, such as those defining and regulating the e-commerce, e-banking, and Internet data and access economies (Kurbalija 2016: 149). They implicate transnational and global entities ranging widely from the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) to Internet service providers (ISPs), financial institutions, software and hardware corporations, and telecommunication businesses, among many others. The global structures and networks create a "trickle-down impact" on the most local of infrastructures, all of which contribute to the digital economy overall.

A common example illustrates the point. For the "average" local business entrepreneur today, creating digital content for an online website (as a virtual storefront) likely entails purchasing services from a domain name and web-hosting company, buying a customized platform or content management system from a developer, renting cloud space from a cloud-storage services company, hiring the services of a website developer, contracting a content creator and a social media advisor, and of course subscribing and paying for some Internet bandwidth from an ISP which would have previously obtained it from an Internet Exchange Point (IXP) on a network leading to the source of all networks: the undersea fiber optic communications cables traversing the ocean floors and regulated by international conventions (Davenport 2015).

2.1.2   *Social, cultural practices and increasingly embedded "digitalness"*

To reiterate Hudson's line of thinking, the values tied to the activities and actors of an economy are culturally constituted and defined. By extension, they are attributable and applicable to the digital economy as well. In a contemporary digital context, cultural and social practices have been effectively conceptualized and analyzed through such terms as "network society" and "digital society." Both are an outgrowth of a sequence of transitions. The 18th and 19th century manufacturing and production lines of the 'industrial society' gave way during the mid-20th century to an "information society" mediated by mass media and computers with more powerful automation and processing systems.

The permeation in society of the Internet and World Wide Web in the late 20th century gave form to the "network society." Characterized by widespread digitization and connectivity, it has been conceptualized through the mathematical abstractions of network nodes, ties, links, and connections that configure and reconfigure spaces and diffuse power across multiple networks (Athique 2013: 17). For sociologist Manuel Castells, the network society is a type of society whose social structure and form are dialectically guided and created by networks enabled and activated by microelectronics-based, digitally processed ICTs; they contribute to the ways humans organize their relationships of production, consumption, reproduction, experience, and power, resulting in a meaningful communication coded by culture (Castells 2009: 24). Network nodes – such as IXPs, online discussion forums, or social media group sites – acquire and aggregate value, authority, and power through the constant relation-*ing* that occurs between their structures and social dynamics. Moreover, the flows of user-generated content as data between the nodes are facilitated by norms of interoperability, metadata, and open systems and interfaces (e.g., APIs), which attribute value to the created digital objects and transform them into potential assets whose positions within the global digital ecosystem can then vie for influence and dominance (Blanke 2014).

The important value ascribed to data and algorithms have yielded other labels such as "data society" and "algorithmic society." The profound, ubiquitous integration of digital technologies within multiple spheres of social and cultural practices has now guided the transition to a "digital society." Beyond the mere notion of a transactional digital marketplace, it implies that digital technologies are the means that enable our individual and collective access to and participation in nearly every domain of these practices: education, government, health, entertainment, professional work, and consumer and commercial activities. These digitalized practices have led to what digital culture theorist Felix Stalder (2018) calls "the digital condition," characterized by its specific features of referentiality, communality, and data-driven algorithmicity. The digital society reflects the emergence of new elements of a labor environment as well, one composed of shared and gig

economies enabled by social networking sites, crowdsourcing, social media, cloud computing, and mobile and wireless technologies. Based on increasingly complex computing structures and communication platforms within networked spaces, the digital economy is now global in real-time. As it transitions once again, this time to an environment empowered by the inter-device communication of the Internet of Things (IoT), robotics, and artificial intelligence (AI) embedded within devices, platforms, and software, human knowledge and machine-generated knowledge will increasingly interact and function synergistically through a panoply of machine and human skills. These profound transformations in modalities for the creation, distribution, communication, circulation, and consumption of digital content globally have implications for the translation economy, to which we now turn.

2.2   The digital translation economy

2.2.1   *The translation interface of the digital economy*

Translation activities, partly by way of localization, are an integral part of the digital economy, a critical component of the global digital society. The "translation economy," as proposed by John Yunker, is linked to but distinguishable from the information economy – and by extension the current digital economy. Based on the assumption that informational content is first created by content creators considered as "authors" of potentially translatable text, Yunker's vision of the translation economy is one "propelled" by the translators of this already existing content (Yunker 2017: 15). Albeit limited in definitional scope, it usefully serves as a basis on which to build a more complete picture. The skeletal form of a translation economy, digital or otherwise, is one that fundamentally responds to some basic translation questions: What is commissioned by whom for translation? How, where, and by whom is the translation process carried out? Which entity funds or pays for it? Who is the intended user of the translation and how will it reach its envisioned destination? Why is translation the preferred option among others in an existing situation of multiple languages and cultures? (Indeed, with the emergence of terms such as localization and transcreation in professional circles, how is translation to be defined?)

All of these questions are conditioned by a multitude of cultural, social, political, and historical factors existing within tensions and loci of power, all of which have some degree of impact on the linguistic preferences of any given group or community. These same translation questions and conditioning factors are transposed and contextualized within prevailing digital ecosystems, where digital processes and practices are created and used for the production, distribution, circulation, and consumption of *translated* goods and services by means of digital technologies, and where the digital objects of translation potentially create value and wealth as ascribed by specific economic, social, cultural, and political factors. The responses

to these questions in a digital context also reveal at least a dual-tiered stratum of technology in force: one that implies usage of the same digital tools, platforms, and technologies as source content creators and prosumers in general, and another that makes use of the digital tools and technologies designed specifically for processing translated content and its associated data. The latter includes computer-assisted or translation environment tools (CAT or TEnTs), software for localization and audio-visual translation, and most recently, MT programs.

The digital translation economy also projects itself onto a wider cast of actors in the network. They include not only translators, but also revisers, project managers, localizers, translation companies and agencies, clients, translation technology researchers and developers, retailers, and so on. In a globalizing *a priori* multilingual world (see Pym 2017), myriad translation and localization actors and practices play a key role, through digital technologies, in keeping existing and emergent global and local network nodes and links alive and resilient.

The power of networks and digital communication relies on a fluid communication of information flows; directly or indirectly, the actors and practices contribute to network effectiveness and efficiency by adding communicational value to it, thus enabling, facilitating, and enhancing network capacities to organize and act according to their interests (Folaron 2012: 25). The technology-assisted practices of translation, interpreting, subtitling, the localization of websites, games, software, mobile devices and apps, and lately MT, post-editing, and quality control, are an integral part of the digital translation economy, set in a kind of symbiotic relationship with the digital economy at large (Cronin 2013; Roturier 2015). These economies are once again in metamorphosis, with the integration of AI and neural MT technologies. Indeed, in February 2019, Jaap van der Meer of TAUS "bid farewell" to localization and ushered in a "new era of Artificial Intelligence," speculating that the advancing, transformative technologies would inevitably transmute existing translation environment interfaces into platforms able to manage more efficaciously the new types and increasing volume of content these technologies will generate (van der Meer 2019). The technologies of the digital economy will continue to have an impact not only on the value of translation and on the processes and products generated by translation, but also on its commissioners, producers, buyers, and consumers. The effects of these technologies are already the focus of new research interested in measuring them in relation to the digital economy, for instance the extent to which MT affects international trade (Brynjolfsson, Hui, and Liu 2018).

2.2.2   *Linguistic and translation statistical heterogeneity*

If "digital" increasingly characterizes the most fundamental fiber of our contemporary economy today (see also Bauer and Latzer 2016), how do the linguistic indicators relevant to the overall digital economy and its "parallel" digital translation

economy compare? From an international perspective, the linguistic data divulges general statistics on language use with respect to physical territory. For example, we see that for 2019 the ten most widely spoken languages worldwide were, in ascending order, Indonesian, Portuguese, Russian, Bengali, Arabic, French, Spanish, Hindi, Chinese, and English (Statista 2020). The number of language users reflects the demographics of countries and regions of the world. In contrast, in the realm of the Internet the predominant languages of users online reveal a somewhat different multilingual sphere.

The top ten languages used on the Web in 2019, in ascending order, were German, Russian, Japanese, French, Indonesian/Malaysian, Portuguese, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese, and English, with the latter two comprising 19.4% and 25.9% of all users, respectively (Internet World Stats 2020b). According to the March 23, 2019 daily report generated by W3Techs (2019), English is currently used in 53.9% of all websites "whose content language is known" to the group, followed by Russian (6.0%), German (5.9%), Spanish (5.0%), French (4.0%), Japanese (3.5%), Portuguese (2.9%), Italian (2.4%), Persian (2.0%), and Polish (1.8%) (W3techs). From a commercial perspective, Byte Level Research (2020) calculates that the number of languages supported by leading global brands for localization reached 32 languages – more than double the number of languages from a decade ago.

The 2019 statistics gathered at this time rank the following 20 global industry websites, in ascending order, as having been most globalized linguistically and culturally for international circulation: Booking.com; Canon; Hitachi; Deloitte; Volvo Cars; Nikon; Nestlé; Uber; Intel; Siemens; Facebook; Hotels.com; Cisco Systems; Philips; Adobe; IKEA; Microsoft; NIVEA; Google; and Wikipedia (Byte Level Research 2020). In terms of the global language services industry at large, a recent Common Sense Advisory (CSA) report projects that the overall market value will rise from an estimated $ 46.52 billion in 2018 to US$ 56.18 billion by 2021 (cited in GALA 2020), in which North America held a 39.41% share in 2018 (Statista 2019). Finally, 2017 statistics estimate that the size of the MT market worldwide grew to $ 450 million, with the market currently being driven by an increased demand for content localization (Statista 2019).

2.2.3 *The heterogeneity of the digital translation economy: Three key economic zones*

The statistics gathered and interpreted on the basis of corporate sites and platforms alone, however, do not reflect the actual heterogeneity, intersectionality, and multiple tiers of the whole digital translation economy, particularly when taking into account its relation to the world's nearly 7,000 languages. While a comprehensive typology for analysis from all angles of this economy is beyond the scope of this chapter, three key economic zones broadly outlined and highlighted here are useful

for the purpose of contextualizing the terrain for the examples to be presented. These zones are territorially and digitally configured, and can be designated as follows: market economy; government and public services economy; and social economy. The first zone comprises developed economies guided by the prevailing neoliberal capitalist ideology and its associated financial mechanisms.

The resources invested and deployed in translation and localization projects are inspired principally on the basis of commercial value and market demand. By conventional economic standards, their value (profit earnings) is more tangible (even if not easily quantifiable) in terms of market economic data, and the actors and processes more discernible through the more formalized and familiar hierarchical structures of corporate and project management. Translation activity is carried out within the scope of a value chain of production that aims to cater to and facilitate user (customer) experience and increase the probability of a sale/purchase. It mitigates a perceived "problem" of foreign languages or cultures creating obstacles in the channels of communication from source to target public. Ultimately, the accepted value of earning a profit guides the decisions on language choice and the kinds of translation needed for communicating to and with a target market.

The second zone is motivated by a different organizational logic and scale of values. The political organization of human beings in societies, currently and predominantly in the form of modern nation-states and territories, yields government and public service sector economies associated with the administration and management of their respective citizens and inhabitants. These economies involve not only the articulation and application of law but also diverse legal approaches (e.g., common law and civil code) and legal traditions (Glenn 2014). The demand for translation arises mainly from official language policy legislation, either on the basis of national language(s) stipulated constitutionally, or by consensus or agreement as to which languages are suitable for most substantively representing certain sectors of the population for one purpose or another. The resources for translation are partially subsidized by the government, so as to ensure conformity with its laws and regulations. The value of this translation activity is defined by the provision of various language and translation resources for designated groups of language speakers in order to safeguard their representational weight in terms of the political identity of the territory governed. The requirement to translate generates multiple types of institutional and bureaucratic documentation and communication (e.g., reports, legislation, committee minutes, parliamentary discussions, government websites, press releases, social media content, etc.).

The third zone constitutes a variegated and mixed economy that is nonetheless connected by a common motivation and shared practices guided by certain principles of social ethics. Social economies have distinctly local iterations. In Canada, and with historical roots in Quebec, the social economy emerged as a

proposed alternative logic to advanced market capitalism, for building capacity and expertise collectively from within smaller communities on the basis of their needs, and with the goal of functioning integrally as a stable economic actor in the broader plural economy (Chantier Quebec 2019). Its value is socially constituted and defined ("economically viable, socially profitable") through shared concepts of inclusion, diversity, and equity, with participatory, democratic, and entrepreneurial methods used to build stronger, sustainable local economies (Canadian CED Network 2019). In a wider context, the European Parliament acknowledges that while no "universally accepted definition of the social economy" exists, it is recognizable by four distinctive features: primacy of the person; sustainable growth; social and economic balance; and democratic governance and ownership (Liger, Stefan, and Britton 2016: 23, 26). Translation activity in this broad economy is linked in a concrete way to the pursuit of a common good whose social value is more highly prioritized than other values, even when this social value does share certain economic objectives, such as a community's incentive to achieve economic growth sustainably. The value of translation in a social economy is assigned by the short-term or long-term goals of a wide variety of actors that includes not only entrepreneurs but also NGOs, non-profit entities, volunteer groups, and humanitarian organizations. Social localization, which emerged in contrast to for-profit market-based localization, is compatible with this activity in that it refers to the linguistic, cultural, and technical adaptations of content perceived as needed by users for users, operationalized mainly through open standards and open source technologies and platforms (Localisation Research Centre 2012).

2.3 The places, spaces, and flows of digital (translation) economies

2.3.1 *Digital power as inherently asymmetric?*

Power and status are increasingly mediated through these economies, themselves refracted through the lens of the digital world. The most distinguishable characteristic and intimately shared feature between the broader digital economy and interrelated digital translation economy is the space/time relation conceptualized by the term "space of flows." It is embodied and actualized most strikingly by the shape-shifting structure of the Internet, and is a major contributing factor to digital expressions of power. Building on the empirically-based assumption that society's power relationships are embedded in temporally and spatially defined social constructs conditioned by space/time formations, Castells proposes the concepts of "space of places" and "space of flows" as a dialectical dynamic that is fundamentally implicated in the structuration of power in a network society. This dynamic is operationalized through a shared interface (computers, ICTs, Internet) and by means of a common language and medium sustained by programming and network logic (1/0; on/off). Power, he

observes, emerges from the spatial "relational" *and* "structural" capacities working together, which enables social actors (individuals, collectivities, organizations, institutions, networks) with the capacity and ability to impose their will and values over other social actors through processes of domination and counter-domination (Castells 2009). The space of flows, by its relation to the space of places, underwrites the genesis of power. For Castells, "societies are diverse and contradictory" and "power relations are by nature conflictive," "therefore, the relationship between technology, communication, and power reflects opposing values and interests, and engages a plurality of social actors in conflict" (Castells 2007: 239).

The social realities of space and time as shaped by digital technologies and their users are transformed in a unique way. As Stalder explains, time and space do not disappear as fundamental categories of our social life; while previously actors needing to interact in real time had to be present in the same place, "at one point, the negative, quantitative dynamic of compression turns into a qualitatively new condition: a new type of space/time, i.e. 'space of flows'" (Stalder 2006: 146). That is, the material infrastructure of this space is in different geographical places at the same time that its time-sharing environment is located in the "here and now"; it is not placeless, although its structural logic is (2006: 152). The space of flows conditions, guides, and determines the technical and technological choices and preferences of communication by actors of the Internet, including in the domains of language and translation. It is a dynamic, ongoing potential source of power, whose actualization depends on the extent to which certain values (e.g., commercial, political, social) ascribed to the networks are prioritized by their participating actors.

2.3.2   *Reversing the asymmetries of digital power*

The power generated, accumulated, and amassed within networks and networked spaces across the globe results in some clear examples of asymmetry – underlying an assumption that power as a relation-ing dynamic is first and foremost an expression of unequal forces in contest with each other. In a somewhat Bourdieusian vein, the ascription of value to digital objects and processes is both shaped by and a shaper of the digitally configured social, cultural, political, and economic practices within a globalizing digital world. In the increasingly complex, contemporary global market economy, global production networks (GPNs) allocate significant financial resources for the deployment of cutting-edge digital technologies in order to maximize returns on investment through logistical efficiency in a 24/7 real-time/space of flows. Competition for time-to-market is intensely fierce, and connected networks are coordinated, managed, and sustained in strategic anticipation of the future responses of multiple corporate and non-corporate actors (Coe and Yeung 2015). Likewise, power is exercised in this space by various actors (governments, Internet governance stakeholders, hackers, etc.) equipped with digital technologies to regulate, control,

surveil, and censor individuals and groups in their diverse capacities as users of the same or similar technologies and digital devices (e.g., consumers, citizens, etc.).

The digital economy is thus a space of flows wherein various actors vie for power to control and regulate its means and modes of digital production and circulation. The very devices and technologies that continue to emerge in the digital world and which are linked to network creation and maintenance are just as capable of being used to dominate and wield power unjustly as they are of counteracting and subverting power for motives of challenging domination and restoring justice. Alone, they have little impact. The capability of network logic to enact action spontaneously, quickly, and incessantly enlarges their scope and breadth of influence. In sum, the individual and collective notions and expressions of digital agency are manifestations of the diverse conflictual, competitive, consensual, and cooperative dynamics and potentialities that are offered and guided by the architectures of digital technologies and platforms. The consequences of actions and reactions reverberate digitally through the networks yet inescapably shadow the practices, conduct, norms, and biases of a physical even pre-digital world. As Internet scholar Mark Graham rightfully notes, even while "society is being shaped by the diffusion and increasing centrality of the Internet in everyday life," its use does not "automatically transcend most of the real and place-based constraints that we face":

> The Internet is not an abstract space or digital global village, but rather a *network* [my emphasis] that enables selective connections between people and information. It is a network that is characterized by highly uneven geographies and in many ways has simply reinforced global patterns of visibility, representation and voice that we're used to in the offline world. […] What is clear is that we need more nuanced language, metaphors and heuristics to talk about our hybrid, augmented, digitally-mediated lives.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Graham 2019: 31–32)

Many of the reasons that motivate shifts and crystallizations of power relationships within the networks of the Internet maintain a certain historical continuity, whereby territorial and physical human behaviors are projected and reflected as digital counterparts within the digital realm. Both of these representational environments reflect the capacity and ability, i.e., the power to represent and self-represent, albeit through different semiotic systems and vocabularies.

2.3.3　*Extreme asymmetries: Struggling and endangered languages*

If we acknowledge the data and research trends as indicative of an increasingly deeper embeddedness of digital technologies and devices within our social, cultural, and political activities, and the extent to which the digital economy is intertwined with them all, and if we recognize the proliferation of content produced online in a growing number of local languages as an integral dynamic of globalization itself,

then the rising importance of translation is not only evident but also critical for global communication and for confronting issues that impact all societies around the globe. The majority of the planet's languages are in fact non-global languages, a reflection of the many diverse smaller communities (historical survivors) that constitute and shape our world. Although the translation economies for these languages in the numerical majority vary vastly, they are gradually gravitating towards the digital orbit that now defines contemporary life. Yet, they are characteristically different from those economies in the demographic or market majority. While not fully present or lucrative enough by the standards and values of the globalizing marketplace, they are nonetheless active and visible within the government, public service, and social economies, where translation acquires a value that is not altogether oriented by the logic and criteria of capitalist markets.

Among others, the assessments and actions of two international actors in particular carry substantive weight in determining the possibility of a struggling or endangered language to be represented or able to participate in the activities of the digital world. Supported largely through subsidies by SIL International, a faith-based non-profit organization, Ethnologue (2020) is a primary actor active in defining and evaluating development of the world's languages. Ethnologue linguists interpret the language data gathered and ascribe to them specific indicators of degrees of endangerment, notably on the bases of writing systems, literacy rates, the existence of literature and print media, and use of the language in broadcast media, in digital media, for governance functions, and as a second language. A language's vitality is then graded in terms of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), along a continuum that ranges from widely used internationally to extinct. Many languages that are endangered incur a rating that falls between levels six and nine. According to decisions made on the probability of a language's revival, it is either documented to preserve as human heritage or included in projects for revitalization. Today, digital technologies play a most critical role in the attempts to re-ignite and revitalize languages that are threatened. A preliminary step for any language's access to and participation in the digital world involves the sciences of computing, computational linguistics, and natural language processing. In order for them to be represented faithfully in digital computing, on the Internet, and in Web-based environments, natural human language scripts (pictographic, syllabic, alphabetic, etc.) must be encoded digitally.

A principal actor in this regard is the Unicode Consortium (Unicode 1991–2019), a non-profit corporation that develops, maintains, and promotes internationalization standards (e.g., Unicode) for the representation of text in computer software products, that is, all major operating systems, search engines, browsers, laptops, smart phones, the Internet, and World Wide Web. Every successively published Unicode version of character encodings, from v.1 in 1991 to v.12 in 2019,

adds more characters and symbols for languages. Until a language and its scripts are assigned their Unicode code points and properties, its use and circulation in a digital setting may be limited due to technical issues. The digital representation of language is necessary before information can be properly created, manipulated, and transmitted as digital content through digital communication channels. Unicode enables programmers to develop software applications for users of a language across platforms, devices, and applications without conflict or corruption. For languages that are complex (e.g., non-alphabetic) or have little commercial value in the circulation of goods and services, their growth can be truncated by both financial *and* technical inaccessibility. User experience as well can be diminished. For instance, the paucity of a language's digital data can both limit relevant search engine results and hinder development of data-driven applications, including for machine translation, all of which shape a digital technology user's experience. As noted previously by Graham, many of the disparities palpable in digital participation, knowledge production, and the information communicated online reflect already pre-existing gaps and divides offline. Indeed, numerous endangered language communities are ones that have been historically marginalized, and have collectively suffered acts of discrimination and violence. As such, many activities of the digital translation economy revolve around partnerships and alliances that increasingly support and empower these communities, and carry out collaborative projects *with* them rather than simply *about* them.

3.   Examples of translation spaces within developing digital translation economies

3.1   Indigenous First Nations

In 2016, there were 1,673,785 Indigenous peoples in Canada, accounting for 4.9% of the total population. Most of Canada's over 60 Indigenous First Nations languages are deemed to be in danger of disappearing, due to European settler colonization, subsequent national policies of assimilation, and the forced separation of Indigenous children from their families to attend residential schools that prevented them from learning in their native languages. While the fate of many languages is uncertain, some are surviving in response to recent revitalization efforts. Increasingly, translation activities have become more visibly present, particularly within the government and public service sector and social economies, with occasional forays into market economies. This developing First Nations translation economy is increasingly digital. How, why, where, and for whom does it exist? In what ways do digital and translation practices shape each other and how might they shift the existing

asymmetrical power relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors? While concrete answers are still forthcoming, some preliminary observations and connections are worthy of note.

Every endangered language community within a modern nation-state has a nuanced and complex (often overlooked) history that is interwoven with the clashing filaments of external and internal political and social forces. A few indicative markers are useful for general contextualization here. The disruption of many First Nations social, linguistic, and cultural practices occurred first through colonization and then again after the Confederation of Canada in 1867. The vast majority of the custodial residential schools were established after 1880, at an apex of 80 institutions in 1930, with the last one closing in 1996; they were government-sponsored religious schools designed to assimilate and acculturate Indigenous children. In 1969, the Official Languages Act of Canada made English and French the official languages of the country. Almost half the population of Canada's Northwest Territories (NWT), from which Nunavut was extricated in 1999, is Indigenous ("Aboriginal"). In 1990, NWT became the only jurisdiction to designate nine Indigenous languages as official ones in addition to French and English (Official Languages Act of NWT). NWT residents have the right to use any of these languages in their territorial courts, but French and English are the only languages legally binding. The Aboriginal Languages Framework released in 2017 focuses on curbing Indigenous language loss, through the implementation of revitalization strategies in cooperation with Elders, families, communities, and the support of the territorial government and its Aboriginal Languages and Learning Secretariat (Government of Northwest Territories 2017). On February 5, 2019, the Canadian government tabled the Indigenous Languages Act (Bill C-91) (Parliament of Canada 2019). Prepared in principle as a collaborative work between the Assembly of First Nations, Métis Nation, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (which disputes it as a mere symbolic gesture), and the Department of Canadian Heritage, its stated goal is to protect, support, and revitalize Indigenous languages and to respond meaningfully to calls to action issued by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The mandate of the TRC, which completed its report in 2015, was to begin the process of reconciliation between Canadians and Indigenous peoples by gathering oral history testimonies from survivors in order to create a historical record of the 20th century residential school system. One of the responsibilities of the commission was to have all or parts of the report translated into Indigenous languages, in addition to English and French. A cross-cultural translation ethical approach has complemented the linguistic component of the discourse on restorative justice. As argued by Kirsten Anker, the "state-sponsored reconciliation must include a genuine engagement with Indigenous legal tradition" and a "rethinking of Aboriginal rights […] as more robustly cognizant of Indigenous law-making" (Anker 2016: 16).

Prior to the propagation of the Internet and digital ICTs, and despite the existence of cable media outlets such as the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), public places had in many ways effectively silenced Indigenous voices. While the emergence of personal computers in the 1980s had inspired some linguists and programmers locally to encode Indigenous languages, these systems were not internationalized technically. In terms of representing the Indigenous languages digitally, many if not most are now Unicode-enabled. While roman (Latin) script is used to write some languages, syllabics are used to write others, such as several Cree and Algonquin languages. Unicode developers have created a block of Unified Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics (v.3.0 in 1999, and extended in v.5.2 in 2009), which allows users to type in syllabic scripts if they so choose. Keyboards for some First Nations languages have been developed as well. One example is the Atikamekw (Cree) language keyboard, which benefited from an officially published orthography in roman script standardized by the Institut linguistique atikamekw (ILA) and supported by the Council of the Atikamekw Nation in Quebec. Syllabic and roman script keyboards are used for Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwa), the second most widely spoken Indigenous language in Canada, while some Iroquoian languages such as Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) have a modified roman script keyboard for their use.

This technical preparation has paved the way for the development of diverse software apps. For example, an Indigenous-designed Anishinaabemowin language app has been developed by the Wikwemikong First Nation as part of a crowd-sourced fundraising language revitalization campaign, Challenge4Change, with the goals of encouraging language learning and setting up an online community for language practitioners. In British Columbia, the First Peoples Cultural Council (FPCC) has created FirstVoices open-source dictionary apps compatible with the Apple iOS and Android operating systems, with the latter supporting character sets as of 2011 for thirteen languages in this province. The apps are a mobile version of the language archives on FirstVoices.com, a website where community members can upload words and phrases in their languages. In late 2017, Six Nations Polytechnic (a Haudenosaunee-owned and managed secondary school in Ohsweken, Ontario) released apps for learning Cayuga and Mohawk. The collaborative Cree Language Resource Project (CLRP), initiated between the Miyo Wahkohtowin Community Education Authority, University of Alberta (Earle Waugh), and the First Nations University (Arok Wolvengrey), is developing an online Cree dictionary in syllabic and roman scripts that includes grammar explanations, translation functionality from English to Cree, and associated images, audio, and video clips, along with educational games. Its partnership with a technical company has allowed it to develop desktop and mobile applications and widgets for the Windows, Mac OS,

and Android operating systems, as well as extensions for integrating a syllabics virtual keyboard in Joomla! and Moodle. At the same time, National Research Council Canada (Government of Canada 2020) recently implemented a project that is developing speech- and text-based technologies in open-source software to support Indigenous language educators, students, translators, transcribers, and other professionals, currently for Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), Cree, and Inuktitut, but with other Indigenous languages envisioned over the long term (Littell et al. 2018).

Developing these digital resources for Indigenous languages is paramount for language revival, especially for Indigenous youth. Encouraging ways to participate online through websites and social media is a major step. For example, the Atikamekw language community is writing Wikipedia pages and translating and localizing the Web-based interface in their language. Instead of coining neologisms, and in consultation with the Elders, consensus is reached as to which existing words in the language can be used for modern computing and Internet use. Twitter is also popular. In 2011, the U.S.-based computational linguist Kevin Scannell created Indigenous Tweets, a website that records minority language twitter messages (and blogs) with the aim of enabling Indigenous speakers to contact one another and communicate on the Internet. Among others, Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwa) has 287 users and 21,854 tweets, and Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), 11 users and 452 tweets. The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) / L'Association des femmes autochtones du Canada, founded on the collective goal to promote and foster the social, economic, cultural, and political well-being of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit women, girls and gender-diverse people within First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Canadian societies, is actively followed on Twitter by nearly 16,000 people. Indigenous graphic artists have creatively combined art and technology to support language learning as well. For example, Jay Odjick of the Kitigan Zibi First Nation in Quebec created an Indigenous super-hero (Kagagi) in the form of a graphic novel that subsequently became a North American animated TV series in both English and Algonquin. He has also created a Twitter-based Algonquin "Word of the Day" that involves drawing illustrations to accompany his Algonquin words. Likewise, there are Indigenous digital online news portals in place, e.g., Ku'ku'kwes News (Atlantic Canada); Turtle Island News (a national online daily); and Indigenous Daily News (British Columbia).

Finally, a critical component of the digital economy and its affiliated translation economy are the actors that provide technical and technological skills and training. Animikii Indigenous Technology ("thunderbird" in Anishinaabemowin) is an Indigenous-owned, British Columbia-based digital agency that works with Indigenous-focused organizations from all industries. Its mission, stated clearly on its website (Animikii 2020), is indicative of a for-profit company in the social economy: "Animikii chooses to work with its clients based on a <u>values</u> match. The team

expects that each project we work on will lead to positive outcomes for Indigenous peoples." These values, it explains, are rooted in Indigenous knowledge, specifically the 7 Grandfather Teachings from Anishinaabe culture (Animikii). The agency has expertise in Web design, software development, design and branding, and digital communications. The First Nations Technology Council (FNTC), also located in British Columbia, is an Indigenous-led not-for-profit organization that provides free digital skills training for Indigenous peoples (e.g., Foundations and Futures in Innovation and Technology, or FiiT), with the goal of achieving equitable access to technology for communities in order to "advance sovereignty in the digital age." It has developed the First Nations in BC Knowledge Network, a hub for Indigenous peoples in the province to share ideas, tools, and best practices on governance and community development. The "Indigitization Toolkit," developed by the BC-based collaborative initiative Indigitization, facilitates capacity building in Indigenous information management with an aim to digitize and manage Indigenous community knowledge. In Yukon, a formerly paper-only collection (10,000 pages) of books in eight Indigenous languages has been scanned and made freely available online (Council of Yukon First Nations 2020). Management of these resources has been transferred from the Yukon Native Language Centre to the Council of Yukon First Nations (CYFN).

The support for Indigenous languages and digital technologies continues to grow, as illustrated by the 2016 report on "Supporting Indigenous Language and Cultural Resurgence with Digital Technologies" (Perley et al. 2016), with translation playing an increasingly important role. The 2016 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada 2017) recorded that the number of Indigenous (First Nations, Métis, Inuit) peoples able to speak and converse in an Indigenous language had risen by 3.1% since 2006, due in no small part to digital technologies and devices encouraging youth to participate in language learning more actively. The Canadian Translation Bureau has published on its website (in English and French) a series of linguistic recommendations on the correct usage and translation of terms in reference to Indigenous peoples, so as to standardize usage within the public service sector. It also contains general and specialized glossaries, dictionaries, and writing sources for several Indigenous languages (e.g., Mi'kmaq, Cree, Innu, Naskapi, Sheshatshui).

In January 2019, simultaneous interpretation services were used in Parliament for the first time to interpret from Cree for a Manitoba-based MP. As expressed by Jason Mercredi (2017), English and French have an "equal opportunity language privilege" that has bypassed Indigenous language speakers, who have always had to "translate themselves" in order to fully participate in government. One can rightfully highlight the importance of "small steps" taken, as on March 24, 2019 when an NHL hockey game was broadcast in Cree, with simultaneous interpretation used for the panel's analysis and commentary on APTN. The non-profit Facing

History and Ourselves project, as well, has created an interactive online resource and course on the history of residential schools and their legacies for middle and high school teachers to use nationwide. From another perspective, deeply symbolic is the collaborative translation project underway by the Elders of Vancouver Island First Nations and researchers at the University of Victoria. For the first time, 170 years after they were signed, the historical 1850–1854 Douglas (Vancouver Island) Treaties are being translated from English into two local Indigenous languages (Sencoten and Lekwungen). The task of translation, which highlights how differently meanings were understood at the time by the settlers and the Indigenous people who signed them, may effectively serve as a vital tool for reconciliation. Finally, the *Indigenous Protocol and Artificial Intelligence Position Paper* (Lewis et al. 2020), a potentially far-reaching point of departure by Indigenous communities collaboratively addressing the ways Indigenous perspectives and knowledge systems can be prioritized and included in the development of artificial intelligence and computational technologies, directs attention to important issues of translation in relation to machine learning and automated translation, language acquisition, and to language as a critical carrier of cultural values.

3.2   Arctic indigenous Inuit

The border of the Arctic, the circumpolar northernmost region on earth, follows a circle at a latitude of approximately 66°N. The Arctic comprises land, internal waters, territorial seas, and exclusive economic zones (EEZs) whose jurisdiction is divided among eight Arctic coastal states regulated by international law, with the high seas considered as international waters. The Arctic Council is an intergovernmental forum established to promote cooperation, coordination, and interaction among the Arctic states and its Indigenous communities and other inhabitants on common issues, including sustainable development and environmental protection in the region. Canada, United States, Russian Federation, Iceland, Kingdom of Denmark (including Greenland, Faroe Islands), Sweden, Finland, and Norway are members of the Council (Ottawa Declaration Arctic Council 1996). Indigenous Inuit peoples have status as permanent participants, represented by six organizations: Aleut International Association; Arctic Athabaskan Council; Gwich'in Council International; Inuit Circumpolar Council; Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North; and Saami Council (Arctic Council n.d.). Four regions comprise the Canadian Inuit lands of Inuit Nunangat: Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador); Nunavik (northern Quebec); Nunavut; and Inuvialuit (northernmost NWT and Yukon), with growing Inuit populations in southern urban centres such as Ottawa, Montreal, and Edmonton. Nunavut is governed as a territory (not a province) of Canada, while Nunavik is administered by the Kativik Regional

Government (KRG). All Canadian Inuit are represented by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ("Inuit are united in Canada") (Canadian Network of Northern Research Operators 2016; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2020 ITK).

Linguistically speaking, Indigenous Canada is very heterogeneous. Its First Nations peoples, most of whom reside south of the Arctic and Subarctic zones, face varying obstacles and challenges to sustain around 60 different languages (circa 10 linguistic families). The language of Canada's Arctic Indigenous Inuit peoples comprises four main groups of dialects along a dialect continuum, which with some adjustments by speakers can be understood by all (Dorais 2010: 27). Within Nunavut, the term Inuktut is used to represent the Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun dialects, while in Nunavik, Inuktitut or Inuttitut is used. By the early 1950s almost all Inuit in Canada had achieved literacy, with Nunavik and Nunavut having the highest proportions of the language as a mother tongue (Dorais 2010: 178, 237). Written forms of the language had been introduced during the late 18th and 19th centuries by Moravian, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and other proselytizing missionaries. As a consequence, syllabic script (originally devised for Ojibwa and Cree First Nations languages) was embraced in Nunavik, syllabic and roman script used in Nunavut, and roman script preferred in Inuvialuit and Nunatsiavut. The transcription habits in both scripts were neither uniform nor consistent. Attempts to codify and standardize usage have been underway since the late 20th century, with initiatives by the Canadian government and the Language Commission of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), among others.

From 2013–2014 the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq (AIT) Task Group, which included specialists from each Inuit region, had as its mandate to research and identify the various speech components of the language and the current orthographies in use, and to recommend an orthography with the best chance of advancing language goals. These goals envisaged bilingual education, the production and distribution of common language materials, and a unified writing system with common grammar, spelling and terminology for all. In Nunavut, the independent public agency Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (IUT, the Inuit language authority) created by the territory's Legislative Assembly, today makes decisions about language use, development, and standardization, and how to properly assess levels of spoken and written proficiency in order to certify interpreters/translators in Nunavut.

Official language policies support linguistic, translation, and digital literacy policies. In 2008, a resolution was passed by the ITK Board of Directors to create Inuit Qaujisarvingat (Canadian Network of Northern Research Operators 2016), a center for research dedicated to producing, collecting, analyzing, and sharing Inuit-specific data, information, and knowledge for research, policy, and decision-making. While Nunavut inherited the NWT's Official Languages Act in 1999, it was modified by the new Official Languages Act in 2009 to focus on the Inuit language (Inuktitut,

Inuinnaqtun), English, and French (Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs 2009). The Act raises the Inuit language to equal status with English and French, ensuring the same rights and privileges for all. The 2008 Inuit Language Protection Act (ILPA) complements the Official Languages Act, clearly laying out the items that must be written or translated into the Inuit language for its legal compliance: advertising, signage, labelling, bills and receipts, reception, and client communication (Government of Canada 2008; Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages 2008).

This legislation in Nunavut gives support for the implementation of the Inuit language as the working language of the government. The Department of Culture and Heritage's Translation Bureau (in Kugluktuk, Igloolik, and Iqaluit) coordinates translation, revision, and quality review of government documents into Nunavut's official languages, including for the Web. As emphasized by Stéphane Cloutier during the Apqutauvugut conference of 2016, "Interpreter/translators are important contributors to Nunavut's economy" (The Inuit Language Authority 2016: 12); their work is increasingly dependent on technologies. For example, the Translation Bureau implements a management system and has developed a database of Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun translated materials over a period of several years (The Inuit Language Authority 2016: 6), and all freelance translators are expected to use ICI [Inuit Cultural Institute] standardized orthography and Unicode-compliant fonts (The Inuit Language Authority 2016: 12). Innirvik Support Services, Ltd., an Inuit-owned company based in Iqaluit offers interpretation, translation, transcription, and technical services. Tusaajiit Translation, an Inuit-owned Inuktitut and English language services company based in Yellowknife, NWT, offers professional interpretation and translation services as well.

As discussed earlier, ICTs and the Internet – the critical backbone of our globalizing, networked digital society – rely concretely on a physical infrastructure. For most users, wired and wireless broadband access to the Internet is provided through fiber optic cable. Internet Exchange Points (IXPs) are the physical locations through which ISPs and content distribution networks and content providers exchange and facilitate Internet traffic; they are an integral part of the Internet ecosystem (Internet Society). In remote regions of the world, access through Network Operations Center (NOC) network nodes occurs through more expensive and lower-latency prone connections between terrestrial satellite dishes and orbiting geostationary satellites in space. Canada (which ranked #29 in the world in the International Telecommunications Union's ICT Development Index ITU 2018) has 11 IXPs, with much of the Far North only able to access the Internet via satellite. In Nunavut, the not-for-profit society Nuvujaq is in discussions to create the Community Cloud, an Iqaluit-based IXP that would provide the vendor-neutral data center needed to house an IXP for communities to access and participate fully

in the online environment (Latour 2018). In Nunavik, the KRG's Tamaani Internet project plans to use a combination of undersea cables, microwave towers, and satellite capacity to instill broadband access by 2021 (Rogers 2018).

In addition to physical access to Internet sources of power, participation online also implies character encoding for the language. Due to the two systems of transcription for the Inuit language, fonts and keyboard development have had to accommodate accordingly. Ad-hoc syllabic fonts for word processing had been developed in ASCII early on in the 1980s on the model of syllabic typewriters, but they were not standardized. The Unicode blocks for Unified Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics, released in 1999 and 2009, enabled syllabic character representation for the Inuit language dialects. The Nunavut government now requires these Unicode-based fonts to be used in its Inuktut communications. It also supplies on its website a Nunavut Utilities package of MS tools which includes a font converter for conversion between Unicode and older syllabic fonts; a transliterator for conversion from roman script to syllabics or vice versa; and orthographic rule-checkers for syllabic *and* roman orthographies. The Pirurvik Centre, an Inuit-owned non-government, private sector organization based in Iqaluit (Nunavut), has made available a set of three keyboards for use on Apple iPhones: one for standard syllabic; one for roman characters; and one which automatically converts roman characters to syllabic ones on screen for users. In conjunction with Nunavut's Department of Culture and Heritage, it has developed keyboards compatible with iPhone/iPad and Android devices. It has also created Tusaalanga, an Inuktut online learning website localized in English and French. In Nunavik, the Kativik School Board (Kativik Ilisarniliriniq) website provides Inuktitut computer games (e.g., Makittagait) and installers for users to add Nunavik syllabic fonts and a keyboard layout in order to type Inuktitut in syllabics on Mac or Windows. Various websites explain how transliteration works and provide tools and utilities for their Inuit computer users.

Similar to First Nations languages, use of the Inuit language dialects is being encouraged in online fora and media. In some instances, this usage is in compliance with official language policies. For example, many websites based in Nunavut have developed Inuit language versions, and the Nunavut Arctic College website is currently being translated and localized into Inuktitut, Inuinaqtun, and French, in addition to English. Social media is another active enterprise. In the summer of 2018, Facebook put out a call encouraging Inuktitut speakers to translate the interface of its website. Although its site already supported user postings in syllabics, a decision was made to use roman orthography so that it would also be accessible to Inuit users who do not write with syllabics. With an envisioned launch in 2019, the project is supported by partnerships with Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) and the IUT language authority of Nunavut. Volunteer translators submit Inuktut terms for the FB interface terms through the Translate Facebook app. The IUT

makes the final decision on which words will become part of the official Inuktut interface. As observed by Inuit president of NTI, Aluki Kotierk: "more Inuit need to be able to speak the language on a daily basis; creating space on social media is one way we can continue to see our language thrive" (Pucci 2018). Twitter feeds and Instagram accounts are also popular, as are concrete social media projects. For instance, in 2018 Inhabit Media Inc., an Inuit-owned publishing company, posted a new Inuktut book daily to its social media feeds, including free digital-download links for each book, for a period of two weeks.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the social enterprise technology company Pinnguaq Technology ("play" in Inuktitut). Due to broadband being nearly non-existent in Nunavut, it developed first in British Columbia, and then expanded to create the Pinnguaq Association (in Nunavut-NWT-Ontario), a not-for-profit federal incorporated company that integrates science, technology, engineering, arts, and math into learning applications and games. In 2013, it organized a crowd-sourced translation project to translate and localize the iOS version of the popular online puzzle game Osmos into Inuktitut. In consultation with the Elders, they verified that the words and phrases chosen could be used and recognized by all dialects. In 2018, it received funding from the federal government to develop coding lessons – with a curriculum and language of instruction in Inuktitut and a coding language built around English – for 16 Nunavut communities. The Pinnguaq Makerspace (Pinnguaq 2020), which opened in Iqaluit in 2018, is a space dedicated for people to explore science and technology, with access to robots and to virtual reality. Pinnguaq employee Talia Metuq has created a video game app that builds on Inuit mythology, with players exploring an Arctic town and discovering myth-based characters. Pinnguaq has also produced several innovative apps: Singuistics (language learning through song); Uqalimaarluk (an Inuktitut storytelling app developed with the Nunavut Literacy Council); Health NU (mobile app in partnership with Qaujigiartiit Health Research Centre); and Inuktitube (website designed to centralize Inuktitut video content by aggregating and collecting videos from Vimeo and YouTube).

4.   Conclusion

The main objective of the chapter has been to bring analytical nuance to the discussions on global, contemporary translation activity in relation to two fundamental pillars that both sustain it and transform it through asymmetrical power relations: economy and digitality. The translational relationships and spaces that emerge have implications (and complications) for lesser-used languages and low-resourced communities, already the bearers of historical legacies that are complex and often

undervalued. The increased realization by endangered language communities that language loss for their youth can only be mitigated by digital technologies and the representation and presence of their language in digital form online is contributing to the development of translation economies that are often not perceptible at first glance. These emergent and expanding digital translation economies do not revolve solely around commercial interests. Nor are they confined to a state of being as static repositories of archival documentation. By introducing this language content through global communication media into the dynamic flows of information, they serve not only to represent a linguistic-cultural identity in digital format but also to legitimate and validate the position of these languages and cultures in a robust digital world. As such, translation itself acquires and enhances its value in a proliferating online multilingual world. Likewise, in so doing, the asymmetrical forces of geographical places can be reshaped and redirected into flows of networked digital spaces personified through a heterogeneity of faces. In the end, to be digitalized and translated is to survive.

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Translating values

Policymakers interpreting interpretation in the 2018 Aquarius refugee ship crisis

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In June 2018, the Aquarius, a search and rescue vessel operating in the Mediterranean Sea, rescued 630 migrants at sea and asked to dock at the nearest port. First Italy and then Malta refused and the dramatic situation of those on board made the news and highlighted the increasingly restrictive nature of European migration policies. Progressive parties in the Valencian regional and Spanish central governments provided the conditions to offer a safe berth and to implement the regional government's plan to assist refugees in a crisis situation. This chapter will offer an overview of the plan, focusing on its linguistic component, and analyze how translation and interpreting were approached by the policymakers responsible for its inception and development. A distance between the values protected by translation and interpreting professional codes of practice and those that policymakers desire to advance in crisis situations will be evinced as revolving around the role of translation and interpreting in mediating asymmetries.

Keywords: translation and interpreting policies, policymakers, translation beliefs, non-professional interpreting and translation, volunteer interpreting, refugee protection

1. Introduction

The world is a tessellated mosaic of shared social spaces. At a microlevel, that is, in localized spaces, we connect with those with whom we share spaces and achieve a seemingly effortless and spontaneous synchronization (Bourdieu 1997: 211). Some scholars have actually argued that those shared spaces are created by communication (Rommetveit 1968, 1974). In their view, since perception varies from one individual to the next, experienced realities are necessarily different when unmediated

by communication. Through contact and circulating narratives, our expectations and assumptions come to harmonize, and familiarity with discourses, rituals, and norms in general creates a common ground of what can be "taken for granted." This becomes the *doxa* that oils cooperation and makes it more effective, vested with a sense of naturality that avoids problems (Bourdieu 1972: 234; 1980: 83). At a macrolevel, across micro-spaces, those contacts and shared narratives become less frequent. Even if part of the world thinks of itself as globalized and connected, differences between individual spaces remain and become more evident the further we zoom out. Across spaces, individuals' assumptions, based on their belief and value systems, are likely to clash. Without a shared common ground that can be taken for granted – actually, with altogether different concepts of what can – cooperation becomes less fluid, requires increased effort, and sometimes mediation.

And yet, cooperation across spaces increases the breadth of human endeavors. To harness that power, that which can be "taken for granted" and other shared codes (including language) must be efficiently substituted in order to move from local to global spaces. Translators and interpreters become essential in creating the links that ensure mutual understanding and enable cooperation (Cronin 2006). In a sense, their participation makes explicit the links that are no longer implicit, and in so doing they balance unequal knowledge bases. Situations where (foreign national) non-locals interact with authorities clearly favor local knowledge. This is particularly striking in the case of institutions, which set the rules for relevant input and possible outcomes, allocating to themselves and fluently exercising the power to establish meanings and interpretations (see Foucault 1991). Those imbalances increase when individuals do not speak the (majority) language of the institution, accentuating epistemic asymmetries, or when they do not meet any other criterion for physical or legal "normalcy." Becoming "deviant" limits or precludes their access to social power. Meanwhile structural power is organized and safeguarded by systems, social and cultural structures, and institutions, which accrue a fair amount. When their mediation is required, translators and interpreters will need to negotiate between themselves and other participants whether to play a balancing role vis-à-vis those asymmetries or rather to allow power differentials to play out by impacting particular stakeholders.

In Interpreting and Translation Studies (ITS), there has been much analysis and controversy surrounding those asymmetries and the roles interpreters and translators should or actually do play. The required role for practitioners as set out in prevailing professional standards is one that limits their agency (see, e.g., Salama-Carr 2019), whereas other stakeholders prefer and require increased intervention (see Ozolins 2014a; Baraldi and Gavioli 2016). Among translation and interpreting (T/I) practitioners, behavior that exceeds what is strictly required (extra-role behavior) has been identified (Anderson 1978; Bot 2003; Inghilleri 2008; Aguilar-Solano

2015; Valero Garcés 2016; Bancroft 2017). This is due either to professionals challenging professional models (Kouraogo 2001; Karlik 2010; Angermeyer 2015: 73) or out of a sense of civic duty to help other participants (Patel 2002; Tipton 2011: 21–22). Critical views on (instances of) non-professional interpreting and translation (NPIT) usually rely on the internally set limits of professional practice to highlight compliance or non-compliance by professionals and non-professionals in balancing asymmetries and elaborate on the problems that may arise in non-professional practice (see, e.g., Jääskeläinen 2003: 309; Gil-Bardají 2020). Also, there has been critical examination and review of both professional codes (see, e.g., Angelelli 2006; Ozolins 2014b) and professionalization models (Monzó-Nebot 2019).

This chapter will contribute to the ongoing discussion on the interaction between role performance and professional and non-professional T/I by analyzing a voice rarely heard in the ITS literature – that of policymakers. Studies have scrutinized non-professional translators' and interpreters' performance (e.g., Martínez-Gómez 2020), their training needs (e.g., O'Mathúna et al. 2020), and the policies and practices determining their possibilities (e.g., Enríquez-Raído, Crezee, and Ridgeway 2020). This chapter will shed light upon the views of policymakers including the reasoning behind their decisions to rely on NPIT in order to grasp the belief component of language and translation policies (see Spolsky 2004; González Núñez 2016). The chapter examines the values, knowledge, and knowledge strategies enacted and protected, and how specific asymmetries between stakeholders and competing epistemologies are addressed and created.

First, an overview of the discussion on NPIT in ITS and its implications for society will be provided. Then, there will be a discussion on structural and epistemic asymmetries in a crisis situation. The views of the policymakers responsible for designing the Valencian Government crisis management plan in a refugee emergency will be scrutinized by analyzing a semi-structured interview conducted by the author with the Director General of Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism. The interview was held in July 2018, weeks after the Aquarius ship had been invited to dock in València, Spain, and the refugees on board, rescued by the crew in the Mediterranean, were welcomed by the authorities in June 2018.

2. Professionals and non-professionals – *e pur si muove*

Far away from the hallowed halls of academia, there have long been many translators and interpreters who have attended to a world needing translation. Often referred to as the second oldest profession (McCarey 1999: 22; Baer and Koby 2003), one traditionally became a translator or interpreter through apprenticeship (Pöchhacker 2004: 177; Setton 2010) or was self-taught (D. Kelly 2005: 8); training centers for

selected elites were the exception (Caminade and Pym 1998: 280). This changed dramatically in the 20th century, spurred by a Western Europe (Caminade 1995) devastated by world wars that forced the political arena to enact major changes in how international negotiations and arrangements were conducted and established (Armstrong 2008: 43–44). This created a demand for a translation and interpreting workforce, which offered training centers an opportunity to thrive.

With recognition of the need for mutual trust and collective security, international agreements expanded and multilateral negotiations multiplied which involved an increasing number of diplomatic cultures and languages and enhanced intercultural contact (Buzan and Little 2000: 318). Mediation was pushed (Baigorri Jalón 2014) as one of the means to level the playing field. Furthermore, in the private domain, the different stages of globalization triggered new translated realities and forged links between existing entities, which resulted in emerging structures with new properties and rich synergies. Without T/I, both professional and non-professional, our ability to connect would have been severely limited and both have become fundamental in the transformations of the so-called network society (Castells 1996) and in the rise and maintenance of a translated world.

The expansion of T/I as a global practice and the flourishing of training centers went hand in hand with the evolution of ITS as a discipline (D. Kelly and Way 2007) trying to establish its jurisdiction and acquire the authority to speak about what T/I are and should be. The mutually supporting consolidation of the academic and the professional areas has been given as a reason for the overwhelming focus on "professional[1] practice" in TIS (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012: 149–150), leaving the remnants of what were once mainstream practices out of scholarly scrutiny. This situation, however, is changing, and authors have been recently paying increased attention to T/I practices not conforming to professional standards and not serving the goals of increased social presence and recognition of professionals. If once obliterated from the memory and imaginaries of TIS, rapidly-expanding social phenomena requiring and involving T/I, such as bilingualism and multilingualism (Vertovec 2007, 2009; Blommaert 2013a, 2013b), transnationality (Robinson 2007),

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1. Definitions of what constitutes "professional" T/I have focused on varying aspects distinguishing non-professional translators and interpreters as those lacking specific training (Antonini et al. 2017: 7) or receiving no remuneration for their services (Evrin and Meyer 2016: 1). Whether we understand "professional" as the embodied knowledge or objectified cultural capital or as the practice enabling the attainment of social goals in multilingual societies (B. Harris 1973), those who act as translators and interpreters with no professional training as such are becoming a focus of TIS (see Martínez-Gómez 2015). Problematizing definitions and terms, TIS seems to be moving towards a broad view where translators and interpreters are those who identify as translators and/or interpreters and/or are identified as being able to translate or interpret by their commissioners.

or transnational mobilities (Glick Schiller 2010) in new post-national (Soysal 1995; Heller 2011) and post-monolingual (Yildiz 2012) societies have since been taken on board by ITS (e.g., Delisle 1984; Cronin 2006; Muñoz Martín 2011; Monzó-Nebot and Jiménez-Salcedo 2018; M. Kelly, Footitt, and Salama-Carr 2019). Lending its particular interdisciplinary stance to these evolving phenomena, ITS claims that contemporary societal (linguistic) diversities require new ITS-specific research agendas (Hertog and van der Veer 2006; Meylaerts 2009; Antonini et al. 2017) to inform strengthened linguistic policies with a focus on T/I (Diaz Fouces 2005; Meylaerts 2011; Wallace and Monzó Nebot 2019).

In order to plan language access for all members of society, local majorities and minorities and migrant minorities, attention must be paid to T/I policies. When talking about linguistic and cultural planning in modern political scenarios, the fluid nature of the global (Bauman 2000) and the increasing VUCA (volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity) of its scenarios (see, e.g., Bennett and Lemoine 2014; Johansen and Euchner 2015) add unexpected ingredients that require a modern approach to policy planning. This includes identifying overt and hidden resources and establishing general procedures for managing both the anticipated and the unforeseen. Human crises are one of the most sensitive scenarios with pressing T/I needs. Among other resources, trained and untrained translators and interpreters who may aid those in need in the context of disasters must become a focus of our studies if we want to produce knowledge that is adequate and relevant to inform the urgent and complex public policies required for disaster planning.

2.1   Planning for human crises – The views of interpreting and translation studies

Scholars in TIS have been recently providing insights into different aspects of interpreting and translating in human crises and disaster management, or relief interpreting (Kurultay, Bulut, and Kahraman 2006), where non-professional interpreters and translators play a relevant role. The results of studies examining T/I practices and policies (O'Brien and Cadwell 2017; O'Brien et al. 2018) and the mobilization of volunteer translators in crisis situations (Hester, Shaw, and Biewald 2010; Rogl 2017), together with a number of publications diagnosing a lack of specific training for professionals (Shiu-Thornton et al. 2007) and devising and testing training programs for untrained volunteers (Dogan and Kahraman 2011; O'Brien 2016; Federici and Cadwell 2018) have yielded benefits that can be harnessed by policymakers. As for professional associations, claims for governments to rely on professional practitioners (Red Vértice 2018) and for professionals to register their willingness to cooperate in disaster relief situations (NAJIT 2006) have been voiced and widely disseminated.

Also, other areas in emergency management and planning have started to stress the role of intercultural communication and T/I. These studies have highlighted issues which should have been obvious that were nonetheless neglected in crisis management and planning, such as the international composition of rescue teams (Chan et al. 2012), the needs of populations with disabilities (Kailes and Enders 2007; McDermott, Martin, and Gardner 2016), or cultural differences in cooperation and disaster preparedness (O'Sullivan et al. 2013; Teo et al. 2019). Several changes and developments justify this change of focus. Increased experience in cooperation during planning and relief (see Doğan 2016) has revealed key aspects of both T/I practice and emergency management which are challenging established knowledge, ideologies, and practices.

In 2001, a special issue in *The Translator* problematized the stance on ethics of the discipline (Pym 2001). In that volume, Bulut and Kurultay (2001) highlighted how disasters called for restructuring priorities and centering "cooperation" in all decision-making, including those related to T/I (2001: 251). More recently, in a special issue of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Monzó-Nebot and Wallace 2020), O'Mathúna et al. (2020) advocated for training citizen translators focusing on the values that will nurture right decisions when mediating in a crisis situation. In line with contemporary thought on virtue ethics, they argue that targeting the moral fiber of individuals will guide them to behave ethically when performing T/I. In Federici's collective volume on training for crisis communication (Federici 2016), O'Brien (2016) describes Translators Without Frontiers' training program and focuses on how ethical norms and humanitarian principles acted as one of the basic pillars of the training offered. Other authors have stressed the significance of values in the form of professional norms (normative ethics) even in extreme situations (Razumovskaya and Bartashova 2016). Values seem to occupy a central space in our discussion on preparedness for disasters and in relation to NPIT – and rightly so, as T/I, "like any cultural practice, [entail] the creative reproduction of values" (Venuti 1998: 1).

It is particularly in stressful circumstances such as disasters and emergencies where principles and values (the common beliefs as to what should be achieved and how) guide agents when split-second decisions must be made. Those underlying systems of hierarchically organized principles steer action in our daily lives, particularly when there is no time for conscious reflection or when the complexity of the issues to be decided upon extends beyond our knowledge or capacities (Lau and Redlawsk 2001). Ideologies are a sense made common; they influence perception, provide standard interpretations, set shared goals, and help coordinate actions (Kieser 2001). Public policy is dependent upon ideology (Grafton and Permaloff 2001). From the perspective of citizens, this means that knowing the rationales underpinning governance, the values and beliefs behind social technologies, as

enshrined in legislation, regulations, policy documents, and other regulatory documents is the only way in which we can understand how crises and any issues in general will be addressed. As ITS scholars, knowing the ideologies underlying cultural and linguistic policies is a window into the future of T/I.

2.2   A window into the values of policymakers shaping translation and interpreting conditions

What ITS seems to have neglected so far are the values enshrined by those politically in charge of crisis preparation and management plans as well as the preferred epistemologies for service provision. This chapter will explore the ideology, as an organized set of ideas, which structured the plan enacted when the Aquarius refugee ship docked in València in June 2018. More specifically, the values and priorities underlying the policy operated in the management of the T/I needs of the Aquarius refugee ship crisis will be explored using an interview conducted by the author in 2018 with one of the policymakers responsible for said plan. In this particular crisis, volunteer professional and non-professional translators and interpreters were involved in providing assistance in a humanitarian emergency where refugees had been rescued in the Mediterranean and brought to safety in València by SOS Méditerranée and Médecins Sans Frontières' Aquarius.

T/I in human crises defies the most carefully planned international, state, and local-based policies. Rising numbers of increasingly complex crises challenge the capacity of the international humanitarian system in general (Thow 2014), and language needs are no exception (Bredenkamp 2015). Circumstances such as time, location, or the specific languages involved in geopolitical or natural disasters can only roughly be estimated in risk assessments and contingency plans. The success or failure of cooperation among agents and the overall plan will depend on the actual compatibility of the agents' shared codes, including beliefs and values affecting what should be prioritized in urgent matters and split-second decisions. If the relevant actors are clear about what is at stake in managing the crisis and the values to be protected are efficiently integrated across their actions, then their individual acts will magically align and create a shared social space forged through communication (Rommetveit 1968, 1974). Otherwise, the system will malfunction, and inefficiencies may cause the plan to collapse. This chapter aims at shedding light onto what values were entailed in organizing T/I as well as other tasks, and whether they privilege epistemologies compatible with ITS by engaging volunteer professional and non-professional translators and interpreters.

Further questions, such as how the values were imparted upon volunteers, whether they were effectively conveyed, or whether they would allow for increased effectiveness vis-à-vis the ethics advanced by TIS scholars (Bulut and Kurultay

2001) would shed further light into the management of this particular crisis. However, this paper will only focus on how policymakers envisaged and acted upon T/I policies during the planning and managing of the Aquarius ship refugee ship crisis in June 2018.

3.   Acting politically – Migration policies as a context for the Aquarius refugee ship crisis (2018)

Violent human responses to conflict have historically led individuals to seek refuge from repression, coercion, aggression, and extermination. Displacement has been and is also a consequence of natural disasters, land degradation, famine, and other deprivations. Recent mobilities have triggered different international, regional, and local reactions to either protect or cast off those fleeing and seeking safety in a foreign community. From those advocating for open borders (Gurtov 1991) to those criminalizing human rescue groups (Desalambre 2019), attempts to influence our approach to the foreign have significant implications for the rule of law as well as for cooperation across groups and between states.

Governance, however, is no longer a matter that can be kept within borders. Decisions bear implications far beyond the place where they are taken. While part of global governance efforts aim to maintain the existing institutional, economic, legal, and political arrangements (see Brodie 2015), there are also other competing aspirations. Indeed, awareness of humans' shared right to wellbeing is creating a new imaginary of sociopolitical goals. These goals are aimed at subduing any other extant ideologies and demanding a new kind of governance (see Gill 2015). An emerging will not just to survive but also to create a system that ensures the wellbeing of all conscious beings (see S. Harris 2010) is disputing the adequacy of current institutions and practices of governance.

This clash of views has been made visible for the so-called refugee crisis, especially in the case of maritime migration. According to maritime law, "whoever encounters people in distress is under the obligation to rescue and bring them to a place of safety" (Carballo Piñeiro 2020: 77). In recent times, however, when ships follow the law a conundrum ensues. States have moved borders into international waters, refused permission to disembark and even sought legal loopholes to criminalize rescue (see Aarstad 2015). The dramatic situation of both refugees and crews has garnered the attention of the media, citizens, and voters. Civilian initiatives have attempted to redress a widely perceived failure to adequately manage a humanitarian crisis (see Stierl 2016) and to relocate borders out of life-endangering spaces. At the same time, States use the means at their disposal to negotiate and curb other

countries' (mis)alignment with prevailing and emerging societal values. This section will provide some insights into the political situation leading to the Aquarius refugee crisis to contextualize the plan devised by the Valencian government and the views of the interviewed policymaker.

3.1 The European and Spanish contexts

European governments seem to approach migration and refugees as a threat. They have reacted collectively to migration and refugees with a logic of exceptionality (see Castelli Gattinara 2017), implementing restrictive migration policies and creating citizenship technologies that condition rights "upon acceptance of national values and loyalty to the state" (Kofman 2005: 464). One of the demands resulting from this type of politics is linguistic integration (see Kraus 2007; Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero, and Stevenson 2009) into a shared defining monolingualism (see Kroskrity 2000: 3; Silverstein 2000). European views on governance have been said to strictly link their national sovereignty to territorial, cultural, and ethnolinguistic unity (see Park and Wee 2017; Basok 2019: 98), even when recognizing multilingualism. This partially accounts for the salience of the so-called "refugee crisis" in the political landscape of Europe. The way political parties in Europe react to this issue plays a huge role in voting outcomes. Conflicting views on specific issues (loosely) related to migration and refuge have emerged among conveniently mobilized discourses of society and have triggered political consequences. This clash between materialist (especially security and stability of a group's beliefs) and post-materialist (including expression of differences) values has been identified as a border-making technology within Europe (Nikiforova 2009). The fearmongering of protectionist views has managed to reshape the limits of Europe (see Scheller 2019) while thousands have taken to the streets demanding their right to offer refuge to those coming from abroad (see Bazurli 2019), thus challenging the idea that states can be entrusted with the international protection of refugees (Fiske 2006).

The Spanish central government has been developing a "multi-layered deterrence strategy" against migration (Godenau and López-Sala 2016) which has been particularly noteworthy in the past two decades. Opposing voices have risen, notably among the regional governments, echoing the population's discontent from a persistent lack of solutions and sustained corruption (Greene and Haber 2015). The promise of an open society has capitalized upon societal aspirations to become multicultural and polycentric.

3.2   The "new" Valencian government: Promises of change

The Valencian region had been ruled by a conservative party plagued with corruption scandals (see, e.g., Rius-Ulldemolins, Flor Moreno, and Hernàndez i Martí 2017). In 2015, a change in government happened when three progressive parties (PSPV, Compromís and Podem) joined forces around a commitment to safeguard some common ground regarding future action. The so-called Botanic Garden Agreement promised to center people in their decision-making (PSPV, Compromís, and Podem 2015). In 2019, the agreement was renewed (PSPV, Compromís, and Podem 2019), placing greater emphasis on societal diversity and establishing the creation of regional offices in order to assist refugees. Despite the general and ambiguous terms of both Agreements, their joint declaration of values represented a drastic change in the political landscape of the region. Regarding international obligations to provide refuge, the new government immediately established a special committee to develop a plan under the direct supervision of the Vice-president, Mònica Oltra.

The plan set out an initial endowment of 620,000 euros and created a register of families willing to host refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers, within a network of Valencian cities. 133 cities registered, offering 96 apartments, 192 rooms in private homes, and more than 600 beds in hostels, among other resources (I.L. 2018).

Shortly after setting up a protocol to provide refuge, in September 2015, the Valencian government offered to charter a vessel to shelter 1,100 refugees rescued in Lesbos (Carbajosa 2015). The initiative was paralyzed by Spain's central government, ruled by the conservative Popular Party. Nevertheless, a standing Joint Committee (Comissió Mixta d'Atenció i Acollida a Persones Refugiades i Desplaçades) was established later in November (Valencian Government 2015) to regularly update the protocol and to eventually implement the measures. The members of the committee[2] comprised government departments with competencies over issues related to hosting refugees, including the Director General of Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism, Rubén Trenzano, who was interviewed by the author.

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2. The committee included members of the Government Departments for Healthcare, Education, Inclusive Policies, delegates of the central government in the Valencian provinces (Alacant, Castelló, and València), the University of Valencia, civil society organizations (Accem, Cepaim, Càritas, and the Red Cross), and specialized agencies (CEAR and UNHCR).

4. Managing the Aquarius refugee ship crisis in 2018

This section will focus on the operation planned and implemented by the Valencian Government. The main source for the account provided in this section is the Director General (DG) for Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism (LPMM). The author gathered publicly available information prior to the one-hour interview and then conducted, recorded, and transcribed it. Further information was subsequently sourced from policy documents. The account reproduced includes concrete facts obtained from other sources, the views of the DG regarding the planning, implementation, and assessment of the crisis plan, as well as specific aspects that were missing from the DG's narrative. A discussion follows in the next section.

4.1 A perfect storm

The Aquarius 2 (now MV Aquarius Dignitus) is a search and rescue vessel chartered by the NGO SOS Méditerranée to conduct operations in the Mediterranean Sea. After two years in operation, the ship gained international prominence when it rescued 630 migrants at sea and was then denied authorization to dock first in Italy and then in Malta. The media covered the successive requests by SOS Méditerranée and Médecins Sans Frontières while migrants and crew faced rough conditions at sea and the health of those rescued deteriorated (Jones 2018).

On June 11th, 2018, Joan Ribó, mayor of the city of València, agreed with the President and Vice-president of the Valencian Government to offer València as a safe berth (Deutsche Welle 2018). The progressive party running the Spanish central government at the time approved of the operation. The Spanish press echoed the turn in migration policy of both the regional and the central governments (Enguix 2018). Meanwhile, the newly arrived Italian Prime Minister Salvini interpreted València's offer as a victory (Ellyatt 2018). Previous Italian governments had long asked the European Union to react to the conditions endured by Southern European countries which bear most of the cost for refugee rescue (BBC 2018) and anti-human trafficking operations (Estevens 2018). Under the coordination of the Italian Coast Guard, the vessel sailed a distance of 750 nautical miles with 630 migrants from 26 different countries. They all safely landed in València on June 17th (BBC 2018) and were then deboarded in phases. A first group of 274 migrants reached the harbor on board of the Italian coast guard boat Dattilo at 6.50 am. Next, the Aquarius brought 106 persons to port, and the Orione docked at 1 pm with 250 passengers.

4.2   Ready, steady…

When Valencian authorities became aware that the Aquarius was on its way, the Joint Committee protocol was launched. This section will focus on the areas developed under the domain of the Directorate General of LPMM before the crisis, in 2015 (see above). Among other things, the protocol set out that materials would be prepared so that both migrants and service workers could understand and be understood (as the DG phrased, "for those who come and those who assist them").[3] Posters were produced to signal hosting spaces in French, English, and Arabic and relevant administrative documents (including asylum applications) were translated into those languages.

Materials were developed and then regularly updated. The agents engaged in the work were sought on the basis of their linguistic and cultural capital – the Arabic, English, and French Departments at the State Language School (Escola Oficial d'Idiomes), Arabic Professors at the University of València, and the Syrian-Hispanic Society of the City of València (an association of Syrian doctors who had migrated to Spain in the 70s to study medicine) were asked to provide the names of volunteers. No T/I department or association was contacted. The guidelines of Translators Without Borders were unknown to the Joint Committee, as later explained to the researcher in the interview.

Other issues mentioned in the protocol referred to the kind of assistance to be provided, especially healthcare, law enforcement, and legal services, and the cooperation network that would ensure shelter for migrants.

4.3   Activation

On Monday, June 11, 2018, the Vice-president and General Director for Inclusive Policies activated the protocol by calling the members of the Joint Committee. In turn, the Directors General in the Joint Committees activated their teams. The DG of LPMM convened his team to a meeting on Tuesday morning and to subsequent meetings every two hours to obtain the latest information on preparations underway. One of the first measures was to gather information about the migrants on board – their countries of origin and health status. Once the countries became known, the team prepared a dossier on each country to be facilitated to interpreters. Then, it was time to seek out interpreters. A call for volunteers was circulated to find language mediators for English, French, and Arabic. First, the different offices of the State Language School were contacted to ask for language teachers

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3.   All excerpts of the interview have been translated from Valencian Catalan by the author.

for Arabic, English, and French who would volunteer as interpreters. Secondly, the vice-presidents for language policy at each of the five public universities of the autonomous territory were asked to provide names of specialists in those and any other African language. This call was leaked through social media and citizens contacted the Directorate General to volunteer. In less than a day, over 1,000 people registered to assist in the welcoming of the Aquarius refugees.

All the persons registered were first screened by the police to ensure no volunteer had criminal records. Workers of public institutions or those recommended by public universities were immediately accepted. The rest of those accepted included last-year students at the State Language School, people collaborating with NGOs and associations, and also former refugees. A final group of 600 (300+300) volunteers was convened on June 16th to receive specific training. In the end, only 450 volunteers attended, and some decided not to volunteer after the training. No information was gathered as to the reasons for dropping out of the operation.

Training was delivered by members of the DG for Multilingualism, the DG for Healthcare, and the Red Cross. The first session provided the details of the protocol to be applied, explaining all the steps each rescued individual would go through after docking. The second session focused on the health and safety measures in place to protect the volunteers' own health (around 100 migrants had been diagnosed with scabies by members of MSF). Finally, the Valencian Red Cross Interpreting Coordinator provided training on the values of humanitarian action, which included impartiality and neutrality (Red Cross International Committee 2016), and interpreting-specific instructions. Volunteers were asked to use the first person when referring to the migrants, to include emotions and non-verbal language in their renderings, to omit no comment or information given by the migrants, and to use simple language when working with children. No specific training on professional codes for interpreting was provided. Partial details of the training were reported in the press (Urbina 2018).

All volunteers were asked to sign a confidentiality agreement to avoid further leaks, especially regarding the planned location of the refugees to ensure their safety (false information was given to the media to increase security), and to specify their availability slots for the next two weeks (including overnight stays). They were later contacted by email.

After the training, staff members of the Directorate General interviewed the volunteers to gather further information. Attempts were made to find Tigrigna speakers, as the DG team had been made aware that the Tigrigna speakers on the vessel spoke no other language. Among the volunteers, sworn translators were identified and included in a separate register to provide further assistance in asylum applications in cooperation with the regional Government Department of Justice and its staffed translators.

On Sunday, June 17th, as the migrants disembarked, it became clear that there was a shortage of Arabic speakers among the volunteers. The President of the University of València, the only public Valencian University with an Arabic Department, was called to search for volunteers who could potentially be incorporated into the team. Her team contacted students and visiting scholars from Arabic-speaking countries. The Syria-Hispanic Society of the City of València was also asked to cooperate. In the meantime, a ferry happened to be setting off from the València Port towards Algeria and relatives of those on board had gathered at the port to say goodbye to the passengers. The PLMM team was alerted and approached them to ask for their cooperation. In the interview, the DG expressed how much it moved him that most of those present had volunteered. After providing relevant identification and being screened by authorities, they received quick training and support by members of the Red Cross, were given vests and the relevant country-specific dossier, and the rest of the documentation required to perform their tasks. They were finally assigned to specific migrants.

In the first contact to activate the plan, the Vice-president and the DG had decided that the same interpreter should assist the same person throughout the process, and that that interpreter should be available at all times during the first days of the process. The goal, as expressed by the DG, was for a migrant to have to recount the details of any traumatic experience only once, and the interpreter/mediator would be available for subsequent debriefing to law-enforcement and social workers. Furthermore, migrant women were to be assigned female interpreters. The Vice-President and the DG placed a lot of emphasis on these two conditions. The DG further clarified that the Red Cross was not used to such a protocol but that Red Cross members later congratulated him personally and said this arrangement turned out to be ideally suited to migrants' needs.

The LPMM team sought information on the migrants as soon as the plan was activated. This included details about their health and psychosocial conditions and their countries of origin so as to facilitate the search for mediators (see above). In the interview, the DG stressed that the migrants had been subject to human rights violations and he specifically mentioned women and unaccompanied minors who had experienced severe traumatic situations. Additionally, a number of migrants required medical attention. The DG mentioned that there were originally three pregnant women on the boat, but one had delivered on board. Furthermore, some migrants had been on a boat that had exploded and suffered burns as a result.

4.4   Implementation

Border health officers were the ones who made first contact with migrants. They boarded the vessel to ensure no passenger was in critical condition and to organize deboarding in groups of 20 persons (Romero, Gómez, and Fernández Larrechi 2018). Two pregnant women along with a mother who had delivered on board and her child were immediately taken to the hospital in ambulances, accompanied by interpreters. Once on land, the Red Cross was entrusted with accommodating migrants after the Government had made the necessary arrangements for assistance and migration formalities. As soon as they stepped off the ship, migrants were given food (water and fruit) and hygiene kits. They were interviewed by Red Cross members and interpreters and given the translated documentation prepared according to the protocol – a 45-day residence permit and an asylum application for Spain (an application for France was added after the French Prime Minister pledged France's cooperation). Basic data were registered (i.e., name, accompanying family members if any, country of origin, and languages spoken), and then each migrant was assigned one volunteer interpreter. When assigned to an individual, each interpreter received the dossier for their country including information on official and regional languages. Migrants were further provided healthcare services before being interviewed by law-enforcement officers. Afterwards, they were transported to the shelters prepared by the government. Arrangements were made for those who required psychological or medical assistance to be adequately assisted and hospitalized when necessary. A total of 2320 people participated in the operation.

4.5   Assessment

When asked to assess the operation, the DG was very pleased to be able to showcase how useful the language policies had been. He portrayed languages as bridge building devices (not only "bridges") and stated that other regional governments inquired about the details in order to copy the model. He was also satisfied that the whole operation created awareness around Valencian identity as being "Mediterranean," welcoming (*acollidora*), and efficient. Finally, he stressed the value and selflessness of volunteers who actively engaged in the plan and showed willingness to help in any other tasks they were able to perform.

As to the specific measures, he pointed out that planning one interpreter per person exceeded actual needs since not all migrants deboarded at the same time. Once migrants received all port-based services, they went to their shelters, and those who did not require further assistance were left to rest and assisted by group rather than personal interpreters. That freed their personal interpreter to go back to the port and assist a different person.

When inquired about the register of volunteer interpreters, the DG pointed out that while it had not been included in the initial plan, a revised version would recommend it be retained as one of the plan's most praised resources. The researcher further asked whether there were plans to maintain contact with volunteer interpreters and continue training, in line with the recommendations of Translators Without Borders. The DG thanked the researcher for bringing the existence of the NGO to his attention and considered that it would indeed be a good idea to continue offering training. He further elaborated that creating a shared register with other administrations or NGOs would also be beneficial for future operations.

In the interview, the DG used both "translator" and "language mediator" to refer to volunteer interpreters generally, but he specifically mentioned the term "interpreter" when describing how they were identifiable on the ground (the word "interpreter" was printed on their vests). He made a further distinction between "Translators" with capital letters and "translators" with lower-case letters, who were those who had never translated. He recalled that some members of the first group reached out to the DG to remark that non-professionals were being engaged to interpret. The DG's reply emphasized that the government values prioritized saving people in need "above any other consideration," and that anyone who was available and had basic skills was instrumental in providing assistance. He emphasized that those translators who were not proficient in translating were assisted by university-based and other experienced translators. He also stated that exchanges among volunteers had been fluent and constant and that, above all, it had been a social (not linguistic) endeavor. In elaborating on this debate, he emphasized the presence of unaccompanied children in the vessel and highlighted that the skills delivered in a T/I or language degree did not qualify one to interact with children, which justified that human and not professional skills had been prioritized.

> For these kids to be with someone, someone that was holding their hands, during the whole tour, someone they could understand and that understood them [when facing] the national police, border health, identification agents… was something we guaranteed. We did not only rely on linguistic mediation and translation requirements, but also the need for a human presence.

5.   Values and epistemologies – intertwined?

The main issue that comes to mind – to a mind trained in T/I – is the neglect of translation-specific cultural and social capital in the design and implementation of a plan relying heavily on interpreting. The way the problem was defined, the resources sought, and the solutions adopted involved a rich network of agents and information defined from linguistic and social points of view. The knowledge

strategies reported relied heavily on institutions. Indeed, university presidents and vice-presidents, and State Language School directors were involved at different times. There were also widely acknowledged NGOs and associations whose members were described in reference to their profession (medical practitioners). The Social hierarchy seems to have played an especially prominent role on urgent matters and those ranking higher in each institution (and not those holding subject-specific offices) were contacted when last-minute solutions were required. This may be explained by the daily activities and contacts of policymakers and can provide insights as to how translators and interpreters may make themselves visible.

On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that the Joint Committee only addressed translation in their language access plans and did not make any prevision for interpreting needs. It was only when the plan was activated that the call for interpreters was issued and, again, the capital mobilized excluded translation, interpreting, or ITS-specific knowledge and institutions. Equally excluded from the planning were the reports and instruments produced by emergency preparedness efforts, and a prominent translation-specific NGO, Translators Without Borders.

When pondering possible explanations for neglecting T/I knowledge and structures (e.g., T/I university departments), a plausible justification may be that Arabic is not taught in any of the T/I degrees in the region (even though standard Arabic prevails over spoken varieties in other university degrees). When defining the problem from a language perspective, Arabic becomes a key that opens many other doors. It is a resource that the DG could only find at the institutions he contacted. This, however, cannot account for the lack of plans to create a network of volunteer interpreters. While there were plans to create a network of host families for refugees, the need to provide for interpreting was overlooked.

A second issue is that professionalization seems to have had no bearing on the decisions made by the policymaker. Nor did it seem to occupy a space in his imaginary; it mostly seemed limited to sworn T/I. Professional translators were not identified nor given special assignments or treatment, with the exception of sworn translators. In his narrative, no clear distinction was made between professionals and non-professionals (slightly distinguished as capitalized or lower-case on one occasion). The translator skills for this specific context were defined as language knowledge, the ability to work in a team and cooperate, and willingness to engage, help, relive traumas, and hold a child's hand. Indeed, the literature has given special consideration to the ethical particularities of an emergency relief situation (see, e.g., O'Mathúna et al. 2020). Although further case studies are required, this case feeds into current views in the field – interpreting for human crises is an extraordinary circumstance where professional status is not a requirement. In this respect, both ITS and policymakers implicitly acknowledge T/I's subservience to human rights, and indeed "[h]uman rights is the language of the victims and the dispossessed"

(Donnelly 1998: 20). "The importance of letting people speak must not be under-estimated in humanitarian deliberation" (Slim 2015: 152) or practice – as it may be if no translation is planned.

Thirdly, the values stressed in the DG's discourse place a strong emphasis on personal wellbeing and secondarily on pro-social behavior. Empathy with suffering related to human rights violations, motherhood, and childhood become key in his narrative, and so is *entendre's*, understanding and being understood. Second to those, voluntarism, extra-role behavior (being willing to perform tasks different from those they were recruited for), and intragroup coordination and willingness to share expertise are values praised in relation to language service providers. Those may be said to be the keys in the account of the plan and its implementation, painting a picture of the DG's priorities, his theory of wellbeing, and his views on what policies should achieve and how.

Finally, the "one migrant one interpreter" policy conception and impact deserves further discussion. Beyond highlighting concerns with migrants' wellbeing and a conception of the role of the interpreter focusing on accompaniment functions, this strategy created awareness among members of the Red Cross as to their interpreting needs. As per the DG's account, they made their unfamiliarity with this approach clear, and ultimately assessed it positively once they noticed an improvement in their outcomes. The measure aimed at correcting asymmetries and making migrants, especially unaccompanied children, comfortable with an unusual situation. The emotional support offered by a person who enabled communication was thus portrayed as powerful, as something able to compensate for the lack of epistemic knowledge about the situation, the lack of the relevant linguistic capital, and also the lack of the cultural and social capital they had been forced to abandon. All these are hints as to what policymakers want from translators and interpreters.

For professionals and scholars, such an arrangement may be a way of ensuring proper conditions for interpreters' work. Vicarious trauma is a problem for interpreters working in highly sensitive situations, including therapy with refugees. It has been claimed that working on a case from the beginning to the end of the therapy has a positive impact on interpreters' mental health as they are able to experience growth by following and verbalizing their clients' experiences (Splevins et al. 2010). Even though the "one migrant one interpreter" policy proved excessive, all stakeholders may benefit from a consideration of interpreters as part of the team that assists individuals and follow their cases. However, overidentification with the clients can be dangerous for both the interpreter and the community (see, e.g., Mirdal, Ryding, and Essendrop Sondej 2012). The impact of this practice on both interpreters' mental health and the service workers' trust on an interpreter who is aligned with the client deserve further investigation. There is also no information

available of the possible implications that having to recall their clients' experiences in order to produce their own discourse may have on interpreters. This also merits further investigation.

6.   Conclusions

This chapter analyzed the account of the Director General for Language Planning and Management of Multilingualism of the management of the Aquarius refugee ship crisis in 2018. The chapter focused on his views on communication-related needs in a refugee crisis and on the role of T/I and T/I-related agents in designing and implementing an emergency plan for the provision of assistance to refugees.

Results have shown that the plan was premised on language-related capital, both social and cultural, privileging language-related epistemologies and neglecting ITS-specific knowledge. Knowledge strategies favored the existent language-based social structures as well (university chairs, language departments). Even if sworn T/I may be said to be an exception given that it did merit special consideration, T/I institutions, notably NGOs or university departments, were overlooked.

A clear reason for this missed opportunity for cooperation emerged in the interview – lack of awareness and a language-based definition of the problem that identified Arabic as the criterion for relevance as well as ignoring cross-language aspects of T/I, especially in relation to crisis preparedness. Nevertheless, the interview itself created awareness and produced a positive and inquisitive reaction, showing the relevance in ITS scholars engaging with decision making institutions and agents, and to institutionalize cooperation so that the lessons learned permeate the system and allow T/I knowledge to be retrieved in split-second decisions.

The interview showed that the role of T/I in the DG's mind was linked to his preference for the term "language mediation" over "translation" or "interpreting." Building upon a basis of relevant linguistic knowledge, T/I was defined as an emotionally-laden support to overcome a disability to communicate, to understand and be understood. Further, extra-role behavior and intra-professional teamwork were seen as critical.

The values most salient in the account were related to personal wellbeing and prosocial behavior. They were seen to also apply to T/I. The lack of T/I competency was portrayed as being easy to compensate for and resolve within a network of collegiality and fluent communication between those with more expertise and those with less experience or T/I-specific activities. The narrative made clear that professionalism in T/I service provision is not a requirement and that it comes second to personal values such as the willingness to engage in extra-role behavior, especially

to accompany, to cooperate and share knowledge. This opens the question as to whether the values of T/I, those enshrined in codes of practice and normative views, are compatible with those supported by governments in human crises, and if so, how can the potential for alignment be harnessed.

How policymakers define T/I is key to both increasing our knowledge and supporting T/I practice. Relief interpreting has a clear focus on human values and the value of humans. And, at the same time, T/I are essential nodes of humanitarian endeavors. They are required for actions to take place and teams to understand each other and coordinate. They are necessary to be productive and innovative through difference and to harness the human capacity to change people's lives. Value-based action requires a shared sense of purpose and understanding of expectations by all participants. For T/I to be efficient and to be used efficiently, their role, largely defined by the values they sustain, needs to be agreed upon and made known to the different stakeholders involved.

Throughout the DG's account, a concern with correcting asymmetries between the system and the migrant was made clear. First, a symmetrical view of cultures was made explicit when showing awareness at the fact that communication is not a service for migrants, but for public service workers and migrants alike to be able to understand each other and be understood at the same time. In his account, what migrants require is personal support. It can be concluded that the values overtly protected in codes of practice, even those referring to conflict zones (e.g., neutrality and accuracy) seem to have little room in the imaginary of this policymaker, and this may be similar for others. This feeds into the discussion on professionals' and non-professionals' role in the translation field. We need to collectively hear what society demands from translators and examine, context by context, the implications of those demands for all stakeholders, especially for professional translation.

As of late, ITS has paid increased attention to T/I policies – the provisions, practices, and belief systems that make T/I possible or marginal, impacting language access for a number of minorities in a number of contexts. Policies operate at different levels, creating cultural and personal definitions, expectations, and behaviors. Legal and administrative frameworks and individual practices and assumptions have been scrutinized to extrapolate system descriptions and issue warnings regarding the implications for the different stakeholders. This contribution has focused on an agent who is rarely heard from – a policymaker responsible for language policies in public services. His views have offered a telling picture of how T/I are defined within public services, most specifically in a human crisis situation.

The case offers several lessons to learn, and a very positive outcome. Namely, greater social awareness around how T/I are necessary to adequately manage our societies. Despite policies and deterrents aimed at stopping mobilities, the will to survive and to help are deeply rooted in our civil societies. Policymakers need to

design plans to face diversity in human crises as well as daily life. Their values will decide if democratic multiculturalism and human rights become mainstream or if excluding frontiers impose violence upon those who want to survive but also those who want them to survive and to thrive. This is an urgent matter where the T/I community needs to take a stance.

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EU institutional websites

Targeting citizens, building asymmetries

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This chapter uses corpus methods to explore how distance and power asymmetries are mediated by EU institutions in their website netspeak – the digital Eurolect – and subsequently reflected in Polish translations against the background of Polish domestic institutions' websites. At the policy level, the selective translation of EU content into only procedural languages builds asymmetries between official languages. The study analysed two dimensions of translations: (1) grade of specialisation (EU terminology, *EUese*), and (2) engagement strategies positioning institutions and citizens in a discourse. EU and domestic websites show preferences for different types of engagement strategies, with the former oriented at downplaying power but maintaining a respectful distance while the latter decreasing distance through directness, personalisation, and informalisation.

Keywords: institutional translation, website localisation, institution-to-citizen communication, power, distance, translator's agency, digital Eurolect, Polish Eurolect, institutional netspeak

1. Introduction

Institutional discourse is a classic example of power asymmetry. On the one side, there are powerful institutions which affect the everyday life of individuals; on the other side, there are individuals. Both sides, as observed by Fairclough, are separated by social hierarchy and distance:

> We might say, sociologically speaking, that communication between organizations and individuals is high in both social hierarchy (organizations tend to exercise power over individuals) and social distance (organizations operate on national, regional or global scales whereas individuals occupy specific locales).   (2003: 75)

The distance is even larger in the case of the European Union (EU), which is a supranational organisation operating at a pan-European level, being far more remote from individual citizens than the national level. The objective of this chapter is to explore how distance and power asymmetries are construed and mediated by EU institutions in their website netspeak – the digital Eurolect – and subsequently reflected in Polish translations against the background of Polish domestic institutions' websites. This objective is studied with corpus methods.

2.   Institutional websites as a tool of political marketing and engagement in institution-to-citizen communication

Internet genres are regarded as more dynamic, less fixed, and less culture-specific (Giltrow and Stein 2009: 11). One such cybergenre is a website. Given their high interdiscursivity, websites are classified as multigenres or supragenres which include embedded secondary genres (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 75). Some of these have been transplanted from other channels, while others have emerged as a result of technological development (Fairclough 2003: 77). Websites are multimodal and multimedia, involving a range of semiotic modes, such as icons, photos, graphics, and videos (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 56). They have a non-sequential multi-linear structure of hypertext which offers options as to how users may engage with the content (Fairclough 2003: 78) and at what pace (Pym 2011: 8).

In the context of the EU, websites are part of the EU communication policy, the orientation of which shifted from experts and academics in the 1960s to the growing involvement of citizens over the years to increase EU legitimacy (cf. Nesti 2010). Websites have been used by EU institutions since the mid-1990s (Koskinen 2013: 84), specifically "to ameliorate the communication flow with citizens" (Nesti 2010: 33). They are a completely new channel of communication through which institutions reach out to a different type of audience – the general lay public, citizens, including the youth[1] – who previously could be reached only indirectly through national media and institutions. Thus, websites are a tool of institution-to-citizen communication which increases the accessibility of institutions by making their information instantly and directly available to the general public. They are one of very few institutional genres which address citizens directly and personally (cf. DGT 2009: 18) and allow institutions to integrate new technologies into political and social processes (cf. Fairclough 2003: 78). As explained by the European Commission in its quality guidelines for translators, texts which fall

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1.   19% of EUROPA website visitors are aged 17–24 while 22% are 25–34 years old (https://europa.eu/european-union/abouteuropa/infographic_en, DOA 31.1.2020).

into the category of "Information for the Public" (Category C), such as websites, press releases, speeches, leaflets, and posters, can reduce the distance between the institutions and the general public, and hence, are a tool for political engagement:

> The Commission also wants to reach out to people who do not necessarily have to read about the EU as part of their work. Its communication objectives include bridging the gap between citizens and the EU and *creating wider interest and trust* in EU matters, so that citizens and stakeholders *participate more in political processes* at the European level and, not least, *vote* in European elections.
>
> (DGT 2015: 12, emphasis added)

Although there are differences in new media accessibility and literacy across the EU, the overarching goals of this genre are (1) participatory: to make it easier for citizens to acquire political information and participate in democracy (cf. Margetts 2013); and (2) operative: to influence EU citizens' attitudes and behaviour.

Additionally, websites, in particular the genre of homepage, become the voice of the institution and their tool for political marketing. They present institutions through autobiographical narratives, allowing them to negotiate and construct their public identities,[2] their institutional self, and to project a friendly image of themselves and the EU to citizens (cf. Biel, Koźbiał, and Wasilewska 2019: 71) – "the human face" (Caliendo and Magistro 2009: 176). Efforts intended to boost these images are particularly important in the face of falling voter turnout in European elections and Brexit. Another function of websites is both informative and explanatory (cf. Heller and Engberg 2017): they mediate knowledge by serving as a digital "library" about the EU and providing practical guidance to citizens, for example, on their rights in the EU. This mediation has a specific ideological angle. Within the institution, it is believed that if EU institutions do not provide accessible information, the general public may take information from sources which are "inaccurate or even hostile to the EU" (DGT 2009: 6).

In order to fulfil their objective of engagement, websites should be functional and usable. At the macro level, websites are marked by the fragmentation of content into multi-stranded nodes and texts (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 78). Since users tend to scan the content and focus their attention only on some information, reading up to 30% at the most per visit[3] (Nielsen 2008, quoted in Pym 2011: 9), web texts should be concise, "gain the interest and confidence of the reader within seconds, and include words that make the page rank high on a search results list" (DGT

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2. Cf. Gilpin (2008) with reference to news releases.

3. In the case of the EUROPA website, visitors spent on average 1.48 minutes on the page per visit (2014 data, https://europa.eu/european-union/abouteuropa/infographic_en, DOA 31.1.2020).

2009: 9). Stylistically, institutional websites are recommended to be clear, "accessible and attractive," not to "alienate the readers" (DGT 2015: 12). It requires at least a partial shift from institutional jargon, the Eurolect, to netspeak. A netspeak is a hybrid language used on the Internet, showing "characteristics belonging to both sides of the speech/writing divide" (Crystal 2006: 19, 31). Although institutional websites are closer to the writing side, institutional netspeak may be hypothesised to show some informalisation, conversationalisation, and the de-professionalisation of language, given the objective to reach out to the lay audience.

3.   Localisation of EU websites: Translators' agency in institutional guidelines

The translation of websites is part of the process known as localisation. Localisation consists in "translating and adapting content to specific local markets," called the locale, with varying degrees of adaptation (Pym 2011: 1). Websites which are to be translated into a range of languages are usually subject to "internationalisation," a cultural neutralisation which makes multilingual translation more efficient (Pym 2011: 4).

The translation of EU websites falls within the category of institutional translation, that is institutional practice carried out by or for institutions and controlled by them (cf. Biel 2020). This control over the translation process is exerted, among other strategies, by standardisation through style guides. Interestingly, websites are singled out as one of few genres which have separate style guides at the general EU and language-specific level. This salience against other genres may be attributed to their usability as a political instrument and their considerable linguistic distance to typical EU genres.

In the case of texts from the category of Information for the Public, the European Commission's translation quality guidelines recommend translators to avoid "word-for-word" translation and, instead, strive for clear, readable, and idiomatic language (DGT 2015: 12). In contrast to other EU text categories, the guidelines explicitly acknowledge translators' agency, allowing them to depart from the source text, apply the functional user-based approach, and adjust the target text to target language conventions and the target audience's expectancy norms:

> address your audience/reader appropriately, avoid distancing the sender/text from the reader more than is typical of your language/culture; different target cultures and languages tolerate formal or grandiose expressions or decorative styles differently; reproducing the tone and rhetorics used in the original must not result in a pompous-sounding or even unintentionally funny target text.   (DGT 2015: 13)

Acceptable interventions may concern the flow of information both at the macro- and the micro-level, content adaptations, and the adjustment of rhetorical devices (cf. DGT 2015: 12). What is especially discouraged is the use of "*EU jargon*, overly formal, pompous and clumsy language" which, as the Commission acknowledges, would adversely affect the image of the EU (DGT 2015: 13, emphasis added). Yet the guidelines contain a proviso that "the translator cannot be expected to carry out extensive localisation or completely re-write texts" (DGT 2015: 14).

In addition to the general guidelines for various text categories, the European Commission prepared a booklet, *Web Translation as a Genre* (DGT 2009). The guide is based on interviews with EU web translators, who stress "a sense of close-ness to the reader" and "freedom" compared to standard EU translation (DGT 2009: 12). The localisation of websites is perceived as "trediting," a combination of translation and editing,[4] to produce a covert, invisible, fluent, and enjoyable translation (DGT 2009: 7–8), explained in the guide as "[r]educing the amount of hype, at least for certain languages, and generally streamlining the text" (DGT 2009: 26). The guide recommends the functional receiver-oriented approach focused on the reader (DGT 2009: 12, 15) and cultural adaptations, illustrating its recommendations with Swedish and Slovenian translators, among others, who tend to avoid a "propagandistic" style and reduce "the slightly self-congratulatory style of some originals" (DGT 2009: 31). Translators are required to have high stylistic skills to produce translations which are "readily understandable" (DGT 2009: 18). On the other hand, the guide contains expressions which tone down the localisation – or trediting – requirement, limiting it to stylistic aspects, such as "Cases of content-localising are less common than stylistic localisation" (DGT 2009: 35), and adding a proviso that the degree of trediting may be limited by time constraints although web translators "feel that they have grown bolder and faster in their editing over time" (DGT 2009: 48). Interventions more frequently involve omissions than additions (DGT 2009: 48).

There are also language-specific guidelines on how to translate the Commission's websites prepared by the Polish Language Unit of the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) (DJP 2019). The style guide recommends "the 5-year-old child rule," which assumes that if a translator is not able to explain the text s/he translates to a 5-year-old child, it means the translator does not understand it and will not be able to convey it in a clear way (DJP 2019: 10). Translators are given more agency than in the case of administrative texts: they are advised not to be faithful but to strive to explain the content to the reader (DJP 2019: 16). For example, translators are free to split or join sentences, move information around, remove

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4. Also known as transcreation in advertising and transediting in news translation.

excessive information, reformulate content, culturally adapt texts, and be creative (DJP 2019: 16–17). There is an interesting difference between what the general and language-specific (Polish) style guides regard as a benchmark: it is an advertising style for the former and a journalistic style for the latter. The DGT's general style guide observes that although these "are not advertising texts, they do aim to be credible, engaging and, in some cases, persuasive – like good advertising" (DGT 2009: 11). The Polish style guide recommends translators to use the language of the press as a benchmark and avoid legalese or a literary style (DJP 2019: 14–15).

The salience of websites as a genre is also confirmed by the structural organisation of the European Commission's translation service. The translation of websites was moved to a separate unit – the Web Translation Unit, established in 2006. The main objective was to ensure that translators are not fossilised in the use of EU jargon and can focus on developing their expertise in this genre only: "Addressing the non-EU specialist web user … is a challenge especially for those translators who have worked with official documents for many years, but it is also a challenge to translation requesters" (DGT 2009: 46). Yet a substantial part of web texts are outsourced by the DGT or other Directorates-General, not all of which are revised in-house (DGT 2009: 5, 23).

Website translation is covered by the DGT's Strategic Plan 2016–2020 which includes a mandatory communication objective to improve the perception of the EU thanks to the smooth translations of websites: "Citizens perceive that the EU is working to improve their lives and engage with the EU. They feel that their concerns are taken into consideration in European decision making and they know about their rights in the EU" (DGT 2016). This objective is measured as a percentage of EU citizens who hold a positive image of the EU in the Eurobarometer survey, with the target to increase from 39% in 2014 to over 50% in 2020 (DGT 2016: 25). Thus, one of the metrics used to measure the fitness-for-purpose of translations is the improvement of EU perception among the general public.

It remains to be seen to what extent translators exercise their agency and localise – tredit – websites by cultural adaptation to the locale. Another aspect which requires empirical verification is to what extent these declared policies of engagement are put into practice and how they affect the discursive construal of power and distance.

4. Expectancy norms: Transformations of administrative discourse in Post-Communist Poland

Perceptions of power and distance are culture-bound (cf. Monzó Nebot 2019: 188). The target audience's expectancy norms (cf. Chesterman 1993: 9) as to how power should be communicated in translations are influenced by its construal in the target culture of Poland, a country which in 1989 started to transform from the Communist political system with a centrally-planned economy into a democracy with a market economy.

With its post-Communist past, despite extensive political, administrative, and economic reforms, Poland still reworks its power relations between institutions (the state) and citizens. The dominant mode of communication, the newspeak – the Communist language serving the totalitarian ideology – positioned institutions as powerful omnipotent authorities against speechless citizens (Głowiński 2001). At the first stage of indoctrination language was direct, vivid, aggressive, and strongly dichotomic, shifting later towards an impersonal one-directional monologue precluding dialogue with addressees and using a formal, ideological, and formulaic language commonly regarded as opaque and grotesque (Głowiński 2001). This created a deep mistrust and distance towards institutions which had to be overcome after 1989. Transformations of the Polish political language include its informalisation and colloquialisation, to a large extent modelled on Western European solutions, and result in its partial move from the public to the private sphere (Duszak 2006).

While these changes are very visible in the language of politicians and political parties, they are less discernible in institutional communication with the general public, due to a lower awareness of clarity and plain language among civil servants. Although improvements have been achieved over the years, institution-citizen communication may still reflect the old patterns of power and distance to some extent. In its 2010–2011 report, the Polish Language Council examined the websites of key ministries and criticised them for a lack of clarity, information overload, lack of adjustment to different groups of addressees, overtly formal register resembling legalese, with long complex impersonal sentences, nominalisations, borrowings, and errors, all of which "eliminate a human being from the text" (RJP 2013: 3, translated by ŁB). A readability study of Polish institutions' websites conducted a few years later shows that the situation has improved marginally and readability levels are at an educated person's level (Zarzeczny and Piekot 2017: 14–15). On the other hand, the Obywatel ('citizen') website included in the corpus was partly designed and standardised in line with plain language rules, evidencing winds of change (Piekot, Zarzeczny, and Moroń 2017). The study will investigate how EU institutional websites fit all these ongoing and unstable transitions.

5.   Corpus design: Institutional websites for citizens

The corpus of English and Polish institutional websites is part of a large genre-mixed parallel-corpus built for the purposes of the Polish Eurolect project by its research team (cf. Biel 2016). The websites corpus includes the following comparable sub-corpora:

–   EU-EN websites: the English-language official websites of the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council/the Council of the EU and the EU's official inter-institutional website EUROPA.eu run by the European Commission which "communicate(s) the views of the EU institutions … to the widest possible audience" (DGT 2009: 7). Only pages with corresponding Polish translation were included.
–   EU-PL websites: the corresponding Polish-language versions of English websites;
–   PL-PL websites: the reference corpus of websites of corresponding Polish institutions: the Prime Minister's Office (KPRM), Sejm (lower house of the Parliament), seven Ministries (Internal Affairs, Digitalisation, Finance, Infrastructure and Construction, Environment, Health, Maritime Economy and Inland Navigation); the Obywatel ('Citizen') website with the motto "friendly information and services for citizens" (cf. Piekot, Zarzeczny, and Moroń 2017), and Rodzina ('Family') and Rodzicielski ('Parental') portals run by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

The texts were harvested in 2016 before the on-going redesign of the Commission's website[5] and uploaded to Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), where they were POS-tagged and lemmatised. Table 1 shows their basic details.

Table 1. Corpus details

Corpus	Texts	Tokens	Lexicon size: word	Lexicon size: lemma_lc
EU-EN websites: EU institutions	978	818,285	22,438	12,286
EU-PL websites: EU institutions	978	764,461	45,099	15,272
PL-PL websites: Polish institutions	1,186	732,221	53,725	20,061

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5.   The redesign is intended to increase clarity and usability (https://ec.europa.eu/info/about-commissions-new-web-presence/our-approach-designing-content_en, DOA 6.2.2020).

While compiling the corpus, it could be confirmed that the institutional websites employ a range of genres and styles. The websites of institutions, for example, the Parliament, the Commission, Polish Ministries, are more general and broader in scope, function as an institution's main communication channel, and are addressed both to lay and expert audiences. They present an institution but also offer guidance on administrative matters. Texts may be stylistically mixed, being both informative and explanatory. For example, a page may combine a description of a scheme in legalese accompanied by reader-friendly information on how to use it. Websites targeted at citizens, such as Obywatel or the YourEurope part of EUROPA, are narrower in scope, addressed to the general public only and styled mainly as a guide. To ensure the comparability of corpora, the texts were sorted manually to include only those pages which provide information or guidance to the general public and present institutions, and exclude news sections and specialised texts addressed to experts.

Another aspect of the corpus design was the partly limited availability of EU pages in Polish. For example, in the case of the Commission's website, some content was available only in English or three procedural languages – English, German, and French. This confirms the EU's selective and pragmatic approach to multilingualism (Biel 2017: 40), where only selected high-profile content is available in 24 official languages, while other content types are available in few languages or English only. This also applies to the EUROPA website, where, as explained by the Commission, the selection of content for translation is based on the criteria of importance, urgency, and cost-effectiveness. It means that in order to be translated, a text should be of a general nature, of major public interest, and have a sufficiently long timespan. Texts which are very specialised and intended for a small number of users, short-lived, and for immediate use are less likely to be selected due to limited resources and the need "to save taxpayers' money."[6] Yet it is in fact not only the news section and highly-specialised information but also videos and some links which are left in English or are localised inconsistently (Kowalewska 2018: 31–37).[7] It is not uncommon to have only the first 2–3 layers of the website translated into Polish while more detailed content under hyperlinks is in English. This concerns for example socially-important information on reporting a missing child, child alerts, and children protection systems in the EU. This selective approach to translation excludes the speakers of many official languages and creates conspicuous power asymmetries among official languages from the start.

6.　https://europa.eu/european-union/abouteuropa/language-policy_en (DOA 31.1.2020).

7.　Kowalewska's multimodal study of the English and Polish versions of the EUROPA website shows that the visual content of both versions is nearly identical (2018).

6.   Analysis of the digital Eurolect: The discursive construction of power and distance in institutional communication

In order to identify the main patterns of institution-to-citizen communication and markers of power and distance, I analysed wordlists and extracted keywords (cf. Scott 2010) from the English and Polish versions of EU websites and Polish domestic websites, applying various configurations with reference corpora available on Sketch Engine:

–   EU-EN websites against: (1) English Web 2015 (enTenTen2015) corpus of Internet texts[8] (token size: 15.4 billion words); (2) EUR-Lex English 2/2016 corpus of EU legal and administrative texts (size: 845 million words) (cf. Baisa et al. 2016). The first setup identifies keywords distinguishing EU websites from other Internet texts available in the public domain, while the second setup shows how they differ from typical legal and administrative texts produced by EU institutions. Keyword lists were extracted for lemmas and words, each with a rare and common distribution.
–   EU-PL websites: (1) Polish Web 2012 (plTenTen2012), 9.4 billion words;[9] (2) EUR-Lex Polish 2/2016, 511 million words; (3) PL-PL websites to identify differences with domestic institutional discourse.
–   PL-PL websites: (1) Polish Web 2012 (plTenTen2012); (2) EUR-Lex Polish 2/2016; (3) EU-PL websites.

This setup, supplemented by the manual analysis of concordances and close reading, allows for a comparative analysis of the textual fit of EU-PL websites to domestic institutional websites, to analyse how translations differ from non-translations and end-users' expectancy norms (cf. Chesterman 2004; Biel 2014). Keywords were sorted into two groups: (1) terms which reflect the thematic content of websites and determine their grade of specialisation; and (2) person deixis and other function words which position and discursively engage citizens.

6.1   EUese, terminology and a grade of specialisation

One of the features of specialised texts is their grade of specialisation, which can vary from general to extremely specialised (Mayoral Asensio 2007: 49). While expert communication falls into the latter extreme, reader-friendly communication

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8.   https://www.sketchengine.eu/ententen-english-corpus/

9.   The latest version of the plTenTen corpus available for Polish.

with a lay audience should gravitate towards communication being as general as possible. What influences the grade of specialisation in the first place is text saturation with terms.

Despite the fact that the use of EU jargon in websites and their translations is explicitly discouraged in institutional guides (see Section 2), traces of EUese and legalese can easily be found due to the high distribution of EU terms and other lexemes typical of administrative discourse. Terms were identified as prominent keywords in the English and Polish corpora of institutional websites. The terminological keywords of English source texts show several categories of terms:

–   Names of EU institutions and bodies, e.g., *Eurogroup, Schengen, Euratom, Europol, Parliament, Coreper;*
–   EU abbreviations, e.g., *TFUE, TEU, OJ, COM, EU;*
–   EU procedural terminology related to the legislative process: *directive, treaty, resolution, codecision, harmonisation, trilogue, interinstitutional;*
–   Other EU terms: *subsidiarity, presidency, cohesion, enlargement, accession, multilingualism, euro* and general legal terms *cabotage, competition;*
–   EU administrative jargon: *procedure, measure, action, framework, basis, implementation, semester, priority, initiative, package, recommendation, agenda, dialogue, mechanism, cap, pillar, roadmap, milestone, flagship, stalemate, impetus*, especially in sections which present institutions.

These terms tend to be rare or have a different meaning in general language and hence their frequent use in institutional websites may have a distancing effect. English terms tend to be symmetrically reflected in Polish translations, such as *TFUE, eurogrupa* ('Eurogroup'), *pomocniczość* ('subsidiarity'), *współdecyzja* ('codecision'), *konwergencja* ('convergence'), *transpozycja* ('transposition'), *kabotaż* ('cabotage'), *akwakultura* ('aquaculture'), *sekurytyzacja* ('securitisation'), including the EU administrative jargon – *konkluzje* ('conclusions'), *pułap* ('cap'), *filar* ('pillar'), *agora* ('agora'), *bufor* ('buffer'), *podprogram* ('sub-programme'), *identyfikowalność* ('traceability'). Some of these terms sound distinctly foreign in Polish, being calques from English or French.

Polish domestic websites also contain administrative and procedural terminology, such as *Sejm* ('Seym'), *województwo* ('[voivodship'), *ustawa* ('statute'), abbreviations, such as *ZUS, PESEL, NFZ*, as well as highly-specialised legal terms *przysposobić* ('to adopt' a child), *repatriant* ('repatriated person'), *ubezwłasnowolnić* ('to incapacitate'), *dysponent* ('disposer'), and occasional legalese markers *obowiązany* ('obligated') and *niezwłocznie* ('forthwith'). Yet, the Polish audience has a higher daily exposure to and is more familiar with Polish administrative terminology than with EU terminology. An interesting difference between the EU-PL and

PL-PL corpora is that the latter, quite surprisingly, contains informal variants of terms which denote roles in the family, typically reserved for the private sphere and cordial family communication, such as *mama* ('mum') (NF 574)[10] alongside formal *matka* ('mother') (210) and *tata* ('dad') (305) alongside formal *ojciec* ('father') (150) and *rodzic* ('parent') (774). This is a reader-friendly solution, indicative of a shift from administrative language to informal talk – net*speak*, which may be particularly appealing to young parents: "To use speech-like forms in writing is a sign of 'informality', itself the sign of a lessening in social 'distance', a sign of the reduction in social power difference" (Kress 2013: 9). EU Polish websites are not bold enough to enter the private sphere and except for a single occurrence of *mama* and *tata*, they opt for official variants *matka* (16), *ojciec* (23), and *rodzic* (63). In general, EU websites prefer official and neutral unmarked terminology, steering a safe middle course. This is also confirmed by absences in the EU-EN corpus when compared to the general web corpus enTenTen2015, where negative (missing) keywords include adjectives which express enthusiasm and positive emotions: *fantastic, exciting, wonderful, beautiful, amazing, lovely, warm*, pointing to the neutralisation and lack of emotionality[11] in institutional websites.

Yet there are also attempts to neutralise EUese and reduce the level of formality. This may be illustrated with the term *Member State* (3019), which is used interchangeably with a neutral but less frequent *EU country* (1319) in English websites. A similar trend is observed in EU Polish websites; however, the formal variant *państwo członkowskie* (3383) is 10% more frequent than the neutral *kraj UE* (1265) compared to EU-EN. Such further minor register shifts in Polish translations are shown below. Although the English source itself is rather formal, some attempts were made to reduce its formality:

(1)   If the EU country concerned fails to communicate measures that fully transpose the provisions of directives, does not agree with the Commission, or doesn't rectify the suspected violation of EU law, the Commission may launch a formal infringement procedure.

The Polish translation replaces semi-legal or less formal variants with specialised legal terms, such as *państwo członkowskie UE* ('EU Member State'), *domniemany* ('alleged'), *wszcząć* ('initiate'), and the complex nominal string *postępowanie w sprawie uchybienia zobowiązaniom państwa członkowskiego* ('procedure in the matter of the infringement of obligations of a member state'):

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10.   Figures in brackets provide a normalised frequency (NF) per 1 million words.

11.   Cf. Gotti (2005: 35–36) on a lack of emotions as a feature of specialised discourse, to signal an objective viewpoint.

(2) *Jeżeli dane <u>państwo członkowskie UE</u> nie poinformuje Komisji o środkach, które w pełni transponują przepisy dyrektyw, nie zgodzi się z <u>opinią</u> Komisji lub nie skoryguje <u>domniemanego</u> naruszenia prawa UE, Komisja może <u>wszcząć</u> oficjalne <u>postępowanie w sprawie uchybienia zobowiązaniom</u> państwa członkowskiego.*

Furthermore, since websites communicate with the general public who have a personal rather than political or professional interest in the content,[12] there is another level of terms – symmetrically reflected in Polish translations – which refer to various aspects of everyday life and, hence, suggest a shift of perspective and reorientation towards citizens. These terms are frequently connected with EU citizens' increased mobility due to the freedom of movement and residence: *tax, healthcare, bank, residence, car, education, tuition, travel, holidays, (un)employment, worker, child, family, marriage, succession, relocation, consulate*, including negative phenomena, such as *divorce, abduction, expulsion*. The high ranking of *right* among keywords confirms the focus on explaining rights to citizens. Some terms concern involvement in political life (*referendum, election*) and encouragement to communicate with institutions (*petition, helpline, enquiries*). A range of terms refer to roles citizens may take: *father, husband, spouse, dependant, heir, holidaymaker, consumer, jobseeker, pensioner*, and *petitioner*.

The next group of keywords comprises references to values and social phenomena. They evidence the institutions' appeal to common values, one of positive-face strategies to mark an in-group in the language of politics (cf. Chilton 2004: 40) and a legitimising strategy imposing moral evaluation (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 108). These include *democracy, resilience, stability, safety, security, suffrage, youth, prosperity, wealth, growth, equality, protection*:

(3) The EU has delivered more than half a century of *peace, stability* and *prosperity*, helped raise living standards and launched a single European currency: the euro. In 2012, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for advancing the causes of *peace, reconciliation, democracy* and *human rights* in Europe.

This strategy helps institutions build their public self-image through positive self-presentation. The appeal to common values is less visible in Polish domestic websites, where corresponding terms are significantly less frequent, such as *demokracja* ('democracy') (208 in EU-PL versus 23 in PL-PL), *bezpieczeństwo* ('safety, security') (540 v 258, respectively), *prawa człowieka* ('human rights') (402 v 91), *stabilność* ('stability') (442 v 31), *pokój* ('peace') (86 v 27). Some keywords refer to negative

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12. Visitors to the EUROPA website searched for: How the EU works (29%), documents (24%), news (13%), EU jobs (12%), EU rights (11%), funding (9%) (https://europa.eu/european-union/abouteuropa/infographic_en, DOA 31.1.2020).

phenomena, such as *radicalisation, crisis, maladministration, smuggler, extremism, terrorism*, which are evoked in the vicinity of addressees as a spatial and temporal proximisation of threat (cf. Cap 2013) to mark an outer-group and to balance positive face strategies (cf. Chilton 2004: 40):

(4)   The risk of a terrorist attack is considered to be high by 40% of respondents in the EU, 47% consider there to be a medium risk, and 11% considered it to be low.

Threats are evoked to showcase the EU's proactive attitude in fighting them: *prevent radicalisation, EU fight against terrorism*. Again, this rhetorical strategy is employed more actively by EU institutions than Polish ones, such as *terroryzm* ('terrorism') (197 v 55), *kryzys* ('crisis') (310 v 40), *radykalizacja* ('radicalisation') (23 v 1). Polish domestic websites evoke negative phenomena relatively rarely, if they do, they use a generic *zagrożenie* ('threat') (256 v 276) or *wojna* ('war') (56 v 188), referring to the national collective memory of the remote-in-time First and Second World Wars.

6.2   Engagement: The discursive construction
of the institution-citizen relationship

This section discusses the interpersonal dimension of institutional communication by analysing: (1) how institutions engage citizens linguistically; (2) to what extent it is faithfully reproduced, reinforced, or reduced in Polish translations, and (3) how it fits Polish domestic institutional discourse.

One of the devices that shape the relationship of power and distance are person deixis – pronouns and naming strategies which rhetorically position both the author (an institution) and the reader (a citizen) in a discourse. EU-EN keyword lists contain a range of personal pronouns, such as *you, it, they, we, she, I*, pointing to their distinctive use in institutional websites.

On the one side there is a collective author – an EU institution speaking on its own behalf or on behalf of the EU and positioning itself through self-reference. The authorial presence is most visibly marked through the 1st-person plural pronoun *we*, which is a powerful and simple way of personalising an institution and creating an impression of a direct and informal communicative situation. In the examples below this impression is strengthened by "colloquial" *would love to* and "emphatic" *strongly*:

(5)   <u>We</u> are on all major social media platforms and <u>we</u> *would love to* hear from you.

(6)   If you don't have access to the Council's car parks, <u>we</u> *strongly* advise you to use public transport as there are not many parking spaces in the European district.

The pronoun *we* is also used generically to denote the EU:

(7)   The Energy Roadmap 2050 shows how <u>we</u> could do this. How are <u>we</u> doing so far? <u>The EU</u> is well on track to meet the 2020 targets…

Other generic uses include *we* = Europeans, with a shift of perspective to include the addressee in the scope of *we*. The inclusive use of *we*, as observed by Fairclough, "reduces hierarchy and distance by implying that all of 'us' are in the same boat" (2003: 76) and is used as a positive-face strategy which allows an institution to be located "in the same 'space' as other members of the group" (Chilton 2004: 40):

(8)   The EU-wide 112 means just one number that is operational throughout the EU and that <u>we can all remember</u> even under the pressure of an emergency situation.

(9)   <u>We</u> have no choice but to adapt to climate change.

The use of pronouns is less prominent in Polish since they are often dropped due to verb inflections which encode the category of person and make subject pronouns redundant or marked. While a lack of pronoun drop can be manipulated to foreground the self (Kashima and Kashima 1998: 156), this strategy is not applied and the pronoun *my* ('we') is barely used. It is compensated by a significantly more frequent and unmarked use of 1st-person inflected verbs, such as *prosimy* ('(we) ask-1PL'), object pronouns and possessive pronouns (see Table 2).

Table 2. Authorial presence signalled with 1st person plural markers (NF per 1m words)

	EU-EN websites	EU-PL websites	PL-PL websites
Subject pronoun EN *we*, PL *my*	260	3	3
Object pronouns EN *us*, PL *nas…*	72	65	**259**
Possessive pronoun EN *our*, PL *nasz*	243	180	228
Verb-1PL	n/a	395	**878**
Total:	**575**	**643**	**1,368**

Table 2 shows that EU-PL websites quite closely mirror the frequency of 1st-person plural markers in EU-EN websites:

(10)   How do <u>we</u> use cookies?
Jak używa<u>my</u> plików cookie?
'How (do) (we) use-1PL cookie files?'

However, due to standard pronoun drop, the author's prominence is less pronounced than in English (cf. Biel 2004: 156). There are also some infrequent shifts

of perspective as in the example below where the *you* pronoun is replaced by a 1st-person-plural inflected verb:

(11)   Thank <u>you</u> for taking time to answer the questions below.
        Bardzo pros<u>imy</u> o wypełnienie poniższego formularza.
        '(We) very ask-1PL about filling the below form.'

Contrary to expectations, Polish domestic websites use twice as many 1st-person plural markers, which results in an increased personalisation of institutions. Yet, considering that all the three corpora have a similar number of sentences, ranging from ca. 25,700 to 28,600, it can be roughly estimated that the authorial presence is relatively rarely signalled with 1st-person plural markers as it concerns fewer than 2% of sentences in EU websites and 4% in PL-PL websites. It is also worth noting that the pronoun *we* and its derivative forms are almost eleven times less frequent in EU-EN websites than in the general web corpus enTenTen2015 (575 v 6,194, respectively). Given its power-downplaying and distance-shortening potential, this rhetorical device seems not to be fully exploited by the institutions.

Overall, the dominant mode of institutional self-reference is to hide the author behind the third person and the name of the institution (*the [European] Commission, the Council, the EU*):

(12)   <u>The Commission</u> submitted its proposal to <u>the Council</u> and the European Parliament on 9 April 2014.

This solution shifts communication to the public sphere, where the use of the institution's (official) name foregrounds its function and the position of power, increasing the distance between the institution and citizens.

The addressee – the citizen – is addressed in English through the second-person pronoun *you*, first-person pronoun *I*, or generically, using *Europeans*, *citizens* or similar expressions. The most frequent form is *you*, a neutral pronoun which denotes neither distance nor closeness (Wierzbicka 1991: 47). Yet, it individualises communication by addressing citizens directly:

(13)   The European Commission and <u>you</u>

The pronouns *you* (5,466) and *your* (3,161) are very common in EU-EN websites, interestingly, even more common than in general enTenTen2015 (3,596 and 1,761, respectively). Their highest concentration may be found in the YourEurope sub-corpus and other sections where the institutions explain rights to citizens or guide them through the website. Additionally, the *you* pronoun occasionally frames citizens as consumers/clients:

(14) *Customer* satisfaction. Europa.eu is designed for <u>you</u>.

(15) At <u>your</u> *service*.

(16) <u>You</u> *ask*, we *answer*.

This rhetorical device reverses power relations: "when someone is selling to a client, the client is positioned as having authority" (Fairclough 2010: 117), placing the institution in a subservient position. A similar framing may also be found in PL-PL websites: *Jesteśmy do Państwa dyspozycji* ('We are at Your disposal').

While the English *you* individualises institution-citizen communication, its corresponding Polish equivalents shape this relationship more powerfully due to its obligatory categorisation as informal (familiar) or formal (courteous) (cf. Biel 2004). The former is expressed through the 2nd-person singular *ty* or plural *wy* pronouns while the latter through respectful forms – singular male *Pan*, female *Pani*, and plural *Państwo* accompanied by 3rd-person verbs (see Table 3).

Table 3. Polish equivalents of *you* in translated EU websites and domestic (NF per 1m words)

	EU-PL websites	PL-PL websites
Informal 2nd person singular		
Subject pronoun *ty*	64	56
Possessive pronoun *twój*	1,302	1,113
Object pronouns: *ci, tobie…*	882	863
Verb-2sg	3,236	**6,845**
Imperative-2sg	823	**5,155**
Total:	**6,307**	**14,032**
Informal 2nd person plural		
Subject pronoun *wy*	0	0
Possessive pronoun *wasz*	17	37
Object pronouns: *was…*	20	35
Verb-2pl	78	**213**
Imperative-2pl	0	63
Total:	**115**	**348**
Formal honorific forms		
Pan, Pani with verbs-3sg	21	0
Państwo with verbs-3pl	174	38
Total:	**195**	**38**

Although the informal *ty* is predominant in the EU-PL and PL-PL websites, the other forms are also used, signalling a lack of consistency in the construal of distance towards addressees. Occasionally, formal and informal forms are mixed in

a single page (cf. Kowalewska 2018: 40). This lack of consistency is partly due to the recent evolution of the Polish forms of address resulting in their decreasing honorification (cf. Biel 2004: 166), as well as at a practical level, due to text updates without a sufficient translation quality control.

Once reserved for the private sphere and intimate relations, the pronoun *ty* is the most direct and informal form of address which instantly decreases the distance between the speaker and the addressee and places communication in the private sphere. Pronominal forms have a nearly identical distribution, the only difference being their more frequent capitalisation in EU-PL websites (100% for *Ty*, 98% possessive, 74% object pronouns) than in domestic websites (39%, 39%, 35%):

(17) *Co   Europa może   zrobić dla Ciebie – i   co   Ty możesz zrobić*
    'What can   Europe do   for You   – and what can You   do
    dla Europy?
    for Europe'

This capitalisation is a polite way of coding respect for and foregrounding the addressee in Polish and it is recommended by the Polish style guide (DJP 2019: 11), a recommendation which is followed by EU web translators. A rarer use of capitalisation in Polish domestic websites makes communication more colloquial, but is also less ceremonial and respectful, especially for the older generation, to whom the direct *ty* may still be too close.

Quite surprisingly, significantly more pronounced differences may be observed for 2nd-person singular verbs with pronoun drop (e.g., *Jeśli chcesz uzyskać więcej informacji…* ['If <you> want-2sg to obtain more information …']), which are over twice as frequent in domestic websites, and directives realised as 2nd-person singular imperatives:

(18) *Dowiedz się   więcej o   euro.*
    'Discover more about the euro'

(19) *Zobacz, jak Polska się   zmienia dzięki   unijnym funduszom.*
    'See   how Poland has been changing thanks to EU   funding'

(20) *Śledź Radę na Instagramie.*
    'Follow the Council on Instragram'

These are over six times more frequent in Polish institutions' websites. This sharp difference of the latter may be due to the fact that EU Polish websites mirror EU English solutions, whereas bare imperatives in English are perceived as more confrontational than in Polish (Biel 2004: 214–219) and hence are less frequent in EUese. In websites directives engage readers into: textual acts by navigating them to specific content, as in *Find out more…, Learn…, See also…;* and physical acts by

encouraging readers to perform an activity (Hyland 2005: 184–185), as in *Apply now, Visit us…*, in particular by simulating real interaction[13] and eliciting feedback, as in *Contact us, Help us improve…* This rhetorical strategy is used much more intensively in Polish domestic websites, decreasing the distance to readers, increasing dialogicity but also creating a sense of urging and pressing. This sense is strengthened by a more frequent use of obligation modals, as in *musisz* ((you) must-2sg).

An important aspect of Polish 2nd-person forms of address is an obligatory gender marking of certain verb forms. The EU-PL keyword list contains quite a few verbs with male inflectional endings. A closer analysis shows that EU-PL websites use a considerably less gender-inclusive language. For example, male inflections are nearly 5 times more frequent in EU-PL, where they can be found in 860 normalised occurrences of 1st– and 2nd-person singular verbs (compared to 184 in PL-PL websites), such as *jeżeli pracowałeś w innym kraju UE* 'if (you) worked-MALE in another EU country'. While corresponding female forms are equally rare in both EU-PL and PL-PL websites, the latter are more active in avoiding gender-exclusive forms, not to distance female readers.

Other equivalents of *you* are far less frequent compared to the 2nd-person singular. Its plural variant *wy* is more common in PL-PL websites, mainly when there is a plural addressee, as in when giving advice to a couple or a family or using a more generic reference:

(21)　*Do Waszych usług.*
　　　'At your service'

The honorific variants of *you* – singular *Pan/Pani* and plural *Państwo* – instantly categorise the relationship as formal and respectful and move communication to the public sphere. While it considerably increases the distance between an institution and a citizen, it downplays power by elevating the addressee's status.

(22)　*Jak uzyskać zaświadczenie o rejestracji dla członków rodziny mieszkających z Państwem?*
　　　'How to get a registration certificate for family members living with you-3pl fml'

These forms are over four times more frequent in the EU-PL websites, in particular the gender-neutral plural form. As with the capitalisation of the *ty* pronoun, institutional translations are more conservative in coding respect.

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13. Institutional websites show a controlling top-down approach in contrast to grass-root websites which engage users more actively (Gruber 2017: 417) by allowing user-generated content, i.e., comments on content or the posting of own messages. For more interactive Web 2.0 forms of EU communication see Koskinen (2013).

Citizens are also addressed through the pronoun *I*, one of the keywords, especially in the EUROPA website. It allows institutions to assume citizens' vantage point and impersonate them. It is a dialogic strategy as it anticipates and voices citizens' questions. EU rights are often explained through imagined scenarios where a citizen asks a question and the institution responds:

(23)   I am Estonian and I came to Germany 3 years ago to live with my Estonian husband working there. We are now divorcing. Does that mean that I will lose my right of residence in Germany?
NO – You retain the right of residence in Germany even after the divorce as long as you are employed…

This FAQ structure and pronoun switches individualise and conversationalise public discourse by "simulating person-to-person communication" (Fairclough 2003: 76).

Table 4 shows Polish equivalents of the pronoun *I*. EU-PL websites closely mirror the frequency of *I* forms and their equivalents are nine times more frequent than in PL-PL websites. As this rhetorical device decreases the distance, it partly compensates for a significantly lower distribution of 2nd-person forms (*ty*).

Table 4. References to the addressee through 1st-person singular markers
(NF per 1m words)

	EU-EN websites	EU-PL websites	PL-PL websites
Subject pronoun: EN *I*, PL *ja*	962	22	8
Object pronouns: EN *me*, PL *mnie*…	74	170	23
Possessive pronoun EN *my*, PL *mój*	400	243	12
Verb-1sG	n/a	**907**	150
Total:	**1,436**	**1,342**	**193**

Conversationalisation and dialogicity are also supported by other engagement strategies, such as questions, exclamations, if-then scenarios, and legitimisation through purpose patterns, which are asymmetrically used in EU-PL and PL-PL websites. Judging by the frequency of the question mark ("?"), questions are 60% more frequent in the domestic than EU Polish websites (1,885 v 1,104). Polish domestic websites also more actively use exclamations ("!") for emphasis and informality (e.g. *Pamiętaj*! 'Remember', *Uwaga*! 'N.B.', *Trzymamy za Ciebie kciuki*! 'We are keeping our fingers crossed for you'), compared to EU-PL ones (277 v 35), which mirror their spare use in EU-EN websites (26). A more remote kind of dialogicity is an if-then scenario, typical of legal rule structuring in legislation (Biel 2014: 145) but so frequent in institutional websites that it should be regarded as their genre marker. This structure juxtaposes circumstances/conditions and options/consequences:

If you lose your job, you should apply for benefit in the country where you live. This is realised in Polish through the formal *jeżeli* ('if') and neutral *jeśli* ('if'), and is markedly more frequent in PL-PL compared to EU-PL (2,522/934 v 1,376/876). Finally, citizens are also engaged through legitimisation which provides the rationale for institutions' actions (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999) and signals that the reader is treated as an equal partner entitled to know the rationale. It is realised in Polish mainly through purpose markers (*aby, w celu, celem, na celu, ponieważ, gdyż*), which are twice as frequent in EU-PL websites. These markers are not so common in Polish administrative culture, where institutions are less used to providing the rationale for their activities.

7.   Conclusions

This chapter examined the EU institutions' policies of communication through (translated) websites and confronted them with actual practices by analysing EU institutional websites and corresponding Polish domestic websites. EU institutions devote considerable attention to this genre, publishing specific translation guidelines, as they see it as a powerful tool of political engagement, self-promotion, and communication with the general public. While this tool provides citizens with direct and instant access to EU institutions, it is not exploited fully since some content exists only in English or three procedural languages, effectively excluding speakers of other official languages. Such a clear signal of the asymmetrical treatment of citizens may be frustrating and distancing to website users across Europe.

The study applied comparable corpus methods to investigate two dimensions of institutional websites in terms of power and distance: (1) their grade of specialisation, and (2) engagement strategies. In respect of specialisation, the analysis has shown that institutional recommendations to avoid the EU jargon are not implemented consistently. On the one hand, websites are characterised by EUese with EU terms and a relatively high grade of specialisation, which is symmetrically reflected in Polish translations. This may suggest that translators are unwilling to exercise their institutionally-granted agency to neutralise EUese to a larger degree than source texts. Compared to Polish administrative terminology, EU terminology is more obscure and remote to the domestic audience, which has much lower exposure to it on a daily basis. On the other hand, there is evidence of shifts in perspective to adopt citizens' viewpoint. While Polish domestic websites seem to experiment more boldly with informal variants of some terms, EU websites opt for official and neutral terminology. At the same time, EU institutional discourse more actively evokes positive-face strategies of appealing to common values and counterbalances them with the proximisation of threat to build in-groups and out-groups.

In respect of engagement, institutional websites actively use engagement strategies which manipulate the perception of the institution-citizen relationship by downplaying power and decreasing distance: "contemporary genres for 'action at a distance', genres of governance, through which organizations communicate with individuals, are pervasively characterized by *simulated social relations* which, we might argue, tend to *mystify* social hierarchy and social distance" (Fairclough 2003: 75–76, emphasis added). Overall, the EU-PL and PL-PL websites use similar engagement strategies to position institutions and citizens in a discourse, albeit with strikingly different intensities and some inconsistencies. Quite surprisingly, despite the troubled past, Polish domestic institutional discourse uses twice as many 1st-person plural markers to personalise institutions' authorial presence, twice as many verbs with informal 2nd-person singular inflections and six times as many informal 2nd-person imperatives to refer to the addressee. Domestic websites also use more questions, exclamations and if-then scenarios. Polish institutions seem to more actively downplay distance to addressees to enter their private sphere while EU websites tend to downplay power but keep a more respectful distance. EU-PL websites quite closely reproduce engagement strategies from English rather than extensively adapt to the target audience's (evolving) expectancy norms. EU-PL websites use significantly fewer 1st-person plural markers to personalise the authorial presence and fewer informal 2nd-person singular markers to directly address citizens, with a considerably larger number of gender-exclusive male forms. Additionally, with pronoun drop, these strategies have a weaker effect in Polish. EU translations also more frequently apply conservative formal forms of address and capitalise informal pronouns to signal respect. On the other hand, this is compensated with a four times higher use of dialogic 1st-person singular markers whereby institutions assume citizens' vantage point and a frequent use of purpose patterns as a legitimisation strategy, acknowledging citizens' entitlement to know the rationale.

To conclude, albeit having a more interpersonal dimension, the digital Polish Eurolect is still a Eurolect, a hybrid variant of administrative language which departs from domestic conventions. More efforts are needed to remove asymmetries and ensure equal access to institutional information throughout the EU in all official languages in a way which is better aligned with target-language conventions.

Funding

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European Council/Council of the European Union www.consilium.eu
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Resisting asymmetries

Translation, multilingualism and power differential in contemporary African literature

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Contemporary African literature is, by its very nature, a fertile ground for elucidating the rather symbiotic relation between translation and power differential, given the inherent multilingualism and the implied language hierarchy characteristic of the African postcolonial context. Asymmetry here begins with the unequal power relations between orality and literacy, between oral tradition and writing, between indigenous languages and the languages of colonization. This power differential is enhanced further by the ever-increasing gap between languages of officialdom and the evolving and rapidly assertive languages of creolization. To the extent that African literature is a window into life in contemporary African society, the aesthetic representation of Africanity in writing as well as in colonial or global languages involves translating asymmetry and negotiating, redressing or rewriting power inequalities. This underlying characteristic of African literature dovetails with literary practices in the diaspora whereby migration and identitarian politics draw heavily from the notion of translation as a mechanism for expressing discourses of resistance to oppression and asymmetrical power relations. This chapter seeks to lay bare the underpinnings of power differentials in contemporary African literature and to highlight the role of translation in resisting asymmetry and rewriting power.

Keywords: translation, multilingualism, power, African literature

1. Introduction

Contemporary African literature is, by its very nature, a fertile ground for elucidating the rather symbiotic relation between translation and power differential, given the inherent multilingualism and the implied language hierarchy characteristic of the African postcolonial context. Asymmetry in this context is better understood in terms of the unequal power relations between orality and literacy,

between oral tradition and scriptural or writing tradition, between indigenous languages and languages of colonization. This power differential is enhanced further by the ever-increasing gap between languages of officialdom in the postcolony and the language of the masses, including the evolving and rapidly assertive languages of creolization. To the extent that African literature is a window into life in contemporary African society, the aesthetic representation of Africanity in writing in vernacular languages, as well as in colonial or global languages involves translating asymmetry, as well as negotiating, redressing or rewriting power inequalities. The scriptural representation of oral narratives is indeed an act of translation or intermediality between mediums characterized by an asymmetrical relation. The very need or desire to capture and represent the language, culture and artistry of a civilization based on its inherent practice of orality is indicative of the power imbalance or divide between industrialized and pre-industrialized worldviews. Any movement or displacement between these worldviews evokes translation as a carrying across boundaries between entities of unequal power relations. Similarly, the expression of African artistry and aesthetics in colonial-language writing involves a fair measure of translating asymmetry, given the delicate creative process involved in representing the African worldview in a language acquired through coercion and imposition. The power imbalance becomes even more significant when African literature struggles to carve space for itself within the global literary market. This underlying characteristic of African literature dovetails with literary practices in the diaspora whereby migration and identitarian politics draw heavily from the notion of translation as a mechanism for expressing discourses of resistance to oppression and asymmetrical power relations. This chapter seeks to lay bare the underpinnings of power differentials in contemporary African literature and to highlight the role of translation in resisting the effects of asymmetry and rewriting power.

A clear strategy for exploring issues related to translating asymmetry and rewriting power in the context of African literature and culture can be structured in terms of the historical evolution of writing, language and culture since colonization. To follow a semblance of historical logic based on a timeline of European colonization of the continent, a first step is to study asymmetry and power imbalance between the postcolony and the colonial metropole. This is largely manifest in what is generally considered anti-colonial discourse and literature, produced during the period immediately before or after independence. A second step is to study issues related to asymmetry and power differential within the postcolony itself. Literature and other artistic productions in this context are mainly preoccupied with class conflicts between the local elite and the masses, including the underlying triggers of poverty, insecurity, plutocracy, nepotism, corruption and greed. The gaze of the writer or artist is turned inwards upon lived experiences within the postcolony rather than outwards, thus minimizing the significance of the colonial metropole,

although recast in terms of neocolonialist aspirations and control. A third and final step in elucidating asymmetry and power relations as expressed in African literature and other art forms is the expansion of the study to include representations of the neo-African diaspora settlements in the post-imperial metropoles and other western countries. The settlements are of course the result of outward migration from the African continent to the metropolises of former colonial powers and more viable capitalist centers in search of security and better living conditions. Literature and art in this context highlight the asymmetry and power inequality between migrants and the host society, between the so-called new and old-stock citizenry. In all three steps, or scenarios, of African literary or artistic production, translation plays a major role in relation to linguistic and cultural representation, identity formation and intercultural communication. Translation also serves as a counterhegemonic strategy to resist impositions enabled by the underlying power asymmetry embedded in a system designed from its inception as a condition for colonization and imperialism. Writers and translators in all three stages must resort to translation in their attempts to "bearing across" (Rushdie 1991: 17) their specific worldview for the benefit of the global community. They must weave translation into their mode of writing as a negotiating strategy to overcome boundaries or obstacles erected by the conditions of unequal power relations between their world and the global literary centers. Translation as a concept or practice is therefore indispensable to literary and artistic creation and transmission in postcolonial contexts, which are fundamentally defined in terms of colonial geographies with the implied sense of hierarchy and power imbalance. It is in this regard that Casanova (2004) and Rushdie (1991) have variously referred to minoritized peoples and postcolonial subjects as "translated men/beings," as their very essence of being and relating to the dominant global culture is enabled by translation. In fact, colonization can be construed as a metaphor for translation. To colonize is tantamount to translating peoples and their cultures, territories and their ecologies, into clones or replicas of the dominant and imperialist power. Translation, as a theoretical construct, is therefore ever-present in the history of colonization, used initially by the colonizer as a means for manipulation into subjection, and eventually adopted by the colonized as a weapon for the struggles of liberation and independence, as well as a mechanism for asserting identity and demanding recognition on the global literary stage. Therefore, translation can be colonizing as it can be liberating. Historically, translation has been mobilized as a decolonizing strategy to overcome the nefarious effects of colonization and transcend the power divide between the center and periphery in contexts of imperialism. To understand how translation intervenes in the inherent situation of power asymmetry or inequality in postcolonial contexts, it is thus necessary to follow chronologically the colonial timelines according to which African literary practices can be defined.

2.   Asymmetry between the postcolony and the colonial metropole

The early traces of translation as an interventionist mechanism for surmounting obstacles raised by colonialism can be found in anti-colonial literature and art-form whose main preoccupation was to seek liberation from colonization and to counter the material and psychological effects of colonialism. This was the overall aim of what is generally referred to as pre- and post-independence literature, that is, literature produced during the period of the struggle for independence and those produced immediately following independence (late 1950s and early 1960s). The literary production at this historical juncture was mainly preoccupied with debunking colonialist myths of primitivism, backwardness, and false notions of temporal disjunction of colonized peoples vis-à-vis the colonizer. There was a need to inform the world about the rich antecedents of African history, culture and civilization by showcasing the oral artistry and knowledge of the African people. This implied the recourse to translation as a conduit for literary and cultural representation for a subaltern society under colonial domination. It also required the translation and representation of what is predominantly a culture of orality into the global European language of colonization for greater dissemination, but also as a means to speak truth to power in the language of the oppressor. To counter colonial hegemony, translation intervened not only in the representation of African oral aesthetics in writing, but also in asserting the subaltern claim of the right to use the colonial language in ways reflective of the African logos and oral artistry. Besides translating African classics of oral poetry into colonial languages, creative writers schooled in both African lore and European literary culture sought to counter Western perceptions of Africanity by adopting and manipulating the colonial language and employing literary devices familiar to the literate classes of colonial society. The francophone-based Negritude movement sought to extoll the rich history and culture of Africa by drawing from ancient African art and aesthetics and using the French language as a medium for expressing the continent's glorious past and asserting African identity. This kind of anti-colonial discourse had come under serious attack by thinkers such as Frantz Fanon (2004) who had described the Negritude approach as a kind of nativism, which played into the hands of the colonists by evoking and emphasizing the very stereotypes cast on Africa, albeit in an attempt to refute or debunk them. It is also well-known that the renowned African Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka, had dismissed the Negritude movement's anti-colonial approach with his now famous maxim, "A tiger does not proclaim his tigritude, it pounces." Soyinka, like most Anglophone writers of the Pan Africanist movement, took issue with what they saw as a form of pandering to the colonialists who seemed to have dictated the terms under which the Negritude writers were striving to assert their humanity. The Negritude endeavours came across as

an unwitting attempt to parlay in colonialist imaginaries of an exotic, magical and ultimately primitive essence of African society. For Fanon, the anti-colonial struggle should not dwell on pre-historic Africa, but rather should draw on the lived experiences of colonial and postcolonial subjects. In other words, the history of (post-)colonial subjectivity is of essence and more relevant to the anti-colonial struggle. In terms of our objectives in this essay, the writing and translation of texts steeped in the lived experiences of colonial subjects would lay bare the asymmetry and power relations in contexts of colonization, as well as showcase historical moments of translating, writing as resistance to imperialism, or simply rewriting power. As an example of such anti-colonial texts, let's consider the following excerpt from Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God* (1964):

> The Court Messenger removed his blue fez and planted it on his knee exposing a clean-shaven head shining with sweat. The edge of the cap left a ring round the head. He cleared his throat and spoke, almost for the first time.
>
> 'I salute you all.' He brought out a very small book from his breast pocket and opened it in the manner of the white man. 'Which one of you is called Ezeulu?' he asked from the book and then looked up and around the hut. No one spoke; they were all too astonished. Akuebue was the first to recover.
>
> 'Look round and count your teeth with your tongue,' he said.
>
> 'Sit down, Obika, you must expect foreigners to talk through the nose.'
>
> 'You say you are a man of Umuru?' asked Ezeulu. 'Do you have priests and elders there?'
>
> 'Do not take my question amiss. The white man has his own way of doing things. Before he does anything to you he will first ask you your name and the answer must come from your own lips.'
>
> 'If you have any grain of sense in your belly,' said Obika, 'you will know that you are not in the house of the white man but in Umuaro in the house of the Chief Priest of Ulu.'   (Achebe 1964: 137–138)

Achebe, like most writers of his generation, was renowned for his talent in mobilizing the resources of orality in rewriting power or staging resistance to colonial oppression. In this brief excerpt there is great tension and potential for disaster in the confrontation between representatives of Africa and its customs and tradition and those standing in the stead of colonial authority. The text is a clear display of the power asymmetry being played out in the colonial context, and illustrates how anti-colonial African writers sought to translate asymmetry or rewrite power as a strategy of resistance to colonial domination. The Chief Priest and his subjects are cast in the role of resistance or impediment to colonial encroachment as they remind the emissaries of the colonial administration about the customs or manners of the Igbo people and ultimately about who is indeed in charge on their ancestral land. The emissaries' reckless disregard for local customs and the unbridled

embrace of the White man's ways puts them in the poor light of buffoons and sellouts, as they appear as clones of the white colonists or mere instruments or enablers of colonial imposition. When the Chief Priest says "… you must expect foreigners to talk through the nose," it is less about restraining his livid son Obika than it is about distancing the emissaries who are construed as "foreigners," perhaps because they hail from another clan, but also because they are aligned with a foreign colonial power. Probably because of the intonation of their speech, the European colonists were generally thought to speak through the nose, a classic marker, for the native African, of distancing and foreignization. In the final analysis, the Chief Priest refused to take orders from the white colonist, thus resisting colonial governance and asserting his authority over his ancestral domain, even at the cost of paying the ultimate price. The asymmetry between the postcolony and the colonial metropole therefore sets the stage for the translation or rewriting of power in postcolonial contexts, a practice which became front and centre in African European language literature.

3.   Asymmetry within the African postcolony

In tracing the pathways to translating asymmetry and rewriting power in postcolonial African literature, the postcolony takes centre stage in the next wave of writing in the post-independence era. Although colonialism had been defeated and independence won, the newly-independent African states continued to require some guidance in establishing the instruments of power and governance. In many cases the ties between the new nations and their former colonial masters remained quite strong, which eventually led to a situation in which independence was considered to be only in name and not in reality. Africans were now in power and leaders in their own country, although in many instances they were seen as puppets of the former colonial power who continued to pull the strings from behind the scene in what became known as a neocolonial relationship. The second wave of literary production was therefore much more concerned with the effects of neocolonialism and its impact on the lived experience in the postcolony rather than the initial struggle against colonialism. The literature may still traffic in anti-colonial discourse, but its main focus was on the divide between the postcolonial elite, inheritors of the institutions of power and beneficiaries of the remnants of colonial authority, and the underprivileged masses of the society. Translating asymmetry now meant rewriting power or speaking the truth to the local elite. It must also be noted that this literary turn of events was mainly engendered by writers and artists born just before or after independence whose literary consciousness is more informed by experiences and events occurring within the independent postcolony. Unlike their predecessors

who held an anti-colonial discourse, this younger generation of writers dabbled in an anti-neocolonial discourse which took aim at the postcolonial elite and their European puppeteers. Translating asymmetry and rewriting power therefore has to do with the fallouts of the struggle for independence, the rise and subsequently the demise of the postcolonial elite, instability and struggles for local leadership, the unfortunate turn of events for state governance ("gouvernementalité"), the abuse of the instruments of power, the autocratic imposition of the one-party state, the unbridled cultivation of the ruler's personality cult, greed, graft and the penchant for pomp and ceremony (Mbembe 2001). These historical moments of instability, chaos and ineptitude eventually enabled a slew of military and civilian dictatorships sustained by their neocolonial powers whose interest in the postcolony is mainly economic and geopolitical. The post-independence literature naturally feeds on this hotbed of corruption, nepotism, tribalism and the general permissiveness of greed, the lust for western-style consumerism, violence and insecurity. Neocolonial forms of power come in many shapes and thus require different strategies of resistance. Besides the more specific transformation from colonial to neocolonial metropolitan power, there are international economic and financial bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and multinational corporations that institute a kind of supranational governance often for the benefit of the rich in the global north and south alike, and to the detriment of the poor, especially in the global south or the developing nations. These supranational powers such as the IMF and the World Bank have tied up African states in debt, which has given them leverage in policy matters in individual states, and has led to mass unemployment and rural exodus to urban areas. The resulting urban decay has deepened the rift between the masses and the elite, and in some cases created conditions that favoured the spread of diseases such as the enduring HIV AIDS. The lack of democratic institutions often leads to the lack of respect for human rights and ultimately civil strife. These, coupled with the practice of neocolonialism, particularly with respect to the quest for natural resources, enhance the potential for war and conflict, which now feature prominently in contemporary African literature. The discourse of resistance in the postcolony is expressed in various media including literature, music, audiovisual technology, and popular art. Translating asymmetry or rewriting power in this context has given recourse to various literary genres among which is the literature portraying/featuring child soldiers in situations of war and conflict. This literary genre has flourished over the last decades as it is often written in global European languages with the aim of calling attention to the plight of children and women in war zones. Below are excerpts drawn from *Sozaboy*, a popular novel about child soldiers written by Ken Saro-Wiwa (2005). This Nigerian writer was known worldwide for his environmental activism, particularly with respect to his homeland, a region in the Niger Delta rich in crude oil, that had been exploited by the multinational

petroleum industry, resulting in serious environmental damage. His nonviolent campaign against environmental degradation and his commitment to social justice also made him an outspoken critic of the Nigerian government in cahoots with the oil companies, which ultimately cost him his life. Saro-Wiwa's novel, *Sozaboy*, is one among a number of African European language novels that cast a child soldier as the main protagonist. As is often the case with these literary oeuvres that depend on life in the postcolony as a source of inspiration, there is an abundant use of popular language and other linguistic derivatives such as pidgins and creoles in order to reflect the social reality of the characters. The child soldier in *Sozaboy* is a semi-literate youngster whose approximate English is littered with words and expressions from Nigerian Pidgin English and other elements from popular language. Literature that has the postcolony as its backdrop draws on the polylingualism and polyphony characteristic of postcolonial urbanity which can be construed as a formation of ethnocultural cosmopolitanism. The practice of polylingualism for interethnic communication has given rise to locally derived vernaculars that ensure popular solidarity and distancing from the elite or oppressive powers. In fact, in some instances popular language is preferred over the language of officialdom, not as a measure of literacy but rather as a strategy of resistance to power.

> When I passed the elementary six exam, I wanted to go to secondary school but my mama told me that she cannot pay the fees. The thing pained me bad bad because I wanted to be big man like lawyer or doctor riding car and talking big big English. In fact I used to know English in the school and every time I will try to read any book that I see. (Saro-Wiwa 2005: 11)

In the above passage the protagonist laments the fact that he could not achieve his dream of furthering his education, obviously for lack of financial means, so as to be able to enjoy the life and privilege associated with the "big men." The statement is indicative of the class divide in postcolonial society, and is a strategy for speaking truth to power. The protagonist's semi-literacy cannot afford him the privileges of the elite, especially "talking big big English," which is the language associated with the local elite perceived as mere clones of their neo-colonial masters or puppeteers.

> So from that time wherever I go people are calling me "Sozaboy," "Sozaboy." Even I am very famous in Doukana sef. … When they call me "Sozaboy" I will answer well well. Even I begin to tell people that my name is Sozaboy. If I go to any porson house and I knock and that porson asks who is that, I will answer "Sozaboy." I like the name well well. (Saro-Wiwa 2005: 65)

Due to the limited opportunities afforded by his semi-literacy, the protagonist takes solace in being called "Sozaboy" ('soldier boy'/'boy soldier'), a byname which imbues him with the kind of power associated with the military brass in a country

under a military dictatorship. He becomes famous in his hometown and likes the name "well well" ('very much').

> "Who is the chief of this village?"
> "Na yourself sah."
> "What?"
> "Well, you know, sah… ehm… ehm."
> "Look, do you understand English at all?"
> Chief Birabee begin to shake him head. Then he called me with hand to come. …
> So when I came near him he begin to speak Kana to me. This time no fear for him voice. He is not smiling idiot fool smile. He is giving order. …
> Look ehn, this ting surprised me helele. This is Chief Birabee who is fearing for the soza, but giving me order in big strong voice. What does that mean?
>
> (Saro-Wiwa 2005: 39)

The power associated with the governing military regime is manifest in the above dialogue where the chief of a village (representing traditional authority) is willing to cede his power, out of fear, to a soldier in uniform (representing the westernized postcolonial elite). There is a conflict here between tradition and modernity, as the westernized local elite are cast as agents of oppression and suppression of a traditional way of life and values. Chief Birabee can barely express himself in English, a situation made worse by the sense of fear and panic, as well as the condescension by the soldier. The Chief regains his composure when he reverts to his native tongue, Kana, and now speaks with authority befitting of a traditional chief, without fear and without the foolish grimaces of indolence. The protagonist is bewildered and asks, "What does that mean?" This thoughtful question is aimed at the reader, and is meant to draw attention to the conflictual encounter between tradition and postcolonial modernity, as well as the confrontation between the population and the westernized local elite.

> "Bullet," I said, "I beg you, no make too much grammar for me. I beg you. Try talk that one that I will understand. No vex because I ask you simple question."
> "No, I no dey vex," Bullet answered after some time. "I no dey vex. What I am saying is that all of us who are here can die any time. Any time. So while we live, we must drink. Because, as you know, man must wak." This Bullet is very clever man you know. Man must wak. I like that. Man must wak.
> … Even I begin to call the man "Manmuswak." So, I told Bullet that we shall call the Man Manmuswak. 'E say the name is very good for the man. And he think the man must like the name when we tell am. (Saro-Wiwa 2005: 95)

This final excerpt is a humorous yet searing critique of corruption and greed, which has become commonplace in the postcolony. Once again, the issue of language and class is raised as the protagonist pleads with his interlocutor not to "make too

much grammar," in other words to avoid "big big English" (discussed previously) associated with the elite. The interlocutor, comically named "Bullet," philosophizes about the precarity of life under a military dictatorship, and concludes that "So while we live, we must drink. Because, as you know, man must wak." The resignation to the uncertainty of life under such a political regime drives one to the heavy consumption of alcohol and to an unbridled greed and gluttony. The popular pidgin slang "man must wak" (which literally means "man must eat") is known to express a sense of abandon and a desire for shameless greed and corruption. The acquisition of wealth through corrupt practices by the agents of postcolonial governance such as soldiers, policemen and government functionaries is often justified by the statement "man must wak." It goes to show how generalized and condoned such corrupt practices have become. It is a way of life in the postcolony, and writers like Ken Saro-Wiwa have sought to translate asymmetry and rewrite power through satire and the creative exposure or denunciation of inequalities and power differential in postcolonial society.

4.   Asymmetry within the colonial metropole

A third step or level of the manifestation of translating asymmetry or rewriting power in African literature can be elucidated through the literature of migration by Africans in the diaspora. The intersection of migration and translation is yet to be developed in translation scholarship, although such a relation might seem prima face given the transient and translating existence and nature of migrant societies. There are many facets of this intersection as it relates to the African diaspora. There is the intersection due to migration as a consequence of the *longue durée* of the history of slavery and colonization, although there is also the case of voluntary migration, in more recent times, towards the colonial metropole or other western metropolises in the global North. For the purposes of this essay we have chosen to dwell on this latter case of voluntary migration and to explore the role of translation in situations of power imbalance as expressed in migrant literature. Contemporary migrant literature by writers of African descent carries across and sustains the literary tradition of translating asymmetry or rewriting power in postcolonial contexts, although in this instance the power struggles are being played out in the contexts of migration within the colonial metropole or the global North. If one follows the news these days or pays attention to the media, one would think migration from Africa to Europe is a recent phenomenon and that European nations are currently being invaded by hordes of African people bent on changing the demographic landscape of the European continent and polluting its various cultures and undermining its civilization. One would hardly realize that

movement between the two continents is as old as human history itself, and that the movement has not always been a one-way traffic. Even before colonization there were major exchanges in trade and knowledge between the two continents, with movement of traders, explorers and navigators. A known by-product of these encounters is the prevalence of names of nations and places in Africa derived from languages like Portuguese or Spanish, as well as words or expressions that have evolved over centuries through the process of pidginization or creolization as a result of the encounter between the two continents. Besides slavery and colonization, migration has significantly shaped the relations between Europe and Africa. These relations are often celebrated in happier times, but of course derided when uncertainties and apprehension take over the human spirit. And so, it is that today the ugliness of hate and dehumanization rears its head again when racialized peoples show up at the borders of Europe and North America. Extreme right-wing parties thrive, humanitarian ideals are cast aside and fascist trends take hold, resulting in a palpable tension between immigrants and the host community, fear and a sense of rootlessness on the one hand, apprehension and the sense of entitlement on the other. These oppositions – which by and large reveal the underpinning power inequality between the host and immigrant communities – have figured prominently in literature and artwork by and about migrant communities in Europe and the West. The struggle for recognition and acceptance, the pressures of integration, of fitting in, and the incessant quest for identity and reassurance have equally marred and enriched migrant literature, and have provided the fodder for translating or rewriting power by the marginalized in African diaspora communities in the western metropoles. Some of these writers were born in Africa and then migrated to Europe, others are natural born citizens in the host society of parents who immigrated to the western metropole. While their objectives of deconstructing or rewriting power are often similar, their strategies may at times diverge. Natural born citizens of immigrant stock often claim a different experience and worldview from their immigrant parents, whereas writers who were born in Africa and then moved to the West usually wear the mantle of both worlds with pride. In other words, although united by a common cause to speak truth to power, immigrants and their descendants may adopt different approaches in translating asymmetry or rewriting power. For instance, while natural born citizens may seek to define or shape their specific identity within the metropole and challenge the host society's prevalent sense of entitlement, the immigrant writer from Africa is often straddling two worlds – the home country and the host country – drawing inspiration from both universes. There is an assumed continuum between the two worlds which is expressed in literature through art, language and cultural allusions. The immigrant writer often adopts a diachronic perspective, moving between the histories that link up the postcolony and the metropole, befitting of Rushdie's concept of migrants as

"borne-across humans" (Rushdie 1991: 278), while the descendant's perspective is often synchronic dealing in a more specific manner with the historical moment encapsulating the migrant experience within the metropole.

The following excerpts are a prime example of the strategy for translating asymmetry or rewriting power in African migrant literature. They are taken from the novel of Calixthe Beyala, a Franco-Cameroonian writer based in Paris, France. The novel, *Les Honneurs Perdus* (1996), published by Albin Michel, a publishing powerhouse in France, discusses the experience, trials and tribulations of an African woman's journey from her hometown in Cameroon to Paris, France. While the novel is not clearly autobiographical, it must be said that Calixthe Beyala was born in Cameroon and immigrated to France as a young adult.

(1) – À quoi ça sert tout ce cirque, mademoiselle?
Mademoiselle Julie fut si surprise par ma question qu'elle demeura interdite. Des étincelles fusèrent de ses yeux bleu électrique et elle posa ses poings durs comme des morceaux de pierre sur ses hanches:
– Mais c'est important que je lise le monde par vos yeux!
– Ça sert à rien, dis-je. Vous y serez toujours étrangère, comme nous sommes des étrangers ici.
– Nous faisons partie d'un tout, protesta-t-elle. Je vous donne et vous m'apportez beaucoup aussi.
– Je vous restitue ce que vous m'avez donné si cela peut changer quelque chose, dis-je en réponse.   (Beyala 1996: 374–375)

"What's all the fuss about, Mademoiselle?"
Mademoiselle Julie was so taken aback by my question, she was tongue-tied. Sparks flew from her piercing electric-blue eyes and she put her rock-hard fists on her hips:
"But I need to read the world through your eyes!"
"It's no use," I replied. "You will always be a stranger there, just as we are strangers here."
"We're part of a whole," she protested. "I can give you a lot and I learn from you too."
"I can give back everything you've given me, if it can make things better," I replied.   (my translation)

(2) Mademoiselle Julie trembla, et j'eus l'impression qu'elle allait verser des larmes pour rincer son amertume. Une voix dans mon Coeur chuchota: "C'est une femme, donc vous êtes indissociables dans la joie et dans la peine, que tu le veuilles ou non."
Pardonnez-moi, mademoiselle, dis-je. J'ai grandi dans une civilisation orale mais je suis incapable de simuler une veillée pour la simple et bonne raison qu'ici les conditions ne sont pas réunies. Il faut un feu de bois, des vieillards et des enfants assis autour, le griot ou le joueur de *nvet*, mais aussi le clair de lune et des étoiles dans le ciel.
          (Beyala 1996: 375)

Mademoiselle Julie shivered and I sensed she was about to shed a few tears to rinse out her bitterness. A voice in my mind whispered: "She's a woman, and that now makes you and her inseparable both in joy and in sorrow, whether you like it or not."
"Please forgive me, Mademoiselle. I grew up in an oral culture, but I am incapable of simulating an evening gathering here for the simple reason that the basic conditions are missing. One needs a campfire, the elders, children gathered around, the griot and the *nvet* player as well as moonlight and the stars."
          (my translation)

The excerpts showcase the kind of cultural conflict that may occur in the encounter between immigrants and members of the host society. The scene is in the context of evening classes offered to immigrants in the hope of improving their chances of employment and integration within the host society. The protagonist, Saïda, is attending one of such classes in which the instructor, a French woman who is well-meaning but a bit overly enthusiastic about helping these immigrant students, invites the class to simulate the storytelling experience in traditional Africa as a learning strategy. She asks them to sit on the floor in a circle as if under a palaver tree and take turns telling an African fable in French. The protagonist perceives this as racist and stereotypical, loses interest in the class and challenges the instructor who is indeed surprised by the student's reaction and attempts to reassure her that she meant no disrespect and that they can all learn from one another. The scene is a testimony to the kind of tension that can ensue between immigrants and members of the host society, which are often due to miscommunication, cultural dissonance, cultural appropriation or the desire to display power by othering racialized persons. The protagonist is not having any of it and calls out the instructor on this naked display of condescension and cultural appropriation. For Beyala the immigrant writer, this becomes a way to translate or overcome asymmetry and rewrite power. The author is in effect pointing out the kind of racist thinking that underlies the establishment of such evening schools destined for African immigrants and the futility or failure of such schools in actually improving the conditions of immigrants and enhancing their possibilities of integration and upward mobility in the host society. Besides her reputation as a renowned writer, Beyala is also well-known as an activist and advocate for immigrant rights in France. She is also an avowed feminist and although she would stop at nothing to enhance solidarity among women across the globe, she is equally quite vocal about the differences in feminism along the racial divide. Those who hold this view often point to the white privilege enjoyed by women in the West who benefit from the dominance of the white male patriarchy in contemporary global cultural and geopolitical relations. This is a sore point for feminists from racialized communities who feel their privileged white counterparts do not always have the interests of racialized or marginalized women at heart. In the second excerpt the protagonist, Saïda, an African immigrant woman, shows some affinity and tenderness towards her instructor as she muses about the fact that they are both women and share a common fate. This leads Saïda to offer some kind of an apology and explanation for her insolence or insubordination, while still making clear her discomfort with the act of cultural appropriation and its irrelevance as a teaching technique for underprivileged immigrant women. As an immigrant writer, Beyala draws from her African and European worlds to convey an "in between" experience in her work. In many respects, her work can be characterized as "translated writing" (as per Rushdie's "translated man") which translates asymmetry and rewrites power by being oppositional, resistant and anti-authoritarian.

5.   Conclusion

Postcolonial literature lends itself naturally to issues related to the conception of translation as a theoretical construct for elucidating power relations and exploring literary production as a means for rewriting power and redressing inequalities. Indeed, there is often a desire for "reparation" (Bandia 2008) or restitution by those postcolonial writers who seek to make amends through a process of decolonization (Wa Thiong'o 1986; Mignolo and Walsh 2018); or writing back at the imperial center. With respect to African literature, redressing asymmetry by rewriting power has followed certain pathways that can be framed under epithets such as anti-colonial, postcolonial and neocolonial. These historical moments have seen the evolution of writing practices with ultimately a common purpose of speaking truth to power or deconstructing power differentials. These writing practices show affinities with translation both in terms of representing otherness in imperial languages and giving voice to the subaltern or marginalized in our global community. Therefore, the expression "translated writing," far from being a reference to subordination or secondariness, connotes the deliberate attempt to counter the effects of power imbalance or asymmetry characteristic of relations of colonization or imperialism, as well as those underpinning the dynamics of class and power in the postcolony.

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Small yet powerful

The rise of small independent presses and translated fiction in the UK

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At the turn of the century many feared that the UK publishing scene was soon to be dominated by an ever-more consolidated number of conglomerates, pushing what was already a risk-averse industry even further away from bold endeavours such as translated literary fiction. Yet this has not materialised, and in the UK translated fiction has seen remarkable growth. Using data from prestigious literary prizes, this chapter analyses the shift in power away from the "big five" publishers and their imprints to small, independent publishers. It also analyses the consequences of this shift for the actions of those involved in the chain of production and consumption, including what this means not only for the profile of books that are translated and published, but also how translators approach their task.

Keywords: literary prizes, Booker Prize, Independent Foreign Fiction Prize, independent publishers, cultural capital, translated fiction, translator studies

1.   Introduction

At the turn of the century many feared that the UK publishing scene was soon to be dominated by an ever-more consolidated number of conglomerates, pushing what was already a risk-averse industry even further away from bold endeavours such as translated literary fiction. Yet this has not materialised, and, as explored below, industry figures have perceived remarkable growth of translated fiction in the UK. However, these perceptions are often just that – perceptions lacking data, or dealing with isolated cases which, however successful they are, are not necessarily representative of the field as a whole in the UK. This chapter aims to address the lack of comparative data by analysing the works longlisted for the most prestigious prize

for a work of translated fiction in the UK, the Independent Foreign Fiction Prize (2001–2015) and its successor the Man Booker International Prize (2016–2019).[1] I shall also analyse the longlists for the (Man) Booker Prize for 2001–2019[2] to provide a point of comparison with non-translated fiction in the UK, and therefore to highlight points of divergence between the two fields (if indeed they are two separate fields) and the consequences of these.

The approach to power follows the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular regarding publishers and the accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu 2008). Through an in-depth analysis of data from these prestigious prizes I shall identify trends in those holding positions of power, as well as power relationships between the various agents in the field, in this case specifically regarding the cultural capital accumulated through nomination for prizes with overtly literary criteria. Thus I shall be able to determine not only whether perceptions are true about the rising power of small independent publishers in the field of translated fiction (Walsh 2014; Flood 2019a), but also what other shifts are taking place in the field, whether links and causes between them can be identified, and whether the same shifts are taking place in non-translated fiction. At the heart of these connections are stakeholders along the chain of production and how their behaviour has changed. I shall analyse statements from translators, publicists and publishers to determine how both the nature of their activity and their approach have changed owing to shifts in the field.

2.   2001: A turning point for translated fiction

The start point for the period covered in this study, 2001, is significant for three reasons. Firstly, 2001 was the first year of the relaunched Independent Foreign Fiction Prize (IFFP), as well as the first year that the Booker Prize made its longlist public. The IFFP was in fact first awarded in 1991 (as the Independent Foreign Fiction Award), to "what is, in the opinion of the judges, the best eligible work of [translated] fiction published each year" (*The Independent* 1990), and the winner was chosen from a shortlist comprising the judges' favourite work from each month of the year reviewed in the pages of the newspaper *The Independent*. This ran in a

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1.   Following the new sponsorship of the prize by Crankstart for the 2020 prize onwards, this will now be known as the International Booker Prize.

2.   This was officially known as the Booker-McConnell Prize until 2001, and the Man Booker Prize 2002–2019 as a result of the Man Group's sponsorship. It is commonly known simply as "the Booker," and I shall follow this convention.

similar form until 1995, but was then revived for 2001 as a joint venture with Arts Council England (Tonkin 2000). Under the new format, publishers could submit eligible works (published in the UK between 1st January and 31st December of the previous year), and the panel of judges would choose a shortlist and winner (increased to a longlist, shortlist and winner from 2002). The prize of £ 10,000 was to be shared equally between the author and translator of the winning title, and the amount (and split) remained the same until 2015. After the 2015 prize was awarded, it was announced that the IFFP would merge with the Man Booker International Prize (MBIP), which was up until that point awarded biennially since 2005 to an author for his or her body of work – not, importantly both for marketing purposes and for the approach in this study, to a single title. The reconstituted prize took on the rules of the IFFP, the name of the MBIP, and the prize fund was increased significantly to £ 50,000 (and still shared equally between the author and translator), the same as the Booker for non-translated fiction. Symbolically, this put translated fiction at the same level as non-translated fiction, at least in terms of the monetary value placed on literary quality. This enhanced profile for translated literature in English is not exclusive to the UK – note that in 2018 the prestigious US National Book Awards re-introduced a category for books in translation.

Secondly, the period around the turn of the century was one of great uncertainty in the publishing industry, when many believed that the rise of mergers would lead to an increasingly dominant role for publishing and media conglomerates and change the entire nature of the book trade (Rønning and Slaatta 2011: 1–2), and that the negative effects for translated fiction would be compounded (Rønning and Slaatta 2011: 7–8). Squires offers a brief review to underline the shift in the UK publishing industry from being "largely run by mid-sized, family-owned businesses" at the start of the twentieth century, and even after the Second World War, to "all market sectors being dominated by a very small number of multinational, multimedia companies" (2007: 32) by the dawn of the new millennium. For a group termed the "lament school" by Murray (in Squires 2007: 25) this is entirely negative for literary quality. Bourdieu quotes an "old-school [French] literary agent" appalled at the (Anglo-) American tendency where publishers are run by those who "really don't like books, … conglomerates that have nothing to do with publishing – banks, oil companies, electricity companies" (Bourdieu 2008: 140). For Bourdieu, mergers almost always lead the resultant corporation "to abandon literary policies in favor of strictly commercial ones" (2008: 145), or to put it in Bourdieu's own terms, the accumulation of symbolic capital is sacrificed to the accumulation of economic capital. This is supported by Sapiro, who states that the context of globalisation has seen publishing conglomerates "impose fierce criteria of commercial profitability and operation to the detriment of literary and intellectual criteria" (2016: 87). Thus

the book trade turns into a business like any other, echoing the fears voiced by Schiffrin in 2000 (in Rønning and Slaatta 2011: 1).

The negative effects for diversity have become increasingly marked since the dominance of a few large publishing groups leads to convergence in the market: "transnational conglomerates" tend to act in the same way in different markets in which they work, and this is then compounded by "the propensity of publishers from different countries to imitate one another" (Sapiro 2016: 88). Squires also refers to cases where "[t]he rise of conglomerates has brought …, arguably, a decline in politically engaged and radical publishing" leading to the possible "homogenisation of publishing – and of culture" (2007: 59). The result of this is a reactive rather than proactive attitude to acquiring new titles, and thus an aversion to risk in the market: an often-cited characteristic of UK and US publishing (Mansell 2017), and an atmosphere that is not conducive to the publishing of translated literary fiction, frequently identified as a riskier proposition.

Finally, 2001 is an important start date owing to the terrorist attacks on the twin towers and the resulting shift in the Anglo-American world view, which have been cited in some quarters as the critical juncture when foreign fiction becomes more visible in the UK and US (Vogel 2014). General comments from readers, writers and publishers indicate that there is a *feeling* that small independent publishers are leading the way with translated fiction in the period. Writing in *The Guardian* in 2014, Joanna Walsh quoted Cailin Neal of Dalkey Archive Press as saying "the influx of small presses and journals who publish works in translation is clearly visible, and bookshops and review editors are taking note" (Walsh 2014), and she names five small publishers of (primarily) translated fiction (And Other Stories, Dalkey Archive Press, Peirene Press, Europa Editions and Open Letter). Chad Post also gives a summary of the growth of translated literature over the past two decades.

> Here's an incomplete list of presses, magazines, organizations, and prizes that started up since September 11, 2001, popped our filter bubble: Archipelago Books, Europa Editions, Open Letter (which I founded and run), Two Lines, Deep Vellum, Transit, InTranslation, Amazon Crossing, New Vessel Press, Words Without Borders, Asymptote Magazine, Arkansas International, Other Press, the Best Translated Book Award, and the National Book Award for Translation. Even more to the point, the number of original works of fiction and poetry published annually in the U.S. expanded from roughly 360 in 2008 to more than 600 in recent years. That may not seem like a lot, but a 67 percent increase over a decade is no fluke.
>
> (Post 2019)

Post only refers to the US here, and for the UK we can add many more publishers,[3] prizes[4] and initiatives to raise awareness of translated literature[5] that have appeared since 2001, and all of which confirm that translated literature has experienced a period of marked growth. However, up until now the influence of this new breed of smaller independent publishers has not been backed up by extensive data, an issue to be addressed in this chapter.

3. The data: The Booker Prize, the Man Booker International Prize, and the Independent Foreign Fiction Prize

The data analysed in this chapter consists of 272 titles for translated fiction, comprising the full longlists for the IFFP (2001–2015) and the MBIP (2016–2019).[6] For non-translated fiction, there are 292 titles, composed of the longlists for the

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3. Publishers with a significant proportion of translations include Bitter Lemon (2003), Alma (2005), Portobello (2005), Comma (2007 for their translation imprint), MacLehose, an imprint of Quercus (2008), Vagabond Voices (2008), And Other Stories (2010), HopeRoad (2010), Peirene (2010), Istros (2011), Jantar (2011), The Emma Press (2012), World Editions (2013), Fitzcarraldo (2014), Balestier (2015, Les Fugitives (2015), Partus (2015), Tilted Axis (2015), Noir (2016), Nordisk (2016), Charco (2017), The Indigo Press (2017) and Neem Tree Press (incorporated in 2013 according to Companies House, although Archna Sharma, the press's founder, considers 2019 the launch year [BookMachine 2019]). All years are those stated by the presses on their own web pages, or if not stated, the year of their first publication.

4. Such as the Harvill Secker Young Translators' Prize (2010), the MBIP in its reconstituted form (2016), the Republic of Consciousness prize (for small presses and which includes translations; 2017), the Translators' Association First Translation Prize (2017) and the Warwick Prize for Women in Translation (2017). All dates are for the first year each prize was awarded.

5. Such as Litro Magazine (the international writing magazine that includes translations, founded in 2005), the #translationthurs hashtag (created by the translated literature blogger Winston's Dad on 14th July 2010 ("#translationthurs -a Twitter Day for the World" 2010)), the annual International Translation Day event organised by English PEN in London (first held in 2010), the Literary Translation Centre at London Book Fair (first held in 2010), Guardian Translation Tuesday (a joint venture between Guardian Books and Asymptote which ran from 27th October 2015 to 25th April 2017), and the British Library Translator in Residence scheme (starting with Jen Calleja in 2017).

6. For 2001 only a shortlist was released for the IFFP, and lists were published in the national press (Tonkin 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006; Lea 2007, 2008; Tonkin 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014; Johnston 2015; Cain 2016, 2017; Flood 2018b; 2019a).

(Man) Booker Prize for the same period (2001–2019).[7] The translated fiction list was completed with information for the following variables: author, author gender, translator, translator gender, title, year of publication of the translation (first UK edition), whether the book was shortlisted or won, source language, source country of the publisher, source country of the author, the United Nations Statistics Division classification of region and sub-region of the source country of the author,[8] the target imprint, target publishing group, whether this group is part of the big five (Penguin Random House, Hachette, Simon and Schuster, Pan Macmillan and HarperCollins), and finally the source text title, year and publisher. For the non-translated list, the same variables (where applicable) where used: author, gender, title, imprint, publishing house / group, whether this is part of the big five, and year of publication. Thus one aim of this research is to provide hard data against which to test hypotheses that the field of translated fiction functions differently from the field of non-translated fiction. Once all of the data was collected, each variable was analysed over the period to identify both macro and micro level trends; this was done both as sum totals for the whole period and at the level of each individual year, but also as totals over the three five-year periods of the IFFP (2001–2005, 2006–2010 and 2011–2015) as well as the first four years of the MBIP (2016–2019). This provides a clearer picture of trends over time for those variables with multiple different options, where single occurrences within the small annual samples could have a distorting effect.

4.   Gender: Closing the gender gap in translated fiction?

The gender gap in literature in general, and translated literature in particular has been commented on widely: Margaret Carson offers data taken from the US Translation Database to highlight that fewer women authors are published in translation than men, and suggests on the basis of her research that prizes too tend to be skewed towards men (Carson 2019). Indeed, regarding the IFFP, popular comment focussed on the winners only, given that the 2001 and 2015 winners were women,

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7.   For the Booker, the longlist in 2001 comprised 24 titles and the number varied thereafter, only settling down to the current figure of thirteen, i.e., the "Booker dozen" in 2007. These longlists were also widely published in the national press (Yates 2001; Ezard 2002; Jordan 2003; Crown 2004, 2005; Ezard 2006; Crown 2007; Pauli 2008; Brown 2009, 2010; Irvine 2011; Flood 2012; Brown 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016; Flood 2017; 2018a; 2019b).

8.   The United Nations Statistics Division uses a methodology known as M49 to classify countries according to geographical regions and sub-regions (United Nations 1999).

with thirteen male winners in between. Daniel Hahn discusses various forms of hidden bias in translated literature, including gender, using the list of submissions to the 2017 MBIP (as a judge, he had access to this confidential information); but as he notes, this provides only synchronic data and thus cannot help to identify trends (Hahn 2017). As with the other variables we shall see in Tables 1–3, the analysis of a series of longlists provides a larger and thus more reliable data set to make claims regarding the gender gap, and in this regard the results are startling.

Table 1. Author gender gap for longlists of IFFP (2001–2015) and MBIP (2016–2019)

	Man author	Man author (%)	Woman author	Woman author (%)	Gender gap (%)
2001	4	66.67	2	33.33	33.33
2002	4	66.67	2	33.33	33.33
2003	15	93.75	1	6.25	87.50
2004	13	81.25	3	18.75	62.50
2005	12	75.00	4	25.00	50.00
2006	10	62.50	6	37.50	25.00
2007	15	75.00	5	25.00	50.00
2008	13	76.47	4	23.53	52.94
2009	13	81.25	3	18.75	62.50
2010	12	80.00	3	20.00	60.00
2011	12	80.00	3	20.00	60.00
2012	13	86.67	2	13.33	73.33
2013	14	87.50	2	12.50	75.00
2014	10	66.67	5	33.33	33.33
2015	11	73.33	4	26.67	46.67
2016	9	69.23	4	30.77	38.46
2017	10	76.92	3	23.08	53.85
2018	7	53.85	6	46.15	7.69
2019	5	38.46	8	61.54	−23.08

Table 1 provides evidence of the gender gap for translated fiction, and for all but the final two years of data, the longlists are significantly in favour of titles authored by men. This suggests that, historically at least, the translated authors with greater accumulated cultural capital are men, not women.

Table 2 reveals the non-translated data for the same period, and it is equally enlightening:

Table 2. Author gender gap for longlists of the (Man) Booker Prize (2001–2019)

	Man author	Man author (%)	Woman author	Woman author (%)	Gender gap (%)
2001	17	70.83	7	29.17	41.67
2002	13	68.42	6	31.58	36.84
2003	13	56.52	10	43.48	13.04
2004	15	68.18	7	31.82	36.36
2005	12	70.59	5	29.41	41.18
2006	12	63.16	7	36.84	26.32
2007	9	69.23	4	30.77	38.46
2008	10	76.92	3	23.08	53.85
2009	8	61.54	5	38.46	23.08
2010	8	61.54	5	38.46	23.08
2011	8	61.54	5	38.46	23.08
2012	7	58.33	5	41.67	16.67
2013	6	46.15	7	53.85	−7.69
2014	10	76.92	3	23.08	53.85
2015	6	46.15	7	53.85	−7.69
2016	4	40.00	6	60.00	−20.00
2017	7	53.85	6	46.15	7.69
2018	6	46.15	7	53.85	−7.69
2019	5	38.46	8	61.54	−23.08

Although the gender gap is still in favour of men, it is not as marked as for trans-lated fiction, and in 2013 there is the first gap in favour of women, a full six years earlier than translated fiction. Indeed, the differences between the two sets of data are sometimes huge, as seen in Table 3.

The gender gap is more in favour of men than women in translated fiction in thirteen of the nineteen years with an average of 42.15 difference, while in only five of the nineteen is the gap more in favour of men in non-translated fiction, with an average of 6.92. It is clear that over the period in this data, the gender gap is signifi-cantly more in favour of men for translated fiction than non-translated fiction. This gives data to back up Carson's claim that women's lack of visibility in their source culture compounds their lack of visibility in translation (Carson 2019: 40), and also that their lack of visibility in the target culture has been compounded over time, too.

Table 3. Difference in gender gap between IFFP/MBIP longlists
and the Booker Prize longlists (2001–2019)

	Translated fiction gender gap (%)	Non-translated fiction gender gap (%)	Difference*
2001	33.33	41.67	8.33
2002	33.33	36.84	3.51
2003	87.50	13.04	−74.46
2004	62.50	36.36	−26.14
2005	50.00	41.18	−8.82
2006	25.00	26.32	1.32
2007	50.00	38.46	−11.54
2008	52.94	53.85	0.90
2009	62.50	23.08	−39.42
2010	60.00	23.08	−36.92
2011	60.00	23.08	−36.92
2012	73.33	16.67	−56.67
2013	75.00	−7.69	−82.69
2014	33.33	53.85	20.51
2015	46.67	−7.69	−54.36
2016	38.46	−20.00	−58.46
2017	53.85	7.69	−46.15
2018	7.69	−7.69	−15.38
2019	−23.08	−23.08	0.00

* Positive values in the "Difference" column indicate a greater bias towards men in non-translated fiction, negative values indicate a greater bias towards men in translated fiction.

5. Publishers: Smaller presses lead the way in translated fiction

One hypothesis that this chapter aims to explore is whether it is indeed true that the position of the big five publishers in indeed decreasing in translated fiction, and whether it is increasing for small independents. At a macro-level, Table 4 shows that a smaller proportion of books from the big five publishers are longlisted for the IFFP/MBIP over the period.

Table 4. Percentage of longlisted titles from big five publishers, IFFP/MBIP 2001–2019

	No. of longlisted titles from big five / total no. of longlisted titles	Percentage
2001–2005	33 / 60	55%
2006–2010	40 / 84	47.63%
2011–2015	26 / 76	34.21%
2016–2019	19 / 52	36.54%

Although this is indicative of a general trend, it is only when we break the data down into individual publishers in Table 5 that we see that there is indeed a clear movement toward profound change.

Table 5. Top five publishing groups by titles on longlists, IFFP/MBIP 2001–2019

2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015	2016–2019
1. Random House (24)	1. Random House (29)	1. (Penguin) Random House (23)	1. Penguin Random House (10)
2. Faber & Faber (7)	2=. Hachette (6)	2. Quercus (8)	2. Hachette (8)
3. Bloomsbury (5)	2=. Canongate (6)	3. Granta (7)	3. Granta (6)
4. Canongate (4)	4=. Bloomsbury (4)	4. Peirene Press (5)	4. Fitzcarraldo (5)
5=. Saqi (3)	4=. Arcadia (4)	5=. Faber & Faber (4)	5. Profile Books (4)
5=. PanMacmillan (3)	4=. Granta (4)	5=. Pushkin (4)	
	4=. Quercus (4)		

(Penguin) Random House dominates these figures (mostly through its imprint The Harvill Press / Harvill Secker), but this number drops markedly in the most recent period. Hachette's appearance in second place in 2016–2019 is down entirely to its acquisition of the independent publisher Quercus in 2015 – all eight of its longlisted books after 2016 are from MacLehose Press, a Quercus imprint founded by former Harvill editor Christopher MacLehose, which first published in 2008 and proudly advertises its books as "the very best, often prize-winning, literature from around the world" (MacLehose Press 2019). Small independent publishers created post-2001 also make it onto the list (Peirene, Fitzcarraldo) as well as others with a longer history (Saqi, Arcadia, Granta, Pushkin, Profile) and more established independent presses (Canongate, Faber & Faber, Bloomsbury).

This movement away from the big five is not in evidence in non-translated fiction (see Table 6).

Table 6. Percentage of longlisted titles from big five publishers, Booker Prize 2001–2019

	No. of longlisted titles / total no. of longlisted titles	Percentage
2001–2005	60 / 105	57.14%
2006–2010	54 / 71	76.06%
2011–2015	34 / 64	53.13%
2016–2019	33 / 52	63.46%

Not only is the percentage of longlisted titles from big five publishers consistently higher across the period, but there is no discernible trend away from them either, despite the noted recent appearance of small independents in the prize (Flood 2016). The analysis of the groups in Table 7 also shows that a wider range of the big five publishers figure in the longlists.

Table 7. Top five publishing groups by titles on longlists, Booker Prize 2001–2019

2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015	2016–2019
1. Random House (22)	1. Random House (21)	1. (Penguin) Random House (17)	1. Penguin Random House (23)
2. Penguin (14)	2. Penguin (12)	2. Hachette (7)	2. Faber & Faber (7)
3. Faber & Faber (11)	3. Hachette (10)	3. PanMacmillan (6)	3. Hachette (5)
4. Bloomsbury (9)	4=. Faber & Faber (5)	4=. HarperCollins (5)	4=. Canongate (2)
5=. HarperCollins (8)	4=. HarperCollins (5)	4=. Bloomsbury (5)	4=. HarperCollins (2)
5=. PanMacmillan (8)			4=. Granta (2)
			4=. Bloomsbury (2)
			4=. Simon & Schuster (2)

Penguin and Random House dominate the list, both before and after their merger, and all of the other big five publishers also appear on the list, which is not the case for translated fiction. Tables 6 and 7 thus indicate that more cultural capital is amassed by the big five publishers (as a unit) – and as a consequence their position of power is greater – in non-translated fiction than translated fiction. Furthermore, a comparison indicates that change is happening right now in translated fiction but not in non-translated fiction – positions of power of publishers in the former are not as stable as they were. On the one hand, this has provoked changing practices amongst some of the big five, such as HarperCollins's decision to launch Harper Via, an imprint dedicated to translated fiction (Chandler 2019). On the other, it suggests that translated fiction is a more fertile ground for success for small independent publishers.

6. Source language and country: Slow but significant shifts towards diversity

Although a key claim of translated fiction (against non-translated fiction) is that it introduces greater diversity into literatures, it is important to consider diversity *within* translated fiction, too. As well as the consideration of gender above, an analysis of both source languages and the source countries of authors can contribute to this. First, there is the total number of languages present on the longlists (see Table 8):

Table 8. No. of longlisted languages and average titles per language, IFFP/MBIP 2001–2019

	No. of longlisted languages / total no. of longlisted titles	Average titles per language
2001–2005	16 / 60	3.75
2006–2010	25 / 84	3.36
2011–2015	23 / 76	3.30
2016–2019	21 / 52	2.48

On the one hand, the downward trend of the average number of titles suggest a greater diversity of languages as a proportion, yet because the number of titles varies for each period, this is not reflected by a concomitant increase in the raw number of languages themselves. Indeed, the top five languages for each period does not indicate large-scale change (see Table 9):

Table 9. Top five languages by titles on longlists, IFFP/MBIP 2001–2019

2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015	2016–2019
1. French (13)	1=. French (11)	1. German (12)	1. French (9)
2. Spanish (9)	1=. Spanish (11)	2. Spanish (10)	2. Spanish (8)
3=. German (6)	3. German (10)	3. French (6)	3. German (5)
3=. Portuguese (6)	4. Norwegian (7)	4=. Norwegian (5)	4. Chinese (4)
5. Italian (5)	5=. Arabic (4)	4=. Japanese (5)	5=. Korean (3)
	5=. Swedish (4)	4=. Italian (5)	5=. Polish (3)
	5=. Hebrew (4)		5=. Arabic (3)

Across the period, the top three languages remain the same although in different orders: French, German and Spanish. There are changes with circumstance: the presence of Norwegian and Swedish coincides with the rise of Scandi noir, and Polish with its presence as the market focus at London Book Fair 2017, for example. However, these figures do not provide a clear trend, hence the need to look at the geographical origin of the author, especially in terms of region (for example, a Spanish book from Latin America has a different route to market than books from Spain), thus we can break this down by continental region as seen in Table 10.

At this level, trends begin to emerge. On the one hand, the figures for the Americas (owing mainly to South America) and Africa remain steady, with the figures for Africa being the lowest of any continent with presence on the list. On the other hand, there is a gradual decline over the period for Europe (although Western Europe remains fairly steady) and a steady rise for Asia (led by Eastern Asia, and then Western Asia). Not included in the table, however, are those regions which do not feature on the longlists at all: Western Africa, Central America, or any region of Oceania (Australia and New Zealand, Micronesia and Polynesia). This indicates that either literature is simply not translated from these places (which is demonstrably untrue, although how much is translated and where it is published is another matter), that translated literature from these territories is not making it to the attention of the judges of the literary prizes, or that the judges do not value its literary quality as highly as literature from other regions. Identifying and tracking literature from these regions in the future will be an important step in making its absence from such longlists more visible, and at the same time shedding light on possible causes. Nevertheless, the conclusion here is that while Western Europe

Table 10. Geographical regions on longlists by no. of titles, IFFP/MBIP 2001–2019

UNSD M.49 region	2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015	2016–2019
S. Europe	14 (23.33%)	12 (14.29%)	10 (13.16%)	5 (9.62%)
W. Europe	19 (31.67%)	23 (27.38%)	19 (25%)	16 (30.77%)
E. Europe	3 (5%)	8 (9.52%)	5 (6.58%)	3 (5.77%)
N. Europe	6 (10%)	12 (14.29%)	12 (15.79%)	5 (9.62%)
Europe total	**42 (70%)**	**55 (65.48%)**	**46 (60.53%)**	**29 (55.77%)**
N. Africa	1 (1.67%)	2 (2.38%)	0	0
M. Africa	0	3 (3.57%)	2 (2.63%)	2 (3.85%)
E. Africa	1 (1.67%)	1 (1.19%)	0	0
S. Africa	0	1 (1.19%)	1 (1.36%)	0
Africa total	**2 (3.33%)**	**7 (8.33%)**	**3 (3.95%)**	**2 (3.85)**
S. America	6 (10%)	6 (7.14%)	7 (9.21%)	6 (11.54%)
N. America	1 (1.67%)	0	0	0
Caribbean	0	1 (1.19%)	0	0
Americas total	**7 (11.67%)**	**7 (8.33%)**	**7 (9.21%)**	**6 (11.54%)**
E. Asia	3 (5%)	6 (7.14%)	10 (13.16%)	9 (15.38%)
S. Asia	1 (1.67%)	2 (2.38%)	0	0
SE. Asia	0	0	0	1 (1.92%)
W. Asia	5 (8.33%)	7 (8.33%)	9 (11.84%)	6 (11.54%)
C. Asia	0	0	1 (1.136%)	0
Asia total	**9 (15%)**	**15 (17.86%)**	**20 (26.32%)**	**15 (28.85%)**

retains its position as the most highly valued region by titles on longlists, there is movement elsewhere, and there are also regions that are completely overlooked. Yet despite this change, there is no clear evidence that the prizes are becoming definitively more diverse in terms of the origin of the texts.

7. Translated fiction: Times of change and the role of activism

The data analysed so far supports the argument that translated fiction is undergoing a process of profound change, and this is not merely replicating the wider publishing industry: there are clear grounds to argue that translated fiction is acting as a field that, in some regards, is relatively independent of non-translated fiction. Over the period not only has the role of the big five been less powerful in translated fiction than non-translated fiction, but also the gap is growing. Part of this relative independence is that the structure of the field of translated fiction is changing – positions of power are not being exchanged, but rather they are shifting. The most powerful (Penguin Random House) is getting less powerful, but there is not a single

publisher taking its place; rather a group of publishers along the "tail" are increasing in power.[9] At the same time, anecdotal evidence is that translators are growing both in visibility and in the work they do to promote the authors they translate and the translations they create (Jacobs 2016). This is borne out by evidence from the translators themselves: for example, the prize-winning translator from Polish Antonia Lloyd-Jones has stated that for languages outside the dominant few, activism from the translator is vital:

> Polish gets consigned to a ghetto of "minority languages" (a phrase I dislike); it's seen as difficult, remote, and not quite part of "our" Europe. So inevitably the translator who has dedicated him or herself to learning this particular language has to act as an agent if he or she wants a book to come out in English.
>
> (Vassallo 2019a)

This is echoed by the publicist Nicci Praça to include the marketing of a work as well:

> Obviously publicity around those books and those authors is very important, and every publisher will undertake to make sure that a book gets the right kind of publicity or as much publicity as possible. But the ones who are actively working hard on this are the translators: they do the bulk of the work, talking about writers and pitching them as much as possible to get them in print.   (Vassallo 2020)

For Praça, this passion and this activism is very much part of what it is to be a small independent publisher: "I think that's why I prefer independent publishing, because a lot of it is driven by gaps in markets and people's passion to fill those gaps" (Vassallo 2020). This corresponds to the observation in analysing publishing data that small independents are not toppling the head of the distribution curve; rather, successful small independents identify a niche and work at that, with their own networks. Another example of this is the small independent publisher And Other Stories, who were the only publisher to take up the challenge from Kamila Shamsie to publish only women authors in 2018 to attempt to balance a male-dominated industry in recognition of the centenary of the first women in the UK getting the right to vote (Shamsie 2015). Their publicist Nicky Smalley relates how personal networks managed to bring writers and titles to their attention that they might not have otherwise found:

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9. The concept of the long tail was developed by Chris Anderson, especially with regards to shifting business practices in the digital age (Anderson 2004, 2009) and has also been applied to the market for translated literature (Mansell 2020).

> Rita Indiana's *Tentacle* [translated by Achy Obejas], for example, sold almost 4000 copies; a lot of people bought it because it was a very timely exploration of queer identities and environmental issues. I'm pretty sure we would have published that book anyway, but it's possible it wouldn't have come to our attention without the Year of Publishing Women: we asked Yuri Herrera if he could recommend any Latin American women, and he told us we had to publish Rita Indiana. And if we hadn't been doing the Year of Publishing Women, it's possible that we wouldn't have asked him. So that's one way it's had a positive impact.   (Vassallo 2019b)

Thus personal networks become a way for small (and focussed) independent presses to bypass broader systems of agents and scouts, and at the same time increase their own identity as a distinct brand, since they cannot rely on the traditional form of branding in publishing, that of the author (Squires 2007: 87).

Publishers too can base their decisions on activist principles. Jacques Testard, the founder of the London-based small independent press Fitzcarraldo Editions relates just such an event in his acquisition of *Flights* by Olga Tokarczuk, translated by Jennifer Croft. The starting point was not the literary quality of the book itself, but rather the general political and social climate following the Brexit referendum in the UK:

> During that moment of upheaval – soon compounded by Trump's election – I was having discussions with my colleagues at The White Review and Fitzcarraldo Editions about what a publisher's duty is at a moment of political turmoil. And given the news of violence against Polish immigrants in the UK in the wake of the referendum, I decided to actively seek out a Polish author. I felt I had a duty as a publisher to fight against a difficult cultural climate, that we needed more Polish voices, and an insight into Polish culture in Britain.   (Testard 2019)

He read the sample of flights that Jennifer Croft had sent him a year before, and was taken aback: it was "exactly the kind of book I hope to publish with Fitzcarraldo Editions" (Testard 2019). The result was not only winning the MBIP in 2018, but also that he had another Nobel laureate in his catalogue once the delayed 2018 prize was announced (the other is the 2015 winner, Svetlana Alexievich, whom he had signed before she won). Upon that announcement Testard ordered a print run of 30,000 copies of the two Tokarczuk novels he had published so far to satisfy the demand for sales that would come (Studemann 2019), a clear instance of the transubstantiation of symbolic into economic capital.

The result of this activism is that although the data indicates that the field of translated fiction is acting in a somewhat independent manner, at the same time it is more present in the mainstream. This is indicated in the quantity and breadth of news coverage of the prizes: a search of the Nexis UK database gives 941 news articles containing the phrase "Independent Foreign Fiction Prize" for the period

2001–2019, of which 743 are in English and 171 of these in *The Independent*. For the phrase "Man Booker International Prize" there are 5978 articles for 2004 (the first instance) to 2019, of which 4788 are in English and the highest concentration is in the UK newspaper the *Guardian* (191 articles). If we focus on 2015 (the year its merger with the IFFP was announced) to 2019, this gives 3501 articles, of which 2698 are in English and the highest concentrations are from the US aggregator Newstex (105 articles), followed by the *New York Times* (101) and the *Guardian* (94). All of the various factors – prestigious prizes, the rise of small and focussed independent publishers identifying niches and taking risks where conglomerates would not, the propositions being brought directly to them by translators rather than having to pass through the filter of agents and national agencies, increased coverage in the press – are combining to increase the readership of translated fiction in the UK, taking it from a time and place where Alexandra Büchler noted that "[t]he paradox is that Britain is a multicultural and multilingual society but it is also insular" (Jack 2015) to one where editor Daniela Petracco notes that "British readership is opening up" (Walsh 2014). Translators have even taken matters into their own hands to increase diversity: And Other Stories began as an idea in 2009 from its founder, translator Stefan Tobler, to change the entire manner in which translated fiction was published, to tear down the barriers present in larger publishing houses (Tobler 2013); the translator and 2016 MBIP winner Deborah Smith set up Tilted Axis Press in 2015 to publish, in the words of the company's own website, "books that might not otherwise make it into English" and to tilt "the axis of world literature from the centre to the margins," in order to promote the diversity lacking in the data analysed above. These initiatives are forging new directions in the publication of translated fiction, and it will be crucial to see whether and how these will be consolidated in the changing climate of translated fiction.

8.   Conclusion: Power dynamics in translated fiction: Revolution and consolidation

The data analysed above offers, for the first time, consolidated evidence of the relative autonomy of the field of translated literature in the UK and the asymmetries of power that compose it: the big five publishers are not dominant to the same extent as in non-translated fiction (indeed, only two show any dominance in translated literature), and furthermore their power is diminishing in translated literature; at the same time, small independent publishers are growing in their accumulated symbolic capital, with works that they discover and promote thanks to networks involving authors and translators, an approach that does much to challenge previous asymmetries, decentralising decision-making processes from the editorial desk;

the prestige and profile of the reformulated MBIP has brought translated fiction to a wider audience (both within and outside the UK), and this also raises the profile of translators alongside their authors; at the same time, the MBIP has coincided with a movement towards greater gender equality in terms of authors on longlists, which had already begun to happen years earlier in non-translated fiction. These are not the only previously unquestioned asymmetries that are undergoing change; the traditional dominance of Europe, especially Western and Southern Europe, as the source for texts is diminishing, and new voices are rising to the fore – although there is more that can be done to achieve and recognise a much wider diversity of origins. Nevertheless, all of this is a relatively recent phenomenon, and positions of power in the field have not settled and been consolidated. This is thus a time of potential revolution in translated fiction: it is not beholden to the same market logic as non-translated fiction, and translators and publishers (and more) are engaged in an activist manner in changing the status quo. Their work is and will be vital in making visible to those in positions of power those groups, regions, languages and texts that have historically suffered from a lack of visibility and the asymmetries this has caused. This relative instability is consequently a time when activist engagements have an increased possibility of achieving their aims and securing lasting change: a vital task, since as this research demonstrates, there is a lot more that can be done to build on these initiatives to achieve greater equality and diversity, ensuring that recent shifts in the industry do not become isolated phenomena.

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Against the asymmetry of the post-Francoist canon

Feminist publishers and translations in Barcelona

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The emergence of women's social and cultural movements in Spain after the death of Francisco Franco led to the appearance of remarkable feminist publication series and publishing houses in a search for foreign ideological mothers. In Barcelona, three such feminist projects were founded in 1977: Colección Feminismo (1977–1979), of Ediciones de Feminismo, La Educación Sentimental (1977–1984), of Anagrama, and the hybrid and multipurpose cultural and political café-bar LaSal, the embryo of LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (1978–1990), the first feminist press in Spain. In this chapter three feminist imprints of the Transition period will be presented. All of them fought to combat the chronic lack of ideological mothers that the Francoist regime had imposed. Aimed at restoring the historical memory of women and creating an identity debate, the importation of foreign feminist literature was crucial for the social transformations of the time. Translation became one of the elements of social change, a political act in trying to achieve canonical equality.

Keywords: history of translation, history of women, history of feminist publishing, feminist historiography of translation, feminism and translation, feminist publishing houses

1. Introduction: Interrelating three subaltern histories: The history of women, the history of translation, and the history of feminist publishing

> Feminists point out that the patriarchal canon has traditionally defined aesthetics and literary value in terms that privileged work by male writers to the detriment of women writers; as a result, much writing by women has been 'lost'. … Translation has begun to play an important role in making available the knowledge, experiences and creative work of many of these [earlier] women writers.
>
> (von Flotow 1997: 30)

> Studies of women translators throughout history are an important milestone in the restoration of the genealogy of women in the intellectual life of the West and contribute to undoing the great myths inherited from a history that has denied their agency. … As historical objects – of the past and the present – translations and the para or meta-discourses that accompany them form part of the sociodiscursive mechanism of production of the genre in specific historical contexts.
>
> (Sánchez 2015: 73–75)[1]

In *Translation and Gender. Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'* (1997), one of the foundational texts of theoretical studies of gender and translation, Luise von Flotow insists on the need to fight against the vertical patriarchal canon and the invisibility to which women writers and translators have always been condemned. Almost two decades later, in "La traducción: un espacio de negociación, resistencia o ruptura de significados sociales de género" ['Translation: A space of negotiation, resistance or rupture of social gender meanings'] (2015), Lola Sánchez still urges us to go on building a female lineage, interconnected and polyphonic, so as to fight against stereotypes and androcentric imperceptibilities. Both Flotow and Sánchez assert that translation plays a part in this restoration of women's intellectual influence and leadership, and encourage us to continue the archaeological work of retrieval of symbolic grandmothers, mothers, and sisters. To sum up, since cultural genealogy has always been masculine, with the incursion of some token women, legitimised by the dominant discourses, feminist translation scholars advocate contesting our chronic cultural lack of women by recovering and revaluing feminist protagonists and texts.

Over the last two decades, many researchers in Europe and Anglo-American countries have worked in this historiographic area of feminine and feminist retrieval through translation (e.g., Delisle 2002; von Flotow 2011; Santaemilia and von Flotow 2011; Bacardí and Godayol 2014, 2016; Godayol 2016, 2020; Castro and Ergun 2017; von Flotow and Farahzad 2017; Godayol and Taronna 2018). With the aim of foregrounding translation (often considered a subaltern discipline in the literary canon), and translated women authors and translators (often considered subaltern literary figures in the translating canon), these studies have vindicated the memory of women in the history of translation. Further, they have given importance to the details, experiences, and actions of the actors and institutions that influenced the process and the reception of their translations. Firstly, by retrieving women translators, translations, and their meta-textual and para-textual material (primary sources, such as archives, manuscripts, and personal papers, and secondary sources, such as memoirs, letters, biographies, interviews, press, and criticism

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1.   Quotes originally in Spanish have been translated by Sheila Waldeck.

in general). And secondly by recovering translations of feminist texts and authors that had been rendered invisible by the dominant contingency.

In a framework of feminist historiography of translation, in the line of the new transnational and anti-essentialist approaches to translation, I aim to incorporate various histories which are not based on a vertical and periodizing concept of history but are, rather, hybrid, decentred, inclusive, and open to the interrelations between histories (see, among others, Bandia 2006; Bastin and Bandia 2006; Bachmann-Medick 2009; Bandia 2014; Munday 2014; Rundle 2014; Vidal Claramonte 2018). As Paul Bandia had already declared in 2006, with the new millennium came the realization that the old methodologies in the historiography of translation were clearly limited, and for this reason many authors have chosen to study other forgotten histories of translation, made invisible by dominant discourses, histories that take into consideration "issues of gender, ethics, postcolonialism, globalization, and minority in translation, all related to what is generally referred to as the postmodern condition" (Bandia 2006: 54).

África Vidal Claramonte also chooses to relate other histories of translation which might include questions such as "power, ideology and the revision of histories told up till the present from androcentric and Eurocentric perspectives" (2018: 120). In order to undermine the bases of an asymmetric and non-egalitarian historiography of translation created by, and for, those in power, Vidal insists that "writing new histories of translation with the voices of those who previously have been silenced may be a first step towards questioning what is established and exploring methodological paths of research" because translation is "an experience of difference and opening to the Other" (2018: 120). It is thus a question of making visible the how, when, why, and who of the production and distribution of knowledge in the processes of translation, and by means of which networks it is institutionalised (Bachmann-Medick 2009: 4–18; Vidal Claramonte 2018: 109–122).

In keeping with the postmodern construction and systematising of subaltern histories of translation, following in the footsteps of Lori Chamberlain (1988), here we vindicate the non-androcentric and feminized histories of translation, which retrieve and analyse contexts, texts, and para-texts written by women which are little-known owing to various political, ideological and social factors. These histories bring to light and promote women writers and translators and their accomplices (publishers, mentors, critics, cartoonists, distributors, etc.) who struggled against the established regime to bring the translations to the public eye. Lola Sánchez underlines the importance of "a greater collaboration and feedback between the History of Translation and the History of Women" (2015: 71). It is essential to go to historiographic sources to study the context in which the translation of a foreign woman author was published (or not) and to reveal the various factors involved in the production and circulation of such a translation. Historiographic excavation

of the texts and para-texts of women authors must be carried out and the inherited patriarchal history re-written with the aim of making women visible as an active social group within the history of translation.

In this feminist line of the historiography of translation, this chapter deals with the intersection of three subaltern histories, which have not been considered by the dominant discourses of History with capital letters: the history of translation, the history of women, and the history of feminist publishing. Feminist publishing platforms of the second wave and the feminisms of the Transition in Spain will be placed in context. Then, the interrelation and the feedback between "feminism," "publishing," and "translation" during the period of post-Francoism will be examined based on three feminist publishing projects in Barcelona. The first Spanish feminist publishing house, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (1978–1990), will be given special emphasis.

2.   Feminist publishing platforms of the second wave

> The transmission of feminist ideas and ideology has always necessitated the exchange of writing. From the pamphleteering of the suffrage movement to the 'consciousness-raising' reading of second-wavers, to the academisation of women's theoretical texts in the 1990s, and through to today's online cyber-feminism, writing and reading have underpinned feminism's development and the proliferation of ideas.
> (Pearce and Riley 2018: 11)

In the same way as any social and ideological movement that has been fundamental and influential in recent centuries, feminism has provoked an exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences in the world of publishing. In *Feminism and Women's Writing* (2018), Lynne Pearce and Catherine Riley use the metaphor of "waves" (even though they recognize that it has its critics and limitations) to describe a brief history of the European and Anglo-American feminist publishing platforms of the 20th century up to the present. They divide it into four stages, which we summarise as follows (Pearce and Riley 2018: 11–12): (1) During the first wave, pamphleteering was crucial to communicating feminist messages, and a considerable number of publishing houses were set up before the outbreak of the First World War (Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press was one of them). (2) The second-wave feminist publishing phenomenon was based on the idea that literature was a tool for gaining empowerment: "the refrain 'this book changed my life' was central to its early consciousness-raising, as women read one another's writing in order to find the political in the personal, to recognise – and challenge – the shared structured inequalities they faced" (Pearce and Riley 2018: 11). (3) During the third wave, the debates moved into academia and small-scale feminist publishers were

excluded from a fierce market. For example, in Great Britain, by the end of the 1990s, Virago was the only second-wave publisher still doing business. (4) And, finally, fourth-wavers are characterized by new kinds of feminist publishers: they "are exchanging ideas online, are self-publishing and are making use of social media to create movements and communicate ideas" (Pearce and Riley 2018: 12). To sum up, according to Pearce and Riley, feminist publishing has been, and is, crucial for feminism for two fundamental reasons: on the one hand, "its dissemination of literature by and about women acts as a means to their gaining empowerment," and, on the other, "the act of publishing itself is a moment of feminist praxis – an enactment of feminist politics through an incursion into 'male' areas of economic and cultural authority" (2018: 12).

One of the maximum priorities of the second-wave feminisms was to challenge the hegemony of the dominant patriarchal canon, which had always favoured masculine aesthetic and literary values: "The canon was thus interrogated and altered by the emergence of the second-wave feminist literary criticism" (Riley and Pearce 2018: 28). At the beginning of the seventies, feminist activists and academics, initially Anglo-Americans (e.g., Showalter 1971; Rowbotham 1973), decided to mitigate the chronic lack of "mothers" by promoting the retrieval, analysis and circulation of original and translated texts by classical women writers invisible and unattended up till then. At the same time, they promoted the texts of the women writers who were foundational for the second-wave feminisms. They were supported by bookshops and cultural groups, as well as by publishing houses and feminist series created and generally managed cooperatively in university and associational contexts (see, among others, Butalia and Menon 1995; Howe 1995; Murray 1998, 2004; Riley 2014, 2018). Florence Howe shows clearly the direct connection, either through necessity or as a response, between the second-wave feminist movement and the origin of the first feminist publishing houses of the second half of the 20th century:

> Some feminist presses began in direct response to the needs of the women's movement, some as a response to the energies released by that movement, which saw women entering competitively into various streams of life hitherto off limits. The motivation, in some cases, mixed the two agendas. But none would have been founded were it not for the women's movement that began in the United States in the mid-1960s and spread worldwide.   (Howe 1995: 131)

The principal North American and European feminist publishing platforms created at the beginning of the seventies were the following (Butalia and Menon 1995: 1–14; Murray 2004: 2): in the United States, Know, Seal Press, Feminist Press, Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, Firebrand, Aunt Lute and Spinsters Ink; in Canada, The Women's Press and Les Edicions Remue Manage; in Great

Britain, Virago, Feminist Books, Onlywomen, The Women's Press, Pandora Press, Sheba Feminist Publishers, Black Woman Talk, Aurora Leight, Urban Fox Press, Silver Moon Books, Open Letters and Scarlet Press; in France, Des Femmes; in Germany, Frauenoffensive and Orlanda; in Austria, Weiner Frauenverlag; and, in Spain, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones, the first feminist press in the country, which we will deal with later.

These feminist publishing houses, that appeared at the beginning of or in the mid-seventies, were created with differing capital and criteria for publishing and distribution, and many of them disappeared or were absorbed by the important labels in the nineties. They were the result of the emergence of the Western feminist militancy of the moment and shared, in the first place, a clear objective: "the restoration of 'lost women writers'" (Howe 1995: 132). In general, they committed themselves to two basic tasks: on the one hand, to retrieve literary and essay works, both original and translated, by forgotten women authors of all times, and on the other, to vindicate symbolic mothers and sisters in order to shape the emerging feminist discourses in theoretical terms. Restoring the literary culture of women, which had remained invisible for so many years, meant developing the double dimension of the feminine genealogies. In the words of the Catalan poet Maria-Mercè Marçal (2004: 117): they rescued "vertical mothers," who open up the way for those who will come, and "horizontal sisters," with whom to share personal and professional parallelisms. In general, it was an attempt to weave a lineage of symbolic mothers and sisters who would give us authority and influence in order to combat the fact that, up till then, "of all the reading and study material available for stylistic imitation, inspiration, and stimulation of ideas, *over ninety per cent is prepared and written by men*" (Mullen 1972: 80).

3.   Notes on feminisms, Francoism, and post-Francoism

> The feminist revival of the early 1970s was a response to the confiscation of Catalan women's political, social, civil, and cultural rights. Feminists challenged the patriarchal order of the Franco regime and advocated egalitarian gender values. The feminist agenda of many Catalans also encompassed the recuperation of the women's rights as established under the Generalitat [Government of Catalonia] during the democratic Second Republic.   (Nash 2018: 280–281)

The dictatorship of general Francisco Franco (1939–1975) wiped out most of the legal, social, and labour rights that women had achieved during the Second Republic (1931–1939). The official Francoist culture imposed the traditional National-Catholic values based on the family, and women became silent protagonists of the intellectual history of Spain. During the latter years of the totalitarian

regime, with the symbolical opening-up of the second period of Francoism and coinciding with the second wave of Western feminism, some national publications were an indication that feminism was beginning to re-emerge: *La mujer como mito y como ser humano* ('Women as myth and as human beings') (1961) by María Laffitte; *Mujer y sociedad* ('Women and society') (1969), by Lidia Falcón; *Feminismo y espiritualidad* ('Feminism and spirituality') (1964), by Lilí Álvarez, and *La dona a Catalunya* ('Women in Catalonia') (1966), by Maria Aurèlia Capmany. In general, these first publications exemplify the main ideological movements that caused the rebirth and rethinking of the feminist debate after the Civil War: progressive Catholicism, more or less related to the regime, and the anti-Francoist movements associated with clandestine left-wing parties (see Amorós 2009).

The liberal feminism of Betty Friedan and the existentialist feminism of Simone de Beauvoir were the first to reach Spain in translation. While the 1938 Press Act was in force, translations of feminist essays were totally banned, but a "liberalization" of the system of censorship was purportedly introduced in the mid-sixties. Under the 1966 Press and Printing Act, the so-called "Ley Fraga," the publication of two foundational works of modern feminism was made possible: *Le deuxième sexe* (The second sex) and *The feminine mystique*. Betty Friedan's *The feminine mystique* (1963) was translated into Spanish (*La mística de la feminidad*) and Catalan (*La mística de la feminitat*) in 1965, and Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (1949) was translated into Catalan (*El segon sexe*) in 1968. The Spanish version of Friedan's work was prefaced by the Catholic writer Lilí Álvarez, and the Catalan version of de Beauvoir by the progressive writer Maria Aurèlia Capmany (Godayol 2013, 2014, 2016).

The death of Franco, on November 20, 1975, represented a real starting-point for feminist communities, which up till then had been very restricted. Despite later divisions, the varying ideologies amongst the liberal or Marxist, reformist or radical feminist groups were no obstacle for collaborations and actions in favour of women's rights. From December 6 to 9, 1975, the Primeras Jornadas Nacionales para la Liberación de la Mujer ('First National Congress for the Liberation of Women') took place in Madrid, and from May 27 to 30, 1976, Barcelona saw the celebration of the Primeres Jornades Catalanes de la Dona ('First Catalan Women's Congress'). These events became the embryos of large participatory projects all over Spain: associations, coordinative bodies, congresses, debates, and lectures (see, among others, Llinàs 1998; Ferré Baldrich 2018; Nash 2018; Segura 2019).

The Coordinadora Feminista of Barcelona began to operate in Catalonia in January, 1977. This was an independent platform that remained autonomous as regards the participation of men and political parties, and integrated different feminist groups with varying focuses and perspectives. Amongst others: ANCHE (Associació Nacional de Comunicació Humana i Ecologia, 'National Association of

Human Communication and Ecology'), Associació Catalana de la Dona ('Catalan Women's Association'), Colectivo Feminista de Barcelona ('Feminist Collective of Barcelona'), DOAN ('Dones Antimilitaristes, Anti-military women'), LAMAR ('Lucha Antipatriarcal de Mujeres Antiautoritarias Revolucionarias, Anti-Patriarchal Struggle of Revolutionary Anti-authoritarian Women'), and DAIA (Dones per a l'Autoconeixement i l'Anticoncepció, 'Women for Self-Knowledge and Contraception'). The magazines *Dones en Lluita* (*Women in Struggle*) (1977–1983) and *Vindicación Feminista* (*Feminist Vindication*) (1976–1979) were produced by these groups and became a site of theoretical feminist interchange (see Larumbe 2002).

The differing orientations were the main characteristic of the feminisms of that period. Although they could already be sensed in the Madrid (1975) and Barcelona (1976) Congresses, the debates as regards the double militancy (to feminism and another movement simultaneously) and the political autonomy of the feminist movement caused splits and changes of loyalties amongst the different formations. With the aim of offering physical and intellectual meeting-points for the various groups (radicals, those subordinated to left-wing political organizations, third way, etc.), while appealing to their diverse and interdisciplinary character, some feminist premises were opened. In Barcelona, for example, the Llibreria de les Dones ('Women's Bookstore') (1977–1982), the feminist bookshop-café LaSal (1977–1980), the embryo of what was to be the first feminist press in Spain, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones ('LaSal, Women's Press') (1978–1990), and La Casa de la Dona ('The Women's House') (1979–1981) (see Llinàs 2008).

The end of the seventies saw changes in the women's movement in Spain, with divisions and debate polarization (see Grau Biosca 2000 [1990]: 743–748). The voting of the Constitution, in 1978, and the general elections of 1977 and 1979 caused changes and disappointments within the feminist movement. Parliamentary democracy gave women the possibility of participating politically in the institutions. In the case of Catalonia, some women from political parties such as the PSC ('Socialist Party of Catalonia') or the PSUC ('Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia') worked to apply the principles of equality advocated by Socialist feminism and defended a double militancy. On the other hand, the independent feminism included a number of viewpoints (reformist, radical, those of ex-members of political parties, etc.) that defended a single militancy in the movement and were opposed to patriarchal hierarchical structures. In May 1978 the Partido Feminista de España ('Spain's Feminist Party') was established and legalized on 8 March, 1981. Behind the foundation of this party was the feminist lawyer Lidia Falcón. As from 1982, with the coming into power of the PSOE ('Spanish Socialist Workers Party'), feminism was present for the first time in the institutions. In 1983, the Instituto de la Mujer ('Women's Institute') was founded in Madrid and the Institut Català de les Dones ('Catalan Women's Institute') was established in Barcelona in 1987.

4. The first feminist publishing projects in post-Francoist Barcelona

The publishing boom of the last years of Francoism and post-Francoism coincided with the rise of the national and international feminist movements and resulted in an unrepeatable exhilaration and circulation of works by feminist authors. From the seventies onwards, a number of autochthonous essays appeared, such as *El feminismo ibérico* ('Iberian feminism') (1970), by Maria Aurèlia Capmany; *Cartas a una idiota española* ('Letters to a Spanish idiot') (1974), by Lidia Falcón; *¿Qué es el feminismo?* ('What is feminism?') (1976), by Magda Oranich; *Mujeres en lucha. El movimiento feminista en España* ('Women's struggle. The feminist movement in Spain') (1977), by Amparo Moreno, o *Cuaderno feminista: introducción al self-help* ('A feminist notebook: An introduction to self-help') (1978), by Leonor Taboada.

At the same time, with the collaboration of feminist groups and associations and of various left-wing intellectuals and publishers, such as those in Barcelona – Carlos Barral (Seix Barral), Josep Maria Castellet (Edicions 62), Jorge Herralde (Anagrama), Joan Oliver (Aymà), or Salvador Paniker (Kairós) –, titles by foreign women writers of different feminist schools were beginning to be published. These were included in general essay series of the progressive publishing houses seeking to import literature that had been previously prohibited: for example, in Barcelona, Seix Barral published *Una habitación propia* (1967) (*A Room of One's Own*, 1929), by Virginia Woolf; Anagrama, *La liberación de la mujer: la larga lucha* (1975) (*Women: The Longest Revolution*, 1965) and *Psicoanálisis y feminismo* (1976) (*Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, 1974), by Juliet Mitchell; and Kairós, *La dialéctica del sexo* (1976) (*The Dialectic of Sex*, 1970), by Shulamith Firestone.

The year 1977 marked the beginning of specialized feminist publishing projects in Spain. Their aim was to restore the historical memory of women and create debate about their identity and sexuality. In Barcelona,[2] in particular, three important publishing platforms appeared – two early series and a pioneering publishing house: the Colección Feminismo ('Feminist Series') (1977–1979) of Ediciones de Feminismo, the series La Educación Sentimental ('Sentimental Education') (1977–1984) of the publishing house Anagrama, and the cultural and political bookshop-café LaSal (1978–1990). A brief survey of the first two projects will be presented; the third will be examined individually, given its social importance and its duration.

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2. In Madrid, the publishing house Debate launched the series Tribuna Feminista (1977–1982). Though short-lived, Tribuna Feminista, directed by Fini Rubio and Jimena Alonso, imported works by feminist authors such as Isadora Duncan, Ann Foreman, Anaïs Nin, Ann Oakley, Sheila Rowbotham, and Mary Wollstonecraft.

4.1   Colección Feminismo (1977–1979)

Vindicación Feminista (1976–1979), the benchmark journal of the feminist the-oretical debate of the Spanish Transition, came out on July 1, 1976, and was pre-sented in public on July 15 in the Barcelona Town Council's Salon del Tinell ('Tinell Hall'). This was thanks to the initiative of the lawyer Lidia Falcón and the journalist Carmen Alcalde within the Colectivo Feminista de Barcelona ('Feminist Collective of Barcelona'), an organization that defended the postulates of the radical fem-inism of the North-Americans Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millet, along with the materialist feminism of the French theorist Christine Delphy. With more than 20,000 copies sold monthly, *Vindicación Feminista* was the most important project of Ediciones de Feminismo S.A., a business financed with personal loans from Lidia Falcón and other women friends and associates. The short-lived Colección Feminismo (1977–1979) was another project of this company. It only produced three titles in Spanish, two originals and one translation: *En el infierno. Ser mujer en las cárceles de España* ('In hell. To be a woman in Spanish prisons') (1977), by Lidia Falcón; the translation of *SCUM. Manifiesto de la Organización para el Exterminio del Hombre* (*Manifesto SCUM. Society for Cutting Up Men*) (Solanas 1977), by Valerie Solanas, and *Tesis del Partido Feminista* ('Theses of the Spanish Feminist Party') (1979), a collective publication of the Spanish Feminist Party, legal-ized on 22 March 1981 and, since 2015, in coalition with Izquierda Unida ('United Left Party') till 22 February 2020.

The one translation published by the Colección Feminismo was that of the myth-ical misandrist and Freudian essay *Manifesto SCUM*, which the North American artist and writer Valerie Solanas published herself in 1967. A popular book amongst international feminists, SCUM presents an apocalyptic political program in which the author defends, metaphorically, that for women to have a better existence, men should be annihilated. Ten years after its publication in the United States, this text reached the Spanish public in 1977. It arrived accompanied by various para-texts: a preface by Alcalde, a prologue by the translator Ana Becciu, and Vivian Gornick's original introduction. According to Becciu, this seventy-page manifesto, "furious, sarcastic and stark," "emphasized with verbal aggressiveness and deliberate vulgar-ity," aims to "shock the reader, producing a harmful impact" (1977: 10). In 2002, the Madrid press Kira Edit re-edited SCUM in the same translation by Becciu. Six years later, in 2008, the Barcelona feminist disseminator Herstory commissioned Inma Martin to re-translate the text into Spanish. This edition included commentaries by various national and international activists (Laura Macaya, María-Milagros Rivera Garretas, Luisa Muraro, Mafalda y Atena, and Diego Luis San Román).

4.2 La Educación Sentimental (1977–1984)

In 1977 the Barcelona publishing house Anagrama launched the pioneering series La Educación Sentimental (1977–1984),[3] dealing with feminism and sexual diversity. Founded in 1969 by the writer Jorge Heralde, Anagrama made its name basically as a publisher of essays, with a left-wing cultural spirit and ideology, similar to that of other Barcelona publishing houses such as Edicions 62, Seix Barral, Lumen, or Tusquets. Though not without prohibitions and confiscations by the Francoist system of censorship of the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT), Anagrama published "subversive" authors such as Althusser, Fidel Castro, Chomsky, Che Guevara, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Mao, Marx, Juliet Mitchell, Sartre, and Trotski.

With original covers designed by Julio Vivas that combined provocative photographs with elegant and rather old-fashioned lettering, the series La Educación Sentimental published twenty titles in Spanish, five originals and fifteen translations. The most intense and regular period was between 1977 and 1979 during which time thirteen of the twenty titles appeared. After 1980, one or two titles were published per year up till the disappearance of the series in 1984. It reappeared briefly under the title of La Educación Sentimental (Serie Mayor) from 1993 to 1996 with essays by Susan Faludi, Germaine Greer, Helen E. Fisher, and Gloria Steinem. In spite of its being a personal project, the publisher recalls how, at the outset of the series, he was aided and advised by feminist friends, most of whom were writers, translators, or collaborators of Anagrama, including Mireia Bofill, Amparo Moreno, Núria Pompeia, Helena Valentí, or Laura Tremosa (Godayol 2018: 18).

Before launching the series, Anagrama had already translated two feminist essays by the British Marxist psychoanalyst Juliet Mitchell: *La liberalización de la mujer: la larga lucha* ('Women: The Longest Revolution') (1975) and *Psicoanálisis y feminismo* ('Psychoanalysis and feminism') (1976). The first title of La Educación Sentimental was also a work by Mitchell: *La condición de la mujer* (1977) ('Women's Estate,' 1971), in the Mexican translation of 1974 by Julieta Diéguez Garza for the publishing house Extemporáneos. This was followed by other contemporary classics by Anglo-American and European feminists, such as the German sociologist Ursula Linnhoff; the British Marxist historians Jefrey Weeks and Sheila Rowbotham; the Italian historian Joyce Lussu; the Florentine art critic, cofounder of the group Rivolta Femminile, Carla Lonzi; the English sex therapist Anne Hooper and the French writer Christine Rochefort. Of particular interest is the seminal work of Italian feminism *Escupamos sobre Hegel. La mujer clitórica y la mujer vaginal* (1981) (*Sputiamo su Hegel. La donna clitoridea e la donna vaginale e altri scritti*, 1970), by Lonzi, in the translation by Francesc Parcerisas.

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3. Pilar Godayol studied the publishing censorship applied to this series (2018).

In 1984 the series ceased for two reasons, as the publisher explains: because there came a moment when "there was a feeling that the work had been completed" and because "as from 1981, literature, which had occupied a second place in the publishing house, came to the fore, absorbing a great deal of publishing energies and hopes" (Godayol 2018: 18). To sum up, this was a pioneering and interdisciplinary series, including feminism, sexology, and socialism, and was outstanding for its publication of contemporary vindicatory texts that shared a progressive model of sexuality and femininity. It was a highly valuable personal project, limited to a specific social, political, and identity contingency.

5. LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (1978–1990), the first feminist publishing house in Spain

On 6 July 1977, the feminist bookshop-café LaSal opened in the Raval district of Barcelona. Co-owned and managed by five activists (María José Quevedo, Sat Sabater, Montse Solà, Carme Cases, and Mari Chordà), who bought the premises with individual bank loans, this was a bar where a variety of activities were organized, such as exhibitions, seminars of all sorts, and book presentations. It was also an information centre where women could receive advice on legal, work, and health matters. LaSal became a feminist "aula magna," as Maite Goicoechea put it (1978: 13), a place for the different feminisms to share their ideas freely. A true landmark in Spain.

A year after the opening of the bookshop-café LaSal, the publishing label LaSal, Edicions de les Dones was established in the opposite premises. The founders (Mari Chordà, Mariló Fernández, Isabel Martínez, and Isabel Monteagudo) had been involved, as were many others, in the previous project. They began by contacting other publishing houses, which only offered them sections for feminism. Theirs was a more ambitious vision of a cultural project, along the lines of the first North American feminist presses, so they decided to found their own company, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (see, among others, Llinàs 1998; Plaza 1998; Llinàs 2008; Almerini 2014; Bofill 2014; Godayol 2017).[4]

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4. See a panoramic study of the publishing house including its complete catalogue in Godayol (2017).

5.1   Six series

The catalogue of LaSal reveals the publishers' two principal objectives: on the one hand, to bring to the fore the ideas, discourses and tendencies of the feminist culture of the time, both national and international, and, on the other, to retrieve Catalan symbolical mothers of all times. During thirteen years, more than sixty titles appeared (forty originals and twenty translations), and more than 180,000 copies were distributed, not including the 135,000 diaries for women.[5] The press published, more or less regularly, in Spanish and Catalan. Six series were established: of narrative (1978–1989), of poetry (1978–1981), of essays (1979–1989), the Cuadernos Inacabados ('Unfinished Notebooks') (1981–1988), the Manuales de Salud ('Health Manuals') (1981–1989), and the series Clàssiques Catalanes ('Classic Catalan Writers') (1983–1989).

In 1978, two series were launched: LaSal Poesía and LaSal Narrativa. LaSal Poesía published six volumes, by Mari Chordà, Rosa Fabregat, Carmen Ruiz, Marta Pessarrodona, and Montserrat Abelló. LaSal Narrativa produced sixteen works: ten originals by contemporary women writers and six translations of classical and contemporary Anglo-American and European writers (Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Alejandra Kolontai, Christiane Rochefort, Verena Stefan, and Rose Tremain). Of particular interest were two works by the North American writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman: *El paper de paret groc* (1982) (*The Yellow Wallpaper*, 1892), which reached Spain for the first time in the Catalan version of the poet and translator Montserrat Abelló, and *El país de ellas: una utopía feminista* (1987) (*Herland*, 1915), in the version of the writer Helena Valentí.

In 1979 LaSal, Edicions de les Dones began a series publishing exclusively feminist essays. LaSal Ensayo, which ultimately consisted of nine titles (four originals and five translations), dealt with various significant issues, such as sexuality, prostitution, pornography, pacifism, sexism in school textbooks, group therapies, the fight for women's voting rights in Spain, or the presence of women in the French Revolution. Amongst other writers, the series includes the journalist and pioneer of the German feminist movement Alice Schwarzer, the North American sociologist Kathleen Barry, and the French sociologist André Michel. Published in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution, only the last translation, *1789–1793, la voz de las mujeres en la revolución francesa: cuadernos de quejas y otros textos* ('1789–1793, the women's voice in the French Revolution:

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5.   The *Agenda* (Diary) of 1978 was the first publication of laSal, Edicions de les Dones. Coordinated by Mari Chordà, this was a small notebook with photographs, quotations, and political texts, which became an unexpected success. The print run of the last edition, in 1990, was 24,000 copies.

notebooks of complaints and other texts') (1989) by several authors, with a prologue by Paule-Marie Duhet and in the translation by Antònia Pallach, contains a detailed introduction (twenty-four pages long) by the Spanish feminist activists Isabel Alonso and Mila Belinchón. Alonso and Belinchón emphasize the need to retrieve and disseminate texts written by women of all times in order to "restore the feminine part of History" (1989: vii).

Two new series were launched in 1981: Manuales de Salud and Cuadernos Inacabados. The first, aimed at informing women about their bodies and their health, consisted of five titles, three of which were translations. The last, *¿Por qué sufrir? La regla y sus problemas* (1983) (*Why Suffer? Periods and Their Problems*, 1979) by Lynda Birke and Katy Gardner, is a collective translation by the Barcelona group DAIA. This group began its work in 1974 within the activities of the Grupo Planning of the Asociación de Mujeres Universitarias de Barcelona ('Association of University Women of Barcelona') and spread the new ideas coming from abroad about birth control and the free expression of sexuality. The Consciousness-Raising groups that appeared at the end of the sixties in the United States were the inspiration that led DAIA to advocate family planning centers that would be independent of public institutions and would serve to promote mechanisms of solidarity and self-help amongst women (see Llinàs 2008: 70–74).

The second of these series, Cuadernos Inacabados, was a highlight of the publishing house and was directed by the activist, translator, and daughter of the poet Montserrat Abelló, Mireia Bofill. When LaSal closed in the nineties, its catalogue was incorporated into the newly-created Madrid feminist press horas y Horas under the same direction. Cuadernos Inacabados published eight short volumes on various subjects. Five of these were by national authors (Eli Bartra, María Jesús Izquierdo, Amparo Moreno, Victoria Sau, and Carmen Sáez Buenaventura) and three by outstanding international feminists of the time: *Brujas, comadronas y enfermeras: historia de las sanadoras* (1981) (*Witches, Midwives and Nurses. Complaints and Disorders*, 1973), by the North American activists Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, in a version by Mireia Bofill and Paola Lingua; *Por un feminismo materialista: el enemigo principal y otros textos* ('For a materialist feminism: The main enemy and other texts') (1982), an anthology of various texts and interviews of French sociologist Christine Delphy, edited and translated by Mireia Bofill, Ángela Cadenas, and Eulàlia Petit; and *El Cuerpo a cuerpo con la madre. El otro género de la naturaleza. Otro modo de sentir* (1985) (*Le corps-à-corps avec la mère*, 1981; *L'autre genre de la nature*, 1980; *Un autre mode de sentir*, 1978), by French psychoanalyst Luce Irigaray in a translation by Mireia Bofill and Anna Carvallo.

The last series the mythical Clàssiques Catalanes, appeared in 1983 under the direction of Isabel Segura. LaSal went from publishing the new titles of Anglo-American and European feminist authors of the time to retrieving the classical

women writers of Catalan culture. The series became very popular and published fourteen titles, two of which were translations (*Les trobairitz* and *Duoda*). The catalogue includes old works by Duoda, Sor Isabel de Villena, Estefania de Requesens, and the Occitan poets, as well as contemporary works by Clementina Arderiu, Aurora Bertrana, Víctor Català, Carme Montoriol, Dolors Montserdà, Anna Murià, Mercè Rodoreda, and Maria Teresa Vernet.

On March 10, 1990, the journalist Rosa María Piñol sadly announced in the newspaper *El País* the winding up of the publishing house LaSal: "Twelve years ago the publishing house LaSal was founded in Barcelona in order to publish books by and for women. The closure of the company will create a vacuum in the field of feminist publications" (Piñol 1990). She emphasized that the publishers had decided to give up their activity because of the acute fatigue of the team, who had worked for years "with great doses of willpower and enthusiasm."

5.2 A last transnational legacy: The IV International Feminist Book Fair (1990)

LaSal's last assignment was of transnational importance: the coordination of the IV International Feminist Book Fair held at the Drassanes exhibition hall in Barcelona on June 19 to 23, 1990. Previous editions had taken place in London in 1984, in Oslo in 1986, and in Montreal in 1988. Two years before, on the request of the direction of LaSal, the Town Council of Barcelona had officially presented the city's candidature to host the Fair. In spite of having decided to cease publishing, those responsible for LaSal, and in particular Mireia Bofill, took part in organizing the event along with other institutions.

At the inauguration, Bofill spoke in representation of the organizing committee. She emphasized that the Fair was the culmination of the struggle sustained by women in Barcelona and Catalonia for many years, a task that had begun with the Jornadas Catalanas de la Mujer in 1976. She also referred to feminist publishing: "Over the last twenty years the feminist movement has fought to give a voice to the social force that we women represent, amongst other activities, by publishing and circulating books by and on women" (Bofill in Aubet 1991: 364). She ended by expressing gratitude to "everyone, men and women, readers, writers, publishers, booksellers, distributors, translators, illustrators, literary agents, journalists, institutions, women's groups and, finally, to all women" (Bofill in Aubet 1991: 363).

The contributions were collected in *Debats / Debates / Dibattiti / Panel Discussions / Besprechungen. IV Feria Internacional del Libro Feminista* (Aubet 1991). Activities were organized in two blocks: the first, on June 19/20, was addressed to the feminist publishing industry, and the second, on June 20/23, was open to the general public. The discussion groups were topic-oriented. The first block consisted

of eight groups and the second of twenty-four, each hosting an average of five or six contributions in various languages and from different cultures. A total of 150 contributions were delivered. As an example, in the group entitled "The pleasure/challenge of translation," contributions were made by the Barcelona translator Mireia Bofill, publisher and translator or co-translator of most of the essays translated by LaSal, the German Traude Bührmann and Karen Nölle-Fischer, the Dutch translator Rita Gircour, and the Canadian Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Nicole Brossard, both activists of the Canadian feminist school of the eighties (von Flotow 1997; Godayol 2000).

Hosting 201 publishing houses, 14 bookshops, 31 magazines, and 100 authors from 36 countries, the International Feminist Book Fair of Barcelona was a remarkable success, from which numerous projects stemmed, such as the bookshop Pròleg in Barcelona, or the publishing house horas y HORAS in Madrid. The latter included in its catalogue the series Cuadernos Inacabados, launched in LaSal by Mireia Bofill (Aubet 1991; Bofill 2014).

6. Conclusions: Combating "the great defeat"

In the words of the feminist writer Maria Aurèlia Capmany (1978: 8), the year 1939 marked the beginning of "the great defeat" for Spanish women. Francoism completely abolished the rights acquired by women in the Republican legislation. Appearing in Barcelona during the period of post-Francoism and with notable differences as regards internal organization, profitability, duration, and political priorities, the three feminist publishing projects that we have presented here fought against Franco's policies aiming to render women and their cultural genealogy invisible. To undo the inequality and literary asymmetry brought about by four decades of the Francoist intellectual desert, the three projects presented here nurtured, to more or less effect, a subaltern canon lacking symbolic mothers and sisters, and provided for the social and academic movements of women who were awakening from the slumber induced by the National-Catholic doctrine.

The case of Spain was very different from that of other European and Anglo-American countries in that the rise of second-wave international feminism coincided with the end of the Francoist dictatorship and the dismantling of its ideology, a circumstance that greatly encouraged interest in the recovery of the history of women and gender, and its revaluation. The importation of foreign literature was a key factor. As we have seen, not only were works and women authors restored to a canon which was manifestly androcentric and impoverished by the former dictatorial regime, but also texts were imported that were vital for putting an end to the fascist model of femininity and for fighting for a new one committed to democratic freedom.

When the vindicatory euphoria of publishing in the first years of the post-Francoist period abated, the Colección Feminismo, in 1979, and La Educación Sentimental, in 1984, ceased publication. The former closed for lack of financing, at the same time as the magazine *Vindicación Feminista* (1976–1978), which was coordinated by the same publishers Lidia Falcón and Carmen Alcalde (Larumbe 2002). The latter, as its publisher explained, suffered the change of priorities of the publishing house, which then concentrated on narrative, especially from Latin America. With the victory of the PSOE in 1982 (and feminism present for the first time in the institutions), Anagrama chose to support other initiatives, being, as it was, a commercial publisher and having conducted its mission as a mediator with "the great hopes and many illusions of the time" (Herralde 1994: 18).

The pioneering LaSal, Edicions de les Dones closed down in 1990. In *Mixed Media. Feminist Presses and Publishing Politics* (2004), which documents the boom in the seventies and the decline towards the end of the millennium of the feminist publishing houses in the Anglo-Saxon world, Simone Murray explains how there came a time when the two main objectives of these companies, political commitment and profit-making, took "incompatible directions" (Murray 2004: 2). This was the case of LaSal, Edicions de les Dones. With no debts pending but with those responsible exhausted, when it was necessary to redefine the company, the direction decided to close down a collective publishing project that had been fundamental in Spain and Europe.

Fifteen years later, in 2014, Mireia Bofill, translator and publisher of LaSal, defined the internal situation of dynamic collaboration in the company as a "space for working in relation" (Bofill 2014: 30): from the selection of books to their material realization and distribution, the prologues and introductions, the translations, the corrections, the relationships with the authors, the presentations in bookshops, etc. Cosmopolitan, subversive, and with great willpower, LaSal published regularly for twelve years thanks to the personal and professional dedication of a group of Barcelona feminist intellectuals, moved by hope and enthusiasm to regain lost time and to restore Spanish feminism to normality. With this chapter we wish to pay tribute to these feminist publishing platforms and to many others launched by the second-wave feminism. As Simone Murray points out, in spite of their differences, they all shared the perception "that the act of publishing is, because of its role in determining the parameters of public debate, an inherently political act and that women, recognizing this fact, must intervene in the processes of literary production to ensure that women's voices are made audible" (Murray 2004: 2). Seen from the 21st century, there "thus remains an ongoing challenge in continuing the project of achieving genuine canonical equality" (Riley and Pearce 2018: 29), and we thank them for having existed, for having attempted it.

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Citizens as agents of translation versions

The polyphonic translation

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The prospects of a solution to the Cyprus issue have led to a revived interest in the fate of Famagusta, which, after more than 40 years of abandonment due to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, has turned into a ghost city and a strong symbol both of the island's division and the prospect of reunification. Hands-on-Famagusta, an architectural project (2015a) by a bi-communal team (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) aiming to explore prospects of reunifying the city, also becomes important through its trilingual website (English-Greek-Turkish). More specifically, the involvement of various translation agents co-shaped the translation product and led to the creation of what will be termed a polyphonic translation (following Bakhtin 1986), as this trilingual output allowed not merely for a simple coexistence of conflicting discourses, but for a quasi-interaction, aiming at highlighting them as constituting elements of a potential cohabitation of Famagusta. All parties involved negotiated their memory and bypassed officially established language and translation policies and challenged dominant discourses of both sides. Their action prompts new ways of thinking about translation politics in terms of (a) citizens emerging as active agents of translation because, through or despite their memories and in contrast to official power centers, and (b) the reevaluation of "accuracy" and "sameness" in particularly polyphonic translation situations, where opposing discourses converge to necessary "amnesia."

Keywords: citizenship, memory, polyphonic (translation), translation politics, power, agency

1.   Introduction

This chapter discusses a particular case of translation within a project that can ultimately be seen as a re-negotiation of memory and dominant power relations by citizens themselves. More specifically, it discusses the implementation of the

Hands-on-Famagusta project and the translation processes involved therein. The Hands-on-Famagusta project (Hands-on-Famagusta 2015a) is an innovative architectural and social project by a bi-communal team of architects (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) in Cyprus. The aim of the project, which was officially launched in 2015, is to present a proposal for the revival of Famagusta, the port city in the eastern coast of Cyprus which was abandoned after the Turkish invasion of 1974 and became a ghost city ever since.

The implementation of the project involved the creation of a trilingual web platform (English-Greek-Turkish), for which two teams of translators collaborated with the team of the project initiators and other citizens. In fact, the Hands-on Famagusta project team initiated an additional project entitled *Found-in Translation* (2015) to provide a Turkish and Greek translation in a collective manner, and three books with the text in the three languages were exhibited at the Cyprus pavilion of the 2016 Venice Biennale of Architecture (curator: S. Stratis). The way the translations were commissioned and finalized raises important issues relating (a) to the fact that citizens actually attempted to bypass officially established language and translation policies, and (b) to what will be termed a 'polyphonic' translation (based on Bakhtin 1986). Citizens have taken the initiative to re-negotiate established discourses through architecture and translation, thus emerging as active agents of shaping translation in contrast to official power centers as well as in partial contrast to collective memory, thus prompting a re-evaluating of "accuracy" and "sameness" in situations where opposing discourses co-occur.

The chapter will set off with some historical background on Famagusta and the current issues that highlight the historical and political frameworks in which the Hands-on-Famagusta project emerged (Section 1). Subsequently, the management of the architectural project and the translation processes involved in its implementation will be outlined and discussed (Section 2) as an example of the existence of asymmetrical power relations in situations of conflict, the role of citizenship and memory in such asymmetries, and the role of translation as used by citizens to support a legitimate, genuine political stance which combines memory with activism for the future (Section 3).

2. The story of Famagusta and the emergence of the project

Famagusta (in Greek *Ammochostos*, meaning the city nested in the sand, in Turkish *Mağusa*, and after 1974 also *Gazimağusa*, from Turkish *gazi*, meaning 'warrior') is an important urban center and port city in the eastern coast of Cyprus, founded in ancient times, and famous for its commercial significance, wealth, and history from medieval times (Lusignan period), through to Venetian, Ottoman, and British rule

in Cyprus (cf. Hill 2010); the city was also famous as a cosmopolitan tourist attraction in the second half of the 20th century. The life of a large part of Famagusta, known as *Varosha*, stopped violently in 1974, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, making this part of the city a strong symbol both of the island's division and of the prospect of reunification.

Cyprus gained its independence from British rule in 1960, after the armed campaign of 1955–1959 by the EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), a five-year struggle known as the liberation struggle. The new state, inhabited mostly by Greek Cypriots (to roughly 82%) and Turkish Cypriots (to roughly 18%), acquired a constitution which stipulated that the respective "motherlands," Greece and Turkey, as well as the United Kingdom, were to function as its guarantor powers. The assumed unity between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots during the liberation struggle proved to be a superficial one and the island soon found itself in political turmoil (cf., for a brief account, Floros 2020). Soon after independence, intercommunal clashes started already in 1963 and led to the de facto division of the capital Nicosia into two sectors, a Greek and a Turkish one. The then commander of the British peace force drew a cease-fire line on a map of the city, using a green pencil; hence, this line is still known as the *green line*.

The armed intercommunal clashes escalated and the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from state administration in protest. This led to the country adopting the so-called *doctrine of necessity* in 1964, the scheme which still forms the source of law for administering the Republic of Cyprus to date, by decision of the Supreme Court (see Kombos 2012). The severity of the conflicts and a series of other political reasons which go well beyond the scope of this work, also led large groups of Turkish Cypriots, who until then lived either in their own villages or in mixed villages and neighborhoods together with Greek Cypriots across the country, to violently or voluntarily withdraw to so-called enclaves (cf. Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006), that is, to areas exclusively inhabited by Turkish Cypriots, seemingly as a measure of protection. Larger urban centers, such as Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol, and Paphos, still remained fairly mixed, as the Turkish-Cypriot inhabitants mostly remained in their neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the conflict went on and the situation remained extremely precarious.

In July 1974, when the Turkish army invaded the northern part of the island, Greek Cypriots from these northern areas fled to the south. Ironically, the plan of the invasion did not initially foresee the occupation of the Varosha area, and the Turkish troops stopped outside the city. Nevertheless, the Greek Cypriots of the city did abandon their homes due to bombardments during the invasion. They hoped that this was just a state of emergency which would be overcome soon, so that they would be able to return to their homes; the refugees from other areas of northern Cyprus were holding out similar hopes. Unfortunately, a painful exchange

of populations was enforced after the invasion, aiming to ethnic cleansing, thus neither Greek Cypriots, nor Turkish Cypriots ever returned to their homes. The island became de facto divided with the resulting dividing line (buffer zone) being an extension of the green line in Nicosia to the east and west of the island. The most important central and coastal areas of Famagusta known as the Varosha area, previously inhabited mainly by Greek Cypriots, remain abandoned ever since. To Greek Cypriots, Varosha has actually become a synonym of Famagusta and is now a ghost city where nobody lives, with its buildings left to decay – a fenced-off military area where entrance was only permitted to the Turkish army. In October 2020, the Turkish occupation forces surprisingly re-opened this area unilaterally, though not with the intention to return it to its citizens, who still dream of returning. As the negotiations for the reunification of the island are still ongoing, the proposal for a re-opening of the city and for returning it to its citizens has been thrown by the two sides on the table a few times in the last decade, but to no avail.

After the rejection of the UN Secretary General's Anan Plan by the majority of the Greek Cypriots in 2004, hopes for a successful negotiation of a reunification deal did not cease to exist, since talks continued; these hopes were particularly revived before and during the UN-sponsored Cyprus talks of 2015–2017 in Crans-Montana, Switzerland. The Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots failed to reach a deal back then, but the political developments that led to the Crans-Montana talks provided new hopes for the revival of Famagusta. The optimism that Famagusta should and could be revived in one way or the other, gave rise to further serious contemplation of the possibilities to do so. It is in this optimistic framework of the period between 2004 and 2015 that the Hands-on-Famagusta project was created. This project uses urban transformation processes as a tool to offer Cypriot civil society a chance to contemplate Famagusta as contested space and express imaginaries, that is, visions on how to reunite and revive the city based on the urban commons (for a detailed description of the aims of the project, see Stratis 2016: 23ff.). Next to various debate platforms and a mobile physical model of Famagusta, as well as surveys and publications, one of the most important products of the project is a web platform, which aims to help citizens visualize a future for the ghost city as well as for the larger area surrounding it. As the initiators of the project put it themselves (Hands-on Famagusta 2015, emphasis in the original),

> Hands-on Famagusta web platform is **devoted to visualizing a common urban future** for a unified Famagusta, thus paving the way for future collaboration and further cohabitations in a post-conflict Cyprus. It is an integral part of the "Hands-on Famagusta" project which uses participatory urban design processes to facilitate dialogue about the future of Famagusta. The project contributes to the construction of a common ground between groups in conflict and supports the planning of contemporary urban environments.

Therefore, the project is not simply a technical proposal for reviving urban facilities in a post-conflict Cyprus, but an urban proposal aiming to prompt ways in which the citizens themselves – not authorities or other power centers – can imagine the future of the city at many levels, that is, by including technical, economic, and cultural aspects, as well as aspects of cohabitation of the two main communities living in the area. The authors of the project call this approach "a critical spatial practice" (Stratis and Akbil 2016: 157). In this sense, the project is heavily oriented towards the public sphere of users and towards offering citizens a voice which is otherwise usually silenced in top-down decision-making processes on such large urban projects. This is all the more important, since the project refers to a still imaginary post-conflict era with huge political and cultural implications, as well as a heavy historical background. Whereas in other Cypriot cities the question in such a post-conflict era would be mainly one of unilateral resettlement (with either Turkish Cypriots or Greek Cypriots possibly resettling in formerly mixed, and today developed and already functioning areas), the question of Famagusta is more complicated, as people from both sides would resettle to an area that needs to be practically reborn. In other words, the city would not only need to *translate* the memories of the past to a contemporary, existing state of affairs, but would also need to *transcreate* these memories for a completely new state of affairs. Thus, the active involvement of citizens for a bottom-up shaping of a unified Famagusta is one of the most important aspects the project initiators aimed to promote.

The web platform takes on the form of an online game, which visitors can play to explore the fragments of the city and express views and preferences for its future revival and functioning. The city's fragmentation and the call for exploration through playing a game becomes immediately evident on the homepage of the web platform, as shown in Figure 1.
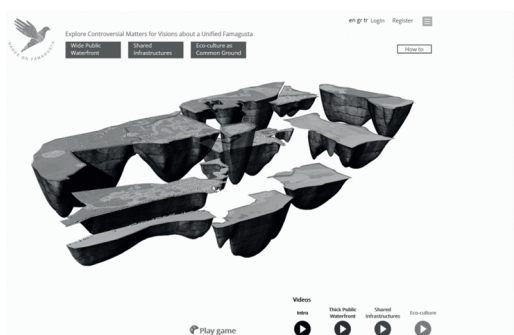
Figure 1. The homepage of the Hands-on-Famagusta project

Visitors can click on any one of the larger areas or the individual fragments to see descriptions of the area, possible agents in forming the future of the city, and possible scenarios of reconstruction processes to explore. They can also directly play the game by clicking on the dedicated link at the bottom. One of the most interesting and important characteristics of the platform is that all its pages exist in three different versions, as they are presented not only in English as a lingua franca (the version depicted in Figure 1), but also in the native languages of the citizens it is meant for, that is, in Greek and Turkish (see upper-right part of Figure 1). For the creation of the different versions, a translation process was followed – a unique one from many perspectives. This process was not only useful as a result, in the sense that it provides enhanced accessibility, but also very intriguing itself for the way it was conducted, a way which reveals how translation was used and capitalized on as a tool for political action which defies dominant discursive perceptions. The process will be discussed in detail in the next section.

3.   The translation project: Process and product

3.1   Initiation and phases of the translation project

As was said earlier, the initiators of the Hands-on-Famagusta project are a bicom-munal team of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot architects and urban planners.[1] Since the division of Cyprus and the shaping of relatively homogenous, monolingual population groups in the Republic of Cyprus (Greek) as well as in the northern territories of the island (Turkish), which in 1983 declared themselves an independent state by the name KKTC (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti), or TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus), the two population groups do not speak each other's language, despite the fact that both Greek and Turkish are official languages of the Republic of Cyprus. In fact, they were never very keen on learning and speaking each other's language ever since the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans, apart for covering everyday communication needs (see Floros 2020). Therefore, the whole coordination of the project and the drafting of documents for the web platform were conducted in English.

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1.   The project leader is Socrates Stratis (Imaginary Famagusta Group, AA&U, LU²CY). The project team members include: Emre Akbil, Esra Can Akbil, Chrysanthe Constantinou, Nektarios Christodoulou (up to 2015), and Münevver Özgür Özersay from the Imaginary Famagusta Group, Angeliki Koutsodimitropoulou, Thalia Charalambous, and Chrysanthe Constantinou from AA&U (Architecture, Art and Urbanism), as well as Nicolas Constantinou and Phivia Papashiandi from LU²CY (Laboratory of Urbanism, University of Cyprus).

Beyond being a lingua franca, and therefore a logical and expected choice for communication among people of different languages, English has a very prominent status in Cyprus ever since British rule (1878–1960). It is now recognized as a second language in all parts of the island (see Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler 2011); but – most importantly – it has offered both communities a new language of communication ever since British rule, "probably because the various communities could maintain a convenient distance to it, as they did not necessarily identify it as part of their perceived ethnic identities" (Floros 2020: 223). The avoidance of any nationalist implications offered by the use of English must thus have been yet another reason – beyond the practical one – for the team of the particular project to opt for it. Nevertheless, the value of the native languages for the end-product was never underestimated, and it was decided that the web platform should be aired in all three languages. This decision was primarily taken in order to enhance accessibility, since adequate knowledge of English could not be presupposed for all possible users of the platform, but also in order to support linguistic pluralism in Cyprus.

For the translation of the English (EN) source texts of the web platform into Greek (GR) and Turkish (TR), two teams of translators were commissioned, each for the respective target language, the author of this chapter being a member of the GR translators' team. The two teams of translators were briefed about the project and the expectations, and a very specific timeline was given. The translations would be finalized in three phases, which, very interestingly, were decided and planned by the team of architects themselves. They were announced to both teams of translators in advance, and indeed took place as planned: Phase 1 was the phase of preparing the GR texts and the TR texts, in constant collaboration and consultation with the team of architects. Such consultation was offered in order to clarify architectural terms and concepts, but also to discuss possible editing and amendments to the EN original, based on feedback from the translators, as the architects were very eager to negotiate their original, since none of them was an English native speaker. Phase 1 produced the provisional trilingual content of the web platform (see Figure 2).

In Phase 2, each translated version was read by the team of architects as well as by a team of volunteers, consisting of people who had a connection to Famagusta by being either former citizens or current citizens of the larger Famagusta area as well as of people without own memories of Famagusta. More specifically, the completed GR version was read by the Greek Cypriot architects and, subsequently, by a small group of Greeks and Greek Cypriots (some of them from Famagusta), while the completed TR version was read by the Turkish Cypriot architects and, subsequently, by a small group of Turkish-speaking current citizens from the open parts of Famagusta. These small groups of volunteer readers intentionally acted as sample audiences of the web platform translations, in order to check how the texts
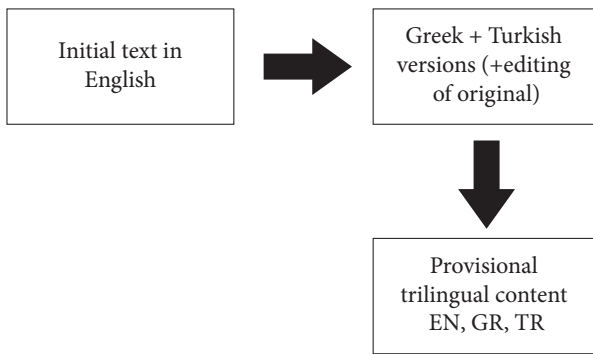
Figure 2. Phase 1 of the translation project

would come across to people who were not deeply involved in the conceptualization of the project. Both the architects and the sample audiences made suggestions for possible editing, based on their perceptions of how the final outcome would work and what kind of impressions it would create (see Figure 3).
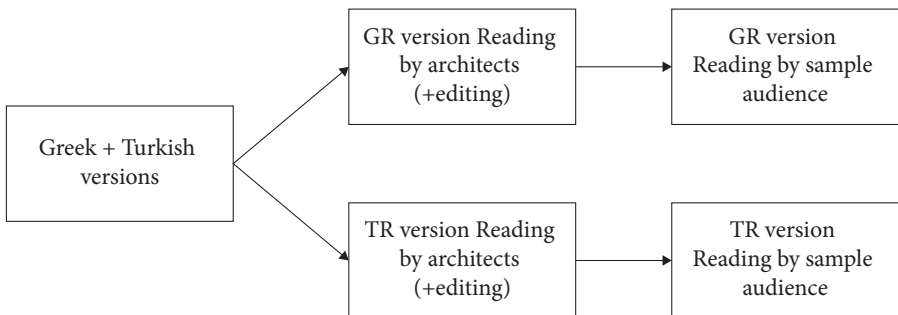
Figure 3. Phase 2 of the translation project

They also gathered comments to be discussed in the third phase. Phase 3, perhaps the most complicated one, included group consultations and revisions (within the same day), as well as the finalization of all three versions (EN, GR, TR) afterwards. More specifically, two consultation groups were formed: One consisting of the GR-speaking architects, the GR translators, and the GR-speaking sample audience, and another one consisting of the TR-speaking architects, the TR translators and the TR-speaking sample audience. The two consultation groups worked separately in parallel sessions. After that, the two consultation groups came together to form a large consultation group consisting of everyone involved. This large group switched to English and negotiated all inconsistencies that had emerged among the three versions while the monolingual groups were working separately. The aim was to

see which inconsistencies could or should be overcome and which ones were to be maintained in the completed trilingual web platform that would be aired. After the group work, the teams of translators and the team of architects revised and finalized the versions to be used in the platform (see Figure 4). The completed, trilingual web platform was officially released in 2015 in a public event in Famagusta.
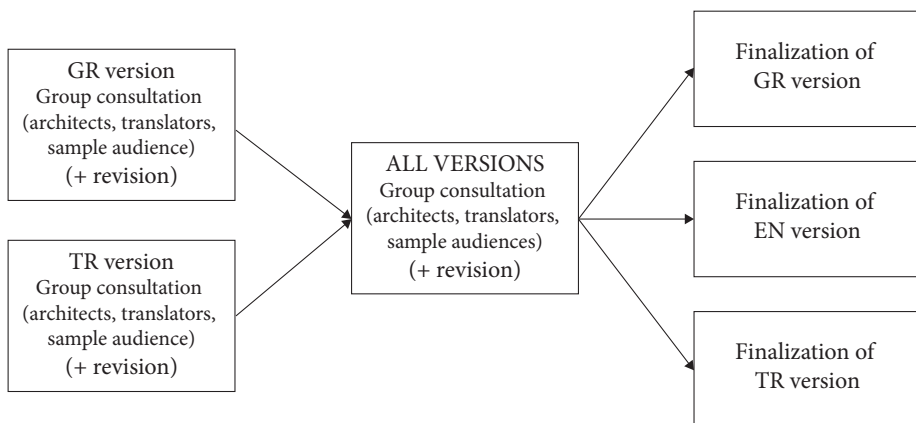
Figure 4. Phase 3 of the translation project

The procedure followed for the completion of the translation is an impressive example of how things should ideally work in translation. A close collaboration with an open-minded and eager client, a chance to have the work checked by a sample audience, a seamless coordination of a complicated process involving multilingual production, and, above all, time for a much-needed negotiation of difficult instances with socio-political implications. But the most impressive aspect was that all of the above was initiated by the clients themselves, of whom one would not expect to be aware of how a translation project should ideally work.

3.2   Inconsistencies in the translation product

The final result of the translation procedure followed displays some inconsistencies among the three versions. These inconsistencies are particularly important in the sense that they did not emerge out of lack of coordination; on the contrary, they are a conscious collective result of the process, as all parties involved in the project are fully aware of their existence and have agreed that these inconsistencies be retained in the final product. It needs to be noted here that the consultation sessions, both the separate ones and the final, collective one, have been intriguing all way through, because the retained inconsistencies, as well as those which

were eliminated, were the object of negotiation which often included disagreement. However, these disagreements have turned out fruitful in the sense that the outcome presents a conscious compromise, that is a balance between those historical and political perceptions which are highly valued, and thus unnegotiable, and those which the parties involved were willing to concede, especially as regards the members of the sample audiences.

The most representative examples of such inconsistencies are given below. They mostly refer to the preservation and/or neutralization of discourses and collective perceptions regarding historical and political events whose interpretation is traditionally contested between the communities across all levels of political life in Cyprus. The first two examples come from the pages describing the web platform (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Contrastive view of Examples (1) and (2) as they appear on the EN, GR and TR webpages

Example (1)
- a.   EN version: *enclaves*
- b.   GR version: *αστικοί θύλακες* [astikí thýlakes]
       'urban enclaves'
- c.   TR version: *kentsel parçalarını*
       'urban parts/pieces'

Example (2)
- a.   EN version: *of the conflict*
- b.   GR version: *του Κυπριακού προβλήματος* [tú Kypriakú provlímatos]
       'of the Cyprus problem'
- c.   TR version: *şiddet içeren çatışmaların*
       'of the violent conflict'

Example (1) shows how the original lexical item *enclaves* was handled in the other two versions. While the word *enclave* is a rather neutral word in English in terms of associations and connotations, in this case referring to isolated urban areas, the

GR equivalent *θύλακας* is a word with a very heavy historical and political load for the Greek Cypriots, as well as with negative connotations of hostility and partition (see Section 2 of this chapter). This was pointed out by the GR translators, who justified their choice to use the specifier *αστικοί* [astikí] ('urban') before *θύλακες* [thýlakes] ('enclaves') (instead of replacing it alltogether) in order to clarify that the relevant meaning of this instance indeed refers to urban areas/parts of the city, but may also hint at its particular load in the specific context of discussing contested spaces. This was accepted by the sample audience and the architects. On the contrary, the TR equivalent chosen, *kentsel parçalarını* ('urban parts/pieces'), reproduces the neutrality of the EN original. As a matter of fact, it enhances the neutrality, as it avoids not only the reference to the historical background of this notion, but also the nuance of isolation inherent in *enclave*. The notion of isolation could have been reproduced, for instance, by phrases such as *dışa kapalı* ('closed out') or *tecrit edilmiş* ('isolated'); however, the Turkish Cypriot enclaves of the 1960–1974 period had not been named by Turkish Cypriots with a particular term, as their side focused mainly on the actions of relocation and withdrawal rather than on the event of forming specific locations as quasi-camps, which seems to have been the focal point for Greek Cypriots. In addition, the TR correspondence to EN *enclave/enclaves* (*anklav/anklavlar*) was not used back then to designate the withdrawal to specific areas, thus it was not deemed suitable by the TR translators and sample audience.

In Example (2), the EN *conflict*, which obviously refers to the conflicts between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as well as to the event of the Turkish invasion as a source of conflict, was reproduced in the TR version in an enhanced way, by adding the phrase *şiddet içeren* ('including severity, violent'), most probably in an attempt to highlight the fact that this was not simply *a* conflict, but one that has been particularly painful for all sides involved. The GR version attaches a quite different dimension to this instance. It replaces conflict by the phrase *του Κυπριακού προβλήματος* [tú Kypriakú provlímatos] ('of the Cyprus problem'), in an obvious attempt to highlight that this conflict has been heralded by the Republic of Cyprus as a case of international law, with international dimensions and repercussions, basically the top issue in Cypriot foreign policy and international relations. For Greece and the Greek Cypriots, the 1974 events are considered to be a Turkish *invasion*, that is, an act of *war*, subject to international law. For the Turkish and Turkish Cypriots, these events are considered to be a *landing* of the Turkish army, a *peace* operation based on the rights granted to Turkey by its status as one of Cyprus' guarantor powers. The idea was to protect Turkish Cypriots from the coup d'état against Makarios, the elected President of the Republic of Cyprus, perpetrated in 1974 by the military junta regime ruling Greece back then.

Another example, to be found in the descriptions of the Varosha enclave on the homepage of the platform (Example (3), see Figure 6), also makes evident that discourses across the versions of the multilingual web platform are not aligned.

Figure 6. Contrastive view of Example (3) as it appears on the EN, GR and TR webpages

Example (3)
a. EN version: *deprived of its Greek Cypriot inhabitants*
b. GR version: *χωρίς την παρουσία των Ελληνοκυπρίων*
[chorís tin parousía ton Ellinokypríon]
'without the presence of the Greek Cypriots'
c. TR version: *tüm kullanıcılarına kapalı olan*
'closed to all users'

This example comes from a description of the commercial and residential zone of Varosha as a dead zone since 1974, and showcases a peculiar case of toning down. Notably, the original EN version is the strongest one, saying that "Since 1974, deprived of its Greek Cypriot inhabitants, the Commercial and Residential Zone of Varosha is part of a fenced-off military zone under the control of Turkish Army" (Hands-on-Famagusta 2015b). It stresses the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of that particular area were Greek Cypriots, who have now been displaced and are denied entrance to this area even after 2003, when some checkpoints between the southern and northern territories reopened and north-south crossings were allowed again. This is reproduced in the GR version, albeit in less strong words, as the GR version uses the more neutral 'without the presence of the Greek Cypriots'. The TR version, however, makes no reference to the Greek Cypriots, by putting forward the information that Varosha is *closed to all users*, which is actually true, since entrance to this fenced-off area is denied to everybody, not just to the Greek Cypriots. Nevertheless, the divergence of discourses is still evident in this example, as the EN and GR versions focus on memories of the past, when the area was mainly inhabited by Greek Cypriots, and on Famagusta as a *lost* city, while the TR version focuses on the present situation and on Famagusta as a *barred* city.

Interestingly, the discursive divergence is alleviated, for instance, in the description of a different enclave, that of the famous tourist coast of Varosha, an area

adjacent to the commercial and residential zone. There, all three versions converge in stating that the waterfront area is "deprived of its Greek Cypriot inhabitants" (same as in Example (3), EN version), with the GR version repeating the slightly toned-down statement of Example (3), i.e., *without the presence of the Greek Cypriots*, and the TR version this time stating "Kıbrıslı Rum sakinlerin yerleşimine kapalı olan," which literally means *closed to the settlement of Greek Cypriot residents*, although this area is actually under the same status as the adjacent commercial and residential area, where entrance is denied to everybody. Further alleviation of discursive inconsistencies can be seen in the way the GR version treats references to public institutions of the northern territories. The covert, but widespread policy in the Republic of Cyprus (see Floros 2012: 931f.) is to stress the illegality of the TRNC by referring to it as the *pseudo-state*, in an effort to ultimately stress that the formation of the TRNC in 1983 was officially condemned by the UN. Therefore, all institutions of the TRNC are referred to using modifiers such as *illegal* or *so-called*, or put them in quotation marks. This is followed by all Greek Cypriot media and when translating any reference to the TRNC and its institutions, the highly respected norm is that of denying legal status to public institutions, so as to ultimately denounce the legal status of the whole state. By not using any modifiers or quotation marks when referring to public institutions of the northern territories, the GR version of the web platform goes against the dominant practices and discourse of the Greek Cypriot side.

Apart from being a conscious collective result, the occurrence of inconsistencies in the final outcome is important for yet another reason: they are integral parts of a *single* product, since they occur in different versions of the same final text. The web platform is to be considered as a single and unified context, despite the fact that it consists of differing linguistic versions. This attaches an important value-added to the product, since such multilingual content is normally supposed to be discursively unified, or aligned. But in this case, it allows for a quasi-interaction of divergent discourses. Such interaction highlights these discourses as constituting elements of a potential cohabitation of Famagusta.

4.   Memory, citizenship, and the polyphonic translation

Perhaps the most suitable general framework for discussing the product of the web platform is provided by memory studies and their interaction with translation studies. Building on cultural translation as discussed mainly by Tymoczko (2007) and Bhabha (1994), and adopting a holistic approach, Brownlie (2016: 12) supports that "the translation/memory nexus is a rich vein for investigation" and sets out "to

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present an overall framework for the study of the conjunction of translation and memory." Simon (2012: 159) writes that languages "reanimate the ghosts of the past, they replay the stories of battles lost and won. They affirm entitlement or they speak of displacement." Brownlie (ibid.) takes this as a starting point to investigate various types of memory, of which *personal* memory, *group* memory, and *national* memory seem to be of great importance for the study of the particular web platform.

According to Brownlie (2016: 12ff.), memory is a present-focused and mediated reconstruction of something that happened in the past. What the Hands-on-Famagusta project is actually doing beyond proposing a reconstruction and revival process for the entire area of Famagusta is a negotiation of memory through translation, no matter how consciously such a negotiation was undertaken. The participants in the project can be seen in Tymoczko's (2007) terms both as *insiders* (who are close to their own culture and memory and take things for granted) and *outsiders* (who do not understand the cultural practices and memories of a different group) in a cultural translation event that is ultimately a translation of memory. But despite being both knowledgeable of and foreign to the interpretations of a past event, they strive to reconciliate the divergent memories. Personal memory is defined by Brownlie (cf. 2016: 13) as an individual's memory of their past life events, of knowledge, skills, practices, beliefs, and attitudes acquired, and is a constitutive element of a person's identity. The personal memory of each of the participants in the architectural project itself, most of whom remember the invasion and the painful subsequent division of Cyprus, meets the group and national memories crystallized in the respective parts of the island after these events. For Brownlie (cf. 2016: 14), group memory concerns the shared memory of past, people and events and also of the practices, beliefs and norms of a group such as the family, a religious group, a professional, or a social class group. National memory, which is constitutive in creating national identity, encompasses (cf. Brownlie 2016: 15) complementary and competing perspectives, thus the dominant sector of society imposes interpretations of past events through the media and the education system. Such interpretations, which are usually resistant to change, belong to the main factors which shape national ideologies, politics, and policies. One way for safeguarding and perpetuating such ideologies, resulting among others from national and group memory, is translation, no matter how selective or filtering they may be (see, for example, Valdeón and Calafat 2020, or Valero-Garcés and Tipton 2017).

The way the painful events regarding Famagusta are remembered at the personal, group, and national levels indeed differ, sometimes significantly. Especially as regards national memory and ideology, the discourses that have been shaped seem almost totally incompatible and the narrative differences almost totally insurmountable. People and groups have memories not simply of the events, but

also of their lives before the events, when Cyprus became independent and the two communities were living together, albeit in conflict. Those were times of contested memory that plays perhaps an even more significant role than the 1974 events themselves. In addition, what Landsberg (2004) terms *prosthetic* memory, seems to be at play in Cyprus as well, as habitually happens in post-traumatic situations where memory needs to be kept and cherished by the next generations in all possible ways, even if these generations do not have first-hand experience of the events. Brownlie explains the notion of prosthetic memory by saying that "[a] vicarious experience, obtained from viewing or participating in an experientially rich mass-media production …, may give a person, indeed potentially a large number of people, a memory almost as if they had lived through the experience themselves" (2016: 9). After all, the motto guiding education and public policy in the Republic of Cyprus to date is *Δεν ξεχνώ* ('I do not forget'), while the Keryneia (Girne) mountains on the northern territories still feature a 450m-wide flag of TRNC on their south slopes, which is even lit-up in the night, to be deliberately visible from the southern territories at all times.

Through the way in which translation was used, the Hands-on-Famagusta project does not aim to erase or forget events and discourses, as an attempt to propose a healing of individuals or larger groups in a way which would be reminiscent of Nietzsche's (1994) "forgetting" as protection of an individual's health. Nor does it aim to negate them. The inconsistencies between the translation versions resemble more an attempt to renegotiate memory in a constructive way. By preserving some of the memory and opposing discourses while eliminating other memory- and ideologically-driven discursive practices through translation, thus bypassing established policies, the Hands-on-Famagusta project aims to highlight the possibility of the cohabitation of the communities as an alternative to the political dead-ends of the present. This practice is selective in that it aims to use translation as a means of *partially* forgetting instead of as a means of surviving (see Brownlie 2016: 11). Taken separately, each version is sort of "amnesiac" (cf. Oseki-Dépré 2009) in the sense that by preserving the discourse of one side, it looks away from and consciously forgets the memories of the other; but taken together as a final product, the translations are "mnemonic", since both opposing stances are represented at the end. The very act of placing opposing memories and discourses vis-à-vis one another and letting them coexist in a seemingly paradoxical manner, in a way that normally one would not expect from versions of one and the same product, say, for instance, from the versions of EU law texts, does not aim at perpetuating these memories; it attempts to highlight the possibility of coexistence, and therefore to allow for other, forgotten, and suppressed memories of coexistence from the time before indepencence to resurface. Those memories have a

strong potential to cultivate the way for alternative future political action. Memory, being a sociocognitive and dynamic process, has the potential to transform, despite usually associating it with preservation and tradition, when individuals or groups decide to contest it in their attempt to negotiate their civic condition. As Brownlie (cf. 2016: 13, and also 2013) asserts, memory has important functions both at the individual and social levels, by building relationships with others, creating self and group identity, and providing direction for future decisions and actions. Such decisions and actions do not need to be consistent with traditional and deeply rooted, national courses of action. In a politically healthy environment and under healthy leadership, contesting national ideology and renegotiating practices and directions forms part of good citizenship.

Citizenship is another important dimension of the Hands-on-Famagusta project. Initiators of the project, translators and sample audiences alike, acted as healthy citizens in a situation of unhealthy political conditions. Citizenship is understood here not simply as the quality or status of belonging to a national state, but as the quality of actively engaging in shaping the politics and policies of a formation, even if only as an attempt. The Hands-on-Famagusta agents are what Susam-Saraeva (2015), drawing on Herzfeld (1997), refers to as "ordinary" citizens, that is, members of a national or other formation who, as opposed to elites or state officials, are caught in anti-state action, sometimes a futile one, since the state will "resume its paternalistic role as protector of citizens and use any and every means to promote its own agendas" (Susam-Saraeva 2015: 161f.), but who, nevertheless, will ultimately keep acquiring and exercising power to affect the state of affairs through cultural products, processes, and practices. Architecture and translation are two prominent cultural practices where the agency of citizens may become evident. Although translation is usually in the hands of translators, other people involved also act as agents affecting its product. The particularly interesting and promising aspect here is that citizens did not only affect the product, but also the process of the translation, as they both initiated it and directed its course of conduct in ways that would otherwise be expected from professionals only.

In this way, the participants in the process of creating the Hands-on-Famagusta projects are exercising citizenship in a clear attempt to show that the two Cypriot communities can live together again, first and foremost by deciding on their own the way to do so. Regardless of the outcome, they attempt to imagine their future before official power centers do that, since the course of action by official power centers does not look promising, to say the least. In fact, the Hands-on-Famagusta imagines the revival of a bicultural community regardless of the official status of the city, that is regardless of whether Cyprus is reunited (which is the desired condition), or remains divided. Through design and translation, they thus exercise prefigurative agency, following what Baker (2016: 6) describes as "prefiguration":

> Put simply, prefiguration means attempting to construct (aspects of) the ideal society envisioned by activists in the present, rather than at some point in the future when the conditions for building a more equitable society may be more conducive to effecting positive change. It means that political principles are embodied in current behaviour, not put on hold until the time is deemed right for them to be deployed.

This is ultimately an ethical question of what it takes to be a citizen, even an ordinary one (see contributions in Thunder 2017). Keller (2017: 39ff.), for instance, questions the notion of patriotic loyalty that citizens are supposed to show to the state or nation by examining the complexity of the emotional lives of citizens, and recognizing that there can be many forms of emotional commitment for a citizen apart from patriotic loyalty. One such form of emotional commitment could also be the desire for a previous state of affairs, when the state was not monolingual and monocultural, as in the case of Cyprus before 1974. In attempting to reinstate the possibility of coexistence and cohabitation, the Hands-on-Famagusta project does not merely aim at a revival of a past state of affairs, but at the creation of a new one, where first and foremost, relations between the communities are (re-) established. This is what Miceli Stout (2017: 73ff.) points out when talking about the relational aspect of conscience, where citizens can share convictions of conscience instead of regarding them as too personal to form the basis for political resistance. After all, the participation in multiple social practices, as is the case in the Hands-on-Famagusta project, where citizens engage in urban shaping and translation, is proof of citizens being cooperative co-practitioners; thus, they are not only dependent on social cooperation, but also reflect on and are responsible for it, as Monti (2017: 138) suggests. Such reflective cooperation is the kind of civic responsibility practiced by the participants in the Hands-on-Famagusta project.

The result of this renegotiation of personal and collective memory with the aim to produce alternative discourses of cohabitation in a context of historical and political division is a polyphonic translation, since the trilingual web platform reflects diverging discourses put under the same roof. Polyphonic is meant here in the Bakhtinian sense (Bakhtin 1986), as allowing for a variety of perspectives and voices to coexist and clash with one another at the same time. The coexistence of the discourses is not opted for reasons of political correctness. On the contrary, this coexistence is a strong statement against the prevailing discursive practices of power centers on both sides of the island. The heteroglossia of the three translation versions of supposedly the "same" final product is deliberately maintained to create a polyphonic final result, a discursive product that hosts many voices, exactly as happens with human beings. Just as they would speak differently in different situations while still being the same person (heteroglossia), the web platform aspires to be one and the same entity that, still, acquires the collective quality of embodying

many narrating voices (polyphony), each of them attempting to enter into a dialogic relationship with the other. Polyphony is often used to describe a variety of social relationships of power or solidarity emerging within the same community (cf. Tsiplakou 2007; Floros 2014), such as the one aimed at through a solution to the Cyprus problem. It is, among others, such heteroglossia and polyphony that can also allow for some translations to become alternative spaces of political action, to quote Baker (2013).

Each translation version of the original EN version of the web platform is a typical case of what Jansen and Wegener, drawing on Stillinger's (1991) "multiple authorship", term "multiple translatorship", signaling "the reality that, for better or worse, translation is frequently collaborative in nature" (Jansen and Wegener 2013: 5). The contributing agents, or "situational agents" (Taivalkoski-Shilov 2013), impacting on the outcome of the translation, may be more or less visible in the translation event and ultimately produce a translation that looks unified in its final form. But taken together as one product, the various versions of the web platform cannot be seen in terms of multiple authorship or translatorship. Multiple translatorship does not reveal divergence in the end product. Polyphonic translation refers to a sum of supposedly equivalent translation versions of the same product, which do not conceal the diverging views among them, but retain a mutually acceptable difference from the original and/or amongst them. This is also the reason why polyphonic translation differs from EU law-text versions, which do not allow for anything but true equivalence.

5.   Conclusions

The trilingual web platform of the Hands-on-Famagusta project, as well as the process followed for this trilingual outcome to emerge, presents significant inconsistencies among the EN, the GR, and the TR versions. The deliberate retaining of these differences, but also the deliberate elimination of others, were opted for in order to signal the possibility for a cohabitation of discourses in a conflictual and contested context, thus implying the possibility of cohabitation of people in a post-conflict scenario which goes in many ways against historical and political memory and norms, as well as against the impasses arrived at through the practices followed so far by official power centers.

Given that translation has often been seen as an alternative space of political action, especially when citizens are confronted with political unwillingness or inability to resolve conflict, the inconsistencies among the multilingual versions allow for what could be termed *polyphonic translation* to emerge, prompting us to think that translation may play a significant political role precisely by letting divergent

discourses coexist instead of oppressing them in one or the other way. The assumed "sameness" desired or expected when a textual product appears in various other language versions is, therefore, strongly contested. Polyphonic translation prompts a convergence of opposing discourses into a new, still unsettled narrative, where opposing groups try to come to terms with each other. However, polyphony is not a universal ideal to be followed whenever there are asymmetrical power relations among citizens or between citizens and the state, but a possible means to be deployed reasonably in a context where citizen activism is required.

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CHAPTER 15

(Re)locating translation within asymmetrical power dynamics

Translation as an instrument of resistant conviviality

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This article proposes a critical approach to any instance of translation which (1) contributes to the (re)thinking of translation beyond the idea of bridge-building; (2) is based on a conceptualisation of culture(s) and identity(ies) in terms of translation and in inevitably political terms; and (3) may be useful for exploring alternative, resistant translation policies and practices inspired by an ideal of social conviviality. It will be argued that this is especially necessary in our superdiverse societies and in the contemporary era, where the potentialities of translation, both as a metaphor and as a practice, for social cohesion can be rethought and exploited. Translation perceived and practised as a dialogic and empowering tool will be posited as a powerful antidote to the perverse effects of the model of globalisation which is accepted as dominant in the current digital paradigm.

Keywords: translation, asymmetry, power, politics, translation policy, conviviality, digital age, globalisation, dialogue

1.   Introduction

Recent research in translation studies has encouraged revisiting the traditional image of translation as a bridge between cultures critically, warily, and with a healthy dose of scepticism. Under the lens of critical approaches to language and translation, this age-old comparison becomes just as idyllic as it is naïve. With the aim of contributing to an ethical and responsible translation praxis that, ultimately, may enhance the possibilities of intercultural dialogue and mutual intelligibility between the identities that interact in translation situations within contemporary globalised and technological societies, this article will argue for context-attuned alternative and emancipatory translation practices which are committed to the understanding and the respectful expression of differences. This translational approach will be conceptualised as grounded, on the one hand, in the recognition of pluralism and

diversity as intrinsic characteristics of societies and as a source of ideological and cultural wealth, and on the other hand, in a view of translation as *dialogue* – as an essentially negotiating operation which is subject to specific limitations and open to concrete potentialities in different scenarios.

In this sense, in a first section, this article will review research that supports a methodological distrust of the long-standing view of translation as an intrinsically beneficial process – a view that is implicit in recurrent conceptualisations of translation, including the traditional image of translation as a bridge. In a second section, this article will build on insights which have explored the interrelation of translation, politics and policies in order to argue for the understanding and (re)location of any translation instance or commission within broader (cross-)cultural dynamics. In line with these approaches, and as a complement to a view of translation as an act of transfer or exchange of cultural commodities between communities or cultures, any instance of translation will be defined as embedded in ongoing processes consisting of backward- and forward-reaching, multilateral, and never neutral links between social and cultural identities which rarely interact on an equal footing. In a third section, drawing on recent work by authors who have studied particularly revealing examples of asymmetrical dynamics within which translation participates in our current global and digital age, this article will argue for reflexive and self-reflexive translation practices which maximise on the potentialities of dialogue for the ultimate aim of enhancing cross-linguistic and cross-cultural intelligibility, and for the expression and respectful negotiation of differences. To this end, an analysis of the broader dynamics within which translation is enmeshed and of the particular specificities of a given context will prove to be crucial.

This critical approach that proposes (1) (re)thinking translation beyond the idea of bridge-building; (2) conceiving culture(s) and identity(ies) in terms of translation and in inevitably political terms; and (3) exploring resistant translation policies inspired by an ideal of social conviviality is, as will be argued, especially necessary in our superdiverse societies and in the contemporary era. Discourses on globalisation, spectacular progress in the development of new technologies and the democratisation of automatic translation software seem to have been conjured up in order to encourage a dangerous illusion – the prospect of immediate transcultural intercomprehension or "instant communicability" (Bielsa 2014: 392). As a counterpoint to this deceiving but widespread impression and as a base and a stimulus for the critical use of these technological advances which are here to stay and which can be availed of in an enabling way, drawing on relevant literature, it will be argued that translation needs to be seen as an ubiquitous and constant phenomenon in globalised societies, where many different concepts of translation, translation models and types of translation practices are at work on a multitude of levels (ideological, cultural, textual, verbal, etc.). Far from always being an instrument that promotes

understanding, translation can be aligned with different cultural agendas; it can also be informed by and in turn promote varying attitudes towards alterity. In this context where translation is not only constant, but also extremely necessary, the capacity of translation for fostering cross-cultural intelligibility can be optimally exploited for the construction of cohesive global societies. In my opinion, if it is understood and practiced as a dialogic and empowering tool, translation can be posited as a powerful antidote to the perverse effects of the model of globalisation which is accepted as dominant in the current digital paradigm.

2.   (Re)thinking translation beyond bridge-building

Throughout the imagery which has been passed down over the course of history and which is prevalent within our contemporary society, translation often takes the form of a bridge between cultures – an image which evokes the idea of a meeting point where worldviews which would be otherwise condemned to mutual ignorance or misunderstandings have the possibility to come together. And yet, in recent times, more and more voices have been and are being raised to warn both about the partiality of this optimistic vision and about the risks that lie ahead if it is acritically taken for granted. As is the case with any of the "metaphors we live by," the ones we use to define translation are by no means innocent (Kershaw and Saldanha 2013). Thanks to their evocative potential, they provide insights that suggest potentialities for action, but, as with any construct, they also have their blind spots – for example, they may deter professionals from adopting certain professional behaviour. With regard to the image of the bridge, in a now classic work, Mona Baker (2006) encourages us to approach this and other related tropes for translation as fragments of idealising narratives that reduce and overlook the multiplicity of functions that translations (and bridges) have fulfilled over the centuries – among them facilitating the invasion, conquest, or subjugation of territories and communities if translations (and bridges) are taken control of and used by colonising peoples or occupying forces.

However, translation not only contradicts this idyllic imagery with its real behaviour in contexts of open hostility and unequivocal domination between the victors and the vanquished, but it can also adopt an "ideology of conquest" (Rafael 2015, quoted in Shamma 2020: 102ff) in contexts of seeming non-confrontation. Translation can be an effective instrument for extending and imposing meanings and practices even working in strict compliance with the sociohistorical norm in force in a given context of what constitutes an adequate and acceptable translation.

Indeed, for decades, historiographical approaches to translation, including research framed within the descriptive paradigm, have revealed the tendency of

translation to align itself with hegemonic and institutionalised ideas, trends and models, and thus to perpetuate them. Lefevere (1992: 22) warned about the "conservative bias of the system itself" and the important role that translation and rewriting frequently play as mechanisms of cultural reproduction and reinforcement. In this sense, as has also been shown by linguistic-oriented approaches and corpus-based translation studies (CBTS), translation frequently tends to normalise – normalisation having been identified as one of the so-called translation universals (Bernardini and Kenny 2020: 112; Zwischenberger 2020: 379). At least when it takes place within cultures with a strong self-image and self-identity, translation often deploys assimilationist strategies to integrate the foreign. However, the goal of making alterity acceptable in the target culture is often achieved at the expense of the linguistic and cultural specificity of the Other.

As suggested by Robyns (2004: 3599) in an analysis in which he introduces the variable of the ideologies of the nation state, even though translation can open a culture to the outside world and enable innovation, in recent centuries it has often acted at the service of protectionist cultural agendas, and has actively collaborated with or inadvertently lent itself to reflecting, and therefore reinforcing, certain national or cultural identities. Indeed, research in translation informed by so-called culturalist approaches has also revealed a regular dual pattern: translation either tends to enforce an acclimatisation and mainstreaming of the ideologies and aesthetics of the Other – of their particular way of understanding the world and of expressing and shaping reality – or, on the contrary, not infrequently works to ensure that otherness is easily identifiable (Carbonell 2006) – i.e., confirms pre-existing ideas about foreignness and forces the Other to remain adjusted to these in a kind of ideological and cultural ghettoisation which confines alterity to reductive and distinct demarcated spaces. Even though the growing incorporation of minority themes indisputably represents a widespread cultural trend in recent times, frequently this does not mean going beyond the scope of a particular ideology of diversity that has been termed "multicultural tokenism" (Shawl and Ward 2005; Littler 2008). In this regard, concerns have been raised that a selection of representations of alterity and subalternity which remains aligned with hegemonic visions of otherness and existing stereotypes may in fact be limiting in the long run. By reducing the palette of identitarian possibilities which are given a voice, it curbs and regulates the development of (cross-)cultural expressions and social subjectivities, and may ultimately be an instrument that plays a part in the construction of self-perpetuating hierarchical ideologies, including that of "deserved inequality" (Littler 2008).

If historiographical and descriptive approaches to translation studies have contributed to shedding light on the functioning of assimilationist dynamics throughout history, postcolonial, feminist approaches and critical translation studies in

general (Robinson 2017: xxiii; Bennett 2019; Baker and Saldanha 2020) continue to provide evidence of the frequently involuntary complicity between translation and dominant powers and ideologies. In this regard, research has explored the extent to which translation and language service provision (LSP) in various specialised fields (audiovisual translation and translation for the media, institutional translation, scientific and technical translation, literary translation and translation for the publishing industry, etc.) are conditioned by the complex "microphysics of power" that pervade a given cultural milieu and how, at the same time, they take part either in their perpetuation or their continuous reshaping (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Vidal Claramonte 2018; Baumgarten and Cornellà-Detrell 2019b).

Indeed, for instance, research which has been carried out to date on the role of translation in the field of journalistic translation has shown that translation is a constant, yet often unacknowledged ingredient in news produced within global flows of information. In this regard, in translation-mediated news which is often taken as original discourse, the process of intercultural transfer very frequently involves the selection, adaptation, transediting, and acclimatisation of the materials to the dominant conventions and relevant narratives in the receiving context and the prevailing expectations of the target audience (Schäffner 2005; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Hernández Guerrero 2009; Scammell 2018). In this and other specialised professional fields, at least in situations of cultural or ideological hegemony or the search for it, translation often follows, and thus reiterates and reifies the visions, conventions, and traditions of what is considered to be natural or proper.

The search for acceptability often goes hand in hand with an active, but often unnoticed, participation in the reaffirmation of those unstable and mobile, but at the same time extremely powerful and influential boundaries between Same and Other. For instance, translation in the media has been seen as contributing towards perpetuating intergroup bias in accordance with dominant clichés and stereotypes (Batista 2016) or with the particular image of a community presented as the Other in the receiving pole (Carbonell and Madouri 2005).

In this regard, at global level, studies in the field of journalistic translation have brought to light the crucial role that translation has played in the dissemination across the globe, in general, of Western worldviews, frames, narratives, and viewpoints, and, in particular, of the "Western media model" and its dominant news values (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 35), especially in a recent context in which global news production networks have been dominated in an extremely oligarchic fashion by a limited number of Western organisations. Although an ever increasing number of recent initiatives within an increasingly plural and participatory mediascape show that translation can also be a channel for minority voices and counter-discourses which (try to) rebalance the asymmetric balance of exchanges of information (see Valdeón 2015, 2020b for the latest developments in the field

of journalistic translation), the importance of thinking about translation not only in its vehicular dimension as a carrier of information but also as a sort of customs authority that actively carries out protective and regulating activities has also been underscored.

In the current mediasphere, marked by the phenomenon of convergence (Davier and Conway 2019), translation has been described as a double "gatekeeping mechanism" (Valdeón 2020a) working simultaneously at two levels: first, ensuring the ideological affinity of the content selected for distribution with dominant or targeted values, and, secondly, shaping the information that has been selected to be conveyed, most frequently in accordance with prevailing notions of acceptability in the receiving context.

Contemporary research on translation has emphasised that there is never just one possible way to translate a word, a text, a complex (intersemiotic) message, or a (portion of) a given cultural discourse. Translation can, and indeed does, always select many different techniques, adopt diverse forms, follow different models and serve different ideologies across a range that includes, but is not limited to, ethnocentrist violent appropriation (Sun 2010) and a cosmopolitan openness to cultural otherness (Bielsa and Aguilera 2017). In this sense, and for this reason, as Wagner (2010) very poignantly warns, translation is not a "process that automatically leads to preconceived results." Although translation has traditionally been defined as a way through which to approach the Other, many factors in fact condition and influence *the particular way* in which alterity is approached. Whether as the goal of a deliberate translational strategy or simply as the result of the acritical application of a translation model that might be prevalent in a given context, translation might in fact reduce the scope for, and potential depth of, dialogue with the other, for instance if it spares the end user the trouble or the occasion of dealing with differences (be they cultural, epistemological, or ideological), either by universalising them or by circumventing them in the translated product. That being said, translation may be also a tool for intensifying differences in a way that might sow division and discord – not necessarily between the source and target languages and cultures, but between the translating community and other identities with which it maintains a relationship of overt or symbolic rivalry. Translation has been shown to be a tool used to create distance between mutually understandable languages or language varieties (Martín Ruano 2020: 56) and a weapon employed in processes intended "to separate rather than mediate" (Valdeón 2020c). Translation may be a further instrument at the service of exclusionary agendas, within which it may actually work "to close gates rather than to open them" (Valdeón 2020c).

In this regard, in contexts as varied as the media, institutional translation, or public service interpreting and translation (PSIT), research has found that, more frequently than is desirable, translation acts as a mechanism that invisibly

exacerbates structural inequalities and aggravates what Pierre Bourdieu (2001) calls "symbolic violence" against certain groups or identities. The French sociologist uses this term to designate a tendency inscribed in a wide array of daily practices which are internalised as normative or natural and which legitimise the economic, political, and social structures and the mindset and thinking patterns of socio-economic power. As emphasised in the work of such influential thinkers as Michel Foucault (1971), Nancy Fraser (2000), or Judith Butler (1990, 2004), discursive practices play an important role in the internalisation of the workings of domination even by disadvantaged groups, in the legitimising of uneven recognition, and in the gradual discrimination of certain subjectivities which are made invisible, dehumanised, stereotyped, marginalised, or restrained in subtle and hardly perceptible ways through discourse. Whether on its own or in combination with other discursive practices, translation may contribute towards establishing and normalising those institutionalised patterns that perpetuate social and cultural inequality in favour of the majority (Martín Ruano 2018).

It needs to be acknowledged that, in minority or minoritised contexts, translation has often been seen as an instrument that might be used to rebalance power differentials between cultures, as a mechanism that might build cross-cultural understanding and bridge gaps between identities separated by distance or prejudice. Translation may enable the dissemination of autochthonous cultural heritage beyond the borders of the community. However, translation in these contexts may be aligned with purposes which are very far removed from the goal of working towards equidistant and harmonious neighbourly relations. Sometimes, the interest in reaffirming the minoritarian Self may override the desire to make the translated Other known. Rather than a bridge-building endeavour, some translations are undertaken to erect, however modest, symbolic *arcs de triomphe*. By way of example, the frequent selection of classical and canonical works and texts with strong iconic value to be translated into minority languages to some extent fits into the category that, in the field of institutional translation, Kaisa Koskinen (2000b: 50–54) has termed "existential equivalence": these translations do not fulfil a strictly informative mission, since they are often understandable to potential readers through other languages; their cardinal significance lies in their very existence. In those cases, the importance of disseminating cultural material of a major culture in a minority language, especially when this is already accessible to the minority language speakers through other means, lies in the aim of consolidating the prestige of the target language and increasing its capital. Through translation, the minority culture might try to score points on the playing field of cultural production. In certain extreme cases, instead of evoking the image of the bridge, this type of translation may instead evoke that of the spoils of war: an appropriation of cultural artefacts from a given culture by the translating community within a relationship of competition.

Cronin's (2003: 142) revealing reflection that "[t]ranslation is never a benign process *per se* and [that] it is misleading to present it as such" takes on additional resonance in contexts which are marked by asymmetries. In the long run, translation can also help to impose silence and condemn the voice which was originally speaking to oblivion. In an article which approaches translation as an act of cultural and linguistic ventriloquism, Gupta (2009) points out the paradox and ambivalence that accompanies certain translation efforts into a major language: entangled within broader relationships of exploitative oppression, a translation conceived to give a voice to the Other could end up perpetuating the cultural imperialism it might actually be trying to reverse. In fact, translation might sometimes open the door, not merely to the risk of a voice being distorted, but ultimately to the prospect of muting it for the future. Translation may make the need for recovering that voice as expressed in the original context redundant; it may diminish possibilities for certain voices to continue to be understood and even articulated in times to come. If translation has often been extolled for guaranteeing cultural survival, in certain cases and contexts it may imply outshining the most genuine and singular traits of the minor, autochthonous culture, rendering them superfluous and restricting their potential area of influence. Even if it is initially a bridge that provides a way out, translation can also be a first move taken by translating cultures towards bypassing and leaving further behind translated ones.

In his introduction to the already classical special issue entitled *Translation and Minority*, Venuti (1998) emphasised that majority and minority are "dynamic" and relational concepts. For the purposes of this article, it is important to highlight that, in any case, whether it operates under the auspices of majority or minority agendas, translation is not or does not only imply a transposition or transfer operation between clearly demarcated cultural spheres. Translation does not merely move or convey cultural products across a border. Julia Kristeva's (2000: 100) insightful image of "grafting" is useful for understanding that, in addition to an act of displacement or relocation, translation involves evolutionary change and growth: by joining a living shoot and a rootstock, onto which the former successfully inosculates and grows, a new (im)plant develops that combines the characteristics of both. It is important to bear in mind that it is not only the graft that is placed on a new branch that changes; so too is the stock onto which it "takes," into which the graft projects new singularities. Both grafting and translating prompt an entire process of vascular reconnection and new tissue formation which leads to edges becoming increasingly blurred.

Indeed, as argued by theorists as diverse as Gentzler (2008) and Glanert (2014), translation can be thought of as "less something that happens between separate and distinct cultures" and disciplines and "more something that is *constitutive* of [them]" (Gentzler 2008: 5) – it (re)shapes languages, cultures and disciplines.

Rather than being monolithic, solid, and unitary spheres, these can be rethought of as multi-layered, conflictual and polyvocal entities on the move, being made of complex and fluid matter that experiences continuous changes of state. Just as Bielsa (2005) argued for an understanding of globalisation as translation, so too can individual "cultures" and "languages" also be conceived of in terms of translation.

Indeed, in the era of globalisation, characterised by the constant circulation and cross-cultural negotiation of information and knowledge, cultural practices, products and discourses around the world, a "translation turn" has become evident in a growing number of disciplines. This has gone hand in hand with calls to avoid the blinding effects of restrictive monolingual and monocultural visions of reality – a legacy of the ideologies of the nation state and a visible indication of a well-established cult of monolingualism (Maylath 2019: xvii) – as well as to overcome a "methodological nationalism" (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019) which still prevails in many social practices and branches of knowledge. In our globalised and interconnected societies, that which was prophetically envisioned by Lambert as early as at the end of the 1980s is more than evident today: translation is ubiquitous (Lambert 1989; Blumczynski 2016); merging, often in a fragmented way, within seemingly original discourse, it pervades our everyday reality. We live in translation or permanently exposed both to it and to its derivations and implications. Activating a wide range of meanings in accordance with the complexity of translational practices and behaviour that coexist and collide in every corner of our interconnected and increasingly ethnodiverse societies on a daily basis, translation thus emerges as a suitable explanatory concept for approaching and understanding current cultural realities, in permanent interaction and hybridation.

This view of translation as a pervasive feature prompts a reconsideration of the relationship between translation and borders, be these real or symbolic. As has also been suggested, instead of being thought of as an operation that crosses borders, translation can be perceived as one more instance thanks to which these are maintained and rebuilt, or through which these are lifted and removed. In relation to the latter, translation nowadays often intervenes in support of the abolishment of borders, and even contributes to questioning the concept of "border" itself. In the daily lives of those "translated beings," to use Rushdie's classical image, who, according to Steiner (Steiner 1997: 107), have been the historical and cultural norm and not the exception – of those multilingual individuals and collectivities that also outnumber strictly monolingual speakers in our day and age (Rothman 2008: 441) – translation is a natural state and vital condition, although this experience is riddled with conflict more often than not. Conversely, in addition to crossing borders, translation sometimes raises them. As was the case in the bloody break-up of the former Yugoslavia and its aftermath, translation plays an important role in projects of linguistic differentiation and national segregation. Examining certain cases of

co-official languages coexisting in a territory, Diaz Fouces (2017: 70) argues that, to this day, translation is still used to create symbolic barriers between languages or linguistic varieties and cultural realities that historically have been and could perhaps be mutually understandable. Translation may also erect symbolic borders between Us and Them. As illustrated by Baker (2010) or Bazzi (2016), translation participates in the construction and reproduction of dehumanising narratives and discourses to create a radically different Other that may be perceived as an enemy.

In the light of all what has been explained above, the need to overcome the metaphorical conceptualisation of translation as a bridge and other more prosaic and technical variants thereof, both in the field of research, teaching, and in that of professional practice, becomes evident. Indeed, the unproblematised and instrumental view which underlies the image of translation as a bridge can be seen to be institutionalised in many professional fields, for example underpinning institutional and deontological discourses that reduce translation to a strictly vehicular and communicative operation, in line with or inspired by the role of translation as a conduit (Guldin 2016: 50) and a concept of equivalence-as-sameness. As Bielsa and Aguilera (2017) point out, this vision of translation as the transmission of content conceptualises it as a derivative act and ultimately "trivializes and depoliticizes it." The unquestioned acceptance of this vision that disdains or overshadows translation and translators' agency is not insignificant. In the words of Baker and Maier (2011: 3), the "ethos of neutrality" may blind trainees and professionals to "the consequences of their actions." These authors problematise this adherence to the concept of neutrality and, as a counterpoint, emphasise the importance of internalising the ethical dimension that is invariably inherent to translation (Baker and Maier 2011: 4). In this sense, in a particularly vivid quote, Kaisa Koskinen (2000a: 15) has claimed that "ethics is not just reserved for special occasions, for solemn speeches and pompous declarations. It is an essential aspect of translators' everyday work." It can be said that, depending on the choices and decisions adopted, every translation, in addition to disseminating content and information in other languages and/or within other cultural contexts, intervenes in forging the destiny of the receiving context, sending it down a specific future path by tilting the (im) balance of languages and cultural traditions towards a favoured pole. Echoing the idea expressed by influential figures such as Desmond Tutu and Paolo Freire that neutrality is neither possible nor an option in contexts of injustice, inequality, and powerlessness, it can be argued that, in the current asymmetrical political economy of languages and cultures, a neutral translation is technically impossible. Based on a conceptualisation of culture(s) and identity(ies) in terms of translation, the following pages will provide further insights into an assumption now widespread within the discipline – that translation can only be understood in unavoidably political terms. Of particular relevance for the purposes of this article is an exploration of the

implications of two linked ideas: that translation is a political act in itself (Álvarez and Vidal Claramonte 1996; Evans and Fernández 2018: 2–4), and that every act of translation voluntarily or inadvertently implements and contributes to the realisation of a certain translation policy (Meylaerts 2011b, 2011a; González Núñez and Meylaerts 2017). As will be argued, any occurrence of translation (whichever meaning, format, model and form it may take in any of the many layers and levels in which it intervenes) can also be thought of as a specific link forming part of today's larger and global chains of production of power and knowledge, even more so in contemporary digital societies.

3. Understanding (non) translation as politics and in the light of translation policy

The current era has been defined as that of "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007). This term which has been applied in numerous disciplines and which has been enriched by a broad range of inputs, nuances and derivations emerges as a sound analytical category for representing, mapping, and approaching the social and experiential realities of the present. These are not only characterised by (voluntary or forced) mobility and growing ethnocultural diversity, but also by a quantitative increase and qualitative transformation in communication practices. In our digital age, and thanks to technological and IT development, the pace of interconnectedness has accelerated not just between languages and cultures but also – and perhaps more importantly – between often hybrid and intersectional social and cultural identities which now extensively partake in wide-ranging social, political, cultural, and economic networks that transcend national borders. As Blackledge, Creese et al. (2018: 3) point out, the concept of superdiversity is helpful when it comes to describing "people coming into contact or proximity as a result of (inter alia) migration, invasion, colonization, slavery, religious mission, persecution, trade, conflict, famine, drought, war, urbanization, economic aspiration, family reunion, global commerce, and technological advance." These increasingly diverse social landscapes follow and reflect an asymmetrical process of globalisation which has indisputably enabled an intensification of exchange and interrelation across cultures but unfortunately falls short of providing conditions of parity and transdiscursivity. Critics of globalisation frequently denounce the deepening social inequalities and increasingly strong hierarchies to be found within the vertical stratification of languages. It is important to realize that translation operates (and not neutrally) within these dynamics of dominance and hierarchy maintenance.

In fact, given that multilingualism and multiculturalism – and, more precisely, the wide range of diverse forms of individual and social multilingualism

and multiculturalism that coexist in our complex linguascapes – are an essential feature of these scenarios, it can be argued that it is inevitable (and probably imperative) to take a position in relation to them. In other words, in our pluricultural and plurilingual environments, every utterance and text has a political reading in itself from the very moment of language selection. Whether or not this is intended from the outset, the language(s) chosen – juxtaposed against those that are at the same time discarded – may be taken as a symbolic declaration of intent in favour of a certain model of social coexistence. Indeed, in today's plural social and digital linguascapes, articulating the linguistic and cultural rights of groups and individuals who live together in a particular territory or who are members of an "imagined community" – the now classic concept coined by Anderson (2006) which becomes extraordinarily productive and complex in the digital age – has become inescapable. For this reason, research on translation offers promising prospects as it may reveal the role that (non)translation plays in the stabilisation of hierarchies and the self-reinforcement of power differentials within diverse societies.

Certain authors have highlighted the usefulness of the concept of "translation policies" to diagnose the attitude and response to social, linguistic, and cultural diversity by institutions. As, according to Kang (2009), every translation can be said to be to some extent institutional, the concept may prove to be most revealing for understanding the workings of translation within asymmetrical and asymmetry-enhancing systems. According to Meylaerts (2011b: 744), "there is no language policy without translation policy." For Meylaerts and González Núñez, the notion of translation policy encompasses three aspects or components: translation management ("legal efforts by the authorities to initiate, impose or refrain translation practices"); actual translation practices ("interlingual activities ensuring communication between authorities and people"), and translation beliefs or ideology ("the values assigned by members of a language to translation and their beliefs about the importance of these values") (quoted through Meylaerts 2018: 456). In a now classic work, Meylaerts (2011b) established a classification of the main prototypical models of translation policy to which translation practices may be ascribed: monolingualism and non-translation; monolingualism and occasional translation; multilingualism and overall translation; and monolingualism and multilingualism combined. This taxonomy enables understanding and diagnosing to what extent language usage and use of language(s) in superdiverse societies are political and can potentially be politicised. Research on translation can indeed shed light on the larger and often contradictory narratives in which particular uses and particular assessments of translation are embedded. To give but two eloquent examples, translation provision has been construed by officials and social stakeholders both as a support to vulnerable populations and as a hindrance lagging their integration. Monolingual strategies (i.e., non translation) in de facto multicultural, and

multilingual settings are not infrequently praised as necessary measures for preserving a particular linguistic variety, but they can also reveal themselves as an institutional denial of social and cultural diversity or as evidence of unacceptable institutional neglect or exclusion of communities whose voices are (further) un-(der)represented.

Research on translation may indeed uncover ongoing dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in our multilingual, multicultural, and increasingly diverse societies. In any event, some authors have suggested that, for this objective to be met, the definition of translation to be adopted as starting point needs to be problematised and broadened far beyond accepted visions of translation in society (Blumczynski 2016: xiii). There are many examples that support the suitability of combining a political and politicised vision of translational activities with an expanded concept of translation, for instance one that overcomes its traditional definition as an operation between cultures or a conversion between (national) languages. As a particular case in point, the outbreak of the coronavirus health emergency in 2020 clearly revealed new challenges that translation faces in social and institutional settings which have embraced a paradigm shift from integration towards inclusion. Complaints about the lack of accessibility to information about the coronavirus by people with hearing impairments, for instance those motivated by the absence of sign language interpreters in certain media appearances by Spanish authorities addressing the nation (Redacción Consalud 2020), reveal the variety of goals to be met by translation policies that subscribe to new institutional priorities which promote the empowerment and active participation of all members in social processes – key objectives of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations General Assembly 2015), based on the (for some, rather paternalistic, see Najafizada and Neupane 2018) motto of "leaving no one behind" (LNOB). In this regard, the detailed list of tangible demands posted by FIAPAS, the Spanish Confederation of Families of Deaf People, serves as a practical and precise reminder of the implications of the increasingly frequent claim in the discipline – and in a very specific manner in branches such as translation and interpreting for public services or audiovisual translation – that our conceptualisation of translation needs to be expanded both to include the dimensions of multimediality and multimodality as well as to fully recognise its intersemiotic nature (Pérez-González 2014; Boria et al. 2019; Campbell and Vidal 2019). FIAPAS (2020) expressed "the need for coronavirus telephone helplines to enable telecommunication access for the deaf and the hard of hearing (by voice, text, instant messaging service and video call), and to use the same medium as the user for replying" and called for "accessibility in the broadcast of press conferences and official statements, as well as in news broadcast in audiovisual format (subtitles and sign language interpreting on television, in social networks and in any audiovisual content)."

In this sense, and taking a step further, it is worth remembering that, today, many legal systems protect the right to (access to) information – in Spain, for example, under Article 105.b) of the Spanish Constitution (Constitución Española 1978), which was later expanded upon by the so-called Transparency Act (Ley 19/2013, de 9 de diciembre, de transparencia, acceso a la información pública y buen gobierno 2013). As certain authors have pointed out, this undoubtedly provides additional grounds for revisiting dominant translation strategies (see, for instance, Bestué 2019: 147 for arguments along these lines in the field of legal translation) and, at a deeper level, for critically reviewing certain long-standing ideas of what the profession understands or even regulates as acceptable and unacceptable translation behaviour. This certainly offers new insights into ongoing discussions concerning codes of ethics and professional conduct. While these are frequently cited as one of the measures potentially enhancing the (low) status and social recognition of translation as a profession (especially in sectors where under- or de-professionalisation is rampant, partly as a result of a general trend towards the outsourcing of language provision services by institutions), research inspired by critical approaches to language and translation has pointed out limitations in codes of ethics that promote or perpetuate professional praxis which is too rigid and narrow. Understanding any translation commission as a case in point inserted within broader translation policies – with these, in turn, linked to broader policies of institutional communication and/or construction of cultural and socio-political orders in which both the authorities and civil society are called to participate – entails raising further questions and introducing variables in the process towards defining the quality parameters that translations must comply with in today's world. In contexts committed to agendas of universal accessibility, including accessibility to information, debates surrounding the boundaries between translation, interpretation, adaptation, etc. take on not only new meanings but also a new ethical significance. It may well be the case that certain behaviours by professionals which were traditionally considered to be improper conduct or an overstepping of their role can, and perhaps should, be rethought as a professional imperative and moral obligation under an inclusive paradigm.

These considerations are not irrelevant in the current context of the increasing automation of professional translation workflows and the widespread use of machine translation software among the population. While there is no doubt that development in artificial intelligence and machine translation has democratised access to online translation services and that this has proved to be a powerful aid for enabling cross-cultural communication between individuals, it is also true that this goes hand in hand with the promotion of translation model(s) which are based on the idea of linear correspondence – of alignment between segments and of machine-enabled and machine-driven literalism. In other words, while progress

in this direction is making translation extensive, it is also exponentially extending behaviour that, from a historical perspective and from the point of view of theoretical development in the discipline, could be considered involutionary and restrictive as compared to the formidable diversity of forms that translation practice has taken over the centuries and that research within translation studies has identified, promoted and encouraged.

In any case, as descriptive and historiographic approaches to translation have shown, dominant models of translation at any given time are subject to transformations and evolution; that is to say, "translation norms" (understood as regular patterns of translational behaviour in a given sociohistorical context) change over time. Needless to say, translators themselves contribute to changing such norms through their day-to-day activities. Departing from a concept of translation as a political act integrated into a broader translation policy helps to understand and realise that translation is capable of doing more than simply perpetuate established and hegemonic behaviour. In fact, in times of profound change, this vision can be inspiring to avoid the counterproductive fossilisation of the profession, as has already been argued in fields such as legal translation (Mayoral Asensio 2000). As is often said of politics itself, translation can also be practised as the art of the possible, in a resistant and/or alternative manner. Contesting prevailing practices requires an awareness of existing conditions, including the cross-cultural and power dynamics in which a particular translational instance is or is to be embedded. The next section will examine a number of relevant examples in which awareness of the involvement of translation in dynamics producing and reproducing inequality at various levels has encouraged the pursuit of innovative translation practices and models committed to the redressing of identified asymmetries.

4. Exploring alternative, resistant translation policies inspired by the ideal of social conviviality

The concept of "symbolic violence" which has already been mentioned, or even that of "internalised oppression" to which it is related, allows power relations to be visualised as a result of rationalities and technologies of power in which both dominant and subaltern actors participate through their behaviour in different social practices. Discursive practices have been shown to be crucial in articulating and maintaining power inequality and domination. As has already been argued throughout this article, translation has often been and continues to be a fundamental discursive practice in the perpetuation of uneven power regimes. Indeed, it can be argued that it is one of the most pivotal discursive practices in the contemporary era, inasmuch as, in today's world, translation underlies, permeates and

pervades the production of a high share of discourses, cultural artefacts, ideas, and knowledge.

For the purposes of this article, one of the most interesting conclusions that can be drawn from a Foucauldian vision of power is that it is to be understood beyond its obvious coercive dimension and rather as a productive force – as agency, as potential for action and appropriation, not only as subject to (the order of) discourse but also as potentially involved in the generation of counterdiscourse. As Foucault says in *The History of Sexuality*, "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault 1990: 95). Translation can also act at the service of practices which question, challenge, or oppose the status quo, or which try to correct the uncontested inertial orientation of a system. Another essential feature in Foucault's understanding of power that can be relevant for translation research and translation practice is the fact that it is relational – it is to be analysed, contested, taken, made use of, or projected in connection with a specific balance of forces in a given context. In the pages that follow, guided by certain authors whose recent work has accurately brought to light the shortcomings of the dominant model of globalisation, some proposals that may illuminate alternative paths for critically rethinking the possibilities of translation in various contexts, from the macro-level to the micro-level, will be outlined.

On an abstract and meta-methodological level, certain authors have encouraged a revision of the frames that are used to come to terms with reality. For Bachmann-Medick (interviewed in Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019), the phenomenon of migration that is an omnipresent feature of our current reality demands a radical transformation of our mindset; of the concepts and frames with which social phenomena are approached and addressed and which are ultimately used to construct knowledge and inform practices. In her opinion, migration requires introducing power as a constant variable and thus, in turn, ultimately questioning those frames in which it is absent, including the conceptualisation of translation as "neutral mediation" (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019). More generally, Bachmann-Medick perceives that migration questions the boundaries which supposedly delimit languages, cultures and disciplines, and which certainly condition and perhaps distort our perception and assessment of their dynamics. In line with the "paradigmatic shift from a 'methodological nationalism' to a 'methodological transnationalism' that has recently taken place in migration research," she also advocates a vision of translation that overcomes the dichotomies that have traditionally shaped it. In her opinion, understood as "a broad cultural and social practice, a cultural technique or 'modus operandi' (Robert Young) in world society," translation also emerges as a "fundamental category of analysis," inasmuch as "all social and cultural phenomena that are characterized by shifts, context changes, mediations, dealings with gaps, but also by coping with ruptures and distortions, may be investigated as forms of translation" (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019: 133–134).

This view is considered to be potentially useful, not only at methodological level but also for professional practice. In particular, this author urges for a revision of the "unconscious or explicitly normative schemata" that are followed by professional translators, as well as for the implementation of other, alternative frames in their place that take into account translation's situatedness and embeddedness within evolving power networks. In this sense, professionals are encouraged to develop "a critical awareness of the social and cultural contexts of his or her respective translations" and of the "power inequalities" within them in particular (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019: 133) in order to articulate an ethical response attuned to the specificities of the context. Translation can reveal itself as an empowering tool and, in turn, as "a tool for self-empowerment" in projects of "social conviviality," where, in her opinion, it "can also be re-evaluated as a practice of re-writing into a new framework" (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019: 140–141). In any case, Bachmann-Medick warns against an untroubled and strife-free view of this goal and of the role of translation within this, and suggests taking as a starting point a definition of translation which "does not purport to act as a bridge-builder in a harmonizing way, but rather addresses conflicts, fears, misunderstandings, power inequalities, racist assumptions; … takes these seriously, but works towards conflict negotiation and transformation: translation thus brings conflict and consensus-building together, the one does not work without the other" (Bachmann-Medick and Federici 2019: 140).

Whereas migration is a phenomenon which has reshaped our contemporary societies, new technologies have radically transformed our social practices. As has been repeatedly stressed throughout these pages, the (non)professional practice of modern translation cannot be dissociated from the increasing automation of workflows. Far from being innocent, this evolution of the activity and the profession is in itself generating new power differentials which need to be acknowledged and in relation to which there is the capacity for critical counteraction. Indeed, along similar lines, Baumgarten and Cornellà-Detrell (2019a: 17) encourage us "to scrutinise newly emerging yet constantly shifting hierarchies of power within the context of the *digital economy of translation*."

Certainly, the digital sphere can be fertile ground for the general promotion of new, critical forms of cosmopolitanism which openly advocate the centrality of translation (Bielsa 2019) as well as, in more concrete terms, for implementing cosmopolitan translation practices. Translation as inspired by cosmopolitanism conceives itself as engaged in a conversation; in a type of dialogue which inevitably transforms all the interlocutors involved through its acknowledgement of the existence of differences that need to be negotiated. This view of translation as a constantly transactional process in which approximate compromises are reached through discussion that is enabled in and by translation is certainly at odds with

those "conventional conceptions of translation as the communication of meaning from one language into another" which, according to proponents of cosmopolitan approaches to translation (Bielsa 2019: 167), urgently need to be problematised and challenged. Relying on other sources of inspiration and adopting a different angle, Lawrence Venuti also takes a very critical view of an extremely influential vision of translation that "conceives of translation as the reproduction or transfer of an invariant that is contained in or caused by the source text, an invariant form, meaning, or effect" (Venuti 2019: 1). Venuti contrasts this dominant "instrumental" model with a "hermeneutic" model, to which he attributes greater explanatory capacity, and which conceives translation "as an interpretive act that inevitably varies source-text form, meaning, and effect according to intelligibilities and interests in the receiving culture." While Venuti's definition can be qualified and problematised with the caveat that the concept of "the receiving culture" has, in the present day, given way, as has been shown throughout these pages, to transnational and glocal spaces shaped largely through interactions in the digital sphere, the commitment to a translation practice that takes on its interpretative character and transformative capacity as a matter of principle is, in my opinion, highly revealing. It can be posited as a counter-practice in the current scenario in which translation, thanks to the pervasiveness of machine translation, is statistically advancing towards models of automatic and linear correspondence that facilitate linguistic and cultural encounters more quickly and promptly than ever before, albeit doing so through uniformising and standardising practices that are far from being egalitarian and equidistant for the so-called languages and cultures involved.

In fact, while praising its potential as a facilitator for communication, research in translation studies has also denounced the adverse side-effects of the mechanistic model of translation that is being imposed and fostered by what could be called, appropriating Foucault's term, the technological "technologies of power" of globalisation. For example, Bennett's work (2007, 2014a) has shed light on the contribution which translation makes towards exacerbating inequalities within a global system of transmission and generation of knowledge in which English indisputably occupies a hypercentral position in relation to other languages. Her analysis of the evolution of historiographic discourse in Portugal (Bennett 2014b), for example, exemplifies an ongoing movement towards an "epistemological monoculture" due to neocolonial and predatory dynamics that require potential contributors to the system to conform to norms which mirror hegemonic standards. Bennett notes that this ultimately results in the neutralisation or annihilation of the idiosyncratic features of science and knowledge generation procedures traditionally found in minority languages – that is, in an "epistemicide" of peripheral traditions, which, confirming the paradoxical workings of the mechanisms of symbolic violence, renounce their

singularities and accommodate themselves to the demands of mainstream scientific production in order to keep up with the requirements of that which is considered to be prestigious or normative.

On the micro-linguistic level, the concept of "textual fit" which has, for example, been used in corpus-based research on institutional translation – where it has been defined as "the linguistic distance between translations and nontranslations of a comparable genre" (Biel 2014: 118) – offers a "meaningful parameter for describing translations" (Biel 2014: 287) and for gauging the effects of the adoption of particular translation practices and models on the processes of identity formation in which translation participates (House, Martín Ruano, and Baumgarten 2005; Cronin 2006), including the psychosocial derivations thereof. Biel's works contrast Polish legislative style prior to joining the European Union with both the translations produced in the initial stages of Polish accession and the style of autochthonous post-accession legislation, and her descriptive analysis helps to establish a direct relationship between the features of what was perceived and criticised as "translationese" (a higher incidence of untypical collocational patterns, increased terminological inconsistency and greater levels of variation and synonymy) and feelings of rejection and alienation among the Polish population, but also to perceive that, in spite of this, translation ultimately encourages the acceptance of hybridism – normalising any imbalances and asymmetries that this may entail.

In the face of the symmetrising pressures and the potentially discriminatory effects of a homogenising and uniformising model of globalisation, translation can actively be used to resist those forces: it may act in favour of sustaining cultural linguistic plurality, of preserving the biodiversity of the global ecosystem of languages and cultures, and may also commit itself to ensuring a balance of voices and intensities that could do justice to our diverse world and the societies which call it home. In our current scenario, proposals such as those by thinkers like De Sousa Santos (2014) can be inspiring in this endeavour. This author proposes intercultural translation, conceived of as "a living process of complex interactions among heterogeneous artifacts, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, combined with exchanges that by far exceed logocentric or discourse-centric frameworks" (2014: 215), as a tool for combating current epistemic injustice, for making the epistemologies of the periphery audible and for restoring balance to the ecology of knowledge and power. Although the dynamics of domination are constantly changing and the challenges of convivial reciprocity are complex and always changing, the conceptualisation of translation as an intrinsically dialogical tool may prove to be fruitful and eye-opening for that purpose.

5.   (Not) to conclude, but merely to continue translating: Translation as a never-ending dialogue

In our translated and translating world, there is no choice but to continue translating. As has traditionally been understood throughout history, translation can certainly be conceived of as a particular form of dialogue with a text, with a particular language or culture. In any case, whether in its most concrete and traditional definition or in the broader sense of a metaphor of contact with a foreign or different reality, translation may also be seen as being embedded in other higher-order dialogues – for example, in the global-scale debates and the multilateral conversations of what has been called our "planetary humanity" (Augé and Montaner 2019). This concept refers to the (often migrant) inhabitants of a media-shaped world filled with inequalities, where the down-to-earth materiality of specific territories is complemented by "non-places" now expanded by technologies; a world whose future will depend as much on the progression of scientific thought as on the contribution of individual and/or collective voices which produce facts and (ethno)fictions.

This supports the idea that, in addition to establishing a relationship with previous texts or past experiences, translation takes on responsibility for the construction of the conditions of other future dialogues. Far from imposing additional burdens on translators, this increases their awareness of the ideological, ethical and political implications derived from an activity which, as has been said throughout these pages, is inherently political and ideological, and runs the risk of being ideologised and politicised.

At the macro-level, translators and translation scholars have a certain responsibility when it comes to the evolution of the current global linguasphere. From the very choice of language(s) or the linguistic variety that it adopts, translation gives priority to a specific linguistic option or a combination of languages over other potential formulae in a particular context of multilingualism. Seeing certain choices that we accept as natural or unquestioned as in fact promoting a specific regime of multilingualism or a particular trend to the detriment of other possible models of linguistic coexistence reveals the ethical, political and ideological responsibilities that are implicit in every act of speaking, in every instance of translation, and even in the absence thereof.

Similarly, the awareness that the selection of what is translated is, in itself, relevant, both in political and ideological terms, for the future, is of paramount importance. To translate is to lend a microphone to certain voices and, in today's global and digital societies, it is to allow them to participate in the decentralised, often virtual and asynchronous forums in which slippery and difficult-to-grasp constructs such as "global culture," particular "cultures," "cultural / social identities," "canon" or "public opinion" are nowadays forged. Translation, whether understood

in strict or broad terms, invariably multiplies the number of speakers in a conversation, albeit sometimes perhaps only to create a false, monochordal pluralism. Translating involves transforming *a cappella* songs into scripts interpreted by a duo, a trio, a quartet, a quintet, a sextet, etc. However, organising an orchestra or a choir of voices does not guarantee that it will perform polyphonic compositions. As opposed to translation's traditional role as a search for the same sound or effect, in line with ideas of equivalence which are based on harmony and consonance, it is also important to bear in mind that translation can also introduce and interpret contrapuntal melodies, dissonances or disruptive music; as in music à la Schoenberg, it can awaken a different type of social and cultural imagination.

In any case, while translators and translation scholars can benefit from developing an awareness of translation in macrological terms (i.e., acknowledging the significance of their participation in the dissemination of certain texts and certain content using certain language[s]), it is worth taking into account that wide-ranging dynamics are also decided using small-scale tactics. An intrinsically political vision of language and translation is useful when it comes to understanding that the future of so-called languages, cultures, and identities is forged through each of the words that is selected in a (translated) text; in the morphosyntactic rules that it follows or infringes; in the modes of organisation and textual construction adopted; and in the proficiency shown in the use of a given language or the creativity with which language(s) are approached, particularly when managing that which is identified as cultural specificity. Translating is always about making a particular choice in relation to existing and potential definitions of translation; it is about selecting or creating a specific translation "policy," "poetics," and "ideology" that affect decisions at different levels and layers.

With its roots in a vision of diversity as a source of wealth – and not, on the other hand, as a threat – that has become generalised in current institutional contexts, a political, poetic and ideological definition of translation as a dialogue has been argued for throughout these pages. Applying this definition to particular contexts will entail translating it anew in order to allow for the exploration of the context-bound possibilities for the recognition of otherness, for a cosmopolitan opening to the Other, and for a critical rethinking of Self. In contrast with those translation models that idolise a quest for total uniformity that is doomed to failure, and inspired by the principle of pluralism which inevitably requires negotiation and compromise within a constructive rapport, translation is here conceived of as an instrument of intercultural dialogue which actively commits itself to contributing towards mutual intelligibility between interlocutors without the need, and perhaps even the possibility, for them to agree once and for all. For, whether we want it or not, more translation will follow suit, and further translation will be required in order for the conversation to continue in the future.

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Agency and social responsibility in the translation of the migration crisis

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This paper looks at translator agency and ethics in the light of the current migration crisis, focusing on two concrete situations, one from the legal sphere and one from news translation-reportage. The first discusses how irresponsible choices in the translation of legal documents can proliferate in the online environment, generating a kind of "lexicoprudence" (Guia 2016) that produces alarming consequences in the real world. The second looks at the reportage in the British press of speeches by foreign politicians concerning the problem of unaccompanied "child migrants" in the wake of the dismantling of the Calais "Jungle." Both will be discussed in the light of recent debates about translation agency and ethics.

Keywords: translator agency, translator ethics, social responsibility, migration, legal translation, news translation

1. Introduction

As Loredana Polezzi pointed out in her position paper on Translation and Migration (2012), it has become quite commonplace in recent decades to speak of these two things in the same breath, as if the one were a metaphor for the other. Reflections abound on how migrants are themselves "translated" beings, forced through circumstance to cross political and cultural boundaries and confront the world in a language that is not their own.[1] Migrant authors who write in hybrid tongues are described as "born translated" (Vidal Claramonte 2019) or "always already in translation" (Donoughan 2019); and, in a curious inversion of vehicle and tenor,

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1. Amongst the various manifestations of this trope, two of the most famous are probably Salman Rushdie's statement from *Imaginary Homelands* (1991), "Having been borne across the world, we are translated men," and Eva Hoffmann's poignant memoir of uprooting and resettlement, *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language* (1998[1989]).

translation itself has been presented as an act of hospitality that offers refuge to exiles and nomads who may otherwise "have given up the search for the asylum afforded by a language of reception" (Ricoeur 2006: 9–10).[2]

Much less common, however, are considerations of how translation in the conventional linguistic sense may impinge directly or indirectly upon the lives of migrants. Polezzi herself attempts to right this balance by discussing migrants as both objects and agents of translation (2012: 347–350), drawing on terms borrowed from Michael Cronin (2006: 43–74); the issues she raises are then taken up by some of the respondents in the Forum (most notably Buden 2012). However, surprisingly little has been written about how translation mediates the way migrants are represented and perceived in the broader public sphere, though in the current climate of media-fuelled populism and increased ethnic intolerance, this would seem to be an urgent matter for debate.

I was alerted to the importance of this question when I was invited to examine a Master's thesis at the University of Coimbra in October 2016 about the translation of legal documents dealing with irregular immigration (Guia 2016). The dissertation, undertaken on the translation programme, was written by a candidate who not only had legal training (including a doctorate in Sociology of Law) but also professional experience as an inspector with the Portuguese Border Force. Thus, she had had direct contact with migrants and refugees heading to Portugal, and was acutely aware of how their reception could be negatively impacted by an irresponsible use of language.

Thereafter, I became aware of other instances in which translations had had a significant role to play in the way migrants were represented, particularly in the domain of news reporting. As a result, I became increasingly convinced of the need for greater reflection on the issue in Translation Studies, with a corresponding focus on social responsibility in translator training programmes.

This paper reflects on issues of translator agency and ethics with regard to two concrete case studies related to the migrant crisis: the first, the situation described by Guia in her dissertation (2016), involving a legal term that has been persistently (mis)translated with worrying consequences; the second, a speech by a foreign politician as reported in the British press. These are then used as a springboard for a wider reflection about agency and social responsibility in a context where translators' choices may nourish dangerous representations, bringing serious consequences in the real world.

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2.   For more on translation as linguistic hospitality, see Inghilleri (2017: 39–68), Bielsa (2016), and Bennett (2019).

2. Case 1: Illegal or irregular?

The main question that concerns Maria João Guia in her dissertation *Building Ideologies: Bias in the Legal Translation of Irregularity/Illegality Terminology* (2016) is the use, in legal and informative texts, of the adjective "illegal" to qualify the migration process and above all the individuals that circumvent the border controls set up by national states and supranational entities like the European Union (EU) in order to forge a new life in a country that is not their place of birth. According to her (Guia 2016: 37), the Portuguese term *ilegal* is triply inappropriate: firstly, because it is legally incorrect, since Portugal, like Spain and Malta, does not criminalize migration in its legislation; secondly, because it is socially harmful, dehumanizing people, stimulating intolerance, and jeopardising social cohesion; and thirdly, because it is against European values. Indeed, recommendations and resolutions have been issued at European level advising specifically against the use of such terms: in 2009, both the European Parliament and the High Commission for Human Rights declared the term "illegal immigrant" undesirable, recommending its replacement by terms like "irregular" or "undocumented"; and on 13th September 2011, the European Parliament issued a Legislative Resolution formally affirming that "European institutions should not refer to 'illegal immigration/migrants' but rather to 'irregular immigration/migrants'"[3] (Guia 2016: 46–47).

However, with the intensification of the migrant crisis in recent years, attitudes have changed. Some EU Member States have already criminalized immigration in their legislation, imposing fines and even prison sentences in situations of irregularity (Guia 2016: 59). Political consequences include the rise of nationalist and populist parties, and of course events like the Brexit referendum of June 2016, in which the migration question was central, not to mention the election of Donald Trump as President of the US on a largely anti-immigrant platform. These attitudes are reflected in the language used in the press. A study carried out by the Oxford Migration Observatory into collocations related to migration in the British press concluded, in 2013, that the modifier most commonly associated with the word "immigrant" was precisely "illegal" (Allen and Blinder 2013: 3).[4]

Given the undeniably ideological effects of terms such as these, Guia (2016: 59) studied the language used in various legal documents related to migration in Portugal in order to determine if the terminology in the field of illegality/irregularity had changed after the alterations in European policies. Her corpus included

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3. www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2011-0344+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN. Accessed 18 April 2019.

4. For more detailed reflections on the philosophical and political implications of this lexical shift, see Dauvergne (2008) and Bacon (2008).

both translated texts (the Portuguese translation of European directive 2008/11/EU, known as the Return Directive,[5] and the English translation of two Portuguese laws governing immigration)[6] and documents drawn up directly in Portuguese (the Annual Internal Security Reports [RASI] and the annual Immigration, Borders and Asylum [RIFA] reports from the years 2004 to 2012). She concludes that the Portuguese translators generally followed the Legislative Resolution by avoiding the use of criminalizing language, preferring instead expressions like *imigração clandestina, permanência irregular*, and *situação irregular*, even when the term *illegal* appeared in the English version. However, in the RASI and RIFA reports, there was a clear increase in the use of "illegal" between 2004 and 2012. As for the English documents, the use of the word "illegal" was consistent, irrespective of whether the texts had been drawn up in that language or were translations.

The question raised here is whether translators have the power and the right to try to halt the slide to a discourse of intolerance by actively refusing to criminalize the migrant in their translations. The case is complex, not only because there are differences between the legal regimes in the various EU member states, but also because public attitudes are changing as the crisis evolves. Should the legal translator remain loyal to the source text, selecting cognates of the terms used in the original document when these exist ("illegal" [EN] ↔ *ilegal* [PT]; *irregular* [PT] ↔ "irregular" [EN])? Or should s/he adapt the terms to the legal system in force in the target culture, depending on whether or not that system criminalizes the clandestine migrant ("illegal" [EN] ↔ *irregular* [PT])? When there is evidence that public attitudes are changing through the influence of the media or other cultures (as in the case of the RASAs and RIFIs, p. 76), should the translator follow this trend, even when it implies a loss of legal rigour? Or should s/he try to mitigate this effect, insisting on legal rigour? Finally, when the target system already criminalizes such migrants, should the translator always use "illegal" as the most current term? Or should s/he insist, for ethical reasons, on the most neutral term, perhaps invoking the European Parliament's Legislative Resolution, mentioned above?

These difficulties have to do with how we understand translator ethics, something that has been much debated in recent years. It also has to do with our understanding of the power that the translator has to intervene in the real world (agency). Both will be discussed below, after I have presented the second case, one that is even more complex since it concerns the media, where the use of words is less rigorously controlled, yet arguably more influential.

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5. *Return Directive*, defined in English as "Common standards and procedures for returning illegal immigrants" at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Ajl0014

6. Act No. 23/2007 ("Immigration Act") and Act No. 27/2008 ("Asylum Act").

3. Case 2: The children of the "Jungle"

In the United Kingdom, any discussion of migration necessarily has to take account of the ideological climate that has prevailed in the country since the 2016 Brexit Referendum, which revolved around the migration question to the point of practically being a plebiscite about the presence of foreigners on national territory. Indeed, a notable feature of the language used by the Leave campaign was a tendency to collapse three quite different types of migration: the free circulation of people from EU member-states within the European space; the refugee crisis resulting from the wars in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan; and the matter of clandestine economic migration. This confluence acquired visual form when Nigel Farage, the leader of the *UK Independence Party* (UKIP), unveiled a giant billboard showing an interminable procession of refugees with the slogan "Take back our borders." As has been repeatedly remarked, the poster is in all respects reminiscent of an image from a Nazi propaganda film of 1941, showing a similar procession of Jewish refugees labelled as "parasites."

Since the referendum, the xenophobia that had always been lurking beneath the Leave campaign, broke to the surface with a virulence that few on the other side had expected. There was a wave of racist attacks against ethnic minorities and citizens from other European countries, demonstrations against plans to accept Syrian refugees, and in the official sphere, new restrictions on the numbers of foreign workers and students authorized to enter the country. Hence, any reportage about the migration crisis needs to be seen against this backdrop of increased intolerance.

Thus, when the French government decided in late September to dismantle the migrant camp at Calais known as the "Jungle," appealing to the British government to receive hundreds of unaccompanied minors that were waiting to enter the United Kingdom, it naturally became a sensitive subject. On 29th October 2016, days after the dismantling began, President François Hollande gave a press conference from the Doue-la-Fontaine reception centre in which he referred to the 1500 "*mineurs isolés*" that still remained in Calais.[7] He affirmed that these minors would be rapidly sent on to other reception centres, insisting that he had spoken to the British Prime Minister "*pour que les Britanniques accompagnent ces mineurs dans ces centres et puissent prendre leur part pour ensuite les accueillir au Royaume-Uni*" (*Le Monde* 2016).[8]

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7. Excerpts of the press conference are available, in English, on the French government's home page (*France Diplomatie* 2016). Curiously, the French transcription does not appear. http://base-doc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/vues/Kiosque/FranceDiplomatie/kiosque.php?fichier=baen2016-10-31.html#Chapitre1 (last accessed 18/4/18)

8. As quoted in various French newspapers, such as *France Info* 29/10/16, *Libération* 29/10/16, *Le Monde* 30/10/16, *La Nouvelle République* 30/10/16, *TV5Monde* 30/10/16.

What drew my attention in this situation was the way in which Hollande's speech was translated in the British press. While the French newspapers systematically repeated the legal term *mineurs* used by Hollande (sometimes in the forms *mineurs isolés* or *mineurs étrangés*), the formulations preferred by the British newspapers and TV news programmes were much more emotive. The headlines inevitably made reference to "children" rather than "minors": "Francois Hollande says UK must help hundreds of <u>children</u> left in Calais after destruction of Jungle camp" (*The Independent* 29th October 2016); "Calais 'Jungle': France urges UK to take more <u>children</u>" (*BBC* 29th October 2016); "Hollande: UK must 'do their part' for <u>Calais children</u>" (*Sky News* 29th October 2016); "Do your moral duty over <u>Calais children</u>, Hollande tells UK" (*The Guardian* 29th October 2016): "Theresa May refuses to bow down to Francois Hollande after he rings up to demand Britain accepts nearly 1,500 <u>migrant children</u>" (*The Telegraph* 30th October 2016); "'We've done our bit': French furious as Theresa May REFUSES more <u>Calais child migrants</u>" (*Express* 30th Octber 2016). In the body of the articles, the term "<u>child migrant</u>" is by far the most used, sometimes inflected to "<u>migrant children</u>," "<u>child refugees</u>" or, in the more reactionary newspapers, "'<u>child' migrants</u>" (in inverted commas). The phrases "<u>unaccompanied children</u>" and "<u>unaccompanied youngsters</u>" also appear.

It is notable that the term "<u>minor</u>" is scarcely used at all. Some newspapers employ it in their first reference to the segment of Hollande's speech quoted above, but rapidly inflect it to the preferred alternative:

> Francois Hollande has urged British authorities to "play their part" to settle 1,500 <u>unaccompanied minors</u> left in Calais. The French President said <u>the children</u>, most of whom are living in shipping containers in the remains of the so-called Jungle camp, would be transferred "very quickly" elsewhere.
> (*The Independent* 29th October 2016)

> Francois Hollande said 1,500 <u>unaccompanied minors</u> who were still in the port city would be taken to accommodation centres very shortly. /…/ The UK has so far agreed to take in about 250 of <u>the children</u> from there.   (*BBC* 29th October 2016)

In other cases, "children" appears from the outset:

> French President Francois Hollande has urged the UK to do more to help the <u>migrant children</u> from the Calais "Jungle" camp. Mr Hollande said he had spoken with Prime Minister Theresa May about the issue and how the <u>migrant children</u> should be welcomed.   (*Sky News* 29th October 2016)

> Mr Hollande went public with details of the call on Saturday as he sought to hold off political pressure from his rivals over his handling of the migrant crisis. He told a crowd at a reception centre in western France that Mrs May had been told to make sure British officials would take in more <u>child refugees</u>.
> (*The Telegraph* 30th October 2016)

We might speculate about the reasons for this preference. In some cases, such as the excerpt from the *Independent* quoted above, it might simply be a question of textual cohesion, in that the organization of information determines the need to replace the first term with a "synonym." In others, it may be an attempt to generate compassion for the suffering of the migrants, emphasising their youth and vulnerability; or even the contrary, particularly when the word "child" is placed in inverted commas, as in the *Express*.

What is more, there may also be a perception among translators and journalists that "child migrant" is in fact the default translation of *mineur* in this context. This interpretation is reinforced when we search the English translation of *mineur isolé* in the Interactive Terminology for Europe (IATE).[9] In this database, which is the preferred terminological resource for translators working with EU-related material, we find, in addition to "<u>unaccompanied minor</u>," also "<u>unaccompanied child</u>," and even "<u>unaccompanied asylum-seeking child</u>," with its own "official" abbreviation (UASC). The English term "<u>child migrant</u>" also appears (translated into French as *enfant migrant*), though only in source texts referring to the children of migrant workers and not to unaccompanied minors.

However, the translation of *mineurs* as "children," "child migrants," or "child refugees" is highly problematic when viewed in the broader context of the migrant debate in the United Kingdom. A few days before Hollande's speech in Doue-la-Fontaine, a scandal had erupted about the age of the "children" coming in from Calais when hulking great lads with beards were photographed coming off the buses at Dover. Predictably the tabloids took maximum advantage of the situation, with images of the hefty adolescents accompanied by ironic or indignant captions (e.g., "My, haven't you grown! First 'child' migrants who claim to be aged between 14 and 17 arrive in UK from Calais Jungle," *The Sun* 17th October 2016; "Another all-male coachload of 'child' migrants arrives in Britain"; *Daily Mail* 19th October 2016). Predictably, some politicians also piled into the debate to make political capital from the scandal: for example, David Davis, then Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, declared: "We have already taken a large number of migrants for humanitarian reasons, and some of them have been shown to be adults rather children. We should not take any more" (*Express* 31st October 2016).

In this context, the term "child migrant" is clearly much more charged than the simple "minor," though that would have been the more faithful translation of Hollande's words. Evoking vulnerability, it is subjectively incompatible with the scene observed in Dover of grown adolescents, almost exclusively male. Even if the young people in question were technically minors, their physical appearance – muscular, bearded, and, crucially, dark-skinned – would never arouse the same protective

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9. *Interactive Terminology for Europe* : http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQueryLoad. do?method=loa, considerado uma autoridade por ser sujeito a verificação ao mais alto nível.

instinct in the British people. On the contrary, the predominant sentiment is likely to be fear, given the inevitable analogy with images of terrorists spread around the world in the wake of the many attacks. Consequently, the various newspapers will have chosen the pictures that accompany their reports with great care: those that incline to the right of the political spectrum, such as *The Telegraph, The Mirror, The Express*, and *The Sun*, inevitably show the larger "children," some with threatening or triumphant expressions, while those on the centre or left prefer images of younger children in situations of greater vulnerability[10] or with a more "respectable" air.[11]

To what point does this use of "child" to translate *mineurs* represent an attempt on the part of the press to manipulate the public emotively and ideologically? If we look at the legal definitions of the term, we see right away that the question is not so simple. While "child" is defined in the United States as "a person 14 years and under," distinguishable from a "minor" (which refers to "anyone under 18 in almost all states"),[12] in the United Kingdom[13] it is used much more loosely. The first definition is "a young person," qualified by the observation that "the law in either England and Scotland cannot be said to offer any single definition of the word. Various ages are defined as childhood, but all are under the age of majority, which is 18." Similarly, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child[14] defines "child" as "a human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."

Thus, the translation of *mineurs* by "child" is not formally wrong from the point of view of the British legal system. But in the context of the migration crisis and the controversy surrounding the possible abuse of British hospitality by migrants that are not properly "children," it does not seem to be the most responsible option. To what point should such considerations influence the translator's decision? And to what point can the translator, through ethically conscious choices, influence the outcome of events in the real world?

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10. For example, the photograph of two young boys beneath blankets sleeping in the open air next to a concrete wall (*The Independent* 29th October 2016) or the one showing a file of small children waiting in line for food handouts (*The Independent* 25th July 2016).

11. For example, the photograph of a well-dressed studious-looking young boy arriving at Lunar House (*Daily Mirror* 17th October 2016).

12. *The People"s Law Dictionary*. Copyright© 1981–2005 Gerald N. Hill and Kathleen T. Hill. Cited in http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/child. Accessed 18/4/19.

13. *Collins Dictionary of Law*. 2006. Cited in http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/child. Accessed 18/4/19.

14. "Convention on the Rights of the Child," 1989, *The Policy Press*, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Available at: http://www.hakani.org/en/convention/Convention_Rights_Child.pdf

4. The translator's agency

The notion of agency, borrowed from the social sciences (e.g., Giddens 1984), refers to the capacity of the individual to act in the world to change aspects of its socio-political and cultural reality. In Translation Studies, where the term began to appear in the early 21st century, it is related to the translator's capacity to intervene in texts to produce a particular result (cf., for example, Milton and Bandia 2009; Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010).

As regards the legal translators discussed in Case 1 above, Guia (2016: 107–109) fully recognises their power to influence debates about subjects such as migration, given that their options have a tendency to reproduce in cyber-space. The process is as follows. In the absence of specific training for legal translators or an official body to oversee translations done in this domain, language professionals working in the field normally search for terminology in documents found on line or in the various terminological databases that exist for the purpose. However, most of these documents and databases[15] are not reliable authorities. Unlike traditional dictionaries, which are insufficiently detailed and up-to-date for technical translators, these resources are not vetted, containing only the solutions used by previous translators, whether appropriate or not. Thus, any translation choice may become a model to be copied by other translators, creating a type of "legal terminology-prudence" (Guia 2016: 109) or "lexicoprudence" (2016: 120),[16] which can proliferate unregulated.

Given this situation, Guia, in her final recommendations (2016: 121), advises translators to adopt a posture of great vigilance with regard to the terminology chosen, and to systematically update their knowledge about the legislation in force. She also recommends the creation of a supervisory body at national and supranational levels to oversee legal translation. This would remove sensitive and potentially dangerous decisions from the hands of individual translators, preventing the proliferation of inadequate terms.

For this author, then, legal translators at present have too much power, an excessive amount of agency, which should be restricted by the authorities in order to prevent the replication and amplification of terminological errors or the harmful use of words. However, what Guia does not consider is the dilemma that confronts the translator when xenophobic attitudes become so generalized in society that they

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15. Such as linguee.com or bab.la, two of the databases most frequently used by translators. The EU's inter-institutional term base, IATE (http://iate.europa.eu/) is more reliable, though considerably more limited as regards the range of terms available.

16. This term, coined by Guia through analogy with "jurisprudence," refers to way that certain uses of specialized terms by translators are replicated by others, thereby acquiring a kind of authority through tradition.

begin to be reflected in the legislation. The criminalization of migrants is already a reality in most European countries, manifested by legislative amendments that enable penalization by fine or imprisonment. Given this situation, the term "illegal migrant" (or its cognate) is legally correct in most European languages.

The question that arises, then, is whether the translator working in a society that is increasingly intolerant in relation to migrants has the power to subvert the dominant tendency through his/her lexical choices. Or in other words: if the individual translator were to take the decision to systematically avoid the term *migrante ilegal*, even in situations when it would be legally appropriate, disseminating more neutral options via the electronic resources that support the profession, might these options acquire followers, perhaps going on to become the default translations used by all?

This dilemma goes to the heart of the question I want to deal with here. Should translators remain passive and reactive before the injustices and intolerances that have currently taken hold of our society, limiting themselves to the implementation of the options taken by organizations and individuals upstream in the system? Or could they take advantage of the possibilities offered by the electronic resources to create "lexicoprudence" in an attempt to halt the process that is under way?

It is at this point that the question inflects away from agency to the domain of ethics, acquiring moral dimensions (of duty, responsibility) in addition to the notion of capacity or possibility that we have been discussing till now. This dimension will be discussed in the next section.

As regards the translation of sensitive terms in the media, analysed in Case 2, the situation is more complex, given the number and anonymity of individuals involved in the process. Although translation is a constant in news production, we know little about who is responsible for certain choices. As Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 9) point out, the process covers a very complex cluster of textual transactions (including recordings, transcriptions, summaries, editing, adaptations, and intermedial transpositions) as well as the passage between diverse agencies and organizations, which makes it difficult to identify where and with whom a particular translational option will have originated. The situation is not facilitated by the ambivalence surrounding the concept of translation in news circles; Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 15–17) report a generalized reluctance on the part of journalists to use the word or recognise the activity.

Thus, we can only speculate about the process through which President Hollande's words at Doue-la-Fontaine arrived on the pages of the British press. Many foreign journalists will have been present when the French president gave his press conference on 29th October, and in some cases, the speech will have been recorded by them, before being transcribed and translated; in fact, segments of the recording were reproduced on various British television channels, though

normally with an English summary in voice over. In others, journalists will have made use of the French government website (France Diplomatie),[17] where excerpts of the speech appeared, already translated into English, two days later. But in most cases, the story will have arrived at the editorial office via news agencies or other media organizations, after which it will have been reformulated in accordance with the orientation and style of the newspaper in question. Indeed, it is common for the same piece of news to be transmitted in a chain from one newspaper to another, successively repackaged to suit the expectations of the different target publics ("recontextualization processes," according to Schäffner and Bassnett 2010: 6). For example, the BBC has a service called BBC Monitoring,[18] which monitors and translates news produced by institutions and media organizations around the world, making it available in English in a timely fashion for third party use. It is notable, for example, that the Portuguese newspaper *O Público*, cites the BBC and not French sources in its coverage of Hollande's speech from Doue-la-Fontaine on 29th October.[19]

For this reason, it is difficult to identify where in the chain the decision was taken to translate *les mineurs* as "children." Even if the translation initially made of Hollande's speech was quite neutral and literal – and BBC Monitoring prides itself on the fidelity and impartiality of the translations it produces – [20] this will not have prevented an organization downstream in the recontextualization process from reformulating it substantially to serve its own ideological objectives.

In short, in the media, the people that produce translations, whether specialists working for BBC Monitoring Service, freelance translators or translator-journalists, working for a particular paper, have very little influence in the real world, as their texts serve only as raw material in a complex process of recontextualization downstream. Nevertheless, the formulations that are disseminated by the media – irresponsible formulations in many cases – produce tremendous effects, moulding attitudes and determining behaviours. Guia (2016: 76, 79–82), in her discussion of the tendency for the term *migrante ilegal* to replicate in Portuguese official documents, blames the press for having generalized its use in the collective

17. http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/vues/Kiosque/FranceDiplomatie/kiosque.php?fichier=baen2016-10-31.html#Chapitre1. Accessed 18/4/19.

18. https://monitoring.bbc.co.uk/about Accessed 18/4/19.

19. https://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/franca-insta-reino-unido-a-acolher-menores-desacompanhados-de-calais-1749368 Accessed 18/4/19.

20. ""words as spoken" – accurate and impartial translations of important speeches and statements" (BBC Monitoring) http://www.acml-egypt.com/bbc.html Accessed 18/4/19.

consciousness. Such representations have begun to impact on democratic processes, as we have seen in the case of Brexit and in the presidential campaigns of Donald Trump, where migrants were systematically compared to criminals.[21]

5.   Ethics and social responsibility in the translation profession

As we have seen in the case of the legal translator, tempted to create "lexicoprudence" to affirm his/her own values, the question of agency is intricately bound up with the question of ethics. That is to say, the debate about whether a translator *can* act in a particular manner is inseparable from the debate about whether or not s/he *should* – a matter that is not easy to resolve.

The question is complicated by the fact that there are various understandings of the concept of ethics in Translation Studies. Andrew Chesterman (2001) identifies four types: (i) the *ethics of representation*, which has to do with the translator's obligation to accurately represent the source text or author's intention without additions or omissions, or even to represent the Other in all his alterity without distortions of domestication (cf. Berman 1992[1984], etc.; Venuti 1995); (ii) the *ethics of service*, in which the translator, now viewed as a professional on the market, has an obligation to his/her client to supply a service in a particular way (cf. Nord 1991); (iii) the *ethics of communication*, which highlights the translator's obligation to promote intercultural understanding above all (cf. Pym 1997, 2000); and, finally, a *norm-based ethics*, which implies alignment with the values and norms of the target culture (cf. Toury 1995).

The problem is that these various understandings are mutually incompatible, as we rapidly realise if we try to apply them to the concrete situations we have been considering. For example, in the light of the ethics of representation, the legal translator in Case 1 has the obligation to use the term that best corresponds to the legal system in question, which implies that, in Portugal, Malta, and Spain, the only European countries that do not criminalize migration (Guia 2016: 60), the term "illegal migrant" would be inadmissible. However, if we apply instead of this the norm-based ethics, or even, in some contexts, ethics of service and communication, we would have to follow the dominant tendency, choosing the most current or familiar term in the target culture (i.e., "illegal" instead of "irregular").

As regards Case 2, and the translation of *mineurs isolés*, the question is even more complex. In relation to the ethics of representation, it is not clear if the

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21. We might recall Trump's controversial statement that "All Mexicans are rapists" (16 June 2015) and that Muslims should be prohibited from entering the US as they are terrorists (December 2015).

translator ought to follow the legislation in force (which in the Anglophone case is highly ambiguous as we have seen); if s/he should adhere as closely as possible to the words used by Hollande (which would imply the use of a cognate such as "unaccompanied minor"), or if the word "child" should be deliberately avoided on the grounds that it is misleading and could be exploited for political purposes. An ethics of service, on the other hand, seems to offer justification for any option, depending on the newspaper the journalist/translator happened to be working for at the time (including overtly xenophobic renderings in the case of tabloids like *The Sun* or *The Daily Mail*).

Hence, none of the models offered by Andrew Chesterman in this article, nor the proposal for a "Hieronymic oath" that he presents at the end of it, offer much help in dealing with the broad ethical decisions that concern us here. In fact, he expressly announces on page 147 that "the political engagement of the translator" – which naturally includes ideological and ethical values of the kind discussed above – "lies outside the realm of professional ethics." Thus, what Chesterman is proposing is ultimately not so different from the deontologies offered by translator and interpreter associations in their Codes of Conduct[22] – typically a list of principles that privilege confidentiality and neutrality (i.e., loyalty to client and source-text) over any real-world effects that the text might produce.

Since Chesterman's text was written, however, there has been a move away from a purely deontological understanding of translator ethics towards a broader more flexible approach that contemplates engagement with sensitive issues in the real world. An important landmark in this regard[23] was the special issue on *Ethics in Interpreter and Translator Training* edited by Mona Baker and Carol Maier, which asserts in forthright terms that ethics cannot be extrinsic to translation since the activity of translating "in itself is intrinsically ethical" (Baker and Maier 2011: 3). In their introduction, the editors argue forcefully that "accountability" needs to be taken on board during the designing of translator training syllabuses:

> For translators and interpreters, accountability means that they are increasingly held responsible for the consequences of their behaviour and therefore have to reflect carefully about how their decisions, both textual and non-textual, impact the lives of others. Importantly, a translator or interpreter must be able to justify a decision (morally) to him- or herself as well as those who might question it.

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22. For overviews of some of these codes of conduct and their limitations, see Drugan and Megone (2011: 185–189) and Baker (2013: Section 2).

23. Others include Anthony Pym's (2012) book *On Translation Ethics: Principles for Mediation between Cultures* and Mona Baker's report *Ethics in the Translation and Interpreting Curriculum: Surveying and Rethinking the Pedagogical Landscape* (2013).

Particularly interesting in the present context is their insistence on the need to alert trainees to the ethical implications of behaviour considered to be "routine, unproblematic, and hence not … challenging from a moral point of view." Quoting an article on ethics from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* ("[w]hat is frightening about ethical lapses is not that they happen to the ethically outrageous but that they can sneak up on just about all of us" [Sternberg 2009]), they argue that ethical lapses usually occur "because we do not recognize an issue or situation as a site of ethical decision making" (Baker and Maier 2011: 3). This, one suspects, is precisely the mechanism at work in the case of the legal translator described above that routinely reproduces the dominant options suggested by terminological databases without giving a thought to the possible consequences.

More recently, the debate has suffered another inflection with the introduction of the notion of *social responsibility* (Drugan and Tipton 2017), which seals the shift away from deontologically oriented models to "differentiated approaches in which the whole communicative situation is brought to bear on decision-making" (2017: 122). Understood as "action-oriented and dynamic, encompassing value judgements and decisions that may lead as much to resistance as to acceptance and commitment to sustain a form of social consensus" (2017: 122), the very term "social responsibility" brings ethics down from its rather rarefied and abstract philosophical plane to the level of the individual translator working on a particular text in a particular context.

> … translation often involves impacts, direct or indirect, on oneself and others. Thus, the question arises whether, in these impacts, one is manifesting virtues or vices (or respecting obligations, or producing good or bad consequences), and this …requires ethical reflection. In sum … the point of studying ethics for translators is not that they become philosophers but that they develop good judgement.
>
> (Drugan and Megone 2011: 189)

This suggests that we might be entering a new moral climate in which translators are routinely expected to consider the consequences of their lexical choices, and in which neutrality and client loyalty can no longer be invoked to justify failure to act on the broader moral plane.

Where does this leave us in relation to the question with which we began this reflection, namely the dilemmas confronting legal and news translators in the context of the migration crisis?

If we follow the principle that social responsibility is proportional to the degree of agency enjoyed by the translator in a particular situation, then we can perhaps begin to trace a path of action. This would mean that the legal translator who participates informally in the creation of "lexicoprudence" should make every effort to avoid terms like "illegal migrant" in full awareness that this will exacerbate the

tendency to criminalize such people. On the other hand, the translator working for *BBC Monitoring* or some other news agency producing English versions of political declarations for dissemination around the globe knows from the outset that his/her translational options will not be reproduced faithfully, but will be freely interpreted and reformulated in the successive "recontextualizations" that occur downstream. Thus, s/he does not have the same degree of responsibility with regard to the results of these choices.

The most important thing to emerge from this reflection, however, is the urgent need for translators to be given some kind of training in social responsibility and ethics in order to help them deal with complex decision-making in real-life situations. For Baker and Maier (2011: 4–7), this means providing trainees with the conceptual tools to reason critically about the implications of their decisions and strategies to deal with ethically difficult or compromising material. However, it is important to highlight that the kinds of training activities suggested by them[24] (and by Drugan and Megone in the same volume) do not to give clear-cut answers to any of the big moral questions; instead they are designed to encourage translators to think carefully about their own values and to prompt them to try to put them into practice in their everyday translation activity.

Such programmes will not reach the crowds of freelancers operating around the world without any formal training, of course, or the amateur volunteers working on crowd-sourced and user-generated projects. The best one can hope for at this point in time is that, in a climate of increased social responsibility and ethical awareness, it might become increasingly difficult in future for translators to avoid moral engagement on matters as critical and far-reaching as the migration crisis.

Acknowledgements

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24. Such as classroom debates about potential or actual ethical dilemmas, the writing of critical essays about specific issues, and (for interpreters), role-playing activities in simulated scenarios.

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Index

The relevance of translation has never been greater. The challenges of the 21st century are truly glocal and societies are required to manage diversities like never before. Cultural and linguistic diversities cut across ideological systems, those carefully crafted to uphold prevailing hierarchies of power, making asymmetries inescapable. Translation and interpreting studies have left behind neutrality and have put forward challenging new approaches that provide a starting point for researching translation as a cultural and historical product in a global and asymmetrical world. This book addresses issues arising from the power vested in and arrogated by translation and interpreting either as instruments of change, or as tools to sustain dominant structures. It presents new perspectives and cutting-edge research findings on how asymmetries are fashioned, woven, upheld, experienced, confronted, resisted, and rewritten through and in translation. This volume is useful for scholars looking for tools to raise awareness as to the challenges posed by the pervasiveness of power relations in mediated communication. It will further help practitioners understand how asymmetries shape their experiences when translating and interpreting.

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